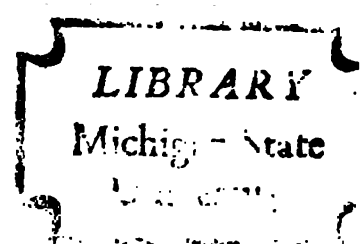HETEROGENEITY OF THE MICRO-NEIGHBORHOOD
AS IT RELATES TO SOCIAL INTERACTION

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EDWARD K. KNAPP
1969

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

HETEROGENEITY OF THE MICRO-NEIGHBORHOOD
AS IT RELATES TO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

presented by

EDWARD KARL KNAPP

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

___Ph.D.___ degree in __Sociology__

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ABSTRACT

HETEROGENEITY OF THE MICRO-NEIGHBORHOOD
AS IT RELATES TO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By Edward K. Knapp

The residence in the United States is changing both
in terms of the individual structure and the neighborhood
positioning of groups of structures. This results in value
breaks between contiguous houses. It presents an abrupt
departure from the traditional development of communities
where clear grouping as to house values is realized. While
social aspects of the usual American neighborhood have been
studied, however, this new complex has not. This disserta-
tion examines several dimensions of social interaction within
this new milieu and in contrast to the old.

In the delineation of suitable research sites, the
Micro-Neighborhood technique of Judith T. Shuval was employed.[1]
This permitted an identification of specific neighborhoods as
Heterogeneous, Homogeneous, or Neutral regarding the indepen-
dent variable. In all, 117 depth interviews were obtained.

The theoretical frame was constructed, utilizing the
thinking of George C. Homans who maintained that "persons who
interact with one another frequently are more like one another
in their activities than they are like other persons with
whom they interact less frequently."[2] Against this expecta-
tion, the interactional variables of (1) complexity of inter-
action, (2) social distance, and (3) satisfaction with

neighbors were examined. The social-class aspect of the
Homans hypothesis appeared germane to this thesis due to its
commonality with house value. This is discussed via several
citations from the literature as well as a limited analysis
from the data of the study.

The findings generally supported a condition of "no
change" when residents of mixed-valued housing were located
as immediate abutters as compared with abutters in similarly
valued dwellings. This relationship maintained throughout
the testing of a series of possible intervening variables.
This finding, then, because of the social-class connection,
suggests that the social milieu remains constant and is not
associated with variation in the class mix in the neighbor-
hood housing milieu. It must quickly be added, however,
that the extraction of the sample is not random and general-
ization potential is thereby limited. On the other hand,
the methodology developed permits the results to be stated
with considerable conviction and provides a tested procedure
for replication among other family groupings and geographical
sites.

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[1]Judith T. Shuval, "The Micro-Neighborhood: An
Approach to Ecological Patterns of Ethnic-Groups," _Social
Problems_, IX (1962), 272-280.

[2]George C. Homans, _The Human Group_ (New York: Har-
court, Brace & World, Inc., 1950), p. 184.

HETEROGENEITY OF THE MICRO-NEIGHBORHOOD

AS IT RELATES TO SOCIAL INTERACTION

By

Edward K. Knapp

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORY FORMULATION

Introduction

This thesis stems from an interest in a current phe-
nomenon; i.e., new housing in the United States is shifting
from homogeneity of structures to wide differentials of size
and values of individual units within common small communi-
ties. The social relationships that develop within the usual
homogeneous neighborhoods have been subjected to some formal
study--the question of what changes in social relationships
result when this more heterogeneous "value interface" is
realized remains largely unanswered. It is the focus of
this research.

The dimensions identified above--house value and
neighborhood social interaction--are of interest in two
pointedly different spheres: housing and sociology. In one
case, the primary concerns are physical and, in the other,
human. They have been infrequently examined together in the
residential setting. A striking indication of this condition
is found in the contents of The Uses of Sociology where
extremely few references are made to the housing sphere.[1]
The lack of joint examination has resulted in little

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[1]Paul F. Lazarsfeld et al. (eds.), The Uses of Soci-
ology (New York: Basic Books, Inc.. 1967).

established theory and none that would bear specifically on the "house value-social interaction" nexus.

     This dissertation, then, addresses itself to a comparative analysis in what Shuval calls the "micro-neighborhood," of the relationship that obtains when families living in similar and differently valued houses live immediately next to each other.[1]

Theory Formulation

     The following series of statements with appropriate supporting comments and documentation specifies the process by which the theory was elaborated.

Residential Housing in the United States Exists in Clusters of Similarly Valued Dwellings

     This statement may be confirmed by simple observation. For many years, the expansion of the housing plant in the United States has been by "developments" or "tracts"-- sizable areas of similarly priced and appearing dwellings. Shelter periodicals, in providing guidance to the house construction industry, base their recommendations on the assumption that a number of very similar units will be built in a contiguous area. Perhaps the most frequently mentioned name in this connection is Levitt, who has built large-scale developments on Long Island, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and more recently in France. Their New Jersey "Levittown"

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[1] Judith T. Shuval, "The Micro-Neighborhood: An Approach to Ecological Patterns of Ethnic Groups," _Social Problems_, IX (1962), 272-280.

was the site for Herbert J. Gans' participant observer study,
The Levittowners, which bears on this study.[1]

Deliberate departures from the practice of construct-
ing residences in tracts are relatively few and of recent
origin. This condition, however, does occur occasionally by
chance rather than by design. A declining neighborhood of a
central city, for example, may present a mixture of values
among the residential units. This, however, is unplanned
and is too transitory and structurally inconsistent for the
purposes of this research.

Currently, Attempts Are Being Directed Toward a Systematic Mix of Housing Values

A recent issue of _House and Home_, a popular builders'
magazine, states: "The importance of the planned unit devel-
opment lies in its avoidance of the two principal curses of
the good old reliable subdivision: unrelieved rows of houses
and a stratified community."[2] "Stratified" as used here is
assumed to imply residents of a common social class. It is
expected that such a population would own homes of similar
values. This idea is developed more fully in the sections
which follow.

The establishment of new communities, such as the
"new town" of Columbia, Maryland, includes an attempt to
bring lower- and higher-valued housing into close proximity.
Here the residential complex will provide the extremes of

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[1]Herbert J. Gans, _The Levittowners_ (New York: Random
House, Inc., 1967).

[2]"Housing's Market Revolution," _House and Home_, Janu-
ary, 1968, pp. 49-59.

modest-size apartments along with ten-acre "gentlemen estates."

In the town of Amherst, Massachusetts, a developer is combining middle-priced apartments with low- and high-priced, single-family dwellings.[1] This is accomplished within one _small_ community--"Echo Hill."

Part III of "The Cities" documentary, viewed on TV on June 26, 1968, showed the idea of a variety of income levels within a single residential complex.[2]

In providing an indication that increased heterogeneity in adjacent house values was conscious and by design, it was hoped that a public comment by an authority might be cited. A statement by Robert C. Weaver points in this direction:

> Social diversity is another heritage that must be preserved. There is no place in the cities of our future for ghettos of any kind. . . . In their place must be built cities open to all Americans whatever their differences.[3]

John W. Dyckman, in a discussion of programs for national urban policy, states:

> The third program for immediate implementation should be aimed at the reduction of the class differences which now split metropolitan areas. There is a plethora of high priority items in this category. Foremost on the list is destruction of the barrier which contains non-white population in the inner ring of the metropolitan

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[1] "The Scaled-down PUD Could Be a Milestone in Small-Project Planning," _House and Home_. July, 1966. pp. 64-71.

[2] Program sponsored by The Institute of Life Insurance, Park Avenue, New York.

[3] Robert C. Weaver, _The Urban Complex_ (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Co., Inc., 1964), p. 39.

areas. Federal and state policies and all available
levers must be used to open suburban areas to nonwhites.[1]

Some of the same value-laden thinking may be found in
the forced integration of Negro and white children via bus-
sing arrangements. It is apparently felt that close proxim-
ity of the minority and majority racial groups in school
(that they come from residences of wide value difference
could be easily demonstrated) is beneficial. Just as devel-
opers of housing tracts may sense desirable results from a
neighborhood of mixed house values, the principal benefit
regarding racial proximity appears to be an increase in accep-
tance. Dean and Rosen conclude, for example:

> Our research data show that for most people there is
> a consistently negative relationship between intergroup
> contact and intergroup prejudice. . . .This result holds
> not only for majority group prejudices but also for
> minority group prejudices against the majority group.
> It holds for youth as well as for adults. In the Cor-
> nell University studies it is confirmed in 14 different
> research surveys involving about 6,000 persons.[2]

Also, Homans, in discussing social interaction men-
tions "an increased frequency leading to more favorable senti-
ment."[3] He further suggests that the basis on which this
might be true is where "a man is free to break off interaction
with another."[4]

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[1]Sam Bass Warner, Jr., _Planning for a Nation of
Cities_ (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 19), p. 40.

[2]John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, _Manual for Intergroup
Relations_ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955),
p. 8.

[3]George C. Homans, _Social Behavior: Its Elementary
Forms_ (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961),
p. 183.
[4]_Ibid._, p. 187.

Developers, in attempting neighborhood house value
heterogeneity, are probably first influenced by hoped-for
profits--with any lessening of prejudice or sentiment in
some lesser position. Whatever the motive, there is empiri-
cal evidence that such a shift in housing is beginning. It
seems highly desirable that sociology as a discipline
obtains information regarding the probable social outcome.

Optional Approaches to an Appropriate Theory

With the broad variables of interest identified, two
routes to theory development were possible: (1) observe
practical conditions and, based upon these impressions, take
a position regarding the expected social interaction under
specified house value configurations or (2) search existing
sociological theories with the hope that a sufficient paral-
lel to the phenomenon of interest would be found. If this
condition were realized, it would permit the research to
begin at a more advanced point.

A theory of Professor George Homans did provide the
reference sought under point (2) above. It is used in part
as the theoretical test framework for this study.

In applying the Homans theory against a "housing
milieu," certain assumptions are made. These concern the
pertinence of small-group theory and the degree of corre-
spondence between house value and social class. These assump-
tions are discussed in the following section.

Ordinarily, Social Interaction Takes Place Within,
More Than Between, People of Residential Housing
Value Classes

This expectation stems from the George Homans hypothesis which states: "The more nearly equal in social rank a number of men are, the more frequently they will interact with one another."[1] In the same source this concept is stated in slightly different language: "Persons who interact with one another frequently are more like one another in their activities than they are like other persons with whom they interact less frequently."[2]

The above extractions are from small-group theory. Consideration of such concepts in an analysis of neighborhood phenomenon appears justified, since Homans describes a small-group relationship as: "Persons who communicate with one another often over a span of time, and who are few enough so that each person is able to communicate with all the others, not at second hand through other people, but face to face."[3]

Another definition supporting the above position is: "The minimum characteristics on the basis of which groups are objectively determinable is that there is a continuity of social interaction."[4]

Michael Olmsted describes a group as follows: "A group, then, may be defined as a plurality of individuals who

[1]George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1950), p. 184.

[2]Ibid., p. 135.

[3]Ibid., p. 1

[4]Donald W. Olmsted, Social Groups, Roles and Leadership (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, 1961) p. 13.

are in contact with one another, who take one another into account, and who are aware of some significant commonality."[1]

These descriptions of small-group characteristics, when considered in relation to the characteristics of American neighborhoods, appear to have much common ground. This thesis then _assumes_ that neighborhood social interaction is the same basic activity as is studied under the "small group" rubric in the sociological literature.

In a further bridging of the Homans concept to the housing milieu, it is necessary to equate "social rank" with house value. The following extractions discuss the use of a house value dimension in a determination of social class.

W. Lloyd Warner's ISC (Index of Status Characteristics),[2] contains four characteristics that are pertinent. _House Type_ was included with a weighting of 3.0 out of 12.0 points and _Dwelling Area_, a weighting of 2.0 out of 12.0. As used, both reflect the value dimension. These were validated against his Evaluative Participation Method with the following correlations: House Type $r = .85$ and Dwelling Area $r = .82$.

Stanley A. Hetzler's findings in correlating Social Class and Position with Residential Area and Dwelling Unit extend from .39 to .54--all within a "moderate" classification:

[1]Michael S. Olmsted, _The Small Group_ (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 21.

[2]W. Lloyd Warner, Marshia Meeker, and Kenneth Ells, _Social Class in America_ (Chicago: Science Research Assoc., 1949), pp. 121-159.

Hetzler Correlation Coefficients
(Pearsonian Method)

Scale Item	Social Class	Social Position
Residential Area	.54	.46
Dwelling Unit	.47	.39

The information obtained regarding "house and neighborhood
were rated in terms of appearance, material condition, and
apparent value."[1]

F. Stuart Chapin's social status (living room) scale
determines social status using only items within the physical
residence.[2] Among these were quality of wood flooring, type
of lighting, and incidence of fireplace--all items that
influence the value of the house.

The Sewell farm socioeconomic status scale uses
fourteen items, among which three are directly concerned
with the value of the dwelling per se.[3] These are lighting
facilities, running water, and construction of house
(masonry or frame).

Raymond W. Mack in 1951 specifically attempted a
determination of the validity of the use of housing as an

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[1]Stanley A. Hetzler, "An Investigation of the Dis-
tinctiveness of Social Classes," American Sociological Review,
XVIII (October, 1953), 495.

[2]F. Stuart Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions
(New York: Harper Bros., 1935), pp. 373-397.

[3]William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family
Socio-economic Status Scale," Rural Sociology, VIII (June,
1943).

index of social class.[1] He considered constructions, depreciation, and location, relating these to three levels of social class--upper, middle, and lower and used raters for the determination of social class. His data regarding house value closely approximate the information routinely obtained by Massachusetts assessors[2] and his resulting correlations are exceptionally high. This is considered in detail in the analysis portion of this dissertation.

These citations appear to show successfully a strong relationship between social rank and the valuation of the residence. Although this research proceeds on the assumption that this relationship exists, an attempt at confirmation is included as part of the analysis.

The Theory

The major variables have now been identified as the house value complex and social interaction. The relationship is to follow the general expectation of the Homan's hypothesis. Concisely stated, the theory from which test hypotheses will be derived is as follows: People residing in similarly valued dwellings will engage in levels of social interaction exceeding that of people residing in unlike valued dwellings when both groups are examined in a condition of close residential proximity (the micro-neighborhood).

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[1]Raymond W. Mack, "Housing as an Index of Social Class," Social Forces, XXIX (May, 1951), 391-400.

[2]The commonly used data sheet is included as Appendix I. Further, it is the form used in the site of this research.

CHAPTER II

RELEVANT LITERATURE

Introduction

New residential housing units in the United States
are being constructed at an increasing rate. Further, there
are indications that this rate will be raised drastically
during the coming decade. Among these new units, certain
physical innovations are apparent--particularly in regard to
heterogeneity of neighborhood house valuations. This research
effort attempts to suggest sociological implications regarding
the design of these structures and their spatial arrangements.

In the following pages writings regarding housing in
general, as well as the more specific area of the sociology
of housing, is cited.

Housing in the United States

Some one to one and one-half million residential
units are being constructed in the United States annually.[1]
Projections of need greatly surpass this figure, frequently
suggesting twice this amount. Even modest estimates regu-
larly exceed the new units actually provided each year. In
a speech at the Annual U.S. Conference of Mayors at Chicago
on June 15, 1968, Robert C. Weaver, then Secretary of Housing

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[1]"Starts were running at a rate of 1.5 million late
in 1967, their highest level in two years." House and Home,
January, 1968, p. 47.

and Urban Development, claimed:

> The task of the next decade is this: --To provide hous-
> ing for a Nation in which new household formations alone
> will require 14.5 million new units. --To replace
> several million units that will be lost from the housing
> supply because of population changes, migration and mar-
> ket changes. --To replace or rebuild 5.8 million units
> now substandard and now occupied, and 12 million more
> that become substandard out of the 30 million units
> already more than 30 years old. . . . The President has
> given us these goals: --The construction of 26.2 mil-
> lion new housing units in the next decade. That is a
> big order when compared to 14.4 million units built in
> the past ten years.

The interest of the research reported here concerns

the quality of these units from a social milieu standpoint,

although the need for a higher rate of unit formation injects

a note of urgency to the topic. Requests for a national

housing breakthrough are made continuously.[1]

The housing decision-makers must concern themselves

with the question: What kind of shelter establishment should

be encouraged in this country? If citizens were of one mold,

the answer would be relatively simple; but there are diverse

types and--most important to this study--a portion of their

social interaction occurs within the residential community.

New housing in the United States has taken a variety

of forms. In past years, developments or tracts have pro-

duced so many dwellings identical as to value and often as

to appearance that they are sometimes identified as "boxes

on the hillsides." The monotony of this scene has been made

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[1]An example is a request for two and one-half million
new housing units each year as one of the ten points in the
AFL-CIO plan for solving the "urban crisis." The American
Federalist, October, 1967.

the object of ridicule in a popular song.[1] More recently a

trend toward diversity has been evidenced, an extreme in

this direction being the <u>new town</u> of Columbia, Maryland,

where apartment buildings are in close proximity to "gentle-

men's estates."[2] Wherever such housing variations existed

in previous eras, it was largely by chance rather than by

design. In calculatingly providing such a mixture in resi-

dential housing, developers evidently hope to meet the pur-

chase interests of some families and the rental interests of

others. Such diversity of construction would appear to arise

from a belief by businessmen-developers as to what home seek-

ers think will maximize the enjoyment of their home and com-

munity life.

The degree of variability of houses, as to value, has

been affected not only by the decisions of developers but

also by the planners. These comprise a professional urban

group and many lay advisory systems. It appears that the

professionals dominate. They prefer clean precise defini-

tions of usage and favor zoning, both commercial and residen-

tial, that produces a high degree of uniformity. Although

there would be general agreement that clearly antagonistic

uses should be kept separated, such fixed-use determinations

sometimes result in a single use in a very narrow sense.

The National Association of Housing and Redevelopment

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[1]"Little Boxes" by Malvina Reynolds.

[2]In a conversation with Emile Hanslin (Developer of
New Seabury on Cape Cod, Mass.), he stated that he knew of
more than eighty such "New Town" efforts in the making in the
United States.

Officials (NAHRO), in a recent three-point program, refer to such extreme positions as "contraints upon urban progress."[1] It is to an examination of the consequences of these differing positions with regard to social interaction that this thesis addresses itself.

A brief look at the modern American community then indicates two postures in housing development:

1. _Diversity_ in attempting variation in a contiguous section. This is exhibited in varied house types, sizes, lot sizes, economic valuation, etc.

2. _Similarity_ among the above factors from house to house in a continuous manner throughout a given area. The zoning influence is strongly felt here; i.e., dictating lot size, concurrently dictates house size. This, in turn, suggests family size and, with the cost dimension, finally the socioeconomic level.

The Sociological Housing Literature

In reading sociological reports regarding housing, an interesting paradox appears. There is pointed urging to attempt research in this area and, at the same time, a paucity of such effort. Louis Wirth, in indicating the desirability of work in housing, states: "Housing is a social activity. As such, sociology has something to learn from it and it constitutes a subject matter for sociological study."[2]

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[1] _Journal of Housing_, October, 1967, p. 501.

[2] Louis Wirth, "Housing as a Field of Sociological Research," _American Sociological Review_, XII (April, 1947), 137-143.

Robert K. Merton, in the same vein, said, "The social psychology of housing has a short inglorious past and, I believe, a long productive future."[1] In a more recent publication, Charles Abrams summed up the importance of housing in the social situation, stating, "Housing is not only shelter but part of the fabric of neighborhood life and of the whole social milieu."[2]

The nonscientific, popular literature on this subject is of tremendous quantity and frequently exhibits considerable insight. It has perhaps to a degree substituted for more rigorous investigation. A recent work regarding the social aspects of American cities discusses this point directly:

> There is much popular literature expounding the effects of urban living on the "personality" of modern man. Most of the accounts are speculative, and they are rarely stated in a manner amenable to empirical test.[3]

Although the amount of research on the social aspects of housing is not as great as had been hoped for by Wirth and Merton, there are a number of items that bear wholly or in part on the substance of this study. They are examined under the following categories:

1. The impact of physical residential forms on social

[1]Robert K. Merton, "The Social Psychology of Housing," in Current Trends in Social Psychology, ed. by Wayne Dennis (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948), p. 163.

[2]Charles Abrams, Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1964), p. vi.

[3]Jeffory K. Hadden and Edgar F. Borgatta, Social Characteristics of American Cities (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 3.

interaction.

2. The general level of social relationships currently existing within the residential community.

3. Home ownership and the social residential milieu.

4. The residential dwelling as symbolism.

5. Social interaction in the residential dwelling milieu.

The Impact of Physical Residential Forms on Social Interaction

A classical example of this relationship is Louis Wirth's essay, "Urbanism as a Way of Life."[1] His characterization of the city argues for the physical atmosphere as one of the influencing factors in the development of social structure. Since Professor Wirth's comprehensive statement, there have been a number of specific examinations of his position regarding the urban milieu, most of them confined, however, to a more limited area than the "city" as a whole.

Among the more scientific investigations of this phenomenon is Leon Festinger's work at Westgate, a veterans' housing establishment at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.[2] In summarizing this research, he states:

> In a community of people who are homogeneous with respect to the many factors which determine the development of friendships, the physical factors arising from the arrangement of houses are major determinants of what friendships will develop and what social groupings create

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[1]Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," _American Journal of Sociology_, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-24.

[2]Leon Festinger et al., _Social Pressures in Informal Groups: A Study of Human Factors in Housing_ (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1950), p. 151.

channels of communication for the flow of information
and opinions. Standards for attitudes and behavior rele-
vant to the functioning of the social group develop,
with resulting uniformity among the members of the group.

Festinger's research, although dealing with a highly
restricted geographical area, does again show the impact of
physical arrangements on social interaction.

Robert K. Merton, also examining the idea of the
effect of physical plant on social relationships, has asked
in regard to the increasing number of high-rise apartments:
"To what extent is it the case that when housing authorities
decide for fiscal reasons to build housing developments sky-
ward rather than spread them outward in free standing dwell-
ings, they significantly influence the personality formation
of the numerous children who grow up there?"[1] This is, of
course, a psychological effect; however, the bridge to the
sociological appears short. After posing this question,
Merton states:

Questions of this order, seeking to relate the internal
ecology of the dwelling unit to the socialization of the
personality, are questions upon which many have strong
opinions and few have the requisite facts. . . . The
house and the family in it are unavoidably bound up with
the neighborhood and the community in which they are
found.

The planners, who sometimes are accused of being
physically rather than socially oriented, do recognize the
interconnection. This is pointedly expressed by a planner
who states: "Psychological tensions, juvenile delinquency,
adult crime, loneliness, and hostility cannot be directly

[1]Merton, "The Social Psychology of Housing,"

measured by a housing layout, but the connection between
people's social relations and the spaces in which they take
place is experienced every day."[1]

An early attempt to test the effect of residential
facilities on social relationships using the classical exper-
imental design was conducted some twenty years ago by Chapin.[2]
He wanted to determine if the social relations of the slum
family were improved by rehousing in a model public-housing
project. This research was conducted in Minneapolis, Minne-
sota, in a district called Summer Field Homes. Briefly, he
found gains (over the control group) with regard to social
participation as well as social status, conditions of the
furnishings of the living room, and a condition called "use-
crowded."

Support for the idea that the physical aspects of the
immediate residential community affect social structure comes,
in part, from a fundamental concept in sociology--that of the
"ecological complex."[3] Here the P-O-E-T variables--popula-
tion, social organization, environment, and technology--are
described as interacting. This construct is commonly applied
in descriptions of broad population areas. It seems

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[1]Thomas McNulty and Mary S. Fawcett, "Studies for a
Visual Community," Journal of the American Institute of Plan-
ners, XXIII

[2]F. S. Chapin, "An Experiment on the Social Effects
of Good Housing," American Sociological Review, V (December,
1940), 868-879.

[3]Otis D. Duncan and Leo F. Schnore, "Cultural, Behav-
ioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social
Organization," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (September,
1959), 136.

plausible, however, to expect that the workings of this concept might apply equally to the very limited area of community and neighborhood.

A work that is widely quoted in descriptions of social interaction resulting from the physical arrangements in suburban areas of the United States is William H. Whyte's The Organization Man. He claims:

> In suburbia friendship has become almost predictable. Despite the fact that a person can pick and choose from a vast number of people to make friends with, such things as the placement of a stoop or the direction of a street often have more to do with determining who is friends with whom. . . . Given a few physical clues about the area, you can come close to determining what could be called its flow of "social traffic," and once you have determined this, you may come up with an unsettlingly accurate diagnosis of who is in the gang and who isn't.[1]

S. Riemer, in discussing floor plans, claims that "good home design requires planning for adequate <u>circulation</u> between the individual rooms which is almost impossible without a detailed sociological analysis of the routine of family life."[2] Presumably, poorly planned circulation design would affect the routine of family life from a sociological point of view.

It would be unfair in this sampling of evidence if it was not indicated that some responsible writers would place little emphasis on the physical residential plant as a

[1]William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1956), pp. 365-366.

[2]Svend Riemer, "Villagers in Metropolis," in Readings in Sociology, ed. by Edgar A. Schuler, Thomas F. Hoult, Duane L. Gibson, and Wilber B. Bookover (3rd ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967), pp. 539-541.

pertinent variable in social structural development. The widely used text in urban sociology--Urban Society by Noel P. Gist and Sylvia F. Fava--does not find substantial evidence for the above position:

> There is indeed an impressive volume of data which do indicate a relationship between substandard housing and various "pathologies." The conclusion is sometimes drawn, therefore, that substandard housing tends to produce "problem people." But there seems to be no substantial evidence that housing per se determines problems of behavior and personality; it is only one of many interrelated factors or conditions--social, psychological, cultural, physical--which have to be taken into consideration.[1]

Herbert J. Gans, in his recent examination of Levittown, concludes that the origin of the community is determined by events after the fact and not by prior planning.[2] He felt that the lives of the people in Levittown were shaped by other lives--not by the physical plant. He not only would focus on the people rather than things as the important influence but also felt that the new community is shaped by the values which the people bring with them. His findings indicate that all other influences are small. It should be pointed out, however, that Gans' study was based upon participant observation--and not supported by a highly systematic gathering of data.

The view of Edward P. Eichler might be considered somewhat representative of the scholar-practitioner in relation to this question. (Eichler is a lecturer in Urban Economics, Stanford University and the University of California,

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[1]Noel P. Gist and Sylvia F. Fava, Urban Society (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1965), p. 563.

[2]Gans, The Levittowners, p. 305.

Berkeley and also Vice President of Eichler Homes, Inc., at San Francisco.) In a recent speech, he said, "I can find no reason to believe that such new communities as Irvine, Foster City and Eldorado Hills in California are likely to make any substantial change in the social, cultural or political lives of those who live or work in them."[1]

If Mr. Eichler is correct, new housing in the United States might be of any convenient variety--high-rise, "boxes on hillsides," or Victorian mansions--the net social differential would be slight. This research examined here, of course, leans toward the ideas expressed earlier and assumes the importance of the physical variable.

A final reference among the negative positions concerns variables providing situations conducive to the development of exceptional individuals. This study was conducted among 449 adolescents from midwest private secondary schools.[2] Intelligence was measured by I.Q. tests and creativity by several constructed tests. It was found that the family environment as related to education, occupation, reading interests, friends, etc.--not housing--were the pertinent variables. The question can still be raised as to what degree the housing milieu influenced the production of the motivating influences mentioned above.

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[1]Edward P. Eichler in a speech delivered to the American Home Economics Association, 57th Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, June 28, 1966.

[2]Jacob W. Getzels, "Family Environment and Cognitive Style: A Study of the Sources of Highly Intelligent and of Highly Creative Adolescents," American Sociological Review, XXVI (June, 1961), 351-359.

The General Level of Social Relationships Currently Existing Within the Residential Community

This research concerns the social and the physical as examined within the dwelling environment. If, in fact, not very much social activity is experienced here, this effort becomes somewhat empty as it is not very productive to examine the characteristics of something that exists in a marginal condition. Much has been written on this topic, and some reference seems appropriate.

The decline of the close interrelationships that once existed is described by Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle:

> Neighborhoods which once were "communities of fate" in that all shared good and bad fortune no longer are bound by the same ties. In rural America, the neighborhoods and other locality groups are increasingly assuming the aspects of the Gesellschaft.[1]

This position--that of a decline of social interconnectedness --is a general effect, again stated as follows:

> One of the chief theses of this book is that the older rural Gemeinschaft-like society is losing its functional diffuseness, its particularism, its familism power, and its effectivity in personal relations as the Gesellschaft-like society begins to have primacy. Technology and bureaucracy have changed rural locality groups and families, so that even if only farmers lived in rural areas, social-cultural linkage would have been achieved between city and country. But in most of the regions of the United States, the cities have spilled over into the countryside, so that in many states the rural-nonfarm population outnumbers the rural-farm population.[2]

A reasonable question then might be: If, in fact, urban America--and the Loomis-Beegle comments appear to place much of this country in a similar category--has lost much of

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[1]Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 35.

[2]Ibid., p. 452.

its _Gemeinschaft_ atmosphere, is there some replacement?
Several authors do feel that within the new _Gesellschaft_
atmosphere there are characteristics that bear a resemblance
to the _Gemeinschaft_.

Roland L. Warren mentions the interest in a deliber-
ate attempt to build back the _Gemeinschaft_ tradition: "And
among city planners and urban sociologists there rages a con-
stant controversy over the extent to which city planning
should attempt to incorporate the goal of restoring in the
urban neighborhood an emphasis on locality-based participa-
tion."[1] Next, he points to a probable replacement direction
that pervades: "The locality is no longer the important
reference group that it once was, and people tend to identify
themselves with various interest groups with which they are
functionally much more closely interrelated than with their
neighbors."[2]

Another view which contains something of the above
is that of simply an extension of the neighborhood and, pre-
sumably, the _Gemeinschaft_ traditional characteristics. In
an analysis of the functioning of neighboring for the middle-
class male, Ruth and John Useem and Duane L. Gibson state:
"In the present trend toward large, residential settlements
of persons similar in social and economic status and living
in homes of comparable size and arrangements, the neighbor-
hood can be composed of thousands of residents and coincide

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[1]Roland L. Warren, _The Community in America_ (Chicago:
Rand McNally & Co., 1963), p. 62.

[2]_Ibid_.

with a section, development, subdivision, school district, political entity, etc."[1] This seems to suggest the persistence of the intense, residential, social relationship but with an expanded geographical arena.

Scott Greer deals with the topic of distance in social action and injects a class differential: "The lower the occupational and educational level, the smaller the scale of an individual's participation . . . the radius of his interaction is shorter."[2]

Herbert Gans suggests that the level of social interaction bears a relation to the heterogeneity of the population. He feels that the variation among the individuals creates small groupings, and it is here that the more traditional interaction is occurring.[3] Scott Greer echoes this position: "In the familistic neighborhoods, however, life style and the relationships among the sites force inter-household communication and allow neighborhood organization."[4] He also makes the point that one cannot escape from social interaction in the residential milieu: "Surrounding households are important and inescapable parts of any given household's environment."[5]

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[1]Ruth Hill Useem, John Useem, and Duane L. Gibson, "The Function of Neighboring for the Middle Class Male," Human Organization, XIX

[2]Scott Greer, The Emerging City (New York: Free Press, 1962), p. 127.

[3]Gans, The Levittowners, p. 410.

[4]Greer, The Emerging City, p. 112.

[5]Ibid., p. 111.

All the above seems to say that the close clanlike social contacts of some time ago may be somewhat reduced in modern America but a substantial quantity remains.

Home Ownership and the Social Residential Milieu

Today in the United States, home ownership has reached a high level with something over 60 percent of the families owning. Very recently, during the past two years, an interest in apartment dwelling has assumed increased proportions. An article in the July, 1968, House and Home magazine is entitled "Apartments Grab 43% of Market Despite Money Worries." In spite of this trend, today Americans are owners of one-family homes. From a social standpoint, the one-family home with its traditional front and back yards and setback to either side provides a rather constant ecological setting. This, taken with the social-psychological effect of ownership, should provide a very determinate unit for analysis.

Something of the psychological impact of ownership is contained in a statement by James V. Cunningham: "Man is most 'found' is most secure and steady when he is building his own community, making decisions, assuming responsibilities."[1] This position does smack of the "hard-work" Protestant ethic which is being challenged by today's hippie

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[1]James V. Cunningham, The Resurgent Neighborhood (Notre Dame, Indiana: Tides Publishers, Inc., 1965), p. 207.

generation. It, however, appears to be a regular part of the American one-family, owned-home scene.

Erving Goffman suggests the home as the "front" or setting for drama.[1] His comments suggest that a major portion of the "self" action occurs within the home.

T. Caplow, in a study of home ownership and location preferences,[2] provides several findings that help describe the home-ownership attitudes. The group comprising the sample numbered some 574 families and their feelings were:

1. Home ownership was favored.

2. Home owners were more satisfied than tenants.

3. There was more dissatisfaction with age and size of dwelling than location.

4. More preference for decentralized location than nearness to work.

5. No relationship between attitude responses and educational level of the family head.

A frequent argument for home ownership is something called pride of ownership. This certainly exists and along with it is the potential for doing something about dissatisfaction; i.e., the owner has more control than the tenant. This control factor extends to the social context as well as the physical.

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[1]Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1959), p. 22.

[2]T. Caplow, "Home Ownership and Location Preference in a Minneapolis Sample," American Sociological Review, XIII (December, 1948), 725-730.

The Residential Dwelling as Symbolism

In the status hierarchy of things possessed, the home has always had a central position. At times such things as automobiles and boats take the spotlight, but the home seems to persist as a dominant status symbol.

W. Lloyd Warner in much of his work included house type and dwelling area type as important parts of the social class measuring sticks that he constructed (EP & ISC). One of his statements relating to this inclusion is: "The houses of Americans are valued by them not only as utilities but because they are outward symbols of the social status of those who occupy them."[1]

William H. Form and Gregory P. Stone approached this question directly in a formal research design and found that housing is, indeed, used as a criterion of status in stratifying the urbanite.[2] They employed twelve indices, among which are two that relate directly to our interest as shown in Table 1.

In Chapter IV reference will be made to a work by Raymond W. Mack in which he shows rather conclusively that not only is housing a common status symbol but also that it may be accepted as a single indicator of class position.[3]

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[1]W. Lloyd Warner et al., Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper & Row, 1949), p. 39.

[2]William H. Form and Gregory P. Stone, "Urbanism, Anonymity, and Status Symbolism," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (March, 1957), 504-514.

[3]Raymond W. Mack, "Housing as an Index of Social Class," Social Forces, XXIX (May, 1951), 391-400.

TABLE 1.--Items Judged Important as Status Symbols

	Class Level			
	Upper	Middle	Lower	All
Type of House	81.2%	74.5%	78.6%	77.6%
Type of Neighborhood	53.1%	43.1%	57.1%	50.4%

Social Interaction in the Residential
Dwelling Milieu

A number of studies have focused upon the residential atmosphere as it relates to mate selection. Although this at first appears as one step removed from our interest, it does seem to follow that social interaction does precede mate selection. If that interaction occurs in a home neighborhood, the conditions of that environment may exert an influence.

Among these studies, A. C. Clarke found that the residential ecology of the principles exerted an influence regarding mate selection.[1] Again, J. S. Ellsworth in a study in Simsbury, Connecticut, had the same finding.[2] Finally, R. M. Koller, in a study primarily directed to the relationship of age and occupation, did find that the residential propinquity factor was at work.[3]

[1]A. C. Clarke, "An Examination of the Operation of Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Mate Selection," American Sociological Review, XVII (February, 1952), 17-22.

[2]J. S. Ellsworth, Jr., "The Relation of Population Density to Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," American Sociological Review, XIII (August, 1948), 444-448.

[3]R. M. Koller, "Residential Propinquity of White Mates

An easy assumption is that any placement of residences in a fairly limited grouping will result in social interaction, and a resultant feeling of some unity among the participants. The weakness of such an assumption is apparent from a study by C. Kilbourn and M. Lantis in which Vanport, a city near Portland, Oregon, was studied regarding tenant instability.[1] These data were gathered during World War II (1943-44) in a war housing project. In this urban concentration of 9,500 families, some 100 were leaving each day. The authors were interested in pinpointing why this was happening. Their findings summed up to this population center being simply a housing project--not a community. There certainly was social interaction, but it did not lead to ties that would produce anything of a Gemeinschaft feeling among the residents.

A repeated theme in the sociological housing literature is that neighboring does not cross social class lines. This is noted by Svend Riemer in "Villagers in Metropolis" where he claims that neighboring does not occur among the status groups.[2] He further states that information regarding neighboring is lacking. Much of this status-oriented interest in the neighboring question assumes delineations of status

at Marriage in Relation to Age and Occupation of Males, Columbus, Ohio," American Sociological Review, XIII (October, 1948), 613-616.

[1]C. Kilbourn and M. Lantis, "Elements of Tenant Instability in a War Housing Project," American Sociological Review (February, 1946), 57-66.

[2]Riemer, "Villagers in Metropolis," pp. 539-541.

groupings. The pertinent question seems to be what really happens at the periphery where a resident of one status finds himself immediately next door to one of another status. This question becomes a central concern in the research portion of this study.

In a study in Bet Mazmil in Israel in a housing community, Judith T. Shuval found a strong ethnic influence in the neighboring milieu.[1] The data were gathered in 1953 and included 806 interviews. It was found that casual neighboring was a function of both respondent's class position and ethnic membership. Here we have the intervening variable of country of origin. It should be noted that her study site contained an extreme mixture of numerous ethnic groups. This would be atypical of housing areas in the United States where this occurs in a greatly reduced form as second- and third-generation descendents.

Much has been written regarding the social interaction that occurs in the suburbs as contrasted to the rural or city portions of the country. Aida K. Tomeh looked at this zonal variable and found that participation in informal groups did increase as the areas became more representative of suburbia.[2] She also confirmed that participation is facilitated when persons of similar characteristics live in

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[1]Judith T. Shuval, "Class and Ethnic Correlates of Casual Neighboring," American Sociological Review, XXI (August, 1956), 453-458.

[2]Aida K. Tomeh, "Informal Group Participation and Residential Patterns," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (July, 1964), 28-35.

the same area.

Summary

This chapter has indicated some of the ways in which sociologists and others have examined and viewed United States residential housing. Two things about these activities and resulting descriptions are particularly pertinent to this research:

1. They repeatedly support the conclusion that the residential milieu harbors a rich content of human primary group (sociological) phenomena. A primary group requisite is expressed by George C. Homans as "persons who communicate with one another often over a span of time, and who are few enough so that each person is able to communicate with all the others, not at second hand through other people, but face to face."[1] This is also expressed by Michael S. Olmsted: "A group, then, may be defined as a plurality of individuals who are in contact with one another, who take one another into account, and who are aware of some significant commonality."[2] Much has been written on the previous pages regarding social interaction, and Donald W. Olmsted has ranked this as the fundamental aspect upon which group existence is dependent: "The minimum characteristic on the basis of which groups are objectively determinable is that there is a

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[1]George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1950), p. 1.

[2]Olmsted, The Small Group, p. 21.

<u>continuity of social interaction.</u>"[1]

2. <u>Observations and descriptions stem mostly from</u> <u>studies of a single area</u>--usually an examination of persons within a very limited contiguous region selected via a random sample or more frequently some less scientific extraction.

These points are important to establish here, as the subsequent efforts of this research assume a <u>sociological</u> potential in the <u>neighborhood</u> milieu and employ analytical techniques that are of considerable contrast to those discussed.

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[1]Donald W. Olmsted, <u>Social Groups, Roles, and Leadership: An Introduction to the Concepts</u> (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, 1961), p. 13.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

Since this investigation is to a degree breaking new
ground, the design objective was to discover as much as pos-
sible regarding the phenomenon, while retaining a high degree
of methodological rigor. Limitations of time and funding
prevented replication in additional geographical areas and/or
with groups with differing characteristics. With this in
mind, it was planned to isolate <u>deliberately</u> data-collecting
sites that represented cases of interest. The alternative
would be to select randomly. A random approach would impose
a sample minimum considerably in excess of the available
resources. With a highly focused design, it was expected
that findings would be very conclusive <u>for the group</u>
<u>involved</u>, and that subsequent research efforts could build
effectively on this base. With these considerations in mind,
Greenfield, Massachusetts, was selected as the geographical
area and a sizable list of desired respondent characteristics
was prepared. These are considered in detail in the sections
which follow.

This research effort was preceded by a study which
has been subsequently labeled a "pilot." It includes some of
the same information and exposed several weak areas that were

strengthened in the main study. Among these was an initial
interest in "frequency of interaction." The pilot study
revealed that this was a weak dimension, as the quality fac-
tor is omitted. For example, a simple greeting "hello" is
an item of social interaction but may hardly be grouped with
a counting of "visiting," "shopping together," etc. This
meant a useful view of frequency of interaction required a
careful analysis of the <u>quality</u> of the interaction. A
report of the pilot study is included as Appendix II and is
referred to at appropriate points in this text.

<u>Identification and Operationalization
of Major Variables</u>

<u>Independent Variables</u>[1]

These <u>known</u> variables were contrasting in their
appearance and thereby easy to identify. One condition--that
of neighborhood groupings of similarly priced homes--is very
common. Most relatively new (twenty to thirty years) devel-
opment or tract-type housing in the United States is of this
type. The second condition--that of mixed-valued housing in
a limited neighborhood setting--proved impossible to locate.
As has been explained, these have <u>not</u> been built by design
and exist only in transitory and fragmentory situations.
Several were noted in the central cities of Boston and Spring-
field, Massachusetts, but possessed characteristics that made

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[1]These conditions (the independent variables) will be
discussed under the terms of <u>Homogeneous</u> and <u>Heterogeneous</u>.
These will identify groupings of similarly and unlike valued
homes in the same limited neighborhood.

them unacceptable. In continuing this search, it was noted that the best approximation to the Heterogeneous condition was adjacent islands of varied Homogeneous housing. In general, the residents of such an "island" would identify with the social milieu of the island and not of the larger and "mixed" dimension. Further, it seemed possible that those living on the perimeter of the islands would have opportunity for interaction with people of differently valued housing--in fact, as much opportunity as interaction with the island Homogeneous group. Since, then, Heterogeneous housing experience existed at the perimeter of the island, it seemed desirable (and methodologically acceptable) to utilize this site as the heterogeneous representation. Professor Grafton Trout suggested the use of a technique very compatible with this interest--the Micro-Neighborhood technique of Judith T. Shuval.[1] Essentially, this examines phenomena in a setting of trios of dwelling units. This technique is used to a high degree in the design of this research.

After accepting this procedure, it was necessary to identify, within the research community,[2] the specific Micro-Neighborhoods for data collection. The community chosen had some 6,000 properties, and a visit with the Chairman of the Board of Assessors gained the needed permission to view the

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[1]Shuval, "The Micro-Neighborhood."

[2]The basis for the selection of Greenfield, Massachusetts, and general characteristics of the town are discussed later in this section.

assessors' records. It might be noted that a town chairman from a different community was approached for the Pilot Study and a flat refusal was received. It is believed that this was a direct reflection regarding the condition of the records. An outside agency had never been employed to update the assessments. In the case of Greenfield, such a reevaluation had been made in 1962-63, and the records had been kept current since that time.

With permission granted to view the records, desk space was obtained in the assessors' office and each of the record cards was read. A copy of the record card is included as Appendix I.

At this point it became necessary to establish criteria for delineating those trios which would be labeled Homogeneous and Heterogeneous. An arbitrary decision was made as follows: Homogeneous neighborhoods would have both abutting neighbors possessing assessed valuations of their properties within 10 percent of the respondent's (the respondent always being the central home of the trio), and Heterogeneous neighborhoods would have one or more abutting neighbors with assessed valuations falling 40 percent above or below that of the respondent. In addition, any situation falling between the extremes just described would be labeled Neutral.

In combining the various Homogeneous, Heterogeneous, and Neutral subcharacteristics, sixteen possibilities are realized. These are presented in contingency form as Table 2. In order to arrange these categories in an appropriate

TABLE 2.--House Value Complex--Abutters in Relation
to Respondent

X Y	HO[a]	Neutral	HE (Above)	HE (Below)
HO	HO HO	HO N	HO HE (A)	HO HE (B)
Neutral	N HO	N N	N HE (A)	N HE (B)
HE(Above)	HE(A) HO	HE(A) N	HE(A) HE(A)	HE(A) HE(B)
HE(Below)	HE(B) HO	HE(B) N	HE(B) HE(A)	HE(B) HE(B)

[a]Definition of terms used in table:

HO - "Homogeneous"--10 percent or less differential in
assessment from that of respondent. (Data extracted
from assessors' office records. Reevaluation performed
during 1962-63.)

N - "Neutral"--11-39 percent differential.

HE - "Heterogeneous"--40 percent or more differential.

condition for sampling, a continuum of Intensity of Hetero-
geneity was prepared. This is presented as Table 3 and also
lists the numbers of cases for each grouping. The total
extractions from assessors' records was 914. Each of these
was listed in detail on a 3x5 card to facilitate the sampling
manipulations.

Dependent Variables

The theory broadly states Social Interaction as the
variable to be explained. Three aspects of such interaction
are used. These are: Level of Social Interaction, Social
Distance, and Satisfaction with Neighbors. It is recognized
that there are numerous other dimensions to the broad

TABLE 3.--Intensity of Heterogeneity--A Continuum

Greater ————————➤
◄———————— Lesser

HE(A) HE(B)[a] HE(B) HE(A)	HO HO	HO N N HO	N	HO HO(A) HE(A) HO HE(B) HO HO HE(B)	N HO(A) HE(A) N HO(B) N N HE(B)	HE(A) HE(A) HO(B) HO(B)
3[b] 5	187	135 147	226	26 20 9 9	43 35 14 21	28 6
8	187	282	226	64	113	34

[a]See Table 2 for definition of terms.

[b]Potential data-collecting sites.

phenomenon, and many of these are pertinent for research effort. Again, the limitations of time and funding required that a limited part of the phenomenon be viewed.

The Level of Social Interaction involves what is done together, and what is discussed together with the abutting neighbors. In looking at the kinds of topics and activities, an indirect indication as to frequency of interaction is obtained, thereby providing a strong tie to the Homan hypothesis.

Social Distance is the degree of acceptance and has been described frequently in the sociological literature, particularly in regard to questions of social interaction and racial differences.

Satisfaction with Neighbors follows the Judith Shuval

design and to a degree overlaps the Social Distance dimension.

Intervening Variables

Several possible influencing variables were considered in the following manner:

Variables held constant <u>by sample extraction</u>:

<u>Type of Residence</u>.--Only one-family structures were included. This applies to the respondent and both abutters.

<u>Location of Residence</u>.--All were found within the Town of Greenfield, Massachusetts, and are "within" blocks; i.e., corner locations were omitted. Also each trio of homes is complete; i.e., there are no respondents having vacant lots adjoining their dwellings.

<u>Occupancy</u>.--All members of the trio of dwellings were currently occupied.

<u>Tenure of Occupancy</u>.--Respondent and both abutters had resided at their present location for three months or more.

<u>Home Ownership</u>.--Respondent and/or wife must presently own the dwelling.

<u>Urban vs. Rural</u>.--Only urban dwellings are included. This was determined by the assessors' criteria which identified outlying areas with an "R" on the records.

<u>Respondents</u> must have been housewives between the ages of twenty and seventy years.

<u>Active Employment</u>.--Respondent and/or spouse must

have been currently in the labor force.

The reasoning in regard to the selection of the above cutting points in some cases is obvious; however, several were established as a result of experience in the pilot study. In particular, older and retired persons were generally not responsive. They enjoyed the visit of the interviewer but appeared to be uncritical of the environment. They answered questions mainly with a view toward making the visit pleasant.

Variables held constant via analysis:

Age of respondent as related to abutters.

Incidence of physical barriers and facilities between buildings.--This interest was in direct response to the Festinger work at Westgate.[1]

Physical barriers considered were such things as trees, bushes, vines, walls, fences, out-buildings, differential positioning of houses (both laterally and in elevation), and excessive distance between houses. Facilitating influences included opposing exterior doors and/or driveways and recreational structures near the lot line. In addition, interviewers were asked to report "other" influences that they observed.

Family composition--particularly children of school age.

Variables regarding house value-social class relationship:

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[1]Festinger et al., Social Pressures in Informal Groups.

The family income level, occupation, and education
of head of household were determined for the respondent fam-
ily. Occupation only was obtained for the two abutters. The
Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position, published
by August B. Hollingshead (1957) was used in establishing the
class level of respondents. This particular device was
selected as it does not include housing as a measurement
dimension. This permitted comparison with other indicators
using nonhousing ingredients.

Selection of Research Site

Greenfield, Massachusetts, was selected for several
reasons. The value groupings of residences appeared to have
a sufficient potential of Homogeneous and Heterogeneous sit-
uations for test. This proved to be true when the actual
sample extraction was made. This town was reevaluated during
1962-63, bringing all properties up to a 100 percent valua-
tion at that time. This was accomplished by an outside pro-
fessional evaluating firm (Cole-Layer-Trumble Company, 3535
Salem Avenue, Dayton, Ohio). Subsequently, the records have
been updated regularly and maintained in excellent order.
As an aside, the clerks in the assessors' office wanted to
make a wager that this investigator could not find one record
misfiled. This attitude reflects the pride the assessor
staff has in the quality of their operation.

The records were arranged in a convenient system for
data extraction. They were divided into 177 neighborhood
groups, with individual property data cards filed on a lot

number basis. With few exceptions, these followed sequen-
tially along the side of a street, placing abutting parcels
on adjacent cards.

The general characteristics of the town might iden-
tify it as a somewhat typical small, urban, New England com-
munity. The section following discribes these items in
detail. Although there was little interest in clearly estab-
lishing the "typical" quality, Greenfield was attractive as
a research site in not possessing a quality that would iden-
tify it as "atypical." As has been previously stated, the
phenomenon is of prime interest, rather than how it may occur
in a particular community. A final attraction of Greenfield
was its location in relation to the University of Massachu-
setts—only twenty minutes travel time by automobile.

General Characteristics of the Research Site

Greenfield, incorporated in 1753, is located in north-
western Massachusetts, ninety-eight miles from Boston, 174
from New York City, thirty-seven from Springfield, nineteen
from Brattleboro, Vermont, and 258 from Montreal, Canada.
The town has an area of twenty-one square miles and is 300
feet above sea level.

In 1686 Greenfield was the "Green River District" of
the town of Deerfield; however, in 1753 it was granted its
own charter from the Royal British Court. The ninety-two
inhabitants of this frontier village were in constant fear of
Indian attacks; after survival of the Indian depredations,
there was a later period of hardship during the American

Revolution.

Late in the eighteenth century, Greenfield became the head port on the Connecticut River at "Cheapside" Landing for all traffic in heavy goods to the west and north of the town; thus, Greenfield's growth was assured. By 1826 even better transportation was assured by the advent of steamboats, and before the nineteenth century, stage lines were being operated both north, south, east, and west.

Early in the nineteenth century, because of improved transportation, Greenfield, which had heretofore been primarily a farming community, began its industrial growth. Many small mills and factories sprang up at this period together with a number of inns and taverns to accommodate the many travelers.

In 1811 Greenfield separated from Hampshire County and became the county seat of Franklin County.

Established in 1834, the "Green River Works," America's first cutlery, gave Greenfield a prominent place in world trade. With the coming of the railroad in 1846, Greenfield soon became an important rail center which position it continued to hold for over 100 years.

Population.--The resident population of Greenfield numbers about 18,500; the working daytime population being in excess of 20,000. Franklin County citizens total about 60,000. According to the 1960 United States Census, the population was 17,690; in 1900 it was 7,929; and in 1940 it was 15,672. In 1960 the density was 824 persons per square mile.

Native-born population is 93.3 percent. Predominate nation-
alities in the town are of German, Irish, English, Polish,
and French Canadian descent.

Industrial.--There is a diversity of industry in
Greenfield. Both subsidiaries of national firms and inde-
pendent manufacturing contribute to the labor picture.
Greenfield is the home of the machine tool and mechanics tool
industries. It was here that the tap and die was invented
and developed. There are over fifty diversified industries
employing over 6,000 men and 1,000 women, with a normal indus-
trial payroll of over $20,000,000. Principal products are as
follows: taps, dies, tapping machines, lumber, mechanics
tools, paper boxes, wooden boxes, electronic components, fire
nozzles, marking devices, steel stamps, engraving, mattresses,
bamboo fishing poles, crushed stone castings, polishing
machinery, snow shovels, rakes, silver tableware, toilet
preparations, lawn tools, screw cutting tools, mailing
machines, building materials, doors, sash, blinds, pipe tools,
screw plates, reamers, drills, directories and maps, etc.
Apples, tobacco, potatoes, pickling cucumbers, and onions are
the leading agricultural products of the district. Dairying
is extensive and important to the county.

Financial.--Greenfield has five financial institu-
tions, including one national bank, one trust company, two
savings banks, and one cooperative bank. Total resources are
in excess of $81,000,000. National and Trust Company deposits
are over $32,000,000. The Savings and Cooperative deposits

are well over $44,000,000. Greenfield is the financial center of Franklin County.

The value of real estate in 1963 was set at $75,409,858 and the tax rate was set at $35.00 per $1,000. A complete reappraisal was made in 1962-63 and 100 percent valuations were set up.[1]

Mercantile.--With major chain stores and many good specialty shops, Greenfield is the heart of the area's shopping. Retail sales in this "in-town Shopping Center" result in sales approximating $46,000,000 a year. The retail trading zone of the town extends into southern Vermont and New Hampshire and includes an estimated 75,000 persons. The wholesale trading zone covers approximately 150,000 persons. According to the 1963 Census of Business, there are 228 retail and thirty-six wholesale establishments in the town.

Education.--The town has a new high school and vocational school. The parochial school has seventeen teachers with an enrollment of 680.

The Greenfield Community College, established in 1962, offers a two-year program leading either to an Associate in Arts or to an Associate in Science Degree. The College offers majors in Nursing (RN), Executive Secretarial, Business Administration, and Liberal Arts.

Transportation.--The Boston and Maine Railroad provides passenger and freight service on its Springfield to White River Junction line, and freight service only on a line

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[1]This point of particular importance to this research.

from Boston to Rotterdam, New York.

The principal highways in Greenfield are U.S. Route 5, Interstate Route 91 north and south, and Route 2 east and west. U.S. Route 5 goes north into the State of Vermont, and on the south it passes through Northampton, Holyoke, Springfield, and then proceeds into the State of Connecticut. Route 2 goes west over the Mohawk Trail through North Adams and into Troy, New York, while on the east it passes through Athol, Leominster, Littleton, and into the Greater Boston area. Interstate Route 91 from Connecticut to Vermont passes through Greenfield and has two exits there.

Communications.--The Greenfield Recorder-Gazette (Circulation 13,500) is the area's daily newspaper. The local radio station, WHAI-AM-FM, a CBS affiliate, carries area and national broadcasts throughout the county.

Power and water.--Electrical power is supplied to the area by the Western Massachusetts Electric Company. Natural gas is piped in by the Berkshire Gas Company. Town water facilities include reservoirs and pumping stations.

Hospitals.--Two hospitals, both with active expansion plans, serve Franklin County. The community hospital, Franklin County Public Hospital in Greenfield, offers full medical services to the community and sponsors Educational Programs in X-ray, Laboratory, and Nursing.

Government.--Greenfield has a limited town meeting form of government; the 256 members meet annually. A three-man Board of Selectmen meets weekly to decide the issues

involved in managing town affairs. Being the county seat, Greenfield is also the center of county government, directed by three County Commissioners.

The Sample

It should be emphasized that there is nothing random in the efforts at sample extraction. To the degree that the word "sample" may connote a probability function, it is improperly used in this research design. Briefly, properties were identified as to their neighborhood complex, then arranged on a continuum of Heterogeneity in regard to this complex. Finally, interviewing sites were selected to represent the middle and both extremes of the continuum. Table 4 indicates the precise designations of portions of the continuum and their possible inclusion in the sample. In the case of the intensive end of the Heterogeneity continuum, all possible cases were utilized. To this degree a population or universe is being examined rather than a sample.

Data Collection

The Instrument

In the development of suitable questions, two preliminary questionnaires were used. The first was addressed to twelve outstanding real estate developers throughout the state. The second was sent to all real estate people listed in the yellow pages of the Amherst, Massachusetts, telephone book--about seventy-five cases. Both of these efforts were helpful in moving toward clearer concept development, but not

TABLE 4.--Criteria for Extracting Interview Sites
from Heterogeneity Continuum

Categories of Heterogeneity[a]	Criteria
HE(A) HE(B) HE(B) HE(A)	Not used--due to small number potential (8) and possible neutralizing effect of extremes.
HO HO	Extraction extending from lowest assessment differential in both directions; i.e., start with "0" on both left and right, then "0" on one side and "1" on other, then "1" on both sides, etc.
HO N, N HO	Not used--due to intermediate placement.
N N	Ideal neutrality would consist of both differentials at 25 percent (midway between lower limit 11 percent and upper limit of 39 percent). Extraction extending in both directions from ideal in a similar manner to HO HO above.
HO HE(A), HE(A) HO, HE HE(B), HE(B) HO	Not used--due to intermediate placement.
N HE(A), HE(A) N, N HE(B), HE(B) N	Extraction extending down from highest differential percent on Heterogeneous side.
HE(A) HE(A)	Entire cell extracted due to small total (28).
HE(B) HE(B)	Not used--due to small number in cell (6).

[a]Increasing intensity as page is descended.

of sufficient worth to discuss in detail in this paper.

Copies of the instruments used are contained as Appendixes

III and IV. Finally, a schedule regarding the basic study

was developed, pretested, revised, and placed in the field

with the first interviews completed on May 1, 1967. This

effort was discontinued after thirty-eight schedules were
completed. The subsequent analysis and report on this
research became, for the purpose of this research, the Pilot
Study, which was submitted to the advisory committee on
June 15, 1967.

After much revision and a series of intensive inter-
views (reported as Appendix V), a new instrument was devel-
oped, pretested, and placed in the field on April 3, 1968.
This schedule is included as Appendix VI and proved to be
very workable. All data were finally collected as of May 25,
1968.

Diagrammatic Presentation of Research Design

Table 5 indicates in concise form the elements of
this design. Although this indicates the sequence of thought
in the application of the plan, it is not suggestive of a
cause-and-effect relationship. The analysis attempts to show
associational relationships only.
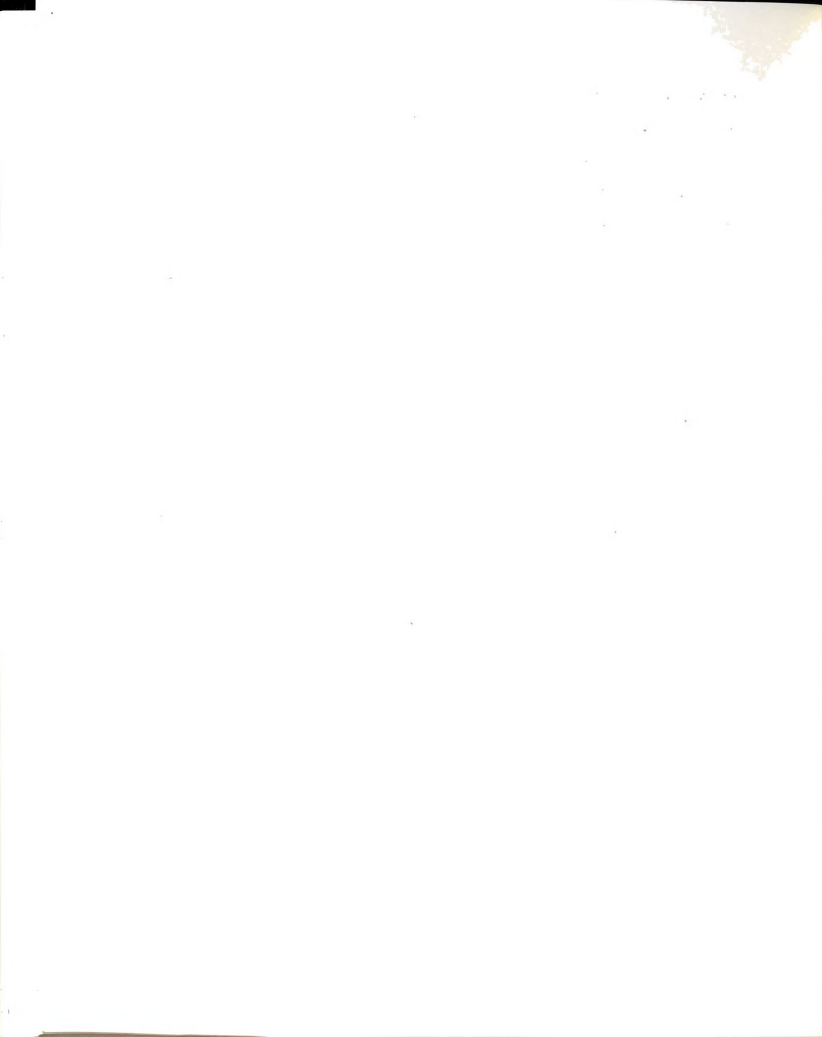
TABLE 5.--Research Design

Heterogeneity and Homogeneity
of Residential Milieu

The independent variables for

study. These are determined

via assessment valuation.

Intervening Variables
Examined as Part of Analysis

Age of respondent as related
to abutters.

Incidence of physical barriers
between buildings.

Family composition--principally
children of school age.

Intervening Variables
Held Constant by
Respondent Selection

Residence Type
Location
Occupancy--Tenure
Ownership
Urban vs. Rural
Housewives
20-70 years of Age
Active Employment

Dependent Variables Pertaining
to Social Interaction

Common Social Activities

Social Distance

Satisfaction with Neighbors

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter describes the general characteristics of respondents as a group, and where appropriate, subdivided as to the major "value complex" variables. Next, the possibility of a tie between house value and social class position is determined. Finally, the three broad hypotheses are examined as to levels of support.

General Characteristics

It should be noted that all respondents met the criteria of (1) housewife--married and living with husband, (2) in the age bracket of twenty through seventy years, (3) she and/or husband still in the labor force, (4) own their own home--the interviewing site, (5) have resided there with same abutting neighbors for three months or more, and (6) these homes are one-family structures. This selection was accomplished by the interviewer via on-site observation and interviewing.

A further level of selection was applied prior to interviewing. This was accomplished using assessors' records. It identified respondents in relation to the major independent variables (Homogeneity, Neutrality, or Heterogeneity of the house-value situation) and eliminated corner

locations and houses with vacant lots to either side. All
respondents then possessed the characteristics just described
as well as those provided by the "face data" which follow.

The "sampling" limitations of this study are severe
and resulted in the exhaustion of all possible cases within
the Heterogeneous category of house-value relationship. Hold-
ing so many respondent characteristics constant greatly
decreased the potential of intervening variables and should,
therefore, make each response of increased significance; i.e.,
for our purpose, these responses may be considered more mean-
ingful than a larger "N" with more relaxed respondent cri-
teria--however, the introduction of a limitation in general-
ization potential is recognized.

House Value

Since the major independent variable of this research
is the house valuation complex, it is appropriate to look
first at the distribution of these values. The median group
in Table 6 is $10,000 to $14,000. New construction in this
community has occurred at the periphery in areas designated
as "R" (Rural) on the assessors' records. These were not
included in this study due to the great variation in physical
barriers between houses--mainly distance and a lack of side-
walks. The elimination of these areas accounts for the
absence of higher-valued homes within the survey group; i.e.,
nothing above the $25,000 to $34,000 level.

TABLE 6.--House Value as Extracted from Assessors' Records

Value	Number	Percent
Under $10,000	36	30.8
$10,000 - $14,000	43	36.8
$15,000 - $19,000	30	25.6
$20,000 - $24,000	6	5.1
$25,000 - $34,000	2	1.7
$35,000 - $49,000	0	0.0
$50,000 and over	0	0.0
Total	117[a]	100.0

[a]This "N" is the total number of usable interviews obtained.

Respondents' Housing Milieu[1]

The purpose of looking first at assessors' records was to establish a house-value, "micro-neighborhood" identity. The basis for this procedure is described in detail in the design chapter (III). A goal of thirty cases per major category was set and the final total "N" of 117 divides into forty-five Homogeneous, thirty-eight Neutral, and thirty-four Heterogeneous.

It was hoped that a subclass of the Heterogeneous group (extreme difference in house value to both sides of respondent) might be examined separately, but the yield of usable interviews was insufficient to provide a meaningful analysis.

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[1]This immediate section sequentially examines Respondent characteristics and Abutter characteristics.

Residential Tenure

Since the relationships of interest were fixed by housing, it was necessary to insure that the housing examined was in existence sufficiently long for a social structure to develop. As has been indicated, all members of the "micro-neighborhood" trio (respondent and both abutters) were required to be resident for at least three months. It was hoped that many longer periods would maintain and this was the case, as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7.--Residential Tenure of Respondent and
Abutting Neighbors--Percentage in
Each Tenure Category

Tenure	Respondent	Abutting Neighbors[a]	All
Under 1 year	2.6	4.3	3.7
About 1 year	3.4	4.7	4.3
About 2 years	12.0	6.0	8.0
About 3 years	6.0	5.1	5.4
About 4 years	3.4	6.8	5.7
5 - 9 years	23.1	11.5	15.4
10 years and over	49.6	59.8	56.4
Don't know	0.0	1.7	1.1
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0

[a]Includes abutter right and abutter left, a total of 234 cases.

Head of Household

In order to ascertain whether the informants were similar in regard to their decision-making position, a "head-of-household" question was included. It was found that 113 husbands were named, making the sample quite homogeneous in

this respect. Today with wives and other members of the family so frequently in the labor force, it was anticipated that a higher number of nonhusband family members would be so named. Table 8 indicates this distribution.

TABLE 8.--Head of Household Among Respondents
(Principal Income Producer)

Subject	Head of Household	
	Number	Percent
Husband	113	96.6
Wife	3	2.6
Other	1	.9
Total	117	100.1

Working Wives

In fifty-one families the wife was employed. In four of these cases, she was employed and the husband was not. By research design, one or both must have been currently in the labor force.

National Background

Ethnicity has been shown to influence social interaction. This is reflected in a general statement: "There is a tendency in most societies for people to prefer their own kind and to stereotype ethnic outgroups, especially lower status ones, in a negative fashion."[1] When the ethnic groups assume specific positions within stratification systems,

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[1]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 500.

further separation develops. "Prejudice and, perhaps even
more, discrimination arise out of the relative social posi-
tions of the groups involved and out of changes in relative
position, or the threat thereof."[1] That some ethnic groups
do <u>not</u> experience this "conflict relationship," however, is
illustrated in a study of Norwegians in midwestern U.S.A. by
John and Ruth Useem.[2]

Some difficulty was experienced in phrasing a question
to indicate national origin adequately. After several pre-
tests, the following wording was used: What do you think of
as your national background? This placed 88 percent of the
respondents and 90.6 percent of their husbands as American
(United States) and is detailed in Table 9.

TABLE 9.--National Background of Respondent and Husband

Background	Respondent		Husband	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
American (United States)	103	88.0	106	90.6
Other	14	12.0	11	9.4
Total	117	100.0	117	100.0

<u>Education</u>

It has been established that "head of household" in
this sample is the husband. (The only exceptions were three

[1]Ibid., p. 513.

[2]John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, "Minority-Group Pat-
tern in Prairie Society," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, L
(March, 1945), 377-385.

wives and one "other" category.) A high proportion--some 41.9 percent--had at least some college training; 42.7 percent completed high school. Only one person failed to finish grammar school.

The Hollingshead educational categories are employed here (see Table 10) as his social-class index is used in a later discussion of the house-value-class implications.

TABLE 10.--Percentage Distribution of Education
Completed--Head of Household--Hollingshead
Categories

Hollingshead Index Number	Description	Percent
1	Graduate professional training	7.7
2	Standard college or university graduation	12.8
3	Partial college training	21.4
4	High school graduate	42.7
5	Partial high school	7.7
6	Junior high school	6.8
7	Less than 7 years of school	.9
	Total	100.0

Occupation

Again this information is presented in relation to the categories utilized by Hollingshead.[2] Table 11 shows a symmetrical distribution with the expected concentration in the center. There are slightly more cases in the fifth level

[1]August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven, Conn.: By the Author, 1957), p. 9.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

TABLE 11.--Percentage Distribution--Occupation--Head of
Household--Hollingshead Index

Hollingshead Level	Description	Percent
1	Higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals	8.5
2	Business managers, proprietors of medium-sized businesses, and lesser professionals	10.3
3	Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals	18.8
4	Clerical and sales workers, technicians and owners of little businesses	22.2
5	Skilled manual employees	24.8
6	Machine operators and semiskilled employees	10.3
7	Unskilled employees	5.1
	Total	100.0

(Skilled manual employees) than the fourth (Clerical and
sales workers, technicians and owners of little businesses).
The presence of several factory industries--The Greenfield
Tap and Die Company, Bendix Corporation, and Millers Falls
Tool Company--requiring considerable numbers of blue-collar
workers, probably explains this distribution.

Children

Eighty-six of the 117 respondents (73.5 percent) had
children living at home. As shown in Table 12, the sex

TABLE 12.--Percentage Distribution--Children of Respondent by
Sex and Placement in School

School Level	Boys	Girls	All
Preschool (including Nursery & Kindergarten)	25.0	22.8	23.9
Grammar School	34.8	34.2	34.5
Junior High School	17.9	9.6	13.7
High School	14.3	19.3	16.8
College or working and living at home	8.0	14.0	11.1
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0

N = 226 (112 Boys--114 Girls)

differential is evenly divided in regard to placement among
the various school levels, there is no unexpected distribu-
tion.

Social Class

The educational and occupational levels of respon-
dents have been described in the previous paragraphs. They
have been separated into the several levels as indicated by
Hollingshead. These levels, considered jointly on a weighted
basis, provide the Hollingshead social-class score and social
grouping. The individual weighting is four for education and
seven for occupation.[1] In moving from the score assignment
to the group breakdown, Hollingshead claims that he has found
the most meaningful breaks for the purpose of predicting
social-class position of an individual or a nuclear family.

[1]Ibid., p. 10.

TABLE 13.--Percentage Distribution--Respondents' Social-Class
Grouping--Hollingshead Index

Social Class	Percent
I	6.8
II	12.0
III	29.1
IV	41.9
V	10.3
Total	100.1

(N = 117)

The grouping shown in Table 13 is based upon his cutting points.

Although this research makes no claim for a generalization potential beyond the actual research site, it seemed desirable to check briefly for any wide discrepancy in dealing with such an important dimension as social class. In a comparison with the class breakdown, Lloyd W. Warner found in "Jonesville,"[1] a striking similarity is found. "Yankee City,"[2] on the other hand, followed the same pattern except for a reversal in classes IV and V.

Characteristics Involving Abutters

Age Relationship

In a study in Bloomington, Indiana, Frank L.

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[1]Lloyd W. Warner and Associates, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 50-51.

[2]Lloyd W. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 88.

Sweetser, Jr., established that, in the neighborhood setting, people of all ages associate preferentially with their own age group, both on the intimate and on the acquaintance level. The essential quality then is how people <u>view others</u> in regard to age. If they see themselves in the same age bracket with others, they tend to interact more highly than if the age relationship appears dissimilar. With this thinking in mind, a highly subjective question was posed: Do you feel that these neighbors are in your age bracket? This yielded the date for Table 14, which satisfies the needs of this study, although not permitting any absolute age comparisons. Approximately one-third of the respondent-neighbor relationships were seen as within the same age bracket.

TABLE 14.--Percentage Distribution--Age Relationship--
Respondent to Neighbors

Age Assessment	Percent
In same bracket	34.2
Not in same bracket	65.4
Don't know	.4
Total	100.0

(N = 234)

Abutters' Children

A comparison of Table 15 with Table 12 regarding respondents' children shows much similarity, with the possible

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[1]Frank L. Sweetser, Jr., "A New Emphasis for Neighborhood Research, <u>American Sociological Review</u>, VII (August, 1942), 525-533.

TABLE 15.--Percentage Distribution--Abutting Neighbors'
Children by Sex and Placement in School

School Level	Boys	Girls	All
Preschool (including Nursery & Kinder-garten)	25.5	16.0	20.9
Grammar School	35.8	35.9	35.8
Junior High School	10.9	22.9	16.8
High School	19.0	19.1	19.0
College or working and living at home	8.8	6.1	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

N = 268 (137 Boys--131 Girls)

exception of junior high school girls who were of much greater
relative proportion among the abutter girls.

Occupation of Abutters

The occupational group frequencies, using again the
Hollingshead classification, are similar to the respondent
breakdown with one pointed reversal. This is between levels
6 and 7 (machine operators and semiskilled employees) and
shows the larger proportion in 6 of the respondent group
(unskilled employees) as compared with 7 of the abutter group.
The reason for this disparity appears to be the selection of
complete and working families as respondents. This automat-
ically removed many retired and unemployed persons from the
respondent group. No parallel selectivity was applied to
the abutters. It should be noted that such increased selec-
tivity would have most certainly reduced the incidence of

acceptable "trios" to an impractical level. The complete

percentage distribution appears in Table 16.

TABLE 16.--Percentage Distribution--Occupational Class of
Abutting Neighbors--Hollingshead Index

Hollingshead Level	Description	Percent
1	Higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals	6.4
2	Business managers, proprietors of medium-sized businesses, and lesser professionals	9.0
3	Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals	8.5
4	Clerical and sales workers, technicians and owners of little businesses	20.5
5	Skilled manual employees	25.6
6	Machine operators and semi-skilled employees	5.6
7	Unskilled employees	24.4
	Don't know	0.0
	Total	100.0

(N = 234)

Dog Ownership

Dogs by their actions--both desirable and undesirable
--bring people together. Roughly half of the respondents and
abutters had dogs--slightly more abutters than respondents,
as shown in Table 17. Many respondents mentioned that abut-
ters' dogs were tied. When following this question more com-
pletely, however, it was learned that the owners do walk these
dogs on leashes, thereby moving past alternate homes.

TABLE 17.--Ownership of Dog by Respondent
and Abutting Neighbors

	Has Dog		
Subject	Number	Percent	
Respondent	51	43.6	(N = 117)
Abutting Neighbors	128	54.7	(N = 234)

Nationality Relationship

The majority of the abutters (58.1 percent) had the
same nationality as the respondent. This was determined via
a subjective response of the respondent to the question: Are
you and these neighbors of the same nationality? With the
remaining 41.9 percent seen as having a different nationality,
it appears that this dimension may be sufficient to provide a
deterrent to interaction.

Relatives as Abutting Neighbors

Social interaction might be expected to be at a rela-
tively intense level where relatives were involved. First,
however, there must be the placement of relatives as neigh-
bors, and this occurred only with 6 percent (total of seven)
of the respondents.

Religious Faith and Church Attendance

Slightly more than one-third of the respondents had
abutting neighbors of the same faith as their own. Here
there was a substantial number of "Don't know" responses
(thirty-three). This in itself is an indicator of the level

of social interaction. Of those of the same faith, again slightly more than one-half (55 percent) attended the same church. Table 18 presents this information.

TABLE 18.--Common Religious Faith Between
Respondent and Abutting Wives

Faith Relationship	Faith	
	Number	Percent
Same faith	80	34.2
Different faith	121	51.7
Don't know	33	14.1
Total	234	100.0

(N = 234)

Prior Friendship

This is substantial, as shown in Table 19, with nearly 16 percent of the abutters in such a category. This is not surprising in the light of the level of tenure among the respondents and abutters; i.e., long-term residence, suggesting a community with low mobility.

TABLE 19.--Incidence of Prior Friendship Between
Respondent and Abutting Neighbors

Respondent Category	Number	Percent
With prior friendship	37	15.8
Without prior friendship	197	84.2
Total	234	100.0

Knowledge of Telephone Numbers

Committing to memory a particular telephone number, in the case of a neighbor, was expected to be suggestive of social intimacy. Respondents claimed to have memorized 23.1 percent of the abutters' numbers. They were asked if they knew the numbers but were not required to demonstrate that they had such knowledge, although many took the opportunity to state the number.

Nonabutting "Close" Neighbors

Some 69.2 percent of the respondents claimed to have neighbors in the area who were nonabutters and whom they considered to be "close" neighbors. The limitations of "neighbor" and "close" were left for the respondents to define. Their definition of "close" was asked as an open-ended question.

Respondents were asked: Why do you feel that they are your "close" neighbors? Their replies have been categorized as follows: the idea of commonness of feelings and thinking was mentioned more than twice as frequently as the other reasons for "closeness." Similarity in ages--both of adults and children--was next in frequency; tenure of contact was third and was usually expressed as "known them a long time." Help in an emergency, relatives, and intimate feelings were next and about equal in importance. Frequency of contact was listed by three respondents. All other mentions were individual and could not be categorized above.

House Value and Social Class

This research includes the premise that the valuation of housing occupied by respondents is indicative of their social classes. As previously described, this relationship appears acceptable due to the inclusion of "housing type" as one dimension of social class by Warner[1] and the Raymond Mack study[2] which attempted to establish this very point. If, in fact, these conditions are found together, this research may be appropriately considered a "stratification" as well as a "housing" study.

As has been discussed in the research design section, the assessors' records in Greenfield are both current and complete. In each case the assessors' valuation is stated in dollars. The only alteration in these figures in the data collection was to round parts of hundreds to the closest hundred. This seemed reasonable when dealing with amounts stated in several thousands of dollars and was determined to a degree by subjective procedures. These data were obtained in such form that an interval scale might be constructed.

The social-class designation was provided via the Hollingshead Two Factor Index.[3] This is most frequently expressed in terms of subject positions as related to five social classes. Hollingshead, however, states: "For some purposes a researcher may desire to work with a continuum of

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[1]Warner, Meeker, and Ells, Social Class in America, p. 41.

[2]Raymond Mack, "Housing as Index of Social Class," Social Forces, XXIX (May, 1951), 391-400.

[3]August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven, Conn.: By the Author, 1965).

scores. For other purposes he may desire to break the con-
tinuum into a hierarchy of score groups."[1] This option per-
mitted the use of scored data which yielded continuous rather
than grouped items, thereby permitting a more precise method-
ology. With these scaled values available, it was only neces-
sary to assume a linear relationship between the variables to
appropriately employ Pearson's "r" as a test of the level of
correlation.

In the application of this test, a computer package
program[2] was used and provided the findings shown in Table 20.
Among the correlations provided, the one of particular inter-
est to this research is House Value to Social Position and is
.48. Such an "r" is frequently interpreted as "moderate."
It exceeds Hetzler's finding of .39[3] when he correlated Dwell-
ing Unit with Social Position. He also related Dwelling Unit
with Social Class, with a resultant r = .47, extremely close
to the finding above. His methodology, however, is consider-
ably different. In regard to House Value, he used a "side-
walk assessment" by interviewers. For Social Class, he asked
respondents to indicate physically their position on a line
twelve inches long and representing a social-class continuum.

There can be a number of reasons for the higher "r"

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[1]Ibid., p. 10.

[2]"BMDO 3D Correlation with Item Deletion," version of
November 13, 1964, Health Sciences Computing Facility, Uni-
versity of California at Los Angeles.

[3]Hetzler, "An Investigation of the Distinctiveness of
Social Class," pp. 493-497.

TABLE 20.--House Value--Social-Class Relationship[a]

	Mean	Standard Deviation
House Value	$ 12,899.00	$ 4,951.00
Occupational Score	28.10	12.08
Educational Score	14.40	5.94
Social Position Score	41.59	14.98

Correlation Matrix--Pearson's "r"

	House Value	Occupation	Education	Social Position
House Value	1.0000[b]	0.4561	0.4635	0.4808
Occupation	0.4561	1.0000	0.7049	0.8113
Education	0.4635	0.7050	1.0000	0.6480
Social Position	0.4808	0.8113	0.6480	1.0000

[a]$N = 117$.

[b]All values significant at .01 level. (Note: A test of significance regarding the Pearsonian "r" assumes a normal distribution of both variables.)

of this study--difference in respondents, difference in dwellings, etc. In any case, it should be noted that the difference in the "r" value is in the direction of greater correlation.

Raymond Mack, in comparing these variables, obtained a coefficient of correlation of .994 which, in his words,"may be conservatively evaluated as extremely high."[1] In

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[1]Mack, "Housing as Index of Social Class," p. 397.

attempting to place this research alongside Mack's, the housing dimension appears similar; i.e., his criteria, which included "Construction," "Depreciation," and "Location," are very much the assessors' bases for assessed valuation. The social-class dimension in this research was determined via Hollingshead's Two Factor Index, an objective treatment, while Mack relied upon townspeople as raters, using a reputational technique.

It appears that either one or both of two conditions maintain: (1) the actual correlation of housing and social class is substantially different in Greenfield, Massachusetts, and the Mack research site or (2) a difference in measurement. This appears more likely as Mack's work, in considering the prestige or esteem dimension (as the reputational technique does) attempts to go directly to the quality of interest. This research, on the other hand, is relating to an index or indirect measure only. The interesting fact is that this study in no way refutes the housing-class tie; rather, it offers "moderate" added support and, further, supplies a new, single, easily obtainable indicator of social class; i.e., an assessors' current valuation of the property.

Methodology Regarding Support for Hypotheses

In order that the reader may more easily follow the procedure employed, it seemed appropriate to state this in

general terms. This follows in a stepwise manner:

1. Identify the data for each variable as to: (a) type of response elicited; i.e., continuous, grouped, dichotomous, polychotomous, etc.; and (b) level of measurement; i.e., nominal, ordinal, or interval.

2. Identify those variables that may influence each other. Among these are the independent variables that are expected by the stated theory to have an effect upon the dependent variables, and those variables that intervene, thereby preventing unhampered influence of the independent variables.

3. Select and apply appropriate tests of association to those variables identified in item 2. (Appropriate tests depend upon the information contained in item 1.)

4. Apply tests of significance when available and appropriate. (This study is largely parametric, thereby placing limitations on such tests; i.e., respondents frequently comprise a population. When a sample is inferred, it is not a probability sample (it is purposive rather than random); and when a larger population is inferred, its parameters are largely unknown--the parameter of normality of some distribution, for example).

5. Check for the effect of intervening variables.

6. Extend analysis to the cause-and-effect level, if possible, with the data obtained.

7. Organize the evidence (results of tests of association and significance and cause and effect) in an attempt to

support the hypotheses; i.e., the purported independent-dependent variable relationships.

8. Extend the analysis to an exploratory level. This is to be attempted only after efforts to bear on the stated hypotheses are exhausted. Procedures for exploration are the same as described above; i.e., examination of the variables of interest, subject them to tests of association and/or cause and effect. In a "pure" sense, tests of significance would not be appropriate here as <u>prior</u> hypotheses are not available.

The Hypotheses

Hypotheses are frequently expressed in terms that, if not claiming cause and effect, do imply this relationship. Although this research may extend to such a level, the basic design is associational. This limitation is imposed as the expected data will probably permit such an analytic level. Thus, the independent variable as stated in the hypotheses will be expected to appear concurrently with the dependent, with no cause-and-effect relationship inferred.

The hypotheses all relate the independent variable of house-value relationship to a specified dimension of social interaction. The value relationship has been described previously. Briefly, it concerns the degree of variation in value relationships found in the micro-neighborhood (trio of one-family dwellings). The social interaction dimensions include <u>common social activities</u>, <u>social distance</u>, and <u>satisfaction with neighbors</u>. These are described operationally in

the following part of this chapter. In relating these to the value dimension, each of the hypotheses is stated in a relationship of increased interaction as homogeneity of the house-value complex is realized; i.e., support for the hypothesis would require findings of greater social interaction when the housing-value condition is varied toward increased homogeneity.

The Three Hypotheses

The common social activities--things they do together and topics they discuss together--of neighbors in homogeneous housing will be of greater complexity and depth than that of neighbors living in heterogeneous housing.

This hypothesis assumes that neighbors do interact socially. Much popular literature suggests that the level of such interaction has declined in the United States. It is not the purpose of this research to attempt a confirmation of this position, although it does provide some indication. Rather, the interest here is in the quality of such contact. Operationally, the total structure of the interaction will be examined and a formal assessment made as to the complexity level. "Complexity," for purposes of this research, is indicative of "requiring thought"; i.e., a criterion of mental demand.

The social distance between neighbors in homogeneous

housing will be less than that in heterogeneous housing. Social distance is that condition of personal acceptance studied by Bogardus and referred to earlier. It is highly subjective and clearly exists in varying degrees. In a sense, social distance may be a measure of the satisfaction gained via common social activities (Hypothesis 1) and be overlapping with satisfaction with neighbors (Hypothesis 3). These three hypotheses are, therefore, not intended to be presented as mutually exclusive.

Satisfaction with neighbors of residents of homogeneous housing will be greater than with neighbors in heterogeneous housing. The key to this view is contained in the Shuval work where part of the description of this condition is expressed as "preference for a different type of neighbor."[1] The kinds of things that would measure this dimension would be those activities that cause a preference for either this or another type of neighbor. Among these items are potential helpfulness, feelings of social obligation, overt quarreling, and a potential for serious consultation regarding personal problems.

Hypothesis Number One

The common activities--things they do together and topics they discuss together--of neighbors in Homogeneous housing will be of greater complexity and depth than that of neighbors living in Heterogeneous housing.

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[1]Shuval, "The Micro-Neighborhood," pp. 272-280.

This statement assumes that there will be sufficient interaction that the quality may be analyzed and also that complexity levels will be obvious or amenable to delineation. This analysis first addresses the "things they do together" and then the topics.

Twenty-two of the 117 respondents (18.8 percent) indicated that they did things together during the past month with one or more abutters. When divided between the two variables (Homogeneous in relation with abutters and Heterogeneous in relation with abutters), the respondents divided equally; i.e., seven in each category. The remaining eight fell into a Neutral area. Placed on a percentage basis, the "Homo" to "Hetero" relationship is 9.2 to 10.3. With only seven responses in such a major cell, it seemed questionable if differentials in kinds of activities would prove significant. In looking at these, the activities appeared to be of a similar plane--a social level in the popular sense. These included: playing cards, attending weddings, eating, shopping, going to movies, picnicking, horseback riding, attending church group meetings, etc. In asking about neighbor interaction, it was hoped that the range would encompass things of considerably more complexity; for example, organizing an association for neighborhood betterment or joint effort on a technological problem. Either neighborhood interaction is limited to recreational activity, or respondents are lacking in recall. Subsequent portions of this analysis bear out the premise that neighboring relationships concern

uncomplicated, relaxing-type contacts, and that recall may be improved by the addition of questions regarding specific items.

In probing the "kind of activity" area further, an inquiry was made regarding common activities of husbands--not involving the wives. Thirteen respondents (11.1 percent) indicated that their husbands "did things" together with one or both of the abutters. Again the cases were few and the distribution somewhat even (Homo, 3; Neutral, 4; and Hetero, 2). If the relationships (contacts) rather than respondents are totaled, some direction may be noted. This is nonlinear extending percentagewise from Homo with 3.8 percent to Neutral with 4.7 percent to Hetero with 2.1 percent.

The kinds of things mentioned did contain varying levels of complexity. The social level discussed above was evident in fishing, golf, lodge attendance, gardening, and cards; but a higher level might be attached to playing chess, working on cars together, attending bar association meetings, and discussing common interest in retail business.

When asked in a general manner, only twenty-two of the 117 respondents recalled joint activity with one or more abutters during the past month. When questioned regarding possible specific activities, however, a considerable item response was obtained. It appears that, even with as short a recall period as a month, it is desirable to phrase questions narrowly for maximum recall. These responses are summarized in Table 21 and show sharp differences among the various class situations.

TABLE 21.--Percentage Distribution of Affirmative Replies
to Questions Regarding Joint Activity with
Abutting Neighbors

Joint Activity	House-value Relationship[a]			
	Homo-geneous (N = 47)	Neutral (N = 62)	Hetero-geneous (N = 67)	All (N = 176)
Shopping together or for each other	10.0	21.1	19.1	16.2
Joint use of recreational facility	7.8	17.1	23.5	15.4
Common hobby or special interest	4.4	7.9	11.8	7.7
Work-related contacts	2.2	3.9	4.4	3.4
Visiting prompted by death, illness, or emotional condition	8.9	6.6	8.8	8.1
Borrowing from neighbor	8.9	17.1	20.6	15.0
Disagreement or quarrel	10.0	7.9	10.3	9.4
Total Responding	26.7	35.2	38.1	100.0

[a]Classification used is described in design section.
The potential "N" for these groups is as follows: Homoge-
neous, 90; Neutral, 76; Heterogeneous, 68; and Total, 234.
This includes all abutters to both right and left.

The Heterogeneous group interacts regarding shopping
almost two times that of the Homogeneous group, two and one-
half times in regard to borrowing, and three times in joint
use of recreational facility and common hobby or special
interest. As was discussed in the Hypotheses section, the
prime interest of this research is the quality of relation-

ships; however, an underlying and pervasive interest is the frequency of contact between those in varying class situations.

Work-related contacts appear to increase (two times) as Heterogeneity is realized, but the smallness of the cases (two, three, and three) makes this statistic of doubtful significance.

Visiting under emotional stress, and quarreling, show similar levels for the ends of the continuum but a decrease among the Neutrals. This suggests such relationships develop when neighbors are of a _very_ similar or a _very_ dissimilar class position.

In relation to the _simple frequency_ relationship, these findings oppose Homans' expectation of the separation of the social classes.

Things They Discussed Together

This question was examined from both the "occasion" as well as the "topic" standpoint. It should be noted that the "occasion" portion is, in a sense, a continuation of the previous section dealing with the kinds of things abutting neighbors do jointly. In sequence, the respondent was first asked regarding his most recent conversation with the neighbor, then _other_ joint activities and, finally, asked to check against specific activities. This provided a logical penetration.

The categories in Table 22 were fairly exhaustive

TABLE 22.--Percentage Distribution of Occasion for Most
Recent Conversation with Neighbor

Occasion	Times Mentioned (N = 215)
"Drop-in" visit or casual phone call	15.8
Planned visit	6.5
Yard, garden, porch, repairing house, shoveling snow, entering or leaving house	53.0
Soliciting	3.7
Calls re death or illness	3.7
Hanging wash	5.6
Specific inquiry or purpose	3.3
Downtown shopping	3.3
Went somewhere together	0.9
Miscellaneous	4.2
Total	100.0

with only six items in the miscellaneous category. Items are not mutually exclusive but do represent the apparent dominant characteristic of the action.

Obviously, respondents and abutting neighbors converse when engaged in some activity in the immediate vicinity of the home. These occasions appear to be casual and unplanned insofar as the occasion providing the situation for the ensuing conversation.

Since the interviewing was conducted between April 12

and June 6 of 1968, a clement period of the year, it would
be expected that interaction in the yard, garden, and porch
areas would be at a maximum. The <u>wide separation</u> between
this occasion and any other category (53.0 - 15.8 = 37.2 per-
cent) does suggest this as the dominant mode.

Among the data in Table 23 there are some pronounced
differences from the house-value situation viewpoint. The
simple greeting ("hello," weather) appears almost twice as
frequently among the Homogeneous group as the Heterogeneous
group--and with a sizable number of cases involved (sixty-
two). A commonsense approach would place this category at
the low end of any continuum of complexity. With substantial
variation among the major independent variables, it would
appear that the hypothesis (of similar level of complexity)
would lose support. Although this view at first appears
reasonable, a reference back to the hypothesis under discus-
sion would require a scaling of the items before a general
finding could be inferred. This is accomplished later in
this section.

The incidence of children should logically prompt the
discussion of children. Table 24 presents this relationship.
It appears that the data do not support the contention that
having children necessarily leads to a discussion of children.
This general topic arises rather uniformly among the described
classes; however, the incidence of children among these people
varies in a nonlinear manner--highest in the Neutral group,
lower in the Homogeneous group, and lowest in the

TABLE 23.--Percentage Distribution of Topics Discussed
with Abutting Neighbors

| Topic | House-value Relationship | | | |
	Homo-geneous (N = 108)	Neutral (N = 115)	Hetero-geneous (N = 93)	All (N = 316)
"Hello," weather	27.8	15.7	15.1	19.6
Children, school, neighbors	22.2	21.7	19.4	21.2
Yard, gardening, grass, house repairs, housework, house generally	15.7	17.4	16.1	16.5
Pets (dogs, cats, etc.)	3.7	7.0	8.6	6.3
Shopping, costs, food, clothing	3.7	7.8	6.5	6.0
Automobile, trips	1.9	5.2	3.2	3.5
Current events, news items (local and/or national)	3.7	1.7	3.2	2.8
Illness, death, health	13.9	8.7	15.1	12.3
Miscellaneous	7.4	14.8	12.9	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9

TABLE 24.--Incidence of and Discussions of Children
Between Respondents and Abutters

| | House-value Relationship | | | | | | | |
| | Homo-geneous | | Neutral | | Hetero-geneous | | All | |
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Numbers of children	84	37.3	88	39.1	53	23.6	225	100.0
% Frequency, among all discussions, of those concerning children, school, and neighbors		22.2		21.7		19.4		--

Heterogeneous group.

It is a common observation that people without children often have animal pets. It then follows that a likely topic might be such a pet--and the group with the lowest number of children is the Heterogeneous group. The incidence of the pet topic does follow this suggested direction, rising linearly and substantially from Homogeneous through Neutral to Heterogeneous.

Several other topical categories shift upward from Homogeneous to Heterogeneous but indicate a still higher position in relation to the Neutral group. These include: yard, gardening, grass, house repairs, housework, house generally; shopping, costs, food, clothing; automobile, trips; and miscellaneous. Since the construction of the Neutral category is a mid-area of the Heterogeneity continuum, the above direction suggests a curvilinear relationship, increasing as Heterogeneity increases but reversing when the variability becomes intense.

Although several of the topics take directions that are difficult or impossible to explain, there remain sufficient indications that a determination of complexity of topics and the social-class situation is possible. With this in mind, it seemed necessary to find a standard for assessing the complexity of the various items discussed by the neighbors. An instrument for this purpose was constructed. The following section describes the development and application of the instrument.

Scaling Instrument for Complexity Levels

As has been noted, a portion of the topics contained in the data lend themselves to a commonsense ranking as to complexity--greetings, for example, is certainly of a low level. This approach is satisfactory for several items but is not sufficient as a research technique nor sufficient in a practical way when as many as eight categories are involved.

The first step in construction was to simply list the topics and ask a random assortment of people to rank them on a continuum consisting of five levels. The continuum was explained as a continuum of depth of thought. The instructions read as follows: "The following general topics are part of conversations between neighbors and friends. In these exchanges some discussions require more thinking than others. In your experience how would you rate the usual depth of thought involved?" (The instrument developed for this determination is included as Appendix VII.)

The first group contained eight respondents including secretaries, a librarian, housewives, and staff people. A second attempt was made with a summer-school class in Psychology at the University of Massachusetts. This group numbered nineteen: two males and seventeen females; three under twenty years of age and three over forty years of age. Two helpful pieces of information came out of these tests: (1) respondents did not seem to have any difficulty in completing the request, and (2) the two groups provided scale placements that correlated very highly.

The next step was to establish the validity and reliability of the instrument. In that no problem developed in understanding of the topic descriptions and the topics themselves pertained to everyday conditions, it was decided to claim "face" validity. In respect to reliability, a new instrument was prepared utilizing the "split-half" technique. In applying this, the topics were rephrased and both the new and the old sets presented in the instrument as a random number table dictated. The new sixteen-item form was then used with two summer-school classes, one in Economics and the other in Nutrition. Each had eleven students. A simple correlation (Pearson "r") was performed in each case, and the following very satisfactory results obtained:

		"r"
Group I	Economics	.867
Group II	Nutrition	.896

This correlation is between the two sets of the same topics given to the same respondents. This established consistency in both questions and respondents.

With the topics submitted to a total of four groups and an apparently satisfactory instrument in use, the next step was to determine to what degree they collectively agreed on a scaling of the topics. It should be mentioned that all scoring was done via median placement as only ordinal relationships were needed; i.e., the median eliminates weighting and is simply a relationship among raw data responses.

Obviously, there is a high level of agreement among

the determinations as listed in Table 25. In an attempt, however, to provide a statistic to express this level, Kendall's W (Coefficient of Concordance) was employed and yielded W = .838. Consolidating the above scores into one mean sequence provides the increasing level of complexity among the topics shown in Table 26.

At this point the data provide a frequency (and percentage) description as to how the specified social-class groupings divide in their choice of topics in neighbor-abutter discussions. The instrument developed and applied as described previously indicated how several random groups view the complexity levels of the topics derived from the data. It now becomes appropriate to place this information side-by-side to determine if, in fact, there is similarity among the value groups in their choice of discussion topics.

The data presented in Table 27 clearly indicate that, as Heterogeneity of the social-class relation increases, the level of complexity of the discussion topics between the neighbors also increases. It must be noted, however, that the data do not present as "hard" a case as first appears. This is due to the placement of the median level within the individual categories; i.e., 50 percent (the median) occurs at the upper edge of the lowest category (Homogeneous-Garden) and at the lower edge of the highest category (Heterogeneous-Child). In the case of the middle category (Trips), it occurs in a very central position. In all, this suggests a moderate topical relation to the class situation but a relationship that is

TABLE 25.--Median Scores of Discussion Topics as Determined by Student and Other Groups

Group	Complexity Continuum Positions (Low to High)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I (Secretaries, etc.)	Hello	Pets	Garden	Shop	Child	Trips	Health	Health
II (Psychology)	Hello	Pets	Garden	Child	Shop	Trips	Health	News
III (Economics)	Hello	Pets	Garden	Health	Trips	Child	News	Shop
IV (Nutrition)	Hello	Pets	Garden	Trips	News	Shop	Child	Health

TABLE 26.--Complexity Position of Topics--Ascending Order[a]

Complexity Position							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hello	Pets	Garden	Trips	Child	Shop	Health	News

[a]The categories listed above and in Table 25 are shortened forms of the complete statements provided in Table 23.

TABLE 27.--Percentage Distribution of Topics of Respondent-Neighbor Discussions Viewed in Relation to Complexity Scale

House-Value Relationship	Complexity--Increasing[a]									Median Category
	Hello	Pets	Garden	Trips	Child	Shop	Health	News	Totals	
Homogeneous	27.8[b]	3.7	15.7	1.9	22.2	3.7	13.9	3.7	92.6[c]	
Accumulative Percentage[d]	30.0	34.0	50.6	52.6	76.6	80.6	95.6	99.6[e]	99.6	Garden
Neutral	15.7	7.0	17.4	5.2	21.7	7.8	8.7	1.7	85.2	
Accumulative Percentage	18.4	26.6	47.0	53.1	78.6	87.8	98.0	100.0	100.0	Trips
Heterogeneous	15.1	8.6	16.1	3.2	19.4	6.5	15.1	3.2	87.2	
Accumulative Percentage	17.3	27.2	45.7	49.4	71.6	79.1	96.4	100.0	100.0	Child

[a]Scale as established by noninterested informants.

[b]Percentage of all discussions devoted to the specific topic--from Table

[c]Total percentage without Miscellaneous category.

[d]Accumulative percentage on basis of 100.0 percent without Miscellaneous category.

[e]Under 100.0 percent due to rounding error.

probably quite linear.

Hypothesis Number Two

The social distance between neighbors in Homogeneous housing will be less than that in Heterogeneous housing.

Social distance was measured by a Guttman sequence of eight questions. These were repeated to include both neighbors. Social distance has been measured frequently in social science research since the early work of Emory S. Bogardus in which an ordinal sequence of attitudinal positions is derived.[1] A modification of the usual procedure was attempted in the study reported here, in that behavioral as well as attitudinal dimensions were included. It was assumed that _action_ would be _even more_ indicative of attitude, than an attitude as expressed by the respondent. Of the eight questions, six were behavioral and only two attitudinal. The attitudinal questions were: (1) Do you wish that they would move away from Greenfield? and (2) If the situation developed, and barring emergencies, would you be pleased to have them as members of your household? The inclusion of behavioral questions was expected to raise the validity level; however, it also influenced the coefficient of reproducibility; i.e., a respondent may wish to invite a neighbor in for a visit (attitude) but for various reasons never has taken this action. Placing this response among a Guttman sequence may result in a condition of "error" lowering the coefficient of

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[1]Emory S. Bogardus, "A Social Distance Scale," _Sociology and Social Research_, XXVII (January-February, 1933), 265-271.

reproducibility. It was felt that the loss of reproducibility

was worth the gain in validity.

The data were computer-processed using a special com-

puter program.[1] A first run, using all eight items against

one neighbor only, produced a marginal frequency of items as

shown in Table 28. Obviously, several of the questions were

TABLE 28.--Marginal Frequencies of Eight-Item Guttman
Sequence for One Neighbor

Question	Response 1	Response 2	No Response
1	55	62	0
2	3	114	0
3	4	113	0
4	2	115	0
5	2	115	0
6	83	34	0
7	5	112	0
8	72	43	2

(N = 117)

not very discriminating. This was unexpected as an extensive

amount of pretesting was accomplished. In order to cope with

this condition, it was decided to discard the two questions

that approached "N"; i.e., Questions 4 and 5 in Table 28.

With this modification accomplished, the data were submitted

to a Guttman treatment utilizing the remaining six items and

using the data for all cases; i.e., 117 regarding the neigh-

bor to the right and 117 regarding the left. This produced

output that had coefficients of reproducibility well into the

[1]BMD05S, Guttman Scale Number 1--Version of January 14, 1965, Health Sciences Computing Facility, University of California at Los Angeles.

required ninetieth percentile and usable for a social distance determination. The results, however, fall slightly short of ideal requirements for a Guttman Scale. The details of the information obtained and its limitations are described below.

The first step in Guttman processing (in the program used) was to obtain Cornell scores for each respondent. This is simply the value of the positive responses. It was also done by hand as part of the coding activity. In order to obtain all available use of the computation, a comparison between Cornell scores and Heterogeneity of the housing milieu was performed. This is reported along with the Guttman score comparison.

After the Cornell scores were obtained, the respondents and their scale scores were ranked, with questions ordered in increasing frequency. Finally, scores were rearranged in the Guttman order with reproducibilities described in Table 29.

TABLE 29.--Coefficients of Reproducibility Obtained
from Guttman Scaling of Social Distance Responses

Coefficients	Neighbor A[a]	Neighbor B
Coefficient of Reproducibility	0.94160	0.94017
Minimal Maginal Reproducibility	0.78632	0.76638

[a]A and B indicate right- and left-hand abutting neighbors; however, no right or left position of neighbors is intended as significant. In the case of the Guttman computations, the arrangement of the data dictated the treatment of each neighbor separately.

In assessing the adequacy of a Guttman scale, the prime requirement is <u>a coefficient of Reproducibility above 90 percent</u>. This is expressed by Sellitz <u>et al</u>. in stating: "Guttman and his co-workers have set .90 as the minimal reproducibility necessary for a series of items to be regarded as approximating a perfect scale."[1] Also Torgerson states:

> Rep is the primary criterion of scalability. Originally a Rep of 0.85 was arbitrarily selected as the dividing line separating scales from nonscales. More recently, a Rep of 0.90 or better has been taken as the standard. A value of Rep equal to 0.90 or more means that, of all of the responses of all of the subjects to all of the items, no more than 10 percent correspond to errors of reproducibility.[2]

Table 29 indicates that in both cases the Rep was .94 plus, thereby placing this response grouping well within the limits described by the above authors. This is very satisfactory, but it does not go quite far enough. In commenting on further checks that may be made, Torgerson states:

> The coefficient of Reproducibility has remained the primary criterion. . . . Various auxiliary criteria listed below are mostly in the nature of checks to insure that the value of Rep actually obtained is not spuriously high.[3]

The following section indicates the five auxiliary criteria and the degree to which these results qualify.

1. <u>Number of answer categories</u>. For dichotomous item, ten are desired and, although eight were included in the

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[1]Claire Sellitz <u>et al.</u>, <u>Research Methods in Social Relations</u> (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 375.

[2]Warren S. Torgerson, <u>Theory and Methods of Scaling</u> (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 323.

[3]<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 323-324.

instrument, only six were retained. This reduction limits the confidence that may be placed in Rep.

2. <u>Range of marginal frequencies</u>. It is desired that few items have more than 80 percent of the subjects in the most popular category. The results of this scaling places individual questions as indicated in Table 30.

TABLE 30.--Marginal Frequencies of Six-Item Guttman
Sequence as Related to Neighbor Right and
Neighbor Left

Question	Neighbor Right		Neighbor Left	
	Response 1	Response 2	Response 1	Response 2
1	55	62	53	64
2	3	114	9	106
3	4	112	7	110
4	82	34	82	35
5	5	111	4	113
6	71	43	63	51

Obviously, this check has been violated. In an attempt to reduce this condition, a series of combinations was attempted. The net effect of this effort was no improvement. Rather than describe these data in combined form, it was thought to be less confusing to remain with the six-item scale.

3. <u>The pattern of errors</u>. Should be random. An examination of the Guttman listings for each subject failed to show any repetitive sequence of errors. Randomness was maintained.

4. <u>Item reproducibility</u>. Should be 0.85 or more. Table 31 provides this information.

TABLE 31.--Levels of Guttman Scale Item Reproducibility
by Right and Left Neighbor

Question Number	Neighbor A		Neighbor B	
	Error Level	Reproduci-bility	Error Level	Reproduci-bility
1	13	88.9	10	91.5
2	22	81.2	17	75.5
3	4	96.6	5	95.7
4	1	99.2	5	95.7
5	1	99.2	5	95.7
6	0	100.0	0	100.0

(N = 117)

In only two cases is the item reproducibility check level violated, and only one of these is substantial--approaching 10 percent.

5. **Improvement**. Each item should have more nonerror than error. The Guttman listing shows this requirement is easily met. In part, this condition is indicated by information supplied in regard to point 4 (Table 31).

In summary, the Guttman scaling attempt for the dichotomous social distance questions yielded scales that were more than adequate regarding the coefficient of reproducibility as computed. In probing further the basis for the reproducibility level obtained, some deficiency may be noted. This is largely in regard to the range of marginal frequencies.

This research report now takes the position that, although the Guttman scaling has been less than ideal, the results are sufficient to continue further and examine the

class relationships as they pertain to social distance levels.

The interest of this research is in a subject as he resides in a certain house-value milieu--not as he relates to a specific neighbor. As has been previously explained, the research site consists of micro-neighborhoods. With this interest in mind, the social distance information for the two abutters is now combined to yield a social distance position (Guttman) for each respondent. The combination is realized by computing the mean position between the two neighbors and then subjecting this to scalogram analysis among all respondents. When the above procedure is completed, the median Guttman scores (also Cornell scores) are included in Table 32.

TABLE 32.--Median Scores of Respondents in Relation to the Social Distance Between Respondents and Abutters

Class Relationship	Median Cornell	Median Guttman
Homogeneous	5.175[a]	3.179
Neutral	5.222	2.750
Heterogeneous	5.136	3.333
All	5.306	3.139

[a]Both Cornell and Guttman scores applied on a seven-point scale. Re Cornell score (only), there is an inverse relationship; i.e., Social Distance increases as values decrease.

Since the above statistics pertain to parametric data, it is not appropriate to apply a test of significance or in other ways proceed in a manner that assumes certain parameters of some larger group. The median itself must be examined as the final indicator of the difference in social distance.

Among the medians above, the one of particular interest to this study is the Guttman Homo-Hetero. This shows a direction of *more social distance* as a greater Heterogeneity is realized, thereby supporting the Homan position. There are, however, two conditions that must temper this observation: (1) the difference is moderate in size and (2) the dip regarding the Neutral position is suggestive of a curvilinear relation.

Hypothesis Number Three

Satisfaction with neighbors (in the Shuval sense) of residents of Homogeneous housing will be greater than that of neighbors in Heterogeneous housing.

The "Shuval sense" is expressed as "referring to residents' feelings concerning the general helpfulness of neighbors, disturbance from neighbors' children, and preference for a different type of neighbor."[1]

To a degree, "satisfaction with neighbors" has already been examined in the previous section regarding social distance. For example, the question, "Do you wish that they would move away from Greenfield?" certainly is indicative of satisfaction. It seems reasonable, however, that a genuine liking for a person (social distance) could be realized and still no desire to have him as a neighbor. It also seems conceivable (although less likely) that a dislike toward a person might exist and still he perform quite satisfactorily as a neighbor. Satisfaction must, of course, relate to the

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[1]Shuval, *The Micro-Neighborhood*, p. 278.

expectations held by the subject.

In this study it is __assumed__ that expectations that people have for their neighbors are sufficiently uniform that they may be examined with profit, and that this dimension is suitable as one aspect of social interaction for the purposes of this research.

Eleven questions were designed to test the respondent's satisfaction with his neighbors. They were repeated for each abutter and were asked as follows:

1. Are you on a first-name basis with these neighbors?

2. Can you give me their telephone number from memory?

After asking if any visiting under emotional circumstances had occurred, the respondent was asked:

3. In the situation just described, did you feel a social obligation in helping out? Then:

4. If the situation were reversed, would they have felt the same way? (Here it was presumed that a sense of social obligation might imply satisfactory performance as a neighbor.)

After asking if borrowing from a neighbor had occurred, the respondent was asked:

5. Did you feel that the borrowing just described was appropriate--that you could freely ask for this item? and then:

6. If the situation were reversed, do you think that they would feel the same way?

7. Have you ever had a disagreement or quarrel with these neighbors?

8. If you needed serious advice about a personal prob-
lem, would you consult with this neighbor?

9. If this neighbor needed serious advice about a per-
sonal problem, would she consult with you?

10. If your auto broke down several blocks from here and
you thought she might be available, would you call upon this
neighbor for assistance?

11. If the situation were reversed, would she call upon
you?

The percentage responses to these questions are contained in
Tables 33 and 34.

The data obtained are dichotomous and lacking in
order, thus are nominal in character. The interest from an
analytic standpoint was to describe any association between
the independent variables of house-value complex and the
satisfaction with neighbors questions just cited. The Lambda
(Guttman's Coefficient of Predictibility)[1] appeared to be a
sufficient test for the purpose. The results are contained
in Table 35 and are all of low Lambda values--the highest,
"Auto trouble, respondent," being only 0.1298.

Intervening (Test) Variables

This section will show that a number of dimensions
of expected intervening influence, when probed via one broad
social interactional measure (Cornell score), failed in any
substantial way to alter the direct findings of the previous
sections.

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[1]A brief discussion of the Lambda test is contained
as Appendix VIII.

TABLE 33.--Percentage Responses to "Satisfaction with Neighbors" Series of Questions--Asked of Neighbor A

Question[a]	Yes	No	Undecided Don't Know	N
First name basis with neighbor	75.2	24.8	00.0	117
Know telephone number from memory	26.7	71.6	01.7	116
Emotional visit--feel social obligation	42.9	42.9	14.3	7
Social obligation feeling also felt by respondent	87.5	00.0	12.5	8
Neighbor's borrowing appropriate	100.0	00.0	00.0	23
Respondent's borrowing appropriate	95.7	00.0	04.3	23
Quarreling	9.4	89.7	00.9	117
Neighbor seeks serious advice	24.8	74.4	00.9	117
Respondent seeks serious advice	26.5	67.5	06.0	117
Neighbor helps with auto	64.1	35.9	00.0	117
Respondent helps with auto	66.7	32.5	00.9	117

[a]Complete questions stated on pp. 96-97.

TABLE 34.--Percentage Responses to "Satisfaction with Neighbors" Series of Questions--Asked of Neighbor B

Question[a]	Yes	No	Undecided Don't Know	N
First name basis with neighbor	76.1	23.9	00.0	117
Know telephone number from memory	19.8	80.2	00.0	116
Emotional visit--feel social obligation	69.2	23.1	07.7	13
Social obligation feeling also felt by respondent	92.3	07.7	00.0	13
Neighbor's borrowing appropriate	94.7	05.3	00.0	19
Respondent's borrowing appropriate	100.0	00.0	00.0	18
Quarreling	9.4	90.6	00.0	117
Neighbor seeks serious advice	25.6	73.5	00.9	117
Respondent seeks serious advice	30.8	65.8	03.4	117
Neighbor helps with auto	52.6	46.6	00.9	116
Respondent helps with auto	58.6	41.4	00.0	116

[a]Complete questions stated on pp. 96-97.

TABLE 35.--Lambda Values Obtained Regarding Association of
House-value Relationship with "Satisfaction with Neighbors"
Series of Questions

Question[a]	Lambda Value	
	Neighbor A	Neighbor B
First-name basis with neighbor	0.0385	0.0000
Know telephone number from memory	0.0648	0.0714
Emotional visit--social obligation	0.0000	0.0116
Respondent feels social obligation	0.0119	0.0341
Neighbor's borrowing appropriate	0.1031	0.0449
Respondent's borrowing appropriate	0.1212	0.0532
Quarreling	0.0233	0.0538
Neighbor seeks serious advice	0.0577	0.0000
Respondent seeks serious advice	0.0175	0.0571
Auto trouble, neighbor	0.0259	0.0783
Auto trouble, respondent	0.0000	0.1298

[a]Complete questions stated on pp. 96-97.

Methodology

A review of the possible intervening variables pro-
duced a list of eleven items. Among the interactional data
obtained, the Cornell scores appeared to represent a wide
portion of that spectrum. It was then arbitrarily decided
to test the "Heterogeneity-House Value Complex" association,
when controlling for each of the identified intervening vari-
ables and utilizing the Cornell scores. In the interest of
parsimony, it seemed appropriate to look at one-half of the
available cases.[1] This was possible as the data were
obtained on a right- and left-neighbor basis,[2] and there is
no expectation that neighboring would yield to any right-
handedness-left-handedness influence. Although the data
used are ordinal in nature, the Lambda test appeared suffi-
cient in a determination of intervention. The expectation
was that any sizable "Lambda" could be subsequently reex-
amined using a more discriminating test; i.e., at this point,
only an indicator was needed and Lambda was adequate to this
need.

Next, each intervening variable is discussed and the
test outcome stated.

Physical barrier or facilitating influence.--With
the Festinger work[3] so clearly showing that physical

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[1]The percentage distributions then may vary slightly
as either all neighbors are under discussion or only one-half.

[2]Also referred to as neighbor "A" and neighbor "B."

[3]Festinger et al., Social Pressures in Informal
Groups.

arrangements do influence social interaction, it was imperative that this dimension be carefully probed. A series of questions[1] was asked of the interviewer, but with the suggestion that any unclear condition should be checked with the respondent. Among the physical barriers to social interaction specifically checked were obstruction of view of each other's houses due to trees, bushes, walls, solid fences, out-buildings, etc.; differential positioning of houses, either in angle on the lot or extremes of elevation; and excessive distance between houses (more than an estimated fifty feet). Facilitating conditions included driveways and doors positioned in such a way to be conducive to interaction; and recreational facilities such as swimming pool, picnic table, sandbox, swing, slide, barbecue, tennis court, etc., located near the lot line.

In addition to the above check-list type of question, a separate question--Other, please describe--was included. The "raw data" regarding these questions are contained in Table 36. In order to evaluate the information properly, it seemed desirable to combine these items into some single measure. With this in mind, a score was constructed by arbitrarily assigning a "one plus" to the facilitating response, and a "one minus" to the barrier. (To eliminate negative scores, a "plus four" was added to each final score.) This assumes that the influences scored would be equal to each other in their effects. Another assumption of this scoring

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[1]See pp. 3 and 4 of Interview Schedule, Appendix VI.

TABLE 36.--Percentage Distribution of Physical Barriers
and Facilitating Conditions Between Respondent and
Neighboring Homes

Condition	Percent
Obstruction of view of houses due to trees, bushes, vines, wall, solid fence, out-buildings, etc.	13.2
Adjacent driveways and/or exterior doors--or alternating door and driveway	26.5
Differential positioning of houses--including lot elevation	7.7
Excess distance between homes--more than fifty feet	9.8
Recreational facility, swimming pool, picnic table, sandbox, swing, slides, barbecue, tennis court, etc., near the lot line	5.1
Other	2.6

(N = 234)

arrangement is that of face validity. This seemed reasonable as the items involved were physical and obvious. The reliability aspect was checked via a sample field re-test.

The separation among the "Facility-Barrier" condition for test purposes was: Barrier, Neither Barrier Nor Facility, and Facility. These yielded Lambdas of .2250, .2419, and .1458, respectively. It should be noted that the Lambda obtained without a control was .0714. It then appears that an increase in predictibility between Heterogeneity and Social Interaction is realized when any of the controls just discussed are applied. The essential aspect in regard to the intervening effect, however, is the degree to which one

control condition provides an association (Lambda) as different from another of the same set. The widest separation in the Lambdas above is between the absence of barriers and facilities, and a facilitating condition; i.e., .2419 and .1458. The net difference is .0961. This is of a magnitude that in some 9.6 percent of the time one variable quantity can be predicted from knowing the other. This is hardly a large amount and is thereby discounted as an important intervening variable. (It is among the largest of the intervening influences examined as part of this research.)

Age.--It was felt that similarity of age would intensify social interaction. Thus, the question was posed: Do you feel that these neighbors are in your age bracket? In 34.2 percent of the cases the neighbor was considered as within the same bracket. In controlling for this variable, those of the same age produced a Lambda of .0741; and those of different age, .1300. The net difference (.0559) again, an extremely low level of association.

House value.--The identification of respondents as residing in a Hetero, Neutral, or Homo value complex was based upon percentage differentials in house values. An important question then is: If this percentage-based separation is applied only to houses of high, or only to houses of low value, would a difference in the Heterogeneity-Social Interaction relationship appear? When separated into high-

low value categories, the percentage breakdown shown in

Table 37 is obtained.

TABLE 37.--Percentage Distribution Common House-Value
Level Between Respondent and Neighbors

Level	Percent
Respondent and neighbor both have homes valued at under $14,000	28.2
Respondent and neighbor both have homes valued at $14,000 and over	47.9
Categories other than above	23.9
Total	100.0

(N = 117)

The application of the Lambda test of association

yielded a .1026 for the high-value group and .0857 for the

low-value group. The net difference is then .0169. This

small differential then indicates that the intervening influ-

ence of differential value levels is almost nil.

Ethnicity.--An inquiry regarding "Same Nationality"

of the respondent and the abutting neighbor produced 58.1

percent answering "yes" and 34.6 percent, "no." The Lambda

results for both of these categories produced the same figure

(.1333) indicating no measurable intervention influence from

variation in ethnicity.

Working wife.--An examination of the quality of

interaction depends upon the prior occurrence of interaction.

If the wife is away during the working day, the interaction

potential is greatly decreased. With this thinking in mind, a question regarding employment outside the home was posed. Results showed that 43.6 percent of the wives were employed. When Lambda was applied, a figure of .0938 was computed for the working group and .1111 for the nonworking segment. The differential here is .0173, indicating that the influence of this possible intervening variable is extremely slight.

Children.--The depth interviews taken in anticipation of the construction of the schedule repeatedly emphasized the importance of children as a "catalyst" in neighborhood social interaction. The percentage division of this characteristic is as follows: both respondent and neighbor having children, 40.2 percent; either respondent or neighbor having children, 46.2 percent; and neither respondent or neighbor having children, 13.7 percent (N = 117). A Lambda of .1111 was obtained when both had children; .1014, when only one member had children; and .1053, when neither had children. The largest differential here is between both-having and either-having and is .0097. From this it must be concluded that, for the dimensions measured by the Cornell scores, the incidence of children as an intervening variable was of little influence. This finding is certainly surprising and is suggestive of an area for further investigation. The key to an explanation perhaps lies within the specific eight questions producing the Cornell scores--none relating to children directly.

Dogs.--There are many indications that America has become a nation of dog owners. This may be observed in the

amount of dog food in supermarkets, TV commercials, etc. It was, therefore, likely that many respondents and neighbors would own dogs. Of the respondents, 43.6 percent (N = 117) answered in the affirmative. In the case of the neighbor, the question inquired as to social interaction as a result of dog ownership and only 12.0 percent (N = 117) answered affirmatively. In spite of the disparity between these questions, the groups were combined for the purpose of applying the test of association. A Lambda of .0320 was obtained when one or both had dogs and .1739 when neither had a dog. The differential then is .1419--the second largest intervening influence found in this analysis. It must be noted, however, that this computation (and only this one) may be slightly spurious as unlike items were combined to produce the "have dog" statistic. The level, however, is still low.

Religion.--Of the respondents, 34.2 percent (N = 117) said they had the same religious faith as the neighbor. When the Lambda test was applied, the net differential was .0318 (.0851 for same and .1169 for different religion). It must be concluded that for the specific group examined in this research, religion did not intervene to any sizable degree in the quality of social interaction.

Tenure of residence.--Among the possible intervening

variables, this was included as perhaps the most probable
item. The breakdown examined was: under ten years as neigh-
bors and ten years and over as neighbors. This produced a
percentage distribution of 69.2 and 30.8. The Lambdas were
.1455 and .0238--differential of .1217, thereby supporting
the expectation. Apparently how long you are a neighbor does
affect the quality of social interaction. Again, it must be
noted that the impact is of a modest magnitude.

Social class.--The percentage distribution, arranged
on an arbitrary, three-level class separation, is indicated
in Table 38.

TABLE 38.--Percentage Distribution of Respondents
Among Three Social Classes

Class	Percent
High (Hollingshead I and II)	18.8
Medium (Hollingshead III)	29.1
Low (Hollingshead IV and V)	52.1
Total	100.0

(N = 117)

The Lambda obtained for high social class is .2000,
for medium is .0000, and for low is .1410, the maximum dif-
ferential then being .2000. Although this is the highest
Lambda differential obtained and appears to refute a finding
of "little class association with social interaction," it

again is a relatively low Lambda.

Friends before.--This should be a pertinent interven-
ing influence; however, the number of cases in this category
(seventeen) was too small to produce acceptable Lambda
results. The effect of this variable then remains unknown--
the sample then characterized generally as people without
prior friendships.

Although none of the intervening variables just dis-
cussed appears to offer any large impact upon the Heteroge-
neity-Social Interaction phenomenon, in a combined arrange-
ment they might exert such an influence. As a further step
in analysis, this was considered but did not prove practica-
ble as cell sizes became too small for realistic testing.
This research effort then must state that the effect of the
intervening variables is low when they are considered singly,
but the effect of combinations is unknown except that in
this study combinations exist in very small numbers.

As a confirming effort, a specific question related
to social interaction was selected and all the previous con-
trols were run against the Heterogeneity-Social Interaction--
"specific question association." The question selected was:
"If your auto broke down several blocks from here and you
thought she might be available, would you call upon this
neighbor for assistance?"

This question was selected as it includes both an
attitudinal and a behavioral context, as do the Cornell
scores. Of the respondents, 41.0 percent (N = 117) answered

"yes" to this question. (As was done with the Cornell scores, the analysis is limited to one neighbor, thus the N of 117.)

Table 39 indicates the Lambdas obtained using the above question in place of the Cornell scores. When compared with those derived using the Cornell scores, the Lambdas appear to confirm the Cornell results.[1] Several differences require explanation and the following is offered. _Age_ shows a greatly increased differential. This seems reasonable when calling for physical activity such as driving a car. Obviously, the older person may _want_ to be helpful but not by physically able. The respondent then would answer "no" to indicate that he would not call on this neighbor.

Ethnicity also shows a sharp increase and no reason can be found. It is difficult to believe that an ethnic difference would restrict the willingness to ask for help in an emergency. The Cornell score shows no such finding but consistently is restricted to less traumatic situations.

The Lambda again rises regarding the _working wife_. It might be expected that the working wife would be less known to the respondent, and hence more reluctance in calling upon her.

A substantial rise in the case of _incidence of children_ might be related to the availability to help when children must be looked after. The Cornell items relate to activities that may be planned, as against the "auto trouble"

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[1]The combined Lambda for the "auto help" question is 0.0175.

TABLE 39.--Lambda Results Obtained in the Analysis of
Association Between Heterogeneity and Social
Interaction when Controlling for Specified
Variables

Intervening Variable		Lambda
Physical Relationship Between Houses of Respondent and Neighbor:		
	Barrier	.0000
	Neither barrier or facility	.0816
	Facility	.0000
Age:	Same	.1905
	Different	.0000
House-Value Level:	High	.0769
	Low	.0545
Ethnicity:	Same	.1667
	Different	.0000
Working Wife:	Works	.1458
	Does not work	.0606
Children:	Both have	.0870
	Either one or other has	.0536
	Neither has	.2500
Dog:	One or both has	.0333
	Neither has	.1905
Religion:	Same	.0313
	Different	.0690
Residential Tenure:	10 years or more (both)	.0000
	Under 10 years	.1765
Social Class: (Hollingshead)	High	.0000
	Medium	.0606
	Low	.0847

(N = 117)

that is indefinite in time.

The influence of the <u>social-class differential</u> declined greatly when the auto question was used. Generally, it seems reasonable to assume that emergencies cause class differences to relax.

In the cases of <u>house value</u>, <u>possession of dogs</u>, <u>religion</u>, and <u>tenure of residence</u>, the general relationships are similar to the Cornell score findings. Even if one were to accept the auto question as more representative of the potential influence of the intervening variables, the Lambdas for them can hardly be considered large. Again, then, it must be concluded that the identified intervening variables are of slight consequence except as they may increase in impact when combined in individuals.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Residential house-value combinations and selected dimensions of social interaction are examined as the central concern of this research. The value dimension, not previously a direct part of sociological theory formulation, was perceived as a correlate of social class. This suggested the George C. Homans' interaction hypothesis as pertinent; i.e., social classes interact more in an inward than an outward direction.[1] Edward O. Lauman calls this the "like me" hypothesis.[2]

The positions just described were modified as the research exposed two limitations. First, the equating of house value and social class appeared, under analysis, as less than a perfect relationship. Although the literature generally supports the proposition that the value of the residence and the social class of the occupants are related,[3] this research does not. It does not, however, provide evidence that the proposition is false. This research examines

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[1]Homans, The Human Group.

[2]Edward O. Lauman, Prestige and Association in an Urban Community (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs Merrill Co., Inc., 1966), p. 13.

[3]Supra, p. 67.

a nonrandom, highly selected sample in one community and uses
a purely objective measure for the social-class designation--
the Hollingshead Two Factor Index. In the check of interven-
ing variables, social class did produce the highest degree
of association (.2000).

Since the research is directly concerned with the
house value complex, and the social-class connection is used
as a bridge to the "like me" phenomenon, the independent
variable of the study is maintained as house value and the
social-class inference is left for the reader to accept or
reject. House-value relationships are designated <u>Homogeneous</u>
when both abutting neighbors have valuations within 10 per-
cent of the respondent; <u>Heterogeneous</u>, when one or both
abutters have valuations 40 percent or more in difference
from the respondent; and <u>Neutral</u>, for those falling in a
central position.

The second modification is in respect to a descrip-
tion of frequency of social interaction. Originally, a sim-
ple counting of social contacts appeared adequate to the
testing procedure. The results of the pilot study, however,
in exposing the great variation among neighborhood contacts
strongly suggested an emphasis on the depth of this relation-
ship. The frequency interest, then, is maintained but in a
secondary position.

This study establishes several arbitrary categories of social interaction among neighbors. They extend from the contacts that are simply customs requiring little personal involvement to contacts made with considerable planning and determination. Any consolidation of such actions for counting purposes must reflect the relative importance of each act. This requires a weighting scheme, which is accomplished in relation to the complexity variable. It was not, however, extended to establish a purely mathematical count of neighbor contacts.

With the above shifts accepted, the theory that evolved indicated the following relationship. Within the micro-neighborhood, as house values become less varied, the social interactional dimension of complexity of interaction, social distance, and satisfaction with neighbors will move in a positive direction; i.e., increased complexity, decreased social distance, and increased satisfaction.

The testing of this theory was accomplished using a survey technique with an instrument of some seventy-four questions. Interview sites were chosen primarily in regard to their level of heterogeneity of house values. Beyond this, a number of respondent characteristics were held constant by selection in order to effect a high order of variable control.

The analysis involved a series of statistical tests largely--Guttman's Coefficient of Predictibility (Lambda) and Guttman's Scalogram Analysis. The actual computations were completed using the machine data-processing facilities

(CDC 3600) at the University of Massachusetts Computing Center.

The common activities (Hypothesis One) on a simple frequency basis favored the Heterogeneous group (38.1 percent as compared with 26.7 percent for the Homogeneous group)[1]; i.e., people living in a mixed house-value micro-neighborhood had social contacts with immediate abutting neighbors more frequently than those in common-value micro-neighborhoods. This at first appears to refute the "like me" hypothesis; however, the complexity-level aspect and the recall problem mitigate against such an interpretation. In addition, there is the limitation for generalization produced by the nonrandom aspect of the sample. Probably a designation of "indicator" is all that may be implied. It should be noted, however, that, within the confines of the sites studied, this "indicator" is a hard finding.

In viewing the complexity of the interaction, contacts were arbitrarily assigned to categories suggested by the responses. These were then rated as to complexity level and a comparison with the house-value complex made. A clear, but slight, direction was realized. This showed complexity rising with heterogeneity of the value complex. If an equating of complexity and amount of contact may be assumed, this again would be unsupportive of the "like me" hypothesis.

The social distance (Hypothesis Two) analysis

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[1]Supra, p. 77 (Table 21).

suggested separation of the social classes; i.e., as hetero-
geneity was realized, social distance increased. Again, the
size of the indication was small. Here a caution must be
injected in regard to the limitations of the methodology.
The Guttman scaling employed appeared to be very appropriate
but, in practice, was found to be something of a trap. It
seemed a reasonable assignment to achieve a ten- or twelve-
item Guttman sequence that would meet the established criteria.
In application, it was extremely difficult. The above finding,
then, is based on a scaling attempt that, although of definite
value, must be labeled as less than ideal in meeting the
requirements for a Guttman scale.

The satisfaction with neighbors (Hypothesis Three)
dimension was examined by the use of eleven test questions.
A Lambda test of association failed to discern any sizable
difference among the house-value relationships.

Among the three hypotheses, then, one points very
slightly toward increased social contact as house-value hetero-
geneity is realized; one points very slightly in the opposite
direction; and the third is quite neutral. A general inter-
pretation would suggest a finding of no difference.

In an investigation relating physical environment with
social activity, the possibility for intervening variables
would be expected to be large. A consideration of these was
made and a number held constant by sample selection. There
were also ten additional items thought sufficiently pertinent
that they were subjected to individual testing. This was

accomplished, again using the Lambda procedure. No intervening variable of sizable impact was noted. As has been previously mentioned, social class produced the greatest influence--.2000. When the generalized Lambda of .0714 (all intervening variables combined) is subtracted, an influence of some .1286 remains. This is certainly of a low level.

The theory thus outlined then was examined in a highly focused design and found to be lacking; i.e., the expected differences did <u>not</u> occur. This then permits the conclusion that, within the specified sample group, variation in house value was not associated with variation in the three social interaction variables subjected to test. The design characteristics of this research permit the above statement to be made with considerable conviction.

It should be noted that the findings per se have little generalization potential; i.e., by design, randomness was not realized. It does, however, point a direction for significant further study in an extension to other family groupings and geographical locations.

The common expectation, as indicated indirectly by the Homans' theory, is that the occupants of a neighborhood of mixed-valued housing would interact socially less than those in similarly valued housing. This research does not support this view and even provides a slight suggestion in the opposite direction. It must be again noted that a broad theory such as the "like me" hypothesis cannot be seriously challenged via a very limited study such as this. The

important question raised by this research is: "Does the 'like me' hypothesis fail under certain limited circumstances; i.e., within the micro-neighborhood setting?" Further, in fact, is a phenomenon of slight reverse effect noted; i.e., do heterogeneous housing values in a close neighborhood (physically) override class separation as it is usually experienced and, in fact, produce increased class integration?

Dean and Rosen cite the many findings that support the reduction of prejudice as a result of contact.[1] Certainly, the micro-neighborhood is conducive to contact--in spite of the reduction of neighborhood interaction generally. If then the "wall of prejudice" is leveled at this point, is there the opportunity for increasing social interaction? Gans, in suggesting something of an ideal, would have "selective homogeneity at the block level and heterogeneity at the community level."[2] Given a lack of prejudicial barriers, there are many differences that may prompt interaction. Ethnicity is certainly one dimension of difference that may evoke neighbor response. Also, differences in occupation, in art interest, ownership of certain material possessions, etc., may provide a basis for social exchange--this to a degree <u>a result of difference in social class</u>!!

Man has always been of an inquiring mind--as of this writing, Apollo 8 is circling the moon. This research

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[1] Dean and Rosen, <u>Manual for Intergroup Relations</u>.

[2] Gans, <u>The Levittowners</u>, p. 172.

perhaps scratches the surface of a doorway to new experience within a modified neighborhood. Further research might replicate this effort in other geographical areas and on a larger scale--this to determine the degree of generality that may be possible. In applying a larger test, it is important that the micro-neighborhood technique be retained as it serves as a device for previewing a social milieu in a yet-to-be-established community. This, of course, assumes that the conditions maintaining in the limited micro complex would also maintain in the new and more extended area. If, in looking at more cases, it can be determined that the usual class relationships are modified in the heterogeneous residential value complex, community builders may have new and helpful directions for developing physical housing arrangements conducive to more desirable patterns of social interaction.

APPENDIX I

PROPERTY ASSESSMENT AND BUILDING RECORD

RECORD OF OWNERSHIP | DATE | PAGE | BOOK

| ACCOUNT NO. | | | |

ASSESSMENT RECORD

1

8

AREA	A/S.F.	1962	1963	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
2 TOTAL LAND VALUE											
3 DWELLING	INDUSTRIAL	COMMERCIAL									
4 GARAGE											
5 OUTBUILDINGS											

TOTAL VALUE LAND & BUILDINGS

MEMORANDA

BUILDING PERMIT RECORD

		EST. COST	PERMIT NO.	DATE
				19

LAND VALUE COMPUTATIONS AND SUMMARY

FRONTAGE	DEPTH	UNIT PRICE	DEPTH FACTOR	FRONT FT. PRICE

C.I.

TOTAL VALUE LAND

TOTAL VALUE BUILDINGS

TOTAL VALUE LAND & BUILDINGS

FRONTAGE	DEPTH	UNIT PRICE	DEPTH FACTOR	FRONT FT. PRICE

C.I.

TOTAL VALUE LAND

TOTAL VALUE BUILDINGS

TOTAL VALUE LAND & BUILDINGS

PROPERTY FACTORS

TOPOGRAPHY

IMPROVEMENTS

WATER	
SEWER	
GAS	
ELECTRICITY	
ALL UTILITIES	

EVEL

GH

OW

LLING

AMPY

STREET

TREND OF DISTRICT

IMPROVING	
STATIC	
DECLINING	

AVED

HI-IMPROVED

RT

DEWALK

PROPERTY INFORMATION

ND COST

DG. COST

LE PRICE

NT

PENSE

T RENT

ND	@	% =
DG.	@	% =

TOTAL

CONSTRUCTION

SINGLE FAMILY	HOTEL
TWO FAMILY	ROOMING HOUSE
APARTMENTS	GAS STATION
STORES'	WAREHOUSE
OFFICES	INDUSTRIAL
COMM. GARAGE	FARM

FOUNDATION
- CONCRETE
- CONCRETE BLOCK
- BRICK OR STONE
- PIERS

FLOORS

	B	1	2	3
CEMENT				
EARTH				
PINE				
HARDWOOD				
ASPH. TILE				

BASEMENT
- AREA FULL
- ½, ⅓
- NO BASEMENT
- HEAD ROOM
- ATTIC STRS. & FLOOR

INTERIOR FINISH

	B	1	2	3
PINE				
HARDWOOD				
PLASTER				
DRY WALL				
UNFINISHED				

- FIN. BSMT. AREA
- FIN. ATTIC AREA
- FIREPLACE
- MODERN KITCHEN

WALLS
- BEVEL SIDING
- WIDE SIDING
- DROP SIDING
- WOOD SHINGLES
- ASPHALT SHINGLES
- ASBESTOS SHINGLES
- STUCCO ON FRAME
- STUCCO ON MASONRY
- BRICK VENEER
- BRICK ON MASONRY
- CONC. OR CIND. BLOCK
- ARTIFICIAL STONE
- STONE ON MASONRY

HEATING
- PIPELESS FURNACE
- HOT AIR FURNACE
- FORCED AIR FURNACE
- STEAM
- HOT WATER OR VAPOR
- AIR CONDITIONING
- RADIANT HEATING
- UNIT HEATERS
- AUTO. BURNER
- NO HEATING

ROOFING
- ASPHALT SHINGLES
- WOOD SHINGLES
- ASBESTOS SHINGLES
- SLATE
- TILE
- METAL
- COMPOSITION
- ROLL ROOFING

PLUMBING
- BATHROOM
- TOILET ROOM
- WATER CLOSET
- LAVATORY
- KITCHEN SINK
- STD. WATER HEATER
- AUTO. WATER HEATER
- NO PLUMBING

FRAMING
- WOOD JOIST
- TIMBER, BEAMS & COLS
- STEEL BEAMS & COLS
- WOOD RAFTERS

LIGHTING
- MODERN FIXTURES
- TILE BATH FLR. & WSCT.
- TILE TOILET FLR. & WSCT.
- NO LIGHTING

NO. OF ROOMS
- BSM'T.
- 1ST
- 2ND
- 3RD

DESIGN
- RANCH TYPE
- SPLIT LEVEL
- CONVENTIONAL
- DESIGN FACTOR %
- GRADE FACTOR %

COMPUTATIONS

UNIT	AMOUNT
S.F.	
ADD. & PCHS.	
WALL HT.	
BSMT. AREA	
FINISH	
ATTIC	
HEATING	
PLUMBING	
M.F.	
TOTAL	
FACTOR	
REPL. VALUE	

DESCRIPTION OF OBSOLESCENCE

STRUCTURAL	ECONOMIC	BLIGHTED AREA
SURPLUS CAPACITY	TOPOGRAPHY	RURAL LOCATION
OVERBUILT	COMMER. LOCATION	WATER SUPPLY

SUMMARY OF BUILDINGS

OCCUPANCY	TYPE	GRADE	AGE	REMOD.	COND.	PHYS. DEPR.	REPL. VAL.	PHYS. VAL.	OBSOL. DEPR.	SOUND VAL.
DWELLING										
GARAGE										
COMMERCIAL										

DATE LISTED	LISTED	MEAS.	AREA	PRICED	REVD.	CHECKED

TOTAL VALUE BUILDINGS

GRADE DENOTES QUALITY ...

APPENDIX II

PILOT STUDY
RESIDENTIAL HOUSING RESEARCH--GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
Preliminary Analysis--May 20, 1967

CONTENTS

I. Procedure

Sample. In order to get a few interviews completed so
that a preliminary analysis may be accomplished, it was decided
to start from the extremes of the heterogeneity continuum,
i.e., all of the stratified sample was arranged sequentially
from the HOHO condition (10% or less valuation deviation with
both abuttors) to the He conditions (40% or more deviation
with one or more abuttors). Several from each end then were
provided to the interviewers. Those actually interviewed
then were those that the interviewers obtained from within
the blocks offered. The following page 122 shows the dis-
tribution of the interviews completed. It will be noted that
a nice division of homogeneous and heterogeneous was obtained;
however, the division between heterogeneous high and hetero-
geneous low is extremely poor. Additional interviews must be
completed to offer even a preliminary view of the functioning
of the heterogeneous high cells.

Interviewers. Three Home Demonstration Extension Agents,
one hired lay worker, one Work-Study student and the author
comprised the interviewing team. Except for minor errors and
misconceptions the instrument appears to be adequate so far as
a field instrument is concerned. Interviewers experienced
little difficulty in using it. Also, no refusals to entry
were realized. The mention of the University of Massachusetts
appears to be sufficient to establish acceptability.

Time period. Interviewing was started April 26, 1967 and
completed May 19, 1967.

II. Sample Obtained

Several "not in" calls were made. This is recorded on the schedules but not included here. (Max. - 3 calls is shown.)

Category	Schedules		
House gone - Foundation only) Multi-family house) Next to multi-family house) House unoccupied)	5		
Not in - 3 calls	1		
He(A) He(A)	7	7	7
He(A) N	3	3	3
N He(A)	4	4	4
He(B) He(B)	1	1	1
Ho Ho	23	23	23

Total attempted _____ 44

Total completed _____ 38

Total homogeneous _____ 23

Total heterogeneous _____ 15

III. Analytic Scheme

Although the heterogeneous high category only includes one respondent, this person appears to be representative of his group. It will then be used as an indicator (admittedly weak). The procedure then will be to examine the homogeneous, heterogeneous high, and heterogeneous low, groupings--in relation to the findings against the stated hypotheses. Following this an assessment regarding the theoretical frame will be made and finally suggestions for further effort in completing the project.

Interviews required approximately twenty-five minutes each and the street and house labeling systems in use in Greenfield were adequate in keeping time between interviews to a minimum. Most interviews were conducted with the wife of the head of the household. In a few cases the male member

was home and answered the questions. In only one or two cases was someone other than the head of household or his wife the respondent.

The face data was easily obtained and will be used as required in this report. Schedules are very complete with only an occasional question being refused and only one with a definite block of unanswered questions. Any ideas of the questions being too intimate were refuted by the completeness of the schedules.

Section XII. relates to the possible confirmation of the Raymond Mack work in 1951.

IV. Hypothesis a.

"The interaction of residents of heterogeneous residential housing with their neighbors will be of greater frequency than those residing in homogeneous housing."

Table A. Frequency of Interaction--all Types
(Per person during the two week period)

With	Home	Hetero	Hetero Low	Hetero High
Neighbor on Right	6.3	4.8	4.9	4.0
Neighbor on Left	5.2	3.9	3.6	8.0
Other Neighbors	14.2	12.3	12.2	12.0
Total Contacts All Types	25.7	21.0	20.7	24.0

V. Hypothesis b.

"The interaction of residents of heterogeneous residential housing with their neighbors will be among a larger number of different individuals than those residing in homogeneous housing."

Note: The manner in which the information was asked precludes a determination of total number of different individuals per se--rather it is related to the specific activity. A totaling of the various activities is not sufficient in providing a grand total as in some cases the same person is the person mentioned in relation to more than one activity.

Table B. Frequency of Interaction with Different Neighbors
(Total different individuals per respondent during the two
week period.)

Type & Number of Respondents	Greet	Info.	Borrow	Visit	Meet(R)	Meet(A)	Other
Homo (23)	4.70	0.52	0.17	2.88	0.44	0.04	0.00
Hetero (14)	4.20	0.28	0.07	2.64	0.21	0.21	0.00
Hetero Low (13)	4.30	0.23	0.07	2.70	0.23	0.15	0.00
Hetero High (1)	3.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Note: The above table provides some insight re complexity
of concerns (the next hypothesis of interest) however a high
level frequency with a few individuals could bias the above
information. In the light of this possibility a separate
table was developed - next page.

VI. Hypothesis c.

"The interaction of residents of heterogeneous residential housing with their neighbors will be re topics of more complex concern than those residing in homogeneous housing."

Table C. Frequency of all Interaction Separated into
Topical Categories
(Total contacts per two week period per respondent.)

Type and Number of Respondents	Greet	Info	Borrow	Visit	Meet(R)	Meet(A)	Other
Homo (23)	14.8	0.92	0.26	7.14	1.15	0.26	0.00
Hetero (14)	13.7	0.93	0.13	6.85	0.21	0.43	0.00
Hetero Low (13)	13.4	0.77	0.00	7.40	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hetero High (1)	16.0	3.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Assuming the complexity of interaction (i.e., of topics) to rise from left to right in the above table, the following accumulated totals are given. Accumulations are from right to left to reflect the condition of interest.

	Greet	Info	Borrow	Visit	Meet(R)	Meet(A)	Other
Homo	24.53	9.73	8.81	8.55	1.41	0.26	0.00
Hetero	22.25	8.55	7.62	7.49	0.64	0.43	0.00
Hetero Low	21.57	8.17	7.40	7.40	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hetero High	24.00	8.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

VII. **Hypothesis d.**

"The interaction of residents of heterogeneous housing with their neighbors will be re topics of more civic import than those residing in homogeneous housing."

Table D. Total Number of Civic Concern Contacts
(Per category during the two week period.)

Category	Number
Homo (23)	10
Hetero (14)	2
Hetero Low (13)	2
Hetero High (1)	0

Topics mentioned:

Taxes
School matters
Town Government
Town Elders
Town Politics

VIII. **Hypothesis e.**

"Residents of heterogeneous residential housing will accept their neighbors (social distance) to a greater degree than residents of homogeneous residential housing."

The data re this condition was gathered via a five item Guttman type question series. The appropriate sequence of the items was determined by a pre-test among approximately 35 students and others. The first step of analysis then is the determination of the scalability of the data that were gathered.

Table E. Reproducibility of Guttman Type 5 Point Scale
for Social Distance

(Computation -

$$R = 1 - \frac{Errors}{N \ x \ m} \ a \ )$$

	Category	Reproducibility in %
	(Right Neighbor	86.4
Homo	(Left Neighbor	87.0
	(Other Neighbors	80.0
	(Right Neighbor	89.2
Hetero	(Left Neighbor	88.6
	(Other Neighbors	88.6

[a] Claire Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963), p. 375, "Guttman and his co-workers have set .90 as the minimal reproducibility necessary for a series of items to be regarded as approximating a perfect scale."

Table F. Degree of Social Acceptability as Indicated in
Scores of Guttman Type Social Distance Scale
(Positive answers as % of total answers.)

Homo	(Right Neighbor	90.9
	(Left Neighbor	82.6
	(Other Neighbors	88.2
Hetero	(Right Neighbor	83.0
	(Left Neighbor	80.0
	(Other Neighbor	73.0

IX. Hypothesis f.

"Previous social mobility will be greater among residents of heterogeneous than among residents of homogeneous housing."

In a determination of this condition the current family income was obtained and related to the level that was recalled for ten years ago. It was found that the homogeneous group moved from an average of $4,840 per annum to $6,454--a 33-1/3% increase. The heterogeneous group moved from $3,900 to $5,500--a 41% increase.

It must be immediately noted however, that the heterogeneous group is almost exclusively of the heterogeneous low type and the income asked for was the respondent's family.

X. Hypothesis g.

"Membership in voluntary associations will be greater in the heterogeneous group."

Table G. Membership in Voluntary Organizations

Category	Attitude Re Number of Memberships		Total Named	Different Organizations Named
	Many	Few		
Homo (23)	13%	87%	39	22
Hetero (14)	7%	93%	24	18

XI. Hypothesis h.

"Those in heterogeneous housing will have been more geographically mobile in the prior ten year period."

Table H. Geographical Mobility

Category	Total Moves	Moves as % of Respondents
Homo (23)	10	43.4
Hetero (14)	4	28.6

XII. Support for Raymond W. Mack hypothesis—i.e., housing may be equated with social class.[1]

Table I. Valuation of the Residency and Social Class
(By quartiles—N equals 38)

Valuation	Current Family Income	Respondent's Education	Ed. of Wife or Husband of Respond.	Hatt-North Scale[a]
1st quartile $40,200 - $13,500	$11,600	13.9 Yrs	12.0 Yrs	71
2d quartile $13,500 - $10,700	6,125	12.8	13.0	57
3d quartile $10,600 - $8,700	5,812	12.2	11.6	55
4th quartile $8,700 - $3,400	6,375	10.9	12.4	66

[a]Paul K. Hatt and C. C. North, "Occupational Ratings" in Delbert C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (New York: David McKay, 1964).

XIII. Summary

The findings are highly consistent in failing to support the hypotheses. In relation to the Raymond Mack work there is some indication of a positive relation.

It might be noted that if the hypotheses were phrased in the "null" fashion they would all have been supported.

It also should be noted that this analysis (because of the character of the sample) is comparative between Homo and Hetero Low. The question of findings re Hetero High remains largely unanswered.

XIV. Conclusions in Regard to Theory

This analysis suggests that the qualities attributed to

---

[1]Raymond W. Mack, "Housing As An Index of Social Class," in Social Forces, XXIX (May, 1951), 391-400.

personnel living in Hetero housing are experienced to a larger degree by the people in Homo housing. Taking this view back to the primary empirical concern--i.e., shifts in residential housing configurations, it would appear that if frequency of interaction, more sophisticated contacts, lessened social distance and generally more out-going people are desired, the traditional "development" housing should provide them in greater quantity than the new forms. Further, the absence of any forceful reversals in the data suggest a strong position in regard to this view. The basic limitations of the study as well as the fewness of the completed schedules should be here emphasized. The study concerns the one family housing milieu only, and a sample of 38 among 914 is not conclusive and hardly suggestive.

XV. Recommended Plan

In the light of the strong direction the study appears to be taking, the lack of any prior data in regard to this specific phenomenon and the limitation of the current sample, it would be desirable to: 1) gather sufficient additional interviews to establish the position of the heterogeneous high category, or 2) develop a complete sampling plan with appropriate contributions from all contingency cells or 3) proceed to interview the entire universe[1](398). With a half hour time element per interview, the maximum time required would approximate 60 man days.

Number one (above) would entail a modest effort and may prove helpful in providing the basis for a later decision. Numbers 2 and 3 require substantial time and effort and should be undertaken only if the potential of the research now appears sufficient.

---

[1] It is not intended to generalize to either Greenfield or even to the one family "trios" in Greenfield. In a sense then the "universe" becomes the extracted stratified sample of 398 cases.

LETTER TO MASSACHUSETTS REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION

University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts

August 12, 1966

Dear   :

A trend in current residential building appears to be the
mixing of types of dwellings within a single tract. For ex-
ample, the new town of Columbia, near Washington, D.C., com-
bines sizeable estates and apartment houses. In the July
House and Home magazine there is a story re: an Amherst,
Massachusetts builder who is combining single family dwellings,
rental and condominium apartments.

Presently I am developing a doctoral research project in
Sociology and would like to investigate the relationship of
the above phenomenon to changes in social structure, i.e.,
in what ways does heterogeneous housing influence the "group
activities" (social system) of the residents?

In connection with this study I would greatly appreciate your
reaction to the questions on the enclosed form. (A self-
addressed envelope is enclosed--no stamp is needed.)

Sincerely,

Edward K. Knapp
Extension Analyst

enclosure

EKK:kl

Edward K. Knapp
Skinner Hall
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts   01002

Response of:

1. Do you agree that the trend described is discernible?
    Yes___ No___
    Comment_____

2. Do you know of the location of such mixed type develop-
    ments in the state of Massachusetts? (We have, of course,
    experienced a varied housing typology in urban areas for
    a number of years. This, however, has been largely estab-
    lished by chance rather than by design and is not found in
    the more suburban outlying areas.) If you know of the
    type that interests me will you please indicate where
    they are found:

    _____

3. Does your organization have an interest in this topic?
    If so, will you:

    a) Make information available to me? Yes___ No___

    b) Discuss your views with me personally? Yes___ No___

    If "yes" to the above question, when may I stop in for a
    brief interview?

    Date_____ Time_____

Thank you for your assistance.

Prepared by Edward K. Knapp, Extension Analyst. Issued by the
Cooperative Extension Service, A. A. Spielman, Dean & Director,
in furtherance of the Acts of May 8 & June 30, 1914, University
of Massachusetts, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture & County Extension
Services cooperating.   8/12/66

APPENDIX IV

LETTER TO REAL ESTATE PERSONNEL

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts

September, 1966

    As a real estate salesman, you develop considerable awareness of the relationship between "shelter" and people. It would be very helpful to me, in connection with a research project, if you would react to the comments and questions on the enclosed form.

    A self-addressed envelope (no stamp needed) is provided. Thank you for your assistance.

                    Sincerely,

                    /s/ Edward K. Knapp
                    Edward K. Knapp
                    Extension Analyst

EKK:KL

encl.

Residential Housing
Response of Real Estate Salesperson
September 10, 1966

Winston Churchill said, "We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us." On the other hand, Jane Jacobs said that "housing" per se does not have important generalized efforts and qualities.

Obviously, opinions vary as to the impact of shelter upon our personalities, our families, and neighborhoods. I am interested in how you as a real estate salesperson feel about the influence of housing upon people.

1. In your contacts with clients (and prior clients) what changes in people would you attribute to the influence of the dwelling?

_____

2. Please check your most important response to question 1.

3. Some new residential developments are including a variety of housing units within a single tract. Small one family, large one family and multiple dwelling structures are being constructed in close proximity. This is in sharp contrast to the "boxes on the hillside" developments of the past two decades. In thinking of personal, family and neighborhood response to housing, what might happen to attitudes; feelings, interests, activities, etc., in the community where the newer mixed type housing is provided?

_____

4. In your answer to question 3 above; are there any items (responses) that you would attribute solely to the housing?

_____

5. If you were asked to attempt to design an ideal community, what kind of houses would you suggest?

_____

6. What family and neighborhood social characteristics would you hope your ideal community would produce?

_____

(Note: This information will be used as a supporting item in a larger research project. If you care to identify yourself in the following space, I will be glad to send you a research report when completed.

Name_____

Address_____

_____)

APPENDIX V

GREENFIELD RESEARCH--GENERAL INTERVIEWS--FEBRUARY 1968

        General depth interviews were taken with a view to finding
new and additional dimensions for the construction of an
instrument. These sessions were held in three different com-
munities and involved some twenty-three respondents.

Springfield--On January 20, 1968, fourteen low income people
were interviewed. The time period was approximately two and
one-half hours. The focus of the response here was civic.
They were not interested in discussing things within the home
but rather the community--the block or immediate neighborhood.
Springfield has had several poverty related programs that
provided local services to most of these respondents. Perhaps
the item that they were mainly interested in discussing was
the decision to provide some small swimming pools. These
would be of the private back yard variety but for public use.
They were concerned as to their durability. Frequently the
idea of middle class public workers attempting to understand
lower class people was injected into the conversation.

Greenfield--Interviews held February 16, 1968. Five respon-
dents. These were of greatly varying social class and willing
to discuss the more immediate social relationships of interest
to the study. They emphasized the importance of children and
pets (mainly dogs) in establishing social contact. It seemed
to matter little if the influence was negative or positive,
the dogs and children serve to keep abutting neighbors in
rather constant contact. One lady of middle class status
mentioned the corporation president next door, whom they were
in great awe of until he helped their child with a small
mechanical problem. The physical barrier question arose in
relation to the lack of sidewalks in some areas.

Northampton--Interviews taken February 20, 1968 among four
people. Here a civic problem again was the principal concern.
The town was attempting to establish a new dump and the local
residents were getting together to plan strategy. An unusual
basis for neighborhood interaction was mentioned in the collection
of food labels. Apparently the independent local grocers will
give green stamps for any food label from a brand that is carried
exclusively by them. Neighbors had been getting together to
swap, bundle and get them ready to cash-in. They claimed that
one woman had done enough of this during the past year that
she obtained green stamps in the amount of some $1,000.

Collectively, these interviews were helpful in providing direction as to areas of concentration in neighborhood interaction. They also pointed to the general decrease in interaction levels among the American public. There appeared to be an exception in the case of a low income respondent from Greenfield who planned to move from her present residence because of the high level of interaction. She was tired of the entry without knocking, constant front porch meetings and children considering any living room their own. In summarizing the responses, the following areas appear important:

Reasons (basis) for Social Contacts:

    1.   Children (including babysitting)

    2.   Shopping

    3.   Recreation--swimming pool in particular

    4.   Obligatory visits--sickness, death, new neighbor, collections.

    5.   Household accidents

    6.   Pets

    7.   Common interests or hobbies.

Factors Affecting Amount of Social Contact:

    1.   Season of Year

    2.   Part or full time employment

    3.   Age differences

    4.   Out-of-neighborhood activities--relatives and/or friends in other parts of town

    5.   Sharp ethnic, religious or racial differences

    6.   Educational level differences.

Means of Contact:

    1.   Across fence in yard, across porches etc.

    2.   "Drop-in" visits.

    3.   Planned visits.

    4.   Neighborhood parties.

(2/25/68)

APPENDIX VI

RESIDENTIAL HOUSING RESEARCH--GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
Revised Schedule--Final Revision, April 5, 1968

_____ .. Tag Designation - Number _____   Cd 1 Cols 6-8

Lot number of interview property Number _____   Do not code

5. Assessment differentials with abuttors:

    Coscitive right hand neighbor*   % _____   Cd 1 Cols 9-11
      (House number _____)

    Coscitive left hand neighbor   % _____   Cd 1 Cols 12-14
      (House number)

   * When facing street

Resulting levels of housing heterogeneity: Cd 1 Col 15

  1   HO HO   . . . . ◯   1

  2   N N   . . . . ◯   2

  3   N HE(A), HE(A) N, N HE(B), HE(B) N . . . . ◯   3

  4   HE(A) HE(A) HE(B) HE(B) . . . . ◯   4

Recreational facility, swimming pool, picnic table, sandbox,
swing, slides, bar-b-q , tennis court etc., near lot line.

Facility right	⬭	Cd 1 Col 24
Facility left	⬭	Cd 1 Col 25
No facility	⬭	Do not code

Other - Please describe _____

_____

_____

To right side	⬭	Cd 1 Col 26
To left side	⬭	Cd 1 Col 27
None	⬭	Do not code

《 Interviewer: Begin questioning of respondent with
   items on next page - 5. 》

6.

5. What is the house number for the neighbor to our <u>right</u> when we face the street?

Number _____   Do not code

What is their last name?   Name _____   Do not code

Have they lived there three months or more?   Yes ⬭   Do not code

No ⬭

If "yes", How long have they lived there?   Cd 1 Col 35

Under 1 year ⬭   1

About 1 year ⬭   2

About 2 years ⬭   3

About 3 years ⬭   4

About 4 years ⬭   5

5-9 years ⬭   6

10 yrs and over ⬭   7

6. What is the house number for the neighbor to our <u>left</u> when we face the street?

Number _____   Do not code

What is their last name?   Name _____   Do not code

Have they lived there for three months or more?   Yes ⬭   Do not code

No ⬭

If "yes", How long have they lived there?   Cd 1 Col

Under 1 year ⬭   1

About 1 year ⬭   2

About 2 years ⬭   3

About 3 years ⬭   4

About 4 years ⬭   5

5-9 years ⬭   6

10 yrs and over ⬭   7

6A.

7. When did you move into this residence?

Less than 3 months ago	◯	Do not code
Under 1 year	◯	1
About 1 year ago	◯	2
About 2 years ago	◯	3
About 3 years ago	◯	4
About 4 years ago	◯	5
5-9 years ago	◯	6
10 years and over	◯	7

Cd 1 Col 36

(Interviewer: At this point you should have determined if the respondent meets the following criteria. If she does not, terminate the interview - otherwise continue with q 8, next page.)

Criteria: Housewife - married and living with husband

In the age bracket 20 through 70 years

She and/or husband still in labor force

They own their own home - this home.

They and abutting neighbors resident for three months or more.

Respondents' and abutting neighbors' homes are all one family structures.

Do not code

If children are listed above -

Do any of these children play with, or regularly associate with
any of the neighbor children living immediately to either side?

If "yes", Please identify these children (in relation to above list)
and the neighbors' children, describe the common activity and state
how frequently they get together.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. Do you have a dog?   Yes

                                          No

Cd 1 Col 46
1
2

If "yes", Please describe in what ways this dog is a basis
for contact between you and your neighbors - and if this
does occur, how frequently. (Interviewer: Please identify the
neighbor of reference.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

10.   Who is the head of this household?

(Interviewer: This is usually the principal income producer.)

Cd 1 Col 47

                                          Husband   1

                                          Wife   2

                                          Other   3

If "other" please explain. _____

Coding only:

Cd 1 Col 48

11. What is the occupation of the head of the household?

Occupation _____

Complete name and address
of business _____

_____

Code 1-7 re
Hollingshead 2
factor index scale &
enter at bottom
of page.

12. How much schooling has the head of the household **completed**?

Cd 1 Col 50

Code 1-7 re
Hollingshead 2
factor index scale and
enter at bottom of page

Graduate Professional Training (completion
(of a graduate degree)   ◯   1

Standard College or University Graduation   ◯   2

Partial College Training   ◯   3

High School Graduates   ◯   4

Partial High School   ◯   5

Junior High School   ◯   6

Less Than Seven Years of School   ◯   7

(**Interviewer:** Remainder of this page for coding purposes only.)
Computation of Hollingshead 2 Factor Index:

Factor - Occupation _____ x Factor Wgt 7 = _____

Factor - Education _____ x Factor Wgt 4 = _____

Index of Social Position _____

Cd 1 Col 51

Social Class	Range of Computed Score	
I	11-17	1
II	18-27	2
III	28-43	3
IV	44-60	4
V	61-77	5

13. If this home were offered for sale at the present time about how much do you think it would sell for?

Cd 1 Col 52

Under $10.000	◯	1
10-14	◯	2
15-19	◯	3
20-24	◯	4
25-34	◯	5
35-49	◯	6
50 & over	◯	7
Don't know or refused to answer	◯	0

Cd 1 Col 53

14. What do you think of as your national background?

American (U.S.)	◯	1
Other	◯	2

If "other", what?

Cd 1 Col 54

15. What does your husband think of as his national background?

American (U.S.)	◯	1
Other	◯	2

If "other", What?

(Interviewer: The next series of questions pertain only to the immediate neighbor on the right as you face the street. Please see that the respondent has the appropriate neighbor clearly in mind.)

16. Do you feel that these neighbors are in your age bracket?

Cd 1 Col 55

Yes	◯	1
No	◯	2

17. Do your neighbors to the right have children living at home?

				Cd 1 Col 55
	Yes	◯		1
	No	◯		2

If "yes" -----

Will you please give me their names and school level?

Boys   Indicate number

Pre School (Including nursery and kindergarden)	◯	Cd 1 Col 57
Grammer School	◯	Cd1 Col 58
Junior High	◯	Cd 1 Col 59
High School	◯	Cd 1 Col 60
College (Living home)	◯	Cd 1 Col 61

Girls

Pre School	◯	Cd 1 Col 62
Grammer School	◯	Cd 1 Col 63
Junior High	◯	Cd 1 Col 64
High School	◯	Cd 1 Col 65
College (Living home)	◯	Cd 1 Col 66

(Interviewer: Please indicate if respondent was able to recall the names of the children –

			Cd 1 Col 67
Named all	◯		1
Named some	◯		2
Named none	◯	)	0

If "names were recalled" --------

18. How did you learn the names of those children?   Do not code

Ways _____

_____

_____

Coding only

19. If these neighbors have a dog, does it provide a basis for contact with them?

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

If "yes", How? _____

Cd 1 Col 68

20. Are you on a first name basis with these neighbors?

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

Cd 1 Col 69

21. Are they relatives of yours or your husband?

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

Cd 1 Col 70

22. Are you and these neighbors of the same nationality?

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

If "no", where were they born?   Wife _____

Husband _____

Cd 1 Col 71

Do not code

Do not code

23. Is the religious faith of the wife next door the same as yours?

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

Don't Know ⬭ 3

If "yes", Do you attend the same church?

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

Cd 1 Col 72

Cd 1 Col 73

24. Were you friends before either you or they moved here?

Yes ⬭   Cd 1 Col 74

               1

No ⬭   2

25. Can you give me their telephone number from memory?

Yes ⬭   Cd 1 Col 75

               1

No ⬭   2

26. When was the last time you talked with your neighbor
on the right?

               Cd 1 Col 76

Within week ⬭   1

Week to month ⬭   2

More than month ⬭   3

27. What was the occasion for the above conversation?

               Cd 1 Col 77

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

28. In this conversation with your neighbor, what were the
things you talked about? Please give details.

               Cd 1 Col 78

Topics including details _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

29. What other things have you done together with this neighbor during the past month? Include any relationships involving both or either husband.

Cd 1 Col 79

Activities _____

_____

_____

_____

30. Do the husbands have common activities not involving the wives?   Cd 1 Col 80

                             Yes   ◯   1

                             No   ◯   2

If "yes", please describe. _____

_____

(Interviewer: The following group of questions are in part a check list. These include questions 31-40. If a specific relationship has been fully discussed in the answers to the previous questions, please skip that portion of the check questions.)   Start Cd 2

31. Do you and this neighbor shop together or for each other?   Cd 2 Col 5

                             Yes   ◯   1

                             No   ◯   2

If "yes" , please describe. _____

_____

32. Do you use any recreational facility together, that is a Bar-B-Q, swimming pool, tennis court etc.?

Cd 2 Col 6

                             Yes   ◯   1

                             No   ◯   2

If "yes" , please describe.

36. Have you had occasion to borrow anything from this neighbor during the past month?

Yes ⬭
No ⬭

If "yes", please describe. _____

_____

Did you feel that the borrowing just described was appropriate - that you could freely ask for this item?

Yes ⬭
No ⬭

If the situation was reversed do you think that they would feel the same way?

Yes ⬭
No ⬭

37. Have you ever had a disagreement or quarrel with these neighbors?

Yes ⬭
No ⬭
Undecided ⬭

If "yes", what was the nature of the disagreement or quarrel? ___

_____

_____

38. If you needed serious advice about a personal problem would you consult with this neighbor?

Yes ⬭
No ⬭

If this has occured, please explain. _____

39. If this neighbor needed serious advice about a personal
problem, would she consult with you?

Cd 2 Col 17

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

If this has occured, please explain. _____

40. If your auto broke down several blocks from here and you
thought she might be available, would you call upon this neighbor
for assistance ?

Cd 2 Col 18

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

41. If the situation were reversed, would she call upon you?

Cd 2 Col 19

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

42. Please respond either "yes" or "no" to the following questions
regarding these neighbors.

Do you visit each other on a "drop-in" basis?

Cd 2 Col 20

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

Do you wish that they would move away from Greenfield?

Cd 2 Col 21

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

Do you say "hello" to them?

Cd 2 Col 22

Yes ⬭ 1

No ⬭ 2

Do you avoid being seen in public with them?

Cd 2 Col 23

Yes ⬭

No ⬭ 2

17.   Coding only

Q 42 continued -

Do you avoid talking with them?   Cd 2 Col 24

                          Yes   1

                          No   2

Do you ever invite them to a planned get together with other
neighbors or friends?   Cd 2 Col 25

                          Yes   1

                          No   2

Do you avoid visiting with them?   Cd 2 Col 26

                          Yes   1

                          No   2

If the situation developed, and during emergencies, would
you be pleased to have them as members of your household?   Cd 2 Col 27

                          Yes   1

                          No   2

(Coding space)   Computation of Social Distance Score re neighbor

to the right.   Score_____   Cd 2 Col 28

43. In general, how would you describe your feelings in regard to   Cd 2 Col 29

this neighbor?

Feelings _____

43A. What kind of work does this neighbor's husband (or ask re

neighbor is spouse is not present) do?

_____

_____

21.   Coding only

58. What other things have you done together with this neighbor
during the past month? ;Include any relationships involving both
or either husband.   Cd 2 Col 56

Activities _____

_____

_____

_____

---

59. Do the husbands have common activities not involving the wives?   Cd 2 Col 57

                                    Yes   ⬭   1

                                    No   ⬭   2

If "yes", please describe. _____

_____

(Interviewer: The following group of questions are in part a
check list. These include questions 60-69. If a specific
relationship has been fully discussed in the answers to the
previous questions, please skip that portion of the check questions.)

60. Do you and this neighbor shop together or for each other?   Cd 2 Col 58

                                    Yes   ⬭   1

                                    No   ⬭   2

If "yes", please describe. _____

_____

---

61. Do you use any recreational facility together, that is a
Bar-B-Q, swimming pool, tennis court etc.?   Cd 2 Col 59

                                    Yes   ⬭   1

                                    No   ⬭   2

If "yes", please describe. _____

62. Do you get together for any common hobby or special interest?   Cd 2 Col 60

        Yes   ⬭   1

        No   ⬭   2

If "yes", please describe. _____

_____

63. Are there any work-related contacts between your family
and this family next door - such as pooling rides to work, or   Cd 2 Col 61
employment in the same factory or office?   Yes   ⬭   1

        No   ⬭   2

If "yes", please explain. _____

_____

64. Has there been any visiting during the past month that was
prompted by death, illness or other emotionally related condition?   Cd 2 Col : 62

        Yes   ⬭   1

        No   ⬭   2

If "yes", please describe. _____

In the situation just described, did you feel a social obligation   Cd 2 Col   63
in helping out?   Yes   ⬭   1

        No   ⬭   2

If "yes" Why did you feel socially obligated? _____

_____

If the situation was reversed, would they have felt the same way?   Cd 2 Col 64

        Yes   ⬭   1

        No   ⬭   2

26.

Q 71 continued -

Do you avoid talking with them?

Yes ⬭   Cd 2 Col 77
             1

No ⬭   2

Do you ever invite them to a planned get together with other
neighbors or friends?

Yes ⬭   Cd 2 Col 78
             1

No ⬭   2

Do you avoid visiting with them?

Yes ⬭   Cd 2 Col 79
             1

No ⬭   2

If the situation developed, and barring emergencies, would
you be pleased to have them as members of your household?

Yes ⬭   Cd 2 Col 80
             1

No ⬭   2

Start Cd 3

(Coding space) Computation of Social Distance Score re neighbor

to the left.   Score_____   Cd 3 Col 5

72. In general, how would you describe your feelings in regard to

this neighbor?   Cd 3 Col 6

Feelings _____

_____

72A. What kind of work does this neighbor's husband (or ask re

neighbor if spouse is not present) do?

_____

_____

:7.

(Interviewer: If you had any unanswered questions on pp 3 & 4, complete them now.)

73. (Interviewer: Use this space for any general comment made by the respondent and considered pertinent.)

Cd 3 Col 7

74 (Interviewer: Use this space for any general comment you would like to make.)

Cd 3 Col 8

END INTERVIEW
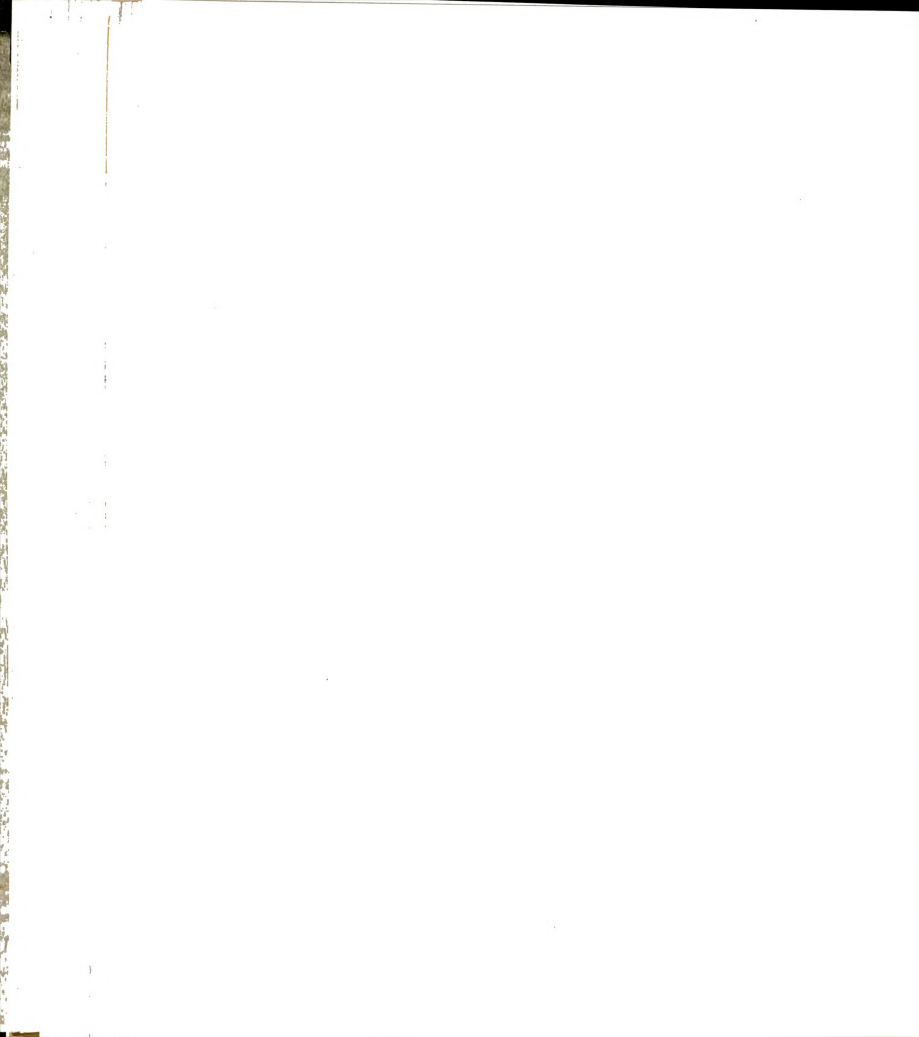
APPENDIX VII

COMPLEXITY RATINGS

Sex: Male /   7   Female /   7

Age: Under 20 Yrs. /   7   20-40 /   7   Over 40 /   7

The following general topics are part of conversations be-tween neighbors and friends. In these exchanges some discussions require more thinking than others. In your experience how would you rate the usual depth of thought involved?

Topic	Shallow Thinking ──➤ Depth Thinking				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Gardening, Yard, Grass, House Repairs, Houseclean-ing, House in General					
2. Shopping, Merchandise Costs, Clothes, Food					
3. Illness, Death, health					
4. Sons & daughters, People living nearby, Educational facilities					
5. Animal Pets					
6. "Greetings"					
7. Purchasing of items for Family Use.					
8. Current Events, News, (Local and/or National)					
9. Neighbors, Children, School					

Topic	Shallow Thinking			Depth Thinking	
	1	2	3	4	5
10. "Hello," "How are you?" Weather					
11. Travel, automobile					
12. Newspaper items, Radio announcements					
13. Doctors, Hospitals Funerals					
14. Flowers, House painting, Housework					
15. Dogs and Cats					
16. Trips, Automobile					

APPENDIX VIII

GUTTMAN'S COEFFICIENT OF PREDICTABILITY

(G, g, or Lambda)

Use: Describing Association between Nominal Scales.

Advantages: No restriction on number of classes in the scales.

No unrealistic assumptions about the distribution of the variables, and it is directly interpretable.

Computing formula:

$$\lambda = \frac{\sum f_r + \sum f_c - (F_r + F_c)}{2N - (F_r + F_c)}$$

Where: f_r = the maximum frequency occurring within a row

f_c = the maximum frequency occurring within a column

F_r = the maximum frequency occurring in a row total

F_c = the maximum frequency occurring in a column total

N = the number of cases

Source: Linton C. Freeman, <u>Elementary Applied Statistics</u> (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 71-78.

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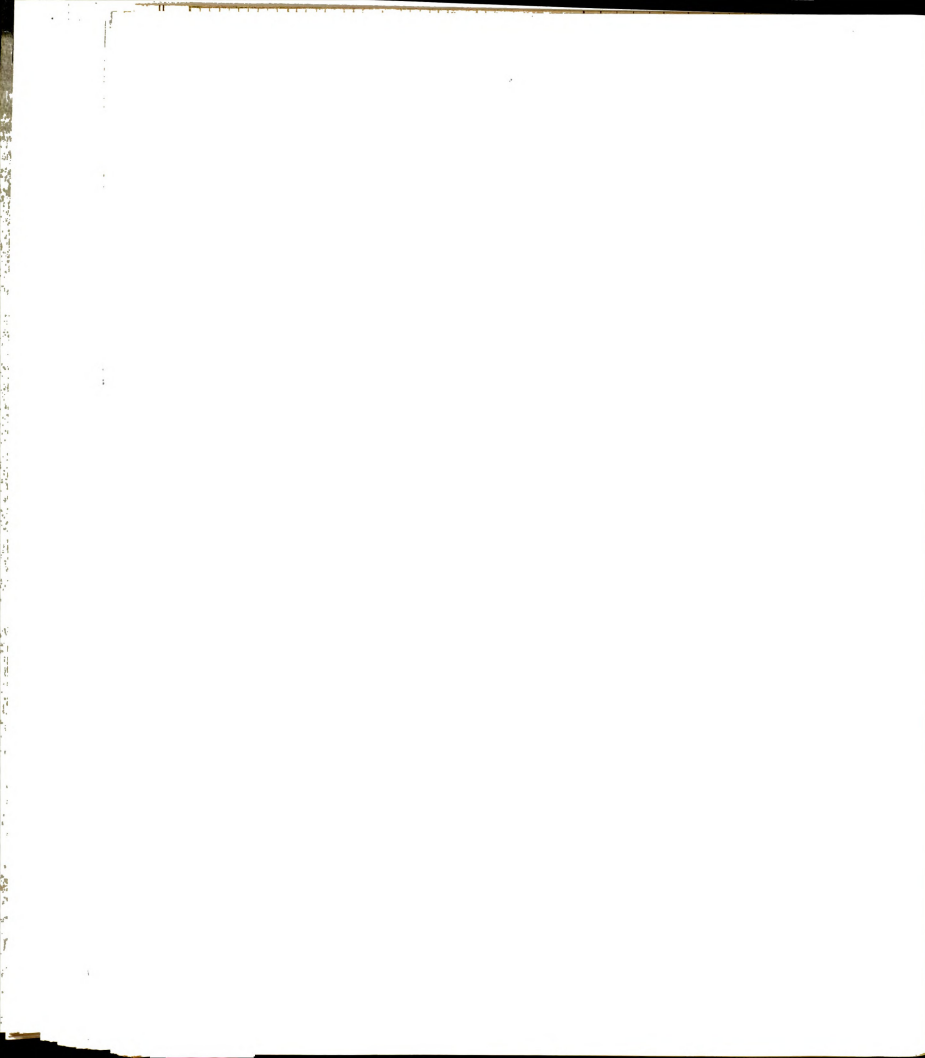
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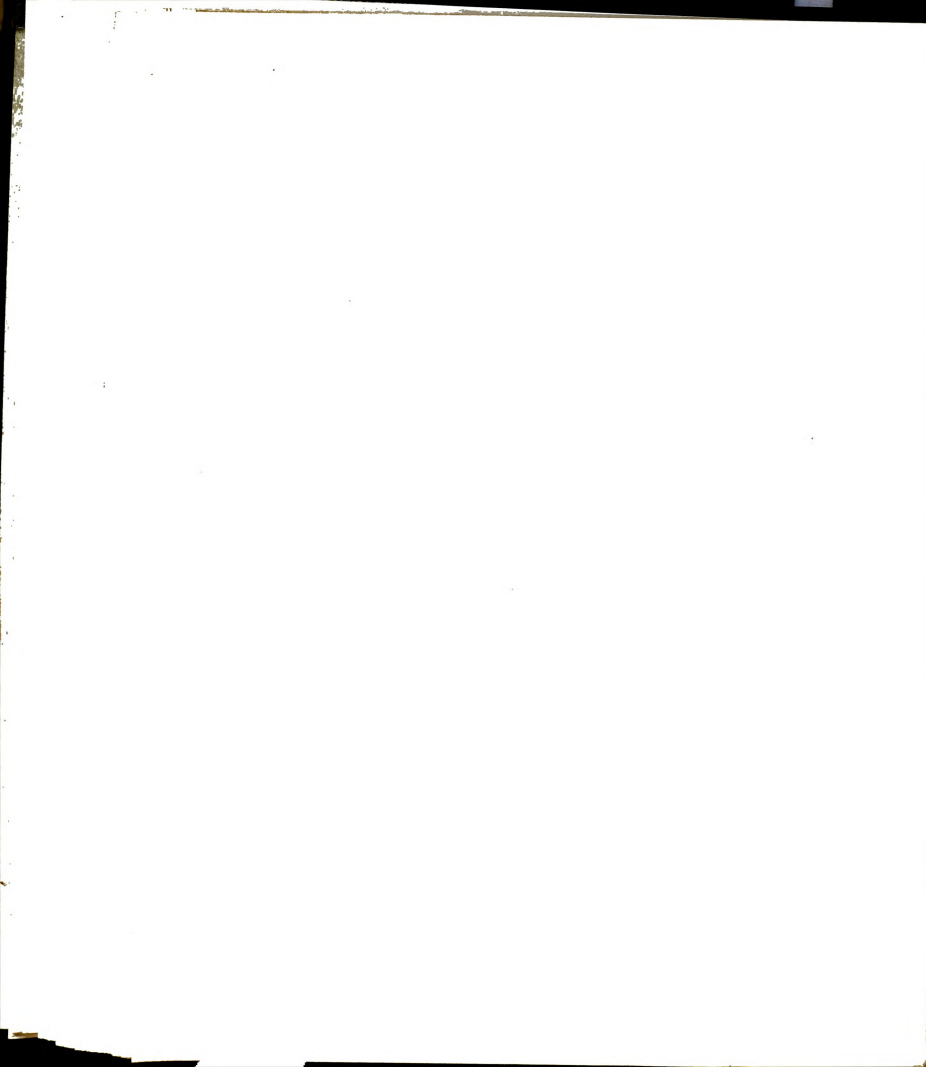Reynolds, Farley. "Suburban Persistence." American Sociological Review, XXIX (December, 1964), 38.

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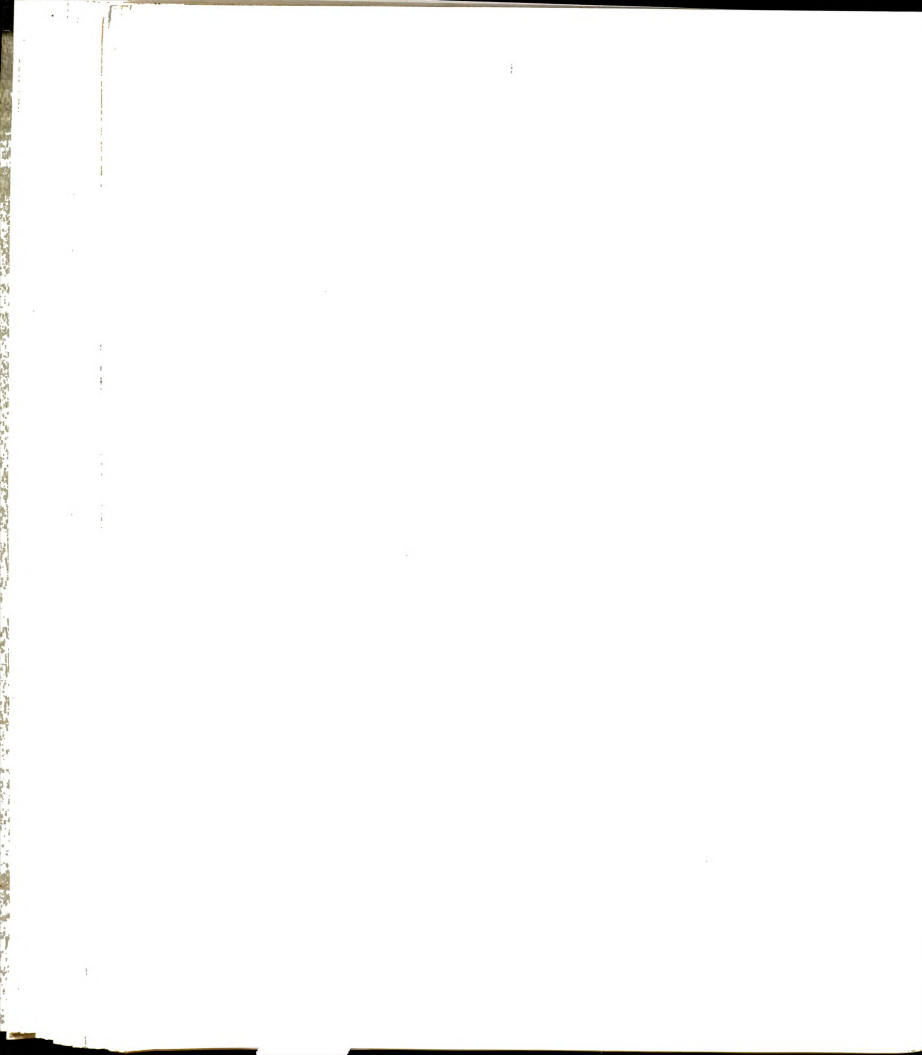
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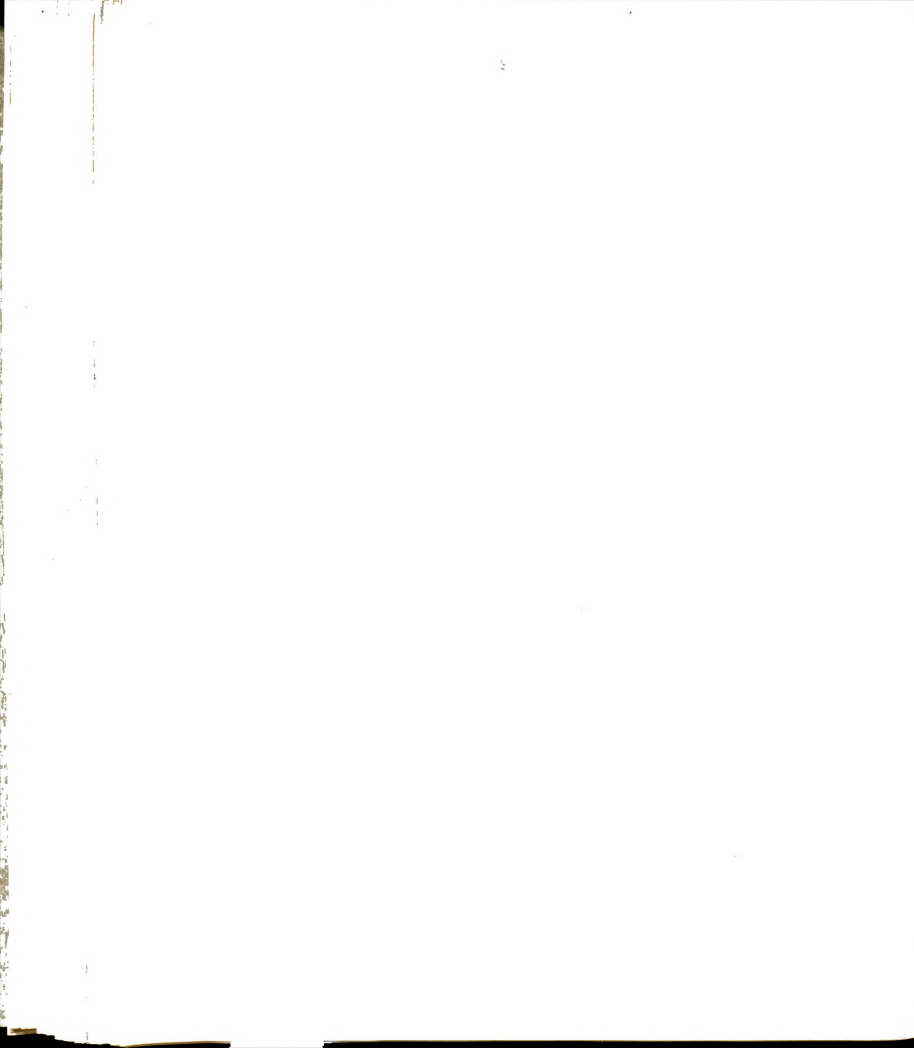
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