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The Voluntary Association in The Slum

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Nicholas Babchuk
C. Wayne Gordon

**The Voluntary
Association in
the Slum**

new series no. 27

University of Nebraska Studies

october 1962

**THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION
IN THE SLUM**

Nicholas Babchuk
and
C. Wayne Gordon

THE VOLUNTARY
ASSOCIATION IN
THE SLUM

university of nebraska studies : new series no. 27

published by the university
at lincoln : october 1962



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*To
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Preface

This study is concerned with the manner in which people become affiliated with voluntary associations. It studies this problem within a slum area in the City of Rochester, New York.

Shortly before our investigation was undertaken, the Rochester Council of Social Agencies had commissioned a community organizer with the task of developing indigenous adult and children's organizations in a slum area (Census Tracts 5 and 28). Despite the formidability of the assignment, the organizer was successful in a short period of time. Herein lies the tale. We studied the memberships and the groups developed by the community organizer, giving careful attention to the role played by him in persuading people to affiliate with groups. We were also interested in the role played by people who became members of the groups and in their ability to persuade acquaintances to join. Although our primary focus was on persons who became members of newly-created organizations, we also studied the characteristics of others living in the area who had belonged to associations and the manner in which they had become affiliated with such groups. Our findings, interpretations of them, and suggestions for further research are contained within the chapters that follow.

Our report constitutes a departure from other sociological treatises on voluntary association in two major respects. First, we have designed our research to emphasize the *manner of becoming affiliated* with associations, a concern which has heretofore been neglected. Second, our subjects and their organizations are contained within an area of the city which has been traditionally viewed as *lacking in formal voluntary associations—the slum*. Students of society who have studied persons living in slum areas have usually dealt with the “disorganizational” aspects and problems of the dwellers or have, more rarely, examined only the informal organization of such persons.

Acknowledgements

The major portion of the field research for this study was completed during the period of February through August, 1957. The project was, in part, supported by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Rochester. A Faculty Research Grant from the University of Rochester made it possible for Nicholas Babchuk to devote all of his time to the project in the summer of 1957.

We are indebted to James A. Beaudry, Ruth Marsey Blum, Arthur P. Jacoby and Marilyn Smith for their resourcefulness, skill, and fidelity in carrying out much of the field research. Carol Cronk and Karen Edgington gathered systematic information which was helpful in our analysis of the children's groups. Hilton Hedrick, the community organizer, made our task much easier through his generous cooperation in introducing us to people in the area and by allowing us free access to agency records.

Special thanks are due our colleagues Wendell Bell and Charles R. Wright of the University of California, Los Angeles, Alan P. Bates of the University of Nebraska, and William J. Schill of the University of Illinois for their thoughtful comments and suggestions for improving the manuscript.

Responsibility for the contents of the manuscript are, of course, our own.

NICHOLAS BABCHUK
C. WAYNE GORDON

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1 / Voluntary Associations in a Zone of Transition

THIS REPORT IS a study of formal voluntary associations in a zone of transition. It seeks information on the various kinds of voluntary organizations to be found in such an area, the characteristics of the members, the manner in which people become affiliated with organizations, and the functions that organizations serve for their members. The specific associations studied include such diverse groups as a neighborhood improvement council, an old-age club, and various children's associations. In this study such groups fall under the province of voluntary associations. That such groups are found in a zone of transition warrants special attention because it has been common to assume that formal associations are nonexistent or at a minimum in the slum, an assumption which has an important bearing on theory in urban sociology and ecology.

This study was initiated with the knowledge that groups had been formed in an interstitial area through the efforts of a community organizer. The organizations created through his efforts provided a focus for the problem, and the membership of these groups provided a major portion of the universe studied. Thus, it was known prior to the study that there were persons belonging to voluntary associations in the area. It was assumed, however, that an extensive network of organizational participation could be found in the area independent of the affiliations created by the professional community organizer. This assumption was borne out readily. A cursory examination of the total membership for the city of such diverse organizations as the YWCA, Boy Scouts, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and so forth, indicated that many of the persons who were members of these groups also inhabited the area mapped out for study.

Were the members of formal organizations in the slum similar to their counterparts who lived in the suburbs? For instance, were

they likely to have relatively high educational achievement, to be Protestant rather than Catholic in faith, and be voters more often than nonvoters? Such questions were posed at the inception of the study. Still other questions concerned the similarities and differences between persons who became members of organizations created by the community organizer and persons living in the same slum area but affiliated with other voluntary associations. And in a different vein, did children who belonged to associations come from families where their parents had a tradition of association, or was parental affiliation incidental to a child's participation? To answer such questions and to formulate hypotheses for testing, this inquiry drew heavily from studies dealing with voluntary associations. The relation of such studies to the present work will be noted shortly.

Of special interest, however, was the process of incorporation of persons into voluntary associations, a subject which has been largely neglected. The answers to the following questions were sought: How do members become incorporated into voluntary organizations? Do persons join a group through personal contact and because of a primary association or through impersonal media such as public advertisements and announcements and mainly as a result of a special interest? What, if any, are the significant differences between the characteristics of children and adults and the method of their incorporation into various types of association? A review of the literature revealed little concern with the subjects raised in the above queries. A framework, however, which appeared fruitful for dealing with the incorporation of persons into voluntary associations was suggested in the recent convergence between small group and mass communication research as synthesized by Katz and Lazarsfeld.¹ They reported personal influence to be one of the most important intervening variables in explaining consumer choice in marketing and fashions, in movie going, and in opinion formation on public affairs. This finding confirmed a general theoretical proposition concerning the centrality of the primary relationship for understanding and predicting human behavior in different settings and concerning different ends. It also suggested that personal influence, as a variable, might be of critical importance in the process of incorporating persons into voluntary associations.* From the theory synthesized by Katz and Lazarsfeld, the following hypothesis was derived:

Members are incorporated and maintained in voluntary formal groups through personal influence.

This hypothesis was considered central among those subjected to test.

While it seemed plausible that most persons would join an organization upon the urging of close friends and other personal associates, it was known that not all persons joined the organizations in question through personal contact. A professional community organizer had been instrumental in the affiliation of some of the members of groups to be studied, and his influence could hardly be conceived as "personal." Furthermore, would the community organizer be more likely than a personal friend to be an "influential" with the married or nonmarried, with men rather than women, with children rather than adults? Such questions were implied in the above hypothesis and were taken into account in drawing up the plan of research. The role of the community organizer was held to be equivalent to that played by a minister in inducing a young couple to join the young people's club affiliated with his church, to the influence exercised by a priest in getting a parishioner to join the altar society, or to a scout master in suggesting that a boy join a scout troop. The general role played by the community organizer was conceived to be an ubiquitous one vis-a-vis formal associations. Thus, influence in joining an association could be exercised "personally" through personal friendship, "impersonally" through a person acting in an institutionally-defined capacity (e.g., community organizer, priest), or "impersonally" through a notice posted on a bulletin board, an advertisement or announcement in the newspaper. Within the general context of influence as discussed, another hypothesis was derived from the one proposed earlier, namely:

If a person is incorporated into a voluntary formal group through personal influence, he will participate more regularly in the organization.

Many of the questions raised in discussing the central hypothesis would have equal applicability to this latter one.

Religious organizations, boys' clubs, community improvement associations, lodges, fraternities, and athletic clubs are characteristic of the numerous organizations to which people belong. All these organizations are formal voluntary organizations in that "entrance rests on mutual consent while exit is at the will of either party, and formal in that there are offices to be filled in accordance with

* "Personal influence" and other concepts are defined in a methodological appendix.

stipulated rules.”² Furthermore, “. . . there are specifications as to who shall be included or excluded from a particular relationship. Collective objectives may be defined, sometimes as a matter of consensus.”³ This characterization describes the groups analyzed. Structural similarity, however, based on formalization is of limited value for comparing a boys’ club and a community improvement association. Not only are there such gross differences as age and sex composition between two such groups but an even more important difference, namely, that of the functions that these groups perform. An improvement council is, ordinarily, an action-oriented group whose activities have potential for widespread and relatively enduring change affecting not only its own membership but many other persons as well; a boys’ club is more likely to engage in activities oriented toward its own membership and is unlikely to seek to bring about a change affecting others. Additional criteria for understanding and classifying formal voluntary associations are found to be necessary. To this end a typology was developed and will be presented in a later chapter.*

Often students of voluntary associations, both in the past and in the present, have been mainly interested in action-oriented groups. This was the interest of Louis Wirth in his classic statement, “Urbanism as a Way of Life.”⁴ He suggested that relations in the urban setting frequently are superficial, segmented, anonymous, and transitory, and that associations are specialized and instrumental. Communication, for the urbanite, is through indirect media with individual interest often articulated through a process of delegation. Though the individual may tend to be reduced to a stage of virtual impotence, he can exert himself by joining with others of similar interest in organized, voluntary associations to obtain his ends. Rose assumes the same position as Wirth.⁵ Both suggest that persons may seek out and join formal associations in order to promote special interests. These formulations implicitly suggest that the aim of voluntary organization may be related to the manner in which members become incorporated. To illustrate, an action-oriented or instrumental association such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People may incorporate its membership impersonally, while a social club may be more likely to incorporate its membership through personal contact. These observations bear directly on the hypotheses already proposed, namely

* “Formal voluntary association,” “formal voluntary organization” or “group” and “voluntary association” are held to be equivalent.

that "Members are incorporated and maintained in voluntary formal groups through personal influence," and "If a person is incorporated into a voluntary formal group through personal influence, he will participate more regularly in the organization." These hypotheses indicate the somewhat new and exploratory nature of the present inquiry into various aspects of voluntary associations.

At the same time, however, the inquiry is interested in replicating the findings of others, albeit in this case the persons and groups studied are situated in a slum. In this connection it will be necessary to examine some previous studies on voluntary associations.

Voluntary Associations: Additional Hypotheses and a General Overview

A large proportion of the residents of the United States probably belong to at least one voluntary association. Utilizing a random sample of 2,379 adults representing a cross section of American adults, Wright and Hyman found that 36 per cent were members of at least one association.⁶ This percentage excluded union membership and quite possibly church membership (though this is never explicitly stated). Seventeen per cent of those who belonged to one association belonged to at least one other. Axelrod found that 63 per cent of a random sample representing the whole of the adult population of metropolitan Detroit belonged to one or more associations.⁷ In this study, church membership was not included but union memberships were included. Axelrod found, however, that one quarter of those who were affiliated had not attended a meeting of the association and that an additional third only rarely attended the meetings of the groups of which they were members. These figures bear out a widespread assumption that a large percentage of those who belong to voluntary associations belong in name only and assume a passive role.

While the studies of Wright and Hyman and of Axelrod do not present data concerning the specific part of the city where their respondents lived, it is likely that some of the persons in their sample lived in that part of the city that would be defined as a slum. Few studies have focussed on the area of residence and association in voluntary organization. An exception is the work of Bell and Force who, utilizing "social area analysis," found that persons in a low-rent rooming house area (in contrast to other

areas) were less likely to belong to formal associations, attended formal meetings less frequently, and were less likely to hold office in such organizations.⁸ Their study indicates that many persons in a rooming-house slum area belong to formal associations; their findings also provide cues to the types of organizations with which such persons are affiliated.

The relationship between membership in voluntary associations and social class has been clearly established in community studies as well as in studies whose major focus was on associations. Two conclusions seem warranted. First, persons of higher socio-economic status are more likely to be members of associations. Second, persons having higher socio-economic status are likely to be members of groups that differ categorically from the groups joined by persons who have a lower socio-economic status. The research conducted by the Lynds, Warner and Lunt, Drake and Cayton, West, and Hollingshead, among others, supports the first proposition.⁹ Supporting the second proposition is the work of Bell and Force, Komarovsky, Rose and Warner and Lunt.¹⁰ Bell and Force show that the higher the position the person holds in the social structure, the more likely it is that he will be a member of an association, especially a professional or business group, whereas, Komarovsky finds the skilled worker most commonly associated with unions and fraternal lodges, and unskilled workers affiliated with social and athletic clubs, and in later life, fraternal lodges.¹¹

Salary and occupation as variables are often found to be predictive of association in formal organizations. Freeman, Novak, and Reeder note that salary is the most useful variable for predicting whether or not a person will belong to a formal association.¹² On the other hand, Mather shows higher income to be associated with a greater variety of types of voluntary associations.¹³ Komarovsky found income less important than occupation in determining associational membership; also, among the occupational groups the professional men and women belonged to more associations than any other occupational group, irrespective of income.¹⁴ Bushee, likewise, found that professional men join more associations than business men.¹⁵ Scott complements these findings by showing that nonmanual workers participate more in voluntary associations than manual workers.¹⁶

Reissman did not find income to be predictive of association in voluntary groups. He noted a significant difference in the number of voluntary associations to which high and low occupational

prestige groups belonged, the high-prestige groups belonging to more associations.¹⁷

In summary, most of the studies indicate that occupational rank is related to organizational affiliation, a relationship predicted for the present study. Professionals and persons in white-collar occupations were expected to be members of the adult groups created by the community organizer or other groups represented in the area in greater numbers than persons in skilled or semiskilled occupations; manual workers were expected to be less frequently affiliated with associations.

Education is directly related to occupation and has been found, in numerous studies, to be related to participation and membership in voluntary associations.¹⁸ Mather finds that the probability of attaining leadership in associations increases with formal educational achievement.¹⁹ Reissman notes that attendance at association meetings varies significantly between high and low educational groups. There is a similar relationship using indices of occupation and income.²⁰ The conclusions of Mather and Reissman dovetail with those made by Bell and Force in their study.²¹ From all these investigations, two hypotheses were derived for test:

The higher the educational achievement, the greater the participation in formal voluntary organization. Persons of higher educational achievement are likely to belong to more formal voluntary organizations than those with lower educational achievement.

Research has suggested that persons representing a higher occupational level and greater educational achievement would be likely to assume leadership in associations.²² These relationships were formally stated for test as follows:

Persons of higher socio-economic status are more likely to be leaders in formal voluntary organizations than those of lower socio-economic status.

Contradictory findings have been reached concerning residential stability as related to voluntary associations. Komarovsky, Anderson, and Wright and Hyman suggest that the longer the period of residency the greater the likelihood of association in organizations.²³ Freeman, Novak and Reeder found a significant inverse relationship between residential mobility and voluntary organizational membership.²⁴ Scott found no relationship between length of residence and participation in associations.²⁵ In the present study it was proposed that:

Length of residence is positively related to organizational participation.

It was assumed that the most stable element in the slum would be predisposed to become involved in voluntary associations.

In this same general context, it has been observed that home owners participate more in voluntary associations than nonhome owners, a finding confirmed by several studies. Further, Mather found that home ownership was more highly correlated with leadership than with club membership itself; in the relations between home ownership and the variables of membership and leadership, home ownership was more important for the lower-income classes than for the higher-income classes.²⁶ This last finding seemed to be especially pertinent to the present study. It is suggested that the home owners would be more likely to belong to associations. (Also, as in the case of mobility, home ownership would connote a stability and predictability vis-a-vis others in the area.) To test whether such an association existed, the following hypothesis was proposed:

Persons who own property are more likely to participate in formal voluntary organizations than nonproperty owners.

Voting, as an index of participation in the community at large, would seem to be related to membership in voluntary organizations (especially instrumental organizations). Wright and Hyman found that members of voluntary associations were voters more often than persons without affiliations, a finding supported by the research of Maccoby.²⁷ In addition, Wright and Hyman found that persons affiliated with associations were also likely to be interested in public affairs. The relation between voting and association was subjected to further test in the present study. It was expected that:

Voters are more likely to participate in formal associations than nonvoters.

Among those religiously affiliated, Protestants are more frequently members of associations than Catholics. This may be more a function of socio-economic status than of religious affiliation. In any event, Scott noted that Protestants were more likely to participate in voluntary organizations than Catholics, and Wright and Hyman report that Jews had an even higher rate of membership than Protestants.²⁸

A greater number of associations are formed around religious institutions than around any other, a conclusion stemming from a

number of different studies. For example, a profile of the associations of a random sample of adults representing the Detroit population indicated that more persons were affiliated with religious organizations than with any other.²⁹ And Bushee's study also indicated that people who join voluntary associations were more likely to become affiliated with religious groups.³⁰ These conclusions were utilized in the present inquiry to derive the following hypothesis for test:

Persons affiliated with religious organizations are more likely to participate in formal voluntary organizations.

Most of the hypotheses proposed above examine the social attributes of persons (e.g., educational achievement, religious identification, socio-economic status) as they correlate with membership in voluntary organizations. This has been the primary concern of students of voluntary organizations. A central interest of the present study, however, is the process of incorporation of persons into associations; at the same time the social attributes of membership are seen as bearing on the issue of incorporation. These two concerns are linked in the following hypothesis to be tested:

The more alike persons are the more likely they are to join the same organizations.

"More alike" is limited to three variables: ethnicity, marital status, and occupation. It was expected that married persons would influence other married persons into joining a group, and it was also expected that occupational status and ethnicity would be selective in the same way as marital status. Thus, the influential and the influenced, in the cases where personal influence was exercised to introduce an individual into an organization, would be much alike; this seemed likely. Indirectly, other attributes suggested in the hypotheses proposed earlier would also be pertinent to this last hypothesis.

Obviously, many of the hypotheses would apply only to the adults in the study. However, many of the other relationships suggested for test would apply to children as well as adults. Such would be the case in testing the hypothesis: "Members are incorporated and maintained in voluntary groups through personal influence." (For the most part, students of organization have ignored the affiliations of children.) On the other hand, an hypothesis tested which applied only to children was:

The larger the size of the immediate family, the greater the likelihood of participation in formal voluntary organizations.

This hypothesis was proposed bearing in mind that children having sibs who were members of associations might use them as models (parents could, of course, play the same role) in joining groups. Also, children might become introduced into an organization by a sib. The specific form of this hypothesis is less important than the fact of researching the relationships inherent in it.

Formal Organizations Within the Slum

In urban sociology it has been common to assume that very few, if any, slum dwellers belong to voluntary associations. This plausible but erroneous assumption stems, in part, from the classical theories of Durkheim, Simmel and Tonnies, as later reformulated by Wirth and Redfield.³¹ Theories embodying this assumption have been given empirical support by the work of Zarbough and Burgess.³² Wirth, for example, in dealing with urbanization, discusses urban social systems in terms of size, density, and heterogeneity as these affect social relations in the urban environment. He notes that "increase in the number of inhabitants of a community beyond a few hundred is bound to limit the possibility of each member knowing all the others personally."³³ Thus an increase in number will have a direct bearing on the character of social relationships. Contact as full personalities is impossible and ". . . produces that segmentalization of human relationships which has sometimes been seized upon by students of the mental life of the cities as an explanation for the 'schizoid' character of urban personality."³⁴

The consequences of concentration or density, in part, are differentiation and specialization, in regard to both land use and occupation. The urbanite is exposed to glaring contrasts between splendor and squalor, riches and poverty, intelligence and ignorance, order and chaos.

Density, land values, rental, accessibility, healthfulness, prestige, aesthetic consideration, absence of nuisance such as noise, smoke, and dirt determine the desirability of various areas of the city as places of settlement for different sections of the population. Place and nature of work, income, racial and ethnic characteristics, social status, custom, habit, taste, preference, and prejudice are among the significant factors in accordance with which the urban population is selected and distributed into more or less distinct settlements . . . The juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of

life tends to produce a realitivistic perspective and sense of toleration of differences which may be regarded as prerequisites for rationality and which lead toward the secularization of life. In such a milieu order is maintained through formal controls.³⁵

Thus, heterogeneity is manifest in many ways. The greatest heterogeneity would be found in the slum area. Relationships here would logically be presumed to be the most segmental, transitory, and anonymous with formal affiliations lacking.

Complementing this theory of urbanism as a way of life is a theory of city growth proposed by Burgess.³⁶ In the latter theory, the city is viewed as constituting a series of concentric circles. The first zone (Zone I) is the assumed center of the city and is called the "Main Business District" or the "Loop." In this zone are located the large retail stores, banks, theatres, large hotels, newspaper offices and the life of the area. Zone II, or the area adjacent to the business center, has been variously called the "Zone in Transition," "Interstitial Zone," or the "Zone of Deterioration."³⁷ It contains the slum and is described as an area of deterioration having the following characteristics: high mobility, high morbidity rates, little home ownership, low income, high delinquency rates, etc. Zone III, called the "Zone of Workingmen's Homes," is more homogeneous than Zone II; it consists of low and medium rental dwellings that are occupied by lower-income working people. The next zone, Zone IV, is the zone of home ownership. It is called the "Residential Zone" and often has, besides the better private residences, many high-class apartments. Last, there is the suburban area or the "Commuter Zone" (Zone V). Here are to be found the residential communities inhabited by middle and high-income families.

Moving from the suburbs toward the central business district, physical deterioration becomes progressively marked and social disorganization more evident; the physical deterioration and social disorganization are most evident in Zone II. Burgess notes that in this zone there is the greatest concentration of cases of poverty, bad housing, juvenile delinquency, family disintegration, physical and mental disease. As families and individuals prosper, they escape from this area leaving behind as marooned, a residuum of the defeated, leaderless, and helpless.³⁸

Zorbaugh, in *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, deals almost exclusively with Zone II.³⁹ He gives "body" to the outline suggested in the theory of Burgess, and his data, at the same time, dovetail with Wirth's on urbanism. The gold coast and the slum are con-

tiguous areas of extreme contrasts; one contains many persons listed in *Who's Who* and the other is an area of rooming houses and high population turnover; the slum area houses the "Bohemian" and also the first-generation ethnic population; one is an area of "respectability" and the other of high delinquency and vice.

For the most part, Zorbaugh is concerned with the "disorganized" aspects of social life (e.g., the transient rooming-house tenant and landlord, the isolate, etc.), suggesting that only the gold coaster (who is in the city for a four- or five-month season) has community awareness. Although the organizations of the Sicilian and Italian are discussed, Zorbaugh dismisses these as of no major consequence since they are not centered on the community as a whole.

The work of Wirth, Burgess and Zorbaugh shows remarkable consistency in outlook, despite the fact that each was concerned with a different aspect of community.⁴⁰ Implicitly, their work created the illusion that little or no formal organization exists in the slum; in fact, it even suggested that informal association is lacking. This impression, however, was challenged by Whyte.⁴¹

Whyte sees slum areas representing a considerable range in types of organization, from the "family-type" subareas, homogeneous in racial or ethnic composition, to the heterogeneous rooming-house district. He notes: "Since members of the rooming-house population have very little contact with one another, it is accurate to say that such a district is lacking in social organization;"⁴² and in this respect, his agreement with Zorbaugh is considerable. But he criticizes Zorbaugh for not taking into account the extensive web of informal organization to be found in the "family-area" part of the slum; he also notes that racketeering, which is highly organized, thrives in the interstitial zone.

Rather inadvertently, both Zorbaugh and Whyte contribute to the impression that persons living in the rooming-house district are not involved in social organization, either formal or informal. It should be noted, however, that while persons who live in a rooming-house locality might not participate in formal associations in the area, it does not mean that such persons are not otherwise affiliated in formal voluntary associations meeting elsewhere in the community. Such a possibility is not suggested by either Whyte or Zorbaugh.

The slum, if conceived as constituting a series of neighborhoods (e.g., racial, ethnic, rooming-house, etc.) and studied as such, redresses the inherent contradictions in the schemes of such theorists as Wirth, Burgess and Zorbaugh. Urban neighborhoods as units

persist in even the heterogeneous slum area; and family and kin still provide a basis for a considerable amount of the urbanite's social interaction. Furthermore, in some slum neighborhoods it is well documented that formal organizations are to be found, a fact that has not been given much recognition despite evidence to support it. Such evidence is to be found in *Street Corner Society*; the formal organizations in this study included the Aphrodite Club, the Cornerville Democratic Club, the Italian Community Club, and other formal groups that met at the Norton Street Settlement.⁴³ Wirth's study of *The Ghetto* also gives witness to the formal and informal associations to be found in a slum.⁴⁴

The present study directs itself to many of the issues in the above discussion. While, in the main, it seeks basic knowledge on voluntary associations, such knowledge is sought against a backdrop of theory dealing with the growth of the city.

Burgess's theory of city growth, for all of its shortcomings, seemed especially appropriate to the present study.⁴⁵ Rochester, New York, has fitted admirably into the zonal hypothesis theory as a study by previous investigators has convincingly demonstrated.⁴⁶ The area to be studied was clearly designated as Zone II by these investigators and has changed little in the intervening years since it was first reported. Since many cities do not fit the Burgess scheme, in the interest of greater generality, this study utilized, in addition to Burgess' framework, that provided by *Social Area Analysis*.⁴⁷ Within this latter framework, census tracts are classified according to indices of "economic status," "family status," and "ethnic status." Index of family status, for example, is composed of three census-tract factors, namely, fertility ratio, women not in the labor force, and single-family detached dwellings.⁴⁸ The Analysis, using these indices, provides a general framework which makes it possible to define more explicitly the slum neighborhood studied and also facilitates comparison of the present inquiry with past and future ones.

Organization of Study

This chapter, besides introducing the two major problems to be studied (i.e., voluntary associations and the fact of association in an interstitial area), outlines in the form of hypotheses how specific associations and affiliations will be analyzed. A summary of these hypotheses as stated above is as follows:

Members are incorporated and maintained in voluntary formal groups through personal influence.

If a person is incorporated into a voluntary formal group through personal influence, he will participate more regularly in the organization.

The higher the educational achievement, the greater the participation in formal voluntary organization.

Persons of higher educational achievement are likely to belong to more formal voluntary organizations than those with lower educational achievement.

Persons of higher socio-economic status are more likely to be leaders in formal voluntary organization, than those of lower socio-economic status.

Length of residence is positively related to organizational participation.

Persons who own property are more likely to participate in formal organizations than nonproperty owners.

Voters are more likely to participate in formal associations than nonvoters.

Persons affiliated with religious organizations are more likely to participate in formal voluntary organizations.

The more alike persons are the more likely they are to join the same organizations.

And finally, a hypothesis which will be tested only with regard to the children studied, namely:

The larger the size of the immediate family, the greater the likelihood of participation in organizations.

The method used in testing these hypothesis is presented partly in the text but, in the main, has been relegated to an appendix. The characteristics of the sample will also be discussed there.

In Chapter 2, the two census tracts, numbers 5 and 28, for the City of Rochester, New York, are described. In addition to census data, information obtained from the Rochester Council of Social Agencies, the Police Department, and other agencies is introduced in order to present as complete a picture of the area as possible. And as noted earlier, the indices in social area analysis are employed. These data provide a yardstick by which the present tracts can be compared with those in other urban places.

Chapter 3 introduces a theory of voluntary associations in the form of a typology. The typology is used in later chapters in discussing the various specific associations analyzed. Particularly relevant is the classification of organizations as "instrumental," "instrumental-expressive," and "expressive."

The next three chapters deal with the specific organizations created through the efforts of a professional community organizer under the auspices of the Council of Social Agencies. In organizing the groups, the organizer enlisted the aid of other community specialists in the area (e.g., a principal of one of the grade schools in the area, a visiting nurse, etc.). Specifically, these associations were the Savannah-Manhattan Improvement Council (Chapter 4), six children's organizations (Chapter 5), and a senior citizens club (Chapter 6).

Chapter 7 examines the characteristics of a sample of persons also residing in the area but affiliated with organizations other than those created by the community organizer. This makes it possible to compare persons who became affiliated with the organizations created by professional community personnel with those who were already affiliated with formal groups.

In Chapter 8 comparisons are made between the persons in the formal groups created by the organizer and discussed separately in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Thus, children are compared with the adults, and the adults in one group are compared with those belonging to the other adult group. Such questions are raised as: are parents and children both more likely to belong to the associations created by the professionals?

Chapter 9 summarizes the findings of the study and indicates what seem to be the most useful avenues for future exploration, based, of course, upon the results of the inquiry as a whole.

2 / The Area⁺

INTEREST BY the Council of Social Agencies in the Marshall-Court Area (the area under study) stemmed from the large number of problems reported by workers of various agencies associated with the Council. Some of the most pressing of the problems depicted in a report on the area were:¹

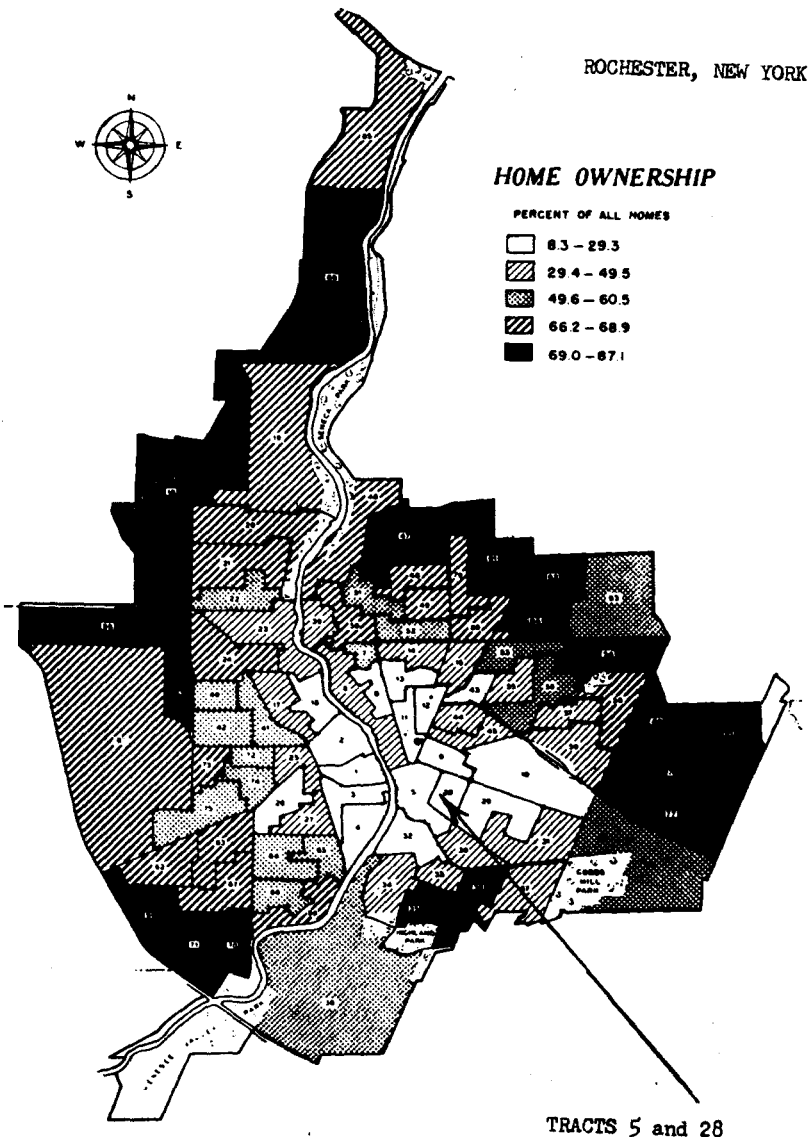
1. Overcrowding and compressed substandard housing.
2. Extremely limited and inadequate recreation space and program.
3. High delinquency rate.
4. Family problems.
5. Health problems.
6. Neglect of preschool children.
7. Increase of interracial and intercultural problems as newcomers to this country continue to move into the area.

In the Council report, this part of the city was described as:²

Congested, old, deteriorated and bleak; a melting pot area; on the edge of transitional zone where encroaching business combines with housing congestion—this is the atmosphere. The diverse character of the area means that at the moment there is little neighborhood identity, and precious little effective indigenous leadership. But, so long as there are hundreds of families in the area there is a potential for leadership development.

The Council defined the Marshall-Court Area as including two census tracts, 5 and 28, located in the southeast corner of the central part of the city. This section consisted of somewhat over 40 square blocks, several of which were practically in the center of the city; others were 10 or 12 blocks in a direct radius from the commercial center. This area is indicated in Figure 1 which shows the city divided according to census tracts.

*Arthur P. Jacoby contributed substantially to the development of this chapter, both in the writing and in the analysis of the data contained within it.



Raymond V. Bowers found in 1939 that Rochester, as a city, conformed to the pattern suggested by Burgess' concentric zone theory.³ In his study, the two tracts considered in this report were classified as below average but not in the lowest category described by Bowers as "most disorganized" or "most inadequate." The tracts, however, fall in the outer ring of the Zone in Transition. From all indications, these two tracts are among those that have declined further since his study.

In addition to Bowers' study, two additional sources of information were utilized to develop a profile of the area. These were the 1950 census reports, as well as information compiled by various Rochester agencies.⁴ For the most part, census tracts 5 and 28 have been compared with the City of Rochester as a whole (data for the city included information from tracts 5 and 28); indexes for the two tracts utilized in social area analysis are also presented and discussed at the end of the chapter. To develop a profile, a series of tables, and interpretation of these and other data, are presented in this chapter.

The differences in the composition of the population of the city with regard to sex were not great but showed that the proportion of females was slightly greater than that of males. In the Marshall-Court area, there was a slightly higher proportion of males than females in tract 5. This is shown in Table 2-1.

TABLE 2-1. POPULATION OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER, AND OF CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28, BY SEX

Sex	City		Tract 5		Tract 28	
	Total	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	322,488	100	4,344	100	3,864	100
Male	158,686	48	2,243	52	1,888	49
Female	173,802	52	2,101	48	1,976	51

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

Table 2-1 is more meaningful if related to age composition and also to marital status of the population over age 14, as presented in Tables 2-2 and 2-3. In these tables, the age distribution is divided according to sex for each area, and this fact tends to minimize the differences between each of the census tracts and the city as a whole. Because of a generally higher birth rate for males and shorter life expectancy, it can be seen that, for all areas, males outnumber females up to about the age of 15, and females outnumber males after about the age of 65. For the years between 25 and 65, although the sexes vary in close association, for the city women outnumber

the men, while for the two census tracts the opposite is true. Thus, during the productive years, census tracts 5 and 28 have a somewhat higher proportion of male residents than does the city.

TABLE 2-2. POPULATION OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER, AND OF CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28, BY AGE AND SEX
(Percentages in parentheses)

Age	City		Tract 5		Tract 28	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	158,686 (100)	173,802 (100)	2,243 (100)	2,101 (100)	1,888 (100)	1,975 (100)
Under 5	15,547 (9.7)	15,141 (8.7)	130 (5.7)	113 (5.4)	112 (5.9)	126 (6.4)
5-14	19,665 (12.4)	19,083 (12.0)	127 (5.7)	104 (4.9)	117 (6.2)	108 (5.4)
15-24	19,682 (12.4)	23,682 (13.7)	210 (9.4)	214 (10.2)	173 (9.1)	217 (10.7)
25-39	37,828 (23.8)	41,666 (24.0)	481 (21.5)	457 (21.7)	401 (21.2)	396 (20.1)
40-64	49,834 (31.4)	53,991 (31.1)	937 (41.8)	834 (39.7)	763 (40.5)	745 (37.7)
65 and older	17,020 (10.7)	20,239 (11.7)	358 (15.9)	379 (18.0)	322 (17.0)	384 (19.4)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

The age variation, however, between tracts is much greater than the variation between sexes within a given tract. Tracts 5 and 28 seem to conform more closely with each other than does either with the city. The differences between the two tracts are usually small, whereas age variations are sometimes rather large between the two tracts and the city. In general, the population of both tracts 5 and 28 contains a larger proportion of older people than the city as a whole. The dividing point seems to be somewhere

TABLE 2-3. MARITAL STATUS OF PERSONS OVER 14 YEARS OF AGE IN THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND IN CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28, BY SEX

Marital Status	City		Tract 5		Tract 28	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Persons over 14	125,257 (100)	141,234 (100)	1,996 (100)	1,900 (100)	1,673 (100)	1,758 (100)
Single	32,035 (26)	34,265 (24)	599 (30)	472 (25)	483 (29)	411 (23)
Married	84,691 (68)	85,667 (61)	1,050 (53)	940 (49)	916 (55)	933 (53)
Widowed or Divorced	8,531 (7)	21,302 (15)	347 (17)	408 (26)	274 (16)	414 (24)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

around the age of 40. The proportion of residents under that age is smaller for the Marshall-Court area than for the city and the proportion over that age is greater.

Table 2-3 shows that the proportion of single, widowed, and divorced in tracts 5 and 28 is generally greater than in the city. This is especially true for those classed as widowed or divorced; women and men are equally over-represented. At the same time, the proportion of married persons in both tracts is considerably smaller than for the city.

The proportion of whites to nonwhites and of native-born to foreign-born whites is greater for the Marshall-Court area than for the city. It would not seem to be a place of ethnic settlement. A statistical interpretation, however, would be incorrect; many Puerto Ricans, not classified as foreign-born by the census, are nevertheless to be found in the area. These people have settled in the neighborhood recently. There are very few Negroes to be found in the area.

The census data on geographical mobility are limited but lead to the conclusion that the residents of the Marshall-Court area are considerably more mobile than the average citizen in Rochester.

There appears to be no difference in the educational achievement of the residents in the neighborhood when compared with the city. Yet, judging from other criteria such as income and employment status, it seems likely that there would be proportionately fewer of the better-educated in these tracts and more of the poorly-educated in contrast to the city. The median school years completed for the city and for tracts 5 and 28, respectively, are 9.6, 9.6, and 8.9. An inspection of the mixed residential composition suggests an income range in the tracts which would account for part of the variance. Many of the Marshall-Court residents live in relatively exclusive residential hotels and apartment buildings; included are those in religiously affiliated hotels. In contrast to high-cost residence and the financial affluence it implies, are to be found numerous low-cost apartment dwellings and rooming houses, and low-cost transient hotels. Although characterized as an interstitial area, it is also one of sharp social and economic contrast.

Differences in incomes between the two tracts and the city are sharp. This is shown in Table 2-4. The city has a smaller proportion of citizens with incomes under \$3000 than have the two census tracts; it also has a larger proportion of residents with an income of over \$3000. Thus the area has many families having incomes lower than the average for the city. There are, however, families

living in hotels located adjacent to the downtown section who have incomes of over \$10,000 per year.

TABLE 2-4. FAMILY INCOME IN 1949 FOR THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND FOR TRACTS 5 AND 28

(Figures represent number of families—Percentages in parentheses)

Income in dollars	City	Tract 5	Tract 28
Number reporting	117,855 (100)	2,650 (100)	2,030 (100)
Less than \$500	13,230 (11)	490 (18)	145 (7)
\$500-1499	12,185 (10)	540 (20)	520 (25)
\$1500-2999	27,455 (23)	660 (24)	760 (38)
\$3000-4999	35,411 (31)	460 (17)	325 (16)
\$5000-9999	18,880 (16)	220 (9)	140 (7)
\$10,000 and more	2,550 (2)	15 (1)	0 (0)
Income not reported	8,166 (7)	265 (10)	140 (7)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

The age of the residential structures in this area is presented in Table 2-5. None have been built since 1930, as compared to 7,000 dwelling units built in the rest of Rochester since then. In fact, 95 per cent of the dwelling units in the tracts were built before 1920, compared with 72 per cent in the city. Many of the residential structures in the Marshall-Court area are in a deteriorated state.

TABLE 2-5. NEW DWELLING UNITS ERECTED IN THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND IN CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28, BY TEN-YEAR PERIODS

(Percentages in parentheses)

Period	City	Tract 5	Tract 28
Number reporting	98,150 (100)	1,625 (100)	1,620 (100)
1919 and earlier	71,025 (72)	1,535 (94)	1,540 (95)
1920-1929	19,560 (20)	90 (6)	80 (5)
1930-1939	3,485 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)
1940 or later	4,080 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

Table 2-6 shows the proportion of dwelling units in the two census tracts which had no private bath or were dilapidated and suggests that the dwelling units were far more deteriorated in the two tracts than in the city. This is probably as much an indication of the large number of single rented rooms and housekeeping apartments without private baths as it is an index of dilapidation.

TABLE 2-6. CONDITION AND PLUMBING FACILITIES OF DWELLING UNITS IN THE CITY AND IN TRACTS 5 AND 28
(Percentages in parentheses)

	City	Tract 5	Tract 28
Number reporting	98,362 (100)	1,630 (100)	1,547 (100)
No private bath or dilapidated	9,048 (9)	579 (36)	457 (30)
No running water	3,436 (3)	60 (4)	63 (4)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

Living conditions in the area were somewhat more crowded than in the rest of the city. The proportion of dwelling units reporting 1.01 persons per room was half again as high in the two tracts as in the city. This may result, to some extent, from the prevalence of the one-room housekeeping apartment typically occupied by many couples and individuals in this part of the city.

Coupled with overcrowding was the fact that there was only a slight difference in amount of rent paid by the residents in the whole of the Marshall-Court area and that paid by residents in the rest of the city. This is reflected in the median rent for the city (1950) which was \$40.07, while it was \$36.00 and \$39.01 for tracts 5 and 28, respectively. The rents for housing in the tracts were only slightly lower than for the city. The dwelling units were generally smaller and older than in the city, so that in proportion to value received, the rentals in the Marshall-Court area were more costly.

The proportion of men in the city as a whole in the labor force was greater than the proportion in tracts 5 and 28. The opposite was true for women (see Table 2-7). An explanation is probably found in the large number of men beyond retirement age in the two tracts. The same is true for women, but the difference was offset by the substantial number of single women living in the area who were working. The proportion of unemployed, both men and women, was higher than for the city.

TABLE 2-7. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION OVER 14 YEARS OF AGE IN THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND IN TRACTS 5 AND 28 BY SEX

(Percentages in parentheses)

	City		Tract 5		Tract 28	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Persons over 14	125,257 (100)	141,234 (100)	1,996 (100)	1,990 (100)	1,673 (100)	1,758 (100)
Not in labor force	27,354 (22)	87,970 (62)	587 (30)	1,023 (54)	411 (25)	980 (56)
Labor force	97,783 (78)	53,246 (38)	1,405 (70)	877 (46)	1,259 (75)	778 (44)
Unemployed	6,042 (6)	2,581 (5)	164 (12)	64 (7)	165 (13)	67 (9)
Employed	91,741 (94)	50,665 (95)	1,241 (88)	813 (93)	1,094 (87)	711 (91)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

Occupational groupings in the 1950 census showed that there were about twice as many service workers of both sexes living in the two tracts as in the city as a whole, proportionately. No differences were indicated in the other categories (see Table 2-8). In view

TABLE 2-8. MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS FOR THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28 BY SEX

(Percentages in parentheses)

	City		Tract 5		Tract 28	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, technical and kindred workers	8,538 (9)	5,764 (11)	100 (8)	72 (9)	67 (6)	100 (14)
Managers, officials, and proprietors	9,384 (10)	1,515 (3)	102 (8)	37 (5)	102 (9)	63 (9)
Clerical and kindred workers	7,571 (8)	15,535 (31)	102 (8)	200 (25)	52 (5)	149 (21)
Sales workers	6,685 (7)	3,879 (8)	104 (8)	78 (10)	76 (7)	69 (9)
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	22,647 (25)	2,155 (4)	265 (21)	32 (4)	227 (21)	16 (2)
Operatives and kindred workers	23,651 (26)	14,375 (28)	234 (19)	182 (22)	226 (21)	159 (22)
Private household workers	88 (0)	1,535 (3)	2 (0)	20 (2)	1 (0)	26 (4)
Service workers except private household	7,009 (8)	4,961 (10)	233 (19)	174 (21)	179 (16)	114 (16)
Laborers except miners	5,063 (6)	270 (1)	73 (6)	6 (1)	75 (7)	2 (0)
Occupations not reported	1,000 (1)	676 (1)	26 (2)	12 (1)	89 (8)	58 (8)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

of the earlier discussion of housing pointing out that many people lived in fairly exclusive residential hotels, and in the light of data on income, it was not surprising that tracts 5 and 28 compared favorably to the city in the proportion distributed in the higher occupational categories.

The modal number of persons per dwelling unit for the area was one, whereas it was two for the city. Tracts 5 and 28 contained a higher proportion of dwelling units with one occupant than the city, about the same proportion with two, and smaller proportions as the number of occupants increased beyond two. There were few home owners and many renters. While over 50 per cent of the dwelling units in the city were owner occupied, this was true of only ten per cent in the Marshall-Court area.

Table 2-9 indicates very few single family houses in the two tracts as compared to the rest of the city, whereas the proportion of multiple dwelling units of five or more (apartment houses, rooming houses, hotels, etc.) was comparatively large.

TABLE 2-9. DWELLING UNITS, AND TYPE OF STRUCTURE, FOR THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND FOR TRACTS 5 AND 28

(Percentages in parentheses)

	City	Tract 5	Tract 28
Single dwelling unit	43,505 (43)	126 (8)	192 (11)
1-2 dwelling units, semidetached	5,008 (5)	14 (1)	22 (1)
2 dwelling units, other	23,250 (23)	132 (8)	150 (9)
3-4 dwelling units	13,540 (13)	223 (13)	196 (12)
5 dwelling units or more	15,931 (16)	1,201 (71)	1,118 (67)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

Tract 28, in particular, had a rather dense population. In a ranking of tracts from 1 to 88 where low rank indicated high population density per acre, tract 28 was third. Tract 5, which included considerable vacant land and commercial property, ranked thirty-ninth.⁵

In addition to the census data, other information which helped to indicate the character of the area was drawn from other reports and studies. For example, for the year 1955 the number of court cases adjudicated for children aged 10 to 20 was considerably higher for this area than for the city. The percentage of the total population aged 10 to 20 involved in such cases for the two tracts was 2.2; the figure for the city was one-half of this figure.⁶

An ecological study of mental illness showed that, for 1937-1942, both tracts ranked in the upper quintile (most cases) for admission to Rochester State Hospital.⁷

For the years 1947 to 1952, the suicide rate, both attempted and completed, for the two tracts was consistently higher than for the city. Usually the rate for the two tracts was several times higher than for the city. Table 2-10 shows the number of completed suicides for the years 1947 to 1955.

The Health Bureau records for the City of Rochester indicated that the rate of newly reported cases of tuberculosis was consistently higher in the Marshall-Court area than in the rest of the city for the years 1949 through 1955: tract 5, 14.04 per 1000; tract 28, 9.56 per 1000; the City of Rochester, 4.55 per 1000.⁸

TABLE 2-10. COMPLETED SUICIDES PER 1000 POPULATION FOR THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28 FOR THE YEARS 1947-1955

Year	City	Tract 5	Tract 28
1947	.10	.23	.00
1948	.11	.46	.26
1949	.08	.46	.52
1950	.13	.00	.52
1951	.11	.00	.52
1952	.07	.23	.00
1953	.10	.23	.78
1954	.12	.23	1.30
1955	.12	.46	1.04

Source: Records of City Coroner and Police Department, City of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

The Marshall-Court area ranked low in the number of births per 1000 women 15 to 44 years of age. For example, in 1954 there were 87.96 births per 1000 women in tract 28, 69.40 in tract 5, and 94.16 in the entire city. In a ranking of census tracts from 1 to 88, where high number indicated fewer births, tract 28 ranked sixty-fifth and tract 5 ranked seventy-fifth.⁹ In this same year, 1954, the infant mortality rate for tract 5 was 40.0, or almost twice the rate for the city.¹⁰

Information concerning immunization of children against such diseases as diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth, available by school districts, indicated that children living in the area were less likely to be immunized than those living in other parts of the city.

As shown in Table 2-11, the rate of county welfare cases was much higher in this area than in the city as a whole; it was 20.52

cases per 1000 in the city and 58.72 cases in the tracts under consideration.

TABLE 2-11. COUNTY WELFARE CASES PER 1000 POPULATION IN THE CITY OF ROCHESTER, AND CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28, BY TYPE OF AID, FOR JUNE, 1956

Type of Aid	City	Census Tracts 5 and 28
Total	20.52	58.72
Old Age Assistance*	10.16	35.82
Home Relief	3.34	10.60
Aid to the Disabled	2.57	8.77
Aid to the Blind	.31	.49
Aid to Dependent Children	4.14	3.05

* Number of cases per 1000 population aged 65 and over would be 92.7 and 204.0, respectively.

Source: Monroe County Department of Social Welfare.

The designation of the area as a Zone in Transition, utilizing Burgess' theory, seemed warranted. About one-third of the Marshall-Court area was in Zone I, the central business district. One corner of the area penetrated to the center of the commercial district. The area not commercial would be interstitial, but in view of the fact that the two tracts constituted but a limited segment of the belt surrounding the business district, it cannot be expected that the tracts would contain all of the characteristics of Zone II. Many of the similarities of the area to Zone II as described by Burgess have already been presented. Some of these were considerable overcrowding, aging and substandard housing, an adult population disproportionately single, widowed, or divorced, and a low birth rate. Average income was low. Home ownership was also low; the area was characterized by multiple unit dwellings in which the rooming house was conspicuous. Delinquency rates, number of welfare cases, attempted and completed suicides, and morbidity rates were high. As a part of the Zone in Transition, it incorporated a section of the homeless man area but not the skid row mission-house habitat.

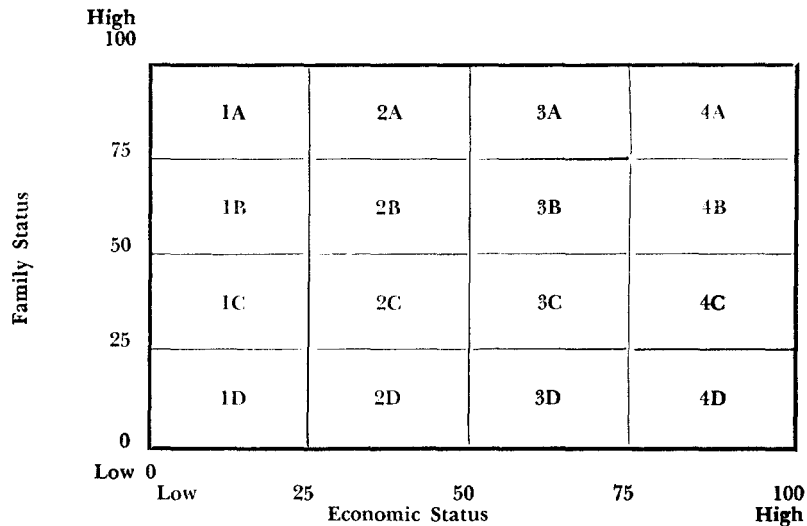
There were several anomalies to be found in the above profile. Conspicuous was the absence of foreign born; there has been, however, a recent infiltration of Puerto Ricans. There were almost no Negroes in the area. A substantial proportion of the employed were in the higher occupational categories. In this respect, the area was comparable to the city as a whole. Many persons in the area had high educational achievement. In spite of such anomalies, the area is substantially part of the Zone in Transition. Sharp contrasts where they exist, are of the kind to be expected in this part of the city.

Social Area Analysis

Indexes of ethnic, economic, and family status developed in social area analysis were computed for the two tracts. As suggested in the data presented earlier in the chapter, the two areas were of high ethnic status. There were very few Negroes or other non-whites, and also few foreign-born whites from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Greece, and other Eastern and Southern European countries. There were Puerto Ricans moving to the area; however, the majority of Puerto Ricans lived in another part of the city. That there were so few Negroes or ethnics was consistent with the somewhat higher index of economic status for the two tracts when they were compared with other comparably located ones that surround the central business district of Rochester. Such a relationship was to be expected on the basis of the findings of other researchers who have utilized social area analysis in studying other cities.

In social area analysis, the variables that measure economic status are rent, education and occupation; and those that measure family status are fertility ratio, women not in labor force, and single-family detached dwellings. The indexes of economic status for tracts 5 and 28 were, respectively, 47.0 and 58.3.¹¹ More women were located

FIGURE 2. CENSUS TRACTS 5 AND 28 WITHIN THE "SOCIAL AREA KEY" BASED ON ECONOMIC STATUS AND FAMILY STATUS*



*From Wendell Bell, "The Utility of the Shevky Typology for the Design of Urban Subarea Field Studies," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 47 (February, 1958), pp. 71-83.

in tract 28, a higher economic status neighborhood than tract 5. Frequently these women maintained apartment house residences; many were employed in white collar occupations. On the other hand, a greater proportion of men were located in tract 5 and they were more likely to be living in rooming houses. (A similar pattern was found between sex ratio and social area in both Los Angeles and San Francisco.)¹² The indexes of family status for the two tracts were similar; for tract 5 it was 44.7, for tract 28, 46.8.

Figure 2 is a "social space diagram" in which census tract populations can be placed according to social type of tract populations as measured by the indexes (these types are called social areas). Thus social area 1A contains tract populations having high family status but low economic status. Tract 5 (Rochester, New York) is located within cell 2C and tract 28 (Rochester, New York) within cell 3C. Both are relatively low family status and low economic status according to the social area analysis framework. These two tracts are not the lowest in rank in the City of Rochester according to the index of family status and economic status, but they approach the lowest. Lower status tracts were contiguous to these two.

3 / The Voluntary Association in an Urban Society*

Previous Studies of Associations

ANY DISCUSSION of voluntary associations in Western European societies must take account of the great prevalence of such groups. This has been noted by a number of observers.¹ The presence of organizations in large numbers is itself pertinent to an understanding of social organization; and what is of equal or greater significance is the part that these groups play for their members as well as how these groups come into existence.

The work that has been done on voluntary associations represents rather discontinuous approaches without reference to a systematic theory. In this regard reference is made to the work of Chapin, Queen, Rose, Goldhamer, Warner, and Komarovsky. Rose, for example, is concerned with associations that are formed to achieve a condition or change in some segment of society; these he classifies as "social influence" groups. Groups organized to express or satisfy the interests of their members he calls "expressive" groups.² These latter groups Rose excludes from any systematic consideration.³ Chapin and Queen have been concerned with the degree of involvement of members in community organization through the measurement of participation. In addition, Chapin and his students, from their study of formal groups, have theorized that voluntary associations develop into bureaucratic structures over time.⁴ Lynd, Warner, Komarovsky and others are especially concerned with the correlation between voluntary association and social class.⁵ That such a relationship exists has been firmly estab-

* Substantially, this chapter was published in the *American Sociological Review*. Gordon, C. W., and N. Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (1959), pp. 22-29.

lished, but its interpretation within any systematic theoretical framework of voluntary associations is limited.

Foremost among the suggestions which account for the proliferation of organizations are the ones made by Wirth. He saw voluntary associations as the means through which individuals in a mass society expressed their interests, regardless of what these might be. The group became the instrumentality by which the individual joined with other like-minded individuals in activity, and the group, likewise, linked the individual to the fabric of the larger society.

Goldhamer, following Wirth, likens the corporation in the economic realm to the club and association in the non-economic sphere.⁶ Whereas complexity in economic organization arises from specialization and division of labor, the proliferation of voluntary organizations is a direct outgrowth of peculiar interests as it springs from heterogeneity (e.g., ethnic, occupational, educational, special interest, etc.). For Goldhamer, formalization of a given organization facilitates and engenders the coming together of like-interested persons. Hence, an implicit assumption in the work of Goldhamer and others is that persons who have like interests will seek organizations that help them implement these interests. Another implicit, though far from fully demonstrated, assumption that has been made is that members who belong to the same organization tend to be categorically alike as well as alike in interests, experiences, and attitudes.

Underlying many investigations of association is the assumption that the associators are like one another in a number of attributes. This has not been demonstrated. What has been shown, however, is a catalogue of characteristics common to people who join formal associations and what the nature and scope of participation in such organizations is. Among the most important of these are the following: 1) Two-thirds of the population of the United States are members of one or more voluntary associations other than a church; 2) all officerships are held by less than one-fifth of the membership; 3) the greatest proportion of members is found in religious, fraternal, business, civic, or improvement associations, in that order; 4) more men than women are members of associations; 5) the higher the education of a person, the more likely he is to be a member of an association; 6) Protestants have more affiliations than Catholics; 7) persons with higher occupational status are more likely to participate in associations; 8) home owners have significantly more associations than renters; 9) high social status is associated with

membership in associations.⁷ The distribution of the members of society according to the characteristics noted above points to, but at the same time leaves unexplained, the function and process that explain the associations themselves.

Typology

Apparent in the examination of voluntary association is the significance of the group's aim in relation to its criteria for the selection of its members. The stated aims of the organization may be misleading insofar as these reveal the organization's function. Equally pertinent to consider is the criteria of membership in relationship to function. For example, the D.A.R. is a voluntary association, but to become a member it is necessary to be an adult female who can trace familial lineage to a participant in the American Revolution. Here, heredity is an important limiting factor; in many organizations membership criteria are almost wholly ascriptive. Thus, the criteria of membership may or may not bear on the alleged functions of the organization. Relatively exclusive membership may be viewed as more of a desideratum by the persons belonging to the organization than their concern with the stated objectives of the organization.

Membership criteria, the activities engaged in, and the stated objectives of an organization as these relate to the functions of that organization merit investigation. A fruitful approach to these problems is through the study of specific cases. The researchers in *Deep South* found membership in the Historical Club to be composed primarily of upper class women.⁸ The stated concern of the club was to honor the local past through an annual community celebration called "Historical Week." And though membership in the club was limited to upper-class women, upper-middle-class women interested in the organization could participate in a limited supportive nonmembership capacity. Such women engaged in many of the same activities as those engaged in by the members during Historical Week, namely, by serving as guides for tours, by opening their homes as rooming houses for visitors, by serving meals (though for a price), by acting as costumed assistant hostesses, and by otherwise participating in pageants recreating and honoring the past.

In short, many of the activities of interested upper-middle-class women paralleled the activities of the actual members. This strong-

ly suggests that the activities and the "proper attitudes" themselves were not different for participating members and nonmembers. The alleged aims of the organization were advanced by both. What is further indicated is the discrepancy between the alleged aim of the club as revealed in activity and stated purpose, and the purpose or function of the group as revealed through an examination of membership attributes. Hence, the function of this organization is not to be found in its stated objectives but in its status-conferring function made possible by membership selection based on ascriptive qualities that are highly limited.

An organizational prototype which is almost in direct contrast to the Historical Club in membership criteria and status-conferring function is the YMCA. The membership consists of males within a wide age range. It is difficult to focus sharply on a single aim or over-all objective of this association. A local affiliate states the objectives as follows:

. . . to improve the spiritual, mental, social and physical condition of people and to associate them in a world-wide fellowship united by a common loyalty to the principles of Jesus Christ for the purpose of building a Christian personality and a Christian society.⁹

Membership in the association, with the minor exception of fees and the informally-operative tie with religion, is open. Members may engage in a wide range of activities directly related to interest. The extent to which an individual participates in one or more specific groups (assuming the usual qualification such as age) is purely voluntary. The intensity of his participation in a group is also voluntary. There is a direct relationship between the stated aims or objectives of the interest group and the activities in which the person engages.

In direct contrast to the limitations on membership in the Historical Club is the openness of membership in the YMCA. A parallel contrast is apparent. While membership in the Historical Club confers high status on the individual, this is not the case with YMCA groups. At the same time, however, the activities in both the Y-interest group and the Historical Club do not, *per se*, confer status upon the individual.

Another type of voluntary association is illustrated by the Boy Scouts of America. The membership consists of males within a specified age range. Aims and purposes of the Scouts, as outlined in their manual, are as follows:

The purpose of this corporation shall be to promote, through organization, and cooperation with other agencies, the ability of boys to do things for themselves and others, to train them in scoutcraft, and to teach them patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and kindred virtues, using the methods which are now in common use by boy scouts.¹⁰

This association is "democratic" insofar as the criteria of class, religion, ethnicity and race bear on membership qualification. The activities are uniform for all members, and successive steps in achievement depend upon results graded by objective standards of evaluation which are consistent with the officially-stated standards. Hence, the function of the organization, on the whole, coincides with the stated objectives.

The discussion of formal voluntary association thus far has examined the basis for membership selection in relation to the status-defining function of the organization. An additional basis for distinguishing between associations is to be found in the stated objectives of the association. Certain groups do not exist primarily to furnish activities for members as an end in itself, but serve as social influence groups to maintain or create some normative condition or change. Such groups exist to attain goals that lie outside the organization. The NAACP, the League of Women Voters, and a neighborhood improvement council represent this type. These organizations will be called instrumental groups.

A highly visible example of an instrumental group is the NAACP. The expressed goals are indicated in the name of the organization itself: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its purposes, explicitly stated, are:

1. To educate America to accord full rights and opportunities to Negroes.
2. To fight injustice in Courts when based on race prejudice.
3. To pass protective legislation in State and Nation and defeat discriminatory bills.
4. To secure the Vote for Negroes and teach its proper use.
5. To stimulate the cultural life of Negroes.
6. To stop lynching.

Membership is unqualified for adults. Participation can be nominal as well as active, and the activities engaged in by the members are consistent with the stated objectives of the organization. Paradoxically, the objectives of the organization would hold high rank in accordance with the Judaic-Christian and democratic traditions, but various segments of the population disagree on the specific means which should be used by the NAACP for accomplishing the

stated objectives. Thus, while the objectives of the organization are esteemed by many, the formal group may rank low relative to other organizations. This is true, despite the fact that the NAACP may be credited, in part, for bringing about change consonant with its stated purposes. The low evaluation of an organization such as the NAACP by a significant proportion of the population may be attributed to the low rank held by many of its members and leaders in major rank systems, either ethnic or racial.

Another instrumental organization is the League of Women Voters. Membership is allegedly open to any interested adult female. The purpose of the League is "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government." It is studiously nonpartisan and confines itself to issues in government (on which the League takes a stand after extended research) and to the qualifications of candidates for office. The activities in which the members participate are directly consistent with the aims as stated. The League stands for diffuse and widely held goals relating to an active and enlightened citizenry. Both the purpose and the means for its implementation are highly approved by most persons familiar with the organization.

Our discussion to this point suggests that organizations may be classed as expressive or instrumental. This categorization must be regarded as an over-simplification since some organizations seem to manifest both functions. (Later, a third possibility, the instrumental-expressive, will be introduced.) For example, it is conceivable that a national veterans' organization may well operate to a great extent on an expressive level locally, but on an instrumental level nationally. The apparent expressive character of any organization is consistent with the notion in social organization theory that activities and sentiments tend to develop above and beyond the requirements of the formal system. Hence, whatever the purpose of the organization, it will incorporate expressive characteristics for its maintenance and provide a framework for personal gratification. Although an instrumental organization might well meet the expressive requirements of its members, its principal requirement is that it focuses on activity and goals that are outside the organization itself.

The discussion of voluntary associations, so far, has been based on several assumptions about the relationship between the members and organizational activities which may now be explicitly stated and systematically discussed. These assumptions are reformulated as concepts for the classification of associations; they are as follows:

accessibility of membership, the status-defining capacity of the organization, and the categorization of organizations' functions as instrumental or expressive.

Degree of Accessibility

Organizations may be classed in two categories pertaining to accessibility, those with high and those with low accessibility. Organizations with almost completely unqualified membership, seeking large numbers of members from the universe of those willing to affiliate, represent an extreme form of the highly accessible organization. Such an organization is the New York Association for the United Nations. Some groups with relatively unlimited membership use as a selective principle some gross ascriptive attribute such as age or sex. These groups are exemplified by the Boy Scouts and the YMCA. A somewhat more selective organization, though one which purports to seek members by stating minimum membership requirements, is the League of Women Voters. Aside from gross ascriptive qualifications such as age and sex, the League is "highly self-conscious" about its recruitment policies as a result of informal control of membership. It is predominantly an organization for college women.

Trade unions like the AFL-CIO, or a veterans' group such as the American Legion, besides gross ascriptive membership qualifications, rely upon membership in some other organization, either present or past.

Groups of low accessibility are of two major types. First are those groups whose membership is limited by highly selective achievement and/or talent criteria.¹¹ For example, the achievement criterion for active membership in the American Sociological Association is a Ph.D. or its equivalent. Most professional societies would fall into this category. Second, there are those groups whose membership is qualified by formally ascriptive qualities that are limited through a device such as kinship; these groups may be represented by the D.A.R. or, ascription may be related to social class, ethnicity and race, which operate informally to limit membership. The Historical Club as reported in *Deep South* is a case where membership is limited by ascription of a highly valued but scarce attribute which few people in the community possess. It does not follow that scarcity necessarily results in high evaluation. The membership of an American-Armenian club is limited by ascription of a negatively

valued but scarce attribute which few people in a community may possess. Therefore, the distinction is based not on ascription or scarcity, but on the evaluation of the ascribed attribute.

Status-Confering Capacity

By "status-confering" we have reference to the capacity of an organization to bestow prestige or be associated with prestige which accrues to its members. An assumption is explicitly made that organizations can be arranged in a rank system and the evaluation on which the ranking is based is, in part, related to the accessibility dimension already considered. Activity has been used as synonymous with role, and the evaluation of role is status.¹² Certain activities are highly valued in our society and it often follows that organizations promoting such activities may, as a result, also be highly valued or seriously considered. Thus, the League of Women Voters lends considerable support to the activities related to good government and "enlightened" voting. Further, the approach by which this organization gives support to voting activity is also highly approved. Therefore, the ends (objectives—activities of an organization) and means employed to achieve the ends are both important in the evaluation of an organization and, subsequently, to its members.

There are various ways in which an organization and/or its membership may relate to activity. The right to engage in organizational activities can be based on prior ascription or achievement qualifications, either or both of which may be formally or informally operative. Thus the American Medical Association may derive part of its status from the achievement of its members prior to entering the organization. Also, the prestige of the Historical Club may be derived from the social class position of the members, independent of the specific activities of the club itself.

The status-confering capacity of an organization is often related to the ethnic and racial composition of its membership. Ethnic organizations may rank either high or low depending on the place of the group in the ethnic rank systems. This is equally true of racial descent as a factor. Ethnicity and race then are sources of status definition prior to membership in organizations. These rank systems also operate independent of the activities of organizations as they bear on evaluation.

Many organizations do not confer prestige on their members

through their activity. The activities may be equally engaged in by all of the members so that no prestige results from competitive achievement. In general, the YMCA is illustrative of such an organization.

Status may accrue to an individual on the basis of achievement in activities within an organizational context. Both an Eagle Scout and a Thirty-Second Degree Mason receive recognition and status within their own organizations and in society at large.

The status significance of an organization for its members may depend upon the relationship of its activities to objectives which lie outside the organization and the effectiveness of their implementation. These activities may be highly approved or disapproved as illustrated, once again, in the work of the League of Women Voters in contrast to the activities of the Klu Klux Klan.

Function

Generically, organizations can be classified according to the functions that they perform for their members. One major type provides the framework for immediate and continuing gratification to the individual. Examples of this type are the "Senior Citizens" Club, the Boys' Club, and special interest groups such as bowling, chess, and checkers associations. The aforementioned groups perform a function primarily for the individual participants through activities confined and self contained within the organization itself. More specifically, they provide the opportunity for carrying on activities of direct interest to the participants such as recreation, or help provide the satisfactions which arise out of personal fellowship. Included in this category would also be organizations which are honorific or status conferring. This type of organization has been designated as expressive. In the main, orientation is not to the attainment of a goal anticipated for the future, but to the organization of a flow of gratifications in the present.¹³

In contrast to the expressive is the instrumental organization. Its major function and orientation are related to activities which are outside the organization. It seeks to maintain a condition or to bring about change which transcends its immediate membership.¹⁴ Examples of such associations are Americans for Democratic Action, the Young Republican Club, the Klu Klux Klan, and the League of Women Voters. Members identify with the association because of its commitments to goals and purposes which do not contribute

to their own personal and immediate satisfactions. This does not preclude "expressive functions" within the instrumental type of organization.

Intermediate to instrumental and expressive associations are those groups which incorporate both functions self-consciously. The American Legion is illustrative. At the national level it has registered lobbyists and a legislative program that is officially endorsed by its members, but at the local level it functions primarily as a club for convivial activities. In the present scheme, such organizations are designated as instrumental-expressive. Members identify with the organization both for the fellowship it provides and for the special objectives which it seeks.

In the foregoing discussion, various elements bearing on a theory of voluntary association have been considered, namely, accessibility, status-defining capacity, the instrumental, instrumental-expressive, and expressive functions of organizations. Together these elements constitute the basis for a typology for classifying voluntary associations. This is demonstrated schematically in Chart I.

CHART I. A TYPOLOGY OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
(With Examples)

	High Accessibility		Low Accessibility	
	High Status	Low Status	High Status	Low Status
Instrumental	Young Republican Club	Klu Klux Klan	League of Women Voters	Lithuanian American Council
Instrumental-Expressive	Kiwanis	American Legion	American Sociological Association	Alcoholics Anonymous
Expressive	Boy Scouts of America	YMCA	Daughters of the American Revolution	Omega (National Negro fraternal organization)

This typology and the associations used to illustrate it constitute a basis for classifying voluntary organizations. It also suggests criteria useful in ranking organizations, in lieu of a general organizational rank system, comparable to the one devised by North and Hatt in ranking occupations. Such a ranking would be empirically relevant to the present theoretical formulation.¹⁵ The typology as presented also can be employed as a heuristic device for generating hypotheses. The following tentative formulations are suggested, for example:

Organizations with low accessibility of membership as a

result of ascriptive criteria which are highly evaluated will provide high status for their members.

If membership in an organization is highly accessible and the organization espouses and implements widely held and esteemed values, then the organization will be highly ranked.

If the means by which an organization implements its goals are controversial, then the organization will rank lower than an organization in which this is not the case.

If an organization, through its activities, is capable of implementing its stated goals, then the organization will tend to rank higher than an organization which is not capable of implementing its goals.

If an organization which is highly accessible exists only to provide immediate satisfactions through activities for its members, then the organization will rank low.

There is a direct relationship between the talent and/or training requirements for membership in an organization and the rank of an organization.

Organizations with low accessibility of membership as a result of ascription criteria which are negatively evaluated will be ranked low.

The typology as a classificatory scheme has utility in the analysis of relationships between specific variables as these relate to organization. Status, accessibility, and function become analytic when considered in connection with age, sex, nativity, education, and so forth. To illustrate, children do not form or maintain instrumental-type associations. Likewise, children's groups, with few exceptions, do not have high status.

Summary

This chapter has presented a discussion of a number of concepts pertinent to an analysis of voluntary associations. Arnold Rose's dichotomization of voluntary associations into "expressive" and "social influence" groups, as well as Talcott Parsons' use of the idea of "expressive" and "instrumental" structures, has proven to be a fruitful basis for the present formulation. A typology of voluntary associations has been developed employing and inter-relating the degree of accessibility of membership, the status-conferring capacity, and the classification of groups as instrumental, instrumental-expressive, and expressive, as these relate to the functions of organization. The usefulness of this scheme for generating hypotheses has been suggested and demonstrated.

4 / The Savannah - Manhattan Improvement Council

The Nature and the Purpose of the Group

THE CHARACTERISTICS of the area described in Chapter 2 showed it to be one in which there was overcrowding, substandard housing, high delinquency rates, and a high degree of family dependency; these were indications of the general deteriorated state of the area. A neighborhood improvement council was the type of association most likely to improve the physical and social conditions of such a neighborhood. In the theory of voluntary associations, a council would be an instrumental association whose goals were to bring about change and to prevent any further deterioration from taking place at a neighborhood level. The Savannah-Manhattan Improvement Council was organized to achieve just such goals. It served as one of the main agencies through which the sponsoring organization (the Marshall-Court Extension Service) sought to achieve its objectives. The Extension Service's stated objectives were:

1. To assist the people who live and work in the neighborhood to organize in a constructive way to seek a concerted solution to their problems.
2. To encourage residents and property owners to take steps toward physical rehabilitation of housing and to assist in relocation problems.
3. To develop the ability of residents to handle personal, family, and community problems and encourage their use of city-wide services.¹

The Improvement Council's objective, consistent with those of the Extension Service, was "to make our neighborhood a better place in which to live." A number of special committees were organized in relation to the Improvement Council yet independent of it. Among these was a Red Cross Committee (operating under the city Red Cross), a Recreational Committee, a Guided Child Observation Group, a Mothers' Day Camp Committee and a Parent-Teachers' Association. All of these groups in some way sought to

improve the well-being of the people of the neighborhood or to improve the physical condition of the area.

These objectives were accomplished through a wide range of activities which were brought about through enlisting the co-operation of property owners and public officials in making improvements. The Council sponsored a clean-up drive, made a survey of property, circulated petitions to influence city officials, co-operated with public city departments in cleaning alleys, worked on parking problems, facilitated street cleaning, advertised the aims of their group, distributed city ordinance material within the neighborhood concerning trash and garbage disposal, and worked on a fire prevention program in co-operation with the Fire Prevention Division of the Safety Council.

Some persons were members of both the Improvement Council and one or more of the committee groups, but not all of the members of committees belonged to the Council. Initially, the Improvement Council limited its membership to home owners from the area but later opened its membership to all interested persons from the area.

Fifty-eight persons belonged to the Council and the related committees. They were all interviewed. Reflecting the older age of the residents in this part of the city, this group ranged in age from 25 to 84, with a mean of 54. Thirty-one were Protestant, 15 were Catholic, four were Jewish, and eight professed no religious affiliation. Of the 58 members, 15 were male and 43 were female; furthermore, 11 of the males and 33 of the females were married. Only one male in the sample was divorced, whereas 15 of the women were either divorced or separated.

Predominantly the married persons represented households; there were three married couples in the group. Thirty-seven of those who were or had been married had children. Fifteen were childless.

The group was predominantly native born or had come from an Anglo-Saxon background. Thirty were native born of native-born parents. Another 17 were native born with one or both of their parents foreign born. Of these, however, 12 had a parent or parents who were born in the British Isles, Canada or Germany. Of the 11 foreign born, six were born in the British Isles, Canada, or Germany.

Educational attainment ranged from one person who had completed the fourth grade to six who had completed college. Nineteen had an eighth-grade education or less, 29 had attended or completed high school, and eight had either attended or completed college.

The mean educational achievement for the group was 10.9 years and the median was 10.3. This is somewhat above the median for the city population (9.6); also it is above the median educational achievement for the persons in census tracts 5 and 28, which were 9.6 and 8.9 respectively. Occupation of husband, or of female if unmarried, suggested a somewhat favored economic position. Fourteen of the group were in semiskilled occupations, 21 were skilled, and 22 were in the clerical, business and professional category. Forty-two of the 58 in the group were property owners; 29 lived in a single house or duplex, 18 lived in apartment houses, and 11 lived in rooming houses. Property ownership was to be expected in this group.

Membership in Other Associations

Fifteen of the persons in the group belonged only to the Improvement Council. The remaining 43 were associated with from two to 13 different groups. Collectively, the Council was represented by 192 memberships in 78 different voluntary associations. Mean number of affiliations was 3.5 organizations. Twenty-seven persons belonged to three or more organizations.

Sixty-nine per cent of all memberships were in instrumental organizations. This percentage included, however, memberships in the Council and other groups affiliated with the Council, a fact which biases membership in the direction of the instrumental type. Eliminating all Council and affiliated memberships, there was still a substantial number (47 per cent) of memberships in instrumental organizations. A distribution of the non-Council affiliated memberships into the classification used by the Detroit Area Profile Study² showed the following:

	<i>Per cent</i>
Occupational associations	6
Fraternal and social club	14
Church-connected groups	15
Athletic and other recreational associations	6
Youth-serving	23
Welfare organizations	9
Neighborhood improvement associations	—
Women's clubs	4
Political clubs	10
Community centers	1
Nationality groups	2
Other groups	10

Typical of the above associations were the Rosary Society, Daughters of the Nile, Susan B. Anthony Club, Brownie Troop Leaders, the Republican Club, the Red Men, and the Masons.

Without a basis of comparison with other samples of association memberships classified accordingly, it is not possible to assume significantly higher affiliation in instrumental organizations for Council members. However, the motivation that accounts for a person's affiliation with one type of association is equally represented when he joins additional associations. Thus, a person in an instrumental group will tend to join additional instrumental groups and, similarly, a person in an expressive group will tend to join other expressive groups.

Manner of Affiliation

Contrary to expectation, only half (29) of the persons became members of the Improvement Council through personal influence. Twenty of the group were influenced into joining through the professional community organizer. Initially, he was introduced to many of the people by other professional workers familiar with the area. Most helpful were the public health nurse and an elementary school principal. Once the extension service director became established with neighborhood people, it was possible for him to employ them to extend his contacts in the community. Of 32 who had been in the group for over one year, 17 joined through personal contact. Information on 23 persons who had been associated with the group for less than a year showed that only 11 had joined through personal influence. Hence, personal influence seemed to play a less important role in recruiting than was suggested by the hypothesis. On the other hand, the professional worker loomed as more important in recruitment than originally proposed, since professional workers accounted for the introduction of 12 new persons in the same time period.

The community organizer, with the aid of other professionals familiar with the area, influenced a core of persons to become members of the Council. This core, acting as a recruiting nucleus, became themselves personal influentials in getting others to join. Meanwhile, the professional staff continued recruiting. There was a real difference between those who were influenced to join through social work persons and those who came into the Council through the core of lay influentials. Whether intentional or not, the social

worker was attracted to individuals who themselves later became influentials. On the other hand, those influenced to join through personal influence did not appear to have the same potential for bringing others into the group. This pattern of recruitment continued throughout the growth of the organization, which was still expanding during the time of the study. Those influentials persuaded to join by social workers were not only likely to influence others more often than those influenced by lay members, but were in addition, likely to influence several persons; nonsocial-work influentials were likely to be effective with only one other person. The general picture of influence is presented in Table 4-1.

TABLE 4-1. MODE OF ENTRY INTO THE COUNCIL AS RELATED TO INFLUENCING OTHERS TO JOIN*

	Didn't Influence Others to Join	Influenced Others to Join
Mode of entry		
Social worker	15	13
Personal	24	4

* Statistically significant.

Influentials were somewhat more likely to see members of the group outside of formal meetings than were noninfluentials. Those who entered the group through personal influence ordinarily did not influence others to join. This suggests that such persons became members to obtain immediate personal satisfactions and often were not orientated to the instrumental goals and activities of the organization. Instead they were more inclined toward the person who introduced them to the organization and to the fellowship with others which would be developed within such groups. Those, however, who were influenced to join the group by a social work person apparently were attracted to the group goals, sought to extend these goals through recruitment, and derived their major interest from the achievement of instrumental goals. Such persons saw recruitment as one form of implementing the goals of the group and often influenced their friends to become affiliated with the organization. The members viewed the organization as being instrumental irrespective of how they became affiliated and irrespective of their motivation for remaining in the group.

The community organizer, as expected, was more likely to contact persons who were both married and property owners. As noted earlier, many of the 14 who were classified as not married were widowed, separated, or divorced. A comparison between the married

and the not married revealed that the married were far more likely to be influenced into joining the group through a professional worker. Those classed as not married, on the other hand, were more likely to be influenced by a lay influential. Table 4-2 shows this relationship.

TABLE 4-2. MARITAL STATUS AS RELATED TO MANNER OF JOINING*

	Not Married	Married
Joined through Impersonal	3	26
Personal	11	18

*Statistically significant.

Consequently a large proportion of the persons who became lay influentials were married. Besides being married, the lay influential was likely to be a property owner.

Influence as it relates to the sex of the person influencing or influenced was tested. It was expected that women would primarily influence women and that men would primarily influence men. The conventions of the culture normally define and sanction associations between persons of the same sex and preclude cross-sex interaction of even a casual nature. To some extent incorporation into the group followed this pattern. That is, women influenced other women to join. The exception to this pattern was the extensive influence of the male community organizer who influenced not only men but married women. The cultural convention permitted the community organizer to extend influence on a cross-sex basis and suggested that in organizational recruiting, some roles are defined in order to allow a range of alternatives in cross-sex situations. Whereas the community organizer was effective in recruiting 16 women, no male joined the group through the efforts of the female staff.

This raises the theoretical question of the relative effectiveness of women as community organizers in the context of their conventional roles in the society. While women organizers might be highly effective with other women, it is not equally clear that they would be equally, if at all, effective with men.³

Religious Affiliation

Those who attended church with great regularity were more likely to join the group through personal influence, whereas those

who attended religious services less regularly were more likely to join through a social work contact. Specifically, seven of the religiously-affiliated persons influenced to join the Council through a social worker attended church services 26 to 52 times a year, six members attended services from six to 25 times a year, and 11 members attended five or less times a year. On the other hand, the figures for those persuaded to affiliate with the Council by a friend were 14 who attended church services 26 to 52 times a year, seven who attended services six to 25 times a year, and five who attended church five or less times a year. Eight Council members professed no religious affiliation and five of these eight were induced to join through social work influence. Twenty-four, or almost half of the members, could be characterized as not active in the religious community. There was no relationship between church attendance and/or affiliation and being an influential. On the other hand, religious attendance was significantly related to marital status. Those designated as not married were likely to attend religious services regularly, as illustrated in Table 4-3 (includes those professing no religious faith).

TABLE 4-3. RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE AS RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS*

	Attendance	
	Less than 26	26 or More
Marital status		
Married	32	12
Not married	5	9

* Statistically significant.

Members of the organization who attended church more frequently were more likely not to be married. Furthermore, they entered the organization through personal influence; whereas, those who attended church less frequently or not at all were likely to be married and influenced by a community organizer into joining, and then were more likely themselves to be influentials. The distinctions between personal influence and marital status, personal influence and religiosity, and marital status and religiosity all appeared to be related to the function of the organization for the individual. The organization itself was directed to instrumental activities rather than expressive ones.

There seems to be a consistent indication that the instrumental, the instrumental-expressive, and the expressive functions are tendencies within organizations without reference to the primary func-

tion by which the organization may be classified. In other words, the memberships held by some persons in an organization can be better explained in terms of purposes other than the one for which the organization ostensibly exists. On this basis, it is possible to explain the relationship between frequent church attendance and not being married or being married and influenced into joining through a social work contact in this case. Two types of motivation are involved. One is to maintain values associated with property. The other is the derivation of personal satisfaction from other members in association. This can be accomplished through attending church frequently and being personally influenced and is consistent with the requirements for seeking satisfaction as an unmarried person living alone. Unmarried individuals will join organizations with the intention that such association will fulfill an expressive requirement even though the organization is a highly instrumental one. This does not preclude the possibility that an individual joins an organization for more than one reason. Married individuals are less likely to be oriented to the expressive dimension when they join an instrumental organization. The married individual becomes interested in the aims of the organization regardless of how he finds out about it. If his identification with the organization is primarily an instrumental one, then this fact may help to explain why such a person is successful in inducing others to join the association. Persons who join the association through personal influence might feel less involved in the aims of the organization than in the expressive dimension and hence be less successful proselytizers. Such an interpretation is even more plausible in that the married and non-married equally are property owners. Attendance or nonattendance at religious services by the married is not to be explained through familial obligations. For example, those with children living at home attend church as frequently as those who do not have children or those whose children do not live in the same household.⁴

Among religiously affiliated Council members there is some tendency for the Protestants to belong to more associations than the Catholics or Jews. No other significant relationships aside from those already referred to were found. Specifically those religiously affiliated do not belong to more groups than those not affiliated; religiosity does not bear on frequency of attendance; nor on leadership, or property ownership. Concerning this last-mentioned relationship, for example, almost all persons belonging to the Council own property. This, then, does not become a differentiating trait. The proposed hypothesis that persons affiliated with religious or-

ganizations are more likely to be members of other associations was not confirmed for the persons who belonged to the Council.

Membership Similarity

The hypothesis that the more alike persons are the more likely they are to join the same groups can be tested in a number of ways. There are difficulties in employing such a test with regard to a single organization. Common membership alone establishes likeness in at least one respect; in this case, membership in the Manhattan-Savannah Improvement Council. Earlier, it was pointed out that membership homogeneity is related to the following dimensions: high-low accessibility; high-low status; and instrumental, instrumental expressive, and expressive types of organizations. On this basis, membership criteria alone can often assure membership similarity in a number of additional respects; for example, members in the Council are adults who live in the area. But such criteria for a group such as the Council does not preclude likenesses in additional attributes such as ethnicity, religion, marital or occupational status. The test of the hypothesis in the present instance was limited to ethnicity, marital status and occupation. None of these was found to be significant. The relationship between religious participation and marital status, and between marital status and personal influence has been considered.

In examining ethnicity, it became evident that influentials were predominantly native born. Of the 17 who were influentials, 15 were native born; and one of the two foreign born was Canadian. Further refinement was precluded by the small number of foreign born in the organization. The similarity of membership as just discussed and noted at the beginning of the chapter could be, of course, far more cogently analyzed if compared with other instrumental property improvement groups.

Property ownership is an expected social characteristic of the members of voluntary associations.⁵ The Council functioned so clearly in the realm of property ownership, however, that an analysis including such a test of relationship would be spurious. Hence, the hypothesis that property owners are more likely to participate in voluntary associations than nonproperty owners would be applicable for test only in the case of other types of organizations.

Education

The hypothesis was proposed that those with higher educational achievement would be more active participants in the Council. This was tested through a measure of the frequency of attendance and through a measure of leadership. Educational attainment was not in any way related to frequency of participation in the Council. For those belonging to organizations other than the Council, there was a tendency for the better educated to attend more frequently. Educational attainment (dichotomized into two groups of less than high school and high school or above) proved to be significantly related to leadership and number of organizations with which people were affiliated, but not attendance. Since only eight persons in the group had finished or had had some college training, high school and college were combined for the above test. This finding is consistent with expectation. Perhaps it might be assumed that generally, in organizations with large memberships representing wide educational attainment, members with more education will be the leaders.

It was hypothesized that persons with higher educational achievement would be more likely to be members of voluntary associations and would also belong to a greater number of voluntary associations than those with lower educational attainment. A number of studies have found that persons with higher educational achievement are more likely to be members of organizations. The findings of the present investigation support this. Education as related to the number of organizations was also indicated. Those members who are the best educated in the Council are also the ones who belong to a greater number of groups. The relationship is a direct one as noted in Table 4-4. Table 4-4 shows the direction of the relationship. By combining membership in the Council with membership in one additional association, it becomes possible to subject the relationship to a test of significance as shown in Table

TABLE 4-4. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AS RELATED TO NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

	Grade School	High School or College
Improvement Council only	8	2
Council plus one other	6	13
Council plus two others	4	23

TABLE 4-5. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AS RELATED TO NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS*

	Grade School	High School or College
Member of one or two groups	14	15
Member of three or more groups	4	23
Total	18	38

* Statistically significant.

4-5. This supports the proposition that persons who are better educated are more likely to belong to a greater number of groups. There was no relationship between educational achievement and seeing persons belonging to the Council outside of the organizational context. In other words, members were most likely to see each other only at meetings. There was a tendency for those who had either high school or college training to influence others to join. Two of those with grade school backgrounds were influentials, 16 were not.

There appeared to be no relationship between membership in the Council and the size of family of the members. Also, there was an absence of relationship between those who had children at home and attendance in the organization.

Residential Stability

Forty-five of the Council members had lived in the same residence for five years or longer, six for less than two years, and the remaining between two and five years. The extreme stability of this group precluded further analysis. Contrary to expectation, those who lived in the area for less than five years were somewhat more likely to assume leadership than those who had resided in the neighborhood for longer periods of time. This was shown by the fact that nine of the 13 who had not lived at the same address for five years were active in leadership capacities whereas only 18 of the 45 more stable residents functioned in a leadership capacity. A similar trend was indicated in the relationship between living in the same residence for less than 5 years and a propensity to be associated with more different organizations as well as more frequent attendance in the groups.

There was a tendency in the group for recent residents to assume leadership, affiliate with more groups, and attend meetings more frequently. This tendency may be accounted for by the greater

need for the persons less integrated in the community to derive satisfactions from the web of personal relationships and by the expressive activities of these groups. This same tendency was noted for the more residentially mobile senior citizen (see Chapter 6).

Voting Behavior and Membership

Council members, overwhelmingly, were voters. Fifty-one voted in the last election; four had never voted, and three persons indicated that they voted regularly but had not voted in the last election. These data were confirmed by voter registration records. These same records showed that the vast majority (80%) were registered as Republicans.

It is noteworthy that so high a proportion of persons (in a zone of transition) would be Republican. Since low economic status tends to be associated with residents in the interstitial zone, and low economic status is also associated with being affiliated with the Democratic Party, the expectation would be that of a higher proportion of the persons in the Council would be Democrats. Council members, however, are similar to suburbanites in socio-economic and in other terms which appear to include voting behavior.

The import of extremely high voter participation for this group might be found in the aims of the group itself. Clearly, the Council is a group which is involved in active citizen participation; and part of this participation is manifest in voting.⁶ This explanation is conjectural and therefore subject to systematic exploration before more reliable conclusions can be drawn.

Leadership

The expectation that there would be a significant relationship between leadership and type of dwelling was borne out by the data, but in the opposite direction of that hypothesized. It was thought that leadership persons would reside in single units or duplexes rather than in apartments and rooming houses. Instead, leaders were more likely to live in rooming houses and apartments (Table 4-6).

TABLE 4-6. DWELLING UNIT AS RELATED TO LEADERSHIP*

	Apartment or Rooming House	Single House or Duplex
Leadership Only attends	18	9
Total	29	20

* Statistically significant.

After excluding nonproperty owners from analysis, leadership was still disproportionately represented as residing in apartment dwellings or rooming houses although the relationship was not significant (Table 4-7).

TABLE 4-7. DWELLING UNIT AS RELATED TO LEADERSHIP OF PROPERTY OWNERS IN THE COUNCIL

	Apartment or Rooming House	Single House or Duplex
Leadership	13	7
Only attends	9	17
Total	22	24

Further analysis of those residing in apartments and rooming houses revealed that all 11 of the persons in a rooming house were also the owners. Five of these 11 were leaders. Eleven of the 18 who resided in apartments owned property and of the 11 owners, eight were leaders. Although an even larger proportion of those in the Council and living in a single house or duplex were property owners, a smaller proportion of the group were leaders.

Familial responsibility as manifest through having children living at home was not related to leadership. Leadership was also not characteristic for either those without children or for those who had children but whose children were no longer living in the same household with their parents.

It was expected that native-born members of the Council would be more likely to be leaders than foreign-born members. This expectation was borne out although the relationship did not prove to be significant. Twenty-five of the 47 native-born members assumed leadership while only two of the 11 foreign-born members became leaders. The small number of foreign-born Council members precluded a more elaborate analysis. As related to occupation, leadership was more likely to come from the professional and skilled categories than from the semiskilled and unskilled though the relationship was not significant.

Leadership was significantly related to marital status. Those not married were disproportionately to be found among the leaders while the married were more likely to play a somewhat more passive role in the organization (see Table 4-8).

TABLE 4-8. MARITAL STATUS AS RELATED TO LEADERSHIP*

	Not Married	Married
Leader	11	16
Only attends	3	28
Total	14	44

*Statistically significant.

This finding was somewhat contrary to expectation but consistent generally with the relationships noted earlier in which a social-psychological explanation was suggested. Married persons were likely to join through the influence of a professional worker. As already noted, such persons were more likely to be themselves influential; they appeared to be less likely to seek personal satisfaction through church attendance and affiliation. For them, the Council was primarily instrumental. Satisfactions for such people were not to be derived through the expressive aspects partly manifest in leadership. Their interests were expressed in the accomplishments of the stated objectives of the organization rather than the satisfactions inherent in interpersonal relationships. On the other hand, the nonmarried persons entered the organization through personal influence, did not become influentials, were frequent church attenders, and assumed leadership roles in the Council. All of these factors indicate that such persons seek gratification from interpersonal relations derived through group participation and that fulfillment of personal satisfactions is of paramount interest.

Organization Function

In the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 3, the Council would be classed as an instrumental association. It came into existence in order to bring about changes and improvements in the area. A value assumption of the persons in the sponsoring agency and one espoused by the larger society is that an enlightened citizenry should act on its own behalf for self improvement and the improvement of others. Conceivably, a neighborhood council, as a self-conscious pressure group, could bring about desirable changes or improvement in the area—changes which could be accomplished through direct courses of action such as organized activities for pest control, garbage collection, street cleaning, yard beautification, and the enforcement of zoning ordinances. Such widely supported objectives, when accomplished, result in changes which extend beyond the immediate interests of those proposing the changes. Members relate themselves to the organization primarily to achieve its stated objectives. A person joining this type of organization cannot be assured satisfaction derived from direct activities of the group as an end in itself. Indeed, the function of the group becomes opposite from that of an expressive group which is organized to promote immediate and direct satisfaction from activity itself. Furthermore,

activities in an expressive organization are unlikely to effect the behavior of persons outside the organization. That expressive satisfactions are primary concerns for some members in the Council is incidental since the major concern of most of the members, as well as the reason for the group's existence, is to accomplish externally defined goals.

The Council thus is an instrumental organization. It would be viewed as such by the persons who helped it become established, by the professional staff associated with it, by leaders and members of the community at large, and by members of the group itself.

In addition to the aims of the organization, the instrumental character of this group is manifest in its membership composition and patterns of personal influence. It is a group of property owners many of whom own commercial property such as apartments and rooming houses. As mentioned, all 11 of the persons living in rooming houses owned these dwellings. The economic interest of the group is represented by many who reside in multiple-unit housing—housing which is somewhat characteristic of the area. Disproportionately, leadership comes from the multiple-unit owners. The members of the Council are registered voters and most reported having voted in the last election. A majority are registered as Republican, contrary to the expectation for the area. Voting as behavior would be consistent with the social action emphasis of the Council. Members are older adults (mean age 54) and married. They hold membership extensively in other instrumental groups.

Patterns of personal influence dovetail with the instrumental nature of the group. Although members tend to join the group through personal influence, this tendency is less true than for expressive groups according to the data collected in this study. The community organizer was a more important recruiting agent for the group than expected. Linkage to the organization often was through the impersonal affiliation of persons interested in the objectives of the organization.

Those impersonally influenced to join were likely to be married. The fact that they were married seems important in that their participation in a primary family relationship helps to satisfy interpersonal needs. Thus, they do not seek the group for fulfillment of affective requirements. Affective requirements appear to be met in the marriage relationship alone without reference to having children or residing with children. A parallel is to be found in religious affiliation. The impersonally influenced are less likely to be affiliated with a church, or if affiliated, are less likely to attend church

regularly. Again, having children is unrelated to religiosity. But at the same time, the married are less likely to be religious. The manner of joining and the motivation for joining are centered in primary-group affiliation and identification.

The small number of persons in the universe studied make the following observations tentative and suggestive. To be added to the characteristics noted for those impersonally influenced (who become influentials and view the Council instrumentally) are high educational and occupational achievement and native-born status. That is, those who are married and who have high educational achievement are more likely to influence than those who have high educational achievement but who are not married. The same would be true for occupation and nativity. The married persons of high educational achievement would not be as likely to seek fulfillment of affective requirements in the group as the unmarried persons of high educational achievement. The common denominator throughout the pattern of relationships observed lies in primary group membership.

A parallel but opposite type of affiliation is represented by the member who joins through personal influence. He is more likely to be in the nonmarried category, does not influence others to join or influences, at most, one other person, attends church with greater regularity, and is somewhat more likely to be involved in leadership. Again, the pattern of affiliation is centered in primary group membership. His orientation to primary relationships is nonfamily centered but sought in the context of his identification and participation in formal groups. Specifically, the individual subscribes to the aims of the Council, which provides him with affective linkage as a substitute for primary group needs. This could explain why the member who is personally influenced but not influential is more likely to become involved in leadership. These persons are also likely to see those who influenced them into joining the group in a setting outside of the organization as an extension of primary group satisfactions. These may be referred to as the expressively-oriented members of the instrumental group. The instrumentally-oriented person is family centered in his primary group affiliation. This distinction is consistent with the typology proposed and at the same time provides a framework within which it is possible to explain the differential motivation of persons who join instrumental groups.

With regard to the typology, it is apparent that the Council is an instrumental group. Accessibility is high; the only restriction on

membership is adult status. At its inception, the group required property ownership in the immediate community as necessary for membership. Later, this qualification was dropped so that the group's program could be implemented more effectively. It was realized that nonproperty owners could be equally useful in helping to realize the objectives of the group. Once the group was established, the members felt that nonproperty owners would not dominate it. Actually, the liberalized membership policy had little effect on increasing the size of the organization. Less clear is the rank status of the group. The objectives sought by the group, the means employed in implementing them, and the actual accomplishments all are highly approved in the community. The newness of the Council, its limited sphere of influence and lack of clear visibility compared with more established organizations of its type suggest that it is a relatively low ranking organization. This is an assignment based on the community context in which the group is located. The area is interstitial; the number of persons who belong to the organization, while increasing, is nonetheless small; the composition of its membership is less affluent than one would find in more prestigious areas in the city. Thus, the organization is instrumental, highly accessible, and, at present, of relatively low status.

5 / The Children

CHILDREN WHO were members of the Extension Service were classified in two types of groups: those who participated in the program because they were interested in a specific activity such as swimming or handicraft, and those who were members of formal children's clubs created and/or operated under the direction of the Extension Service. Although children in swimming and craft activity groups could pursue such interests independent of each other, the opportunity to take part in activity at predetermined times, under the same leadership, and in close physical and social association gave such association unity and form. In addition, many of the children who were members of one of the clubs also attended the activity groups together and thus any sharp distinction between club and activity groups was blurred still further. For these reasons, children's activity groups and clubs were both treated as voluntary associations; there were six such associations.

The club groups in the program were the girls' club, boys' club, athletic club and the swimming club; all of these had relatively stable members who attended meetings somewhat more regularly than the members of activity groups. Also, the children in clubs identified with each other to a greater extent than those in activity groups. These groups will be described separately.

The children's activity associations were a craft group and an art gallery group; both included boys and girls. They met weekly, one in a nearby church and the other in the city art museum. The craft group had come into existence shortly before this study was undertaken and was supervised by a trained volunteer worker. There were 18 children listed as members, 15 between the ages of eight and 11; two were seven; and one was 13 years of age. Twelve of the 18 were boys. With one exception, all of the children in the craft group also belonged to one of the club groups. About 12 children ordinarily attended the craft sessions.

The children in the art gallery group were escorted by an Extension Service staff member to the appointed meetings where they were given instruction in ceramics. More children were members of this group than of any of the other Extension Service organizations. Forty-one children were members, 26 boys and 15 girls. The age range was wide, seven to 14, with 32 between the ages of eight and 11. An average of ten children attended ceramic sessions. As in the case of the craft group, a large majority (35 out of the 41) also participated in children's club activities. In fact, only six of the children were members exclusively of the art gallery group.

The Club Groups

Among the four club groups, the least closely associated with the Extension Service was the athletic club, sometimes called the "Black Kats." The Black Kats were eight mid-teen boys ranging in age from 14 to 18; most of them were in a primary relation to each other. Several of these boys lived outside of the Marshall-Court Area.¹ They called themselves the Black Kats whenever they needed a formal designation for basketball or for other types of athletic activity with formally-organized teams. The Black Kats were a voluntary association but they were also an organized gang and a primary group. The members were often found in groups of two or three "hanging around" the area. Occasionally they met in the Extension Service meeting room. For the most part, however, the group was an informal one with diffuse goals and activities; it existed as a voluntary association only for specific activities such as basketball. The Extension Service provided a context in which formal activity could be carried on. The Extension Service director was the agency leader for the group. To repeat, the Black Kats were primarily an informal group; they met infrequently as a formally constituted body. Accurate attendance was not kept by the director when the group met formally.

The boys' club engaged in a wide range of activities, primarily games and simple crafts. The games were of a type included in a recreational group-work program but also included basketball and baseball. On occasion the boys went on camping trips and picnics, and as in the case of the athletic club, the director assumed leadership for the group. In all, there were 29 members ranging in age from seven to 14. Twenty-two of the boys were between the ages of eight and 11. They met weekly in various locations within the

area. On the average, ten attended the meetings, and as indicated earlier, many of the boys in this group were active in other Extension Service organizations. Twenty-two of them belonged to the art gallery group, and of these 22, nine also participated in the craft group. Six of the members of the boys' club were also members of the swimming club. Two boys were members of the boys' club, the art gallery group, the craft group, and the swimming club.

There were 15 boys in the swimming club, the age range being seven to 14. Nine were between the ages of nine and 12; the very youngest and oldest members were brothers of the boys in the middle of the age range. Seven of the 15 had brothers in the group; there were three brothers from one family and two pairs of brothers from two other families. The boys met once a week under the supervision of a volunteer worker. The director of the Extension Service was personally responsible for organizing the group, for procuring a meeting place and for inducing a volunteer worker to head the group. Each of the 15 boys was required to have a membership in order to be eligible to use the swimming facility. A Catholic agency gave the boys the membership without cost. Thus, all of the boys were technically cross-listed as members of two social agencies located in the area.

For six of the boys, the swimming club was their only contact with the Extension Service; the other nine were very active in other Extension Service groups. Specifically, eight were members of the boys' club; eight were members of the art gallery group; and five were also active in the craft group. As expected, information derived through interviews revealed that many of the boys in the swimming club saw each other in a wide range of settings. This was true for the six who belonged only to the club and was true for the others, as indicated by overlapping memberships in various formal groups.

There were 21 girls, aged seven to 12, in the girls' club. Eighteen were between the ages of eight and 11. Group games and special projects accounted for the major activities of the group. Specifically, some of the projects were: making paper bag masks, making jack-o-lanterns, pumpkinseed candy, vases, and pot holders. On occasion the girls cooked and baked for their own parties. Two university students, under the auspices of the Extension Service, helped to organize the group and assumed its leadership. The girls in the art gallery group were a source for initial recruitment. The group met weekly in one of two different facilities located within the area. Twelve of the 21 girls' club members were also in the art gallery

group and five of these 12, in addition, were in the craft group. The number of girls present at any one meeting ranged from one to 16, with an average attendance of seven.

The Children's Sample and the Universe

At the outset of the study, it was assumed that all children listed by the Extension Service held a membership which was of a type equivalent to the memberships held by adults in the voluntary associations affiliated with the agency. This assumption proved to be unwarranted. In addition, a problem developed which made it difficult to interview the children by following the design used with adults, that is, by interviewing all of the members of the organization, as in the case of the Improvement Council, or a random sample of the members of an association, as in the case of the Senior Citizens.

First, one limitation in conducting the research was the impossibility of interviewing the children in their homes.² Second, the system used by the Extension Service to classify children differed from the system employed to classify adults. All children who were on file with the Extension Service were classified as holding equivalent membership irrespective of whether they belonged to a club, an activity group, or had only attended a special event in the community under the supervision of the agency staff. These children who had attended only a special event were classified as "special service members." They could not be considered members of a voluntary association within the framework of the present study. There were 114 children listed as members by the Extension Service, and 41 of these were in the "special service" category; they were not included for study. Of the remaining 73, 52 were interviewed. Thus, in the main, the test of the hypotheses dealing with the children is based on the data derived from 52 interviews.

Considerable additional case material was gathered on the girls' club. Besides information from interview and agency records, use was made of structured participant observation, informal interviews, and sociometric techniques to gather information on this group.³ Several of the hypotheses dealing with the children will be examined in the light of this additional data. These will be presented in the following section of the chapter.

The Girls' Club

The hypothesis that members are incorporated and maintained in voluntary formal groups through personal influence was strongly supported by the evidence on the girls' club. The extent to which friendship plays a role in an individual's becoming affiliated with an expressive association and in his participation in it is probably especially evident in children's groups. To illustrate with case material, Dorothy and Joan, as potential members of the girls' club, were brought to the attention of a staff person by one of the children. The staff person relayed this information to the girls' club leader who sent both girls a postcard inviting them to join the club. Dorothy responded to the invitation and the following week she brought her sister Joan. A week later Dorothy and Joan brought Polly, and the week following, Polly brought her sister Elsie. This pattern of influence, as recorded in the diary notes of both observers, was confirmed by the interview data. Not only were the girls influencing their sisters or their friends to join but it appeared that the pattern of influence was exercised by a small group of two or three persons functioning as a unit. The four girls above attended a parochial school outside of the area and associated with each other outside of the club setting. The observers noted in recording arrivals and departures according to friendship that a total of 14 instances of arrival to and departure from meetings occurred for the four girls. "Eleven of the 14 were instances in which two or more of the four girls came or left meetings together; on three occasions the girls came or left with others. Thus, 79 per cent of the arrivals to or departures from meetings were within the group of four.* The same pattern characterized the girls' participation within the group. For example,

Polly, Dorothy, and Elsie were together. When they moved from their positions at the table to chairs for discussion they remained in approximately the same group. . . . during the discussion, positions were changed. Joan moved to the empty chair next to me and Elsie moved to Joan's vacated chair, and thus she went to the original position that she had had at the table for the project. Nevertheless, the St. Francis girls were between Karen (one of the group leaders) and me and the Public School 115 girls were on the other side of us.*

Patterns of friendship for these girls reflected themselves in manner of joining as well as in participation together in group activities.

*Quoted from Diary notes.

Other subgroups reflected this same configuration. Behavior of two sisters is illustrative.

Lila and Eddie attended seven meetings—neither coming without the other. . . . Eddie is probably the most passive of all the members of the group. She normally does her work alone and is brought into group activities by Lila. . . . Lila is very dogmatic, wanting everything to be done correctly at the right time.

Lila often comes to the defense of Eddie. Usually she tries to see that Eddie is not left out of anything the group does. . . . although all the girls function together they tend to form small groups of 2 or 3. Lila and Eddie usually are together and, if they are not, Lila keeps checking to make sure Eddie is not being left out.*

A further illustration of the interaction within the group is provided in the following excerpt which includes the two girls above and two other sisters with whom they interact.

Ingrid, Mildred, Lila and Eddie interact outside of the Club situation. On several occasions Ingrid and/or Mildred have told us where the other two are. For example, on November xx, Ingrid told us that Lila and Eddie were not at the meeting because "they had to go to the store." Mildred told us on December xx that Lila and Eddie would be late because "their mother has to take Carol to the doctor."

These data support the central hypothesis regarding personal influence. Many of the girls were instrumental in bringing their friends into the group. Often they came and left meetings with each other and they tended to interact more frequently with each other within the group than with other members. If anything, there was a predisposition on the part of the children to under-report the extent to which they interacted with each other outside of the group. In mixed groups, sisters never reported interacting with their brothers outside of the organization. Oddly, sisters rarely reported interacting with each other despite the plethora of data to the contrary.

The girls' club was nucleated into small friendship groups. Such groups had unity within and outside of the formal setting. Within the organization the members of the subgroups "over-chose" each other in group games, engaged one another in conversation more often, sat together, and even interceded on behalf of clique members in contacts with the group leaders. That such subgroups participated as a unit outside of the club setting was indicated through interviews in the pattern of influencing others to join the club,

as well as in their pattern of coming to and leaving meetings together.

Club membership provided a framework in which the girls could participate with each other in a still wider range of activities than already characterized their close association. It provided more spice, so to speak, to an already rich program of mutual participation. These same subgroups functioned as units in coming and going to school, in nondirected play, and in attending commercial amusements. The girls knew each other well as a result of their participation in a wide range of mutually-shared experiences. They also knew each other's parents, teachers, and other adults who controlled their world as children. In sum, the children's subgroups had an identity stemming from mutual participation in diverse activities and as a result of being given direction by the same adults. For them there was an identification with the group not to be found to the same extent among the adults. Affiliation with the girls' club itself was ancillary for many of the members to an already-rich association. Possibly it was even incidental. There is reason to believe that the adult affiliation with a comparable expressive association involved a greater personal commitment to the formal group as a whole. At the same time, affiliation with an expressive or an instrumental association for the adult was also more likely to be viewed within a general context of segmentalization than was true for the child.

Description of Children Interviewed

As noted earlier, 52 children were interviewed. These 52 represented two-thirds of the total membership of the voluntary associations of children in the Extension Service program. Fortunately, most of the children affiliated with specific associations were interviewed.

Of the 52, 29 were male and 23 were female. The religious composition was as follows: 33 were Protestant, 18 were Catholic, and one child claimed no religion.

The socio-economic background of the families from which the children came is reflected especially in the occupational status of the father and the home ownership of the family. Thirty-three of the children had fathers who were unskilled or semiskilled; 15 of the fathers were skilled, and four were in the white collar classifica-

tion. Forty-six of the children came from families who lived in rented dwellings; four resided in family-owned homes; and two didn't know whether their family owned or rented. These data suggested that the children came from families of lower socio-economic backgrounds. This fact was further confirmed by information on family size. While the modal size of the family was five (there were 10 children who came from families of this size) the mean size of the family was 8.6. Twenty-four came from families in which there were seven or more children; 13 of these were Protestant families. Thus while there was some tendency for the Catholic children to come from larger families than Protestant children, both were from large families.

Including the children's Extension Service groups, the 52 children had memberships in 14 different associations. The range was from one to five groups, and the mean was 2.9. Groups besides those in the Extension Service included a Red Cross cooking club, Brownies, a church woodshop, YMCA, and the Girl Scouts.

All of these groups provided activity, within the organizational framework, which conceivably gave immediate satisfaction of the members. The groups were not concerned with goals lying outside of the organization. They were not concerned with controlling behavior of other persons who were not in the group or in implementing social change. Without exception, the 52 children belonged only to expressive groups.

The Role of the Adult in the Children's Formal Associations

Generally, the role played by the adult in the voluntary association of the child is of central importance; the adults establish the groups, arrange the facility, provide for the leadership, and are the source persons for the recruitment of members. They do this either through their contacts with other adults such as parents or through direct contact with the child. Such a role is consistent with relationship between adult and child in the larger society. It is almost inconceivable that the child would be instrumental in establishing a voluntary association for adults; it is commonplace for the adult to establish voluntary associations for the child.

Groups function for the child primarily as agencies in which social activity can take place. The purely expressive dimension is most important in such cases. Illustrative would be the swimming

club. The voluntary association also provides a framework in which creative self-development can take place. The girls' club is a good illustration of this type. Children join organizations primarily to be with other children and to engage in the activities of the group. In their terms, "I come to have fun;" "If I can't dance, I won't come back;" "I come to swim." Children also say that they come because other children come.

The function of the children's voluntary association from the point of view of the adult is to provide a setting in which personal and social development can take place. Desirable attitudes can be inculcated, behavior can be directed and controlled in socially-directed channels, mechanical skills and/or social skills and interests can be cultivated. Popularly, such associations are supposed to prevent delinquency, keep children off the streets, build character, and so forth.

The Nature of Affiliation and Association

Of the 52 children in the various voluntary associations, 39 entered the association for which they were initially interviewed through personal influence. As noted, there were a number of different groups to which a child could have belonged within the extension program. A child entering a group through personal influence could then, through his acquaintance with the social worker, be introduced by him into a different group. Or, he might join the first group through a social worker, but join the second organization through personal influence. Whereas persons influenced by social workers in the Council often became influentials, the same was not true for the children. The mode of joining one of the children's groups either through a social worker or personal influence was not significantly related to influencing others to join an association. Of the 39 who joined through personal influence, 27 were members of more than one association. Eighteen of this group with plural memberships induced other children to join an association, but nine did not. Ten of the 13 who were initially influenced through a social worker or impersonally were members of more than one group. Four of these ten became influentials; six did not. There was no tendency for children who became affiliated with one organization through personal influence to become affiliated with a second organization in the same manner. This is shown in Table 5-1.

TABLE 5-1. CHILDREN WHO JOINED THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE AS RELATED TO JOINING OTHER GROUPS THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE

Mode of Entry in Initial Group	Affiliation in Other Group	
	Personal	Social Worker
Personal	16	11
Social worker	4	6

The extent to which children associated with each other outside of the formal voluntary association was striking. Forty-one children of the 52 had such contacts; that is, they saw one or more persons from the same voluntary organization in an informal group context. There was a tendency for the children to under-report their informal clique associations. Of the nine who claimed not seeing other persons outside of the voluntary association setting, six either were mentioned by other children as part of an informal peer group or had a sibling whom they did not mention as persons seen outside of the organization. Several children who claimed no association were mentioned a number of times by different children. Extent of association was indicated by the fact that 34 children claimed to associate informally with two children, and 19 of these 34 claimed to associate with at least three other children. Many children mentioned seeing ten or more other Extension Service members regularly in informal settings.

Another indication that children under-reported their outside informal personal relationships was revealed in the data on familial relationships. First, despite association in the same mixed activity such as the craft group by brothers and sisters, in no instance did a brother or sister mention associating with the opposite sexed sib when asked: "Do you get together with any member of this group (e.g., Craft Club) outside of your regular meetings?" Twenty children had brothers or sisters of the same sex who were members of the same organization; yet 16 did not mention their sibs when asked the above question. This despite the fact that other persons were mentioned. Observations showed that, in many cases, brothers and sisters did associate with one another as clique members. Members of the family were not mentioned or discussed in the same way as nonfamily members with whom the persons had essentially the same kinds of relationships both within and outside of the organization.

Personal influence was not significantly related to sex, organizational affiliations or being an influential. Manner of entry into the group appeared to have, however, an important bearing on regularity of attendance. Those introduced into a group by a social

work person attended the group more regularly. On the other hand, a much smaller proportion of those introduced to a group through personal influence attended regularly; see Table 5-2.

TABLE 5-2. PERSONAL INFLUENCE AS RELATED TO REGULARITY OF ATTENDANCE FOR 52 CHILDREN RELATED TO EXTENSION SERVICE

Mode of Entry	Regularity of Attendance		
	Rare	Occasional	Regular
Personal	13	5	21
Social work or impersonal	0	1	12
Total	13	6	33

Children who were most involved in an association as measured by frequency of participation were also more likely to be members of more than one group. This relationship is shown in Table 5-3.

TABLE 5-3. FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE IN ASSOCIATION AS RELATED TO BELONGING TO OTHER ASSOCIATIONS*

Frequency of Attendance	Belongs to 1 Group	Belongs to More Than 1 Group
Regular	5	28
Occasional or rare	10	9

* Statistically significant.

This finding confirms the hypothesis that persons who attend one formal voluntary association regularly will be likely to participate in one or more other organizations. Gregariousness as evidenced in frequency of participation was also manifest in more frequent attendance in other associations. While not statistically significant, infrequent attenders in one group were likely to be infrequent attenders in other groups of which they were members.

Religious Affiliation and Association

With one exception, all children interviewed professed religious affiliation. Thirty-three were Protestant and 18 were Catholic. A majority of the children, 38, attended church regularly, 26 to 52 times a year. Catholic children were more regular in their attendance than the Protestant children. Of the 18 Catholic children, 15 attended services regularly and three attended occasionally (6 to

25 times a year), whereas 22 Protestants attended regularly, eight occasionally, and three rarely (0 to 5 times a year).

All of the children influenced to join by a social worker, or impersonally, attended church regularly. Only 24 of the 39 who were personally influenced to join attended regularly. Thus, frequency of church attendance was positively related to entering the organization through a social worker or impersonally as shown in Table 5-4.

TABLE 5-4. MODE OF ENTRY INTO ORGANIZATION IN RELATION TO FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE FOR CHILDREN'S SAMPLE

Mode of Entry	Regularity of Church Attendance	
	Rare or Occasional (0-25)	Regular (26-52)
Personal	15	23
Social worker or impersonal	0	13

Children influenced by social workers attended church regularly and were predominantly Protestant; those Protestant children who entered the group on the basis of personal influence were likely to attend church less regularly. Catholics, regardless of the nature of entry into the group, tended to attend church regularly.

At the same time, frequency of church attendance was closely related to frequency of attendance in the voluntary association for which the child was interviewed. Though they were regular church attenders, children who attended the organization rarely or occasionally were more likely to be Catholic. Those children who attended the organization regularly were more likely to attend church services regularly. Thus, 28 of the 33 children who attended an extension group regularly also attended church services regularly (26 to 52 times a year) and, on the other hand, only nine of the 18 children who attended extension meetings occasionally or rarely attended church services regularly. While Protestant children were likely to attend church less regularly, the fact that the children who attended church less regularly were also the same children who attended the voluntary association less regularly is left unexplained.

Catholic children belonged to fewer associations than Protestant children. Of the 18 Catholics, eight belonged to only one group while 25 of the 33 Protestant children belonged to more than one group. Catholic and Protestant children who belonged to more than one association tended to attend its meetings regularly.

As noted, both the Protestant and Catholic children came from large families. Size of family was not related to frequency of church attendance.

Family and Association

Only six families were represented by both parents and children in the Extension Service program indicating that the children and the adult parents in the extension program came from somewhat different universes. Data obtained from the children on a question concerning their parents' organizational affiliations indicated that many parents probably did not belong to groups. Specifically, 31 children either could not name an organizational affiliation of either parent or could not provide any such information. Ten children reported organizational affiliations for either or both parents in non-Extension Service groups. Eighteen stated that their parents belonged to no group. The data indicate that the majority of the parents belonged to no association.

The greater the number of children in a family, the more likely the children were to be represented in organizations; see Table 5-5. Table 5-5 also shows that 32 of the children came from families in which another sibling belonged to a voluntary association. There was no relationship between the number of sibs that a child had and frequency of participation in the association for which the

TABLE 5-5. NUMBER OF SIBS IN FAMILY AS RELATED TO THE LIKELIHOOD OF BELONGING TO ASSOCIATIONS

Number of Sibs	No Associations	1 or More Associations
0-2	7	5
3 or more	5	32
Total	12	37

child was interviewed. Similarly, nature or influence and number of sibs was not related. Generally, sibs were not mentioned as being influential by other sibs. There was, however, a positive relationship between number of sibs and frequency of participation in associations for those children who belonged to more than one association. This relationship is shown in Table 5-6. That is, children who had three or more sibs and who belonged to more than one association were more likely to attend them more frequently

TABLE 5-6. FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN GROUPS OTHER THAN THE ONES ON WHICH INTERVIEWED AS RELATED TO NUMBER OF SIBS

Frequency of Participation	Number of Sibs	
	0-2 Sibs	3 or More Sibs
Regular	6	23
Rare or occasional	6	3

than were those children with less than three sibs who belonged to more than one association.

No relationship was found between occupation of the parent and any of the variables tested for the children such as frequency of attendance in association, mode of entry into the organization, number of organizations belonged to, religious attendance, and so forth.

Discussion

The part of the zone in transition which was studied included many families with large numbers of children. That there would be considerable voluntary association in the area proved to be true not only for adults but for children. This fact was confirmed for voluntary associations in the area independent of those associations which were part of the Extension Service organization; the concern in the present case, however, was primarily with children's associations created by the Extension Service. A priori, it is credible that most formal voluntary associations for children are created by adults. This in itself reveals something of the function of children's groups in contrast to the functions which characterize the formal associations of adults. Children's groups are conspicuously expressive.

A comparison in the function of children's and adult groups presents a number of implications which bear directly on the theory of association presented earlier. From the child's point of view, the association is expressive, either in activity itself such as crafts, in the interaction of the game, in the interaction with the adult leader, and in the interaction with peers. In these respects it is like the expressive adult group. To the extent that children's groups are sponsored by adults, they bear certain likenesses to adult expressive associations created by adult sponsoring institutions. Illustrative would be the young adults' social club of a church or a church's "golden age club." These sponsored adult groups are expressive from the point of view of the participant in the same way that the

children's groups are. In each case there is the parallel from the vantage point of the adult or sponsoring institution. For them the function of the group is quite different. This function for the sponsor is instrumental while activity for the participant is expressive. In the analysis of function of an organization, it is necessary to clarify the frame of reference of the actor, adult or child, for whom function is being designated.

Expressive adult groups tend to be autonomous; the children's groups do not. The younger the age of the members, the lower the degree of autonomy. Quasi-independence, and sometimes even the illusion of independence, is frequently a manifest function for the existence of the children's association from the adult's viewpoint. In the present case, the Black Kats, as a mobile teen-age group of boys, were far more autonomous than were the groups composed of younger children. An adult expressive group can become mobilized on specific issues to act as an instrumental group. For example, the golden agers can, as a group, lend support to a political issue dealing with the aged. This type of limited action would be relatively impossible for children.

Both children's and adult groups can be expressive but with minor exceptions; only adult groups are instrumental. Such instrumentality is generally self-determined.

The Extension Service children's groups, though adult sponsored and supervised, developed primarily through personal influence of the children as stated in the central hypothesis. Even more importantly, such groups were maintained through personal influence. The extent to which the children saw each other outside of the formal setting was impressive. Of bearing might have been the fact that the formal children's groups were tied to each other by the sponsoring organization, the leadership, and the program of activity. Thus the child who was introduced into a group through personal influence could be introduced into another group in the larger organization by the group leader or vice versa. This helped to account for the overlapping memberships in various groups. It is in this context that the pattern of influence for the children would have to be understood. This pattern of influence, however, did not explain the intensive interaction engaged in by the children in informal groups. The data showed that such informal groups existed prior to the development of formal organization and continued to exist almost independent of such organization.

The hypothesis "persons who attend one formal voluntary association regularly will be likely to participate in one or more other

organizations" was confirmed for the children. Of the 33 children who regularly attended the organization for which they were interviewed, 28 were members of more than one group; only five were not members of a second organization. On the other hand, only nine of the 19 who attended the organization on occasion or rarely were members of a second group.

Those who attended an organization on occasion or rarely, were likely to attend a second organization only occasionally or rarely. Conversely, those who regularly attended the meetings of one group also were likely to attend regularly the meetings of the second group.

Overwhelmingly, the children were religiously affiliated. As expected, the Catholic children were likely to attend church more regularly than Protestant children who were still somewhat regular in attendance. Protestant children were, however, more likely to be occasional or rare church attenders. They were more likely to be members of voluntary associations than Catholic children. The extensive association of children is contrary to the assumption that persons who come from the lowest economic strata are not affiliated with formal associations, including churches. This assumption is based on a central finding of Dotson.⁴ Not only did the sample in the present study belong to church organizations, but they were also affiliated with nonchurch groups. Dotson's findings applied to adults. Thus, a difference in the associations of children and adults along class lines might exist and be consistent in the two studies. Data on the children's parents in this study showed them not to be affiliated with any organizations.

Those children who joined the organization through a social worker were more likely to attend meetings regularly than children who joined through personal influence. The children influenced by social workers were also very likely to be affiliated with a church and to attend its services regularly. The explanation for such a set of relationships may be found in these children's personal orientation to adults or to institutional behavior highly sanctioned by adults. There is some indication that such adult-centered children did not participate with their peers in the group setting. On the other hand, those children who attended occasionally or rarely were more likely to have joined the group through personal influence. It is uncertain whether such children were adult oriented. This discussion does not include the Catholic children who not only attended church regularly, but who were very likely to join the group through personal influence. In addition, Catholic children who

were members of a second group were likely to attend its meetings regularly. This finding opens up an area of inquiry which requires considerably more data before any conclusions can be drawn.

The hypothesis that "the larger the size of the immediate family, the greater the likelihood of participation in organization" was confirmed for the children. At the same time, the large family size characterizing the children's sample indicated that they came from a lower socio-economic universe than the adults studied. The greater likelihood of participation in association by the large-family member may possibly be accounted for in two ways. First, the older sib may have served as a model for affiliating for the younger sibs. That is, if older brothers or sisters were members of associations the younger brothers and sisters were encouraged to join through example. They might also have been encouraged by parents. Though conjectural, it is interesting to note that in those few cases⁵ where a sib mentioned another sib as an associator outside of the organization, it was the younger sib who named the older one rather than the reverse. Secondly, the child with many brothers and sisters has more information on associations available to him.

A survey of the children's groups affiliated with the Extension Service suggested the following prototype. They were expressive. None of the groups was even remotely instrumental; nor could they even be considered to be instrumental-expressive. They were local. Clearly, the groups met in a circumscribed physical area which was very familiar to them. This familiarity included both facilities and people. The groups were low in status-conferring capacity. They were not highly visible in the community and were not prestigious as, for example, the Boy Scouts. The groups were not identified with achieving values that were highly valued in the society, and there was no insignia of any kind associated with the groups. They were highly accessible, and within most of the groups the age range was wide. The membership requirements were minimal.

In the examination of children's associations, the child emerges as a total personality. He is seen as a person intimately linked with other persons, especially children, in an almost continuous manner and in a physical environment with which he is very familiar. The child sees the same children in his own home and in their homes; they are his playmates; he attends school with them; he is in the same formal learning milieu; his values are the same as theirs; he seeks the same kind of recreation; he attends the same associations as they; and it is quite possible that he might attend church services

with these same friends. With reference to community theories noted earlier (Chapter 1), children prior to the mid-teens are (in total relationship) like persons in a folk society who are bound to one another in indigenous social organization.⁵

6 / Senior Citizens

THE SENIOR CITIZEN group was a leisure-time association sponsored by the Marshall-Court Extension Service. It was organized to provide an outlet for the expressive needs of the aged living in the area just as the children's groups were organized to give the very young things to do. Both the children's groups and the Senior Citizen Club were highly accessible organizations. They actively sought new members.

The Senior Citizens met once a week in a building owned by a local church, a facility used by other non-church-affiliated groups. Among the activities carried on by the members of the group, as reported by them, were dancing "round and square," card playing, table games, sewing, crocheting, knitting, "snacks," playing musical instruments, going to special events, listening to music, or "just visiting" and gossiping. Dancing and card playing were the most preferred activities. According to one of the members, "Dancing is the big attraction. I'm just crazy about dancing." Similar comments on other activities were: "I just sit here and enjoy myself." "I meet the women and make friends." "We go to such places as the circus and to the Rochester Community Players." "I sit and visit."

Ostensibly, the Extension Service helped establish the group to meet the needs of a large number of the oldest persons residing in the area. An analysis of the population composition of the area indicated that a sizable proportion of persons was in the oldest-age category.¹ Also, information gathered by the Marshall-Court staff through questionnaires and interviews, as well as information derived from professionals (e.g., public health officials, visiting nurses, public school personnel) familiar with the area, suggested that such need existed.

At the time of the study, the Extension Service listed approximately 325 members of the Senior Citizen Club. Prior to the research, the investigators knew that many of the Senior Citizen mem-

bers would not be living within the Marshall-Court area. On this basis, the intention was to interview all those members from the area. On examination very few members were found to live in the area. Consequently, a random sample of 52 persons was selected for study. There were some people in the sample of 52 who lived in the Marshall-Court area, but they constituted a very small number. A majority of those questioned lived throughout the city and suburbs. Why there were so few persons from the area affiliated with the organization became clear only after interviewing many of the members and officers of the club. In this regard, an old-age expressive association called the Danforth Club provided a key to understanding how the Marshall-Court Senior Citizen group came by its membership.

The Danforth Club was a community-wide organization for the aged which had been in existence for over ten years. It boasted a membership of more than a thousand persons who met in a building situated immediately adjacent to the Marshall-Court area. At the time of the formation of the Marshall-Court Senior Citizen group, the facilities of the Danforth Club were being extensively renovated. The temporary inactivity of the larger organization coincided with the formation of the Marshall-Court group. At this time, the director of the Extension Service sought aid from the Danforth Club for organizing an old age group in the Marshall-Court area. In this venture, he had the support of several members of the Danforth Club who lived in the Marshall-Court area. The Danforth organization not only cooperated fully with the Extension Service but also encouraged the participation of its members in the newly-created organization, since it could not at the time provide services for its membership.² Consequently, there was considerable overlapping between the membership of the Marshall-Court Senior Citizen Club and the Danforth Club.

The duplication of membership of the two organizations pointed up the almost complete dependence of the Marshall-Court group on the Danforth Club. It further indicated the absence of new recruits to the Senior Citizens Club from the local area-recruits who would provide a justification for the formation of an old age club in the Marshall-Court locale. A comparison of the 325 persons in the Marshall-Court organization with the membership list of the Danforth Club revealed that there was an almost complete overlapping between the membership lists. There had probably been a sufficient lapse of time so that one could expect to find a greater number of persons from the area associated with the Marshall-Court

group than the few who were then affiliated. This subject will be discussed later.

The Sample

A profile of the sample of the Senior Citizen Club revealed the following characteristics. Of the 52, 44 were women and eight were men. The age range was from 62 to 89. The mean age of the group was 75. Thirty-two were Protestant, 15 were Catholic, and the remaining five professed no religious affiliation. A vast majority of the group, 40, were widowed. Of the remaining, eight were married, two divorced, and two had never married.

The nativity of the sample revealed considerable likeness. Thirty-eight were native and 14 foreign born. Of the native born, 29 had American-born fathers and mothers; six came from families where one of the parents had been born in this country; and three were native born of foreign parents. Thus the majority was of old American stock. Members having one or both parents who were foreign born were more similar to the group of old American stock than was suggested above since their parents came mostly from Northwestern Europe, mainly English-speaking countries. The distribution of birthplace of the 14 who were foreign born was: England, four; Canada, four; Germany, four; and one each from Italy and Sweden. Twelve of the 14 foreign born were naturalized citizens.

Educational attainment ranged from two persons who had no formal training to two who had some college work. Thirty-seven of the group had completed or gone beyond eighth grade. Mean educational achievement was nine years. Viewed in terms of the mean age of the group, 75, this seemed to be high and suggested that the background of this group had been of relatively high socio-economic stability. The occupation of the husband gives further support to this impression. Only six had been in semiskilled occupations, and the remainder were distributed about equally between the skilled (carpenters, plumbers, tool and die makers, printers, etc.) and higher ranked occupational groups—professional, business, and clerical.

About one-third (17) of the persons were property owners. Forty-two lived in or maintained separate living establishments in single homes, a duplex, or an apartment house. Only ten were rooming house residents.

The Marshall-Court Senior Citizens were likely to have the following characteristics: They were about 75 years of age, widowed, Protestant, and had a ninth grade education. They were likely to be native born and of old American stock; most had had stable occupations (skilled worker and above) and were presently living in a separate household.

Memberships in Formal Voluntary Associations

With one exception, every person in the sample belonged to more than one formal voluntary association, church memberships not included. Almost every Senior Citizen member belonged to the city-wide Danforth group, but even apart from the Danforth group, other affiliation was substantial. Counting all organizations, the mean number of memberships per person was 3.95. The range of associations was from one to seven. Thirty-seven in the sample belonged to three or more associations.

Most of the memberships were in recreational, fraternal, and social associations. Patently, persons in their seventies were not likely to be interested and active in occupational and athletic groups. Memberships were held in 41 different associations. In 36 of these, no more than three persons from the sample belonged to the same organization. This showed a considerable range in the associations represented by the group. According to the Detroit area classification, the types of organizations which the people in the Marshall-Court group joined, not counting the Senior Citizen Club itself, were as follows:³

Types of Organizations	Per cent of Population Belonging to Each
Labor unions	0
Fraternal organizations or lodges (like the Eagles, B'nai B'rith, Masons)	11
Church-connected groups, not classified elsewhere (like an altar society, holy name society)	6
Sport team or hobby club	3
Youth serving groups (like PTA)	1
Social clubs	56
Charitable and welfare organizations (Actual participation, apart from giving money)	0
Professional groups (like a medical society)	1
Neighborhood improvement associations	0
Veterans' organizations	3

Women's clubs	2
Political clubs	1
Business or civic groups (like the Rotary, Chamber of Commerce)	0
Community centers	10
Nationality groups, not classified elsewhere	0
Other groups	6

Some of the representative groups, by name, were Knights of St. John, Dames of Malthus, Daughters of Union Veterans and the Odd Fellows. A preponderance of all memberships were in groups specifically providing service for this age group. Over 80 per cent of all memberships were clearly an expressive type. It is safe to assume that had the total membership been interviewed on organizational affiliations the range of groups reported would have far exceeded the 41 noted. The types of organizations would undoubtedly have been much the same. That is, the aged are likely to be over-represented in expressive associations.

As individuals reach the older years, apparently they become less predisposed to become members of instrumental associations, more predisposed to be active in expressive associations. The desire to crusade or participate in organizations seeking to change the status quo seems to be less vital. This is left to younger, more active individuals. The older person is content to seek ways of implementing his own well being, the expressive is chosen over the instrumental association.

Age is important in interpreting the data in still another way. While the child is a member of expressive associations since there are few possibilities for him to be active in instrumental associations, the aged person belongs to expressive associations because he wants to. Whatever the case, there is reason to believe that the child, even if given complete freedom on the matter of affiliation, would seek persons who are equivalent to himself in status, in physical maturity, and so forth. There may be a comparable selectivity made by the very old. The personal and physical problems attending the last stage of the life cycle are most sympathetically received by an audience of the aged. Where better can an old person find such an audience than in a golden age club? Older active adults appear to be quite tolerant of each other, more so than somewhat younger adults.

Finally, the very fact of having considerable leisure time also may explain why the aged belong to expressive associations. Social clubs provide an outlet for aged persons who are no longer in the

labor force and who seek a way of enjoyably using their leisure time. What better way can be provided than in formal associations such as the Danforth Club or the Senior Citizen Club, which are tailored to meet the needs of the aged; and this during a period when other adults are not available because of work and similar obligations?

The Web of Personal Influence

The hypothesis that persons are incorporated into voluntary groups through personal influence was supported by the data for this group. Of the 52, 41 joined through personal influence; two came into the organization as a result of contact with a social worker. The remainder were influenced into joining by impersonal media such as formal announcements and notices. So few became members of the group other than through personal influence that it made statistical comparison difficult with those who joined through personal influence. While the data collected was not sufficient to test several of the hypotheses using a measure of significance, it was highly suggestive and supported many relationships dealing with personal influence. It was assumed that a positive relationship would be found between personal influence and participation. As already indicated, measures of participation were regularity of attendance, assuming leadership, holding formal office, serving on committees, and influencing others to join. Regularity of attendance did not seem to be related to the manner in which persons came into the organization. Formal leadership and getting others to join were, however, related. Table 6-1 shows the relationship between personal influence and formal leadership.

TABLE 6-1. PERSONAL INFLUENCE AS IT RELATES TO LEADERSHIP

	Nature of the Contact	
	Personal	Social Worker or Impersonal
Assumes leadership	9	1
Only attends	32	9
Total*	41	10

* Data incomplete for one person.

Of the 51 persons for whom data was obtained, 32 claimed that they were influential in getting others to join the Senior Citizens. Of these 32, 29, or 91 per cent, had themselves come into the organization through personal influence.

Religion and Association

Religiosity was not related to participation in the Senior Citizens group. As noted earlier, 32 were Protestant, 15 were Catholic, and five had no religious affiliation. Thirty attended church services 26 or more times a year, nine attended between six and 25 times, and eight (besides the five who professed no faith) attended five times a year or less. Frequency of church attendance and number of memberships in other organizations also were not significantly related; nor was attendance at the Senior Citizens meetings related to faith, Catholic or Protestant. Protestants did, however, belong to more organizations than Catholics and attended the meetings of other organizations somewhat more regularly. A measure of religious affiliation with the number of organizations to which persons belonged is presented in Table 6-2.

TABLE 6-2. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND MEMBERSHIPS IN ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SENIOR CITIZENS GROUP

Number of Organizational Affiliations	Religious Affiliation	
	Protestant	Catholic
2 or more	23	6
1	9	9
Total	32	15

Frequency of church attendance was not related to a person's assuming responsibility in the group and gave no support to the expectation that those attending church regularly would be more likely to assume leadership.

Socio-economic Status and Residence

Previous studies have shown that the higher the socio-economic status the more likely persons are to be members of voluntary associations. Employing property ownership and type of residence as indicators of socio-economic status revealed a number of significant relationships in this group. Members who owned property were more likely to be leaders in the Senior Citizens group. Table 6-3 shows this relationship.

TABLE 6-3. PROPERTY OWNERSHIP RELATED TO LEADERSHIP IN THE SENIOR CITIZENS GROUP*

	Owns Property	Doesn't Own Property
Leaders	14	12
Others	5	21
Total	19	33

*Statistically significant.

Whereas the non-property owners tended to be equally divided with regard to influencing others to join the group, those owning property were three times as likely to influence others into joining.

For this group there was a corollary between property ownership and type of residence, with property owners living mainly in single homes or in duplexes. Type of residence was significantly related to leadership. Leaders in the group were more likely to live in single homes and duplexes than in any other type of residence, rooming house, apartment, or resident hotel. There was further evidence to support this relationship as significant. Persons living in a single home or duplex were more likely to be officers in groups other than the Senior Citizens; this data is presented in Table 6-4.

TABLE 6-4. TYPE OF RESIDENCE IN RELATIONSHIP TO LEADERSHIP IN OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH SENIOR CITIZENS BELONG*

	Type of Residence	
	Single Home or Duplex	Other
Leader	12	8
Other	8	24
Total	20	32

* Statistically significant.

Type of residence was also significantly related to the frequency of seeing children. Those who lived in private homes and duplexes saw their own children (not included were those living with children) more frequently than those living in other types of dwellings. Table 6-5 presents this data.

TABLE 6-5. TYPE OF RESIDENCE AS RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF SEEING CHILDREN*

	Type of Residence	
	Other	Single Home or Duplex
Sees frequently	10	11
Sees occasionally, rarely, or never	15	1
Total	25	12

* Statistically significant.

Almost two-thirds of the group lived alone, somewhat surprising in view of the age of the group.

It was expected that length of residence would be positively related to active participation in organizations, to religiosity, to leadership, to memberships in organizations, and to personal influence. These expectations were not demonstrated by the data.

Actually, the opposite tendency was indicated regarding frequency of church attendance and regularity of attendance in various organizations. About three-fourths of those who had resided at the same address for less than five years attended church regularly, whereas church and non-church attendance were equally divided for those who had lived at their present address for more than five years. Length of residence as related to regularity of attendance in various organizations revealed the same general tendency as that for attendance at religious organizations. This relationship is depicted in Table 6-6.

TABLE 6-6. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AS RELATED TO NUMBER OF GROUPS REGULARLY ATTENDED BY SENIOR CITIZEN MEMBERS

	Length of Residence	
	5 years or More	Less than 5 years
Regularly attended 3 or more groups	12	13
Regularly attended 2 or less groups	18	7
Total	30	20

A number of studies have shown that voting is consistent with social class and organizational participation.⁴ This finding was supported by the present sample. Of the 50 who were eligible (two were not citizens), 38, or 76 percent, voted in the last election. An additional 12 percent had voted within the last six years.

Data on educational achievement, occupational background, religious affiliation, residence, property ownership, and voting behavior indicated that the Senior Citizens as a group were predominantly lower-middle class. This fact helped to explain why so few of the aged living in the Marshall-Court area belonged to the Danforth Club or, more importantly, to the Senior Citizens Club. It explained why so few persons were being recruited into the club. A majority of older aged individuals living in the Marshall-Court area were from the lowest socio-economic levels; many were receiving public assistance. Such persons probably never belonged to formal associations as adults and were not likely to start joining associations in their old age. Furthermore, they were not in contact with peers who were likely to direct and influence them into affiliating. Nor was the staff of the Extension Service reaching such persons. Thus while there may have been a need for a recreational leisure-time group for many aged persons living in the area, the agency was not satisfying such a need. Instead the Senior Citizens

Club provided an additional outlet for the highly affiliated and active aged individual living in the Marshall-Court area. And consequently the data on the Senior Citizens proved to be consistent with other studies which show that persons coming from a higher socioeconomic status are more likely to belong to voluntary associations, to vote, etc. The data provided little evidence to refute the notion that adults who belong to voluntary associations are unlikely to live in a slum area. It pointed out that adults who live in slums and belong to voluntary associations have attributes comparable to those of persons who live in other parts of the city and who are affiliated with voluntary associations.

A Review of the Findings

The Senior Citizens Club was but one of a number of the same kinds of groups to which the people in the sample belonged. It represented a loosely formalized group within which a wide range of diffuse activities of a face-to-face nature were carried on. The web of relationships between members was highly personal. Many of the same individuals were to be found in several different groups, at different times and on different days, meeting in various places in the community. Their entry into the organization was through personal contact. Even entry into the group through social work or impersonal contacts required qualification. In the present case, several of the persons learned about the Marshall-Court group by reading a notice concerning it while attending a meeting of the Danforth group. The evidence showed that these impersonal contacts were reinforced by the network of personal relationships—friends suggesting that they attend meetings of the Marshall-Court group. There was a tendency for persons who joined the organization through personal influence to assume leadership. Interestingly enough, those who were leaders were less likely to attend church regularly, though, as expected, Protestants were affiliated with more organizations than Catholics.

Leadership was related to property ownership and those owning property were more likely to be influential in getting persons to join. Those living in a single home or duplex were also more likely to be leaders in the Senior Citizens group as well as in other organizations; they also saw their children more frequently than those living in other types of housing. Persons who lived at the same address for less than five years attended church services more

regularly and were more regular attenders of meetings of three or more groups than those who had lived at the same address for a longer period of time.

Life Cycle and the Expressive Group

This organization was one in which the derivation of personal satisfaction from other members in association was central. Personal satisfaction could not be derived for most Senior Citizens from membership in a primary group of the family; as noted earlier, almost two-thirds lived alone. At the same time, for most, there had been a long history of association within a large family unity. The mean size of family of orientation for the Senior Citizen was 7.5. Thirty-two (about 60 per cent) were reared in families where there were five children. As young adults, all but two had married and many of these had formed families of their own. Yet in their old age many were living alone without apparent resources for integration in primary association. Those structures which could be conceived as approximating the type of satisfaction derived from primary associations would be expressive. This was supported by the fact that those who lived in single homes and duplexes and who saw their children often were less likely to seek personal gratification through church attendance. Those who lived alone attended church services more regularly and were more likely to attend functions of other expressive organizations frequently.

Not only was the Senior Citizen group an expressive organization but most of the other organizations to which the members belonged were also expressive. Almost uniformly the members sought personal gratifications through face-to-face interaction in the expressive association. This was so whether they lived alone or not, or whether or not they saw their children frequently. The character of these groups was most clearly shown in the kinds of activities provided, namely, gossiping, dancing, card playing and similar activities providing a high degree of sociability. They were not interested in activities directed toward social change and social action. As individuals, they were concerned with maintaining sources of immediate satisfaction. In large measure, this may well have been a function of their age or of the amount of leisure time available to them or both.

In the framework proposed in Chapter 3, the Senior Citizens Club would be an expressive association. It was tailored specifically

to fit the expressive needs of the aged. It provided a place where the members could sit and gossip, play checkers or other quiet games, or where they could engage in more strenuous activities such as dancing. The objective of the organization was to provide activities which would be immediately gratifying to its members and was not in the least concerned with any objective designed to affect the community or nonmembers.

Accessibility was high. Most persons in the group were over 60 years of age, although no specific age was stipulated as a requirement for membership. Geographically, the members lived in all parts of the city. Persons mainly came into the group through personal friends. Both the influential and the influenced were advanced in years, of the same social class, and alike in other ways. Inadvertently, the informal process of selectively recruiting members defeated the objectives of the organization as designed by the Extension Service; this objective was to provide a group to meet the expressive needs of the aged (primarily lower class) living in the Marshall-Court area.

The status of the Senior Citizen Club was low. As an organization it was certainly not a force in the community. It had a higher rank than the children's groups sponsored by the Extension Service, but this was by virtue of the fact that it was an adult group. Nor were the members of sufficiently high status to affect the association's standing vis-à-vis other associations in the community. Thus the organization was expressive, highly accessible, and of relatively low status.

7 / The Randoms

MANY OF THE MEMBERS of the adult groups belonged to voluntary associations other than those sponsored by the Extension Service. Children, on the other hand, were far more likely to be affiliated only with associations created by the Marshall-Court agency. The most apparent difference between the adults and children was socio-economic. The adults who became members of the Extension Service organization generally came from a middle-class background and at the time that they joined were already affiliated with other associations; the children, however, came from a lower-class background and were unlikely to be members of voluntary groups. It had seemed plausible that both children and adult members would come from the same socio-economic universe. It had seemed equally plausible that the members of groups deliberately established by the Extension Service would be comparable to persons affiliated with organizations not sponsored by the agency but living in the area. As noted in Chapter I, a sample of such persons was included for investigation, not only to test the thesis just noted but to provide answers to many other questions as well.

To select such a sample a careful search was made to find major voluntary associations with which persons residing in the area might be affiliated, persons other than those associated with organizations created by the community organizer. Systematic inquiry uncovered many such organizations. Both the downtown YMCA and the YWCA were within easy walking distance of the area, the YMCA being adjacent to the area studied. Membership lists of these organizations and their affiliated groups included the Gra-Y, YWCA Spanish Club, a folk dancing group, Y-Teens; and several others contributed to the universe of affiliated persons from which the sample was drawn. The membership list of a branch YMCA also close to the area but away from the downtown section was canvassed for persons who might live in the Marshall-Court area. Similarly,

the downtown Knights of Columbus organization was included, as was the Catholic Youth Organization. Other organizations which contributed to the universe studied included four Brownie troops, three Girl Scout troops, the Boy Scout organization, Girl and Boy Scout adult committees, a Democratic ward committee, a Republican Party ward committee, the PTA's in the area, the library Great Books Club, the University Club, a Lithuanian auxiliary group, a child painting group of the art gallery, the local civil defense organization, and an area post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Membership lists of all church-affiliated voluntary associations (e.g., a rosary society, young people's social club, etc.) located within or close to the area were utilized in developing a master list. This method yielded 55 distinct groups with 511 different members who were living in the area. Of these 511, however, 44 were already members of Extension Service organizations. The remaining 467 represented a completely different population of association participants. Very few in this number who came from nuclear families had a member affiliated with one of the Extension Service groups. Nine children had parents who were members of the Improvement Council but did not themselves belong to one of the service groups; similarly four adults had children in Marshall-Court groups but were not themselves affiliated.

From this universe of 467 persons, 100 were randomly selected and interviewed. Interview schedules used were the same as those administered to the Extension Service members. Of the sample of 100, 79 were adults. Six adult schedules could not be used because the persons interviewed did not qualify as members of voluntary associations as defined. Thus, the test of the hypothesis for the sample of organizational members not affiliated with agency-sponsored groups was limited to 73 adults and 21 children. To make comparison between the above sample (hereafter referred to as the "Randoms") and the Marshall-Court groups as meaningful as possible it was decided to analyse the adults and the children separately. The adult sample will be discussed first, and the format used will be the same as that used in discussing the Marshall-Court organizations.

The Adult Randoms

In the context of the theory proposed on voluntary associations the adult organizations found to exist proved to be predominantly

expressive. There were 41 adult groups: 34 of these were expressive. Included in the instrumental and instrumental-expressive organizations were such groups as a civil defense organization, the Democratic and Republican Party ward committees, and a Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Among the entire 41, there was a heavy representation of church-affiliated groups, both Catholic and Protestant, as well as YMCA and YWCA organizations. Church-affiliated groups accounted for 25 per cent of the Randoms, the YMCA and YWCA and the CYO another 37 per cent, the remainder being distributed among such groups as the PTA, Democratic Party and veterans groups.

Thirty-four of the adults in the Random population were Protestant, 34 were Catholic, one was Jewish, and four professed no religious affiliation. Two synagogues located near the area studied were canvassed for members for inclusion in the Random list, and the United Jewish Welfare Fund membership was also obtained. However, these lists yielded almost no persons of Jewish faith and confirmed other demographic data which showed the area not to be of Jewish residence.

The marital status of the Randoms was as follows: 15 married, three divorced, 12 widowed, four separated, and 39 single. Twenty of the single women and nine of the single men were over the age of 40. None under 40 were widowed, divorced, or separated. Only three of the married persons in the sample were under 40.

Sixty-four of the sample were native born and seven of the nine not native born were naturalized citizens. Of these nine, four were born in the British Isles, two in Canada, one in Germany, one in Switzerland, and one in Macedonia. Thus the foreign born were predominantly from Northeastern Europe and Canada, countries whose cultures are comparable to that of the United States.

Occupationally, the total sample ranked high. Thirty-six were white collar (clerical, business or professional) 17 were skilled, and 17 were semiskilled or unskilled (there was no occupational information on three persons). The high occupational rank as a measure of socio-economic status was complemented by the type of dwelling units occupied by the group. Thirty-eight persons lived in apartments; many of these were high-rent residential apartments.

Educational attainment ranged from one person who had no formal training to two who had postgraduate degrees. Twenty-four had an eighth grade education or less; 32 had attained or completed high school; 17 had attended or completed college. Several of the high school graduates had business school training. The mean edu-

cational achievement was 11.5 years, thus further confirming the high socio-economic status of the group.

Membership in other Associations

Twenty-eight persons belonged to only one group, the group for which they were interviewed. (Church membership was not considered to be a group affiliation.) The remaining 45 were associated with from two to 12 different voluntary associations. Mean number of affiliations was 2.9. Thirty-one persons belonged to three or more organizations.

Forty-two per cent of all memberships held were in either instrumental or instrumental-expressive organizations. According to the Detroit area classification of organizations, the memberships were:

<u>Types of Organizations</u>	<u>Per cent of Population Belonging to Each</u>
Labor unions	5
Fraternal organizations or lodges (like the Eagles, B'nai B'rith, Masons)	9
Church-connected groups, not classified elsewhere (like an altar society, holy-name society)	19
Sport team or hobby club	9
Youth-serving groups (like PTA)	3
Social clubs	9
Charitable and welfare organizations (Actual participation, apart from giving money)	5
Professional groups (like a medical society)	14
Neighborhood improvement associations	—
Veterans' organizations	7
Women's clubs	1
Political clubs	5
Business or civic groups (like the Rotary, Chamber of Commerce)	3
Community center	5
Nationality groups, not classified elsewhere	5
Other groups	4

The per cent of the sample belonging to the various types of organizations noted above, of course, was affected by the bias involved in the manner in which persons became part of the master list.

In summary, contact with the adult Randoms was made through 41 organizations found within the area; and 34 of these were of an

expressive type. A substantial number of the total affiliations of the Randoms, however, was in instrumental-expressive or instrumental associations (42 per cent); this suggested that many persons who are in expressive associations will also belong to instrumental associations and vice versa. Information on the pattern of affiliation of adults in this report strongly indicates that persons with multiple affiliations are biased toward affiliating more with one type than with the other type. To illustrate, if a person is a member of two expressive associations and one instrumental association, he is more likely to join still another expressive association rather than an instrumental one.

Manner of Affiliation

Forty-three of the 73 persons, or about two-thirds, entered the group for which they were interviewed through personal influence. Nineteen entered the organization on their own initiative or through impersonal media. For example, one person stated that he joined a political committee because he was interested in politics. No one had recommended the group to him. Only four joined through a social-work type person (e.g., a priest). Two could not remember source of influence in joining. In testing the hypothesis that those persons incorporated into a group through personal influence will attend more regularly, the data disconfirmed the hypothesis. Instead, those persons who were incorporated into the Random organizations either impersonally or through social work contact tended to attend far more regularly than those entering through personal contact. This relationship was statistically significant as shown in Table 7-1.

TABLE 7-1. MODE OF ENTRY INTO ORGANIZATIONS IN RELATION TO FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE FOR THE RANDOMS*

Mode of Entry	Attends Rarely or Occasionally	Attends Regularly
Personal	29	19
Social work or impersonally	8	15

* Statistically significant.

Manner of affiliating with organizations for which the person was interviewed was not related in any way to influencing others to join associations. For example, persons who joined through personal influence did not themselves become influentials; but neither

did those who joined through social-work persons or who joined through impersonal media. In the total sample, only 18 persons were influentials. On the other hand, being an influential was highly associated with seeing persons in the association outside of the formal meetings: see Table 7-2.

TABLE 7-2. SEES PERSONS OUTSIDE OF FORMAL MEETING PLACE AS RELATED TO BEING AN INFLUENTIAL*

	Non-influential	Influential
Sees persons outside of meetings	14	15
Doesn't see	38	3

* Statistically significant.

In Table 7-2, one of the outstanding facts was the large number of persons who were not only non-influentials but who in addition did not see any person in the voluntary organization outside of its specific context. The persons who did not see others outside of formal meetings were the widowed, divorced, and separated, and the married: see Table 7-3.

TABLE 7-3. SEES MEMBERS OUTSIDE OF FORMAL MEETING PLACE AS RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS*

	Single	Widowed, Divorced and Separated	Married
Sees one or more persons outside of meeting place	20	3	6
Doesn't see persons in organization outside of meeting place	16	16	9

* Statistically significant.

Nature of influence was not associated with joining other associations. Those who joined through personal influence or in some other manner were equally likely to belong to more than one formal group. Nor was nature of influence predictive of regularity of attendance in other groups for those persons having multiple memberships.

There was some tendency among the Randoms for the married to be less influential in getting others to join associations than the unmarried. But among those who were not married, the single persons were more likely to be influentials than were persons who were either widowed, divorced, or separated.

A pattern emerged which distinguished the single from (a) the married and (b) the widowed, divorced, and separated. First, single

persons attended the meetings of the groups for which interviewed more regularly than those in (a) and (b) above, and those in (b) attended more regularly than those in (a). This pattern is depicted in Table 7-4.

TABLE 7-4. REGULARITY OF ATTENDANCE AS RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS FOR GROUPS ON WHICH INTERVIEWED

Frequency of Attendance	Single	Widowed, Divorced and Separated	Married
Regular	23	11	4
Occasional or rare	16	8	11

Also, the single persons and those who were married tended to attend other group meetings of which they were members in the same pattern suggested above. Those who were widowed, divorced, and separated, however, in the cases where they belonged to other organizations, tended to attend them less regularly (comparable to the married) than suggested in Table 7-4. In short, the single were the most regular attenders in all groups with which they were affiliated.

Marital status as related to number of affiliations showed the same tendency for the single to differ sharply from the others; see Table 7-5.

TABLE 7-5. NUMBER OF AFFILIATIONS AS RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS*

Number of Affiliations	Single	Widowed, Divorced and Separated	Married
3 or more	22	4	4
2 or less	17	15	11

* Statistically significant.

A larger proportion of single persons belonged to many organizations. Thus 15 of the single belonged to four organizations or more, whereas only three of the married and one widowed belonged to as many as four organizations. The widowed, divorced, and separated were comparable to the married in the number of affiliations they had.

The function of organizations for the members as proposed in the theory in Chapter 3 is pertinent to marital status as indicated in the data on the Randoms. These data showed that the married were far more likely to be affiliated with instrumental organizations than were the non-married. The bias introduced by excluding the members of the Extension Service organizations, organizations more

heavily represented by the married, tended to minimize the number of married persons who belonged to instrumental groups. The inclusion of Extension Service groups in the enumeration of memberships in the context of marital status would have more firmly confirmed the linkage between those who were married and association in instrumental organization. Those who were non-married were more likely to belong to expressive organizations. This is shown in Table 7-6.

TABLE 7-6. MARITAL STATUS AND TYPE OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION

Marital Status	Expressive	Instrumental- Expressive	Instrumental
Married	3	3	9
Separated, widowed and divorced	14	0	5
Single	28	1	10

These data support the relationships characterizing the Marshall-Court membership. They indicate that the non-married are more likely to belong to expressive associations, to have multiple memberships, and to attend meetings more regularly than the married. This is partly a function of the greater amount of leisure time available to the non-married.

Typically, the organizations for the non-married stress activities which are immediately gratifying to the members. The married, on the other hand, are often to be found in instrumental organizations. The thesis that the married find within their families the immediate gratification in activities that the non-married seek through association in expressive voluntary associations appears highly tenable for the Randoms.

Religious Affiliation

Manner of introduction into groups was not related to religiosity as measured by frequency of church attendance. There was a slight tendency, however, for the single and the widowed, divorced, and separated to attend church more frequently than the married. This was consistent with the information on the Improvement Council group. In fact, the Randoms were more religious than Council members as measured through church affiliation and attendance. Forty-six of the Randoms attended church regularly, 14 on occasion, and only 13 attended either rarely or not at all; this,

in the same order, compared with the Council as follows: 21; 13; 16. Religiosity was not significantly related to ethnicity, frequency of organizational attendance, leadership, or to number of organizational affiliations. On the other hand, religiosity was related to length of residence: those who lived at the same address for five or more years were more frequent church attenders; see Table 7-7.

TABLE 7-7. RELIGIOSITY AS RELATED TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE*

Religiosity	Length of Residence	
	Less than 5 years	5 years or More
Attends 26 or more times a year	15	42
Attends 25 or less times a year	12	3

* Statistically significant.

In addition, there was a significant relationship between being a Protestant and having multiple memberships. Consistent with the same tendency in the Improvement Council and children's organizations (Random children excepted), the Catholics in the Randoms belonged to fewer voluntary associations; see Table 7-8.

TABLE 7-8. PROTESTANT OR CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AS RELATED TO EXTENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION*

Religious Affiliation	Affiliated with 2 or Less Organizations	Affiliated with 3 or More Organizations
Protestant	9	25
Catholic	17	17

* Statistically significant.

Ethnicity and Occupation

As previously noted, the sample was predominantly native American. The proportion of the Randoms who were not native born was so small as to preclude analysis using ethnicity as a variable.

No statistically significant relationship was found between occupation and the other variables tested. The fact that the sample was drawn from a universe of persons belonging to associations probably plays an important role in interpreting occupation as a variable. For example, of the 17 in the sample who were unskilled or semi-skilled, nine belonged to two or more organizations. In fact, six belonged to three or more. Other studies show that persons who are from the lowest socio-economic levels (presumably the unskilled) are often not even formally associated with a church. In the present

sample the unskilled are comparable to the skilled and white collar persons in many ways. For example, there does not seem to be any relationship between occupation and religious attendance or affiliation, or occupation and association between individuals outside of formal meetings.

There appeared to be some relationship between leadership and occupation. Whereas 13 of the 36 classified as white collar assumed a leadership role in the organizations for which they were interviewed, only two of the 17 classified as unskilled were leaders. A similar, though not statistically significant, relationship was indicated with regard to being influential. The white collar and skilled individuals were more likely to be influentials than the unskilled.

Education

Regularity of attendance was positively related to educational achievement. That is, persons having at least some high school training attended the organizations for which they were interviewed more regularly than those with less than high school training; see Table 7-9.

TABLE 7-9. EDUCATION AS RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE IN ORGANIZATION FOR WHICH INTERVIEWED*

Educational Attainment	Frequency of Attendance	
	Rare or Occasional	Regular
High school or more training	19	30
Less than high school training	17	7

* Statistically significant.

At the same time, educational achievement was not related to regularity of attendance in other organizations (though the direction of the relation was the same), religiosity, seeing other members outside of formal meetings, the manner by which persons entered the organization, or property ownership. For the most part, the better educated were more likely to be influentials.

The assuming of leadership was significantly related to educational attainment. Leaders were better educated; see Table 7-10.

TABLE 7-10. EDUCATION AS RELATED TO LEADERSHIP*

Educational Attainment	Doesn't Assume Leadership	Assumes Leadership
High school or more training	23	27
Less than high school training	16	6

* Statistically significant.

Residential Stability

For occupants of a zone of transition, the persons in the Randoms were highly stable as measured by length of residence at the same address. Fifty-eight of the 73 had resided five or more years at their present addresses. Thirty-eight of the Randoms lived in apartments, nine in residential hotels, five in duplexes, 13 in single homes, and eight in rooming houses. The number of persons (eight) living in rooming houses appears to be low for this area. While such variables as educational achievement and occupational background indicated high socio-economic status, this fact was not revealed for the Randoms in their property ownership. Only 17 of the 73 Randoms owned property, whereas 42 of the 58 in the Improvement Council were property owners, which was to be expected. On the other hand, the Randoms came from an even higher socio-economic level than did the Council members. The type of dwelling units inhabited by the Randoms likewise reflected a high socio-economic level; many of the Randoms lived in the higher-rent residential hotels and apartment houses which were to be found in the area.

Length of residence was not related to any of the other variables tested.

Voting Behavior

Of the 73 persons, 71 were citizens (64 of these were native born). Fifty-six of the 73 voted in the last election; an additional four had voted but not within the last six years. Of the remaining seven, three had only recently turned 21 or were still under age and two were not citizens. Thus, of the whole sample, only two persons who might have been eligible to vote, had not, at some time, done so.

There was no significant relationship between having voted in the last election and any of the other variables (frequency of attendance, seeing other members outside of the formal meetings, etc.) tested. Those voting in the last election, however, were more likely to assume leadership, belong to more organizations, and to exhibit greater religiosity. Twenty-eight of the 56 who voted in the last election assumed leadership, whereas only four of the 14 who did not vote were leaders. Similarly, 35 of 55 who voted in the last election and who professed a religious faith attended church 26 or more times a year, while only six of 13 who did not vote were regular church attenders.

Leadership

Leadership was significantly related to being an influential. Persons who functioned in formal leadership capacities were far more likely to influence one or more persons in joining an association than those persons who merely attended meetings; see Table 7-11.

TABLE 7-11. LEADERSHIP AS RELATED TO BEING AN INFLUENTIAL*

	Non-influential	Influential
Assumes leadership	9	15
Only attends	43	6

* Statistically significant.

A majority of those assuming leadership lived in apartments, while those living in residential hotels were, with one exception, not represented in the leadership category. This relationship was not, however, significant. Also not significantly related were leadership and property ownership, ethnicity, number of children or marital status. Those who were married, with two or more children, however, were less likely to assume leadership than were persons having only one child or no children at all. Also, those who were married were less likely to assume leadership than were those in the non-married category.

Summary and Theoretical Discussion of the Adult Randoms

The Randoms represented an aggregate of individuals drawn from the two census tracts who belonged to a wide variety of voluntary associations. Some of these associations were to be found within the area, some on the periphery of it, some located at a considerable distance from the area; both local and national organizations were represented.

A conspicuous finding was the large number of single females residing in the area. They, as well as the men in the sample, were older than the average for the population of the city. Most of these people lived alone. Many maintained expensive apartments situated along the main arteries intersecting the slum area studied. They were well educated and many had high ranking occupations. These people hardly represented the picture conjured up by the sociological literature on the slum dweller. The data indicated that many middle-class persons are to be found in pleasant living quarters situated within the slum. These persons belong to organi-

zations. What proved to be startling was the large number of middle-class people, especially women, in the area. The single male members tended to come from a lower socio-economic group and were likely to be found living in rooming houses.

On the whole, the Randoms belonged to a large number of associations (mean number of associations was 2.9). About two-thirds of the group entered the organization for which they were interviewed through personal influence. Most of the others entered the organization on their own rather than being influenced by a social-work type person. Those persons who entered on their own (or only incidentally through social work persons) attended meetings far more regularly than those who entered through personal influence.

Marital status was one key to understanding many relationships. For example, those in the not-married category (single, widowed, divorced and separated) were likely to attend organizations far more regularly than were the married. And among those who were not married, the most regular attenders of all were the persons who were both single and under the age of 40. The pattern of attendance for those above 40 in the not-married category was no different for those who were single than for the widowed, separated and divorced.

Among the 18 who were influentials, almost all were single. Age was not a factor. The married and the widowed, divorced, and separated did not become influentials. As already noted, being an influential was associated with seeing members outside of the organization. In effect, persons who saw each other outside of the formal meetings were single.

The single were, in addition, the ones who belonged to the largest number of other groups and attended the meetings of these groups regularly. On the other hand, the married as well as the widowed, divorced, and separated, belonged to fewer groups, and those of them having multiple memberships attended the meetings of these other groups less regularly than was true for the single. In attendance, the single were like the widowed, divorced, and separated for the organizations on which interviewed; both attended meetings regularly. Thus, the married were the ones who belonged to the fewest associations and attended them least regularly.

Consistent with the theory, the single individuals belonged to expressive associations and were less likely to be associated with instrumental organizations. By and large, the widowed, divorced, and separated paralleled the single in the types of associations with

which they were affiliated. The married, however, were more likely to be associated with instrumental or instrumental-expressive organizations than with expressive ones.

Single persons and the widowed, divorced, and separated attended church more regularly than did the married. This was likewise consistent with the expressive requirements of both the single and those classed as not married. As was the case with the Senior Citizen Club, the more regular church attenders appeared to be persons not in a primary family relationship. Thus for the single and not married, church attendance and membership in expressive organizations may both have served the same function. Within such formal frameworks, the single and not married seek those satisfactions normally derived from primary associations.

For the Randoms, there was a positive relationship between being Protestant and extent of affiliation in groups. Although the group as a whole were joiners, Protestants were more likely to have multiple memberships than were Catholics. Length of residence was related to church attendance, with the more stable attending church regularly. The sample was predominantly native born. A very substantial majority of Randoms voted regularly. There appeared to be a consistent positive relationship between membership in voluntary associations and voting.

Leadership was related to occupation and education, both of which are undoubtedly linked to each other. Persons having higher educational achievement were more likely to assume leadership than those with lower educational achievement. Educational achievement was also positively related to regularity of attendance. Similarly, those with the highest occupational status were more likely to assume leadership. They were also more likely to be influentials than those having a lower occupational status. Thus, high occupational and educational status, being an influential, and being a leader were all inter-related. Social-class background had an important bearing on leadership. Not only did the persons from a higher socio-economic background influence others to join an organization but they, in addition, controlled such organizations.

Noteworthy was the similarity between persons of high and low occupational status with regard to organizational affiliations. In both cases their affiliations were extensive. Gregariousness, as indicated through affiliations, was not linked to occupation. Possibly the manner in which the sample was drawn was biasing. Intensive investigation of numerous separate organizations wherein all mem-

bers are included in the research design might yield quite different results.

The Random Children

There were 21 children in the Randoms ranging from seven to 15 years of age. Twelve were girls and nine were boys. They were almost equally divided in religious affiliation; 11 were Catholic and ten were Protestant. The Random children (like the Random adults) came from a somewhat higher socio-economic background than the Marshall-Court children. Utilizing father's occupation and home ownership as a measure of socio-economic status, two-thirds of the Random children had fathers who were skilled or in the white-collar group; this compared to about one-third of the Marshall-Court children who had fathers in the skilled and white-collar category. For the Randoms, one-third of the children lived in homes owned by their families; among the Marshall-Court children, less than one-tenth lived in homes owned by their families. Size of family also showed a difference between the two groups. The mean size of the family for the Randoms was five, while it was 8.6 for the Marshall-Court children.

Bias in the direction of higher socio-economic status operated for the Random children. For example, the groups to which many of them belonged were the Brownies and Scouts, Y and CYO affiliated organizations—organizations which were dues-collecting; hence, the selectivity toward higher socio-economic composition.

Twenty different voluntary associations were represented by the sample of Random children. The number of different groups to which the children belonged ranged from one (a majority of cases, 11) to three. Mean number of groups per Random child was 1.7, as compared with 2.9 for the Marshall-Court child. The greater mean affiliation for the Marshall-Court child could be explained by the Extension Service practice of inducing children to join several organizations within the same larger organization.

Most of the Random children entered the organization for which interviewed through personal influence although the proportion entering in this manner was somewhat lower than for the Marshall-Court children. Almost half of the Randoms who entered the organization through personal influence were members of more than one group. The pattern of influencing others for the Random children was comparable to the pattern for the Marshall-Court children.

Seeing other members outside of the formal organizations was also comparable for the two groups. Evidence indicated that Random children tended to under-report their outside contacts with members of the same group. The formal association for the child was also a primary one, both as measured within and outside of the organization.

Among the Random children, those who were induced to join through personal influence attended the organization more regularly than those who entered through a social work influence or impersonally. The figures respectively were 11 of 12 (personally influenced and regular attenders) and four of nine. Admittedly the sample was small. It differed, however, from the pattern characterizing the Extension Service children. A tentative explanation may be in the contrasting manner in which children entered these organizations. The Randoms belonged to established groups which they sought out themselves. Those who were induced to join personally attended more regularly. The Extension Service groups were recently created ones who got members through an active recruiting program executed by professional adult leaders.

Random children who attended an organization regularly were likely to be members of more than one group as in the case of the Extension Service children.

Catholic and Protestant affiliated Random children attended the organizations for which they were selected for interview regularly for the most part. Catholic children belonged to approximately the same number of associations as Protestant children.

An additional contrast between the Random and Extension Service children was in the relationship between manner of affiliation and regularity of church attendance. The Random children who were influenced either by a social work person or impersonally were less likely to be regular church attenders than were the Extension Service children. The Random children who were personally influenced were more likely to attend church regularly than the Extension Service children similarly influenced. Children in both samples were, for the most part, church affiliated and church attenders.

Proportionately, the parents of the Random children were about as likely to be affiliated with voluntary associations as were the parents of the Extension Service children.

Random children coming from larger families were not more likely to belong to more organizations than those who came from smaller families. Regularity of attendance was, however, related

to size of family in the same way for both groups. That is, children who came from larger families attended organizations of which they were members more regularly than children who were members of small families.

The patterns of association characterizing the Random children were essentially the same as those of the Extension Service children. This was true despite the fact that they probably came from a somewhat higher socio-economic background. A difference between the groups related to the mode of recruitment. Random children appeared to be more voluntary affiliators, whereas the Extension Service children were leader-recruited affiliators. Random children who entered through personal influence attended more regularly and those who entered the organizations for which interviewed through a social work person or impersonally were less likely to attend church regularly than those entering the groups through personal influence.

8 / Interrelationships Between Membership's Characteristics and the Organization of the Extension Service

THE CENTRAL HYPOTHESIS that persons entered organizations through personal influence was supported. This was true to the greatest extent for the Senior Citizens, slightly less true for the children belonging to the Extension Service groups, and still less true for the Council. In two respects, the members of all of these groups represented a homogeneous universe. First, there was the homogeneity imposed by membership in the Extension Service itself. Second, there was a homogeneity imposed by the organization. For example, the Council members were adults, the organization was committed to values relating to property, and the members lived close to each other and were conscious of this fact. This homogeneity was accepted as a valid basis for comparing groups whose members differed from each other in other respects. In the main, the analysis is concerned with a comparison of persons who are members of a single organization rather than a comparison between persons having various attributes and belonging to many different organizations. These considerations preclude the Randoms from analysis both because they represented an aggregation of memberships and because they were not linked to the Extension Service. Clearly, in many instances comparisons between Extension Service groups and the groups represented by the Randoms would be warranted. For example, both could be classified as instrumental.¹ Membership traits would, in many instances, also be similar. To illustrate, the Randoms, both adult and children, just as in the case of the Extension Service members, were more likely to join organizations as a result of personal influence than through some other media. Nevertheless, the Randoms were excluded for the reasons suggested above.

Personal influence and organizational affiliation appeared to be importantly related to two dimensions, namely, life cycle and the function of the organization. Earlier it was indicated that there was a relationship between life cycle and the expressive function of organization. Infants and the very young belong only to family groups. Children belong to family groups, but in addition belong to neighborhood primary groups and can, voluntarily, become members of formal expressive associations. They are, probably without exception, members of only expressive groups. As children become older they may become members of instrumental-expressive groups, e.g., the Future Farmers of America, although most organizations for youth are either clearly expressive or represent value-inculcating and skill-learning associations which are primarily expressive. Many youth groups are adult sponsored for the purposes of socialization. A theoretical problem exists as to assignment of these transition groups which, though instrumental for the adult, are probably expressive for the youth. Consistent with the theory proposed, such groups would be either instrumental-expressive or expressive. A corollary of membership in instrumental groups would be adult status.

The data indicate that the associations of the aged are also expressive. It seems that the first and the last voluntary associations with which persons become affiliated have parallel functions of an expressive nature.

Members of the Senior Citizens were far more likely to become affiliated with the group through personal influence than were the persons in the Improvement Council. Children were likewise more likely to be personally influenced to join the organization in connection with which they were interviewed than were members of the Council. See Table 8-1. In short, the Council members differed sharply from the other two groups in manner of affiliation. The similarity in manner of affiliating between the children's groups and the Senior Citizens was great. Personal relationships and expressive associations provide the individual with like kinds of satisfactions.

TABLE 8-1. PERSONAL INFLUENCE AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL, SENIOR CITIZEN GROUP OR IN THE CHILDREN'S GROUPS*

	Children's Groups	Senior Citizens	Improvement Council
Influence			
Personal	39	41	29
Other	13	10	29

* Statistically significant.

Among the three groups, the Council members attended meetings most regularly and the Senior Citizens least regularly. The hypothesis that persons who entered the organization through personal influence would be the most regular in attendance was not borne out by the data. Council members attended meetings regularly regardless of how they entered the organization; this was also true for the children's groups. In fact, among the children, those who entered through social-worker influence were the most regular attenders of all. On the other hand, the Senior Citizens attended their meetings less regularly without reference to source of influence. (The infirmities that come with age may have accounted for the somewhat less regular attendance in the Senior Citizen group.)

Those who entered the Senior Citizen group through personal influence were likely to influence others into joining the organization while those who entered the Council through personal influence were not likely to be influentials. In fact, just the opposite occurred. In addition, Senior Citizen members were far more frequently influentials than were Council members. See Table 8-2. Intermediate between the Council and the old-age group were the children. They tended to follow the pattern suggested by the Senior Citizen group. When influence was exercised it appeared to be related to group function. Personal influence was associated with expressive organization. In instrumental groups the married persons were more likely to be influentials, the single persons influenced. In the expressive organization, the non-married exercised greater influence.

TABLE 8-2. BEING AN INFLUENTIAL AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL OR SENIOR CITIZEN GROUP*

	Improvement Council	Senior Citizens
Influential	17	32
Not influential	39	19

* Statistically significant.

The data suggest that mode of entry is related to organizational function. For example, while 41 of the 51 persons in the Senior Citizen group entered the organization through personal influence, only one-half of the Council members entered in a like manner.² This difference in the two groups appeared to be a significant one. See Table 8-3. A parallel existed between the Senior Citizen and

TABLE 8-3. MODE OF ENTRY INTO GROUP AS RELATED TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL OR SENIOR CITIZEN GROUP*

	Improvement Council	Senior Citizens
Mode of entry		
Personal	29	41
Not personal	29	10

* Statistically significant.

the children's groups. Thus, among the 52 children, 39 entered through personal influence as compared with 41 of 51 in the Senior Citizen group. A comparison between the Council and the children's groups with regard to mode of entry showed the difference to be significant. See Table 8-4.

TABLE 8-4. MODE OF ENTRY INTO GROUP AS RELATED TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL AND IN THE CHILDREN'S GROUPS*

	Improvement Council	Children's Groups
Mode of entry		
Personal	29	39
Not personal	29	13

* Statistically significant.

Almost all of the Senior Citizens belonged to more than one group (49 of 52). The Council and the children were also likely to have a large number of their group with plural memberships (43 of 58, 37 of 52, respectively). Regularity of attendance in organization for which interviewed did not show major differences between the three groups. Those who attended the group for which they were interviewed regularly and who also held memberships in one or more other groups were also likely to attend these other groups regularly.

TABLE 8-5. THE CHILDREN'S GROUP MEMBERS, THE SENIOR CITIZEN MEMBERS, AND COUNCIL MEMBERS, AND FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF THOSE RELIGIOUSLY AFFILIATED, AND NUMBER NOT RELIGIOUSLY AFFILIATED

	Religiously Affiliated Religiosity (Attendance per year)			Not Religiously Affiliated
	0-5	6-25	26-52	
Groups				
Children	3	11	37	1
Senior Citizens	8	9	30	5
Council	16	13	21	8

The children were most likely to profess affiliation with a religion, the Senior Citizens next most likely, and the Improvement Council members least likely. Furthermore, this tendency toward affiliation was manifest in church attendance. See Table 8-5. There was a statistically significant difference in the frequency of attendance (excluding those not affiliated) between the children and the Council members. The difference in church attendance for Senior Citizen members and Council members was also statistically significant. See Table 8-6. This difference may have been a function

TABLE 8-6. MEMBERSHIP IN THE SENIOR CITIZEN GROUP AND IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL AS RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE*

Groups	Attends 0-25 Times per Year	Attends 26-52 Times per Year
Senior Citizens	17	30
Improvement Council	29	21

* Statistically significant.

of life cycle or the expressive requirements of those in the non-married category. A very substantial proportion of the Senior Citizen group was widowed. Those Senior Citizens who did not attend church services regularly were, with two exceptions, affiliated with other associations and those so affiliated attended the other organizations regularly. For the most part, Protestants in the Extension Service organizations were more likely to be affiliated with a greater number of organizations than Catholics. Catholics, however, attended church services more regularly than did Protestants.

Ethnically, the adult groups of the Extension Service were the same. They were predominantly native born. Those who were foreign born were from such countries as Canada, Ireland, Germany, Scotland and England. Most of the foreign born were naturalized citizens. The groups were also of similar religious composition. There were about twice as many Protestants as Catholics in both groups; in the Council, however, there were four members of Jewish faith but none of this faith in the old-age group. The religious composition of the children's groups was similar to that of the adults. There was a somewhat larger proportion of the unskilled and semiskilled in the Council than in the Senior Citizen group. For the most part, however, the groups were occupationally similar. The occupations of the parents of the children ranked lower than those of the adult groups. A comparison between the children's parents and the adults occupationally showed this difference to be

statistically significant. Table 8-7 shows the occupational composition of the three associations involved.

TABLE 8-7. MEMBERSHIP IN CHILDREN'S GROUP, SENIOR CITIZEN GROUP AND IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL, AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD*

	Unskilled or Semiskilled	Skilled	White Collar
Group			
Children's	33	15	4
Council	14	21	22
Senior Citizens	6	21	24

* Statistically significant.

The wide participation in associations of children who came from lower socio-economic backgrounds as indicated by father's occupation is in sharp contrast with the adults. The adults came from higher socio-economic backgrounds, a finding consistent with those of other studies which show association to be class related.³ Perhaps the explanation for the differences in the relationship between social class and organizational affiliation among the children and adults lies in life cycle. The undifferentiated participation of children in voluntary associations is consistent with expressive behavior characteristic of this age. Furthermore, the difference in affiliation between children and adults might lie in the fact that voluntary associations are provided for the children by adults and the impetus for the child to participate is reinforced in the larger society by both adults and children. Thus, there may be more influentials for the child and a resulting tendency toward wider participation of children in organizations. In addition, there is little competition for the child's time for instrumental activities, and it is ideologically approved for the child to engage in expressive activity and association.

Educational achievement was related to participation in both adult groups. In the Council, those with higher educational achievement tended to belong to a greater number of organizations. This relation was statistically significant. In the Senior Citizen group this same tendency was manifest, although it was not statistically significant. Similarly, those with higher educational achievement were more likely to assume leadership in both groups.

The membership in the adult groups was predominantly native born. Despite this fact, a definite relationship existed between ethnicity and leadership, ethnicity and influence, and ethnicity and number of affiliations. A composite table relating ethnicity with

leadership showed this relationship to be statistically significant. See Table 8-8. Tables 8-9 and 8-10 show the relationship between ethnicity and number of associations.

TABLE 8-8. ETHNICITY AS RELATED TO LEADERSHIP*

Ethnicity	Organizational Affiliations	
	Does Not Assume Leadership	Assumes Leadership
Native born	39	46
Foreign born	19	6

* Statistically significant.

TABLE 8-9. ETHNICITY AS RELATED TO INFLUENCING OTHERS TO JOIN*

Ethnicity	Influencing Others to Join	
	Did Not Influence	Influenced
Native born	39	42
Foreign born	19	6

* Statistically significant.

TABLE 8-10. ETHNICITY AS RELATED TO NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS*

Ethnicity	Organizational Affiliations	
	Two or Less	Three or More
Native born	35	51
Foreign born	17	7

* Statistically significant.

Senior Citizens were more mobile than Council members. See Table 8-11. While this relationship was statistically significant, it

TABLE 8-11. MEMBERSHIP IN SENIOR CITIZEN GROUPS AND IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL AND RESIDENTIAL STABILITY*

Group	Same Address	
	Less than 5 Years	5 Years or More
Senior Citizens	22	29
Council	13	45

* Statistically significant.

could probably be explained in terms of life cycle. A large proportion of the Senior Citizens were widowed. This fact coupled with age made for movement to smaller and to different-type rented quarters.⁴ Those in the old-age group who owned their own homes were more likely to belong to fewer groups, but at the same time

were far more likely to see their own children frequently. This overall lack of residential stability by those renting and their more extensive and active affiliation with associations seemed to be related to lack of sources of primary-group contact.

Leadership traits in the Council were associated in ways quite different from those among the aged. For example, members of the Council who lived in apartment dwellings or rooming houses were most likely to be leaders. In the Senior Citizen group, those who lived in single homes and duplexes were most likely to be leaders. These relationships proved to be statistically significant. The differences in leadership between the groups may have been, once again, a function of the groups themselves. The leaders in the Council who lived in apartment buildings and rooming houses were also the owners. Their interests in the Council were instrumental—even more instrumental than those of Council members who owned and lived in single houses and duplexes—and these interests were manifest in leadership in the organization. In the Senior Citizen group, leaders were far more likely to own property than were the non-leaders. This property was generally a single house or duplex in which they lived. In addition, these property owners were persons who saw their children (who most likely had families of their own) frequently, indicating that they had a primary-group resource. Such persons would not require the personal gratifications to be had from the association nearly as much as those who did not have primary resources to draw upon and would, as a consequence, have the personal security to assume leadership. There was no general relationship between residential stability as measured by length of continuous residence at a single address and leadership.

Members of both adult groups were likely to be voters. In the Council, 50 of the 58 members had voted in the last election; in the Senior Citizen Club, 37 had voted in the last election. Thus, while a high proportion of the Senior Citizen group were voters, the proportion was considerably lower than in the Council. This difference was statistically significant. The greater tendency to vote on the part of the Council member could be related to the fact that he was more likely than a Senior Citizen to be instrumental in his orientation. At the same time, as noted in other research, persons affiliated with organizations are generally likely to vote and participate in community affairs, hence the active interest in voting on the part of both groups.⁵

Earlier it was noted that the children came from a lower socioeconomic background than the adults, using occupation of head of

household as the criterion. In fact, in the earlier discussion of adult groups of the Extension Service, the data showed that a majority of the Council and Senior Citizens came from a middle-class universe. In both groups, however, persons with more formal training were more likely to assume leadership than persons with less formal training. Similarly, those with higher occupational status were more likely to assume leadership than those with lower occupational status.

Discussion

Information of considerable sociological interest, but of such a nature that it could not be systematically incorporated in the present inquiry, was also gathered. The following data on two formal subcliques, one from each of the adult groups, are illustrative.

In the Senior Citizen Club, sewing, knitting, crocheting and gossiping were important activities. These activities could readily be, and were, carried on simultaneously. Over the course of time, a subgroup which came to be known as the "Sewing Circle" emerged. Participants in the Sewing Circle group were members first of the larger organization but, on the basis of activity engaged in together and sentiments directly related to the activity, began viewing themselves as somewhat distinct from the parent group. This distinctive identification among members finally resulted in the creation of a sewing group which met on the same day as that of the larger organization, but at an earlier time. The sewing group thus developed an autonomy of its own. Individuals in the sewing group got little by way of instruction from each other, and the reasons for their earlier meeting time was merely to extend the period over which they might get enjoyment from each other's fellowship. Thus, the gratificatory and expressive nature of the association, rather than the sewing, was of paramount importance. At the same time, the object of the larger group was also expressive, and the distinctiveness of the sewing group appeared to become a hindrance to the expressive dimension of the interaction between the sewing group members and the members of the Senior Citizen Club itself. Implicitly, this fact became recognized by the members of the sewing group and resulted in the dissolution of this formal subclique.

Complementing the Council organization was a group of members who edited, published, and distributed a mimeographed paper

which supported and widely advertised the Council and many of the issues for which the Council had been organized. This small group was a direct outgrowth of the organization but had an autonomy of its own with a somewhat distinct agenda of business. Furthermore, it met at a different time and had other characteristics suggestive of an independent voluntary association. Clearly, the formalized subgroup represented the archetype of the instrumental subgroup of an instrumental organization. It had become, as a subgroup, more and more important and influential since it had emerged as an entity. This subgroup showed signs of formalizing in the classical bureaucratic tradition.

The above examples suggest that it would be profitable to study voluntary associations wholistically.

A quite different problem posed in the present inquiry has to do with the voluntary associations of children. If the data are at all representative, they would suggest at least two things: first, many more families than most sociological research would indicate have at least one person affiliated with voluntary associations if associations of children are taken into account.⁶ Many parents of children in Extension Service groups were not members of any voluntary organizations. Scott included in his study all of the associations of persons ten years of age and older.⁷ (His rationale for not including children under ten is not clear.) Also, an examination of data derived from the studies of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts and their affiliates suggests that the number of families who have members in associations is under-represented.⁸

In the present work, all children who were affiliated, regardless of their age, were studied. Second, the data would show that, whereas the adults in lower socio-economic groups do not affiliate with organizations, their children do. The extensive network of voluntary associations of children in slum areas who belong to settlement houses and other comparable organizations would be a case in point. Whether children under-report such associations and whether their parents would conceive of such affiliations as falling in the province of voluntary associations is not known. A qualified finding derived from the present research indicates, however, that children are considerably under-represented in studies by sociologists who deal with the universe of those who are affiliated.

9 / The Overview

THIS CHAPTER CASTS many of the empirical findings in a theory of voluntary associations. It considers, in addition, the relationship between being an inhabitant of a slum and affiliating with voluntary formal associations. Many persons residing in a transitional area were found to be affiliated with organizations; this finding did not appear to be consistent with theory in urban sociology. A close examination, however, indicated that there were no major incongruities between the empirical findings in this study and those reported in other investigations. The relationship between organizational affiliation and type of residential area is discussed in the first section of this chapter.

In addition, the concept of life cycle is analyzed as it bears on affiliation with formal associations classified according to function. Stage in life cycle appears to be directly related to type of organization with which a person affiliates; this idea is developed in the second section.

The major criteria of the theoretical framework are then reviewed on the basis of the empirical findings. The basis for classifying voluntary associations sociologically is discussed and the motivation of persons to join organizations is considered. Motivation is found to be best understood within the perspective of the social psychology of formal organizations.

Finally, in the last section of the chapter, some of the specific findings dealing with personal influence and the tendency to affiliate are interpreted.

Urban Areas and Organizational Affiliation

This inquiry proceeded on the assumption that many persons residing in slum areas would be affiliated with voluntary associations. Even a cursory examination of membership lists of organiza-

tions having members likely to be living in all parts of the city of Rochester, New York (for example, national veteran groups, the YMCA, etc.), readily established the accuracy of the assumption. Indeed, there were many such persons. Undoubtedly there are persons who both reside in slums and belong to voluntary associations in every major city in the United States. This commonplace observation has been largely overlooked by most students of the city. The reason for such an omission is to be found within the framework of various theories of urban sociology and voluntary associations and will be discussed shortly.

What prompted the investigators to undertake the present study was the singular success experienced by a community organizer in developing indigenous organizations in a slum area. This evidence contradicted the idea that slum inhabitants do not ordinarily become affiliated with formal associations. The researchers were interested in the kinds of persons the social worker induced to join groups, whether children and adults in groups organized by him came from the same families, whether such persons enlisted their friends to join, and other comparable questions. From prior studies questions were raised concerning the relationship between area of residence and membership in voluntary associations. Other questions providing a guide for study dealt with the sources of influence which induce persons to join formal associations, the bearing which mode of entering organizations has on subsequent participation in the group, and the reasons why persons join groups in the first place.

Relations in the slum more than in other parts of the city, are transitory, segmental, and anonymous. Racketeer, gangster, bum, skid-row denizen, pimp, and lower class prostitute, and other social pariahs are attracted to such an area because it has these attributes. Also caught up within the area, but for other reasons, are culturally-unassimilated immigrants, socially-unassimilated minority-group members, rural migrants, and the impoverished. Such groups have high morbidity rates and social pathologies; they live in an environment in which vice, delinquency, and crime flourish. Early students of the city were preoccupied with the sordid and dramatic aspects of the slum; they neglected "normal," law-abiding, integrated, and organized populations within such an area. Only later was it observed that the slum is a mosaic of populations. Besides rooming house districts and the skid row, are Chinatowns, ghettos, and other informally but well integrated ethnic pockets; these are often homogeneous and well organized.¹ The designation of an area as a slum covers a multitude of sins, so to speak, and these sins have finally

been recognized in urban sociology. Recently students of social area analysis have further redressed the error of seeing the slum only as a disorganized area. By focusing on the census tract as a unit and describing the unit through three indexes—economic, family, and ethnic status—a more balanced picture of the world of the slum emerges—an empirical picture. The method of social analysis provides a precise yardstick by which a rooming-house district can be compared with an ethnic family district; also, accurate intercity comparisons of districts are possible.

From another vantage point, students of voluntary associations are in high agreement that a majority of persons from the lowest socio-economic levels are not members of voluntary associations; many are not even members of a church. Lower-class persons, rather than joining voluntary associations, instead become more involved in extended kin relations. Thus, part of the gratification which the middle-class persons obtain from participation in formal associations is obtained by lower-class persons from kinsmen.² This does not imply that middle-class persons interact less with their kin than do lower-class, but indicates that lower-class persons rarely interact with others in formal association settings. Whatever the case, these data reinforce the idea implicitly advanced in urban sociology that slum inhabitants ordinarily do not become affiliated with voluntary associations. There are, however, important qualifications to this last statement.

The data in this study showed that lower-class adults are not likely to become affiliated with voluntary associations. There were very few lower-class persons, as measured by occupation and educational achievement, who were members of the Extension Service groups or who were members of groups from which the Randoms were selected. Nevertheless, there were many slum inhabitants who belonged to Extension Service groups and to other groups meeting within or relatively close to the area studied. These group members residing in the two tracts were from middle-class backgrounds. Such persons often lived in well-maintained, "expensive" apartment houses distributed along main arteries in the area; they occasionally lived in rooming houses, but were in such cases likely to be owners of these buildings; or they lived in unattached single dwellings. Many were well educated and held fairly high ranking positions. They were "pillars" in the community and, as such, were responsible and enlightened citizens. Their participation in such groups as the Savannah-Manhattan Improvement Council was one indication of community responsibility; another was their history of voting be-

havior. Overwhelmingly, members of associations in the area were voters. In many ways they were much like their middle-class counterparts living in other parts of the city and suburbs.

Middle-class persons live in all parts of the city, even in a zone of transition. This study describes the specific people who are members of formal organizations within such areas. In social area analysis, other students have pointed to the fact that slum areas are not lacking in persons who belong to associations. The present work complements such studies; it points to the specific characteristics of the persons who have been presented more as a statistic of those affiliated with groups in low-family-status and low socio-economic-status social areas.

The children who were affiliated with formal groups in this study suggest a novel finding. Apparently, many lower-class children become members of associations even though their parents remain unaffiliated. Not only were many of the children in the Marshall-Court area found to participate in formal associations, but often they belonged to other organizations, especially a church. Thus, while lower-class adults do not become affiliated with formal associations, many of their children do.

Undoubtedly, the fact that their children become members of formal associations is of little concern to many parents; while they do not join groups, they have no objection to their children joining. On the other hand, it may well be that some lower-class parents encourage their children to become members of voluntary associations. They do so because they implicitly recognize that such affiliation for their children is one of the means of motivating them to become upwardly mobile. Patently, the child may be seen as learning to accept middle-class values in such groups as the Boy Scouts; he also learns to behave in a "proper" manner. Further, the child is more likely to associate with the "right" friends in this kind of group. Thus, lower-class parents who aspire to a higher social-class position may take it upon themselves to see to it that their children affiliate with groups. Such a view complements the thesis that many parents feel that opportunities to realize the American dream exist for them through their children. Also, lower-class children who have learned the "proper manners" at home or elsewhere may well be encouraged by their middle-class teachers and other parent surrogates to affiliate with formal associations.

Hollingshead, Gordon, Havighurst and Taba, and others have convincingly demonstrated that children who participate together in school organizations are less likely to drop out of school.³ Partici-

pation in formal association indicates integration for the child in the school, namely, that he is likely to have satisfying relations with peers in the system, and that he obviously is committed to groups which are directly tied to the formal system. Conversely, children who are oriented to informal groups operating outside of the school system and who are not members of formal voluntary school associations are less likely to remain in school. These findings also give support to the hypothesis that children who belong to voluntary associations come from higher social-class backgrounds, or if they come from lower social-class backgrounds, they aspire to a higher social-class status.

One final corollary on the associations of children seems quite plausible, namely, that children who have been members of formal associations are more likely to become members of formal associations when they become adults. Experience which a person has as a child in this area of association may predispose him to engage in like behavior as an adult. Such a predisposition can be tested irrespective of the social-class background of the person as a child. It might provide insight on the question of why middle-class persons do not become affiliated with organizations as adults.

Associational Types and the Life Cycle

Relationships existing between the ages of the members and the functions of associations have been discussed throughout the report. For instance, children belonged exclusively to expressive associations created for them by adults. Such organizations are one manifestation of the control adults exercise in socializing the child. In communities of any size, agencies exist which organize the participation of children in voluntary associations. From the adult viewpoint, the agencies sponsoring children's groups are instrumental.

Voluntary associations do not exist for very young children. The minimum age for membership is about eight. Cub Scouts, the Brownies, and many social group work programs start at this age. As a child becomes older, the opportunity to participate in voluntary associations increases. He becomes increasingly mobile. Many more associations become available to him. Schools provide increasing numbers of such groups as he moves from one grade level to the next. Within the high school, there is a plethora of voluntary associations for the students.

In children's groups the stability of the voluntary association

is dependent on the recruitment of a totally new membership over a short time span. The orientation of adult and child to children's association is predicated upon membership turnover. In the very nature of the growth of the child, memberships in groups have a transitory quality. The age selection of children's formal associations accounts for a revolving personnel.

Occasionally, children and adolescent groups appear to be instrumental. Such groups are sponsored by adults primarily to socialize the young in instrumental roles. The learning experiences afforded in these associations are regarded as primary; the accomplishments of the goals for which the associations exist are regarded as secondary. For example, student government is seen both by adults and the students as providing an opportunity for the students to play at, rather than carry on, the governmental functions of the school. Ultimate control is always reserved for adult authority.

The data in this study indicates that the young adult (21 to 35) is more likely to belong to expressive rather than expressive-instrumental or instrumental associations. This age period is a transitional one for him. While he has assumed instrumental roles, the formal associations with which he is affiliated are predominantly expressive. Within instrumental associations having a wide age range, the young adult has subordinate status compared with older members of the group in controlling organizations. In many instances, a young-adult instrumental association has its counterpart in a senior organization. To illustrate, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Young Democratic Club are modeled in the image of, are subordinate to, and are controlled by the senior group. There is a parallel in dominance between "seniors" and "juniors" and other superordinate-subordinate groupings, especially the male organization and the female or children's auxiliary.

The mature adult, particularly the male, is most likely to belong to instrumental and instrumental-expressive associations.⁴ He is at the apex of his instrumental involvements in all spheres, especially familial and occupational. The high status, low accessibility, instrumental association will be populated predominantly by the male between the ages of 35 and 60.

With old age, the person declines in his instrumental functions, and reduces his participation to expressive voluntary associations. Instrumental activities are left to younger persons. Increasingly, the older adult's preoccupation will be with expressive activities realized in expressive groups; this tendency is strongly suggested by the data on the Senior Citizen Club. Thus, the life cycle may parallel a cycle

of organizational participation from the expressive to the instrumental-expressive, the instrumental, and finally, once again, the expressive.

The Conceptual Framework

Throughout the report, reference has been made to a theory of voluntary association in the form of a typology. Within the classification provided, various theoretical and empirical problems of voluntary organization can be resolved, especially those of ranking organizations in relation to each other and those dealing with member identification with association. The basis of member identification with organization often is manifest through the manner in which persons affiliate with groups; this can be through personal friends or through some more impersonal means. Also bearing on member identification with organization is the number of primary relations a person has and his place within the life cycle. Obviously, the adult can be a member of a greater number of associations than the child. Besides life cycle and its derivative statuses, other statuses such as those based on social-class background, family background, marital status, sex or age also bear on the type of association with which a person affiliates. In addition, these statuses provide a link to the rank of organizations. Thus, in either instrumental or expressive associations, the statuses which members bring to the organization, when considered collectively, bear on the rank of the organization.

Instrumental associations potentially control behavior and resources which lie outside of the association itself. This capacity of the association itself is directly related to rank. Thus, all things being equal, instrumental associations rank higher than expressive ones. The specific rank of any given instrumental association is related to such factors as the segment of the community potentially affected by the group, the importance of the commodity controlled, and the extent of the association's command over resources. In contrast, expressive associations ordinarily are self-contained units. They exist to provide a framework for the immediate gratification of their members. They do not exercise control functions beyond their boundaries and consequently rank lower than instrumental groups. The specific rank of any given expressive association is related to how readily accessible membership is and to the statuses the members have outside of the organization.

Within the Extension Service program, the instrumental Savan-

nah-Manhattan Improvement Council ranks above the expressive Senior Citizen Club. Moreover, the Senior Citizen Club ranks above any of the children's groups. The apparent control function of the Improvement Council explains why it would rank above the Senior Citizen Club or above any of the children's groups. The higher status adults have and bring to an association as compared with the status of children results in the Senior Citizen Club's having much higher rank than any of the children's groups.

A priori, it can be argued that an inventory of voluntary associations (at a community or even a national level) would show a preponderance of expressive over expressive-instrumental or instrumental groups. Whether expressive associations can come into existence more readily or more often than instrumental ones is moot. In any event, there were far more expressive associations represented by the persons in the present study. But while there were many more discreet expressive associations than instrumental ones, nonetheless, a substantial number of persons belonged to one or more instrumental groups. There was a proliferation of expressive associations represented, and in contrast, relatively few instrumental ones. Thus, there was a disproportionate tendency for persons to become affiliated with instrumental associations. The above discrepancy might be explained by the greater affiliative base characterizing many instrumental associations. Many instrumental associations can best achieve their goals through sheer numbers and they seek many members. Conversely, expressive organizations often can best provide satisfaction for their members through limitations on size.

It is quite conceivable that expressive associations are more easily formed by the nature of the activities carried on and the goals derived from them. The kinship of expressive associations to primary groups—groups once characterized by Cooley as the “well springs of society”—suggests that the two have in common the capacity to provide many of the same satisfactions. In particular, the satisfactions can be derived from immediate activities in personal relationships. Spontaneity in activity characterizes both instrumental and expressive groups, but is most likely to be found in expressive association.

Some further clarification of the theory in the form of a typology is suggested by the data. This theory utilizes essential sociological criteria. Thus, the three major dimensions are: status-conferring capacity, high or low; accessibility, high or low; and organizational function, instrumental, instrumental-expressive, and expressive.⁵ Considered as social and cultural phenomena, each of these dimensions is readily operationalized sociologically. The status-conferring

capacity is measured by organizational rank. Accessibility is determined by the qualifications for membership and statuses based primarily upon ascriptive and achievement principles of assignment and the degree to which these are institutionalized. Accessibility is also denoted by the number accepted for various positions. Function is denoted by the activities and goals and the locus of impingement of these activities whether external or internal. Further denoting functions are the specific structures, that is, the whole organization or subparts of it (e.g., committees) through which the activities are carried on and through which the chief impingement is made. Such a subpart, for example, is the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure of the American Association of University Professors; its activities consist of receiving complaints and investigating violations of academic freedom. The committee's impingement is made on specific institutions through the administrative officials against whom charges of violation of academic freedom are brought. An inventory of all of the subcommittees of the AAUP, the activities they generate, and the impingement of these activities show it to be primarily an instrumental organization. Likewise, the Red Cross Committee, the Child Observation Committee, and other specific committees of the Savannah-Manhattan Council similarly define the Council as primarily instrumental.

An organization which as a whole (or through activities of its individual subcommittees) ordinarily impinges only on the members of the organization with no outside impact is primarily expressive. Both the Senior Citizens and the children's groups of the Extension Service represent this type.

The instrumental-expressive association has substructures which impinge internally on the members but also on persons, or systems, outside of the association. An example of such an association is the Rotary Club which has a social committee which organizes parties for the members and their families (expressive) and a community improvement committee which collects money and manages a youth center for recreation (instrumental).

It is apparent that specification of all substructures, the activities they provide, and the impingement these activities make, whether external or internal, or both, is necessary before an inference can be made regarding an organization's function. Accordingly, the major dimensions of the typology—namely, status, accessibility, and function—are operationally defined for study.

Another level of analysis, the social-psychological, is provided for

in the theory. Reference to the basis of affiliation and the source of member satisfaction as these relate to organizational type has been made throughout the report. In the main, most persons are likely to become affiliated with organizations through personalized relationships. This is more true of expressive than instrumental groups. Essentially instrumental groups require the members to postpone gratification if the goals are to be achieved. Immediate satisfaction for individual members is provided, however, as byproducts of the activities carried on and the relationship inherent in instrumental organizations. Minimally, all groups require the maintenance of morale for the members; this is ordinarily accomplished through expressive activity. Thus, instrumental associations can provide expressive satisfactions for their members; but for the most part the groups' attainment of goals requires postponed gratification from its members. On the other hand, expressive groups require that group maintenance functions (instrumental) be provided for if the group is to engage in its activities.⁶

At the social-psychological levels, the data show that some persons were motivated to affiliate with the Improvement Council because they had friendships with persons in the group. Once they had joined the Council, still other personal satisfactions could be derived from membership. Such persons also supported the goals of the organization. An individual's orientation to the organization, its members and its activities can therefore be examined social-psychologically independent of whether the organization, sociologically defined, is instrumental, instrumental-expressive, or expressive.

In this connection, when the motivation of the member is consistent with the motivation which is organizationally prescribed, the relationship between the organization, sociologically viewed, and the member, social-psychologically viewed, is one of integration. Discrepancies between organizational type and the motivation of members indicates a lack of integration. Such integration or a lack of it provides practical and theoretically relevant questions pertinent to voluntary associations. Such questions are raised as follows. Do persons who are expressively oriented to instrumental associations make it more difficult for the association to consummate its goals? When there are many persons who are expressively oriented to instrumental groups does this situation result in a change of organizational goals and/or functions?

The above section has further developed several aspects of the theory which guided the study. It suggests how the theory might be expanded and where major additional developments of the theory

might be made. It also shows the relevance of the theory for guiding research.

Extensions of the theory stem from numerous empirical findings that are noted throughout the report. For example, an apparent relationship exists between manner of affiliating with the group, personal or nonpersonal, and the function of organization, instrumental, instrumental-expressive, or expressive. The Senior Citizen and the members of the children's groups entered the association predominantly through personal influence. Furthermore, their entrance into other formal associations was also through personal influence. Both the aged and the children were over-represented in expressive organizations. For the aged, a personalized pattern of affiliation in formal associations is an extension of a web of highly personalized informal relations. The Senior Citizen's friendships appeared to exist almost exclusively within a framework of voluntary associations. By affiliating with formal groups, the aged individual insures himself a supply of personal relations with like persons. They are alike not only in age but in their orientation to living. Further, such a group represents a somewhat exaggerated tendency which is general, that is, the tendency to meet highly personalized needs in expressive association.

For the child, his participation in voluntary organizations is likewise an extension of his informal friendships. The formal group appears to be viewed merely as such an extension. Furthermore, the web of personal relations is coterminous with neighborhood, school, church and formal voluntary associations.

The single young adult, like the aged and the child, is also over-represented in expressive associations. In the present study, such persons were affiliated with more groups than any other age category. These people were often instrumental in influencing other persons to affiliate with organizations and frequently associated with the people whom they influenced in the informal setting.

Throughout, the close relationship between the theory and the empirical findings has been underscored. It remains for additional studies with broader and more representative samples to extend the approach to voluntary associations used within this report. The major emphasis of study has been with the discrete voluntary organization; the more typical study of association has dwelt on the characteristics of persons who affiliate with associations.

Methodological Appendix

This section presents a somewhat detailed account of many of the problems and methodological considerations that were entertained during the course of the investigation. Included are discussions of: specific data required to test the hypotheses proposed; what constituted a voluntary association in the study; the reasons why membership in unions and churches was not considered to constitute membership in voluntary associations; sampling considerations; definition of the concepts employed; and problems that attended interviewing the respondents.

The Groups Studied.—In the present inquiry, the specific concern was with persons who were identified with an ongoing organization established by an Extension Service of a settlement house. Included were the members' relations to each other in the organization and the interpersonal relations between members as these bore on the manner in which persons joined. Since the organizations to be studied intensively were newly formed, it was assumed that information on the dynamics of organization could be accurately captured. The range in types of influence could be determined; among them would be impersonal media, professional community organizers, and personal contact between persons. The number of specific groups to be studied were few and included various formally organized children's groups, an improvement council, and an old age club. The Savannah-Manhattan Improvement Council and related committees constituting a total universe of 58 persons were interviewed. As many as nine call-backs were made to obtain complete information on this group. Since there were over 300 persons registered as belonging to the Senior Citizen Club and 114 children listed as affiliated with the over-all Marshall-Court organization, it was necessary to interview a sample from these two groups. The headquarters and the meeting places of these groups were within an interstitial area described in detail in Chapter 2.

A choice was made to study persons affiliated with specific organizations noted above intensively rather than to study a representative group of persons who resided in the area and who were affiliated or nonaffiliated with formal organizations. An assumption was made that the major relationship being investigated could be analyzed

more efficiently through the selection and study of organizationally-affiliated persons. The random selection of persons residing in an area as an option for study might have indicated the extent of organizational affiliation of the Marshall-Court residents. While interesting and germane in the study of voluntary association, this option would have extended the scope of study beyond available resources. Confining the scope to the study of members of given organizations was a practical consideration; it was also theoretically defensible. It made comparison impossible, however, between persons who were affiliated and those not affiliated. Hence it became necessary to test organizational affiliation solely through such measures as extent of participation in a number of organizations or through regularity of attendance.

Incorporated in the research design for comparative purposes was a sample of persons affiliated with a wide range of voluntary associations not related to the Marshall-Court organization. These persons belonged to such associations as Boy Scout troops, Girl Scout troops, the YMCA, active political clubs, church-affiliated clubs, a civil defense group, and veterans' groups. From the files of such organizations, 467 persons having memberships and living in the Marshall-Court area were found. A random sample of 100 of these persons was selected and interviewed. These persons are discussed in Chapter 7. Churches and labor unions were excluded from consideration in the universe and sample selected because membership in such organizations appeared to be of a different order from membership in other voluntary associations.

Churches, as basic institutions, pose the question of whether or not membership is voluntary in the same sense that membership in the Elks Lodge might be. For instance, Catholic Church affiliation is ascribed on the basis of family membership. This affiliation tends to be reinforced through a subsystem requiring formal training, is often supported by the family both nuclear and extended, and is sanctioned by members of the larger society. This represents, perhaps, the extreme case, but has some applicability to all religious institutions. Special interest groups associated with the church, for example, the Rosary Society of the Catholic Church or a Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist Church, would be voluntary associations from the point of view of sociological usage.

Similarly, union membership becomes an adjunct to employment in a factory having a union shop provision or is prerequisite to employment in other work situations. Membership can be active or nominal. Again, such affiliation would do violence to the concept

of voluntary associations as employed in sociology. For the reasons suggested, church membership and union affiliation were not included in the consideration of those living in the area and having memberships in voluntary associations outside the Marshall-Court organizations.¹

The persons in this randomly selected sample of 100 persons are referred to as the Randoms. A complete inventory of persons affiliated in voluntary associations in the Marshall-Court area was not made. Nevertheless, as implied earlier, a thorough attempt was made to uncover existing groups. The reason for the inclusion of the Randoms was to provide information as to whether those not affiliated with the Marshall-Court organization differed from the Marshall-Court organizational affiliators. This was consistent with the major hypotheses to be tested.

Thus far attention has been directed to the problem in the light of several methodological considerations. Ecological data from the census and data from various community agencies were used to provide a context for the analysis of the population and organizations of the area and are treated in detail in Chapter 2. Over 275 persons, representing both Marshall-Court and non-Marshall-Court organizations, were interviewed. The specific groups or samples from the Marshall-Court organization and the Randoms as an entity are analyzed in separate Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

The specific adult groups of the Marshall-Court organization were the Savannah-Manhattan Improvement Council and affiliated standing committees including a Red Cross committee, a recreation committee, a guided child observation group, a mothers' day camp committee, and a parent-teacher association committee, as well as a senior citizens club. The children's group were a girls' club, a boys' club, a craft group, an athletic club, a swimming club, and an art gallery group. In addition, many children were incorporated into a special services program. The formal voluntary associations from which the Randoms were selected included Brownie troops, Girl Scout troops, a scout committee, a YMCA young adult ballroom dancing group, the Gra-Y, the Danforth Club (an old age group), a Republican card committee, a PTA organization, a YMCA Hi-Y group, a library Great Books Club, a CYO Meri-Mac Club, and a Veterans of Foreign Wars post. This is a partial listing of representative associations. There were additional voluntary associations represented by the total group from which the Randoms were drawn. This number was somewhat extended because the total membership of specific groups related to organizations such as the YMCA

and the CYO was canvassed. Further derivative associations of this Random group—for example, the other associations of persons who belonged to a group related to the CYO but whose memberships became evident only after interview—would have expanded the number of associations of the Randoms interviewed very considerably.

Definition of Concepts.—The central hypothesis was: Members are incorporated and maintained in voluntary formal groups through personal influence. The relationship posed in this hypothesis suggested the data required for its test. Crucial was information relating to the joining process. Such information was sought through the use of a structured questionnaire by trained interviewers. The formulation of the questionnaire was dependent on the nature of the gross relationships being examined, and on the more careful explication of the concepts from which the major and subsidiary hypotheses were constituted. The concepts that are explicated include “member,” “maintained,” “voluntary association,” “personal influence,” “regularity of attendance,” “more alike,” and “leadership.”

In the central hypothesis, “member” was defined as “a person who attended two or more meetings of the organization.” Accurate records of attendance were not kept by most of the groups in the Marshall-Court organization. In the interview, the person was questioned as to whether he had attended two or more meetings of the organization of which he was listed as a member. A number of persons were excluded from the sample according to this criteria because they had attended only once, did not remember attending, or had never attended. Marshall-Court membership records proved to be more accurate than records of the organizations from which the Random group was selected.

“Maintained” was measured through frequency of attendance. This dimension was also indicated through variables such as manner of introduction into the group and contact between persons in the group outside of formal group meetings.

Formal voluntary associations have already been discussed in Chapter 1. Such groups have in common an identifiable membership defined collectively by title, recognizable and formally-definable roles, control over membership by the whole organization, and decisions on the entrance and exclusion of members made by the whole organization.

“Personal influence” was operationally defined as “ability to identify person who introduced individual to group by name.” If

the respondent, during the interview, could name the person or persons who suggested that he join, this implied a face-to-face familiarity with the persons named. (Excluded from this category were the professional community workers in the area.) Such identification was confirmed by information relating to influence as reported by persons who were influentials. A cross check was possible between the report of the influenced and the influential in the Savannah-Manhattan Improvement Council, a group in which all members were interviewed. Of the 28 persons who entered through personal influence as defined above, the responses of 23 were confirmed by the persons whom they named. Personal influence was synonymous with personal contact.

Regularity of attendance was calculated through a proportion of the total meetings held by the group. Regular attendance was equated with attendance three-quarters or more of the time the group met, occasional attendance with attendance between one-quarter and three-quarters of the times the group met, rare attendance with attendance less than a quarter of the time.

Affiliation with a religious organization referred to membership as reported by the informant.

In a test of the subhypothesis "the more alike persons are the more likely they are to join the same groups," "more alike" was measured through several variables. These were marital status, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and occupational status. More precise delineations of these are to be found in the specific test of the hypothesis for various groups.

Leadership was ascertained in terms of the roles assumed by the members in the organizations to which they belonged. Specifically, "leadership" was defined as "acting in the capacity of elected officer, committee chairman, or committee member." Thus, participation beyond mere attendance was equated with leadership. Clearly, leadership was not viewed synonymously with officially designated office-holding; the interest was in a measure of the demonstrated degree of involvement an individual had in the group.

In the earlier discussion of personal influence it was noted that reliability of the information obtained through interview could be checked through responses made by respondents other than the one interviewed. Throughout the report, other cross checks indicated high reliability of response. For example, those who claimed to be voters were checked against the registration lists; these lists confirmed such information.

Test of Significance.—The concepts were defined in such a man-

ner that significant tests of relationship could be made. To this end, chi square and student's "t" tests were employed.² Since the sample was, in many cases, small, Yates' correction was used in the analysis of any cell containing an N of between 5 and 10.³ Relationship at the .05 per cent level was accepted as probably of significance.⁴ No further refinement beyond this level seemed warranted. In many cases, data were reported which were not significant but seemed nevertheless to indicate an important tendency or trend with regard to the relationship under examination.

Considerations Attending the Interviewing.—Interviewing was the main source through which data were collected. All of the interviewers were not only trained, but were very familiar with the research problem at its inception and with every item on the questionnaire as it bore on the relationships under test. Every individual belonging to one of the major groups, particularly the Savannah-Manhattan Improvement Council, was interviewed, regardless of the number of call-backs that had to be made. For those who were selected for interview through a sampling procedure, a minimum of three call-backs was made. If no interview was obtained after three call-backs, then alternates, who were drawn as part of the sample, were substituted. Reliability was high, as measured through cross checks of select data obtained in the interviews when compared with agency records, through checks of internal consistency in the agreement of responses of different persons coming from the same family, and in the agreement of responses of different persons where identical information was sought (agreement between the influenced and influential, as noted).

The research design required considerable data on children. In the case of one girls' group studied, participant observation was a technique utilized by two researchers who were also the formal group leaders (they used extensive diary notes as well as informal interviews and sociometric tests). Such data served primarily as background information; it was sought before the research design was made. More important as a source of information about children were data obtained through interview.

Some special problems in interviewing children were encountered. These could be stated in the form of such questions as: Is the child a reliable informant? Does he have information which is pertinent? The children proved to be valuable and reliable sources of information. All the children who were sought for interview cooperated. In fact, the younger children in our sample were overly motivated to provide information. This overmotivation could be

explained through the desire on the part of the child to gain approval in what was interpreted by him as an authority situation. Often, the interviewers were forced to remind the child of the legitimacy of not having answers. Children did not seem to discriminate between factual and normative information; they tended to be spontaneous communicators of the fact rather than of the calculated response. The tendency for the child to be unduly concerned with supplying information was related to the formality or informality of the interview context. In the more informal contexts, the child was more spontaneous. Younger children had more difficulty in providing information. As noted earlier, children proved to be valuable and reliable sources of information.⁵

Throughout the study, use was made of formal agency records, from both the Extension Service and other agencies in the city. In addition, numerous informal interviews with the Extension Service staff, as well as with other persons familiar with the area, provided other information during all phases of the research.

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

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4. Wirth, L., "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1938, 44, pp. 1-24.
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11. Komarovsky, *op. cit.*
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15. Bushee, F. A., "Social Organization in a Small City," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1945, 51, pp. 217-226.
16. Scott, J. C., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Association," *American Sociological Review*, 1957, 22, pp. 315-326.
17. Reissman, L., "Class, Leisure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 1954, 19, pp. 76-84.
18. Among the various studies finding such a relationship are: Anderson, W. A., "The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations," Agricultural Experimental Station Bulletin #695, Ithaca: Cornell University, 1938; Komarovsky, *op. cit.*, Lundberg, G., M. Komarovsky, and M. A. McInery, *Leisure, A Suburban Study*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1934; Mather, *op. cit.*, Scott, *op. cit.*
19. Mather, *op. cit.*
20. Reissman, *op. cit.*
21. Bell and Force, *op. cit.*
22. For example, see: Komarovsky, *op. cit.*
23. Komarovsky, *op. cit.*, Anderson, *op. cit.*, and Wright and Hyman, *op. cit.*
24. Freeman, Novak, and Reeder, *op. cit.*
25. Scott, *op. cit.*
26. Mather, *op. cit.*
27. Wright and Hyman, *op. cit.*, and Maccoby, *op. cit.*
28. Scott, *op. cit.*, and Wright and Hyman, *op. cit.*
29. *A Social Profile of Detroit*, Report of the Detroit Area Study, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1952.
30. Bushee, *op. cit.*
31. Reference is to L. Wirth's "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1938, 44, pp. 1024, and to R. Redfield's *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.
32. See: Zorbaugh, H. W., *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929; and, Burgess, E. W., "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project," in R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie (eds.), *The City*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. 47-62.
33. Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
36. Burgess, *op. cit.*
37. The designation "zone of deterioration" is preferred by Queen and Carpenter. They note that an ethnic community (and other groups) in a slum may display close social relations, warmth, and stability, characteristics found in other zones in the city. Thus many stable and integrative elements as well as "transitional" ones are found in the area. See: Queen, S. A., and D. B. Carpenter, *The*

American City, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1953, p. 100, pp. 170–178.

38. Burgess, *op. cit.*

39. Zorbaugh, *op. cit.*

40. They were, of course, colleagues at the University of Chicago and were also undoubtedly influenced by Robert Park.

41. Whyte directs himself to the work of Zorbaugh. See: Whyte, W. F., "Social Organization in the Slums," *American Sociological Review*, 1943, 8, pp. 34–39.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

43. Whyte, W. F., *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, *passim*, pp. 1–93.

44. Wirth, L., *The Ghetto*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.

45. One of the most telling and incisive criticisms of the Burgess theory is by Davie, M. R., "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in Murdock, G. P. (ed.), *The Science of Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937, pp. 133–162. Further criticism is manifest in the work of Walter Firey. See: for example, Firey, W., *Land Use in Central Boston*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947, and W. Firey, "Sentiments and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," *American Sociological Review*, 1945, 10, pp. 140–148.

46. Such work was initiated by the late Luther Fry of the University of Rochester. That Rochester "fits" the Burgess scheme is convincingly shown by Bowers, R. See especially: R. V. Bowers, "Ecological Patterning of Rochester, New York," *American Sociological Review*, 1939, 4, pp. 180–189.

47. Shevky, E., and W. Bell, *Social Area Analysis*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

48. For a terse explication see: Bell, W., "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods," in Sussman, M. B. (ed.), *Community Structure Analysis*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959, pp. 62–92.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Report from the Study Committee for the Marshall-Court Area to the Central Planning Division of the Council of Social Agencies, Rochester, New York, September 12, 1955, p. 2.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

3. R. V. Bowers, "Ecological Patterning of Rochester, New York," *American Sociological Review*, 1939, 4, pp. 180–189.

4. Especially: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, "Census Tract Statistics," Chapter 64, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

5. Data from a study conducted by the Council of Social Agencies, Rochester, New York.
6. Data from a study conducted by the Council of Social Agencies, Rochester, New York.
7. Harder, G. L., *An Ecological Study of Mental Disorders in Rochester*, master's thesis, The University of Rochester.
8. Data derived from an official report of the Rochester Health Bureau.
9. From a report of the Council of Social Agencies, Rochester, New York.
10. Data from official records of the Rochester Health Bureau. (No data were available for tract 28.)
11. The formula for computing the indexes is to be found in Bell, W., "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods," in Sussman, M. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 90-92. Tract 5 had fewer single detached dwellings than any other tract in Rochester.
12. Bell, W., "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region," *American Sociological Review*, 1953, 18, pp. 39-47.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. See especially: Goldhamer, "Voluntary Associations in the United States" in P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Reader in Urban Sociology*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951; Rose, *op. cit.*; and Scott, *op. cit.*
2. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Similarly, Lundberg *et al.*, used the three-fold designation, instrumental, mixed, and leisure, for classifying associations in a prior study. See Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInery, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-169.
3. His discussion of associations confines itself primarily to the "social-influence" category. This classification reflects a social-problems interest or an action approach to the study of association. Conceivably, therefore, it is biasing insofar as general functions of organizations are concerned.
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5. As indicated in Chapter 1, extensive research has been carried out in this area and is reported in the following: Lynd and Lynd, *op. cit.*; Lundberg *et al.*, *op. cit.*; Mather, *op. cit.*; Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*; Komarovsky, *op. cit.*; Dotson, F., "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Working-Class Families," *American Sociological Review*, 1951, 16, pp. 687-693; Bottomore, T., "Social Stratification

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6. Goldhamer, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

7. Some of the contradictions to the above findings have already been discussed in Chapter 1. This particular list of findings is stressed by Scott, *op. cit.*

8. Davis, A., B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 194-195.

9. From the Constitution and By-Laws of the YMCA, Rochester, New York.

10. *Boy Scouts of America: The Official Handbook for Boys*, New York: Doubleday Page and Co., 1916, p. viii.

11. The focus on accessibility is consistent with the general theory of stratification proposed by Davis and Moore. See Davis, K., and W. E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 1945, 10, pp. 242-247.

12. We draw heavily on the concept of role as formulated by Freedman, *et al.* For them, role denotes ". . . functional position in the group or the pattern of behavior regularly performed. Thus, role means not only routine activity but the relation of that activity to other activities." See Freedman, R., H. Hawley, W. S. Landecker, and M. H. Miner, *Principles of Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952, p. 111.

13. Parsons, T., *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951, p. 79.

14. Rose, *loc. cit.*

15. North, C. C., and P. K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Wilson, L., and W. Kolb (eds.), *Sociological Analysis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949, pp. 464-74.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Marshall Court Extension Service of the Montgomery Neighborhood Center, Incorporated, Annual Report (1958), p. 2.

2. Detroit Area Profile Study, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

3. In a study of the restaurant industry in Chicago, Whyte found that often men resented having interaction initiated for themselves by women on the job. Males were especially resentful in those situations wherein their roles were defined as being super-ordinate to those of women, but which nevertheless called for the female to ini-

tiate the interaction, thus somewhat controlling the males' behavior. See Whyte, W. F., *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry*.

4. Pertinent to this general discussion is an analysis of "Association and Interests" in *Society* by Maclver and Page. See Maclver, R. M., and C. H. Page, *Society* (Rev. Ed. 1949), New York: Rinehart and Co., Incorporated, pp. 437-452. Maclver and Page note that "associations develop as means or modes of attaining interests." (p. 437) They differentiate interests into like interests (when two or more persons severally or distributively pursue a like object or value each for himself) and common interests (when two or more persons seek a goal or objective which is one and indivisible in a quest that can only be resolved through joint action). (p. 440) They indicate that even so "the group's ostensible interest is not always determinant." (p. 443) Conceivably, persons may belong to the same association for attaining quite different interests.

5. This was noted earlier. See Scott, *op. cit.*; Mather, *op. cit.*; Wright and Hyman, *op. cit.*; and Anderson, *op. cit.*

6. These findings parallel those of Hastings in his study of voters and non-voters. Hastings, P. K., "The Voter and the Non-Voter," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1956, 62, pp. 302-307.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. As persons become older they become more mobile. Reimer suggests that the concept of neighborhood differs with age cycle. Clearly, adults would operate in a far wider urban setting than children, and the neighborhood is interpreted differently by various persons. Reimer, S., "Villagers in a Metropolis," *British Journal of Sociology*, 1951, 1, pp. 31-43. In a somewhat different context, Smith, Form, and Stone found that in a sample of persons they studied a majority of the respondents considered their friends to live outside of their own immediate neighborhoods. While the respondents were adults, the fact remained that in many cases the respondents questioned defined neighborhood as a large sub-community of the city; and presumably they would often associate with their friends outside of their own neighborhoods. Smith, J., W. H. Form and G. P. Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-Sized City," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1954, 60, pp. 276-284. A still different dimension of interpersonal relations in a neighborhood is suggested by Mann's study. See Mann, P., "The Concept of Neighborliness," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1954, 50, pp. 163-68.

2. The Director of the Extension Service strongly felt that interviewing the children in their homes might disrupt the Extension program. His reservations were respected. Thus, instead of interviewing the children in their homes, all of the children attending

schools in the area were interviewed at school. This was possible through the generous cooperation of the school principals, both public and parochial. In addition, all of the boys not interviewed in the schools but who were members of the Swimming Club were interviewed in the locker room of their swimming facility. This method of obtaining the sample resulted in 52 interviews. There were some children who did not attend schools in the area and some, of course, who did not attend schools. These were the children who were not interviewed. (For a discussion of problems of interviewing children see: Babchuk, N., and C. W. Gordon, "The Child as a Prototype of the Naive Informant in the Interview Situation," *American Sociological Review*, 1958, 23, pp. 196-198.)

3. The two group leaders of the Girls' Club were advanced sociology students. They studied the Girls' Club as part of their formal training at the University of Rochester under the supervision of one of the authors; they were group leaders, however, prior in time to their participation in the research.

4. Dotson, *op. cit.* Dotson noted that family and kinship are important for providing for the companionship and recreational needs of the lower-class persons he studied. Evidence from other research suggests, however, that middle-class families also provide for the companionship and recreational needs of their family members who, in addition, are likely to belong to formal voluntary associations. For example, Sussman found extensive services and help rendered the younger married couples by their in-laws. Not only did parents provide recreational resources for their children but they also provided companionship needs for their kin. Sussman, M., "The Help Pattern in the Middle Class Family," *American Sociological Review*, 1953, 18, pp. 22-28. In a study utilizing a sample who represented a wide social class range, Bell and Boat found that a majority of persons had more intimate contacts with kin than with neighbors or friends. They also found that formal group participation resulted in friendships for the majority of their sample and also that the persons studied were more likely to meet persons who became close friends at work than in their neighborhoods. Bell, W., and M. D. Boat, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1957, 62, pp. 391-398. Caplow and Fornan in studying neighborhood interaction in a homogeneous community found a high degree of association between families (who were probably middle-class) and found that the dimension of intimacy did not decrease as the number of families known increased. Caplow, T., and R. Fornan, "Neighborhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community," *American Sociological Review*, 1950, 15, pp. 357-366.

5. The concept of folk most pertinent to the present discussion is that of Redfield. See Redfield, R., "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1947, 52, pp. 293-308.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. See Chapter 2.
2. The Senior Citizens utilized the facilities of the city far more than any group studied. They also seemed to be the most mobile. These data bear on the work done by Reimer. See Reimer, *op. cit.*
3. From the Detroit Area Profile Study, *op. cit.*
4. Reference is to the work of Wright and Hyman, *op. cit.*, and Hastings, *op. cit.*

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Illustrative would be the Republican ward committee and the civil defense organizations; both were, of course, groups represented by several persons in the Randoms.
2. There was insufficient data on one of the Senior Citizen members.
3. See pp. 6-7 of Chapter 1.
4. In the analysis of census data, Glick shows that many married couples move from large single home dwellings to smaller quarters by the time the head of the household reaches the age of 65. This is generally 14 years after the couple's youngest child is married and has left the household. With large unused quarters and diminishing income, the couple finds it feasible in many instances at this stage of the life cycle to move. Glick, P., "The Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, 1947, 12, pp. 164-74.
5. Such a relationship is underscored in the research of Hastings. See Hastings, *op. cit.*
6. In the Detroit Area Profile Study in 1952 the investigators found that 80 per cent of the population belongs to at least one organization. This investigation, however, was limited to the population group 21 years of age and older. *A Social Profile of Detroit*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
7. Scott, *op. cit.*
8. The data reported in the Scout reports show that a sizable number of boys from all socio-economic levels participate in the Scout program. See, for example, *A Study of Adolescent Boys*, Survey Research Center, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1956.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Whyte, W. F., "Social Organization in the Slums," *op. cit.*, pp. 34-39.
2. See: Dotson, *op. cit.*
3. Reference is to: Hollingshead, A. B., *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949; Gordon, C. W., *The Social*

System of the High School, Glencoe, Ill.; The Free Press, 1957; Havighurst, R. J. and H. Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949.

4. Male dominance is shown to exist in important instrumental associations. See: Babchuk, N., R. Marsey, and C. W. Gordon, "Men and Women in Community Agencies: A Note on Power and Prestige," *American Sociological Review*, 1960, 25, pp. 399-403.

5. In a recent study, it is suggested that ranking of organizations from instrumental to expressive along a continuum is empirically valid. This aspect of the typology discussed in Chapter 3 was found to be unidimensional. See: Jacoby, Arthur P., "An Investigation of Instrumental and Expressive Voluntary Associations," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester, 1960.

6. A similar approach to this problem is suggested in the work of: L. Festinger, S. Schachter, and K. Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950, and S. Schachter, *The Psychology of Affiliation*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.

Notes to Appendix

1. In a study of the associations of a randomly selected adult population (21 years and over) in the City of Detroit, the investigators found that church and union membership constituted the majority of memberships held. Thus, 58 per cent of all memberships reported in the Detroit area were in a church, a labor union or both. See: *A Social Profile of Detroit: 1952*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, pp. 13-19.

2. It was not possible to utilize the "t" test in any single case in the analysis of the data within the limitations suggested by Hagood and Price although the "t" test was applied where the chi square did not prove applicable. See: M. Hagood, and D. O. Price, *Statistics for Sociologists*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, pp. 253-255.

3. This is a modification of the convention suggested by Guilford. See: J. P. Guilford, *Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education* (Third Ed.), New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., pp. 234-35.

4. Hereafter, in any table wherein the relationships measured are designated as "statistically significant" the meaning will be that the relationship is probably not due to chance .05 or less of the time.

5. See: Babchuk, N., and C. W. Gordon, "The Child as a Prototype of the Naive Informant in the Interview Situation," *American Sociological Review*, 1958, 23, pp. 196-198.

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