

"A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO CONTRASTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF A SMALL CITY:  
FORMAL AND INFORMAL PARTICIPATION IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES"

by |

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A. B., Manhattan Bible College, 1962

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A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

1967

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#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to his faculty advisor Professor Ralph Dakin whose thoughtful guidance and constructive criticism has contributed in a large measure to the completion of this study.

At various stages, others have given of their time, thought, and efforts as well as encouragement. Among these: Dr. Joseph Rogers who obligingly read the manuscript and offered many editorial suggestions, Dr. Leslie Marcus who provided consultation services regarding statistical analyses, Gail Bell and Tow Rowland who shared in the designing of the study, numerous students who were part of the research team that collected the data, and finally, my wife who contributed moral support and many hours of typing.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM, REVIEW OF LITERATURE, THEORY, AND HYPOTHESES

#### The Problem

The social structure of the city long has been under investigation and rightly so since "one of the most significant sociological phenomena of our time is the rapid urbanization...which is bringing enormous changes in the major patterns of human social organization..."<sup>1</sup>

Students of urban social organization have shown concern for the dimensions of social relations of the city. Their efforts have been concentrated on investigating the directions in which such relations are structured within the urban setting. Are social relations in the city predominantly secondary in nature or is informal association or participation as much a part of the urban setting as it is in rural life? This has been the prime question that they have sought to answer.

While it is important to know the overall extent of participation, both formal and informal, the necessity of understanding the ecological patterning of such participation is equally important. The urban constellation is made up a mosaic of distinctive social areas, for as Park states: "...every city, has its more or less exclusive residential areas or suburbs; its areas of light and of heavy industry, satellite cities,...every American

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<sup>1</sup>Kimball Young and Raymond W. Mack, Sociology and Social Life (New York: American Book Company, 1959), p. 279.



city has its elums; its ghettoes, its immigrant coloniss, regions which maintain more or less alish and exotic cultures..."<sup>2</sup> Park, moreover, maintains that each natural arsa of a city has its own sub-cultural valus system. He wrote: "Every natural arsa has, or tsnds to havs, its own psuliar traditions, customs, conventions, standards of dscency and propristy, and if not a language of its own, at lsest a univrse of discourse, in which words and acts have a msaning which is appreciably different for each local community..."<sup>3</sup> Thus, the nature of social participation could be dstrminsd, at lsest in part, by the typps of sub-cultural systems existing within a community, with emphasis in some scological arsas on formal participation and, in others, on informal participation.

We do not as yst havs dsfinitive answers as to the patterns which formal and informal participation aseume in the various types of natural arsas to be found in urban communitiss. Nor havs we as yst as Bell and Boat havs suggested..."dstrmined the conditions which givs riss to informal or formal social relations the most and those which do not."<sup>4</sup>

The purposa of this study, is to empirically rssearch two racially and socio-ecnomically dietinot arsas of a city in terms of both informal and formal social participation to determine if they diffsr with respect to lsevl and typps. In addition, this author will attempt to acertain the relationship between community attitudss and the nature and extnt of social participation. Formal and informal participation will be further analyzed in tsrms of csrtain sociological variables: they ars incoms, occupation,

<sup>2</sup>Robert E. Park, Human Communitiss (Glsnoce, Illinois: The Fres Prsss, 1952), p. 196.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>4</sup>Wsdell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (January, 1957), p. 392.

education, sex, age, number of children in the family, and length of residence in the city.

Essentially, there are three main areas of investigation: (1) Extent of formal and informal participation in two contrasting socio-economic areas, (2) relationship between formal and informal participation, and (3) community attitudes as related to participation.

Some of the basic questions involved in this problem are: (1) What are the differences in levels of formal and informal participation in the low socio-economic area and the high socio-economic area?, (2) What are the patterns of formal participation of the low and high socio-economic area as related to social variables such as those listed above?, (3) What are the patterns of informal participation of the low and high socio-economic areas as related to these variables?, (4) To what extent do attitudes toward the community differ in the low and high socio-economic areas?, and (5) To what extent are certain attitudes and certain participation levels associated (or related)?

#### Review of the Literature

The review of the literature will be presented in the following order: formal participation, informal participation, relationship between formal and informal participation, and attitudes and social participation.

Formal participation.—Empirical study of formal participation in the American society has not been lacking. The literature contains a wealth of material which presents the overall extent and nature of formal participation as related to certain sociological variables.<sup>5</sup> However, of special relevance

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<sup>5</sup>Selected examples are: Morris Axelrod, "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Large Urban Community," (University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1954); Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16 (October, 1951), pp. 687-93; Howard E. Freeman, Edwin Novak and Leo G.

to this research is the literature existing on the comparative studies of formal participation relating to distinct social areas of communities.

Several studies have compared the participation patterns of persons residing in different parts of cities. Zimmer and Hawley explored the differences and/or similarities between the central city residents and fringe residents.<sup>6</sup> Essentially, they found that a significant difference existed between the two areas. The central city reported 43.1 per cent of respondents as having memberships in some organization as opposed to 24.7 per cent in the fringe area. Controlling various demographic characteristics, they found the following to be significant: At the age levels of 35-49 and 50 years and over, the central city had a higher proportion belonging to organizations than did the fringe area. With regard to education, central city residents at educational levels 9-12 and 13 and over had significantly more memberships in voluntary associations than did their counterparts living in the fringe area. With respect to income level, the central city residents held

Reeder, "Correlates of Memberships in Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (October, 1957), pp. 528-33; Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 11 (December, 1946), pp. 686-98; W. G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 6 (June, 1941), pp. 380-84; Mhyra S. Minnis, "Cleavage In Women's Organizations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 18 (February, 1953), pp. 47-53; Joan Moore, "Pattern's of Women's Participation in Formal Associations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 66 (May, 1961), pp. 592-98; Leonard Reissman, "Class, Leisure, and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (February, 1954), pp. 76-84; John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Organizations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (June, 1957), pp. 315-26; Odell Uzzell, "Institution Membership and Class Levels," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 37 (July-August, 1953), pp. 390-94; Charles E. Wright and Herbert Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (June, 1958), pp. 284-93; Basil Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants In Urban Structure," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20 (April, 1955), pp. 218-24.

<sup>6</sup>Basil G. Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley, "The Significance of Membership In Associations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 65 (September, 1959), pp. 196-201.

significantly more memberships at the income level of one hundred dollars a week and over than did the fringe residents of the same income level. In terms of occupation, the central city residents who were proprietors, managers, clerical and sales, and also non-working people held significantly more memberships than their counterparts who resided in the fringe areas. Considering family composition, the central city residents who had children of school age had a significantly higher proportion with memberships than was the case in the fringe areas. Thus, Zimmer and Hawley feel that place of residence in the city does affect the amount of formal participation. They succinctly state: "Life in the fringe is clearly not conducive to membership in formal associations, at least not anything like the extent that is obtained in the city."<sup>7</sup>

A study by Lazerwitz<sup>8</sup> does not substantiate the findings of Zimmer and Hawley. Utilizing data gathered from national surveys by the research center of the University of Michigan, Lazerwitz compared four residential areas (central city residential belt, suburban residential belt, adjacent residential belt, and rural residential belt) relative to formal participation. Considering only the central city and the suburban area (in addition, only those respondents who were Protestants) Lazerwitz reported that each had about the same proportion of non-participants. In the central city 47 per cent belonged to no organizations while the suburban area had 50 per cent belonging to no organizations. Conversely, 25 per cent of the central city residents belonged to two or more organizations while 26 per cent of the suburban areas had memberships in two or more organizations.<sup>9</sup> When controlling education, occupation and economic status, no significant differences were reported between the areas. However, within each of the areas these variables

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>8</sup>Bernard Lazerwitz, "National Data on Participation Rates Among Residential Belts," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (October, 1962), pp. 692-96.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 692.

followed distinct patterns. The higher the educational level, the higher the proportion of the population belonging to two or more organizations. A direct relationship was also reported with family income. Of families with less than \$4,000, only 10 per cent of those within central cities and 11 per cent in suburban areas belonged to two or more organizations. However, families with an income of over \$7,500 belonged to two or more organizations in the proportions of 50 per cent in the central cities and 43 per cent in the suburbs.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, while Lazewitz concludes "...suburban belt residents tend to be less active than...central city residents..."<sup>11</sup> he is quick to point out that any difference between the residential belts is only slight and not so clear cut and differentiated as suggested by Zimmer and Hawley. Lazewitz feels that Zimmer's study cannot be generalised to the national urban population as a whole since the study represents only one particular city.<sup>12</sup>

Several studies have analyzed the extent of formal participation according to low or high socio-economic areas or with areas exhibiting racial homogeneity. Bell and Force<sup>13</sup> classified the areas of San Francisco according to economic and family status. They derived four areas: Mission (low family and low economic status), Pacific Heights (low family and high economic status), Outer Mission (high family and low economic), and St. Francis Wood (high family and high economic status).

Comparing the different areas in terms of number of memberships in formal organizations, Bell and Force reported that the high economic areas contained relatively larger proportion of men who belong to a greater number

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 695.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 696.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 696.

<sup>13</sup>Wendell Bell and Marianne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, (February, 1956), pp. 25-34.

of organizations. St. Francis Wood (high family, high economic) and Pacific Heights (low family, high economic) reported 66.1 per cent and 35.6 per cent respectively of men who belong to three or more organizations; the percentages in the low economic areas were 16.8 per cent in Mission (low family, low economic) and 12.9 per cent in Outer Mission (high family, low economic).<sup>14</sup>

Actual participation in the formal organizations was also greatest among those persons who resided in the high economic areas. In the high economic areas, Pacific Heights (low family, high economic) reported 30.9 per cent and St. Francis Wood (high family, high economic) 26.9 per cent of men attending meetings more than once a week. All areas had about the same proportion of men reporting no participation at all.<sup>15</sup>

Comparing education, occupation, and income within each neighborhood, Bell and Force found a tendency for the frequent participators to have higher education, have white collar occupations, and higher incomes. However, holding each of these constant, the men who resided in the high economic areas remained the most frequent attenders at each level.

In analyzing marital status, age of children, employment status of wife, and type of dwelling unit, Bell and Force reported no significant relationships or patterns within each of the neighborhoods.

The age factor seemed to operate differently in the two economic areas. Bell and Force reported a direct relationship existing in the high economic areas. In other words, the proportion of men who were active participators increased with age. However, this was not the case in the two lower status neighborhoods. They had the highest participation during middle age with a tapering off during the sixties.

Racial ghettos as social areas are of prime importance in the investigation of formal and informal participation since their patterns of behavior

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

are not always comparable to the more general social structure of society. Thus, the racial factor is a focal point of this research.

Myrdal, in An American Dilemma,<sup>16</sup> cites the extensiveness of voluntary associations in Negro communities. Myrdal contends that the American Negro is more of a 'joiner' than whites. In 1937, a study of Chicago showed that 275,000 Negroes sustained 4,000 formal associations. Again, in an earlier study of Natchez, Mississippi, 200 Negro associations were discovered in a Negro population of 7,500.<sup>17</sup> However, the predominant type of formal organization of Negroes in these studies was the expressive type with restrictive membership.

A more recent study done in a large midwestern city corroborates Myrdal's findings. Babchuk and Thompson<sup>18</sup> found that 75 per cent of the respondents belonged to one or more formal organizations. Social class was found to be a determinant of social participation with a "direct relationship between occupational rank and educational achievement, family income, and membership in voluntary groups."<sup>19</sup>

Babchuk and Thompson also studied marital status, residential mobility, home ownership, religious affiliation, and sex in relation to memberships in voluntary associations. Essentially, the following describe the results: (1) Marital Status--married respondents were more likely to join; however, a higher proportion of the non-married than of the married belonged to four or more associations--i.e. were high level joiners; (2) Residential Mobility--the longer the residence in the community, the less the chance of being

<sup>16</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944).

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 952.

<sup>18</sup>Nicholas Babchuk and Ralph V. Thompson, "Voluntary Associations of Negroes," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (October, 1962), p. 647-55.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 651.

non-affiliated; (3) Home Ownership--there were no differences between home owners and non-home owners in proportions holding memberships in associations but home owners were more likely to hold more memberships; (4) Religious Affiliation--only 12.5 per cent of the population did not belong to any church and were not members of any organizations; (5) Sex--males were affiliated more than females.<sup>20</sup>

A study of Columbia, Missouri, by Ladinsky reports that, of a Negro population of 2,500, 37 per cent were members in formal organizations with an average of 1.7 memberships per person.<sup>21</sup> Additional studies on the national level report differences in memberships between whites and Negroes. The survey American Institute of Public Opinion reported 55 per cent whites belonging and 54 per cent Negroes. The National Opinion Research Center survey showed 37 per cent whites belonging as opposed to 27 per cent Negroes.<sup>22</sup>

To recapitulate, the evidence indicates that central city residents are more likely to belong to organizations than are suburban residents. However, no conclusive evidence is available to suggest that the participation of central city residents differs significantly from the suburban rates; although Zimmer and Hawley, in a study of a single locale, found the differences to be significant, a national study indicated no such significant differences. More crucial to affiliation in organizations is the nature of the area in terms of socio-economic differences. It was found that residents of high status areas are more likely to belong and to be more active in formal organizations than are those of low status areas. There is some disagreement regarding racial differences. Two national surveys American Institute of

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 651-52.

<sup>21</sup>Jack Ladinsky, "Voluntary Associations and Social Participation of Negroes in a Small City," (unpublished Master's thesis, School of Sociology, University of Missouri, 1957), p. 75.

<sup>22</sup>Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fleie Fava, Urban Society, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 389.



Public Opinion and National Opinion Research Center report that whites have a larger proportion belonging to formal organizations than Negroes. On the other hand, studies by Myrdal and Babchuk report Negroes manifest higher rates of formal participation than whites of comparable status.

Informal participation.--The literature on informal participation in the city clearly substantiates the fact that urbanites are not maintaining predominantly impersonal and secondary contacts, as has often been contended. Axelrod, in his study of Detroit, reported that most people had frequent contact in one form or another with informal groups. Sixty-two per cent of the men reported associating with relatives a few times or more a month, 47 per cent associated with friends a few times or more a month, 38 per cent of the population reported the same frequency with neighbors, and 20 per cent of the population associated with co-workers a few times or more a month.<sup>23</sup> Smith, Form, and Stone found, in their study of personal contacts in a middle sized city, that only 15.2 per cent of a sample of 573 respondents did not report as many as three friends and only 4.5 per cent reported none.<sup>24</sup> Finally, Bell and Boat reported, in their study of San Francisco, that the majority of men in the four areas sampled had relatively frequent informal contacts. The percentage of men participating about once a week or more in such contacts was 62 per cent in Mission (low family, low economic), 63 per cent in Pacific Heights (low family, high economic), 72 per cent in Outer Mission (high family, low economic), and 74 per cent in St. Francis Wood (high family, high economic). Conversely, those who participated once a year or never was less than 5 per cent in all areas.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Morrie Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956), p. 14.

<sup>24</sup>Joel Smith, William Form, and Gregory Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-Sized City," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60 (November, 1954), p. 277.

<sup>25</sup>Bell and Boat, op. cit., p. 392.

The literature presents several studies which were undertaken to compare the differences in areas with respect to informal participation. A study in Columbia, South Carolina, by James H. Williams sought to relate the total number of friends of housewives to their social status, their age, and their memberships in formal organizations. The sample consisted of married women who resided in two distinct areas: one was characterized by high status and the other by low status. Williams reported a high positive association between status and number of close friends. Sixty-eight per cent of the women in the higher status groups, but only 37 per cent of the low status groups reported six or more close friends.<sup>26</sup> In controlling the housewives' length of neighborhood residence, place of birth, childhood residence, employment, household composition, and age he found a significant direct relationship between high status and number of close friends. However, when he controlled status, he found that the housewives' number of close friends was not associated with length of neighborhood residence, place of birth and childhood residence.<sup>27</sup>

Smith, Form, and Stone compared residential origins of intimacy by averaging the intimacy scores of their respondents within each of the city's twenty-eight census tracts. An analysis of these tracts indicated that the highest intimacy scores came from areas that were high in the socio-economic structure. They suggested the hypothesis that "the existence of local sub-area intimacy is associated with socio-economic level."<sup>28</sup> This was later confirmed by another part of the study they conducted when they interviewed 125 respondents in areas designated as high, middle, and low economic areas.

<sup>26</sup>James H. Williams, "Close Friendship Relations of Housewives Residing in An Urban Community," Social Forces, Vol. 36 (May, 1958), p. 359.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>28</sup>Smith, Form, and Stone, op. cit., p. 278.

Those residing in the high-income area reported more of their friends lived within the area than would have been expected if only chance factors operated.<sup>29</sup>

Albert J. Reiss, Jr. undertook a study to test the differences in types of interpersonal contacts between three types of residents: urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm. Each of these was further divided into higher and lower status. The status variable was dichotomized by classifying the urban population of Nashville, Tennessee, into white collar and manual-worker census tracts. His sample consisted of white married males, age twenty to sixty-five with regular full time jobs, thus controlling sex, age, marital status, and employment status. Using the time-budget method of gathering data (which is essentially finding out how and with whom a respondent spent one work day), he coded his data into the following categories of persons with whom respondents came into contact:

1. Intimate Kinship-nuclear family members and extended kin members.
2. Close Intimate Friends-very close friends, best friends, etc.
3. Close Associate or Client-close friends deriving from a work context, whether or not actually seen at work.
4. Good Friend-persons defined as "close friends" and "good friends."
5. Distant Associate or Casual Acquaintance-fellow workers not defined as friends and persons with whom one has a speaking acquaintance.
6. Cordial Recognition-persons whom one recognizes in address and to whom one says hello.
7. Pure Client-persons whom one doesn't know personally, but one with whom contact is made and these with whom interaction takes place in a client relationship.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>30</sup>Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Rural-Urban and Status Differences in Interpersonal Contacts," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 65 (September, 1959), p. 184.

Disregarding the results he found between the three types of residence and considering only the results between the high and low status groups of urban residence, Reies reported that there were no significant differences for all friendship contacts. This was due, he said, to a cancelling out effect "...the urban males of high status have a greater variance in contact with close intimate friends than do those of low status. But the latter (low status) have a greater variance in contact with good friends than do those of high status."<sup>31</sup> By variance is meant the time spent in these personal contacts. Secondly, considering the mean time spent in each of these daily contacts, he again found no significant differences between urban high and low status.

Axelrod, in his study of Detroit, reported that the high social status respondents had a greater tendency than did the lower status persons to have high informal participation. Defining frequent informal participation as getting together at least a few times a month or more, Axelrod reported that 34 per cent of the lowest status group were frequent participators with friends as compared to 62 per cent of the highest status category. Contacts with neighbors and co-workers showed the same relationship as did those with friends.<sup>32</sup> Even when using only income as a factor in informal participation, it was reported that those with the highest income were more likely to be frequent participators informally. Of those having family incomes of less than \$3,000, only 21 per cent had 20 or more informal contacts within a two month period while 38 per cent of those whose family income was \$7,000 and over reported having 20 or more during the same period of time.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>32</sup>Axelrod, A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation In A Large Urban Community, p. 119.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

Judith T. Shuval studied class and ethnic differences as related to neighboring. Her results corroborate those of Axelrod. In general, the higher the social class of a respondent, the more likely he was to be engaged in neighboring behavior. Thus, for the three class positions (high, middle, and low) the percentage having positive neighboring behavior was 54, 42, and 32 per cent respectively.<sup>34</sup> Dichotomizing ethnic groups into European and non-European and comparing for neighboring behavior, no significant differences were found. However, among both European and non-European groups there was a direct relationship between neighboring behavior and social class position.

The previously cited studies indicate the general extent of informal participation within an urban setting; other studies have attempted to determine the level of association with type of informal group.

Bell and Boat in their classic study of San Francisco, compared four social areas as to frequency of participation in four types of informal groups. The four informal groups were relatives, co-workers, friends, and neighbors. The frequency of participation ranged from never to once a week or more.

In comparing the frequency of participation by type of informal groups between the areas of low family status (Mission and Pacific Heights) and the areas of high family status (Outer Mission and St. Francis Wood), Bell and Boat reported that the participation levels with neighbors and friends varied inversely with family status. They concluded:

"Thus the amount of family life in an urban neighborhood appears to affect the degree to which men are socially isolated from their neighbors and from their relatives; men living in neighborhoods characterized by relatively few children, many women in the labor force, and many multiple dwellings being more isolated from these

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>34</sup>Judith T. Shuval, "Class and Ethnic Correlates of Casual Neighboring," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (August, 1956), p. 456.

groups than men living in areas characterized by relatively many children, few women in the labor force, and many single-family detached dwellings..."<sup>35</sup>

Comparing the areas, controlling for economic status, Bell and Boat found no significant differences between high and low economic areas with respect to overall informal participation. However, certain trends seemed apparent. There was an inverse relationship between isolation from co-workers and neighborhood and economic status. Bell and Boat also reported that those in the low economic areas were more likely to be isolated from their friends as opposed to those in the high economic areas.

The importance of the kinship group as a source of informal contact was reported by Bell and Boat. Considering the frequency of participation with relatives, Mission (low family, low economic) reported 33 per cent, Pacific Heights (low family, high economic) 30 per cent, Outer Mission (high family, low economic) 45 per cent, and St. Francis Wood (high family, high economic) 42 per cent of men getting together with relatives about once a week or more.<sup>36</sup> Further evidence for the support of the role that the kinship group still plays in the lives of urbanites was indicated when each respondent was asked to name the person whom he could depend upon to take care of him in case of sickness. Relatives were the most often named group with friends, co-workers, and neighbors following respectively.

Greer, in his study of two Los Angeles areas, substantiates the importance of the kinship group as reported by Bell and Boat. The most important social relationship within the two areas was with the kinship group. Nearly half of the respondents for both areas visited their relatives at least once a week and a large majority visited their relatives at least once

<sup>35</sup>Bell and Boat, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 394.

a month.<sup>37</sup>

Axelrod, in his general study of Detroit, sought out the type of informal group that people get together with most frequently. He reported that 49 per cent participated with relatives at least once a week. About 28 per cent of the population reported frequent participation with friends and neighbors while only 12 per cent acknowledged getting together with co-workers at least once a week.<sup>38</sup> It appears, then, that relatives are the group which have the highest frequency of participation followed by friends, neighbors, and co-workers respectively. This order of the four types of informal groups is essentially maintained regardless of variation in age, sex or occupation. However, social status, family income, and level of education show a different pattern. For those who have high status, high income, or some college education friends replace relatives as the source of most frequent participation. Axelrod attributes this to the fact that people in these particular social or economic subgroups have a much wider range of choice than other persons.<sup>39</sup>

Summing up then, there is substantial evidence indicating that people in urban areas do not rely predominantly on secondary social relations; nor is there any evidence that the majority of people are social isolates. Quite the contrary, urbanites do live in a world where informal relations are prevalent. There are some discrepancies between studies of urban social areas in regard to informal participation. Several studies report differences between economic areas: the higher the economic area the greater the informal participation. Other studies, however, report no significant

<sup>37</sup>Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas In A Metropolis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956), p. 22.

<sup>38</sup>Axelrod, A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation In A Large Urban Community, p. 112.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 115-24.

differences. This author is unable to account for the discrepancy between these studies. In part, this research project will attempt to resolve the differences or at least provide additional evidence on this matter. There is agreement among the studies as to which type of informal groups are most often the source of participation. Contrary to the often expressed contention that the kinship group is no longer an important primary group to the city dweller, the various studies report that relatives predominate as the source of informal participation. They are followed by friends, neighbors, and co-workers respectively. The only departure from this pattern is those who are in the higher status, income, or education groups replace relatives with friends.

Relationship between formal and informal participation.--The literature presents the relationship between formal and informal participation around three main focal points. (1) The degree to which formal organizations serve as agencies in bringing friends together; (2) the number of friends one has and the extent of his formal participation; and (3) comparing the frequency that one participates in formal organizations with the frequency that he participates in informal groups.

Bell and Boat, in their study of San Francisco, found that formal organizations serve as a means of bringing people together on an informal basis. Fifty-one per cent of the members reported that they had nine or more close friends who were members of the same organizations.<sup>40</sup>

In considering the relation between friendship and formal participation, Scott reported that persons with fifty or more friends had a considerable high formal participation rate than persons with fewer than fifty friends.<sup>41</sup> Babchuk, in his study of voluntary associations of Negroes,

<sup>40</sup>Bell and Boat, op. cit., p. 397.

<sup>41</sup>Scott, op. cit., p. 322.



found that persons with many friends were also likely to be high level participators in formal associations. Those with six or more close friends were not only inclined to belong but had more multiple memberships.<sup>42</sup> Riley and Flowerman studied 400 children in New Jersey with respect to group relations as a variable in communications research. They found that the high communicators (those with a large number of contacts) reported greater associations with peers and also belonged to more clubs.<sup>43</sup> Eisenstadt, in a study of immigrants in Israel, reported that low communicators (those having a small number of friendship contacts) were also very limited in formal participation. Only 12 to 15 per cent of them belonged to formal organizations.<sup>44</sup> Fanelli, in analyzing the association between community participation (overt action in solving community problems or working on some project and actual participation in formal organization) and extensiveness of communication contacts (number of friends), reported that 57 per cent of high communicators were active participators while only 17 per cent of low communicators were active participators.<sup>45</sup> In addition, he found that high informal communicators in the low status groups were no more likely to participate in formal affairs of the community than low communicators of the same status group.

Axelrod compared his respondents' formal group participation with their informal participation. Generally speaking, those who were highly active in formal associations tended to have somewhat less informal participation. In fact, those who had very frequent informal contacts accounted

<sup>42</sup>Babchuk and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 652.

<sup>43</sup>Matilda White Riley and Samuel H. Flowerman, "Group Relations as a Variable in Communications Research," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16 (April, 1951), p. 175.

<sup>44</sup>S. N. Eisenstadt, "Conditions of Communicative Receptivity," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 17 (Fall, 1953), p. 364.

<sup>45</sup>Alexander Fanelli, "Extensiveness of Communication Contacts and Perceptions of the Community," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (August, 1956), p. 443.

for the greater percentage (68%) of respondents who either attended formal meetings rarely or were non-members. This same trend was observed when comparing individual informal groups (relatives, friends, co-workers, and neighbors). He stated, "persons who have least frequent contact, but more often than none at all, with any of the types of informal groups, generally appear to have high formal group participation."<sup>46</sup> Dotson, in his New Haven study of middle-class working families, seemed to substantiate the findings of Axelrod in that he found that the majority of the urban working class people did not participate in formal organizations; yet this does not mean they lived in social isolation; rather, their active social life was largely confined to informal leisure-time activities that took place in intimate cliques, made up primarily of relatives.<sup>47</sup>

Briefly restating the interrelationship between formal and informal participation, it seems that one who is participating at a higher level formally also has a greater number of friends; however, having more friends does not indicate a higher level of informal participation; rather, some studies show that very active formal participators tend to be less active in informal groups.

Attitudes and social participation.--The previous sections have presented the relationship of formal and informal participation mainly to sociological factors. However, several studies were examined which related attitudes to social participation.

Freeman, Novak, and Reeder were not satisfied with the usual explanation that social class is the prime factor associated with affiliation in formal organizations. They maintained that the variables so often used in defining social class were too insensitive, thus giving a low correlation

<sup>46</sup>Axelrod, op. cit., p. 151.

<sup>47</sup>Dotson, op. cit., p. 693.

to membership and social class. They attempted, therefore, to employ what they considered to be important variables relating to formal memberships and, by utilizing certain statistical techniques, were able to determine which ones were most important. The four variables were: (1) social class, (2) community satisfaction, (3) community pessimism vs. community optimism, and (4) job and residential mobility. The significant empirical findings of this study were that community attitudes were positively associated with membership in voluntary associations.<sup>48</sup> The more optimistic the individual, the greater the number of memberships he holds in formal organizations. Confirming their hypothesis that certain social class variables are too insensitive they found that the use of additional variables to measure social class fails to increase the power of class as a predictor of membership in voluntary associations.

Judith T. Shuval studied casual neighboring using two variables: predisposition to interpersonal contact and actual neighboring behavior. Four questions were asked to determine their predisposition:

"Whether the respondent liked to visit his neighbors in the community, whether he liked his neighbors to visit him, whether he enjoyed chatting with neighbors when strolling in the community, and whether he enjoyed getting to know new neighbors in the community."<sup>49</sup>

Essentially, her results indicate that those who had a positive predisposition to interpersonal contact also had a higher level of actual neighboring behavior. This trend was apparent when she used social class as a variable. The higher the class the higher the percentage of positive predisposition to interpersonal contact and also the higher the actual proportion of neighboring behavior.

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<sup>48</sup>Freeman, Novak, and Reeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 528-33.

<sup>49</sup>Shuval, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

Fanelli undertook a study of the number of contacts a person had as related to the individual's perception of and participation in the community. He maintained that the individual's perception of the community and his actual participation in the affairs of the community would be associated with the extensiveness of his communication contacts (extensiveness referring to number of friends rather than frequency of contacts with them).

Essentially, the results bear out the hypothesis. High communicators were more strongly identified with the community (42 per cent) than were the low communicators (only 28 per cent). Moreover, status was an important factor. Those who were of the high status category were more likely to be high communicators and be more strongly identified with the community than were those of the low status category. Within the low status category, respondents who were high communicators were no more identified with the community than were low communicators.<sup>50</sup>

Rose investigated the possible relationship that might exist between social participation and the extent that a person had become socialized into his general culture. His general hypothesis was that positive socialized attitudes were more likely to be found among high participant persons. His data confirmed this hypothesis. Those people reporting many friends and many or some organizational affiliation had more optimistic attitudes, greater satisfaction with their lives, and more confidence in society than groups reporting fewer friends and no formal affiliations.<sup>51</sup>

To recapitulate, it can be generally stated that social participation is directly related to community attitudes. Specifically, higher class status persons seem to have more favorable attitudes toward the community and participate more than those of lower status positions; in addition, those who are

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<sup>50</sup>Fanelli, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

<sup>51</sup>Arnold Rose, "Attitudinal Correlates of Social Participation," *Social Forces*, Vol. 37 (March, 1959), pp. 202-06.

active participators tend to have more positive attitudes toward the community.

### Theory of Social Participation

Sociology is the science of human inter-relationship. Man is a social animal; consequently, to posit human behavior as that which exists apart from and independent of others is contrary to all sociological imagination. Man develops as a social animal only as he establishes relationships with other human beings. Robert E. Park succinctly states: "Man is not born human; it is only slowly and laboriously, in fruitful contact, co-operation, and conflict with his fellows, that he attains distinctive qualities of human nature."<sup>52</sup> Classic examples in sociology which illustrate the effects of social isolation are such cases as Anna,<sup>53</sup> Kamala and Amala,<sup>54</sup> and Isabelle.<sup>55</sup> They clearly show that, denied interaction with others, the potential of human development is not fully realized.

Man lives in a meaningful world of social relationships and from these interactions develop the social structure of society with which the sociologists have paramount concern. Analysis of the social structure begins with the empirical investigations of the 'social group' which may be defined as "two or more persons who are in communication over an appreciable interval and who act in accordance with a common function."<sup>56</sup>

In classifying social groups, sociologists often employ the typology

<sup>52</sup>Arnold Rose, Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), p. 13.

<sup>53</sup>Kingsley Davis, "Extreme Social Isolation of a Child," American Sociological Review, Vol. 45 (January, 1940), pp. 554-65.

<sup>54</sup>J. A. L. Singh and Robert M. Zingy, Wolf Children and Feral Man. This work was briefly summarized in the following source: Earl H. Bell, Social Foundations of Human Behavior (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), pp. 19-20.

<sup>55</sup>Kingsley Davis, "Final Notes In a Case of Extreme Isolations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 51 (March, 1947), pp. 432-37.

<sup>56</sup>Francis E. Merrill, Society and Culture (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 47.

of secondary and primary groups.<sup>57</sup> However, utilization of such concepts do not correspond to the empirical reality; rather, the concepts refer to the 'ideal' or 'hypothetical', or at most, they are relative rather than absolute forms.<sup>58</sup>

Cooley first distinguished between the primary and secondary groups by calling attention to the meaning of primary groups:

"By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face to face association and co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a 'we'; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification of which 'we' is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling."<sup>59</sup>

The important primary groups as indicated by Cooley were the family, the play group, and the neighborhood. Since Cooley's time, small group research has shown the importance of the work-team as an influential primary group.<sup>60</sup>

Secondary (formal) groups represent the other extreme of social groups and those whose structures are deliberately and consciously created and organized to realize some specific end or goal. Secondary groups have distinct features of formal leadership, specialized activity, rules for operating, place and time of meeting, etc.<sup>61</sup> Illustrations of such groups are professional associations, civic, hobby, and cultural organizations.

<sup>57</sup>Because formal groups are usually secondary and informal groups primary this writer will use these terms interchangeably.

<sup>58</sup>Alex Inkeles, What is Sociology? (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 72.

<sup>59</sup>Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), p. 23.

<sup>60</sup>Most notable are the Western Electric Hawthorne studies which found that individual productivity was related to the work group rather than environmental conditions such as more light, less light, free meals, no free meals, and more rest, or less rest.

<sup>61</sup>Arnold Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965), p. 391.

Secondary groups by no means dominate the urban social milieu. The prior review of the existing literature has shown that informal social relations play an important part in the urban social structure.

However, the type and frequency of an individual's participation in either formal or informal groups, this author contends, are due, in part, to the degree that one is estranged or alienated from the society at large.<sup>62</sup> Two prime factors which seem to be associated with alienation are social class and race.

Social class as an important variable in human behavior has long been recognized. Warner says that social class is "a major determinant of individual decisions and social actions..."<sup>63</sup> Mayer maintains that "the whole range of people's behavior and outlook, their entire way of life, varies between the upper, middle, and lower levels of the status hierarchy..."<sup>64</sup> Alienation as a product of social class behavior is illustrated in several studies done between the upper and lower classes. Hoggart, in a study of working class people in Britian, shows how they were class conscious. He states the working class conceives 'them' as..."the people at the top, the higher-ups, the people who give you your dole, call you up, tell you to go to

<sup>62</sup>Eric and Mary Josephson, Man Alone (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1962), "...alienation has been used by philosophers, psychologist and sociologist to refer to...loss of self, anxiety states, anomie, despair, de-personalization, rootlessness, apathy, social disorganization, loneliness, atomization, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, pessimism, and the loss of beliefs or values. Among the social groups who have been described as alienated in varying degree...are women, industrial workers, white-collar workers, migrant workers...suicides, the mentally disturbed, addicts, the aged...juvenile delinquents...non-voters, consumers, the audiences of mass media, sex deviants, victims of prejudice and discrimination, the prejudiced, bureaucrats, political radicals, the physically handicapped, immigrants, exiles, vagabonds and recluses." pp. 12-13.

<sup>63</sup>W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class In America (New York: Harper & Row, Inc., 1960), p. 6.

<sup>64</sup>Kurt B. Mayer, Class and Society (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 45.

war, fine you,...get you in the end, aren't really to be trusted,...they do you down if they can.."65

Hollingshead, in his study of Elmtown, shows the attitudes held by the upper class toward those of the lower class are ones which tend to alienate the two groups. Concerning the lower classes, it is the opinion of the upper classes that:

"They have no respect for the law, or themselves. They enjoy their shacks and huts along the river or across the river or across the tracks and love their dirty, smoky, low-class dives and taverns. Whole families--children, in-laws, mistresses, and all--live in one shack. This is the crime class that produces the delinquency and sexual promiscuity that fills the paper. Their interests lie in sex and its perversion. The girls are always pregnant; the families are huge; incestual relations occur frequently. They are not inspired by education, and only a few are able to make any attainments along the line. They are loud in their speech, vulgar in their actions, sloppy in their dress, and indifferent toward their plight. Their vocabulary develops as profanity is learned. If they work, they work at very menial jobs. Their life experiences are purely physical, and even these are on a low plane. They have no interest in health and medical care. The men are too lazy to work or do odd jobs around town. They support the Democratic party because of the relief obtained during the depression. This group lives for a Saturday or drinking or fighting. They are of low character and breed and have a criminal record for a pedigree."66

On the other hand the lower class people were quite passive and fatalistic, realizing they were on the bottom and could do nothing to improve their position.

What effects does social class acting as a factor in alienation have on social participation and, particularly, in distinct socio-economic areas? As the review of the literature adequately shows, social class is

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<sup>66</sup>August Hollingshead, "Those On The Bottom," Man Alone, ed. Eric and Mary Josephson, op. cit., p. 302.



related to formal participation. The higher socio-economic classes participate more in and monopolize the offices of the formal associations.<sup>67</sup> Those who are somewhat estranged from these leaders would not be expected to participate in organizations dominated by them. As a matter of fact, there is some evidence that they tend to establish a limited number of compensatory associations for their own level (e.g. labor unions) and to be otherwise attached to less formal groupings.<sup>68</sup>

The relationship between social class and informal participation is not, however, a simple one. Higher socio-economic people have more friends and there is some thinking that this is related to their higher levels of formal participation through diffusion of their contacts. But there is no real indication that they generally have higher frequency of informal participation. This author postulates that, due to alienation, the lower class people are unable to find expression of self in formal organizations in the community at large; they will compensate for this deficit of formal participation by having increased informal participation within their particular cultural sub-groupings. On the other hand, the upper class people find both formal and informal participation available but they express themselves predominately through formal channels. This, of course, does not deny the upper class people informal social relations; rather, such relations are mainly found within the formal organizations. Essentially then, this 'compensation effect' for increased informal activity will be higher for the lower class people when compared to the upper class. On the other hand, formal participation will be greater for upper class individuals than for lower class people.

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<sup>68</sup>Nicholas Babchuk and C. Wayne Gordon, The Voluntary Associations in the Slums. (Lincoln, Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 116.

In addition, the racial factor is all too often overlooked in describing the urban social structure. Racial differences often preclude social intercourse. For example, Minnie reported that 90 per cent of the organizations found within the city were racially exclusive.<sup>69</sup> However, this does not mean that certain minority groups are deprived of formal group participation; rather, the literature persuasively indicates that certain racial groups are rather high joiners in their own particular organizations. The fact remains, though, that many racial areas are without extensive formal associations either because they are unable to sustain them due to size of the population or because they feel they have no right to participate in the existing associations which would be predominantly of white membership.

Again the lack of racial involvement in formal participation can be explained in part by alienation. According to Josephson and Josephson, basic to the definition of alienation<sup>70</sup> is the idea that man has lost his identity or selfhood. How is the selfhood developed? Mainly through interaction with others. This process Cooley called the 'the looking-glass self' and Mead developed it in terms of 'taking the role of the other.' How does the Negro develop his self-image? First of all, he is usually a member of the lower class and generally he sees himself as the upper class views him: being resigned to a life of frustration and defeat in a community that despises him for his disregard of morals, lack of success goals, and dire poverty.<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, not only does the Negro find his class position a problem but the very fact that he is a Negro poses a problem in the development of

<sup>69</sup>Minnie, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>70</sup>Josephson and Josephson, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>71</sup>Hollingshead, "Those On The Bottom," Josephson and Josephson, op. cit., p. 302.

his self image. As Du Bois vividly states: "to be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships."<sup>72</sup>

Bernard states:

"...in the past when insults, humiliation, jeers, rejection, and degradation had made pride impossible and self-hatred common, treatment as inferiors had made Negroes accept collective values and hence themselves as inferiors. Even when, as among professional people, there was a facade of equality, the Negro knew his place; he was deferential; he kowtowed to the white man. When both Negroes and whites shared this common image, it was impossible for the Negro to look the white man straight in the eye; his eye faltered because he knew that the white man knew that he knew that he expected to be treated as an inferior."<sup>73</sup>

Thus, the Negro fulfills the role that is derived from the larger society. Relatively, he fails to participate in the majority of the society's associations because he has defined himself as a marginal man. Again, this author postulates that the felt deficit of formal participation among the Negro group will be compensated for by increasing solidarity within their own sub-cultural system expressed through increased informal participation.

Also, apparently related to social participation, are attitudes.

This author concurs with Rose in that it is necessary to ascertain the relation between social participation and certain kinds of attitudes for two reasons: (1) "Those who have certain attitudes are more likely to be drawn into social participation, and (2) social participation tends to develop a certain outlook on life which non-participants are less likely to acquire."<sup>74</sup> Moreover, studies have shown the importance of interaction with others and the acquisition of certain attitudes and resulting behavior

<sup>72</sup>Josephson and Josephson, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

<sup>73</sup>Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962), p. 233.

<sup>74</sup>Arnold Rose, "Attitudinal Correlates of Social Participation," *op. cit.*, p. 206.

patterns.<sup>75</sup> Essentially, they show that the attitudes one acquires are derived from his social groups.

Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that certain peoples, differentiated either because of social class or race, will reflect different attitudes toward the city with the result that differences in formal and informal participation will be observed. Higher socio-economic areas will have more favorable attitudes toward their milieu, and more of an action orientation. The lower classes will be more disillusioned and fatalistic. The former will have the higher rate of formal participation, (that is, becoming involved in organizations that will be, at least in part, geared to environment). With respect to informal participation, this author postulates that the low socio-economic areas will have higher informal rates and will be more favorable in neighboring attitudes as contrasted to the higher socio-economic areas which will be lower in informal participation and will reflect more reserved attitudes toward neighbors.

Essentially, the theory presented thus far has emphasized the differences that formal and informal participation will assume in distinct socio-economic areas. Specifically, informal participation (in terms of type of informal activity--visiting and recreation--and according to type of informal contact--relatives, neighbors, and friends) will be highest in low socio-economic areas that are characterized by low formal participation.<sup>76</sup> Conversely, formal participation will be highest in high socio-economic areas

<sup>75</sup>Some notable studies are: F. M. Thrasher, The Gang, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); Harvey W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

<sup>76</sup>It is expected that informal participation through telephoning and with co-workers will be higher in the upper socio-economic area. These exceptions will be discussed later in this chapter.

where actual informal participation will be lower when compared to areas of low socio-economic status.

In addition, within low socio-economic areas where there exist mixed racial groups (whites and Negroes) the effects of race on social participation will be evident. Negroes will more likely be lower in formal participation than whites of comparable status because the racial factor would have an additive effect along with the factor of class. Thus, the Negro must not only contend with his class position but also with the fact that he is a Negro. Therefore, lower whites will be expected to have greater formal participation than Negroes but Negroes will compensate and have higher levels of informal participation.

While the focal point is area differences of social participation some attention is devoted to the patterns of informal participation that exists within the low and high socio-economic areas. As previously stated, it is expected that those of the upper socio-economic area will develop their social network primarily through formal participation. Because they are oriented toward striving and getting ahead they are constantly searching for the right contacts through which they can enhance their social position. Formal organizations thus serves the function of social and economic advancement. Their involvement in formal organizations will affect their structuring of certain types of informal participation. They will use the media of telephoning more extensively than other types of informal activities (e.g. visiting and recreation) because through the use of the telephone they are able to develop more extensive personal contacts than through the other types of informal activities. Because those of the lower area are, relative to higher socio-economic people, less inclined toward status striving, etc., they will not have the manipulative approach toward the social system; most of them, reconciled to the fact they are not likely to rise from the lower class will

engage primarily in appreciative type of informal activity such as visiting. For both areas, recreation will be the least frequent type of informal activity.

In regards to types of informal contacts, area differences will occur. For example, contacts with relatives will differ between low and high socio-economic areas with relatives assuming a more important role in the social network of the lower area than for the upper area. This will be due to the factor of mobility. Upper geographical mobility will tend more toward long distance mobility whereas that of the lower area will be mainly short distance moves within a locale. The first type will tend to reduce the frequency of contacts with relatives for the upper area but will not be a factor for those of the lower area. With respect to co-workers, it will be expected that they will assume greater importance as a source of informal contact for the upper area than will relatives and neighbors; in fact, co-workers will be more important to the upper area than for the lower area. In light of the theoretical structure developed thus far, it seems reasonable to expect this stated pattern. Those of the upper socio-economic area have a 'rational manipulative approach'. They view their job and job contacts as means to make good or to achieve higher status. The lower area, on the other hand, has a more immediate-consumption approach. They feel it doesn't do any good to maneuver because one wouldn't get ahead anyway. Thus they view job contacts as being relatively unimportant. Friends, as source of informal contact, will be the most important type of informal contact for the upper area while the lower area will participate more informally with neighbors. Again, these differences will be due to the orientation toward informal participation that the individuals in these areas have. Those in the upper area will be more selective in their informal associations because they want to have the right contacts, etc., and friends implies more selectivity of contacts. On the other hand, those of the lower area are, first of all, confined to a ghetto

area which inhibits them from a very extended social network and secondly, they are not inclined to approach informal participation as individuals looking for the right contacts that will enhance their social position.

Moreover, social participation, when related to certain variables, will show similar patterns in both areas. Previous studies have shown a direct relationship between formal membership in organizations and income, occupation, and education. Thus, for both socio-economic areas, as income increases an increase in formal memberships would be expected. Higher income persons generally achieve higher occupational positions with more flexible hours of work, facilitating their regular participation in formal organizations. Moreover, as one increases in the occupational status hierarchy, expectations of multiple relationships not characteristic of the low status occupations will develop. As Axelrod states: "...the lawyer must relate to other lawyers, judges, clients, civic leaders, political leaders, businessman, all in his capacity as a lawyer."<sup>77</sup> This would promote organizational affiliation since, "it is within the context of such organizations as Chambers of Commerce, better business bureaus, bar associations, and civic luncheon clubs that such interaction takes place."<sup>78</sup> Education helps to provide an individual with the ability to relate himself to people at large; thus, the higher the educational level of the individual, the more formal organizations he likely would belong to. In terms of sex difference as relating to formal memberships, the traditional role of the woman has centered around the functions of the home with that of the male being related in greater extent to the community at large. Thus, one would hypothesize that the level of memberships held would be less for women than men. Family size and number of formal memberships would tend to be inversely related because of the additional

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<sup>77</sup>Axelrod, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

responsibilities of family care. Finally, length of residence in a city should show a positive relationship to number of formal memberships held. Due to the fact that integration into the structure of the city takes time the residentially stable would plausibly have more memberships and the more mobile people fewer memberships in organizations.

In relating certain social variables to informal participation, a general pattern of behavior will develop regardless of the socio-economic area. Thus, due to the fact that the role of the woman is mainly centered around the home, her participation socially would be mainly in terms of neighboring, visiting, and similar types of activity. We expect, therefore, that women will participate more informally than men. We also expect that informal participation rates will be related to the length of residency in the city. Again, people who are mobile would be less likely to be integrated into the community social structure. According to our expectations, age will be related to informal group participation in the following way: the relatively younger respondents will have more frequent informal associations than will the relatively older group. Finally, occupational status will show a difference in informal participation when related to type of informal contact. People of higher occupational status will have greater informal participation with co-workers. It is assumed that occupational status is very likely to correlate with social status--and the expectation is that persons with higher status reinforce their social positions by belonging to formal organizations.

#### Hypotheses

The preceding section presented this author's theory of social participation as related in the urban structure to social class and race. In this section, hypotheses derived from this theory and from the review of the literature are stated. These pertain to four matters: formal participation,



informal participation, the relationship between formal and informal participation, and attitudes and social participation.

#### A. Formal Participation

1. A higher proportion of respondents in the high socio-economic area will hold memberships in formal organizations than in the low socio-economic area.

2. A higher proportion of lower whites will hold memberships in formal organizations than Negroes.

3. The high socio-economic area will be more active in formal participation than the low socio-economic area.

4. Persons with relatively higher incomes will affiliate with formal organizations more frequently than will those of relatively low incomes, irrespective of type of area.

5. Persons of high occupational status will affiliate with formal organizations more frequently than persons of low occupational status irrespective of area.

6. Those achieving a relatively high level of education will affiliate more frequently than will those with relatively less education irrespective of area.

7. Men will more frequently affiliate with formal associations than women irrespective of area.

8. Affiliation with formal organizations will be highest during middle age irrespective of area.

9. Affiliation with formal organizations will be inversely related to size of family irrespective of area.

10. Length of residence in the city and affiliation with formal organizations will be directly related irrespective of area.

#### B. Informal Participation

1. The level of informal participation in the low socio-economic area will be significantly higher than in the high socio-economic area. More specifically, by type of informal contact and informal group:

a) Level of visiting will be greater in the low socio-economic area than in the high socio-economic area.

b) Level of recreation will be greater in the low socio-economic area than in the high socio-economic area.

c) Informal participation with neighbors will be greater in the low socio-economic area than in the high socio-economic area.

d) Informal participation with relatives will be greater in the low socio-economic area than in the high socio-economic area.

e) Informal participation with friends will be greater in the low socio-economic area than in the high socio-economic area.

2. The level of informal participation in the high socio-economic area will be significantly higher than in the low socio-economic area in the following type of informal activity and contact:

a) Level of telephoning will be greater in the high socio-economic area than in the low socio-economic area.

b) Informal participation with co-workers will be greater in the high socio-economic area than in the low socio-economic area.

3. Level of informal participation according to type of informal activity will be higher for Negroes than for lower whites.

4. Level of informal participation according to type of informal contact will be higher for Negroes than for lower whites except for co-workers. Lower whites will have higher levels of informal participation with co-workers than Negroes.

5. For the socio-economic areas, type of informal activity most often participated in will be as follows:

a) The upper socio-economic area will engage most in telephoning, then visiting, and recreation.

b) The low socio-economic area will engage most in visiting then telephoning and recreation.

6. For the socio-economic areas, type of informal contact most often participated in will be as follows:

a) For the upper socio-economic area, type of informal contact, from most to least, will be friends, co-workers, neighbors, and relatives.

b) For the low socio-economic area, type of informal contact, from most to least, will be relatives, neighbors, friends, and co-workers.

7. Those of high status occupations will participate informally more with co-workers than will those of low status occupations irrespective of area.

8. Females will participate more informally according to type of activity and contact than will males irrespective of area.

9. The extent of informal participation according to type of contact will directly relate to length of residence in the city irrespective of area.

10. Younger adult age groups will have greater informal participation according to type of activity than will older age groups irrespective of area.

#### C. Relationship Between Formal and Informal Participation

1. High formal participators will have lower levels of informal participation than will low level formal participators.

2. Non-participators in formal organizations of the lower area will have a higher level of informal participation than will high formal participators in the upper area.

#### D. Community and Neighborhood Attitudes and Social Participation

1. The high socio-economic area will show more favorable attitudes toward the community than will the low socio-economic area.

a) Level of formal memberships will be directly related to attitudes toward the community. Specifically, the more positive the attitudes the higher the level of formal memberships.

2. The low socio-economic area will show more favorable attitudes toward the neighbors than the high socio-economic area.

a) Level of visiting with neighbors will be directly related to the attitudes held toward neighbors. Specifically, the more positive the attitude toward the neighbors the higher the level of visiting.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

#### Operational Definitions

Formal participation.—Formal organizations, as previously defined in Chapter I, are those whose structures are deliberately and consciously created and organized to realize some specific end or goal. Two empirical problems are: (1) a decision on what constitutes membership in a formal organization and (2) measurement of participation levels.

This author followed precedence set by earlier studies with regards to membership. General church and labor union memberships were not included. It was felt that there was some ambiguity in the meaning of church membership. Axelrod used the following rationale, "The meaning of church membership varies widely by church, sect, and denomination, and the individual's own perception. Birth, baptism, dues-paying, as well as self-election may constitute the office by which membership is achieved and may have no congruity with memberships in an immediate church body."<sup>1</sup> Included, however, were church-affiliated organizations such as women's and men's fellowships, couples' clubs, etc.. Labor unions were not included in the study due to the fact that they are not voluntary in the strictest sense.

The level of formal participation was determined by categorizing

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<sup>1</sup>Axelrod, A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation In A Large Urban Community, p. 34.

attendance during the prior year into four groups:

1. Never: This included those who had formal memberships but had not attended a meeting during the preceding year.
2. Rarely: This included those who had attended less than half of the meetings during the preceding year.
3. Most: This included those who attended a majority but not all of the meetings during the preceding year.
4. All: This included those who had not missed one meeting of an organization within the preceding year.

An index of formal participation was derived by arbitrarily assigning a weighted value to the following:

1. Membership--One point for each membership.

Assigned values given for attendance were:

2. Never--No points
3. Rarely--Three points (3.33--rounded)
4. Most--Seven points (6.66--rounded)
5. All--Ten points.

Informal participation.--This research was designed to study three major aspects of informal participation. One was the type of informal activity taking place; the second was the type of primary contact with whom the respondent interacted; the third was the frequency of informal participation.

With respect to the first, informal participation was categorized into three exclusive activities: (1) Visiting: This included face-to-face informal interaction with no explicit purpose other than friendly fraternization; examples are backyard gossiping and coffee klatching; (2) Telephoning: Non-business contacting of another person through this indirect medium; and (3) Recreation: Informal interaction incidental to leisure-time activities with a specific purpose such as dining out, going to movies,

bowling, fishing, and going to bridge parties, etc..

These three activities of informal participation were further related to four types of social contacts. These have been defined as follows:

(1) Neighbors: People other than friends, relatives and co-workers who live within two blocks of the respondent; (2) Co-Workers: Other than neighbors, relatives and friends working at the same place of employment or on the same job; (3) Friends: Persons other than relatives and co-workers living further than two blocks from the respondent; and (4) Relatives: Persons related to the respondent by either blood or marriage.

Frequency of informal participation was derived in part from Bell's and Boat's study of the social areas of San Francisco.<sup>2</sup> The method was to categorize informal participation in the following manner: Once a year or less, a few times a year (more than once but less than twelve times a year), once a month; a few times a month (more than twelve times a year but less than once a week); once a week; and a few times a week.

To construct an index of informal participation, the categories of informal participation were assigned relative weights based upon approximate annual frequency. Table 1 shows the assigned weights. Each response received was weighted in accordance with the assigned values. Each respondent was given two informal participation scores. The first was a score for type of informal activity. This score was obtained by summing the weighted frequencies for each type of informal contact under each type of informal activity. The second informal participation score was for type of informal group. This was obtained by summing up the weighted frequencies of each type of informal activity under each type of informal contact. In this quantitative treatment of informal social participation, qualitative differences

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<sup>2</sup>Bell and Boat, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-98.

between types of activity or types of contacts have been ignored.

TABLE 1.--Assigned weights to categories of frequency of informal participation

FREQUENCY*	ASSIGNED WEIGHT
Once a Year (Never)	1
A Few Times a Year	3
Once a Month	12
Few Times a Month	36
Once a Week	52
Few Times a Week	156

\*To standardize, "few" was arbitrarily assumed equal to three.

Social class.--By social class is meant a strata of people who are of relatively equal standing with regard to occupational status, level of education and amount of income. These variables, as Mayer points out, are evident in the behavior pattern of the people in terms of "pattern of consumption, types of education, speech, manners, dress, tastes, and other cultural attributes."<sup>3</sup>

Community and neighborhood attitudes.--As stated in Chapter one, it seems plausible that an individual's attitudes toward his community and neighborhood will have a bearing on his social participation in these social systems. Specifically, those having positive attitudes toward the community will be more likely to participate in formal organizations, while those with positive attitudes toward their neighbors will participate with them informally. In this research the following attitudinal questions were asked:

Community:

1. The city government is concerned about all parts of city development and does not play favorites.
2. This city is snobbish and many people are treated unfairly in it.

<sup>3</sup>Mayer, op. cit., p. 8.



3. This city offers any individual regardless of race, religion, or nationality, the opportunity for equality.

4. Most of the people in this city are friendly.

Neighborhood:

1. It is nice to have neighbors drop in at any time.

2. This neighborhood is not a desirable place to buy a home.

3. Around this neighborhood people are always prying into other people's business.

4. Neighbors can be depended on for help in the event of trouble or sickness.

5. This neighborhood is an ideal place to raise children.

Each of these questions have five alternative responses: strongly disagree, disagree, undecided, agree, and strongly agree. However, such fine gradations were not possible for analytical purposes because there were not sufficient N's. Therefore, it was necessary to utilize the grosser measure of agree, and disagree. Moreover, in the absence of knowledge about the equivalence and discriminatory values of questions, it was deemed necessary to utilize the item analysis technique.

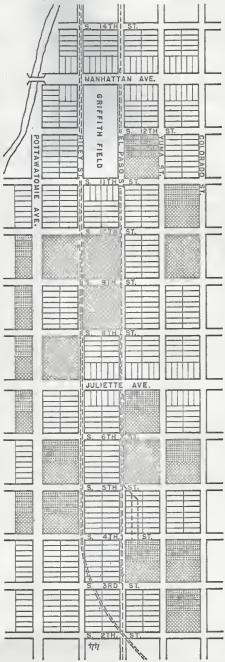
The Data

The socio-economic class areas.---Figures 1 and 2 show the areas that were delineated for this study. In selecting the lower class area, boundaries were drawn which included nearly all of the Negro population. This was done because the researcher felt that in order to secure a sample primarily of Negroes it would be best to exclude that area which would give greater chances for whites to be drawn. The high socio-economic area was developed in the late 40's and during the 50's and catered predominantly to middle and upper class families.

Three major variables were employed as indexes of the class levels of the areas: income, occupation, and education. Table 2 shows the contrasts between the two areas with respect to the three variables. Dichotomizing income as less than \$10,000 and \$10,000 and over and subjecting the



FIGURE 1 — HIGHER SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA OF MANHATTAN KANSAS



SAMPLE BLOCK WITH ALL NEGROES

SAMPLE BLOCK WITH AT LEAST ONE WHITE INTERVIEW



FIGURE 2 — LOWER SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA  
OF MANHATTAN KANSAS

data to a chi-square analysis, the areas may be asserted to differ significantly. Occupational status levels of the two areas also differ significantly. Of the respondents in the low socio-economic area whose occupational statuses could be assessed 35 per cent were in the low status category which includes operatives, service workers, etc.. Only 2 per cent had low status occupations in the upper socio-economic area. Finally, the two areas differed significantly as regards to the educational levels. Only 9 per cent of the low socio-economic areas had some college while in the high socio-economic area, 71 per cent reported having some college.

Sampling.—To obtain samples from each area two basic types of probability sampling procedures were used. For the upper socio-economic area, every dwelling unit was known within the area; therefore, the method employed was a simple random sample. From the 125 dwelling units in the area, a 37 per cent sample was taken. There were five refusals, thus bringing the actual number of respondents to 41 or a 33 per cent sample. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the sample.

It was estimated that within the area designated as lower socio-economic, there were approximately 600 Negroes. A 10 per cent sample was considered sufficient for this area. To select the 60 respondents needed a block sampling procedure was used. Within the area, there were 50 residential blocks. From these fifty blocks, 20 were randomly chosen. Then, every dwelling unit was listed within each of these 20 blocks and three were randomly selected from each block. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the sample. Originally, this researcher intended to restrict the study to Negro respondents in the lower socio-economic area; however, the sample drawn included 24 white residents of the area. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the whites in the sample. Overall, 54 respondents were actually interviewed; 34 were Negro and 20 were white. There were six refusals: 2 Negroes and 4 whites.

TABLE 2.—Description of two socio-economic areas according to income, occupation, and education

Social Class Variables	Low Socio-Economic Area				High Socio-Economic Area	
	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<b>INCOME:</b>						
Less than \$2,000	6	30.0	8	23.6		
2,000- 3,999	9	45.0	9	26.6	1	2.4
4,000- 5,999	2	10.0	8	23.5		
6,000- 7,999			6	17.6	4	9.8
8,000- 9,999	1	5.0			6	14.6
10,000-11,999					10	24.4
12,000-13,999					2	4.9
14,000-15,999					3	7.3
16,000 & Over			1	2.9	5	12.2
Unknown	2	10.0	2	5.9	10	24.4
Total	20	100.0	34	100.0	41	100.0
1. Under \$10,000-\$10,000 and Over: $X^2=40.88$ ; 1 d/f; $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis						
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>						
High Status	5	25.0	2	5.9	16	39.0
Low Status	4	20.0	15	44.1	1	2.4
Retired	6	30.0	2	5.9	4	9.8
Housewives	4	20.0	11	32.4	16	39.0
Misc.	1	5.0	3	8.8		
Unknown			1	2.9	4	9.9
Total	20	100.0	34	100.0	41	100.0
1. High Status-Low Status: $X^2=18.62$ ; 1 d/f; $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis						
<b>EDUCATION:</b>						
Less than 9th	14	70.0	5	14.7		
10th-11th	1	5.0	6	17.6		
High School	3	15.0	18	52.9	5	12.2
College	1	5.0	4	11.8	29	70.7
Unknown	1	5.0	1	3.0	7	17.1
Total	20	100.0	34	100.0	41	100.0
1. High School or Less-College: $X^2=48.62$ ; 1 d/f; $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis						

The data were collected through personal interviews with the male head of the household or his wife. If two families were living together, one from each family was interviewed.

#### Analyses

In this section analytical procedures will be clarified. The dichotomization of formal and informal participation scores into low and high and the classification of certain socio-economic variables will be explained. Finally, the statistical test employed in this research will be explained.

Formal and informal participation.--The procedure of scoring formal and informal participation has been explained in a prior section of this chapter. For analytical purposes formal and informal participation scores were grouped into a high and a low category. The formal participation scores for both areas were arranged in a combined array and the median determined.<sup>4</sup> Those respondents who were equal to or above the median were considered to be high participators, while those who were below the median were considered low participators. The median for formal participation for the combined areas was 19.

In the case of informal participation scores, the median score was determined for each of the three types of informal activities and the four types of informal groups. Again high participators consisted of those who were equal to or above the median and the low participators were those who were below the median. For the three types of informal activity, the medians were: visiting-194, telephoning-221, recreation-57. The medians for the four types of informal groups were: neighbors-89, co-workers-38, relatives-42,

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<sup>4</sup>There were several informal participation scores that could be considered extreme cases; therefore, since the mean is affected by every value of every case in the series it was decided to use the median which is not influenced by the size of extreme items. See: Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), pp. 274-75.

and friends-124.

Classifying socio-economic variables.--The following are the variables that this research investigated: race, social class (subdivided by income, occupation, and education), sex, age, length of residence in city, and number of children in a family.

For purposes of this research, these variables were classified as to permit meaningful statistical manipulation. Due to the small sample, it seemed advisable to this author to dichotomize the variables whenever possible.

The variables were categorized as follows:

1. Race--Respondents were classed either as Negroes or whites; whites were further dichotomized as lower or upper whites.

2. Income--Income was classified separately for each area. Taking the median income (\$3,000) for the low socio-economic area, the respondents were placed either in the group \$3,000 and over or in the group under \$3,000. For the high socio-economic area the median income was \$10,000. The respondents of this area were classified as falling in the \$10,000 and over or under \$10,000 group.

3. Occupation--The majority of the respondents who were actively employed were professionals, managers, service workers or operatives. Those who were of the first two occupational groups were considered to be of high occupational status and the last two of low occupational status. The occupational status and prestige rating of Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt was used to classify the occupations into high and low status. In the North-Hatt study, service workers and operatives fell below the median rating and professionals and managers were above the median rating.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Occupational Status and Prestige," Readings in General Sociology, ed. Robert W. O'Brien, Clarence C. Schrag, and Walter T. Martin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), pp. 401-07.

4. Education—The respondents were dichotomized into those having completed 12 years or less and those having completed 13 years or more.

5. Length of Residence—The respondents were classified as having resided in the city less than 10 years or 10 years and more.

6. Number of Children—Respondents were placed either in the group having one or no children or those having two or more children.<sup>6</sup>

7. Age—Respondents were classed in one of three groups: Those 34 and under, those 35-54, and those 55 and over.

Statistical tests.—Essentially, analyses have been made in four main areas: the levels of formal and informal participation in the two areas, the relationship between formal and informal participation and the socio-economic variables, the interrelationships between formal participation and informal participation, and the relationship of formal and informal participation to community and neighborhood attitudes. Four statistical tests were employed in making these analyses.

1. Mann-Whitney U Test.<sup>7</sup> This nonparametric test determines if two populations have differing distributions. By ranking observations from both populations, it tests to see if the bulk of the observations from one population is significantly higher than the bulk of observations from the other population on a given measure. In this research the test was used

<sup>6</sup>The reason for this unusual dichotomization of this variable was because other breakdowns of this variable did not allow statistical manipulation.

<sup>7</sup>Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 116-26. Siegel maintains that if the assumptions for a normal distributed population are not valid then an excellent alternative to the 't' test is the Mann-Whitney Nonparametric Test. For the data that were collected the assumptions of a normal population could not be made thus the Mann-Whitney test was selected.



to compare the informal scores (visiting, telephoning, and recreation, and neighbors, co-workers, relatives, and friends) of the low socio-economic area with those of the high socio-economic area. Moreover, these same comparisons were made within the lower area, comparing lower whites and Negroes. Within each group (lower whites, Negroes, and upper whites) the participation scores of informal activity were compared with each other (e.g., visiting with recreation) as well as those scores of type of informal group (e.g., relatives with neighbors). In addition, the Mann-Whitney U Test was used in testing the differences between informal and formal participation by comparing those who were participators informally in the low area with those who were high participators formally in the upper area. Finally, this test was used to compare the visiting participation scores of those respondents who had favorable attitudes with those who had unfavorable attitudes toward the neighborhood.

2. Spearman Rank. An inverse relationship was hypothesized between formal and informal participation: the higher the formal participation score, the lower the informal participation score for each of the three types of informal activity. Each respondent was ranked by his formal participation score and also his informal participation score for visiting, telephoning, and recreation. The Spearman rank order correlation test statistic was then computed for the paired arrays.

3. Chi-Square. Dichotomizing formal and informal participation scores into low and high, tests for significant differences were sought with various sociological variables as previously classified. In addition, to determine which attitudinal questions were most discriminatory of attitude differences between the two socio-economic areas this test was applied to each item comparing whites and Negroes within the lower area and whites and Negroes between the areas. These results will give some indication as to

whether attitudinal differences are primarily a reflection of ecological or of ethnic factors.

4. Fisher Exact Probability Test. Due to the fact that  $N$  was less than 20 in some instances, (or that in the  $2 \times 2$  tables the expected frequencies were less than 5), the chi square test could not be used. In such instances, the Fisher Exact probability test which does not depend upon expected frequencies of at least 5 was employed.

Finally, the significance level that was used for the statistical tests was  $\alpha = .10$ . Thus, if the particular value yielded by a statistical test was equal to or less than  $\alpha$ , the null hypothesis was rejected and the research hypothesis was accepted.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>While the most commonly used significant levels are .05, .01, and .001 Blalock suggests that it is up to the individual researcher to decide the significant level. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 122-25.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

This chapter reports the results as carried out by the analytical procedures described in Chapter II. The results will be reported in the following order: Extent of formal membership, extent of informal participation, interrelationship between formal and informal participation, and formal and informal participation as related to community and neighborhood attitudes. The hypotheses listed in Chapter I will be examined in relation to the appropriate data and either accepted or rejected. Discussion of these results and their implications has been deferred until the final chapter.

#### Formal Membership

Formal Membership.--It was hypothesized that the upper socio-economic area would have a higher proportion of its population belonging to formal organizations than the low socio-economic area. Table 3 shows the distribution of organizational affiliations in the low and high areas. There was a significant difference between the areas, with the direction as predicted by the hypothesis. While only 12 per cent of the upper socio-economic area sample belonged to no organizations, 54 per cent of the low socio-economic area sample belonged to no organizations. Conversely, 59 per cent of the sample in the upper area belonged to 3 or more while only 7 per cent of the low socio-economic area had membership in three or more organizations.

Furthermore, it was hypothesized that within the low socio-economic area whites will have more memberships than Negroes. This hypothesis was not

TABLE 3.--Distribution of organizational affiliation according to socio-economic areas

Number of Organizations	Lower Socio-Economic Area		Upper Socio-Economic Area		Upper Whites	
	Whites Number	%	Negroes Number	%	Number	%
0	11	55.0	18	53.0	5	12.0
1	7	35.0	11	32.0	7	17.0
2	1	5.0	2	6.0	5	12.0
3	1	5.0	1	3.0	8	20.0
4			1	3.0	8	20.0
5			1	3.0	4	10.0
6					3	7.0
7					1	2.0
Total	20	100.0	34	100.0	41	100.0

1. Low Area vs. High Area:  $X^2=18.63$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis (Comparison between one or more memberships and no memberships).
2. Negro vs. Lower Whites:  $X^2=.018$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .90$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis (Comparison between one or more memberships and no memberships).

TABLE 4.--Level of formal participation according to total number of memberships

	Never	%	Rarely	%	Most	%	All	%
Lower Whites	2	17	3	25	4	33	3	25
Negroes	1	03	4	15	5	19	17	63
Upper Whites	1	01	18	15	67	57	32	27

1. Lower Area vs. Upper Area:  $X^2=1.78$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis (Comparison made between the categories never or rarely and most or all).
2. Negroes vs. Upper Whites:  $X^2=14.95$ ;  $p < .005$ ; 1 d/f; Reject Null Hypothesis (Comparison made between the categories all, most, and rarely or never).

confirmed. Table 3 shows no significant difference between the frequency of organizational affiliations of lower whites and Negroes.

It was further hypothesized that respondents in the upper area would be more active in formal organizations than those in the lower area. Table 4 reports the results of the comparisons that were made. There was no difference between the lower area and the upper area and those who attended meetings rarely or never and most of all. However, when the Negroes were compared to the upper whites with respect to attending meetings all of the time, most of the time, and rarely (the category never was also included) a significant difference was found with the Negroes having a larger proportion attending meetings all of the time as compared to the upper whites.

Formal membership and sociological variables.--Income. It was hypothesized that membership in formal organizations would be directly related to level of income in both areas. Table 5 reports the analyses that were conducted. By combining both areas, a significant difference was found with those over the median income for each area having a higher level of affiliation than those below the median levels.<sup>1</sup> A further analysis was made combining the respondents of the lower area and no significant difference was found. Inspection of Table 5 shows no significant difference among the lower whites; however, for the Negroes a higher proportion over the median income were affiliated than those below the median but no significant difference was found.

Occupation. Higher status occupations, it was hypothesized, would have a greater proportion of persons affiliated than would lower status occupations. Table 6 shows that those who belong to organizations were predominantly of the

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<sup>1</sup>In order to justify the analysis made for combined areas, even though the medians were different for each area, the concept of relative deprivation was employed. As used by this researcher, it was considered that those of the upper area who were below the median would be relatively deprived as compared to those who were above the median.

TABLE 5.--Organizational affiliation as related to level of income\*

Level of Income	Lower Whites		Negroes		Level of Income		Upper Area	
	Affiliated %	Non Affiliated	Affiliated %	Non Affiliated	Income	Income	Upper Area Affiliated %	Upper Area Non Affiliated %
Under \$3,000	4	44	5	38	62	Under \$10,000	8	73
Over \$3,000	4	44	5	58	42	& Over	20	100

1. Negroes:  $\chi^2=1.18$ ; 1 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Lower Area:  $\chi^2=.06$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .75$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Combined Area:  $\chi^2=3.91$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .05$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis  
 \*The number of refusals were: Lower Whites-2; Negroes-2; Upper Whites-10.

TABLE 6.--Organizational affiliation as related to occupational status\*

Occupational Status	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Area	
	Affiliated %	Non Affiliated	Affiliated %	Non Affiliated	Upper Area Affiliated %	Upper Area Non Affiliated %
High Status	4	80	1	20	2	100
Low Status	1	25	3	75	7	47

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Negroes: Fisher Exact Test:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Lower Area: Fisher Exact Test:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 4. Upper Whites: Fisher Exact Test:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 5. Combined Area:  $\chi^2=9.71$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis  
 \*The n's in this table do not total the original N's because not all respondents were employed.

TABLE 7.--Organizational affiliation as related to education\*

Level of Education	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Area							
	Affiliated	Non Affiliated	% Affiliated	% Non Affiliated	% Affiliated	% Non Affiliated						
High School or Less	7	39	11	61	13	45	16	55	4	80	1	20
College or More	1	100	0	0	2	50	2	50	28	97	1	03

1. Combined Areas;  $\chi^2=18.0$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis  
 \*The number of unknown were: Lower Whites-1; Negroes-1; Upper Whites-7.

TABLE 8.--Organizational affiliation as related to education: Lower Area\*

Educational Level	Lower Area		Non Affiliated	
	Affiliated	%	%	%
8th grade or less	8	42	11	58
9th grade-11th grade	3	43	4	57
12 grade or more	12	46	14	54

1.  $\chi^2=.09$ ; 4 d/f;  $p > .95$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 \*The number of unknown were: Lower Whites-1; Negroes-1.

TABLE 9.---Organizational affiliation as related to sex

Sex	Lower Whites			Negroes			Upper Area						
	Affiliated Number	Affiliated %	Non Affiliated Number	Affiliated Number	Affiliated %	Non Affiliated Number	Affiliated Number	Affiliated %	Non Affiliated Number				
Male	4	44	5	4	56	4	40	6	60	13	81	3	19
Female	5	45	6	5	55	12	50	12	50	23	92	2	08

1. Combined Lower Areas:  $\chi^2=20$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

2. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2=22$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis



TABLE 10.---Organizational affiliation as related to age\*

Age	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Area							
	Affiliated Number	Affiliated %	Affiliated Number	Affiliated %	Affiliated Number	Non Affiliated Number						
34 & under	1	33	2	67	4	29	10	71	4	67	2	33
35-54	4	67	2	33	9	64	5	36	22	96	1	04
55 & over	4	36	7	64	3	60	2	40	9	82	2	18

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; for all three age groups; Accept Null Hypothesis
2. Negroes: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; for all three age groups; Accept Null Hypothesis
3. Upper Area: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; 34 & under & 55 & over; Accept Null Hypothesis
4. Lower Area: (34 & under & 35-54)  $\chi^2=4.64$ ; 1 d/f; .05 >  $p > .025$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis
5. Lower Area: (34 & under & 55 & over)  $\chi^2=2.69$ ; 1 d/f; .50 >  $p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis
6. Lower Area: (35-54 & 55 & over)  $\chi^2=1.62$ ; 1 d/f; .25 >  $p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis
7. Combined Area: (34 & under & 35-54)  $\chi^2=11.71$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis
8. Combined Area: (34 & under & 55 & over)  $\chi^2=2.00$ ; 1 d/f; .25 >  $p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis
9. Combined Area: (35-54 & 55 & over)  $\chi^2=4.10$ ; 1 d/f; .05 >  $p > .025$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*The number of unknowns were: Negroes-1; Upper Whites-1.

Number of Children in the Family. It was hypothesized that the greater the number of children in the family were, the less likely it would be that the adult respondent would be affiliated with formal organizations. As Table 11 reports, by combining both areas, no differences were found between the affiliation levels of those with no or only one child and those with two or more children at home. Moreover, analyses made of the combined lower area and for the lower whites and Negroes separately revealed no significant differences.

Length of Residence in the City. It was hypothesized that respondents with longer residence in the community would be more likely to be affiliated than would the shorter term residents. As Table 12 shows, a higher proportion were affiliated with formal organizations who had resided in the city more than 10 years. However, no significant difference was found when analysis was made for the combined areas. A significant difference did exist when analysis was made for combined groups in the lower area with a higher proportion of these residing in the city more than 10 years affiliated.

#### Extent of Informal Participation

Type of informal activity.—Generally, the hypothesis was that the low socio-economic area would have higher proportions participating informally in visiting and recreation than the high socio-economic area. It was expected that the high socio-economic area would have a higher level of participation through telephoning than the low socio-economic area. Table 13 indicates the results of the comparisons made between the two areas with respect to type of informal activity.<sup>2</sup> Visiting was significantly different with the lower

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<sup>2</sup>For the Mann-Whitney nonparametric test the basic procedure is to compare two independent groups to see if they are drawn from the same population. Two ranks are used:  $R_1$  (which represents the smallest group  $n_1$ ) and  $R_2$  (which represents the largest group). To interpret which rank is highest depends upon the plus or minus sign of the statistic. If the statistic is a minus value then  $R_1$  or population  $n_1$  is higher than  $R_2$  or population  $n_2$ . If the statistic is a plus value then  $R_2$  or population  $n_2$  is higher than  $R_1$  or population  $n_1$ .

TABLE 11.---Organizational Affiliation as related to number of children in the family

Number of Children	Lower Whites				Negroes				Upper Area			
	Non Affiliated		Affiliated		Non Affiliated		Affiliated		Non Affiliated		Affiliated	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
One or Less	8	50	8	50	11	48	12	52	19	86	3	14
Two or More	1	25	3	75	5	45	6	55	17	89	2	11

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis
2. Negroes:  $\chi^2 = .022$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .75$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis
3. Lower Area:  $\chi^2 = .33$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis
4. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2 = .26$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

TABLE 12.---Organizational affiliation as related to length of residence in the city

Length of Residence	Lower Whites				Negroes				Upper Area			
	Non Affiliated		Affiliated		Non Affiliated		Affiliated		Non Affiliated		Affiliated	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Less than 10 years	0	00	1	100	2	20	8	80	11	85	2	15
More than 10 years	9	47	10	53	14	58	10	42	25	89	3	11

1. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2 = .4, .39$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .05$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis
2. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2 = 1.39$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

lower area having a larger proportion who participated more than the upper area. No significant difference existed between recreation in the two socio-economic areas; however, the upper area had a higher proportion engaging in this type of informal activity than the lower area. Finally, as expected, the upper area was significantly higher in participation through telephoning than the lower area.

Table 13 shows the results of the comparisons made between the areas when they are further analyzed in terms of the three ethnic-racial groups. Comparing lower whites with upper whites, difference in visiting was not significant even though there was a tendency for the lower whites to have a larger proportion who were high level participators. There was a significant difference between lower whites and the upper whites and level of participation when compared to telephoning. A larger proportion of those in the upper area were higher participators than those in the lower area. Again, the same result was found when comparing recreation; there was a significant difference with the upper whites having a larger proportion who participated at a higher level than the lower whites. When comparative analyses were undertaken between Negroes and upper whites (results of these comparisons reported in Table 13) Negroes showed a significantly larger proportion having higher levels of informal participation through visiting than the upper whites. With respect to telephoning the upper whites were significantly higher participators than the Negroes. Recreation showed no significant difference but there was a tendency for Negroes to be more active in recreating than upper whites.

Type of informal contact.--It was hypothesized that the low socio-economic area would have a higher level of informal participation with neighbors, relatives, and friends than the high socio-economic area. With co-workers, it was expected that the high socio-economic area would have a higher level of participation than the low socio-economic area. Table 14 reports the results

TABLE 13.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between low and high socio-economic areas and type of informal activity\*

	UPPER WHITES		
	Visiting	Telephoning	Recreation
Lower Area	2.35 <sup>a</sup>	-1.89 <sup>b</sup>	-1.09
Lower Whites	- .30	1.34 <sup>c</sup>	3.60 <sup>d</sup>
Negroes	-3.13 <sup>e</sup>	1.77 <sup>f</sup>	- .92

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $.0096 > p > .0091$ ; b.  $.0301 > p > .0287$ ; c.  $.0918 > p > .0885$ ; d.  $p < .00023$ ; e.  $p < .0009$ ; f.  $.0392 > p > .0375$ .

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to the above groups: (1) Upper Area:  $n_1=41(R_1)$ -Lower Area:  $n_2=54(R_2)$ ; (2) Lower Whites:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Upper Whites:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ ; (3) Negroes:  $n_1=34(R_1)$ -Upper Whites:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ .

for comparisons made of informal contacts between low and high areas. There was no significant difference between area and level of participation with neighbors although the lower area had a slightly larger proportion who participated with neighbors at a higher level than the upper area. Level of participation with relatives was significantly different between the areas with the lower area having a larger proportion who participated at a higher level than the upper area. No significant difference was found to exist for level of participation and friends although the upper area had larger proportions participating at a higher level than the lower area. Differences in participation with co-workers were significant. The upper area had larger proportions who participated at a higher level.

Dividing the lower area into white and Negro categories and making further comparisons with the upper area, striking differences were noted as Table 14 reveals. Lower whites when compared with the upper area on contacts with neighbors showed a significant difference with the upper whites participating

at higher levels. Further significant differences were found with co-workers and friends, each being more important as a source of informal participation in the upper area than with the lower whites. However, lower whites were significantly higher in participation with relatives than the upper whites. Comparing Negroes with the upper area a significant difference was found with neighbors and co-workers. For neighbors, the Negroes had greater proportions participating at higher levels while the reverse was true with co-workers; here the upper area were higher participators. No significant differences were found to exist for relatives and friends but there was a tendency for Negroes to have slightly larger proportions who participated at higher levels.

The evidence indicates that the hypothesis as stated was not supported it was apparently too gross. Types of activity and contact were extremely impartial. In other words, the highest levels of participation according to type of informal activity and type of informal contact were not consistently found in the lower area.

TABLE 14.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between low and high socio-economic areas and type of informal contact\*

	UPPER WHITES			
	Neighbors	Co-Workers	Relatives	Friends
Lower Area	.55	-4.17 <sup>a</sup>	5.97 <sup>b</sup>	-.62
Lower Whites	1.97 <sup>c</sup>	4.66 <sup>d</sup>	-2.26 <sup>e</sup>	1.26 <sup>f</sup>
Negroes	-2.13 <sup>g</sup>	2.63 <sup>h</sup>	-1.10	-.04

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $p < .00003$ ; b.  $p < .00003$ ; c.  $.0250 > p > .0239$ ; d.  $p < .00003$ ; e.  $.0122 > p > .0116$ ; f.  $.1056 > p > .1020$ ; g.  $.017 > p > .016$ ; h.  $.0044 > p > .0041$ .

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to the above groups: (1) Upper Whites:  $n_1=41(R_1)$ -Lower Area:  $n_2=54(R_2)$ ; (2) Lower Whites:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Upper Whites:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ ; (3) Negroes:  $n_1=34(R_1)$ -Upper Whites:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ .

Making analytical comparisons between racial ethnic groups of the same class, it was hypothesized that a larger proportion of Negroes respondents would be higher level informal participators according to type of informal activity and type of informal contact than the lower whites. Table 15 reveals the comparisons made between the Negroes and lower whites. There was a significant difference between visiting and the racial groups in the lower area. More Negroes participated at a higher level than the lower whites. Telephoning was not significantly different but the tendency was for lower whites to be slightly more active. Negroes were significantly higher participators in recreation than the lower whites.

TABLE 15.—Mann-Whitney comparisons between lower whites and Negroes and type of informal activity\*

	NEGROES		
	Visiting	Telephoning	Recreation
Lower Whites	1.80 <sup>a</sup>	- .23	3.12 <sup>b</sup>

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $0.367 > p > .0351$ ;  
b.  $p < .0009$ .

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to the above groups: (1) Lower Whites:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Negroes:  $n_2=34(R_2)$ .

Table 16 reports the results of comparing the lower whites with Negroes according to type of informal contact. Negroes participated with neighbors at a significantly higher level than lower whites. Moreover, this pattern of participation was similar for co-workers which was not predicted by the hypothesis. With respect to relatives and friends no significant differences were found.

It was hypothesized that the ranking of type of informal activity from high to low would be visiting, telephoning, and recreation for the lower area. However, it was expected that the upper area would rank type

TABLE 16.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between lower whites and Negroes and type of informal contact\*

	NEGROES			
	Neighbors	Co-Workers	Relatives	Friends
Lower Whites	3.14 <sup>a</sup>	2.63 <sup>b</sup>	- .58	.93

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $p < .0009$ ;

b.  $.0044 > p > .0041$ .

\*The following is the assignment of rank to the above groups: (1) Lower Whites:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Negroes:  $n_2=34(R_2)$ .

of informal activity from high to low as follows: telephoning, visiting, and recreation. Tables 17 through 19 report the analyses made comparing the different informal activities within each area. The whites in the low socio-economic area showed the following patterns. Although not statistically significant telephoning seemed to be a source of greater informal participation than visiting. Visiting when compared to recreation was significantly higher. The Negroes, definitely confirming the hypothesis, have as their greatest source of informal activity visiting which was significantly higher than telephoning. Ranking second was telephoning which was significantly different from recreation. The upper area ranked participation in informal activities in the predicted direction of the hypothesis. Telephoning compared to visiting and visiting compared to recreation showed significant differences.

Further analyses were made for each racial ethnic group according to the position that informal groups assumed as important informal contacts. It was hypothesized for the lower area that the informal groups most often participated with from high to low would be: relatives, neighbors, friends, and co-workers. With regards to the upper area it was hypothesized that the informal group most often participated with from high to low would be: friends co-workers,



TABLE 17.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between types of informal activity for lower whites\*

	Telephoning	Recreation
Visiting	- .20	-3.59 <sup>a</sup>

a.  $p < .00023$ ; significant

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to type of informal activity:

(1) Telephoning:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Visiting:  $n_2=20(R_2)$ ; (2) Visiting:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Recreation:  $n_2=20(R_2)$ .

TABLE 18.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between types of informal activity for Negroes\*

	Visiting	Recreation
Telephoning	-1.62 <sup>a</sup>	- .93

a.  $.053 > p > .051$ ; significant

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to type of informal activity:

(1) Visiting:  $n_1=34(R_1)$ -Telephoning:  $n_2=34(R_2)$ ; (2) Telephoning:  $n_1=34(R_1)$ -Recreation:  $n_2=34(R_2)$ .

TABLE 19.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between types of informal activity for upper whites\*

	Telephoning	Recreation
Visiting	3.85 <sup>a</sup>	-3.97 <sup>b</sup>

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $p < .00007$ ;

b.  $p < .00005$ .

\*The following is the assignment of rank to type of informal activity:

(1) Visiting:  $n_1=41(R_1)$ -Telephoning:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ ; (2) Visiting:  $n_1=41(R_1)$ -Recreation:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ .

neighbors, and relatives. Table 20 through 22 report the results of comparing the types of informal contacts within each area. The lower white pattern of participation with informal groups did not assume the predicted direction of the hypothesis. Relatives and friends were the main sources of participation, with relatives being slightly more important but the difference was not significant. Neighbors differed significantly from friends and were ranked lower than friends as a source of participation. Co-workers were the least to be associated with and differed significantly from neighbors. Negroes also showed some deviation from the expected pattern. They ranked neighbors and friends as the type of informal contact most often used as a source of informal contact; although the differences were not significant, neighbors were ranked slightly higher than friends. Relatives and co-workers were ranked the lowest as a source of informal participation with a significant difference between relatives and friends and relatives and co-workers. The upper area ranked friends as the most important source of informal participation and they were significantly higher than neighbors. Neighbors and co-workers did not differ significantly although neighbors ranked slightly higher. The least important informal contact for the upper whites was relatives and they differed significantly from co-workers.

Informal Participation as Related to Sociological Variables.---Occupation. It was hypothesized that members of high occupational status would participate more informally with co-workers than those of low occupational status. Table 23 reports the analyses made. A significant difference was found when analysis was made for combined areas with those of higher status occupations having a higher level of informal participation with co-workers. For the lower area, only the Negroes reported a significant difference in the direction of the hypothesis.

Sex. The hypothesis was that females would have a greater proportion

TABLE 20.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between types of informal contact for lower whites\*

	Relatives	Neighbors	Co-Workers
Friends	- .42	-1.46 <sup>a</sup>	
Neighbors			-3.41 <sup>b</sup>

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $.0735 > p > .0708$ ;  
b.  $p < .0003$ .

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to type of informal contact: (1) Relatives:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Friends:  $n_2=20(R_2)$ ; (2) Friends:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Neighbors:  $n_2=20(R_2)$ ; (3) Neighbors:  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Co-Workers:  $n_2=20(R_2)$ .

TABLE 21.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between types of informal contact for Negroes\*

	Neighbors	Relatives	Co-Workers
Friends	- .83	-1.29 <sup>a</sup>	
Relatives			-2.47 <sup>b</sup>

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $.1003 > p > .0968$ ;  
b.  $.0069 > p > .0066$ .

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to type of informal contact: (1) Neighbors:  $n_1=34(R_1)$ -Friends:  $n_2=34(R_2)$ ; (2) Friends:  $n_1=34(R_1)$ -Relatives:  $n_2=34(R_2)$ ; (3) Relatives:  $n_1=34(R_1)$ -Co-Workers:  $n_2=34(R_2)$ .

TABLE 22.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between types of informal contact for upper whites\*

	Friends	Co-Workers	Relatives
Neighbors	-2.08 <sup>a</sup>	- .84	
Co-Workers			-2.07 <sup>b</sup>

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $.0192 > p > .0183$ ;  
b.  $.0197 > p > .0188$ .

\*The following is the assignment of ranks to type of informal contact: (1) Friends:  $n_1=41(R_1)$ -Neighbors:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ ; (2) Neighbors:  $n_1=41(R_1)$ -Co-Workers:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ ; (3) Co-Workers:  $n_1=41(R_1)$ -Relatives:  $n_2=41(R_2)$ .

participating informally at higher levels according to type of activity and type of contact (except with co-workers) than males. Tables 24 through 26 report the analyses conducted between sex and type of informal activity. Analysis made of combined areas (Table 24) showed a significant difference for visiting with females participating at higher levels than males. Further analyses made for each socio-economic area showed significant difference between sex and level of visiting only with the upper whites. No significant difference was found for the lower area although females had greater proportions who were high level participants as compared to males. With respect to telephoning (Table 25), combined area analysis reported a significant difference between sex and level of informal participation in the predicted direction of the hypothesis. An additional test showed that the lower area respondents also differed significantly according to sex and the use of the telephone as a source of informal participation. It was found that women had greater proportions who were high level participants than men. This same relationship was not found to be significant for the upper whites. For recreation (Table 26), no significant difference were found for any of the analyses conducted (combined areas, combined lower areas, lower whites, and upper whites); although, for the lower whites and upper whites the females had larger proportions who were high participants. For the Negroes the males had a larger proportion who had a high level of recreational participation.

With regard to level of participation according to type of informal contact as related to sex Table 27 through 30 report the results of the analyses made. Again, females were expected to have greater proportions who participated at a higher level than males except with co-workers. Analysis conducted for combined areas showed no significant difference between sex and level of informal contact with neighbors. This same result was reported when a test for combined racial groups of the lower areas was made. However,



TABLE 25.--Sex as related to type of informal activity: Telephoning

Sex	High	Lower Whites		High	%	Negroes		High	%	Upper Whites		
		Low	%			Low	%			Low	%	
Male	3	33	6	67	2	20	8	80	7	44	9	56
Female	6	55	5	45	12	50	12	59	16	64	9	36

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2 = 3.18$ ; 1 d/f;  $.10 > p > .05$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis  
 3. Upper Whites:  $\chi^2 = 1.26$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 4. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2 = 5.58$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .025$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

TABLE 26.--Sex as related to type of informal activity: Recreation

Sex	High	Lower Whites		High	%	Negroes		High	%	Upper Whites		
		Low	%			Low	%			Low	%	
Male	1	11	8	89	9	90	1	10	9	56	7	44
Female	2	22	9	78	13	54	11	46	15	60	10	40

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2 = .47$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Upper Whites:  $\chi^2 = .09$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .75$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 4. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2 = .16$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

inspection of Table 27 shows that for the upper whites females had a significantly larger proportion who participated with neighbors at a higher level than males. In the case of the lower whites and Negroes males were higher participators but the difference was not significant. Relatives as a source of informal contact was not significantly different between males and females as indicated by the analysis made (combined areas, combined lower area, lower whites, Negroes, and upper whites). See Table 29. However, except for the upper whites females had a greater proportion of respondents who participated at a higher level with relatives than men. Level of informal contact with friends was not significantly different between males and females as shown in Table 30. Inspection shows, however, that for each racial ethnic group women had greater proportions who were high level participators. With respect to co-workers, males, although not statistically significant, had higher levels of participation with co-workers (Table 27) than females for each of the racial ethnic groups which was expected according to the hypothesis.

Length of Residence in City. It was the stated hypothesis that the less mobile an individual would be the more likely he would have higher informal participation levels. This was tested by comparing those who were in the city less than ten years with those who had been a resident in the city more than ten years as to types of informal contact. Table 31 shows that a slightly larger proportion of those who had been in the city more than ten years had high levels of participation with neighbors, but no significant differences were recorded. With co-workers mixed trends were evident as indicated in Table 32. The analysis made for combined areas show a significant difference with residents of the city of less than ten years having higher levels of participation: a higher proportion of upper whites who had been in the city more than ten years were high level participants than was the case for the shorter term residents. However, the pattern was reversed for Negroes: those

TABLE 27.---Sex as related to type of informal contact: Neighbors

Sex	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites		%
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
Male	4	5	9	90	3	19	81
Female	2	9	15	63	15	60	40

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2=1.96$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Upper Area:  $\chi^2=6.96$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .01$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis  
 4. Combined Area:  $\chi^2=.51$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

TABLE 28.---Sex as related to type of informal contact: Co-Workers

Sex	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites		%
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
Male	1	8	6	60	12	75	25
Female	1	10	8	33	18	72	28

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2=.72$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Upper Area:  $\chi^2=1.5$ ; 1 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 4. Combined Area:  $\chi^2=1.48$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis



TABLE 29.---Sex as related to type of informal contact: Relativee

Sex	High	Lower Whites		Negroes	High	Negroes		High	Upper Whites			
		%	Low			%	Low		%	Low	%	Low
Male	5	56	4	44	4	40	6	60	7	44	9	56
Female	9	82	2	81	15	63	9	37	8	32	17	68

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2 = 2.13$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Upper Area:  $\chi^2 = .54$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 4. Combined Area:  $\chi^2 = .51$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

TABLE 30.---Sex as related to type of informal contact: Friends

Sex	High	Lower Whites		Negroes	High	Negroes		High	Upper Whites			
		%	Low			%	Low		%	Low	%	Low
Male	4	44	5	56	5	50	5	50	6	38	10	62
Female	5	45	6	55	14	58	10	42	14	56	11	44

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2 = .23$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Upper Area:  $\chi^2 = 1.34$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 4. Combined Area:  $\chi^2 = .25$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

who had resided in the city less than ten years had significantly more contact with co-workers than did the longer term residents. Analyses made between length of residence and level of informal contact with relatives produced no significant differences as Table 33 shows. For each racial group those who were long term residents had somewhat greater proportions who had higher levels of informal participation with relatives. Finally, level of participation with friends and length of residency showed no significant trends. Table 34 reports that for the lower whites and Negroes who had been in the city more than ten years had larger proportions who participated at higher levels with friends than those who had been in the city less than ten years. For the upper whites the reverse was true but no significant difference was found.

Age. Tables 35 through 37 reports the analyses between the three age categories and types of informal activity. It was hypothesized that younger age respondents would have higher levels of participation. Considering the relation of age to visiting a significant difference was found when analysis was made combining both areas. The direction seemed to be as predicted by the hypothesis with a larger proportion of the younger age groups having higher participation levels. Inspection of Table 35 shows a similar trend for the upper whites although no significant difference was found. In the lower area mixed patterns were evident. For the Negroes the youngest age group was significantly different from the middle age group in the predicted direction of the hypothesis. For the lower whites the middle age group and the oldest age group had the largest proportion who were high level participants but no significant differences were found. With respect to telephoning and age Table 36 reports the analyses that were made. For the lower area, the middle age group had a significantly larger proportion who participated more informally at higher levels as the analysis made for combined lower area shows. This was further substantiated by the significant difference which

TABLE 31.---Length of residence as related to type of informal contact: Neighbors

Length of Residence	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Less Than 10 years	0	1	7	70	5	38
More Than 10 years	6	32	17	71	12	43

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

2. Upper Area:  $\chi^2 = .07$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .75$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

3. Combined Area:  $\chi^2 = .08$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .75$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

TABLE 32.---Length of residence as related to type of informal contact: Co-Workers

Length of Residence	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Less Than 10 years	0	1	7	70	8	62
More Than 10 years	2	11	7	29	22	79

1. Combined Area:  $\chi^2 = .28$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .05$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis



existed between the youngest age category and the middle age category for the Negroes. Among the upper whites the oldest age category was the most active but the differences by age were not significant. Recreation also showed mixed trends in level of participation as related to age. For combined lower area analysis, the difference was significant with the youngest age category proportionately more active than the older respondents. Inspection of Table 37 shows, however, that for the lower whites the youngest age category had the lowest level of participation while with the Negroes the category had the highest level of participation. No significant differences were found when analyses were made for the lower whites and Negroes. The upper whites showed a direct relationship between level of participation and age although the differences were not significant.

#### Interrelationship Between Formal and Informal Participation

It was postulated that those who were active participants in formal organizations would not stress informal participation to the same extent as those who had only slight or no formal participation. Therefore, it was expected that an inverse relationship would exist between level of formal participation and level of informal participation. Table 38 shows that this hypothesis was not confirmed when those who were formal participants were compared to their level of informal participation in visiting, telephoning, and recreation. No significant differences were found between those who were high participants and their level of informal participation and low formal participants and their level of participation although a small negative correlation did exist for visiting and telephoning. It seems that those who were high participants formally would be just as likely to have high informal participation as those who were low participants formally.

Further analyses were made by comparing the level of informal participation

TABLE 35.--Age as related to type of informal activity: Visiting\*

Age	Lower Whites			Negroes			Upper Whites					
	High	Low	%	High	Low	%	High	Low	%			
34 & Under	1	2	67	13	93	1	7	3	50	3	50	
35-54	3	50	3	50	7	50	7	50	7	30	16	70
55 & Over	5	45	6	55	4	80	1	20	3	27	8	73

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $34$  & Under-.55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 $35$  to  $54$ -.55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

2. Negroes: Fisher Exact Test;  $34$  & Under-.35 to  $54$ :  $p < .05$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis  
 $34$  & Under-.55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 $35$  to  $54$ -.55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

3. Upper Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $34$  & Under-.55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 $4$ . Combined Lower Area:  $X^2=4.48$ ; 2 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

5. Combined Area:  $X^2=7.46$ ; 2 d/f;  $.025 > p > .01$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*The number of refusals are: Negroes-1; Upper Whites-1

TABLE 37.--Age as related to type of informal activity: Recreation\*

Age	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
34 & Under	0	3	11	79	2	4
35-54	2	33	7	50	15	8
55 & Over	1	10	3	60	7	4

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test; 34 & Under-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

35 to 54-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

2. Negroes: Fisher Exact Test; 34 & Under-35 to 54:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

34 & Under-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

35 to 54-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

3. Upper Whites: Fisher Exact Test; 34 & Under-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

4. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2=20.44$ ; 2 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

5. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2=1.56$ ; 2 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

\*The number of unknowns are: Negroes-1; Upper Whites-1.

TABLE 36.--Age as related to type of informal activity: Telephoning\*

Age	Lower Whites			Negroes			Upper Whites				
	High	Low	%	High	Low	%	High	Low	%		
34 & Under	1	2	67	2	14	12	86	4	67	2	33
35-54	3	50	3	50	10	71	4	29	11	48	52
55 & Over	5	45	6	55	2	40	3	60	8	73	27

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test; 34 & Under-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

35 to 54-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

2. Negroes: Fisher Exact Test; 34 & Under-35 to 54:  $p < .05$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

34 & Under-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

35 to 54-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

3. Upper Whites: Fisher Exact Test; 34 & Under-55 & Over:  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

4. Combined Lower Area:  $\chi^2=8.38$ ; 2 d/f;  $.025 > p > .01$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

5. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2=4.41$ ; 2 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

\*The number of refusals are: Negroes-1; Upper Whites-1.



TABLE 38.--Spearman rank correlations between formal participation and types of informal activity

Visiting	Telephoning	Recreation
-.13	-.10	.10

of high participators formally (those whose formal scores were above the median) of the upper area with those who were non-participators formally in the lower area. Table 39 reports the analysis. For all three types of informal activity (visiting, telephoning, and recreation) significant differences were found. The lower area had greater proportions who were high informal participators through visiting and recreation than those of the upper area. The upper area had significantly higher levels of participation through telephoning than those of the low area.

TABLE 39.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between lower area non-formal participants and upper area high formal participants according to type of informal activity

	Upper Area (High Formal Participants)		
	Visiting	Telephoning	Recreation
Lower Area Non-Formal Participants	4.68 <sup>a</sup>	-3.48 <sup>b</sup>	3.16 <sup>c</sup>

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $p < .00003$ ;

b.  $p < .0003$ ; c.  $p < .0008$ .

The following is the assignment of ranks to the above groups:

(1) Upper Area:  $n_1=21(R_1)$ -Lower Area:  $n_2=29(R_2)$ .

## Social Participation and Attitudes

It was expected that there would be a difference in the attitudes held toward the community by the respondents of the socio-economic areas. Specifically, the lower area would show more unfavorable attitudes toward the community than the high socio-economic area. Table 40 shows the results of the attitudinal comparisons. It was found that no significant attitudinal differences existed between any of the three groups with respect to the first item although the lower area had a larger proportion of respondents who were unfavorable toward the community than did those of the upper area. On the second item, dealing with differential treatment, significant differences were found in the attitudes of lower whites and Negroes and also Negroes and upper whites. A much higher proportion of Negroes felt that snobbishness characterized the community and that many people were treated unfairly in it than did either lower or upper whites. Item three shows significant attitudinal differences between lower whites and Negroes and lower whites and upper whites. A higher proportion of lower whites felt that the city did offer the opportunity for equality in comparison to both the Negroes and upper whites. Finally, by inspection of item four we see that all three groups were substantially in agreement that the people in the city are friendly.

From the evidence it cannot be concluded that the lower socio-economic area was more unfavorable toward the community than the upper area. In fact, in some instances a higher proportion of those in the upper area were more unfavorable toward the community than either the lower whites or Negroes. However, there were certain trends evident: a higher proportion of Negroes felt that inequality did exist in the city as compared to the lower and upper whites. The least likely to feel this way were the lower whites. In addition,

TABLE 40.--Community attitudinal differences between low and high socio-economic areas

Item 1: The city government is concerned about all parts of city development and does not play favorites.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	4	27	8	33	15	50
Disagree	11	73	16	67	15	50
Total	15	100	24	100	30	100

1. Lower Whites-Negroes:  $X^2=1.18$ ; 1 d/f;  $.75 > p > .50$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

2. Lower Whites-Upper Whites:  $X^2=2.18$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

3. Negroes-Upper Whites:  $X^2=1.48$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-5; Negroes-10; Upper Whites-11

Item 2: This city is snobbish and many people are treated unfairly in it.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	4	25	19	61	5	16
Disagree	12	75	12	39	27	84
Total	16	100	31	100	32	100

1. Lower Whites-Negroes:  $X^2=5.56$ ; 1 d/f;  $.025 > p > .01$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

2. Lower Whites-Upper Whites:  $X^2=.62$ ; 1 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

3. Negroes-Upper Whites:  $X^2=13.80$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-4; Negroes-4; Upper Whites-9.

TABLE 40.--Continued

Item 3: This city offers any individual regardless of race, religions, or nationality, the opportunity for equality.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	11	65	9	29	9	30
Disagree	6	35	22	71	21	70
Total	17	100	31	100	30	100

1. Lower Whites-Negroes:  $\chi^2=5.70$ ; 1 d/f;  $.025 > p > .01$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

2. Lower Whites-Upper Whites:  $\chi^2=5.45$ ; 1 d/f;  $.025 > p > .01$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

3. Negroes-Upper Whites:  $\chi^2=.003$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .90$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-3; Negroes-3; Upper Whites-11

Item 4: Most of the people in this city are friendly.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	17	94	28	82	35	95
Disagree	1	06	6	18	2	05
Total	18	100	34	100	37	100

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-2; Upper Whites-4

both the lower whites and Negroes had larger proportions as compared to the upper whites who felt that the city was not concerned about development in all areas of the community.

It was further hypothesized that there would be a difference in the attitudes held in regards to neighbors with the lower area being more favorable toward the neighbors than the upper area. The comparisons of neighboring attitudes are reported in Table 41. All three groups had about the same proportion who agreed and disagreed with respect to having neighbors dropping in at any time. In each case the majority responded favorably to this item. On attitudes toward the neighborhood of residence, significant difference existed between lower whites and upper whites and Negroes and upper whites. A higher proportion of people in the lower area felt that the neighborhood was not a desirable place to buy a home than did those in the upper area. On the third item, only the Negroes differed significantly from the lower and upper whites; a higher proportion of Negroes felt that their neighbors were prying into other peoples business than of either category of whites. All groups seemed to have substantially similar attitudes toward neighbor dependability in time of sickness; again a clear majority of each racial group responded favorably. Finally, the lower area differed significantly from the upper area with respect to attitudes toward the neighborhood as a place to rear children; relatively fewer lower whites and Negroes felt the neighborhood was an ideal place to raise children as compared to upper whites.

Essentially, the results showed the following differences between the lower area and the upper area. The neighborhood as an ideal place to raise children or to buy a home was not considered in a favorable perspective by the lower area as compared to the upper area. With respect to actual neighboring both areas responded favorably.

TABLE 41.--Neighboring attitudinal differences between low and high socio-economic areas

Item 1: It is nice to have neighbors drop in at any time.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	12	63	16	50	20	53
Disagree	7	37	16	50	18	47
Total	19	100	32	100	38	100

1. Lower Whites-Negroes:  $X^2=1.54$ ; 1 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis2. Lower Whites-Upper Whites:  $X^2=.97$ ; 1 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis3. Negroes-Upper Whites:  $X^2=.06$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .75$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-1; Negroes-2; Upper Whites-3

Item 2: This neighborhood is not a desirable place to buy a home.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	14	70	16	53	1	03
Disagree	6	30	14	47	40	97
Total	20	100	30	100	41	100

1. Lower Whites-Negroes:  $X^2=1.65$ ; 1 d/f;  $.25 > p > .10$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis2. Lower Whites-Upper Whites:  $X^2=36.26$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis3. Negroes-Upper Whites:  $X^2=23.78$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Negroes-4

TABLE 41.--Continued

Item 3: Around this neighborhood people are always prying into other people's business.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	3	17	14	50	0	00
Disagree	15	83	14	50	39	100
Total	18	100	28	100	39	100

1. Lower Whites-Negroes:  $\chi^2=5.35$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .025$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

2. Negroes-Upper Whites:  $\chi^2=24.31$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-2; Negroes-6; Upper Whites-2

Item 4: Neighbors can be depended upon for help in the event of trouble or sickness.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	15	79	28	87	40	97
Disagree	4	21	4	13	1	03
Total	19	100	32	100	41	100

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-1; Negroes-2.

TABLE 41.--Continued

Item 5: This neighborhood is an ideal place to raise children.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agree	7	47	9	31	39	97
Disagree	8	53	20	69	1	03
Total	15	100	29	100	40	100

1. Lower Whites-Negroes:  $X^2=.98$ ; 1 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis2. Negroes-Upper Whites:  $X^2=35.25$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-5; Negroes-5; Upper Whites-1



Community attitudes and organizational affiliation.--Item 1: The city government is concerned about all parts of city development and does not play favorites. It was hypothesized that those who were in agreement with this statement would be more likely to belong to formal organizations than those who disagreed. Table 42 reports the analysis made. No significant differences were found between those who were affiliated with formal organizations and those who were not affiliated for each of the three racial groups. Even when analysis was made for combined areas no significant difference was found although those who were more negative were less likely to be affiliated in formal organizations.

Item 2: This city is snobbish and many people are treated unfairly in it. The hypothesis was that those who disagreed with this statement would be more likely to belong to formal organizations than those who agreed with it. Table 42 shows that there was no significant difference for the lower whites and Negroes between those who agreed with the statement and those who disagreed with it and the likelihood of belonging to formal organizations. However, for each racial group a higher proportion who disagreed to the statement did affiliate more. Combined areas analysis showed a significant difference with those who disagreed with the statement more likely to be affiliated.

Item 3: This city offers any individual regardless of race, religion, or nationality, the opportunity for equality. It was hypothesized that those who did agree with this statement would be more likely to join formal organizations than those who disagreed. Table 42 shows that the proportion who belong to formal organizations were about the same regardless of the attitude that one has with respect to equality. Combined areas analysis showed no significant difference although those who were negative were also more likely to be

TABLE 42.---Community attitudes and organizational affiliation for both low and high socio-economic areas

Item 1: The city government is concerned about all parts of city development and does not play favorites.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Affiliated Number	%	Affiliated Number	%	Affiliated Number	%
Agree	2	50	2	25	14	93
Disagree	5	45	7	44	11	73
					1	07
					4	27

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Negroes: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Upper Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 4. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2=1.02$ ; 1 d/f;  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 \*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-5; Negroes-10; Upper Whites-11.

Item 2: This city is snobbish and many people are treated unfairly in it.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites	
	Affiliated Number	%	Affiliated Number	%	Affiliated Number	%
Agree	1	25	8	42	3	60
Disagree	7	58	7	58	25	93
					2	40
					2	07

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 2. Negroes:  $\chi^2=.79$ ; 1 d/f;  $p > .30$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis  
 3. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2=10.60$ ; 1 d/f;  $p < .005$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis  
 \*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-4; Negroes-4; Upper Whites-9.

Item 3: This city offers any individual regardless of race, religion, or nationality, the opportunity for equality.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites							
	Affiliated Number	Non Affiliated %	Affiliated Number	Non Affiliated %	Affiliated Number	Non Affiliated %						
Agree	3	27	8	73	5	56	4	44	8	89	1	11
Disagree	4	67	2	33	11	50	11	50	18	86	3	14

1. Lower Whites: Fisher Exact Test;  $p > .05$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

2. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2 = .98$ ;  $d/f$ :  $.50 > p > .25$ ; Accept Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-3; Negroes-3; Upper Whites-11.

Item 4: Most of the people in this city are friendly.\*

Response	Lower Whites		Negroes		Upper Whites							
	Affiliated Number	Non Affiliated %	Affiliated Number	Non Affiliated %	Affiliated Number	Non Affiliated %						
Agree	7	41	10	59	14	50	14	50	31	89	4	11
Disagree	0	0	1	100	1	17	5	83	2	100	0	0

1. Combined Areas:  $\chi^2 = 3.27$ ;  $1 \text{ d/f}$ ;  $.10 > p > .05$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*The following were undecided: Lower Whites-2; Upper Whites-4.

affiliated.

Item 4. Most of the people in this city are friendly. No differences among the respondents and their attitudes toward the friendliness of the people in the city were found. However, inspection of Table 42 shows that those of the lower area who disagreed or were unfavorable to the question were less likely to be affiliated than those who responded favorably. Analysis for combined areas showed a significant difference with those who were in agreement with the statement more likely to be affiliated.

Neighborhood attitudes and informal participation.---It is nice to have neighbors drop in at any time. It was hypothesized that those who were most favorable to having neighbors drop in at any time would have higher informal participation scores with neighbors than those who were less favorable. Table 43 shows the results of the comparison made. For the whites, Negroes, and upper area no significant differences were found between those who were favorable and those who were not favorable. The hypothesis was rejected. No comparisons were made between areas since no significant differences were found between areas and the attitudes that were held.

TABLE 43.---Mann-Whitney comparisons between neighboring attitudes and neighboring participation for lower whites, Negroes, and upper whites\*

Item: It is nice to have neighbors drop in at any time.

	Lower Whites Agree	Negroes Agree	Upper White Agree
Disagree	27.50	117	172

\*In the comparisons made  $n_2$  was less than 20 which meant using Table K of Sidney Siegal's Nonparametric Statistics, pp. 274-77. Populations  $n_1$  and  $n_2$  were as follows: Lower whites(agree)- $n_2=12$  and lower whites(disagree)- $n_1=7$ ; Negroes (disagree)- $n_1=16$  and Negroes(agree)- $n_2=16$ ; Upper whites(disagree)- $n_1=18$  and upper whites(agree)- $n_2=20$ .

This neighborhood is not a desirable place to buy a home. It was hypothesized that informal participation with neighbors would be positively related to the extent that one enjoys his immediate surroundings. Thus, those who felt that the neighborhood was a desirable place to buy a home would have higher participation levels than those who felt that it was not a desirable place. Table 44 shows the results of the comparisons that were made for the lower whites and Negroes. No tests were conducted for upper whites since virtually all the upper whites were in agreement that the neighborhood they reside in was a nice place to buy a home. No significant differences were found for whites and Negroes and those who felt it was a nice place to buy a home and for those who felt it wasn't. Comparisons between lower whites and upper whites and Negroes and upper whites were conducted as Table 44 reports. Those who agreed with the statement for the lower whites and Negroes were compared to the upper whites who disagreed with the statement. No significant differences were found between lower whites and upper whites. However, between the Negroes and upper whites a significant difference was found with Negroes having a higher participation level than the upper whites. This was not expected according to the hypothesis.

Around this neighborhood people are prying into other people's business. It was hypothesized that those who felt that neighbors were prying into other people's business would be less likely to be high participators with their neighbors. Table 45 shows the comparison made within the Negroes. No significant differences were found between those who agreed with the statement and those who disagreed. Between areas tests were conducted for Negroes and lower whites and Negroes and upper whites and the results are reported in Table 45. Those Negroes who agreed with the statement were compared with those who disagreed with the statement. Negroes who agreed were also compared with whites who disagreed. Significant differences were found between Negroes and

lower whites with the Negroes having a larger proportion who were higher participators than the lower whites. A similar findings was reported between Negroes and upper whites. These findings are surprising and in contradiction to this hypothesis.

TABLE 44.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between neighboring attitudes and neighboring participation for lower whites, Negroes, and upper whites\*

Item: This neighborhood is not a desirable place to buy a home.

	Lower Whites Agree	Negroes Agree
Disagree	29.00	117.00
Upper Whites Disagree	.84	-1.45 <sup>a</sup>

a.  $.0749 > p > .0721$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*Results that are recorded in this table include  $n_2$  population less than 20 and  $n_2$  populations more than 20. Considering the population less than 20,  $n_1$  and  $n_2$  were as follows: Lower whites(disagree)- $n_1=6$  and lower whites(agree)- $n_2=14$ ; Negroes(disagree)- $n_1=14$  and Negroes(agree)- $n_2=16$ .

The following is the assignment of ranks to each group:

(1) Lower whites(agree):  $n_1=14(R_1)$ -Upper whites(disagree):  $n_2=40(R_2)$ ;

(2) Negroes(agree):  $n_1=16(R_1)$ -Upper whites(disagree):  $n_2=40(R_2)$ .

TABLE 45.--Mann-Whitney comparisons between neighboring attitudes and neighboring participation for lower whites, Negroes, and upper whites\*

Item: Around this neighborhood people are always prying into other people's business.

	Negroes Disagree	Lower Whites Disagree	Upper Whites Disagree
Negroes Agree	73.5	37.5 <sup>a</sup>	-2.41 <sup>b</sup>

The above were significant at the following levels: a.  $p < .05$ ;

b.  $.0082 > p > .0078$ .

\*Results that are recorded in this table include  $n_2$  populations less than 20 and  $n_2$  populations more than 20. Considering first the populations less than 20,  $n_1$  and  $n_2$  were as follows: Negroes(agree)- $n_1=14$  and Negroes(disagree)- $n_2=14$ ; Negroes(agree)- $n_1=14$  and lower whites(disagree)- $n_2=15$ .

The following is the assignment of ranks to each group:

(1) Negroes(agree):  $n_1=14(R_1)$ -Upper whites(disagree):  $n_2=39(R_2)$ .

Neighbors can be depended upon for help in the event of trouble or sickness. Table 41 shows the similarities between the three racial groups. Essentially, they were in vast agreement in a favorable direction to this question. No tests were conducted since it has already been established the level of informal participation with neighbors for each of the racial groups.<sup>3</sup>

This neighborhood is an ideal place to raise children. Again it was hypothesized that those who agreed with this statement would be more likely to be higher participators with neighbors than those who disagreed with it. Comparisons within the lower whites and Negroes are shown in Table 46. No significant differences were found to exist for either lower whites and Negroes. Comparisons made (see Table 46) between the upper whites who agreed with the statement with the Negroes who disagreed show a significant difference with the Negroes having greater proportion who visited at a higher level informally with neighbors.

TABLE 46.—Mann-Whitney comparisons between neighboring attitudes and neighboring participation for lower whites, Negroes, and upper whites\*

Item: This neighborhood is an ideal place to raise children.

	Lower Whites Agree	Negroes Agree	Upper Whites Agree
Lower Whites Disagree	24.5		
Negroes Disagree		76.00	-2.10 <sup>a</sup>

a. .0183)  $p > .0174$ ; Reject Null Hypothesis

\*Results that are recorded in this table include  $n_2$  population less than 20 and  $n_2$  populations more than 20. Considering first the population less than 20,  $n_1$  and  $n_2$  were as follows: Lower whites(disagree)- $n_2=7$  and lower whites (agree)- $n_1=8$ ; Negroes(disagree)- $n_2=20$  and Negroes(agree)- $n_1=9$ . The following is the assignment of ranks to each group:

(1) Negroes(disagree):  $n_1=20(R_1)$ -Upper whites(agree):  $n_2=39(R_2)$ .

<sup>3</sup>For the results of these tests determining the level of neighboring see pp. 62 & 63.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

It was the purpose of this study to investigate the structuring of social participation within a small city. Specifically, two socio-economically contrasting social areas were used to determine the ways in which formal and informal participation would be structured. It was thought that two selected social areas, with quite distinct sub-cultures, would tend to show significant differences in levels of formal and informal participation.

The theoretical approach which guided this research emphasized that man is a social creature; thus, he seeks the companionship of others. The authors of Individual In Society assert that one of the basic social wants of man that influences his social behavior is the 'affiliation want.'

"People everywhere seem to derive a considerable amount of satisfaction from associating with, or just being near other persons. We have all experienced, on many occasions a demanding need for the company of our fellows. Indeed, the affiliation want, by drawing men together, makes society possible...Groups, crowds, organizations, societies--all of these testify to the universality of the affiliation want."<sup>1</sup>

The way in which urban man affiliates with others has been under constant study. Past research shows that individuals of certain social characteristics (such as having higher levels of income, education and occupational status)

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<sup>1</sup>David Krech, Richard Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual In Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1962), p. 89.



tend to have high levels of affiliation in secondary groups. It does not necessarily follow that those who do not share these characteristics (i.e. have lower levels of income, education, and occupations) do not affiliate and are social isolates; this author contends that their affiliation 'need' is met mainly through primary group associations which emphasize informal participation. These differing patterns of affiliation should be evident when comparing distinctive socio-economic areas. For example, people in a high socio-economic area will structure their social relationships primarily through formal organizations. On the other hand, a low socio-economic area will be characterized by relatively low formal participation but increased emphasis on informal participation.

To account for the differing participation patterns in the two contrasting socio-economic areas, the concept of alienation was employed. It was assumed that the lower class is truly an alienated stratum. At this level, life chances are seriously impaired by position within the system; consequently, such people are alienated from the social system at large and the institutionalized means by which its values are implemented. Specifically, they are alienated from formal organizations which represent and implement the values of the larger community and do not affiliate with them to the extent that the higher classes do. However, this deficit of formal participation in the lower area will be compensated for by increased informal participation. Blum states: "...as the working-class person is alienated from a wider range of...contacts...he becomes increasingly involved in more intense and intimate personal relationships with his homogeneous community of friends."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Alan F. Blum, "Social Structure, Social Class, and Participation in Primary Relationships," Blue-Collar World, ed. Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 205.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 205.

Another factor associated with alienation is racial identity. Certain racial minority groups (particularly Negroes) come to view themselves as underdogs who are rejected by the larger society. They fail to relate to the community at large (through affiliation in formal organizations) and to feel a part of it. Negroes would not, however, remain socially isolated but would show high levels of informal participation within their sub-group.

It has been assumed that an alienated person will manifest measurably negative attitudes toward the social system in which he is a low level participant--that is, that lack of affiliation with the voluntary associations of a community and unfavorable attitudes toward the community will be closely related. Lower class alienated persons will not only have few or no formal affiliations but will also show more unfavorable attitudes toward the community. In addition, because of this lack of formal participation within the larger community, increased solidarity will occur within the sub-group, resulting in more favorable attitudes toward neighbors, friends, etc.. As Knupfer remarks; "...Friendliness, solidarity and mutual aid have sometimes been cited as characteristic of the ethic of the underprivileged as opposed to bourgeois competitiveness and self-reliance."<sup>4</sup>

Certain social characteristics (such as education, income, occupation, sex, age, number of children in the family, and length of residence in the city) have been repeatedly related to formal and informal participation. It was assumed in this study that similar patterns would exist irrespective of the social area. For example, levels of education and income would be directly related to level of formal participation in both the low and high socio-economic areas.

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<sup>4</sup>Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," Class, Status, and Power, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 258.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the task of interpreting the findings of this study in light of the theoretical framework this author has constructed. However, several qualifying statements should be made to put the interpretation of the findings in proper perspective. The small sample for the low socio-economic area precludes absolute generalizations to the population studied. This small sample was the result of under-estimating the Negro population in the sample area. Moreover, it was not anticipated that lower whites would appear in the sample with sufficient frequency to constitute a separate category. They did appear, however, in sufficient numbers to justify attempts to analyze their participation patterns. However, their number was such as to significantly diminish the Negro sample. The resulting sample precluded certain desired analyses and made the interpretation of others extremely tentative. In many instances, even when categories were combined, sufficient cases were lacking for sound statistical manipulation. In such instances, the data have been discussed solely in terms of proportions.

#### The Findings

In this section, the major findings will be presented in two parts: first, results which lend support to this writer's theory and second, those which contradict the theory or raise questions about it.

Supportive findings.—Affiliation with formal organizations. As anticipated, a significantly higher proportion of the sample from the high socio-economic area was affiliated with formal organizations than from the low area.

Affiliation and socio-economic variables. This study undertook the analysis of certain sociological variables as they related to affiliation with formal organizations. The following significant patterns were found.

(1) Affiliation and income: An analysis based upon the combined areas showed affiliation with formal organizations to be directly related to income. This difference was not apparent for whites and Negroes in the lower area. It

seems that the combined effect was due entirely to the upper area which was preponderately high income and high participation. These results suggest the importance of the ecological factor. Perhaps alienation is such in the lower area as to disrupt the normal relationship between income and formal participation. (2) Affiliation and occupation: Utilizing combined area data, the higher the occupation status the higher the proportion affiliated. Even though there were no significant differences within each of the sub-populations taken separately, a larger proportion of those of higher occupational status were affiliated in each instance. Perhaps these differences were not apparent because of the nature of the statistical test that was used. With a limited number of N's, the Fisher Exact test is statistically more conservative. (3) Affiliation and education: Analysis for the combined areas showed that affiliation with formal organizations was directly related to education. However, this combined effect seemed to be due to the fact that the majority of those of the lower area had only a high school education or less and were mostly non-affiliated while the majority of those of the upper area had at least some college education and were nearly all affiliated with formal organizations. Actually, the differences between educational levels and affiliation with formal organizations within each area were slight which further substantiates the contention that ecological-associated differences may off-set the usually encountered patterns. (4) Affiliation and age: Analyses showed that for the combined lower area and the combined lower and upper areas the middle age group was more likely to be affiliated than either the younger or older age groups. This was especially true for the lower area; for the upper area all age groups were affiliated in large proportions. (5) Affiliation and length of residence in the city: Analysis for the lower area showed that those whose residence exceeded ten years were more likely to be affiliated with formal organizations than those

who were in the city less than ten years. However, there was no significant difference between the proportions of short term and long term residents affiliated in the upper area.

Community attitudes and affiliation with formal organizations. The results, combining all respondents from both socio-economic areas, showed that those who were more positive toward the community with respect to certain items were more likely to be affiliated with formal organizations. There was a significant difference in the levels of affiliation of those agreeing and those disagreeing with the following items: "This city is snobbish and many people are treated unfairly in it" and "Most of the people in this city are friendly." Also, there is an apparent trend on the following item with those who were more positive also more likely to be affiliated: "The city government is concerned about all parts of city development and does not play favorites."

Informal participation and area patterns. The following types of informal activity and types of informal contact occurred with significantly differing frequencies in the two contrasting socio-economic areas. Visiting was higher in the lower area than in the upper area while telephoning occurred with significantly greater frequency in the upper area than in the lower area. Participation with relatives was higher in the lower area than in the upper area, yet the latter had significantly higher levels of participation with co-workers than the lower area. Within the lower area, it was found that Negroes were higher informal participators than lower whites in visiting and recreation; moreover, they participated at higher levels with neighbors than did the lower whites.

For the upper whites, type of informal activity assumed the following order: telephoning, visiting, and recreation. Negroes had as their greatest source of informal activity visiting, then telephoning, and lastly, recreation.

Non-formal participators of the lower area were much higher in visiting and recreation than were high formal participators of the upper area.

Informal participation as related to sociological variables. In this study the following significant differences were found. (1) Informal participation and occupation: Analysis for the combined areas showed that those of higher status occupations had higher levels of informal participation with co-workers than did those of lower status. This was particularly true for the lower area. Negroes who were of high status occupations participated significantly more informally with co-workers than did those of lower status. (2) Informal participation and sex: A combined area analysis showed that females had higher levels of visiting than males. However, this difference was not significant for the lower area. Furthermore, the combined area analysis showed that females had higher levels of informal participation than males through telephoning. Considering type of informal contact, females of the upper area participated at a higher level informally with neighbors than males. (3) Informal participation and age: A combined area analysis showed that the youngest age group participated at higher levels of visiting than the other age groups. This was, however, entirely due to the very high proportion of Negro high level participators in the 34 and under age category. Combined lower area analysis showed that the younger and middle age groups participated more actively in recreation than the older age group. But, for the individual groups of the lower area, it was the youngest age group of the Negroes and the middle age group of the lower whites that had the highest levels of participation.

Non-supportive findings.---Affiliation with formal organizations. This study showed that the Negroes were as likely to be affiliated with formal organizations as were lower whites. In fact, Negroes were affiliated at slightly higher levels than lower whites. In addition, no differences existed between

the high socio-economic area and the low socio-economic area as regards level of activity in the formal organizations. The lower area respondents attended meetings just as regularly as the upper whites and, in the case of the Negroes, attendance at all of the meetings was a larger proportion than it was for the upper whites.

Affiliation and socio-economic variables. Certain sociological variables, when related to affiliation with formal organizations, showed no significant patterns. (1) Affiliation and sex: There was no significant difference between male and female affiliation; however, a somewhat higher proportion of females were affiliated. (2) Affiliation and number of children in the family: The analyses that were made showed that number of children in the family was not a factor affecting formal affiliation.

Community attitudes and affiliation with formal organizations. This study showed that the lower area overall had no more unfavorable attitudes toward the city than were found in the upper area. The attitudinal questions covered three main items: city development, inequality, and friendliness of the people. Negroes, on the first two items, were rather negative. The lower whites responded negatively to the first item while the upper whites held negative attitudes on the first two items. Analyses made for individual racial groups showed no significant difference between level of affiliation and favorableness toward the community.

Informal participation. For the following types of activity and contacts no significant differences were found between the low and high socio-economic areas: Recreation, friends, and neighbors. It was also found that the lower whites replaced visiting with telephoning as the most important type of informal activity. According to type of informal contact, Negroes replaced relatives with neighbors and friends and the upper whites replaced co-workers with neighbors. Lastly, no significant difference was found between high and

low formal participators and their respective levels of informal participation.

Neighborhood attitudes and informal participation. The results showed that the lower area residents were more negative toward their neighborhood than were those of the upper area. The particular items were: "This neighborhood is not a desirable place to buy a home" and "This neighborhood is an ideal place to raise children." With respect to attitudes toward neighbors, the Negro respondents were decidedly more negative on one of two items: neighbors have a tendency to pry into others' business.

This study found that Negroes who felt their neighborhood was not a desirable place to buy a home had higher levels of informal participation with neighbors than did upper whites who responded favorably to this statement. More Negroes than either lower or upper whites felt that their neighbors were "always prying into other people's business;" yet Negroes had higher levels of informal participation with neighbors than either lower or upper whites. Finally, Negroes had higher levels of informal participation with neighbors than upper whites even though more of them felt their neighborhood was not an ideal place to raise children.

Informal participation as related to sociological variables. The following patterns were found. (1) Informal participation and sex: In the lower area, males were more active with neighbors than were females. For relatives, friends, and co-workers no significant differences were found between males and females and level of informal participation. (2) Informal participation and length of residence: Negroes whose residence was less than ten years had larger proportions who participated informally at higher levels with co-workers. No significant differences were reported for relatives, friends, neighbors and for co-workers (except Negroes). (3) Informal participation and age: In the lower area, the middle and older age groups had higher levels of participation through telephoning than the younger age group.



## Discussion

Formal participation.--The evidence persuasively indicates that those of the low socio-economic area did not engage in social participation primarily through formal organizations. In fact, for both lower whites and Negroes, a majority clearly belonged to one or none. The importance of class was evident when the upper socio-economic area was considered. The members of this area were in direct contrast to those of the low socio-economic area with a vast majority affiliated with formal organizations. Assuming that affiliation in formal organizations is essential in relating to the larger social structure, then the members of the low socio-economic area were definitely alienated from the larger structure. This, of course, would have a profound effect upon their lives. Coping with their social environment would be more difficult; moreover, promoting their political and economic interests would be unlikely because "political effectiveness demands that the individual participate in the political processes as a member of an organization."<sup>5</sup>

Contrary to expectations, racial identification did not seem to be an important factor in alienating certain racial groups from formal organizations.<sup>6</sup> Surprisingly, Negroes tended to be affiliated more than lower whites which, essentially, supports Babchuk's conclusion:

"...American Negroes belong to a far greater number of formal voluntary associations than whites. We found this was true for Negroes at all social class levels when compared to their white counterparts, but it was especially true of lower-class Negroes...two thirds of the lower class Negroes...belonged to one or more voluntary associations. An even greater proportion of Negroes in the higher social classes were found to be affiliated..."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Murray Hausknecht, "The Blue-Collar Joiner," Blue Collar World, ed. Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 207.

<sup>6</sup>Richard Bloom, Martin Whiteman, and Martin Deutsch, "Race and Social Class as Separate Factors Related to Social Environment," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70 (January, 1965). This study found that social class may be a more potent variable than race in predicting environmental and attitudinal factors, pp. 471-76.

<sup>7</sup>Nicholas Babchuk and Ralph V. Thompson, op. cit., p. 652.

Myrdal sees this greater affiliative tendency of Negroes as a result of a pathological condition expressed in the following ways: (1) Because they are not allowed to be active in much of the other organized life of American society they are active in expressive associations. (2) Type of organization and the content of meetings that are popular in Negro circles follow a pattern which is a generation behind the general American pattern. For example, lodges of white membership began to be unpopular at least thirty years ago; Negro lodges declined, not because they were unpopular, but because they failed to pay insurance premiums. (3) The Negro organizations accomplish so little in comparison to what their members set out to achieve by means of them.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Myrdal contends that the type of organizations the Negro affiliates with, which indicates this pathological condition, is the 'expressive' type. While this study did not focus on affiliation and type of organization, Babchuk's study did confirm Myrdal's thesis. He found that Negroes were more likely to belong to expressive associations (e.g. Birthday Clubs, North Side Squires, Saturday Nighters Society, etc.) than 'instrumental' type organizations.<sup>9</sup> Assuming that greater frequency of active participation will occur in expressive types of organizations rather than instrumental types, perhaps the extensive participation of Negroes found in this study indicates affiliation with expressive types of organizations.

It has already been stated that occupying a low class position inhibits very extensive affiliation with formal organizations of the larger community by creating a feeling of alienation. This seemed to be evident when consideration was made of attitudes held toward the community. Even though the results showed no decisive difference between the areas and responding negatively or positively toward the community, the pattern indicated that the lower area

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<sup>8</sup>Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 952-54.

<sup>9</sup>Babchuk and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 653.

residents were slightly more negative and this was especially true for the Negroes. This writer feels that, in order to demonstrate a feeling of alienation by the lower area, it is necessary to interpret the responses of the individuals to these attitudinal questions within the perspective of their own social situation. Thus, the upper whites (these were comprised mainly of academic people who were more likely to be sympathetic with minority groups) responded to these questions not as they related to their own situation but to the situation of the minority group; no feelings of alienation are necessarily to be imputed. Negroes, however, responded to the questions as they related to their own particular situation and feelings of alienation are, therefore, indicated. The lower whites were not alienated. They responded negatively only on the item dealing with the city government being equally concerned with all parts of the city. Possibly, they were not as negative toward the community as the Negroes were because they lived in geographical proximity with a supposedly discriminated against group, but they did not have to face the social restrictions that Negroes encounter daily. For example, lower whites were able to move much more freely about the city in terms of utilizing business facilities and were able to develop a larger social network.

It was expected that low levels of affiliation with formal organizations would be related to the feeling of being alienated. However, the results showed that few differences existed between those who responded favorably to the community and those who responded unfavorably by their level of affiliation. This could possibly be due to the fact that analyses were made for combined formal organizations and not according to type. One would expect to find organizations which can be classified as 'instrumental' dominated by members of the upper class from whom the lower class people are alienated. Thus, lower class people who feel alienated from these individuals would not affiliate with this

type of organization. If the members of the lower socio-economic area, in this study, affiliated mainly with expressive organizations, then the relationship between affiliation and alienation would be obscured.

In partial support of the thesis that affiliation and alienation are related, this study did show, combining all respondents, a relationship between being affiliated with formal organizations and favorableness toward the community. Those who responded favorably were more likely to be affiliated. This was true for all except one item: "This city offers any individual regardless of race, religion, or nationality, the opportunity for equality." Regarding this item, those who were affiliated were also more negative. Possibly, responses to this item were not so much a reflection of an attitude as a reflection of a fact. This could account, then, for the pattern. Inequality did exist, particularly, as viewed by the upper whites and Negroes, and its manifestations were obvious. Moreover, the affiliated supposedly were better educated and presumably better informed.

Finally, this study focused upon the association between affiliation and certain sociological variables. It was expected that both socio-economic areas would show similar patterns of affiliation when related to these variables. However, in many cases, the expected patterns were not supported. For example, increased income was not associated with a significant increase in formal participation in the lower area among either Negroes or whites. Apparently, there is a prevailing norm of formal participation in an upper income (upper class) area. Higher proportions participated regardless of income. In a lower income (lower class) area, formal participation does not seem to be a cultural imperative and about half participate, half do not. This study offers additional support for the cogent possibility that area differences modify the effects of basic sociological variables—that is, that area differences offset the usual generalized relationships. Thus, increased education

does not seem to increase the level of affiliation in the lower class area, or lack of a higher education decrease the level of affiliation in the upper area. Moreover, the usual relationship between length of residence, age and participation did not prevail. While the lower area respondents did assume the usual pattern between length of residence, age and affiliation, the upper area respondents did not. In short, as was stated earlier in this study, ecological areas have differing cultures--differing norms and differing behavioral patterns. These, the results of this study suggest, often transcend, and, in fact, obviate gross patterns disclosed through random sampling of the general population. The results reinforce the proposition that it is vital to control for sub-cultures when making generalizations.

Surprisingly, the number of children in the family was not significantly associated with organizational affiliation. This could be due to the type of analysis that was made. Age of children was not taken into account--only the fact that they lived at home. If the children were members of the younger age group, they would require more supervision and attention; this would be expected to limit participation in formal organizations. However, occupational status did show a significant association with organizational affiliation. This supports the assertion that those who are of upper occupational status tend to seek out contacts that will enhance their social position and these are mainly found in formal organizations.

Informal participation.--There was a minimum commitment to the more formalized means of social participation by those of the low socio-economic area; it was expected that they would compensate for this deficit by greater development of informal participation than persons of the upper socio-economic area who are characterized by extensive formal participation. The evidence did not show that the lower area put more emphasis on informal participation as compared to the upper socio-economic area. The members of the upper area

were just as active informally as those of the lower area.

It was discovered that the very active participators in formal organizations of the upper area engaged in visiting and recreation at a lower level than those of the low socio-economic area who were not formal participators. This corroborates Axelrod's findings that those who are very active formally tend to have somewhat low rates of informal participation.<sup>10</sup> There are several possible explanations for this. There is a finite limit to the time which may be given to activities and when one is extremely active in formal organizations there may be no time left for informal activity. Then, too, these very active participants are officers and committee members who may have met some of the needs for informal association within their organizations.<sup>11</sup> The active formal participators of the upper area did have higher levels of telephoning than those who were non-formal participators of the lower area. This seemed reasonable because a high level involvement in the activities of formal organizations would necessitate the use of this media. Concerning differences among high formal participators and low formal participators by level of informal participation, the evidence indicated that very active formal participators were just as likely to have the same levels of visiting, telephoning, and recreation as those who were low formal participators.

Even though no overall differences were found in level of informal participation between the socio-economic areas, and between the racial groups of the lower area, striking differences were found with respect to type of informal activity and informal contact emphasized in each area. The lower area emphasized participation with relatives to a much greater extent than the

<sup>10</sup>Axelrod, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>11</sup>The following studies found that the most active participants in formal organizations are officers and committee members: Bell and Force, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Khairy Hassan Aboul-Seoud, "Participation In Extension Councils In Two Kansas Counties," (unpublished master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology, Kansas State University), p. 84.

"this type of psychological set is certainly not conducive to a vigorous search in one's occupation for...interpersonal gratifications,"<sup>19</sup>

This writer feels that the difference in participation with co-workers between low and high class respondents is due to the distinction that the lower class people make with respect to 'life' and 'work'. Lower class people seem to live in two separate social worlds: one is constituted by their immediate family and friends and a second is found in their work context. The upper class individual fuses the concepts of 'life' and 'career'; thus, he includes co-workers within his network of informal participation.<sup>20</sup>

Neighbors and friends were important sources of informal participation in both socio-economic areas. As indicated previously, Negroes participated informally at higher levels with neighbors and friends than relatives or co-workers. Friends and neighbors, for the lower whites, followed relatives in their network of social relations. Neighbors were of lesser importance as a source of informal participation for the lower whites which possibly indicates some social distance between lower whites and Negroes. Upper whites had friends as their greatest source of informal participation which confirmed Axelrod's findings. He gave the following reasons for friends being the prime source of such informal participation: (1) Because of their class position they can turn to associations of their own choice rather than those "given" to them; and, (2) associations with friends may be instrumental in attaining certain goals such as obtaining greater status and prestige and in furthering social and occupational mobility.<sup>21</sup> The last point, incidentally, may also explain the

<sup>19</sup>Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>20</sup>John F. Cuber, *Sociology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), pp. 455-56.

<sup>21</sup>Axelrod, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

upper whites. This confirms the findings of Greer,<sup>12</sup> Bell and Boat,<sup>13</sup> and Dotson<sup>14</sup> that lower class people emphasize maintenance of social contact with their relatives. However, the Negroes did not emphasize kinship ties to the same extent as did the lower whites. Drake and Cayton suggest that family ties are not as important to Negroes;<sup>15</sup> Davis, Gardner, and Gardner suggest that Negroes are more apt to have informal participation with nonkin and friends.<sup>16</sup> This study confirmed these suggested patterns of informal participation for Negroes. Contacts with neighbors were the highest source of informal participation for Negroes. For the upper whites, relatives were the least important group with which to maintain informal contacts. This could be accounted for by the fact that they are a more mobile group. Fellin and Litwak find that the working classes see their relatives more than the middle classes only when the kin of the middle class respondents do not live in the same city.<sup>17</sup>

Co-workers were a far more important source of informal participation in the upper area than in the lower area. Co-workers were the least important source of informal participation for both lower whites and Negroes. It was expected that lower area residents would be less likely to derive personal friendships from their work contexts than would those of the upper area. Gans discusses lack of participation with co-workers by lower class people resulting from their generalized antipathy toward the larger society.<sup>18</sup> As Elum states:

<sup>12</sup>Greer, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-25.

<sup>13</sup>Bell and Boat, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-98.

<sup>14</sup>Dodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 687-93.

<sup>15</sup>St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), pp. 564-99.

<sup>16</sup>Allison Davis, Burelign B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 208-27.

<sup>17</sup>Phillip Fellin and Eugene Litwak, "Neighborhood Cohesion Under Conditions of Mobility," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28 (June, 1963), p. 369.

<sup>18</sup>Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962), pp. 120-42.



significantly greater emphasis on contacts with co-workers in the upper area.

This study also focused on types of informal activity through which informal participation may be channeled. Lower and upper whites used telephoning much more extensively than visiting. For the upper area residents, involvement with formal organizations would require contacting friends, neighbors, etc., via the telephone to facilitate an extensive network of communication. Moreover, their high levels of participation with friends, indicated a social network spread over a greater territory, would again foster use of the telephone as an excellent media through which more extensive informal participation could be achieved. This could also be true for the lower whites since their social network consisted primarily of relatives and friends. Negroes, as expected, engaged in informal participation mainly through visiting, substantiating the contention that they are not oriented toward a manipulative approach to the social system.

One purpose of this study was to ascertain the relationship between level of neighboring and attitudes held toward neighbors and the neighborhood. It was expected that the low socio-economic area would have greater informal participation with neighbors than would the upper area. Moreover, this increased participation with neighbors would be associated with more positive attitudes; the upper residents, it was thought, would neighbor less and have more reserved attitudes toward neighbors. Essentially, the data showed that Negroes did, but lower whites did not have higher levels of participation with neighbors compared to the upper whites. But the upper whites were more positive toward neighbors than were respondents of the low socio-economic area. Apparently, a negative attitude toward a neighborhood does not preclude association with neighbors in the case of a minority group. We cannot assume that an unfavorable attitude toward a neighborhood will result in a low level of participation with neighbors. In fact, the Negroes who had negative attitudes

toward the neighborhood were very high in neighboring as compared to the lower and upper whites who had more favorable attitudes. Also, when extensive neighboring occurs, such as with the Negroes, the primary relationship that develops will be characterized by an inclusive knowledge of the persons involved,<sup>22</sup> Therefore, in the case of the Negroes, a feeling may develop that neighbors are prying into their business, but this would not necessarily indicate a negative feeling toward these neighbors.

Finally, as regards informal participation as it relates to certain sociological variables, this writer feels that the evidence is too inconclusive to make any generalizations about the overall relationships between informal participation and these variables. The following statements are made on the basis of the few statistically significant results. (1) Informal participation with co-workers is more likely to be related to high occupational status. This supports the previous conclusion that those of a low class position (consequently of lower status occupations) tend to separate "life" and "work" while those of higher status occupations tend to have their lives centered around their careers.<sup>23</sup> (2) Sex differences indicate that women visit and telephone more than men. This possibly supports the contention that, because of their role as wife-mother, their activities are centered around the home, allowing more time to engage in these activities. (3) With respect to age, the younger and middle age groups seem to have slightly higher levels of informal participation through visiting and telephoning; however, to make a definite statement that the younger age group is more active is beyond the evidence of this study.

Summary.—The following is a restatement of this writer's theory of

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<sup>22</sup>Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: Macmillan, Co., 1957), p. 306.

<sup>23</sup>For a previous discussion of this point of view see page 114.

social participation, including modifications when the evidence of this research suggested these.

As expected, there was a definite ecological structuring of formal participation according to distinct socio-economic areas. The area that was classified as "upper class" had more individuals who affiliated with formal organizations than did those who resided in the area classified as "lower class." This indicated, rather persuasively, that social class acts as a determinant in alienating certain individuals from formal groups and more important, from the social structure at large. However, contrary to expectations, the racial factor did not compound the social class factor. While Negroes did not affiliate as much as respondents of the upper area, they were comparable to the lower class whites. In fact, Negroes slightly exceeded lower whites in affiliation with formal organizations. Yet this may not mean that they were related more to the community through formal organizations than lower whites. They may be affiliated mainly with their own compensatory organizations rather than with organizations available to the community at large. In any case, the evidence suggested that race is not an important factor compounding alienation to the extent that formal participation is significantly reduced.

It was also felt that being alienated from the social structure at large would be associated with unfavorable attitudes toward the community. Thus lower area respondents would have more unfavorable attitudes toward the community than the upper whites. While those of the lower area were unfavorable toward the community with respect to being treated unfairly, it was also true that upper whites were rather negative on this item. This can be interpreted most cogently in the perspective of the respondent's own social situation. Those in the lower area felt that inequality did exist for them and the upper whites viewed inequality as existing for groups other than their own. Further

more, it was expected that unfavorable attitudes toward the community would be related to levels of affiliation with formal organizations. That is, those who were more negative toward the community would not affiliate with formal organizations as frequently as those who were more positive toward the community. This was partially supported when all respondents were grouped together with the results showing that those who were unfavorable were also more likely to be non-affiliated.

The impact of a "natural area" on formal participation was further demonstrated when it was discovered that the patterns usually encountered when relating formal participation to certain other variables did not exist. The sub-cultural system seemed to offset the usual relationships. Thus, a basic component of the cultural system of the low socio-economic area seemed to be the lack of emphasis on affiliation with formal organizations. Consequently, regardless of one's income, education, sex, etc., in the lower area there was little change in the pattern of affiliation. A similar phenomenon occurred in the upper area where the cultural system emphasized affiliation with formal organizations.

While lower area respondents had low levels of affiliation with formal organizations, they did not compensate for this deficit by increased informal participation. Those of the upper area were as frequent informal participators as those of lower area. This suggests that, in terms of total social participation, upper area residents exceed those of the lower area. The so-called "need" for social participation does not seem to be constant for all people; apparently, it is cultivated and brought to a high level in certain sub-cultures. Of further importance was the discovery that the type of informal contact and of activity did not assume equal importance in each area or even in each racial grouping. Friends and co-workers were significantly greater sources of informal contact in the upper area, suggesting a more extensive and manipulative social

network than the lower area respondents had. Relatives were relatively unimportant for the upper whites and Negroes while, for the lower whites, this was their greatest source of informal contact. As regards type of informal activity, the lower area emphasized visiting while the upper area engaged extensively in telephoning. Recreation was the least likely source for both areas.

Since it was expected that the lower area respondents would be more active informally with neighbors it was thought that they would develop more favorable attitudes toward their neighbors than those who had more reserved levels of informal participation with neighbors. In this research, the expected association between neighborhood attitudes and informal participation with neighbors did not materialize. In fact, in many instances lower area respondents (particularly Negroes) showed not only negative attitudes toward their neighborhood and their neighbors but also had the highest levels of informal participation with their neighbors. Apparently, attitudes toward the physical appearance of the neighborhood and even toward neighbors are not significant indexes of neighborhood social relationships.

Finally, one aspect of this research was to determine the patterns that informal participation might assume when related to certain sociological variables. Generally, the findings indicate that the levels of informal participation according to type of activity and contact vary little, with few exceptions, with the different sociological variables. These exceptions occupation, age, and sex give some indication that the role behavior associated with these variables did affect the level of informal participation. For example, those of higher occupational status have higher levels of informal participation with co-workers than those of lower status occupations. The reason for this maybe that persons holding similar positions in the economy have common interests, common needs, and find it expedient to associate

together as a collectivity. Sex differences show females participating more with neighbors and in telephoning than males, pointing out the importance of the wife-mother role. Lastly, some significance in differences of age was revealed when the younger age group had higher levels of visiting and recreation than the older age groups; this was particularly true for Negroes.

Theoretically, then, the ecological structuring of social participation, in areas differing on the basis of socio-economic factors, will assume the pattern where formal participation is highest in the upper socio-economic area and be at minimal levels in the low socio-economic area. The decisive factor in alienating those of the low socio-economic area is social class, which acts as a more potent variable than race in affecting the formal participation patterns of differing ecological areas. Moreover, levels of informal participation will show no essential differences between the low and high socio-economic areas, although each area will emphasize certain types of informal activities and contacts according to their orientation toward the social system. The upper socio-economic respondents, with their interest in striving and getting ahead, will seek out self-advancing contacts such as friends and co-workers and they will engage in telephoning more because it offers greater opportunity to increase helpful contacts. On the other hand, those of the lower area, do not have this manipulative approach to the system; consequently, they engage primarily in appreciative types of informal activity such as visiting and their informal contacts with neighbors and relatives are mainly sociable.

An area of lower class position and comprised predominantly of a racial minority group (Negroes) will be characterized by more negative attitudes toward the environment or the dominant social system. This may be intensified by withdrawal from formal organizations which link people to that system. It does not follow, though, that lack of involvement with the community fosters more positive attitudes toward members of their own sub-cultural system and

toward their neighborhood in general.

Lastly, the sociological variables which usually show a definite pattern when related to formal and informal participation are greatly affected by ecological factors. In a number of instances, the dominant cultural values and norms will be offset by those peculiar to an ecological sub-system. For example, if the ecological sub-system emphasizes participation formally, then regardless of one's income, sex, etc., he will be likely to participate. On the other hand, if the system does not emphasize formal participation then it can be expected that the members will be low level participators. Finally, certain sociological variables, except for occupational status, sex, and age, play a minimal role in determining level of informal participation.

#### Recommendations

In order to make this research more definitive, the following suggestions are made:

1. The size of the sample should be increased for the following reasons:
  - a. To have a larger representation of each of the racial groups, and
  - b. To provide data that will lend itself to more adequate analysis.
2. A more meaningful instrument for determining the character of participation should be developed. This would include a description of type and purpose of organizations, frequency of attending meetings, and what offices and committees one belongs to.
3. A more refined measurement of attitudes held toward the community and neighbors should be applied.

Furthermore, additional research should be undertaken in the following areas:

1. Comparative studies should be made that include upper class Negroes and upper class whites in order to determine if the same relationships exist at this class level as prevail at the low class level.

2. Comparative studies should be undertaken to determine the types of formal organizations which receive greatest emphasis in various types of ecological areas. An answer needs to be found to the question: will expressive types of organizations be more likely to have larger proportions of its members active as compared to the instrumental types?

3. Comparative studies should be made to determine if upper class individuals have more total social participation (including both formal and informal) than lower class individuals.



APPENDIX

PARTICIPATION PATTERNS IN FORMAL  
AND  
INFORMAL ASSOCIATIONS  
\*\*\*\*\*

I. PERSONAL DATA

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_; Age: \_\_\_\_\_; Sex: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Address: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Political Party: \_\_\_\_\_ Democrat: \_\_\_\_\_ Republican: \_\_\_\_\_ Other
4. Occupation:
  - a. Husband \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Wife \_\_\_\_\_
5. Employment Status:
  - a. Husband:
    - (1) Not employed \_\_\_\_\_
    - (2) Unemployed \_\_\_\_\_
    - (3) Employed part time \_\_\_\_\_
    - (4) Employed full time \_\_\_\_\_
    - (5) Retired \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Wife:
    - (1) Not employed \_\_\_\_\_
    - (2) Unemployed \_\_\_\_\_
    - (3) Employed part time \_\_\_\_\_
    - (4) Employed full time \_\_\_\_\_
    - (5) Retired \_\_\_\_\_
6. Number of times changed occupation:
  - a. Within past year \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Within past five years \_\_\_\_\_

7. Number of times changed employer:
- a. Within past year \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Within past five years \_\_\_\_\_
8. What was your total family income for 1962: \_\_\_\_\_
9. Number in household: \_\_\_\_\_
10. Number in family: \_\_\_\_\_
11. List the age of each child and what he does:
- a. \_\_\_\_\_ Age; \_\_\_\_\_ Sex; \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation
  - b. \_\_\_\_\_ Age; \_\_\_\_\_ Sex; \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation
  - c. \_\_\_\_\_ Age; \_\_\_\_\_ Sex; \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation
  - d. \_\_\_\_\_ Age; \_\_\_\_\_ Sex; \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation
12. Number of years of residence in neighborhood: \_\_\_\_\_
13. Number of years of residence in city: \_\_\_\_\_
14. Where did you move from? \_\_\_\_\_ City; \_\_\_\_\_ State
15. Number of moves within the city in past five years: \_\_\_\_\_
16. Number of years of school completed?
- a. Husband \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Wife \_\_\_\_\_
17. In what religious denomination do you have membership? \_\_\_\_\_
18. Church attendance:
- a. Regular ( )
  - b. Irregular ( )
  - c. Seldom ( )
  - d. Never ( )

19. Things I like best about this neighborhood are:

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

d. \_\_\_\_\_

20. Things I dislike most about this neighborhood are:

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

d. \_\_\_\_\_

21. Did you vote in?

a. The last presidential election(1960) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes; \_\_\_\_\_ No

b. The last city government election(1963) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes; \_\_\_\_\_ No

c. Public School issue(May,1962) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes; \_\_\_\_\_ No

22. What charities did you contribute to in 1962?

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

## PART II-INFORMAL PARTICIPATION PATTERNS

### A. Visiting as a type

1. How often do you go to visit in the home of the following people for leisure enjoyment?

a. Neighbors:

A few times a week ( )

About once a week ( )

A few times a month ( )

About once a month ( )

A few times a year ( )

About once a year ( )

## b. Co-Workers:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year 

## c. Relatives:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year 

## d. Friends:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year 

## B. Telephoning as a type

## 1. How often do you telephone the following people?

## a. Neighbors:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year

## b. Co-Workers:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year 

## c. Relatives:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year 

## d. Friends:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year 

## C. Recreation together outside of homes as a type

1. How often do you go out with other people for purpose of entertainment and recreation?

## a. Neighbors:

A few times a week About once a week A few times a month About once a month A few times a year About once a year

## b. Co-Workers:

A few times a week ( )  
 About once a week ( )

A few times a month ( )  
 About once a month ( )

A few times a year ( )  
 About once a year ( )

## o. Relatives:

A few times a week ( )  
 About once a week ( )

A few times a month ( )  
 About once a month ( )

A few times a year ( )  
 About once a year ( )

## d. Friends:

A few times a week ( )  
 About once a week ( )

A few times a month ( )  
 About once a month ( )

A few times a year ( )  
 About once a year ( )

PART III-FORMAL ASSOCIATION PATTERNS

## A. To what organisations do you belong?

## ATTENDANCE

<u>Name of Organisation</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Most</u>	<u>All</u>
a. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

PART IV-FACILITIES AND SERVICES

<u>Facilities and Services</u>	<u>Adequate</u>	<u>Don't Need</u>	<u>Inadequate and Need</u>
Welfare services for aged, children, disabled, etc.	_____	_____	_____
Parking Areas	_____	_____	_____
Water Disposal	_____	_____	_____
Family Housing	_____	_____	_____
Street and Roads	_____	_____	_____
Police Protection	_____	_____	_____
Fire Protection	_____	_____	_____
Medical care in case of illness	_____	_____	_____
Employment opportunities	_____	_____	_____
Industrial development	_____	_____	_____
Retail Stores and Market- ing facilities	_____	_____	_____
School Facilities	_____	_____	_____
Night School for Adults	_____	_____	_____
Library Service	_____	_____	_____
Religious Programs for young people	_____	_____	_____
Commercial Facilities	_____	_____	_____
Public parks, picnic areas	_____	_____	_____
Swimming Facilities	_____	_____	_____
Recreation centers for teenagers	_____	_____	_____
Youth Organizations	_____	_____	_____
Adult leaders to serve youth groups	_____	_____	_____
Community appearance	_____	_____	_____
Street lights	_____	_____	_____

PART V-ATTITUDINAL QUESTIONS

A. Please give your response to each of the following items. Simply check the appropriate response that corresponds to your own feeling.

1. A person should take great pride in doing his job well.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

2. The city government is concerned about all parts of city development and does not play favorites.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

3. Without religion life would be meaningless.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

4. Most employers are genuinely interested in the welfare of their employees.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

5. The less responsibility a person has on a job the better off he is.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

6. It is nice to have neighbors drop in at any time.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

7. It is a great comfort for me to know that God never fails, even when everything seems to go wrong.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

8. This city is snobbish and many people are treated unfairly in it.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

9. This neighborhood is not a desirable place to buy a home.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

10. If I were broke and hungry, religion would not be much of a comfort.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

11. This city offers any individual regardless of race, religion, or nationality, the opportunity for equality.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

12. Most employers think only of their profits and care little for employees problems and welfare.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

13. Most employers are fair in the wages they pay.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().

14. Around this neighborhood people are always prying into other people's business.

Strongly Agree(); Agree(); Undecided(); Disagree(); Strongly Disagree().



15. Most of the people in this city are friendly.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
16. Most employers are easy to get along with.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
17. I would rather work at my present job than any other I know of.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
18. Neighbors can be depended on for help in the event of trouble or sickness.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
19. It is employers idea to work you as hard as they can and give you as little as possible.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
20. The only responsibility a person has toward his job is to put in his time.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
21. The belief in a personal God becomes less and less reasonable as science discovers more about the nature of the universe.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
22. Any man with ability and willingness to work has a good chance of being successful.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
23. This neighborhood is an ideal place to raise children.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).
24. Religion causes more bitterness than it does kindness.  
Strongly Agree( ); Agree( ); Undecided( ); Disagree( ); Strongly Disagree( ).

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"A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO CONTRASTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS OF A SMALL CITY:  
FORMAL AND INFORMAL PARTICIPATION IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES"

by

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A. B., Manhattan Bible College, 1962

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

1967

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FORMAL AND INFORMAL PARTICIPATION IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES"

by Terry Carlson

This study was an investigation into the ecological structuring of formal and informal participation in a small city. Specifically, it was felt that 'natural areas' of a city would reflect differing patterns of formal and informal participation. That is, upper socio-economic areas would emphasize formal participation but have less emphasis on informal participation. However, those of the lower socio-economic areas, because of their class position and race, would be alienated from the more formal means of participation within the larger community; consequently, they would have lower levels of formal participation but increased emphasis on informal participation.

It was expected that the lower level of participation of alienated lower class persons in formal organizations would be associated with measurably more negative attitudes toward the social system. But, because of this lack of formal participation in the larger community, increased solidarity would occur within the subgroup, resulting in more favorable attitudes toward neighbors.

It was also expected that certain social characteristics (such as education, income, occupation, sex, age, number of children in the family, and length of residence in the city), when related to formal and informal participation, would show similar patterns irrespective of the social area.

Two significantly different socio-economic areas were selected on the basis of income, education, and occupation: One was lower class (comprised



mainly of Negroes) and the second was upper middle class. The data were collected by means of interviews chosen at random with 54 interviewees from the lower area and 41 from the upper area.

It was found that there was a definite ecological patterning of formal participation. Those who resided in the "upper area" affiliated more with formal organizations than did those who resided in the "lower area." Social class was definitely a factor alienating certain individuals from participation in the associations of the social system. However, the racial factor did not compound the social class factor. That is, while Negroes did not affiliate as much as respondents of the upper area, they were comparable to the lower class whites.

The lower levels of affiliation with formal organizations by the lower area respondents did not result in a compensatory effect for this deficit by increased informal participation. Those of the upper area were as frequent informal participants as those of the lower area. However, of equal importance was the discovery that type of informal contact and activity did not assume equal proportions in each area or even in each racial grouping. Friends were the main source of informal contact for the upper area while relatives were important for the lower whites and neighbors for the Negroes. According to type of informal activity the lower area emphasized visiting while the upper area engaged extensively in telephoning.

It was also discovered that the patterns usually encountered when relating formal participation to certain other variables did not exist. The sub-cultural system, because of differing norms and differing behavioral patterns, seemed to offset the usual relationships. The patterns that informal participation assumed when related to certain sociological variables varied little with few exceptions. These exceptions--occupation, age, and sex--gave some indication that the role behavior associated with these variables did

affect the level of participation.

As regards community attitudes and formal participation, it was found that the lower area residents were more negative (especially the Negroes), toward the community than were those of the upper area. Although individual group analyses did not disclose any significant differences between those with negative and those with positive attitudes toward the community and their level of affiliation with formal organizations, combined analysis of all respondents showed that those who were most favorable toward the community were more likely to be affiliated. When relating level of informal participation with neighbors to attitudes held toward the neighborhood and neighbors, it was found that, apparently, attitudes toward the physical appearance of the neighborhood and even toward neighbors were not significant indexes of neighborhood social relationships.