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THE PROPENSITY TO MOVE: A SOCIOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESS OF MOVING AMONG
WHITES AND BLACKS,
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

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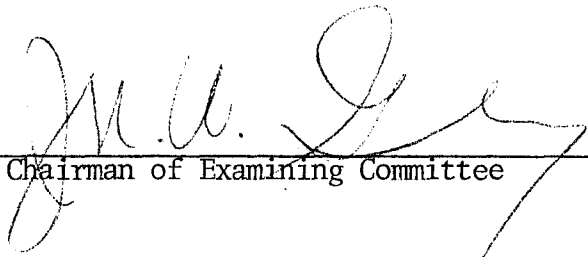
BY

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The
City University of New York

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

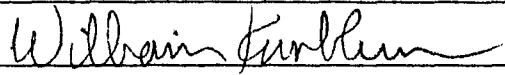
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ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of the racial and nonracial determinants of residential mobility from New York City. It explores a number of hypotheses currently used to explain or justify apparently high levels of "white flight". In part it introduces research on the factors determining the intention to move and explores the complex issues that are pushing people out of or repelling them from New York City. An important objective of this study is to determine the degree to which race and race prejudice influence mobility. It is quite likely that prejudice has been overrated as an explanation of urban relocation at the expense of economic issues, family composition, neighborhood and demographic factors.

Six New York City neighborhoods that are experiencing various degrees of racial transition were studied. 621 interviews were conducted in these neighborhoods in the spring and summer of 1976. The characteristics of the sample are as follows: 80 percent is white, 18 percent is black and 2 percent is Puerto-Rican. 60 percent are married, 18 percent are divorced, widowed or separated and 22 percent are single. The average length of residence in the neighborhood is 12 years, with a range from one to 72 years. The median family income is \$14,321, the average level of education is 12 years and 45 percent are employed. 301 respondents rent their dwelling units and 38 percent of them live in rent controlled apartments. 319 are homeowners of which 35 percent own single-family houses and 25 percent own two-family houses.

Five major factors are introduced here to explain the determinants of mobility: 1) Family composition which includes marital status, age, family size, and sex; 2) Housing conditions which consist of housing types, tenure status, and respondent's satisfaction with their home; 3) Neighborhood conditions which consist of level of attachment to a neighborhood, including length of residence, attitude towards neighborhood, neighborhood social and physical conditions; 4) Prejudice of whites towards blacks; and 5) social economic status.

A brief summary of the results is as follows: non-white respondents were found to have a somewhat greater tendency to relocate within the city's boundaries than whites. Prejudice seems not to have any effect on the intention to move among whites. The majority of whites state that they will accept blacks and Puerto Ricans moving to their blocks. However, in some instances whites who stated that they live in neighborhoods where a large number of non-whites live, want to move. Also, whites as well as non-white respondents intend to move from neighborhoods that have experienced a great deal of racial trouble.

The decision to move was expressed in general as a function of dissatisfaction with space and housing conditions among large households. Crime, physical deterioration and lack of social ties were found to be correlated with the intent to move. Families with children are sensitive to the social and physical environment provided by the neighborhood. Social economic status was found to differently affect respondents of each race. Occupation is the only factor that correlates with the intention to move among non-whites. Whites were found to be influenced by

education, income and occupation.

This study concentrated on the first phase of residential mobility --the intention to move, thus adding to a greater understanding of the high rates of residential mobility in New York City.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe and analyze the determinants of patterns of residential mobility within and from New York City.¹ The researcher will try to ascertain some of the principal reasons driving so many people from cities like New York. This thesis is an examination of the racial and non-racial determinants of residential mobility from New York City. It explores a number of hypotheses currently used to explain or justify apparently high levels of "white flight". In part it introduces a long line of research on the factors determining the intent to move and explores the complex issues that are pushing people out of or repelling them from New York City. This research then seeks to determine the principal reasons for both the decision to move and the choice to remain. An examination of the characteristics of the movers and stayers will reveal important elements of both neighborhood and city life which repel, attract, or keep people in cities.

Five major factors are introduced here to explain the determinants of mobility: (1) Family composition which includes marital status, age, family size, and sex. (2) Housing conditions, tenure status, and respondents' satisfaction with their home. (3) Neighborhood conditions, which consist of level of attachment to a neighborhood, including length of residence, attitudes toward that neighborhood, and neighborhood social and physical conditions. (4) Prejudice of whites towards blacks. And (5) social economic status.

Six New York City neighborhoods that are experiencing various degrees of racial transition were studied. An important objective of this thesis is to determine the degree to which race and race prejudice influence mobility. It is quite likely that prejudice has been overrated as an explanation of urban relocation at the expense of economic issues, life cycle, neighborhood and demographic factors. To get at a better understanding of the dynamics of racial change, blacks' and whites' responses toward mobility will be analyzed. We shall see whether common social and economic pressures operate on the decisions of both groups. This research was conducted as part of a larger study that explored the dynamics of neighborhoods and racial transition in New York City. The large study began with an examination of dated census information in an attempt to locate as many non-ghetto areas of the city as possible in which local problems had not progressed to a point where there was virtually nothing the city could do to deal with the scale of deterioration. However, census and other published data provided information only on certain characteristics of areas, but could not help in accurately defining the boundaries of neighborhoods nor sensitize us to the range of issues and problems which were currently affecting these communities. The selection of strategic sites for the research was accomplished after nine months of field investigation and in-depth interviews with local officials and community leaders. This field work was aimed at selecting areas which ranged along a continuum of vulnerability to various threatening situations or problems. Interviews were conducted with approximately 100 community leaders which focused

our attention on eight neighborhoods, in three boroughs or counties of New York City, which were experiencing varying degrees of threatening or stressful situations. The study was funded in part by the New York City Board of Estimate, the Division of National Affairs of the Ford Foundation, the New York Community Trust, and the New York Foundation.²

BACKGROUND

High rates of population movement in the United States led E. Erikson (1950) to describe the American national character as consisting of a "migratory impulse". Erikson states that over a period of almost 170 years patterns of residential mobility have been strong and uniform.

Simmons (1970) supports Erikson's view by stating that about 20 percent of the population of the United States changes residence between any one year and the next and that 40 to 50 percent of the entire population moves every five years. Kessner's (1977) research on New York City also concludes that the city has a long tradition of residential mobility within and out of the city. Kessner (1977: 127) quotes an impression of the Catholic Bishop of New York City in 1835 about residential mobility:

"...the inhabitants of New York are the most locomotive people on the face of the earth. After February 1, when leases were customarily renegotiated, it is common to see at least one-third of the houses and stores ticketed with "To Let" signs. On the first of May, ...thousands of persons being in the act of removal, the streets filled up with carts laden with furniture, porters, servants, children, all carrying their respective movables...Half of the inhabitants of the city moved from one district of the city to another."

Kessner's study addressed itself not only to the degree of residential mobility but also to the issue of motivation for the mobility. Through an analysis of historical records, Kessner points out that high rates of residential change are associated with employment patterns and the search for new housing. "The tremendous rates of out mobility demonstrate that New York's neighborhoods were very porous barriers for stopping outward mobility. Lower Manhattan's ethnic colonies bore no resemblance to the European "ghetto"...the downtown community in Manhattan held few immigrants back from seeking better fortune elsewhere." (Kessner, 1977: 174)

Residential stability has never been a characteristic of most cities including New York. During the period of 1850-1875, for example, Kessner found that two out of every five Irish, and two out of every three Germans moved more than once. The Italians and Jews who succeeded the Irish and Germans proved to be even more mobile. The main propelling force for mobility was the desire to own homes. These "pull factors" were shaped, not caused, by the availability of a good transportation system, construction of new roads, bridges and other connecting spans that opened new residential, industrial and commercial areas. Earning capacities also played a major role in the determination of place of residence and the possibility of moving. Kessner found that the high concentration of population in the downtown area varied directly with wages and the number of working hours. The Italians who earned poor wages were less mobile than the Jews who occupied the upper posi-

tions in the work force.

The difference in rates of mobility between the Italians and the Jews may also have been influenced by the degree of attachment they felt to their communities. Neighborhood attachment was explored in detail by Hunter (1974). He concluded that length of residence, knowledge of the community name, participation in various organizations within the neighborhood and interaction on a personal level had some effect on neighborhood attachment. One hypothesis is that the more one interacts with the community on both a personal level and/or institutional level, the more one will be inclined to stay within the community. Individuals who are deeply involved with their families or jobs and see the importance of the family and employment over the community, will be more likely to move when personal needs arise.

Population turnover in the past has occurred among whites with various ethnic backgrounds while today the population changes are largely from white to Black and Puerto Rican or other Hispanics. Thus, new problems arise, and with them a new concern for theoretical concepts, such as "invasion", "succession", "white flight", and "the tipping point" which are important parts of the dynamics of urban change and have to be taken into account in any analysis of residential mobility.

However, recent studies that have dealt with residential relocation focus either on white mobility and their reactions to incoming blacks or on comparing rates of mobility between the two groups. For example, Speare and Associates (1976) found that non-whites are

to a large degree more mobile than whites, a confirmation of many other studies. Suttles (1968) stated that the high rates of mobility among most blacks who live in rental units are due to their lack of cultural and social attachment to a particular community. The black population which Suttles studied lacked any institutional arrangement with which blacks could identify. Therefore, one issue that is examined here is the different rates of intentions to move among whites and non-whites, in particular in relation to tenure status and neighborhood conditions.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Black and White Residential Mobility

One question that has been frequently asked in the literature is why whites move out when blacks move in, and if in fact this movement is directly related to racial attitudes. These questions are of particular interest to the present study because New York City is faced with racial transition. New York City in the nineteen-seventies has experienced a high rate of mobility. The total net migration out of the city between 1950 and 1975 was almost two million people. During the same period 579,000 non-whites moved in. Unlike in the past, when one group of Europeans replaced another group, now black and Puerto Rican populations are succeeding the white population. While minority groups move in, the whites who make up the largest numbers of city dwellers are leaving the city. This population change is visible in the large increase in the non-white population. The non-white popula-

tion in 1940 constituted seven percent of the total population while in 1976 it has increased to forty percent. However, it should be pointed out that not only whites are leaving the city. Between 1970 and 1976, in addition to over 670,000 whites leaving the city, 100,000 blacks also did. Nevertheless, the consequences of this population trend, as expressed by E.H. Norton (1971), show that the mounting increase of whites fleeing the city coupled with the numbers of minority populations moving in will lead to major economic and social problems for cities like New York.

"We know that typically a city's tax base and economic health have depended upon the rate of growth of its middle class... And we know that when a modern American city can attract only the poor it is no longer a viable entity...We are inventing, not a classless or raceless society, but the lower-class black city. And in an economy such as ours, it is doubtful that any city composed chiefly of the poor can survive."

Norton's statement as a former public official in New York City emphasizes the urgency of learning about what motivates whites as well as non-whites to move away from the city. An attempt will be made here to find out whether or not middle-income families indeed want to leave the city as Norton proposes. One view in the literature, presented by Kantrowitz (1973), shows that social and physical distances are created between the rich and the poor of the same race as well as across each racial group. Social/physical distances between whites and non-whites, according to Kantrowitz, are a result of demographic changes. Natural population growth on one hand and the lack of population growth on the other hand force upon the city a situation

of racial transition. Kantrowitz introduced the view that racial changes are not only due to white flight but due to a natural process of "filling the gap left by this rapid drop in the foreign-born and the slower drop in the native-born white populations have been the black and Puerto Rican migrants, their ranks now being augmented by natural increase". (Kantrowitz: 1973)

Simmons (1970: 401) argues that racial issues do not have an appreciable effect on mobility rates. The movement of whites, he feels, simply reflects the usual reasons for moving, such as the need for better housing. The race factor acts only as a constraint on the number of possible alternatives the mover has, and affects the question of "where" one should move, rather than "why". Furthermore, it is claimed that those who move out from a racially changing neighborhood are normally the most mobile element of any neighborhood, i.e., the young and the renters who move regardless of racial succession. Thus, no direct relationship appears to exist between the percentage of black in-movers to a particular geographical area and the percentage of white out-migration from the same area.

Another view is that while prejudice does play a role in the decision to move, economic considerations and the social structure of the neighborhood are more important determinants of mobility. This view was formulated by Ginsberg (1975) and Molotch (1972) who have analyzed and explored the motivations for movement within the context of community organization and racial transition.

Ginsberg combined survey research methods and participant observation to study Mattapan, Massachusetts, a community from which whites had fled, resulting in almost a complete racial turnover from white to black. Ginsberg states that racial succession can lead to dramatic short-run changes in small areas. These changes will manifest themselves in the almost instantaneous growth of a new neighborhood subdivision or the creation of a racial ghetto. White withdrawal from a particular neighborhood, according to Ginsberg, depends on the perception of the white residents of their position in relation to the incoming groups, and how the city as a whole views the neighborhood. Mattapan's white residents complained that their level of isolation had increased as black families moved into the neighborhood, despite the fact that they had not developed deep friendships or close relationships with their neighbors before the blacks moved in. However, isolation for the white population was not measured by the type of social relations they had developed, but by their level of identification with the neighborhood, and attachment to it.

The feelings of isolation and incidents of crime against individuals, e.g., handbag snatching, mugging, vandalism and theft, made the white population unduly aware of the blacks, scared for their lives and thus more willing to move away. Ginsberg claims, however, that: "The fear of crime far out-spaces the actual increase in crime. There is a great deal of racial animosity connected with this fear." (Ginsberg, 1975: 38). The author also claims that the lack of a mutual social and

cultural background between the races reinforced further lack of understanding and interaction between them. Instead of one community, a community within a community emerged with a multiple set of organizations. Ginsberg states that in some instances outward mobility would have continued regardless of the black in-movers, because of the age structure of the population. As people get older, their demands and needs for their present dwelling also change. The move from a house to an apartment may occur after children have left home or after a spouse has died. Furthermore, renters tend to move more often than home-owners, with the difference lying in the dwellers' perception of their place of residence. The constant turnover among apartment dwellers is not only due to the fact that renters are not inclined to stay but also directly related to the physical makeup of apartment buildings which limit the development of local attachments and webs of friendship.³ High rates of mobility among apartment dwellers are found to be true in white neighborhoods (Rossi, 1955; Chudacoff, 1972; Michelson, 1977) as well as in neighborhoods that experience racial turnover (Ginsberg). These findings suggest that high rates of mobility among renters in a neighborhood that experiences racial succession are not necessarily a product of black in-movers.

Ginsberg's study, like most other studies which deal with residential mobility in relation to race, does not explore blacks' attitudes towards mobility, their views about other ethnic groups, their relationship to whites in the community nor their feelings about the fact that

they "replace" whites. The small size (100) of Ginsberg's study makes it impossible to answer one of her major questions.

"...To what extent can the behavior of whites in (mixed) areas be explained in the context of 'normal' residential mobility? In other words to what extent do racial factors account for the behavior of whites in these situations?" (Ginsberg, 1975: 14-15)

Furthermore, the large percentage (66%) of people over sixty leads to an insufficient examination of the role of young families or families with children in relation to movement. Stages in the life cycle, which is seen as one of the most important variables in analyzing residential mobility could not be explored because of the nature of the sample.

H. Molotch (1972), like Ginsberg, dealt with the problem of white flight, but differs in his point of departure. While Ginsberg searched for the motivation that shapes the decision to move, Molotch believed that economic factors, specifically the dual housing market, are the significant facts which shape the out-migration of whites. "...the key economic fact of a transition neighborhood is that housing on the market is worth more to blacks than to whites." (Molotch, 1972: 20)

Given his point of view, Molotch interviewed only individuals who controlled or managed the housing market. This, however, presents a one-sided approach to residential mobility. Furthermore, lack of direct contact with the residents who flee or want to move out of an area limited his ability to examine the role of racial attitudes within the context of residential mobility. Molotch speculates but does not test white or black reactions towards racial change. He states that:

"People's responses to racial change can reasonably be expected to be dependent on whether they perceive a community as changing and whether they place themselves within the boundaries of that changing community." (Molotch, 1972: 45)

This suggests that people's perceptions towards racial change in their neighborhood will shape their decision to move out of the neighborhood, whether or not actual large or small racial changes have taken place.

Molotch saw the impact of migration particularly to be on home owners and did not analyze renters' mobility. He claims that the rate of mobility among residents of high-rise buildings is difficult to interpret because it is less visible, especially in a racially changing neighborhood.

"Data on apartment mobility...would be a faulty indicator of white residents' disposition to remain in terms of their own attitude toward the in-migrating group. Instability among apartment dwellers does not necessarily imply that the instability would have occurred had the residents been home owners instead of tenants." (Ibid., 150-1)

Molotch's assumption may be true, but it needs testing, especially in a city like New York where apartment dwellers constitute a majority, roughly 70 percent, of the population.

Molotch also found that highly educated people did not move because they were not frightened by the real estate dealers and were generally people who maintained their property well. This finding suggests that one should examine further the characteristics of these educated people who are seemingly less prejudiced and do not move out because of black in-movers.

The relationship between prejudice and residential mobility is

further complicated when one closely examines the stages of racial change. When blacks initially move in, they are typically middle to upper class and in some instances even increase the economic status of the community. Thus, prejudice towards the blacks may not be visible. The researcher hypothesizes that when lower class blacks move into a white neighborhood, negative attitudes toward them may become manifest, which can lead to the outward mobility of whites, based primarily on the issues of status and prestige.

A severe gap in all the studies presented here is the lack of information on black views towards mobility. This study will explore the reasons why blacks want to move, how different their reasons are from whites, and who among blacks and whites are most inclined to move. A range of attitudes will be explored in terms of people's perceptions towards their present place of residence, their neighborhood and various municipal services.

The Decision to Move and Family Life Cycle

A powerful factor inducing people to change their place of residence is the need for new housing, which changes according to the stages of the family life cycle. Movement often starts with young new households who split off from existing households. Movement rises to a peak of mobility among families with children and declines as people get older. Rossi argues that "the younger the family and the larger its size, the more inclined it is towards moving". (Rossi, 1955: 73)

However, Rossi's analysis at some points lacks evidence to prove the above conclusion. When Rossi uses tenure status (i.e., renters, owners) as a controlling variable, the above conclusion is only relevant for renters, because for homeowners, the relationship between household size and age is not significant. As Rossi writes: "The renter's desires for moving are especially sensitive to these two (age and family size) household characteristics." An explanation for the differences between renters and homeowners is attributed to the latter group's greater control over space, i.e., homeowners can change the structure of their space to meet their own needs, while renters have only the alternative of moving out.

Rossi, furthermore, did not look at the final stage in the family life cycle. Old people move to smaller places, places that they can control and which meet their own unique needs. In Rossi's work, however, it is possible that if he had split this age category into those 50 to 64 and those above 65, different patterns of residential mobility may have been revealed.

Rossi's main contribution to the study of residential mobility is the introduction of the relationship between life cycle, space, and mobility. However, in his analysis he explores the interaction between life cycle and mobility only in relation to housing needs. He does not review any other controlling variables, in particular, those variables that distinguish mobile areas from stable areas. His findings indicate that in addition to size of family and tenure, other variables describe

mobile and stable areas. People, for example, who live in one section of a city for a long time and are native to that city are less inclined to move.

Fishman (1961) states that family life cycle factors have played an important role in the entry of non-white groups into certain neighborhoods. Fishman claims that on one hand, the vacancies created in white neighborhoods are due to:

"... the removal of adult offspring to homes of their own and the death of parents...and the need for larger quarters as family size increases or as job advancement and social mobility dictate;"

and on the other hand are caused by:

"...the greatly increased Negro middle class, its sadly inadequate housing, and its vigorous rejection of the Negro urban ghetto."

Fishman's study deals with the notion of family life cycle in relation to white and black mobility. He points out the different reasons for mobility between the two groups. In the present study, Fishman's ideas will be explored further by analyzing the reasons for mobility among white and non-white groups in relation to family life cycle stages.

Another major study that explored family life cycle and residential mobility was conducted recently by W. Michelson (1977). He found that space is not the crucial push factor for all family groups. Families with children below the teenage years are most inclined to cite space as a push factor. Young childless couples weigh spatial factors much more heavily than older childless families. Furthermore:

"most respondents increase their space without making the move which people consider obvious with respect to matching family

size with housing type; from apartment to house...those most frequently moving to increase their household space are those moving from one house to another." (Michelson, 1977: 139)

Michelson found that family considerations are highly related to change in location. Families with children stress the importance of neighborhood character, particularly as a setting for raising children. Childless families see the importance of access to various facilities, of which their place of work is prominent. In contrast, Rossi stated that local environment and the location of neighborhoods in the city did not seem to be particularly relevant to mobility. Friendship and location of friends and jobs were independent of the inclination to move in Rossi's study.

The present study will re-examine the relationship between family life cycle with improved categories for age and the desire to move. Also, this study will analyze family life cycle within the context of race, neighborhood needs, and the location of the future move.

Income, Education, and Occupation

Residential mobility according to Rossi seems to take place in neighborhoods which are high in economic status as well as in neighborhoods that are seen as low in economic status. He did not further explore the relationship between economic status and mobility.

Other studies (Hodge, 1970; Chudakoff, 1972) show that income is a crucial indicator that must be taken into account when plans to move take place. Income enables the individual to exercise some direct control over his immediate environment. People with large incomes have

leeway in their choice of housing and lifestyles which is less possible for those with lower incomes. Hodge also found that the sense of control over one's affairs felt by high income people explains why an inverse correlation between powerlessness and income exists. This sense of control may assist high income families to readily decide to move if problems in their homes or neighborhoods exist.

Income was found (Michelson, 1977: 143) also to have an independent effect on housing choice but not on residential relocation: "housing choice is almost purely a function of the husband's income." For example, people who earn under \$9,000 a year moved to high rise buildings, 48.4% of whom moved to downtown neighborhoods and 47.4% moved to suburban high rises. People who earned high incomes moved to single family houses. Another approach to income was taken by Chudacoff (1977: 94) who found that one's income and the general economic structure of a city as a combined factor shape residential mobility. He concluded that rates of city growth and relative full employment influence "geographical restlessness in nearly all occupational groupings".

Rossi theorizes that advancements on the "occupational ladder" are related to where people want to move. He found that people who moved up the occupational ladder are particularly sensitive to the social aspects of location and use residential mobility to bring their residences into line with their prestige needs. (Rossi, 1955: 179) Rossi did not measure occupational mobility. His theory is based on the fact that: "some of the households were strongly dissatisfied with their

housing's social environment, were expressing the way in which their home no longer fitted in with their social aspirations" (Ibid.).

Simmons (1968) states that only a minority of the population undergoes a change in status over a lifetime and upward occupational mobility might account for only one of the moves made by people in this group. He also states that the amount of income earned is more responsible for mobility than are status changes.

Occupation and education are found to be highly related to choice of location. As Michelson (1977: 143) found:

"...as expected, the new neighbors were seen by 65% of the wives and by 63% of the husbands to be the same as themselves educationally...30% imagined that their neighbors would be superior to themselves."

Similar results are reported by Blau and Duncan (1967). They found that the relocation to the suburbs of professionals and people with high education is the greatest in large metropolitan centers of the United States. People who have moved up the occupational ladder and reside in small cities are less likely to move to the suburbs. The reason for this difference is that the larger cities have more suburbs and more diversified ones than medium-sized cities. Therefore, non-whites and other minorities, according to Blau and Duncan, who are economically successful but with low status background characteristics (occupation) are more likely to move to suburbs in the larger than in the smaller metropolitan centers. Thus, residents of New York City who want to move to the suburbs or to a better neighborhood are likely to do so if they can afford to move.

Education and income, according to Speare, Goldstein and Frey, do not directly affect the wish to relocate. However, people who feel that their earnings do not match their level of education are found to be relatively unsatisfied with their residence. People who feel that they have higher incomes than their educational achievement are satisfied.

Fishman (1961) in analyzing white-black mobility found that occupational status seems to be involved in the process of movement. Whites with manual occupations tended to remain even when they had negative attitudes towards blacks. The author speculated that the reason for their not moving was the difficulty of finding comparable housing or residential proximity to New York within their economic means. Those whites who had non-manual occupations tended to be oriented toward outward moves, even when their attitudes were positive toward the inter-racial features of the neighborhood:

"Their greater financial means provide them with the flexibility of leaving whenever Negroes become either too numerous or too close with respect to their own personal standards." (Fishman, 1961: 45)

Among blacks, Fishman found that those who occupy the upper occupational ladder tend to leave their neighborhoods and have negative attitudes towards blacks in lower economic positions. Lower occupational blacks tend to stay in their neighborhoods and have positive attitudes towards the neighborhood.

In this study, income, education, and occupation will be introduced to describe the circumstances under which whites and non-whites want to move. The various studies presented here discourage a combi-

nation of education, occupation and income into a Social Economic Status index. Furthermore, the intent of this study is not to measure the correlation between social mobility and residential mobility. Miller (1977) and Hodge (1970) argue that status variables are only loosely intertwined. Those with little education may still achieve ample income and those with modest incomes may land a prestigious job.

"Empirically, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the prestige attributed to a position a man occupied and either the training or education required to enter it or the income received from pursuing it. Thus, a man's occupational position is no certain clue to his education and income, achieved attributes which may provide access to rewards which are not directly derived from the nature of one's work and the prestige associated with it."
(Hodge, 1970: 183)

Miller raised another question as to the effectiveness of constructing a Social Economic Status index. "Can socioeconomic status be considered unidimensional?" According to Caplow (1954: 35-37), Hott (1950: 538-43) and Hodge (1970: 182-206) the answer is no. Hodge, for example, argues that "any attempt to combine these indicators--education attainment, occupational pursuit, family income or occupational origins--into a single index of socioeconomic status will prove unsatisfactory because its component parts have different consequences for the same variable." Therefore, education, occupation and income are not used here as a source of status but merely as independent factors that describe different circumstances under which a decision to move will take place.

Summary

In this study the analysis will focus on the circumstances that lead people to want to move or to stay; what factors in their background, their personal make-up (family composition), the home, and the community they live in, lead them into the decision to move or to stay. The analysis also will deal with how movers and nonmovers feel toward their neighbors, city and neighborhood and the social composition of their neighborhood. The issue of race will be analyzed also within the context of prejudice. The hypotheses to be tested are as follows:

- 1) Renters are more likely to want to move than homeowners
- 2) As dissatisfaction with the amount of available space increases, the desire to move increases.
- 3) As dissatisfaction with neighborhood physical conditions, deviant behavior and crime increases, the desire to move increases.
- 4) A decline in city services to a neighborhood will increase the respondents' desire to move.
- 5) The longer an individual resides in one place, the less he will be inclined to move.
- 6) People who feel that they are not part of the neighborhood are more likely to want to move.
- 7) The decision to move varies according to household size.
- 8) People with high income are more likely to want to move.
- 9) People with college education are more likely to want to move.
- 10) Professionals are more likely to want to move.

- 11) As dissatisfaction with New York City economic conditions increases, the desire of whites to move increases.
- 12) As the percent of blacks or Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood increases, the desire to move increases.
- 13) The desire of non-whites to want to move is greater than among whites.
- 14) Whites who have acquired negative attitudes toward blacks and Puerto Ricans are more likely to want to move.

FOOTNOTES

1. This will be done by examining the question: "Why do people want to move or stay?"
2. The details of the larger study are described in John M. Goering's White Flight/Black Flight: The Dilemmas of Urban Change in Cities Like New York, submitted to the Ford Foundation, August 1978.
3. See also Suttles, Gerald D. The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1968.

CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGY

In the spring and summer of 1976,¹ 621 interviews were conducted with residents from six New York City neighborhoods. The neighborhoods were Bay Ridge and Flatbush in Brooklyn (see Appendix A), Ridgewood, South Ozone Park and Woodhaven in Queens (see Appendix B) and Mosholu, Kingsbridge Heights and Fordham in the North Bronx (see Appendix C).

Bayridge

Bayridge is a neighborhood that in the 1960's acquired a reputation of being one of the city's most desirable places to live. This reputation is based on the fact that the neighborhood is perceived to be stable and is middle income, almost all white and without serious problems. The housing stock is good, there is convenient shopping, ample recreational opportunities and adequate access to central areas by subway and roads. The only major problem that exists is the population trend, in which grown children and young families of childbearing age tend to leave Bayridge. The residents who stay are elderly couples of retirement age. This outward trend of young white families has led to the incoming of non-white families (see Table 1).

Flatbush

In contrast to Bayridge, Flatbush is an uneasy neighborhood. Population changes have occurred as well as housing deterioration, visible

in scattered sections of the neighborhood. Also other problems such as lack of neighborhood playgrounds and parks, and some school crowding, exist. The houses in general are sound but aging; most dwelling units are 40-60 years old. The neighborhood primarily consists of apartment dwellers. In recent years, the rate of population change has quickened, prompting some dire predictions that the district would become another ghetto.

Ridgewood

The district in which this neighborhood is located is perceived as having undeveloped industrial potential. Once a busy manufacturing area, the area is now facing a shortage of local labor due to a static population. The population trend in Ridgewood is similar to that of Bayridge. The population is almost entirely white, and the number of older residents, many of whom are retired, is increasing. The younger members of the neighborhood have been moving away to better jobs or more prestigious neighborhoods.

One-and-two family houses and rows of small multiple dwellings, mostly built before 1930, predominate Ridgewood. The turnover of residential properties is low, partly because of the large number of aged property owners who are reluctant to move and risk losing their savings.

Lack of recreation and green space is cited by the local residents as the most urgent community problem. Such services as transportation, sewers, health and shopping are good. The primary public schools have

more space than is needed which has promoted the bussing of pupils from crowded Brooklyn schools.

Members of this neighborhood, according to the community planning books, pride themselves on their self-reliance and do not want to become dependent upon government subsidies. The residents take pride in their community and are willing to cooperate in the improvement of their homes and neighborhood.

South Ozone Park

South Ozone Park is a stable community which is almost all white except for a small new community of young, middle income black homeowners on the eastern edge of the neighborhood. The elderly residents live in aging and deteriorating buildings, and have language problems and health needs which require a range of social services not available to them. Almost all of the district's housing has been designated sound except for a small preventive renewal area in the northeast corner. Shopping and transportation are good, but other services, such as improved sewers, additional health facilities, more schools and additional recreational facilities, are badly needed.

Woodhaven

This neighborhood is located in a district in which industry mingles with older homes along many of the major arteries and railroad tracks. The residents live next to factories, mostly food plants and knitwear

and textile mills.

One of the most notable features of Woodhaven is the age of the housing stock. 96% of Woodhaven's homes were built before 1940. Although old, most of the housing is well maintained. Shopping, transportation, health facilities and schools are adequate. There is a need for parks and recreation areas. The population is mostly white.

Mosholu, Kingsbridge Heights and Fordham

These three adjacent Bronx neighborhoods are described in the New York City community planning books as pleasant, middle income residential communities which contain a major shopping area, important medical and educational facilities which serve the region. The neighborhoods are almost entirely middle income and largely white. Most of the black and Puerto Rican residents live in the southern part of the district near East Tremont. The housing is sound with the exception of the southern part of the district, in which such indicators of serious decay as vacant stores that are also fire-damaged, and abandoned buildings exist. With the exception of this section, community facilities and services are in good condition.

The first step in selecting these neighborhoods was to analyze census tract data comparing 1960 to 1970 to learn about rates of residential mobility, social economic status, housing stock, and racial composition. The analysis offered a reference point for determining those areas which had experienced racial transition as well as high

and low rates of residential mobility. Each of the areas had a population in which approximately fifty-five to sixty-five percent of the population had not moved during the five-year period 1965-1970. These neighborhoods also showed varying indications of racial transition from white to black and/or Puerto Rican. The relative stability of these neighborhoods and their racial turnover are reflected in the data on population change for 1960 to 1970 presented in Table 1.1.²

TABLE 1.1
Level of Residential Mobility and Racial
Composition for 1960-1970-1975

<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Population Changes</u>			<u>Estimated Pop. 1975</u>	<u>Pop. Change 1970-75</u>
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1960-1970</u>		
<u>Queens</u>					
<u>Woodhaven</u>					
Total Population ³	32,141	30,651	-1,490	29,270	-1,381
White and others	31,903	30,471	-1,432		
Non-white	238	239	+1		
<u>South Ozone Park</u>					
Total Population	58,730	61,662	+2,932	59,719	-1,943
White and others	54,084	47,568	-6,516		
Non-white	4,646	14,094	+9,448		
<u>Ridgewood</u>					
Total Population	89,577	87,685	-1,892	84,366	-3,319
White and others	89,212	84,552	-4,660		
Non-white	365	3,133	+2,768		

(Table 1.1 continued)

<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Population Changes</u>			<u>Estimated Pop. 1975</u>	<u>Pop. Change 1970-75</u>
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1960-1970</u>		
<u>Brooklyn</u>					
<u>Bayridge</u>					
Total Population	87,252	83,602	-2,650	81,379	-2,223
White and others	86,868	83,000	-3,868		
Non-white	384	602	+218		
<u>Flatbush</u>					
Total population	124,336	121,988	-2,348	119,932	-2,056
White and others	121,240	104,373	-16,867		
Non-white	3,096	17,615	+14,519		
<u>Bronx</u>					
<u>North Bronx, Fordham</u>					
Total Population	39,000	36,033	-2,977	36,477	+454
White and others	37,526	28,922	-8,604		
Non-white	1,474	7,111	+5,637		
<u>Kingsbridge-Heights</u>					
Total Population	18,177	16,033	-2,144	16,709	+676
White and others	17,477	15,344	-2,133		
Non-white	700	689	11		
<u>Kingsbridge</u>					
Total Population	9,915	13,398	+3,483	13,159	-239
White and others	9,776	12,135	+2,359		
Non-white	139	1,262	+1,123		
<u>University Heights</u>					
Total Population	24,098	22,594	-1,504	21,794	-800
White and others	23,317	18,096	-5,221		
Non-white	781	4,498	+3,717		

Table 1.1 shows that in all the neighborhoods residential relocation has taken place. For the most part, the neighborhoods experienced a loss of population from 1960 to 1970, and a further decline took place between the years 1970-75. South Ozone Park in Queens and Kingsbridge in the Bronx are the only neighborhoods that had an increase in population between 1960-70. Interestingly enough, Kingsbridge gained both whites and non-white residents, while South Ozone Park lost 6,516 of its white residents and gained 9,448 non-white residents: an almost pure description of population replacement. Both neighborhoods faced a loss of population in the following five years, with South Ozone Park leading. The only two neighborhoods that gained residents during 1970-75 but who had lost residents in the previous decade were Fordham and Kingsbridge Heights in the Bronx. These two neighborhoods lost white residents and gained non-whites during 1960-70.

Unfortunately, census data does not provide information on population estimates of whites and non-whites for 1970-75 by neighborhood. Therefore, information on the racial composition of these neighborhoods between 1970-75 is taken from health area statistics.⁴

Woodhaven which experienced a decline in the white population during 1960-70 and a very slight gain in the non-white population continued to lose whites into 1975; a decline of 2 percent in whites and a gain of 3 percent in non-whites. In South Ozone Park racial replacement also did not stop in 1970. From 1970 to 1975, the total

white population decreased by 7 percent and the non-white population size in Kingsbridge according to census estimates indicates that racial change is minimal. (No information is available on the Kingsbridge population between the years 1970-75.) The two Brooklyn neighborhoods Flatbush and Bayridge which faced racial replacement from 1960-70 continued to face the same population change in the next five years. Flatbush did with a loss of 16 percent whites and a gain of 16 percent non-whites. In Ridgewood between the years of 1970-75, 6 percent of its white population left while 7 percent non-whites moved in. Racial change in these neighborhoods is not a unique phenomenon; it prevails as well in the rest of the city.

The Bronx experienced in the last decade the greatest proportional loss of whites, losing 173,500 white residents or 21.6 percent of its population. This borough is experiencing both high levels of succession⁵ and decline⁶. It has more areas than elsewhere in the city in which blacks and Puerto Ricans have increased beyond three percent of the population. Fifty-seven percent of the health areas in the Bronx consist of non-whites and 38 percent of the areas all Puerto Rican.

Brooklyn is experiencing the next highest degree of succession and the highest level of invasion⁷ in the city. Twenty-six percent of the health areas in Brooklyn experienced a higher increase in non-whites than whites, and over 37 percent of the health areas faced a decrease in whites and an increase in the non-white population.

In absolute numbers, Brooklyn lost the largest number of whites

in the city, 257,400, about 14 percent of its total population.

Like Brooklyn, Manhattan is experiencing the displacement of Puerto Ricans. In 20 percent of the health areas in Brooklyn and in 32 percent in Manhattan, Puerto Ricans are being replaced by non-whites and, less frequently, by whites. Shrinkage,⁸ too, is common in these two boroughs as the number of Puerto Ricans declines and other groups remain the same or also decline. Manhattan like the rest of the city shows a loss in white residents, 133,000 residents or 14%.

Queens shares with Brooklyn another new form of racial change, stagnation.⁹ 18 percent of Brooklyn and 34 percent of Queens are areas in which the population of Puerto Ricans is stagnating. Queens lost nearly 153,000 whites or 9 percent of its total population. Only Staten Island gained white residents, 26,000 or an increase of 10 percent.

During 1970-75, New York City experienced a net loss of 361,757 residents. The loss took place in the white population (-671,072) and in the Puerto Rican population (-26,395). The city gained 335,710 blacks and Puerto Ricans for the same period. The various degrees of racial change on a neighborhood, borough, and city level encourages the study of social interaction between whites and non-whites. Also, the large numbers of whites leaving the city and non-whites entering raises the question of whether or not white attitudes toward non-whites plays a role in determining the outward mobility of whites.

The next reason for choosing these neighborhoods was that the

population in each was characterized as working or middle class, with a 1969 median family income of between \$9,000 and \$14,000 per year. The final reason was that these areas contain both private, one and two family homes, as well as rental units.

The households that were interviewed were selected in a multi-stage sampling design. Blocks were selected randomly from each of the six neighborhoods, followed by a random selection of block-sides, dwelling units on each block-side, floors within each dwelling, and finally of apartments on each floor.

The interviews were evenly divided between men and women as well as owners and renters. Approximately 100 non-whites were interviewed.¹⁰ Interviews were conducted by a team of forty interviewers and generally averaged forty-five minutes. The interviewers were assigned to the respondents by race.

Two methods of interviewing were used: face-to-face and by telephone. Difficulties arose in obtaining face-to-face interviews particularly with the elderly. They were afraid to allow anyone into their home, including an interviewer with full and proper identification. In all, 27 percent of the respondents were interviewed by telephone. The majority of these interviews took place in the Bronx and in Woodhaven. The telephone interviews had no significant effect on the distribution of responses of the attitudinal variable in this study.¹¹ Two types of tests were used to determine the statistical

independence between interview type and 213 variables in the questionnaire; (a) nominal and ordinal variables were subjected to chi-square analysis: rejection level .01; (b) interval and ratio variables were subjected to a two tail test: rejection level .01. Such variables as race, sex, education, income household type, or type of dwelling unit were not correlated with the method of interview. When controlling for neighborhood, age is the only variable that is not statistically independent from interview type. Telephone interviewees were somewhat older than those who were interviewed face-to-face. The multi-method interviewing demonstrated, however, that basically no significant effect on the distribution of response of the attitudinal variables was present.

Major Variables

Major topics covered in the questionnaire were: (a copy of the questionnaire is in Appendix D)

- 1) Descriptive variables which include age of respondent, sex, marital status, family size, number of children, place of birth, length of residence in New York City, education, income, religion, ethnicity, race, political affiliations, employment status, place of work and housing type;
- 2) Neighborhood characteristics which consist of: length of residence in the neighborhood, home ownership and level of participation in local organization. Under this topic attitudes which describe the respondents' commitment to a neighborhood are included, i.e. the respondents' (a) views about moving from

the neighborhood, (b) their perception of how many new-comers have arrived in the neighborhood and how long they stay, (c) their desire to own a house in the neighborhood, (d) their view of the degree of desirability of their neighborhood, and (e) their feelings of belonging to the neighborhood;

- 3) Neighborhood services which include: (a) level of satisfaction with distance to shopping and medical facilities, religious centers, recreation, work, friends, and relatives, (b) satisfaction with collection of garbage, cleaning of streets, fire and police protection, housing inspection and code enforcement, availability of parks, safety of parks, number of schools and quality of education, health facilities, day care facilities, street parking, public transportation, (c) problems in the neighborhood such as crime, drug addicts, teenage groups, dirty streets, alcoholics, abandoned houses, panhandling, inconsiderate neighbors, run-down houses, welfare families, burglary, safety and increase in crime;
- 4) Neighborhood change which consists of perceptions of change in the racial makeup of the neighborhood;
- 5) Housing conditions: For renters this includes amount of rent paid, rent control, and degree of satisfaction with the rent. For homeowners this includes mortgage payments and home value. For both renters and homeowners degree of satisfaction with utilities, space, privacy, street noise, air and sunlight, safety of

dwelling from burglars and care of property by others;

- 6) Prejudice which consists of respondents' reactions to non-whites moving in, school busing, social interaction between the races and neighborhood integration.

In the present study, tabular analysis is used to discover the significant differences or non-differences, as the case may be, between those who want to move and those respondents who want to stay. The use of this technique here is appropriate because the interest of the researcher in this study lies with why people want to move and not with what causes people to want to move. Of interest is what attitudes relate to the intent to move, not what makes people acquire these attitudes. In other words, based on findings in other studies, chosen factors are cross-tabulated against the intent to move to find out how this intent varies from one set of circumstances to another.

Description of the Sample

80 percent of the sample is white, 18 percent is black and 2 percent is Puerto Rican. 56 percent of the respondents are males and 44 percent are females. (Note: the head of household was not necessarily interviewed; rather, whoever was at home at the time answered the questionnaire.) 60 percent are married, 18 percent are divorced, widowed or separated and 22 percent are single. 63 percent of the families are childless. The average length of residence of the respondents in New York City is 33 years. Length of residence ranges from less than one year to 95 years. The mean length of residence in the neighborhood

is 12 years, ranging from one to 72 years. The median family income is \$14,321 and the average level of education is twelve years. Forty-five percent are employed and the rest are retired or unemployed. In terms of housing status, 301 respondents rent their dwelling units and 38 percent of them live in rent controlled apartments. 319 are homeowners of which 35 percent own single family homes and 23 percent own two family homes.

Description of the Dependent Variable: the Intention to Move

The importance of analyzing the intention to move has been discussed by Rossi and more recently by Speare, Goldstein and Frey (1977). Rossi stated that the intention to move is a useful indicator of residential mobility: "A family's reported intentions about moving can be taken as a good indicator of how that family will actually behave." (Rossi, 1955: 105) This conclusion was based on his findings that a strong relationship exists between the intention to move and actual movement. Furthermore, he found that (1955: 107) 96% of those who planned to stay actually did so. 80 percent of the households definitely expecting to move were found to have done so within one year. Among families rating themselves as having an even chance of moving, 26 percent moved. The two questions used by Rossi to determine the degree of mobility inclinations were: (1) "If there were no housing shortage, would you like to stay here or would you like to move from this place?" and (2) "Are you very anxious to stay here, move out, or

doesn't it matter too much to you?" (Rossi, 1955: 107)

Speare, Goldstein and Frey further support Rossi's findings by stating that there is a strong relationship between the wish to move and actual mobility in the year or two following the original interview. In their study, 37 percent of the people who expressed a wish to move did move within two years, whereas fewer than 4 percent of those who had no wish to move, moved.¹² Speare's study also showed that 96 percent of those who did not intend to move remained in their present location. These authors used two questions to identify persons who might be considering a move: 1) "Do you have any wish to move within the next year?" and 2) "Do you have any specific plans to move within the next year?" (p. 209) The results showed that 22 percent of the respondents expressed a wish to move and 3 percent had plans to move. Speare and his associates state that the "wish to move" question represents a more useful measure of those who consider moving than the question that specifies the plan to move. No explanation for this reasoning is given by the authors. Based on the percent of respondents who answered the two questions, it seems that choosing the "wish to move" was a matter of convenience. Furthermore, Speare and his associates stated that to improve the measurement of the wish to move, they examined only respondents who wanted to move within the state studied (19.7%). No explanations were given as to why people who want to move within the state is a better measurement than those who wish to also move outside the state. The authors concluded that "their

survey failed to identify all of the potential movers with the 'wish to move' question". Their results raise the question of whether or not the type of "wish to move" was covered adequately by Speare and his associates.

Speare, Goldstein and Frey identify three stages in the decision to move: "1) the development of a desire to consider moving, 2) the selection of an alternative location, and 3) the decision to move or to stay." The authors claim that the three stages do not necessarily occur in any particular order. For example, the outcome of stages 2 and 3 at one point in time will affect factors entering stage 1 at a later point in time. In stage 1, consideration for moving is shaped by dissatisfaction beyond a person's threshold or tolerance level.¹³ Threshold is important according to the authors since dissatisfaction by itself is a necessary condition for the consideration of mobility, but it is not a sufficient condition. Factors other than stress or dissatisfaction which push people to move are: eviction, loss of a job, job transfer, destruction of the housing unit, marital breakup, etc. The second stage occurs when a person becomes dissatisfied with a given state of affairs and searches for a satisfactory alternative (Speare, 1976: 178). Two factors that will pull an individual to a new location are the expected level of satisfaction with the alternative place of residence and the location of that place. The third stage in residential mobility materializes once an alternate location

has been found. At this stage people evaluate the new home in terms of monetary and non-monetary factors. "If the expected satisfaction of the alternative location exceeds the satisfaction of the current residence by a sufficient margin to offset the cost of moving, the person will decide to stay...or to resume the search for a better location." (Speare 183)

Michelson (1977) introduced a theoretical model for residential mobility which focused on the stages that people go through once they have made the decision to move. Michelson calls the first move that a family makes the base line which occurs when either a couple is just married or when a family undertakes the first move from a rural to an urban environment. At the "base line" stage, residential mobility is shaped by such general forces as economic conditions, contracts, job location, etc. The second stage of residential relocation is incremental change, in which people develop an ideal,¹⁴ "as to where to move, ideals that are culturally derived and shared by society at large". The ideals that develop in stage two are ideals of housing and location, which Michelson claims are beyond the range of short-run attainment for most people. At the third stage, which Michelson calls approximation of the ideal, people search for new housing which closely meets their ideals.

Michelson's theory encompasses the many moves people can make. His analysis focuses on the stages in which people want to achieve

their ideals. "People's assumption of future mobility are important not only in understanding repeated mobility, but also in understanding both the rationale behind the move and the evaluation of the housing from which this move takes place." (Michelson, 1977: 331)

In this study, to measure the respondents' attitudes toward moving from or remaining in their present place of residence and the intensity of the attitude displayed, two basic questions were employed. These were: (1) "Do you think you will ever move from this neighborhood?"--352 answered yes, 202 stated no and 67 don't know; (2) "When do you think you will move from this neighborhood?" --107 respondents stated that they will move within one year, 86 want to move within two-to-four years of the time of the interview, 63 want to move after five years and 96 want to move but do not know when. Based upon the answers given to these questions, each respondent was classified into one of four categories. (See Table 1.2)

TABLE 1.2

Distribution of the Population According
to Their Perception Toward Movement

<u>Type of Intended Move</u>	<u>Percent of People Across 6 Neighborhoods</u>
No move	33%
Short Term Move (present up to one year).	17%
Long Term Move (one year and above)	39%
Do not know whether a move will take place.	11%
	<hr/>
	TOTAL: 100% (621)

As shown in Table 1.2, 17 percent intend to move shortly, having stated that they will move within one year of the interview. Thirty-nine percent feel that they would like to move, but the move will take place one or more years from the time of the interview. Thirty-three percent do not intend to move and 11 percent are ambivalent about their plans to move or stay. These findings replicate the results of a prior study¹⁵ conducted in New York City in which it was found that more people plan to move than to stay. Out of 1,674 subjects residing in seven New York City neighborhoods, 55 percent planned to move out of their place of residence while 45 percent wanted to stay. On the other hand, Rossi (1955), studying residential mobility in Philadelphia, found that out of 924 respondents, 52 percent wanted to stay, 23 percent wanted to move but were not anxious to do so, and 25 percent were anxious to move.¹⁶ In the present study a clearer delineation of mobility inclination emerged because the element of intended time of move is introduced. These differences in the categorization of the "plan to move" variable may account for the different results of both studies. However, such factors as location of the two cities, population composition, quality of housing and neighborhoods may also account for the differences.

On balance, it would appear that the definition of the intention to move in this study is an improvement over other studies since it deals with the general feelings about mobility and yet is specific in that it measures the intended time of the move.

Whether or not people want to move is the first step in the decision-making process of residential relocation. The conceptualization of the intention to move takes place when associated plans are made. Those people who want to move will take such steps as looking for a new place and make inquiries about the new neighborhood, plan to sell their house or sublet their apartment, inquire into the new school system, etc. However, such plans were not taken into account in this analysis or in most other studies of residential relocation. Plans that are associated with the wish to move will show one's level of commitment towards mobility. Previous studies illustrated that the wish to move is related with actual mobility, but at the same time it was also shown that some people wanted to move without having thought about it in any detail. They may have thought about it for the first time during the interview and actually not be committed to residential relocation.

After the respondents stated whether or not they want to move, they were asked to where they want to move. Based on census information for 1970-75¹⁷ the trend seems to indicate outward mobility from New York City. For the same period the decrease in New York City's population varied by borough from -1.2 percent in Queens to -6.4 percent in Manhattan. As might be expected, most respondents want to move out. In Table 1.3 future location of those who want to move is presented.

TABLE 1.3

Movers' Desired Location

<u>Future Location</u>	<u>% Movers</u>
Intra-city move.	26%
To N.Y.C. suburbs.	18%
Out-of-state move.	42%
Do not know.	14%
	<hr/>
	TOTAL: 100% (352)

Table 1.3 shows that 60% of the people who have decided to move want to relocate outside New York City, either to the suburbs or to a different state. But 26 percent still plan to relocate within the city. One explanation of this outward mobility, proposed by Kessner (1977), is that the city has been and is used as a "port of entry" from which people move as soon as they decide where to live permanently. Another explanation is that we are dealing with a population whose needs cannot be met within the city's boundaries. These needs may range from a search for a place to retire, job relocation or a search for country environment. This point will be further discussed in following chapters.

In Table 1.4 the analysis focuses on the neighborhoods from which the respondents want to move.

TABLE 1.4¹⁸

The Intention to Move by Neighborhood

	<u>Flat-</u> <u>bush</u>	<u>South</u> <u>Ozone</u>	<u>North</u> <u>Bronx</u>	<u>Ridge-</u> <u>wood</u>	<u>Bay-</u> <u>ridge</u>	<u>Wood-</u> <u>haven</u>
Short term	30%	22%	23%	17%	13%	10%
Long term	48	51	42	43	45	38
Non-movers	<u>22</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>52</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(96)	(90)	(93)	(87)	(92)	(96)

Inclinations towards mobility vary by neighborhood. Woodhaven and Bayridge are neighborhoods where respondents are most likely to stay while respondents who live in Flatbush and North Bronx want to move shortly.

In Table 1.5 the direction of movement by neighborhood is presented.

TABLE 1.5

Where People Want to Move by the
Neighborhood They Live In

	<u>Relocation</u> <u>within the</u> <u>City</u>	<u>Relocation</u> <u>to the</u> <u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Relocation</u> <u>to Out-of-</u> <u>State</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bayridge	22%	13%	64%	100% (45)
North Bronx	29	20	51	100% (49)
Flatbush	47	14	41	100% (65)
Ridgewood	37	16	47	100% (49)
South Ozone	22	26	52	100% (58)
Woodhaven	21	40	39	100% (38)

The direction of movement is out of the city among most of the respondents. People who reside in Bayridge are the most inclined to state that they will relocate out-of-state. Among those who want to relocate to the suburbs, most reside in Woodhaven, while most of those who want to move within New York City live in Flatbush.

FOOTNOTES

1. The present dissertation is based on a study conducted by Prof. J. Goering that deals with the development of social indicators of neighborhood transition and middle-class flight.
2. Community Planning, N.Y.C. Dept. of City Planning, January 1978.
3. Non-whites includes blacks and Puerto Ricans, because census data provides information for 1970 on blacks and Puerto Ricans separately, but in 1960 the two ethnic groups are combined. It should be pointed out that census information is not an accurate measurement of change (+) size of census that changes from 1960 to 1970. Thus it is difficult to measure accurately population change. Nevertheless, it will be used here as a descriptive tool.
The word "others" in census data means Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, American Indian, Hawaiian and other S.E. Asians.
4. Information can not be derived for each neighborhood since the health areas are not comparable to census tract. Thus neighborhood boundaries will vary from one source of information to another. New York City is divided into 339 officially defined health areas. These areas range in population size 23,252 in 1970 and 22,184 in 1976. The city has 300 officially defined neighborhoods most of which are larger than a health area. Most of these neighborhoods are compatible census tracts and health areas. Census tracts use small areas, having a population usually between 3,000 and 6,000 people. New York City is divided into 2,199 census tracts.
5. Succession: Percentage minority in 1976 is greater than in 1970. The actual numbers of the minority group have increased. The number of whites has decreased. The percentage of the minority must be greater than 3% in both periods.
6. Decline: Percentage minority in 1976 is greater than percentage of minority in 1970. The minority group has declined or remained stable in numbers. The whites have declined. The white rate of loss is greater than the minority rate of loss.
7. Invasion: Percentage minority in 1976 is greater than percentage of minority in 1970. The actual numbers of minorities have increased. The number of whites has decreased. The minority group represents less than 3% in 1970 and greater than 3% in 1976.
8. Shrinking: The percentage of minorities decreased. The minority group has decreased in numbers. The number of whites has decreased or remained the same. The rate of minority loss is slower than that for whites.

9. Stagnant: Percentage of minority which has not fluctuated more than 3%: white population is declining.
10. The small size is due to lack of money.
11. "Survey Research in Transitional Neighborhoods--a Note on the Effect of Telephone Interviews", unpublished report, Doctoral program in Sociology, the Graduate School and University Center, C.U.N.Y.
12. Alden Speare; Sidney Goldstein; William H. Frey. Residential Mobility, Migration and Metropolitan Change; Ballinger Pub. Co., Cambridge, Mass., Table 8-1, p. 210. 1976.
13. The authors do not present a measurement of threshold; instead they only introduce factors that can lead to the increase of dissatisfaction beyond the threshold level.
14. Ideals may reflect the definition of habitation which people consider most important, e.g. space, privacy, a big backyard, a front-lawn, etc.
15. Yosef D. Dlugacz. "Patterns of Migration in Seven New York City Neighborhoods", Sociology Department, Graduate Center, C.U.N.Y. 1977.
16. Peter H. Rossi. Why Families Move. The Free Press, Illinois, Table 5.1, p. 67. 1955.
17. Population Estimates for New York Counties, 1974. Current Population Report, Series P-25, N. 599.
18. $\text{CHI}^2 = 30.865$. DF = 10. Significance: .0006.

CHAPTER TWO: HOUSING CONDITIONS

Discontentment with the physical conditions of the home environment was found in the literature to correlate with the wish to move and actual mobility. However, in the case of a working class community in Boston, Gans found that people under some circumstances react differently to physical conditions. Gans found that in some instances most of the West End residents adjusted, for example, to lack of space instead of relocating to a more spacious dwelling. The adjustment is not necessarily made by adding another room but by adapting certain lifestyles. Residents of West End, Boston, for example, solved the problem of lack of room by entertaining only intimate friends or relatives at home and by conducting daily social life on the street or in neighborhood clubs. Large families solved the problem of crowded rooms by eliminating the value of privacy. At the same time, Gans found that if a move was to take place, forced relocation and housing conditions were the most important causes. However, moving was considered only as a last resource because the social and economic costs of moving were too great. The principle cost was not financial but social: "A move meant leaving the group, and subjecting themselves to criticism, for it implied that the old neighborhood and the neighbors were no longer good enough." (Gans, 1962: 23) This attitude prevailed in the West End when people moved to satisfy such status needs as having an "impressive front", a need to have "an address" on

a well "manicured yard" in a carefully zoned neighborhood. However, families which could no longer tolerate their apartment conditions and wanted a new house were complimented by the rest of the community for their decision to move. They were also pitied if the move isolated them involuntarily from old friends, or if they were not accepted in the new neighborhood. Gans has introduced in his study the idea that dissatisfaction with the dwelling unit is an important factor that shapes the decision to move but it is not a necessary nor a sufficient pre-condition for a move.

Rossi further found that housing conditions affected homeowners and renters differently. He found that the percent of renters who want to move is double that of homeowners; 33 percent of 429 homeowners stated their desire to move, compared to 61 percent of 477 renters. (Rossi, 1955: 69)

The larger percent of renters who want to move does not mean that they have a low level of tolerance toward their housing conditions but renters, unlike homeowners, have acquired different levels of commitment to their home and neighborhood. Financial investment among renters is limited and their level of commitment in most cases is short-lived and bound only by their lease. In contrast, homeowners have a stronger financial commitment particularly among working class people who may have invested their life savings in their home. This commitment extends beyond the home itself to the neighborhood at large. The value of property depends on many neighborhood-specific market conditions. Thus, the homeowners must take into account a

wide range of factors before moving from a house. Some of the factors they must take into account are the neighborhood social make-up, its racial and ethnic composition, the financial outlook of bankers towards the community, and the type of people who will help to preserve the neighborhood. Homeowners are presumably more likely to work at a local problem and negotiate their position in the neighborhood to try to stay, while renters are more likely to move when they become dissatisfied with their dwelling unit. Chudacoff's (1972) impression of renters captures their status in the urban community. Chudacoff claimed that renters "breed impermanence". "The vast majority of those who moved or emigrated within 5 years had rented their places of residence...in some instances ownership was associated with residential stability...but ownership did not guarantee permanence." (1972: 59) These findings are very relevant to New York City, since of a total of 3,876,503 dwelling units, 63 percent are renter occupied.

In Table 2.1, the results show the degree to which attitudes toward movement are influenced by type of tenure status in two cities, New York City and Philadelphia. The Philadelphia data are taken from Rossi's analysis to find out whether or not tenure status plays as important a role in residential relocation as it did in 1955. The comparison was also introduced to learn about the effect of tenure on the wish to move in two cities that are so different in terms of size, racial composition, and housing stock.

TABLE 2.1

The Intention to Move by Tenure Status for
New York (1976) and Philadelphia (1950)

	<u>Homeowners</u>		<u>Renters</u>	
	<u>N.Y.</u>	<u>Phila.</u>	<u>N.Y.</u>	<u>Phila.</u>
Short term	12%	13%	28%	25%
Long term	46	20	42	36
Non-movers	43	67	30	39
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(287)	(429)	(266)	(477)

Different patterns of intended mobility appear in both samples. In the Philadelphia sample, more renters than owners intend to move regardless of when the move will take place, while in the New York sample, the renters intend to move immediately and more owners want to move a year after the interview took place. Among the non-movers a difference of 24 percent exists between the New York sample and the Philadelphia sample. The present findings, unlike Rossi's, indicate that ownership as well as renting is associated with residential turnover. Hence, the results in Table 2.1 support Chudacoff's conclusion that homeownership is not a necessary or universal guarantee of residential stability.

Renters and owners alike face certain economic constraints that dictate their relocation pattern. For renters, their major financial investment is in the amount of rent they pay each month. Discontent-

ment, leading to a move, can arise in renters when they do not get adequate services or feel their apartment is not worth the rent they pay. The question that was asked of the respondents was "Do you feel this amount of rent is too much, about right or too little for this home/apartment?" Out of the 291 renters who answered the question, 26% stated that the rent was too much. 64% stated it was about right and 10% stated that their rent was too little. In Table 2.2, intentions to move among the respondents are explained in relation to their attitudes toward the amount of rent they pay.

TABLE 2.2²

Intentions to Move by Attitudes Toward
The Amount of Rent Paid Each Month

	<u>Too much</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>Too little</u>
Short term	38%	24%	30%
Long term	38	42	44
Non-movers	23	34	26
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(68)	(163)	(27)

The amount of rent people pay seems to be of little importance in the decision to move. Respondents who claim to pay too much rent are slightly more anxious to move than those who claim to pay too little rent. Another economic dimension of rented dwellings that may constrain people's intentions to move is rent-control. Rent-

controlled apartments can be seen as an economic incentive for renters to stay: "rent control by definition and intent holds rents below market values". (Briggs, 1976) Of the 273 renters who answered the question about their apartment being rent-controlled, 42% reside in rent-controlled apartments. Half of the population residing in rent-controlled apartments state that enforcement of rent-control laws is very good and the other half state that it is fairly good. This attitude further justifies why people residing in rent-controlled apartments should not move.

The relationship between the intention to move and whether or not people reside in rent-controlled apartments is shown in Table 2.3.

TABLE 2.3
The Intention to Move by Rent-Control³

	<u>Rent-controlled Apartments</u>	
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
Short term	28%	29%
Long term	43	39
Non-movers	29	32
TOTAL:	100%	100%
	(104)	(138)

Renters who intend to stay seem not to be strongly influenced by the fact that their apartment is rent-controlled. These findings are

contrary to views held by many real estate brokers, bankers and owners of apartment buildings. They argue that people who reside in rent-controlled apartments do not move and create as a result a financial burden on the landlord. The same degree of mobility intention by residents of both rent-controlled and non-rent-controlled apartments emphasizes the fact that forces greater than "economic interest" shape renters' plans to move.

Unlike renters, for homeowners there is a direct impact on the financial status of their home on mobility. Homeowners who face a decrease in the value of their home may move to avoid further financial loss. The respondents were asked: "Do you think the value of your home has increased, stayed the same, or decreased in the last few years?" Of 300 people who had definite knowledge of the market value of their homes, 79% stated that the value of their homes had increased. This positive financial outlook may explain why owners in this sample do not intend to move shortly and could afford to move any time they wish. Homeowners' attitudes toward the market value of their home is examined in Table 2.4 in the light of their plans to move.

TABLE 2.4

The Intention to Move by Owner's Attitudes
Toward the Market Value of Their Homes⁴

	<u>Increased</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Decreased</u>
Short term	11%	8%	27%
Long term	47	48	43
Non-movers	43	44	30
TOTAL:	100% (218)	100% (25)	100% (30)

Not surprisingly, homeowners whose property value decreased intend more to move shortly than homeowners whose value was increased. However, of interest is the fact that not all the homeowners whose property value has decreased intend to move shortly. The results in Table 2.4 suggest again that economic pressure is not the only force that shapes the decision to move.

Access to a new mortgage increases the selling power of a house. When it is not easy to get a new mortgage, homeowners who intend to move may be forced to stay. Out of 215 homeowners who answered the question: "If you moved, how easy do you think it would be to get a new mortgage?", 33 percent stated that it would be very easy to get a new mortgage. 30 percent stated that it would be fairly easy and 37 percent said it would not be easy. The assumption tested in Table 2.5 is that homeowners who can easily get a new mortgage will be most likely to move.

TABLE 2.5

The Intention to Move by the View
That Owners Can Get a New Mortgage⁵

	<u>Very Easy/ Fairly Easy</u>	<u>Not Too Easy/ Not Easy at All</u>
Short term	13%	11%
Long term	55	34
Non-movers	31	55
TOTAL:	100%	100%
	(121)	(71)

The results in Table 2.5 show that indeed people who have easy access to a new mortgage will be more inclined to move than those for whom a new mortgage would be difficult to obtain. The largest difference (21%) exists among homeowners who intend to move but not immediately. Little difference exists between those who intend to move shortly regardless of ease of access to a mortgage.

Access to a new mortgage appears to be more related to the desire to move than whether or not the property value has increased. However, these factors are interrelated when banks and other financial institutions shy away from investing in a particular neighborhood and do not give loans or new mortgages to refinance homes; the property value might well decrease. This idea is examined in the table below.

TABLE 2.6

Access to New Mortgages by
Change in the Market Value of Homes⁶

<u>MARKET VALUE</u>	<u>ACCESS TO A NEW MORTGAGE</u>	
	<u>Very Easy/Fairly Easy</u>	<u>Not Too Easy/ Not Easy At All</u>
Increased	80%	74%
Same	10	12
Decreased	10	14
TOTAL:	100% (132)	100% (76)

A slight relationship exists between the two economic factors that shape the housing market. The results in Table 2.6 suggest that

the two economic indicators act independently and may shape different aspects of the housing market. Nevertheless, difficulty in obtaining new mortgages is argued by many grass-root organizations as undermining the strength of a community. The quality of homes will deteriorate and homeowners will be forced to stay because they cannot afford to move. In conclusion, the results show that neither among homeowners nor among renters does a strong relationship prevail between economic factors and the desire to move. The importance of these results lies in the suggestion that people's attitudes toward economic situations are different and more varied than expected. Molotch's assumption that the housing market controls or even directs residential relocation is not found to hold in the case of the responses of these residents of New York City.

The focus of the analysis will now shift from the external constraints of the housing market to dwelling unit characteristics. The analysis will show how dissatisfaction with space and other physical aspects of the dwelling units relates to the intent to move.

Satisfaction with Dwelling Space

Fishman, in studying white and black patterns of residential mobility, found that the main motivation to move is inadequate housing conditions. As family composition changes the most common pressure is the need for space for a growing family. F.R. Seely, R.A. Sin and E.W. Loosley (1967: 55) stated that "When interviewed about their homes, residents frequently give as their reason for moving to Crestwood Heights,

the desire for more space. The children were growing up, and needed separate bedrooms; or they needed a basement recreation room as a place to entertain their friends." The desire in a family for space is not only based on family needs, but has social value as well. Philip Aries (1962), a social historian, found that in Western Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, the need for space and privacy for children and adults developed only among the aristocracy. This value was taught and became fashionable among the upper classes.

Gans (1962) further found that among low income or working class families with a large number of children, dwelling space and privacy are not important. Among these poor families, the emphasis is upon the social life that evolved on the street. Guest (1977: 283) concluded that "as the family expands in size, and perhaps as the family income increases with job promotion, the family decides that it needs more housing space".

Rossi (1955: 78) stated that renters and owners were about equally sensitive to space complaints. Gans (1967) and Michelson (1977) associate space with the desire to own homes in the suburbs. Gans found that people wanted to move to Levittown to gain more space, privacy and own a "free-standing house".

Michelson (1977: 24, 24) found that the crucial push factor is not tenure status but space:

"...interior space within the home are cited by larger families as reasons both for "push" and "pull" far more than among smaller ones. Spatial considerations are more important as push factors in those cases in which children represent recent additions to families."

Guest also argues that among families with children the tendency to move also depends on the availability of external space around the dwelling unit.

Taking into account the fact that space is needed in the home as well as around the home and that space means privacy, four items were selected to define space. The items are: 1) The amount of room in your house/apartment: 65% stated that they were very satisfied, 23% fairly satisfied, and 11% not satisfied. 2) The amount of privacy: 70% are very satisfied with the amount of privacy, 22% are fairly satisfied and 8% are not satisfied. 3) The amount of open space around the house-apartment building: 42% are very satisfied, 35% are fairly satisfied and 23% are dissatisfied. And 4) the amount of closet space: 49% are very satisfied, 23% are fairly satisfied, and 28% are dissatisfied.

A correlation matrix based on Gamma scores of the four items is presented in Table 2.7. The responses to these questions were cross-tabulated against each other in order to determine whether or not they describe various aspects of space.

TABLE 2.7
Values of Gamma for the Items that Constitute the Space Index

	<u>Amount of Room</u>	<u>Privacy</u>	<u>Closet Space</u>	<u>Open Space</u>
Amount of Room	2	.74	.699	.440
Privacy		x	.630	.537
Closet Space			x	.35
Open Space				x

It is apparent from the strength of the Gamma coefficients in Table 2.7 that the four items selected are suitable for the creation of a space index.⁷ The space satisfaction index is presented in Table 2.8.

TABLE 2.8

Percentage Distribution of Collapsed Space Satisfaction Index

<u>Categories</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
Satisfied	57%
Fairly Satisfied	29%
Not Satisfied	14%
	100% (N = 603)

In Table 2.9, the desire to move is analyzed in relation to satisfaction with space available in and around the dwelling unit.

TABLE 2.9

The Intention to Move by Respondent's Satisfaction With Amount by Space⁸

	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
Short Term	12%	27%	37%
Long Term	42	46	53
Non-movers	46	27	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%
	(315)	(161)	(68)

Lack of satisfaction with amount of space in and around the house or apartment is associated with the intention to move. This association strongly prevails among respondents who intend to move shortly (25 percent point difference). Among people who intend to move after a year from the time of the interview, a relationship exists between satisfaction with space and the intention to move, but it is somewhat weaker (11 percent difference). Those respondents who want to stay are also likely to be very satisfied with their amount of space. A 36 percent difference exists between those who are satisfied with the amount of space available to them and those who are not satisfied.

In Table 2.10, the intention to move among renters and owners is explored in relation to the respondent's level of satisfaction with the amount of space.

TABLE 2.10

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Satisfaction
With Amount of Space and Tenure Status

<u>AMOUNT OF SPACE</u>	<u>Rent</u>	<u>Own</u>	<u>Total</u>
Satisfied	41%	59%	100% (168)
Fairly Satisfied	61%	39%	100% (118)
Not Satisfied	67%	33%	100% (61)

The relationship between the intention to move and satisfaction with space is positive for renters and negative for homeowners. Homeowners satisfied with their dwelling space still intend to move while

renters are more likely to move for lack of satisfaction with the amount of space they occupy. These results support Rossi's theory that homeowners do not move due to lack of space because they can readjust space and have some control over their home environment. In contrast, renters, Rossi claims, must relocate as demand for more space becomes an issue.

Increased income has been suggested to offer the possibility of buying more space (Seeley, Sim, Loosly, 1967: 55). In Table 2.11, the intention to move is analyzed in relation to space and income.

TABLE 2.11
Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Satisfaction
With Amount of Space and Income

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
\$15,000+	65% (106)	77% (61)	89% (27)
\$8,000-\$14,999	53% (79)	77% (51)	89% (15)
\$7,999 or less	40% (70)	58% (24)	85% (13)

A negative relationship exists between satisfaction with space and the intention to move in all three income categories. Among people who are satisfied with space, income plays a role. A 15 percentage point difference exists between low and high income respondents who are satisfied with space and intend to move.

The next set of housing characteristics dealt with here are the various utilities in the dwelling unit, street noise, safety, and the

way others care for the property. This analysis is aimed at exploring degrees of dissatisfaction with physical aspects of housing and local neighborhood conditions. These items are derived from the scale of housing satisfaction items proposed by Rossi (1955).

TABLE 2.12

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Level of Satisfaction
With Various Housing Aspects

	<u>LEVELS OF SATISFACTION</u>			
	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Too Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
<u>Heating</u>				
Intend to move	57%	74%	79%	80%
Non-movers	43	26	21	20
Total	100% (337)	100% (105)	100% (44)	100% (25)
<u>Wiring</u>				
Intend to move	56%	72%	74%	80%
Non-movers	44	28	26	20
Total	100% (325)	100% (135)	100% (47)	100% (40)
<u>Air and Sunlight</u>				
Intend to move	61%	70%	64%	88%
Non-movers	39	30	36	12
Total	100% (362)	100% (135)	100% (36)	100% (17)

TABLE 2.12 continued

	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Too Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
<u>Street Noise</u>				
Intend to move	60%	57%	68%	82%
Non-movers	40	43	32	18
Total	100% (136)	100% (217)	100% (105)	100% (92)
<u>The Way Others Care For Property</u>				
Intend to move	56%	70%	77%	81%
Non-movers	44	30	23	19
Total	100% (237)	100% (204)	100% (39)	100% (37)
<u>Home Safe From Burglars</u>				
Intend to move	54%	66%	71%	82%
Non-movers	46	34	29	18
Total	100% (160)	100% (225)	100% (86)	100% (55)

The results show that respondents who are not satisfied with the mentioned housing aspects are most inclined to state their intentions to move. Street noise is the item of most dissatisfaction. The second largest complaint item is safety of home from burglars. The items least mentioned are air, sunlight and heating.

In the following table, various housing aspects will be introduced in relation to tenure status. This analysis is aimed at understanding the differences or similarities that exist between renters' and owners' complaints about their dwelling units which promote the intention to move.

TABLE 2.13

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Lack of Satisfaction
With Selected Aspects of Housing by Tenure Status

<u>Lack of Satisfaction with:</u>	<u>Rent</u>	<u>Own</u>
Heating	75% (52)	94% (17)
Wiring	78% (78)	67% (9)
Air and Sunlight	73% (41)	65% (11)
Street Noise	83% (115)	62% (82)
The Way Others Care for Property	84% (49)	70% (27)
Home Safe from Burglars	80% (86)	67% (55)

The results indicate that a relationship between the intention to move and dissatisfaction with heating strongly prevails among homeowners while the items of street noise, the way others care for property, and safety from burglary are more related to the intention to move among renters.

SUMMARY

Renters in general more than homeowners want to relocate. Thus, in large measure, New York City's high turnover rate is simply due to the fact that a large portion of its population are renters. The most significant factor that determines residential relocation among renters is lack of adequate space. Other factors that renters are dissatisfied with and associate with the desire to move are: the way others care for property, street noise and the lack of safety from burglars.

Homeowners who intend to move tend to be satisfied with space. The aspects of the housing that owners are dissatisfied with are: heating and the way others care for property. In general, renters seem to be more dissatisfied with more housing aspects than owners, excluding heat. The constraint of the housing market seems to have little affect on the desire to move among renters as well as among owners. However, among homeowners a pattern does exist which shows that homeowners who have access to new mortgages want to move sometime in the future, while owners whose property value has decreased have an urgent need to relocate immediately.

FOOTNOTES

1. Table H-1. "Occupancy, Utilization, and Financial Characteristics of Housing Units" Census data, 1970, Population and Housing, N.Y., N.Y. Part #, May 1972. PHC (1)-I45.
2. $\text{CHI}^2 = 5.6$, $\text{DF} = 4$, Significance = .23
3. $\text{CHI}^2 = 16.674$, $\text{DF} = 8$, Significance = .03
4. $\text{CHI}^2 = 7.2$, $\text{DF} = 4$, Significance = .12
5. $\text{CHI}^2 = 10.70$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .5
6. $\text{CHI}^2 = 1.34$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .5
7. An index was generated for each respondent from the four chosen items through an additive procedure. Following the completion of these initial steps, a frequency distribution of the raw space scores was compiled for examination. The raw index scores ranged numerically from 4 to 12. A low raw index score 4-6 represented a high degree of satisfaction with space, and conversely, a high raw index (10-12) score represented a low degree of satisfaction with space. The raw space index was then partitioned into three categories. 18 cases of "do not know" are treated as missing value.
8. $\text{CHI}^2 = 51.634$, $\text{DF} = 4$, Significance = .0000

CHAPTER THREE: THE NEIGHBORHOOD

A neighborhood, according to Robert Park (1969: 93), is not a mere geographical expression but a locality with sentiments, tradition and history of its own.

"(For) the city possesses a moral as well as a physical organization, and these two mutually interact in characteristic ways to mold and modify one another."

However, these interactions are not uniform or constant; residents of different backgrounds and up-bringing react differently to the man-built environment. Economic forces as well, shape neighborhoods in different directions. For some residents, the existing physical environment suits their needs while for others the same surroundings can have negative implications. For example, a vacant building can be viewed by some as a shelter for activities that otherwise could not be managed while for others, the same vacant building is a source of crime and deterioration. Negative attitudes toward a neighborhood would be reflected in the residents' constant urge to flee to other areas. Here the analysis will focus on those physical aspects of a neighborhood that may be considered so negative by the residents as to make them want to move. Also examined here are the social aspects of the neighborhood, the sentiment developed towards the neighborhood, and the length of residence in the neighborhood. Another major factor that is assumed here to have an affect on the decision to move is the respondent's degree of satisfaction with available local city services. Lack of services can be seen by residents as a sign that the city govern-

ment has abandoned their neighborhoods.

Physical Conditions of a Neighborhood

One of the salient persistent problems in New York City is the deterioration and decline in the quality of neighborhood life. One of the most visible signs of deterioration is abandonment. In 1974 in New York City as a whole, approximately two percent of its 688,300 residential structures were abandoned. Tobier (1975) found that a causal relationship exists between tax delinquency and urban decay. His analysis of tax delinquency related changes in the residential population of New York City to the economic decline and deterioration of the housing market.

Low-income households often do not have the means of absorbing rent increases which in turn weakens the ability of owners to absorb high operating costs. This inability of the owners, according to Tobier, leads to abandonment. As more buildings become abandoned, the people who can afford to move do so. They tend to leave these sections of the city behind, leaving behind the poor, or as Gans had dubbed those who remain, the "trapped core".

Contrary to Tobier's causal model of urban deterioration, Gans and Suttles found that urban deterioration is not necessarily associated with low income or working class populations. Their findings suggest that low income neighborhoods can be socially vital: the residents having developed a strong sense of identity and belonging to the neighborhood.

"...in the West End, where people knew so much about each other, there was no need for prying. A feeling of privacy could be maintained in the midst of high density. In addition, learning and seeing their neighbor's activities gave the West Enders a share in the life that went on around them which, in turn, made them feel part of the group." (Gans, 1962: 21)

The neighborhood apparently becomes a source of identification, a reference point and a support system for the local groups against "outsiders". In such neighborhoods, physical deterioration is not defined in the same way by the residents and they do not move. The social structure of certain groups may affect the arrangement and meaning of the physical environment. Behavior is not dictated by the physical conditions of a neighborhood but by public opinion, social pressure and group structure. Gans (1962: 19), for example, states that physical characteristics can shape a certain social phenomenon, but cannot create one, e.g., "The physical characteristics of the house can hinder family life if there is not enough privacy, although they cannot create a positive family relationship if this is not already present."

Another reason for the lack of deterioration in the West End was that in many buildings, tenants had more than a purely economic relationship to the landlord. Some of the owners offered apartments to their children, to relatives and to friends.

"When increasing cost forced landlords to cut down on services and maintenance, this was often done at the cost of broken friendships with their tenants. Indeed, when West Enders moved as individuals, rather than as part of a group move, it was usually because of a fight with the landlord."

The relevance of Gan's analysis to the present study lies in the fact that the intent to move is influenced by the negative physical

aspects of the neighborhood, as well as by lack of commitment to neighborhood social life. It is important to distinguish between the physical and the social makeup of the neighborhoods under study to find out what factors shape attitudes toward movement out of the neighborhood.

One hypothesis is that people tend to move out as the neighborhood deteriorates physically. However, according to Gans this is true only when it becomes part of the people's social construct. Gans found that the "urban villagers" (a low working class Italian community) did not want to move out of their neighborhood, despite the view held by outsiders and the city authorities that the neighborhood was deteriorated and should undergo urban renewal. For the "urban villagers" the neighborhood was not deteriorated, but a source of social identification and cohesion. Gans' analysis showed that neighborhood deterioration is not universally defined and as long as people do not view deterioration as a problem, residential relocation will not take place.

Three questions that were asked of the respondents concerned those physical aspects of a neighborhood that in most cases characterize urban decay. These three items describe the conditions of streets, sidewalks and houses. 21% of the respondents stated that dirty streets and sidewalks are a very serious problem in their neighborhood; 25% stated that it is a fairly serious problem; 33% stated that it is not too serious a problem; 21% not a problem at all, and less than 1% do not know of such a problem. Rates of response to the problem of abandoned houses in the neighborhood was as follows: 5% stated it is a very serious problem, 9% it is fairly serious problem, 23% not too serious, 60% it is not

a problem at all and 3% answered did not know. Respondent's reactions to run-down houses is similar to their response on abandoned houses: 6% agreed that it is a very serious problem, 13% that it is a fairly serious problem, 30% not too serious a problem, 48% not a problem at all, and 2% do not know.

A correlation matrix based on Gamma scores of the three items is presented in Table 3.1. The responses to these questions were cross-tabulated against each other in order to determine the suitability of their inclusion in the physical environment index.

TABLE 3.1
 Values of Gamma for the Items that Constitute
 The Physical Environment Index

	<u>Dirty Streets</u>	<u>Abandoned Houses</u>	<u>Rundown Houses</u>
Dirty Streets	x	.538	.704
Abandoned Houses		x	.872
Run-down Houses			x

It is apparent from the strength of the Gamma coefficients in Table 3.1 that the three items selected are suitable for the creation of a physical environment index.¹

The physical deterioration index is presented in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2

Percentage Distribution of Physical Environment Index

<u>Categories</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
Major problem	32%
Not too serious a problem	35%
Not a problem at all	33%
	<hr/>
TOTAL:	100%
	(586)

In Table 3.3 below, the relationship between the intention to move and the physical environment index is shown.

TABLE 3.3

The Intention to Move by the Physical Environment Index²

	<u>Major Problem</u>	<u>Not Too Serious A Problem</u>	<u>Not a Problem at all</u>
Short term	25%	19%	14%
Long term	52	43	37
Non-movers	23	38	49
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%
	(168)	(193)	(162)

Table 3.3 shows that an association exists between the intention to move and negative conditions of a neighborhood. Those who state that the physical condition of the neighborhood is a problem are more likely

to intend to move shortly than those who state that it is not a problem (a difference of 11 percentage points). Among the respondents who intend to move, but not immediately, a 15 percentage point difference exists. Forty-nine percent of those who do not view their neighborhood's physical conditions as problematic plan to stay while only 23% who see deterioration as a major problem want to stay. The finding that there is a tendency to move from areas perceived to be physically deteriorated leads to the questions of who perceives the neighborhood to be deteriorated and whether or not they specifically want to move. Kantowitz states that non-whites and low income people are in general trapped in deteriorated neighborhoods. Therefore, the analysis will focus on the relationship between the respondent's view of deterioration in his neighborhood, and race and income. (See Tables 3.4 and 3.5)

TABLE 3.4
Physical Environment Index by Race³

<u>Physical Conditions</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-white</u>
Major Problem	25%	62%
Not too serious a problem	38	26
Not a problem at all	37	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(473)	(113)

The results in Table 3.4 show that indeed a relationship exists between race and negative physical conditions. Non-whites are more inclined

to view physical deterioration as a problem in their neighborhood than are whites. A 37 percentage point difference exists between whites and non-whites who see a serious problem in the physical condition of their neighborhood.

TABLE 3.5
Physical Environment Index by Income⁴

	<u>INCOME</u>		
	<u>\$7,999 or less</u>	<u>\$8,000-\$14,999</u>	<u>\$15,000+</u>
Major problem	31%	37%	32%
Not too serious a problem	36	36	39
Not a problem at all	35	27	29
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(133)	(155)	(206)

Unlike race, income is not related to one's perceptions of the physical conditions of the neighborhood. Respondents with high incomes as well as respondents with low incomes are equally prone to state that the physical environment is a major problem in their neighborhood. The results in both tables show race and not income to be associated with neighborhood physical conditions.

The next table focuses on the relationship between physical conditions and the intention to move, controlling for income.

TABLE 3.6

The Intention to Move by Neighborhood
Physical Conditions and Income

	<u>Major Problem</u>	<u>Not too Serious a Problem</u>	<u>Not a Problem at all</u>
\$15,000+	80% (60)	69% (77)	68% (53)
\$8,000-\$14,999	80% (51)	64% (52)	42% (36)
Under \$7,999	63% (30)	53% (36)	29% (34)

Reading down the columns respondents with high incomes intend to move, whether or not there are negative physical conditions. The results also show (reading across the rows) the influence of the neighborhood's physical condition. In particular, people with low incomes seem to be influenced by physical deterioration. Among people who earn \$7,999 or less, a 34 percentage point difference exists between respondents who perceive serious physical deterioration and intend to move and those who do not see such problems. In contrast, among the well-off, only a 12 percentage point difference exists between people with problems in their physical environment and those people who do not see the same problems.

Non-white groups tend to concentrate in decaying urban areas. Therefore, the relationship between neighborhood physical conditions and the desire to move controlled by race is presented in Table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7

The Intention to Move by Neighborhood
Physical Conditions and Race

	<u>Serious Problems</u>	<u>Not too Seri- ous a Problem</u>	<u>Not a Problem</u>
White	73% (108)	63% (166)	49% (150)
Non-whites	83% (60)	56% (27)	75% (12)

Table 3.7 shows a distinct pattern of differences between blacks and whites. Reading across the rows, the physical condition of a neighborhood is more strongly associated with the intention to move among whites than among blacks. Blacks intend to move regardless of physical conditions, while among whites the tendency to move increases with the presence of negative physical conditions. Among whites, a 24 percentage point difference exists between those who see physical conditions as a problem and those who do not, compared to an 8 percentage point difference among blacks. For blacks, it is not so much the environment that dictates their inclination to move.

To function as a member of a community and conduct one's daily routines without interference, one must be able to leave one's house and participate at least to some degree in the life outside one's immediate surroundings. Thus, as deviant behavior becomes a problem in a neighborhood, we hypothesize that people will increasingly state their intention to move.

Five items that describe crime are cross-tabulated against each other in order to determine the suitability of their inclusion in a deviant behavior index. The items are as follows:

(1) The existence of drug addicts in the neighborhood. Out of the 509 respondents who answered the question, 15% state that drug addicts contribute a very serious problem in the neighborhood, 25% state that they are a fairly serious problem, 36% not too serious, and 24% not a problem at all. (2) The presence of teenage-gangs is viewed as a very serious problem by only a small minority, 13% of 575 who answered the question. 22% stated that it is a fairly serious problem, 39% not too serious, and 27% not a problem at all. (3) Crime in the streets is a problem seen by almost all of the respondents; only 8% out of 543 do not see crime as a problem. 41% state that it is not too serious, 32% state that crime is fairly serious and 19% state that it is very serious. (4) Burglary of homes and apartments was seen as a serious problem to 18% of the 588 who answered the question; 23% state it is fairly serious, 37% not too serious, and 17% not a problem at all. And (5) the presence of alcoholics in the street. 614 respondents (the largest number) answered this question and most of them see no problem at all--44%, or as not too serious a problem--34%, and 13% see it is fairly serious, 9% as very serious.

A correlation matrix of these five aspects of deviant behavior based on Gamma scores is presented in Table 3.8.

TABLE 3.8

Values of Gamma for Items that Constitute
A Deviant Behavior Index

	<u>Drug Addicts</u>	<u>Teen Gangs</u>	<u>Street Crime</u>	<u>Alcoholics</u>	<u>Burglary of Homes</u>
Drug Addicts	x	.550	.539	.452	.392
Teen Gangs		x	.575	.428	.683
Street Crimes			x	.470	.683
Alcoholics				x	.429
Burglary of homes					x

The results in Table 3.8 show that the items are suitable for the creation of a deviant behavior index.⁵

In Table 3.9, the relationship between crime and the desire to move is presented.

TABLE 3.9

The Intention to Move by Deviant Behavior Index⁶

	<u>Major Problem</u>	<u>Not too Serio- ous a Problem</u>	<u>Not a Problem</u>
Short term	22%	19%	11%
Long term	55	44	40
Non-movers	22	37	49
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL:	100% (156)	100% (174)	100% (84)

Table 3.9 shows that deviant behavior like physical deterioration is perceived to be a problem by those who intend to move. To cope with social proximity to deviant behavior, Suttles (1972: 156-8) states that people develop regulation and spatial signals. The respondents in this study react to social proximity to deviant behavior by wanting to create geographical distance. The level of tolerance by the respondents of deviant behavior seems to be limited. Thus when people view rates of crime to be on the increase in their neighborhood, a strong desire to move will prevail.

The respondents were asked: "As far as you know, has there been any increase in the incidence of crimes in this neighborhood in the past two years?" (334 respondents said yes and 192 said no.) In Table 3.10 the relationship between the respondents' perception of an increase in crime rates and the intention to move is presented.

TABLE 3.10

The Intention to Move by Perceived Increase in Crime

	<u>No Increase in Crime</u>	<u>Increase in Crime</u>
Short term	15%	24%
Long term	41	47
Non-movers	44	28
TOTAL:	100%	100%
	(178)	(299)

The results in Table 3.10 show that a relationship exists between the intention to move and increases in crime. People who intend to move are the ones who claim that crime rates have increased in the last two years.

People's perception of deviant behavior also coincides with their perception of physical deterioration in their neighborhood. A strong correlation exists between poor neighborhood physical conditions and the existence of deviance or crime ($R = .533$). The questions that were directed at the respondents deal with their impressions or opinions of problems in their neighborhood. The questions do not deal with the respondents' actual experiences with crime, deviance or physical deterioration of buildings, sidewalks, etc. Goldsmith and Goldsmith (1975: 51) show that "...fear of crime is not a consequence of direct experiences as a victim". Furthermore, studies suggest that the intensity of concern about crime varies according to social characteristics, such as race, sex, and income level. For example, it was found that black women have the highest degree of anxiety, followed by black men, white women and white men. Lower income level groups have greater anxiety than high levels, and parents in general have a high fear of crime because of their concern for their children. It was also found that residents who live in central city areas are apt to feel that violent crime is likely to happen and fewer see their neighborhood as being safe than suburban or rural residents.

High anxiety about crime, according to Ginsberg (1975), relates to

residential relocation. Ginsberg also found that police reports and other sources of information do not always support the perception that crime increases with the growth of minority population. In fact, sometimes it has actually decreased. However, the importance of such perception lies with the fact that people act according to their views regardless of the real situation.

The broad neighborhood problems of physical deterioration, deviant behavior and crime were found to be a foreseeable factor in the respondents' decision to move. The next issue analyzed here is the effect of the respondents' satisfaction with city services.

Services Provided in the Neighborhood

It can be hypothesized that the decrease of services to a neighborhood encourages its residents to leave for two reasons: 1) the hardships caused by the loss or decline of services, and 2) because the decline in city services may be viewed by the respondents as a sign of abandonment by the city. Dissatisfaction with the way city agencies and politicians handle their neighborhoods is reflected in the high percent of people (52%) who disagree that: "city agencies are doing a good job of meeting the needs of this neighborhood". 71% agree that "the politicians who run this city don't pay enough attention to the people who live in neighborhoods like this one". And only 38% agree that "our local politicians are doing a good job of taking care of this neighborhood". When the respondents were asked to respond to the statement that: "the city government should just leave the neighborhood alone to solve their own problems",

over half of the population disagreed with the statement. Instead, 70% blame the financial crisis for the lack of adequate services: "Because of New York City's financial crisis, cutbacks in services are becoming a serious problem in this neighborhood." These attitudes may imply that New York City residents are confident in the city and if needed help arrived, they may be encouraged to stay. Also, the agreement among 63% of the sample that New York City is still the greatest place in the world to live encourages the view that with some help from the city, residents of this city might stay.

The respondents want better services to be delivered to their neighborhoods. Only 6% of the respondents claim that the quality of city services improved in the last two years; 45% stated that the quality of services stayed the same, 42% stated that it has gotten worse and 7% did not know. In the following table, the relationship between the desire to move and the quality of services delivered to a neighborhood is presented.

TABLE 3.11

The Intention to Move by Respondents' Perception of
the Quality of Services Delivered to Their Neighborhoods ⁸

	<u>Improved or Stayed the Same</u>	<u>Got Worse</u>
Short term	16%	25%
Long term	45	44
Non-movers	39	31
TOTAL	100% (284)	100% (235)

A decrease in the quality of service to a neighborhood is not enough of an incentive to relocate. Respondents who claim that the quality of services have gotten worse are slightly more intent to move shortly than those who claim that the quality of services have stayed the same or improved. There is no difference in a perceived quality among those who intend to move eventually.

The respondents were asked specifically to express their opinion of various services available in their neighborhoods. "I'm going to read you a list of services that may or may not be available in your neighborhood. For each one I read, I'd like you to tell me which phrase on this card best describes the way that service is performed in your neighborhood." The service with which almost half of the sample are dissatisfied is the adequacy of on the street parking. The other services, in order of the degrees complained about were: 1) 38% of the sample complained about the cleaning of streets; 2) 24% stated that police protection is not good, and five people stated that it does not exist; 3) 20% stated that health facilities are not good in the area of their residence and five stated that health facilities do not exist in their neighborhoods; 4) 18% complained about collection of rubbish and garbage; and 5) 5% to 7% complained separately about fire protection, public transportation and programs for drug addicts.

Since dissatisfaction with such important services as police and fire protection is small, it is not surprising that motivation to move in this sample is not strongly related to neighborhood services.

The School System

An important aspect of the physical environment as well as of the social environment of the neighborhood is the school system. Schools are always the center of plans for the development of new communities. The location of schools influences land distribution and the property values of adjacent dwelling units. The quality of a school is measured by its quality of education, its effectiveness as an instrument of discipline (Gans, 1962) and as a means of achieving higher social and economic status (Kessner, 1977).

The four selected items that are used here to measure school quality are: 1) "The schools in this neighborhood are some of the best in New York City." Of the 480 respondents who answered the question, 38% agreed strongly, 24% agreed with reservations and 38% disagreed. 2) "Children just don't learn as much in school these days as they used to." 62% of 504 respondents agreed strongly with this view, 14% agreed with reservations and 24% disagreed. 3) "Discipline in the school is a problem." Only 377 answered this question of which 22% stated that it is not a problem, 37% not too serious a problem while 41% see discipline in school as a problem. And 4) "The quality of education in public school": of the 397 who answered this question, 27% stated that the quality of education is very good, 39% that it is fairly good and 35% that it is not good. In Table 3.12 a correlation of the four variables is presented.

TABLE 3.12

A Correlation of School Items

	<u>Quality of Education</u>	<u>Discipline</u>	<u>Best Schools in N.Y.C.</u>	<u>Children Do Not Learn</u>
Quality of Education	x	.581	.605	.465
Discipline		x	.452	.345
The Best Schools in N.Y.C.			x	.432
Children do not learn				x

Based on Gamma scores presented in Table 3.12, a strong correlation is present among the four items.⁹

The relationship between school quality and the intention to move is presented in Table 3.13.¹⁰

TABLE 3.13

The Intention to Move by Quality of Schools

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fairly Good</u>	<u>Not Good</u>
Short term	17%	18%	24%
Long term	41	54	48
Non-movers	42	29	28
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(66)	(97)	(96)

Respondents who intend to move seem to be influenced by the quality of schools in their neighborhood. The percent difference between good school quality and poor school quality is 7 percent for respondents who intend to move shortly and those who intend to move some day.

Parks

Another aspect of the neighborhood's physical environment that will be examined here is the availability of parks and its relation to the intent to move. Parks are a permanent part of urban neighborhoods and their "...arrangement of flora, fauna, walkways, and facilities are based on decisions about the way society or the planner defines a desirable park." (Gans 1970: 5) Parks are a source of beauty, attraction to a neighborhood and a place of territorial identification for residents. However, these "green-spots" can also be viewed as a source of discomfort and nuisance. Parks can become a shelter for the undesirable and a focus for crime.

The respondents were asked about the availability of parks in their neighborhood; 63% of the total sample stated that the availability of parks is good. When asked about the availability of recreational facilities, only 47% responded that it was good. Respondents were also asked if the parks were safe: 56% claimed that safety was not good. A strong correlation exists among the three park items (see Table 3.14). It is hypothesized here that people who experience their neighborhood parks negatively will be most likely to state their intention to move.

TABLE 3.14

Values of Gamma for the Items that Constitute the Park Index

	<u>Availability of Parks</u>	<u>Safety of Parks</u>	<u>Quality of Recrea- tional Facilities</u>
Availability of Parks	x	.606	.623
Safety of Parks		x	.612
Quality of Recreational Facilities			x

The index was categorized into three approximately equal sections that describe people's level of satisfaction with the park as good, fairly good, and not good. See Table 3.15.

TABLE 3.15

Percentage Distribution of Park Index¹¹

<u>Categories</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
Good	36%
Fairly Good	47%
Not good	20%
	<hr/>
TOTAL:	100%
	(449)

In Table 3.16, the desire to move and respondents' views about the quality of parks in their neighborhood is presented.

TABLE 3.16¹²

The Intention to Move by Attitudes Towards Parks

	<u>ATTITUDES TOWARDS PARKS</u>		
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fairly Good</u>	<u>Not Good</u>
Short term	15%	20%	26%
Long term	47	49	47
Non-movers	38	31	27
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(147)	(188)	(70)

Table 3.16 indicates that a relationship does exist between the two variables, particularly between those who intend to move immediately and the quality of parks. The percent difference between positive and negative views of the park is 11 percent. People who plan to move eventually, however, do not take this aspect of the physical environment into account.

To summarize, a large percent of the respondents are satisfied with city services in their neighborhood; those who are dissatisfied are likely to state their intention to move.

The last aspect of neighborhoods discussed here is the individual's social environment. In this section of the analysis the focus is on length of residence, social ties and sentiments that have been developed towards the neighborhood.

Length of Residence and People's Plans to Move

Kasarda and Janovitz (1974) found that length of residence is of critical importance in affecting the relationship between the individual and the community. Their findings indicate that the longer one resides in a neighborhood, the more one feels a sense of belonging to the local community, is interested in what goes on in the community and is sorry to leave the community if one has to. Rossi (1955) too found that length of residence is strongly associated with individual awareness of community happenings and the creation of local ties. Therefore, one may argue that the longer one resides in one place, the greater the tendency towards identifying with the community and the more difficult it is for the individual to move out. Table 3.17 shows this relationship.

TABLE 3.17

The Intention to Move by Length of Residence¹³

	<u>YEARS OF RESIDENCE</u>			
	<u>3 or less</u>	<u>4-10</u>	<u>11-20</u>	<u>21+</u>
Short term	26%	21%	19%	14%
Long term	47	49	45	38
Non-movers	27	30	36	48
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(110)	(139)	(126)	(179)

A positive relationship exists between length of residence and the intention to move, particularly among those who plan to move immediately. People with fewer years of residence are more likely to move, while people with long years of residence tend to stay. When the plans to move are not urgent, length of residence relates only slightly to the intent to move. The intention to stay among people with long years of residence may be attributed to age. A correlation between length of residence and age is significant ($R = .393$). This finding suggests that those who stay in the community are likely to be elderly.

The Intention to Move and Social Ties

A structural feature of a neighborhood is the residents' knowledge of the community which touches intimately on the lives of those who share a residential area. This knowledge adds to the collective guilt or pride of the residents. Suttles (1972) argues that personal sentiments derived from ethnicity, friendship and kinship "weld people into residential collectivities". This gives the residents a common identity, separates the residents from other groups, and generates residential stability. Close proximity to friends and relatives creates a common identity and attachment to the neighborhood. Speare points out that proximity to friends and relatives determines residential satisfaction which in turn affects the intention to move.

The hypothesis tested is that as respondents' friends or relatives live further away from the respondents' residential location, the tendency to move will increase.

TABLE 3.18

The Intention to Move by Location of Friends and Relatives¹⁴

	<u>LOCATION</u>		
	<u>Within A Few Blocks</u>	<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Outside Neighborhood</u>
Short term	17%	11%	26%
Long term	32	44	49
Non-movers	51	46	25
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(104)	(153)	(273)

Reading across the rows, the results support the view that the inclination to move is greater among those who have friends and relatives living outside the neighborhood. Having friends or relatives living in the same neighborhoods seems to pull people to stay.

Social ties can also be threatened, as shown by Rossi (1955), by an increase in the numbers of new-comers to a particular neighborhood. As the number of new-comers increases, the "old timers" develop a sense of isolation and are inclined to state their preference to move. In the present study, the respondents were asked to describe the numbers of new-comers in their neighborhood. The question was: "How many new families do you think have moved into this neighborhood in the past year." 23% out of 484 respondents stated very many new families had moved to their neighborhood, 31% fairly many, 31% not too many and 15% not many at all.

In Table 3.19, the respondents' view about the number of new-comers is cross-tabulated against the intention to move.

TABLE 3.19

The Intention to Move by How Many Newcomers Came To the Neighborhood in the Last Year¹⁵

	<u>Very Many</u>	<u>Fairly Many</u>	<u>Not too Many</u>	<u>Not Many At All</u>
Short term	26%	21%	15%	8%
Long term	50	49	42	31
Non-movers	24	30	43	61
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(102)	(134)	(138)	(61)

The results in Table 3.19 follow the same pattern shown in Table 3.18. People want to move from neighborhoods in which there is lack of personal ties as manifested by increased physical distance from friends and relatives and an increase in the number of new-comers. Reading across the rows, the tendency to stay exists among those who feel that not many new-comers have arrived in their neighborhoods. A 37 percent point difference exists between those who say that many new-comers have arrived and those who stated that not too many at all have arrived. The social ties which develop into strong sentiments of attachment to a community as well as a common identity with the other residents, according to Suttles, are often concentrated within a single block. Thus, it can be assumed that the respondents who have friends within their neighborhood

will also feel a sense of belonging to the neighborhood. In Table 3.20, this assumption is tested.

TABLE 3.20

Location of Friends and Relatives by How Much the Respondents Feel They Are Part of Their Neighborhood¹⁶

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>BEING PART OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD</u>			
	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Fairly Much</u>	<u>Not Too Much</u>	<u>Not of the Community</u>
Neighborhood	59%	50%	37%	26%
Outside Neighborhood	41	50	63	74
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(176)	(177)	(125)	(31)

The results here indicate that a relationship between location of friends and relatives and being part of the neighborhood exists. People who have friends and/or relatives in the neighborhood are most likely to feel that they are part of the neighborhood. This pattern of association suggests that proximity to primary social networks encourages people to feel that they are part of a particular locality. Membership in local organizations like proximity to friends and family is also treated in the literature as a phenomenon that is associated with the development of a feeling of being part of a neighborhood. However, participation in local organizations is not as strongly related to being part of

the neighborhood ($R = .213$) as the latter factor. Gans has shown that people who have developed social ties in their neighborhood and felt that they are part of it were not in haste about moving. Those who did move faced difficulties in adjusting to the new place. Gans (1967: 226) studying families who moved to Levittown, New Jersey, found, for example, that people felt lonely in the new place and missed family and friends left behind in the old neighborhood. They also found it difficult to cut social ties with the old neighborhood. Therefore, it is proposed here that people who feel that they are part of the neighborhood will be less likely to move than those who do not share the same feeling.

The relationship between the respondents' feeling of being part of the neighborhood and their plans to move is shown below.

TABLE 3.21

The Intention to Move by How Much the Respondents
Feel Being Part of the Neighborhood¹⁷

	<u>Very High</u>	<u>Fairly High</u>	<u>Not too High</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
Short term	10%	18%	23%	36%
Long term	38	49	45	43
Non-movers	52	33	33	21
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(154)	(171)	(151)	(72)

The percent of people who want to move increases as the sense of belonging to the neighborhood decreases.

Another aspect of how the respondents feel toward their neighborhood is captured by the response to the question: "Please describe what kind of neighborhood you think this was five years ago." 310 stated that the neighborhood was very desirable, 273 fairly desirable, 141 not too desirable, 61 not desirable at all and 12 do not know.

Table 3.22 shows the relationship between the response to this question and the desire to move.

TABLE 3.22

The Intention to Move by Desirability
Of the Neighborhood Five Years Ago¹⁸

	<u>Very Desirable</u>	<u>Fairly Desirable</u>	<u>Not Too Desirable</u>	<u>Not Desirable</u>
Short term	10%	14%	26%	49%
Long term	32	49	46	39
Non-movers	58	37	28	12
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(109)	(254)	(131)	(51)

The percent of people who intend to move shortly increases as people describe their neighborhood as not desirable. A 39 percent point difference exists between those who state that the neighborhood was very desirable and those who state that the neighborhood was not desirable.

Among respondents who want to move eventually, small differences exist among the various responses in relation to the intent to move.

Earlier in the analysis, lack of desirability of a neighborhood was found to be reflected in the residents' perception of the prevalence of deviance, crime and physical deterioration. In the next two tables, the relationship between the intent to move and the present level of desirability of the neighborhood is controlled for perception of physical deterioration and deviant behavior. These two tables help to clarify what the respondents' mean by the desirability of a neighborhood.

TABLE 3.23

The Intention to Move by the Desirability of the Neighborhood Today and Physical Conditions as a Problem

	<u>WHAT KIND OF NEIGHBORHOOD TODAY (% Movers)</u>			
	<u>Very Desirable</u>	<u>Fairly Desirable</u>	<u>Not Too Desirable</u>	<u>Not At All Desirable</u>
Physical Environment as a Problem	67% (12)	73% (67)	81% (54)	85% (26)

TABLE 3.24

The Intention to Move by the Desirability of the Neighborhood Today and Deviant Behavior as a Problem

Deviant Behavior as a Problem	67% (12)	75% (64)	81% (52)	82% (27)
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The results of both tables suggest that movers tend to associate neighborhoods which are not desirable with the problems of physical deterioration and deviant behavior.

Selected Neighborhood Problems in Each Neighborhood

In this chapter, it was shown that people's perceptions about neighborhood problems are correlated with their intentions to move. For some people the situation in their neighborhood may be perceived as enough of a threat to convince them to plan a move. Up to now, the analysis focused on neighborhood problems across the six neighborhoods. To find out whether some of the problems may be significant in some neighborhood and not in others, the analysis will now look at each separately. A selected number of factors that describe neighborhood conditions in each of the six neighborhoods are presented in a summary from in the table below. (A fuller description of the results is in Appendix E.)

Table 3. 25
Selected Neighborhood Problems by Neighborhood

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>POTENTIAL THREATS</u>				
	<u>Physical Condition A Problem</u>	<u>Parks Are Not Good</u>	<u>Increase In Crime</u>	<u>School Quality's Not Good</u>	<u>Quality of Services Gotten Worse</u>
Bayridge	18% (100)	3% (75)	56% (91)	26% (51)	38% (96)
North Bronx	25% (92)	7% (68)	76% (91)	55% (38)	54% (94)
Flatbush	58% (97)	29% (79)	82% (91)	41% (44)	53% (95)
Ridgewood	21% (96)	21% (72)	55% (82)	39% (36)	47% (92)
South Ozone	55% (99)	31% (70)	50% (84)	38% (52)	37% (95)
Woodhaven	17% (102)	11% (76)	60% (87)	26% (62)	42% (102)

TABLE 3.25 continued.

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>Very Many New-Comers Moved Into The Neighborhood Last Year</u>	<u>POTENTIAL THREATS</u>	
		<u>Very Much and Fairly Much Trouble Between Whites and Puerto Ricans and Blacks</u>	<u>Neighborhood Not Desirable</u>
Bayridge	17% (88)	3% (91)	5% (102)
North Bronx	35% (74)	19% (93)	16% (101)
Flatbush	46% (54)	31% (92)	22% (100)
Ridgewood	20% (86)	51% (91)	9% (99)
South Ozone	19% (93)	9% (92)	9% (103)
Woodhaven	10% (89)	12% (94)	0%

Flatbush, of all the neighborhoods, has the largest percent of respondents who view their neighborhood as not desirable. Woodhaven is the only neighborhood where no one perceives the neighborhood as not desirable. The residents of Flatbush seem to be more concerned than respondents of other neighborhoods with the following problems: neighborhood physical conditions, increase in crime and trouble between whites and non-whites. Also, most of the respondents who reside in Flatbush feel that many newcomers have moved into their neighborhood. Most of the respondents who reside in Woodhaven and Bayridge are concerned with increases in crime and the quality of services delivered to their neighborhood. In the North Bronx, the most common problems identified by a large percent of respondents are: increase in crime, the quality of schools, and the quality of neighborhood services. In Ridgewood and in South Ozone Park, the problems that seem to be most on people's minds are: crime and the quality of

services. Residents of Flatbush who are the most concerned with neighborhood problems also intend to move more than any other group. (See Table 1.4.) Woodhaven and Bayridge with the least number of problems shared by a large percent of the population are also the neighborhoods from which the least number of people intend to move.

Summary

The desirability of the neighborhood one lives in is a key factor in the decision to move or stay. Three major components of a neighborhood's "desirability" are physical deterioration, deviant behavior and crime. Perceptions of all three items are colored by the resident's sense of attachment to their community and the community's social values. Only a minority of the respondents in this study face severe problems in their neighborhoods in these areas. Flatbush is the only neighborhood where a large percent of people are concerned with a large number of neighborhood problems. Non-whites are more likely than whites to state that they encounter many neighborhood problems.

The quality of services delivered to the neighborhoods also seems to have little import on the decision to move. However, length of residence in a neighborhood, social ties and the strength of identification with a neighborhood are factors which strongly correlate with the intent to move. Respondents who live in a neighborhood for a short period of time, do not have close friends and relatives who live outside the neighborhood, and do not feel a sense of belonging to the neighborhood, want

to move. Correspondingly, those who have lived in a neighborhood for a long time, have close friends and/or relatives nearby and have a strong sense of belonging, want to stay.

FOOTNOTES

1. An index generated for each respondent from the three chosen items through an additive procedure. Following the completion of these initial steps, a frequency distribution of the physical deterioration scores was compiled for examination. The index scores ranged numerically from 3 to 12. A low index score represented a serious problem in the physical conditions of the neighborhood. Conversely, a high index score represents a low degree of physical deterioration. 35 cases of "do not know" are treated as missing values.
2. $\text{CHI}^2 = 23.840$, $\text{DF} = 4$, Significance = .0001.
3. $\text{CHI}^2 = 60.152$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .000
4. $\text{CHI}^2 = 2.706$, $\text{DF} = 4$, Significance = .608
5. Scores on the index of deviant range from 5 to 20. Those who view crime as a problem were assigned a score of 5-12 (N = 173), not too serious a problem was assigned a score of 13-16 (N = 191) and crime as not problem was assigned a score of 17-20 (N = 92). 165 who stated they did not know about crime in their neighborhood were treated as missing values.
6. $\text{CHI}^2 = 23.975$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .000.
7. $\text{CHI}^2 = 13.225$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .001
8. $\text{CHI}^2 = 7.971$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .01
9. Scores of quality of schools index distributed as follows:

<u>Values</u>	<u>Score</u>	
Schools are good	(4-7)	25%
Schools are fairly good	(8-11)	39%
Schools are not good	(12-16)	36%
		100%

358 cases of "do not know" are treated as missing values.
10. $\text{CHI}^2 = 5.726$, $\text{DF} = 4$, Significance = .2
11. The scores ranged from 3 to 15. A score of 3-6 is categorized as good, 7-10 not too good and 11-15 as not good. 172 cases of "do not know" are treated as missing values.
12. $\text{CHI}^2 = 3.208$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .2
13. $\text{CHI}^2 = 16.9$, $\text{DF} = 6$, Significance = .009.

14. $\text{CHI}^2 = 30.98$, $\text{DF} = 2$, Significance = .00002
15. $\text{CHI}^2 = 28.05$, $\text{DF} = 6$, Significance = .000
16. $\text{CHI}^2 = 25.579$, $\text{DF} = 6$, Significance = .000
17. $\text{CHI}^2 = 36.317$, $\text{DF} = 6$, Significance = .000
18. $\text{CHI}^2 = 60.383$, $\text{DF} = 6$, Significance = .000

CHAPTER 4: FAMILY COMPOSITION

Rates of residential relocation, reasons for moving and the location of the desired residence vary from one age group to another. Furthermore, family composition at different stages in the life-cycle places constraints on the decision to move.

AGE

Hoover and Vernon (1959) stated that the highest migration rates are characteristically found in the 20-24 age group. Chudakoff and Rossi also found that the younger the head of the household, the more inclined they were to move. Census Current Population Reports (Harris, 1978) show that mobility among different age groups tend to rise to a peak in the 20-34 age range, declining thereafter. Mobility rates tend to rise once again around the age of 75. Moreover, between 1970 and 1975, four million elderly moved, representing 29 percent of the total elderly population. In comparison, for the same five-year period 44 percent of the total population of the U.S., five years old and older, moved. Harris (1978) states that mobility among the elderly is motivated by housing needs, changes in marital and household status, institutionalization and movement to retirement centers. Ginsberg, too, found that mobility among the elderly is due to changes in marital status, household status, and housing needs. The move from a house to an apartment typically occurs after children have left home or after a spouse has died. Rossi relates the phenomenon of high rates

of mobility among the young to changes in family structure and life style. As young people get married and family size changes, they look for more suitable dwelling units. In contrast to this approach, Gans (1968) theorized that the young are inclined to be mobile because they are detached from their neighborhoods and in most cases only live in a particular area because of convenience. Hinze (1977) explains high rates of mobility in the younger group as being shaped by such forces as college enrollment, changes in economic activities, unemployment and income. In contrast to Harris and Ginsberg's views, Hinze views the older population as stable. An explanation for a relative lack of mobility among the elderly is attributed by Lansing and Mueller (1967) to the fact that older people are more settled and do not see a need to change careers or job location.

In Table 4.1, the relationship between age and the intention to move is presented.

TABLE 4.1

The Intention to Move by Age¹

	<u>17-36</u>	<u>37-56</u>	<u>57+</u>
Short term	26%	18%	11%
Long term	55	46	27
Non-movers	19	35	63
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(220)	(181)	(153)

Table 4.1 shows a strong association between age and mobility inclination. Respondents who are between 17 and 36 years of age are the most inclined to move, regardless of when they plan to move. However, some variations do exist between those individuals who stated their intention to move within the first year of the interview and those who do not want to move immediately. The percent difference between the young and the old is more significant among the respondents who want to move a year or more after the interview took place. This result points to two different patterns of intended mobility which may be accounted for by family size and marital status. This issue will be further explored in the chapter on family life cycle. It should also be noted that among the elderly, mobility does not cease; 38 percent (153) claim that they will move. Thus mobility takes place among all age groups, but at different rates, with people 57 years of age and over still being the least mobile.

Sex, Marital Status and Mobility Inclination

The importance of distinguishing between women's and men's perceptions about residential mobility has been clearly stated by Gans (1967) and Michelson (1977). Gans, for example, wrote:

"Although husbands and wives generally agreed on the need for the move, the men more often decided on Levittown, largely for reasons of economy, whereas the women seem to have wanted a more expensive community."

Michelson (1977: 143) stated that:

"Wives' perceptions of neighbor's characteristics are related to the move away, while husbands' are related to the choice of new housing. A positive interpretation is that husbands took cues for actions from the feelings of their wives."

These findings point to the different expectations of mobility by males and females. However, according to Hay and Wantman, there is very little difference between the sexes in relation to mobility; families with female heads had slightly higher mobility (52%) than did those with male heads (46%).

Kessner found that single males are the most mobile because they do not develop ties in the neighborhood to the same degree as do married couples. Moreover, the singles moved to wherever economic opportunities were available. Married couples are inclined to settle in one place.

In Table 4.2, attitudes towards mobility are explored in relation to the sex of the respondent and type of household. Since an almost equal number of married men and women participated in the study, an attempt is made here to find out whether differences exist between the sexes.

TABLE 4.2

The Intention to Move by Marital Status
and the Sex of the Respondent

<u>FEMALES:</u> ²	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Separated, Widowed, Divorced</u>
Short term	21%	19%	10%
Long term	52	47	39
Non-movers	27	34	51
TOTALS:	100%	100%	100%
	(56)	(178)	(78)

(TABLE 4.2 continued next page)

(TABLE 4.2 continued)

<u>MALES:</u> ³	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Separated, Widowed Divorced</u>
Short term	19%	25%	12%
Long term	57	39	24
Non-movers	24	36	64
	TOTAL: 100%	100%	100%
	(68)	(149)	(25)

The results in Table 4.2 indicate that among those intending to move shortly, the married exceed the singles among men, while among women the singles are the most anxious to move. Among the respondents who plan to move some time in the future, a distinct pattern exists among males. A 33 percent point difference exists between singles and the separated, widowed, or divorced.

Family Size and Mobility Inclination

Rossi (1955: 54) found that full families (parents and children) are the most potentially mobile of all household types and single person households are the least mobile. Hay and Wantman (1968: 5) using census tract data for New York City found that "families with six or more persons evidenced the highest mobility (57.6%) while those with two persons were lowest (42.5%) in mobility".

The relationship between family size and the intention to move is presented in Table 4.3

TABLE 4.3

The Intention to Move by Family Size⁴

	<u>1-2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>
Short term	19%	20%	18%
Long term	34	47	57
Non-movers	47	33	25
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(211)	(214)	(129)

Family size, as shown in Table 4.3, is related to the intention to move only among the respondents who intend to move after one year. Respondents with large families are the most inclined to move. The percent difference between small households and large ones is 23 percent. These findings support Rossi's findings that families move as their size increases.

Michelson found that family size contributes to residential mobility, but families with children move for different reasons than childless couples. Families with children stress the importance of neighborhood characteristics, particularly as a place for raising children. Childless families see the importance of access to various facilities, of which their place of work is prominent. These differences suggest different rates in mobility between childless couples and families with children. Census reports⁵ for metropolitan areas in the United States show that 51 percent more people with children move than families without children. In Table 4.4 Michelson's finding is tested.

TABLE 4.4

The Intention to Move Among Childless
 The Intention to Move Among Childless⁶
 Families and Families with Children⁶

	<u>Families with Children</u>	<u>Childless</u>
Short term	20%	19%
Long term	53	38
Non-movers	27	43
	TOTAL: 100%	100%
	(221)	(333)

Families with children are more inclined to state their intention to move than childless families. However, this tendency prevails most strongly among families that do not intend to move immediately. In the case of families with children, the consideration to move must involve the long term needs of the children.

Rossi (1955) stated that one of the major factors which explains mobility is the families' adjustment to their housing needs. These adjustments are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life cycle changes.⁷ In Rossi's analysis, family size and the age of the head of the household are the only two items that constitute the measurement of family life-cycle. The findings in his study that support his definition show that: a) young people are inclined to move more than other age groups, and b) the larger the household, the higher its mobility. However, Rossi (1955: 71) found that "Age and size are independently related to mobility, although age is somewhat more strongly related than household size". The analysis here

has also shown that age is correlated with the intent to move, (R = .181). Furthermore, age is strongly related to family size (R = .429). On the basis of these correlations, the researcher concludes that age and family size together can better explain the intent to move than age alone. In Table 4.5, the relationship between the intention to move, family size and age are introduced.

TABLE 4.5

Percent of People Who Intend to Move
By Age and Size of Household

<u>AGE</u>	<u>FAMILY SIZE</u>		
	<u>1-2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>
18-36	84% (44)	78% (105)	81% (58)
37-56	61% (49)	63% (70)	73% (66)
57+	38% (118)	44% (39)	40% (5)

Table 4.5 supports Rossi's findings that age is a strong indicator of mobility inclinations.⁸ The only age group in which family size has some impact on the intent to move is between 37 and 56 years of age. The percentage difference between small and large households for this age group is 12 points. For the young and the old, the intent to move is not influenced by family size.

Larry H. Long (1972: 371-582) analyzed the effect of age of children and the number of children present in a particular household. He found that the age of the head of household is of overwhelming importance

and not age or the number of children present. His findings show that "Married men (with wife present) at the youngest age group (14 to 24) were over eight times as likely to change residence as those at the oldest age group (55 to 64)". Long also found that families across each head of household age category where children under six years of age are present, have higher rates of movement than those with children between the ages of six and seventeen. Long attributed these differences in rates of mobility to the fact that "perhaps families with school-age children feel that transferring their children from one school district to another is, as a rule, undesirable". The author further claimed that many of the moves made by couples with young children represent moves from an apartment to a single-family dwelling or from one house to another that was in some way more desirable for the raising of children.

In addition to age of children, Long pursued the effect of number of children on mobility as related to the age of the head of household. He found the effect to be pronounced.

"Husband-wife couples with no children and in which the husband is 25-34 years old (are) 2½ times as likely to move between states as are couples at the same age, but with four or more children." (Long, 1972: 375)

Michelson (1977) also found that a relationship exists between lack of dwelling space and having children below six years of age and the intent to move. These findings again point to the fact that the presence of children contributes to the decision to move.

Yet another approach to family life-cycle was introduced by Guest

(1977: 284) who developed three major family types: "(1) households of married couples in the age period 22-45, with children under 18 present; (2) households of married couples in the age period over 45, generally without children present, and (3) households in which no or very few married couples or children are present, generally containing the young, single population, the older widowed populations, and the divorced-separated populations".

In the light of the various views introduced here, a typology of household composition is introduced in this analysis.⁹ The family typology will consist of singles, singles with children, couples and full-families. The singles are young and mainly white (85%). 78 percent out of 201 singles are employed, but 41 percent earn \$7,999 or less. Singles are also found among the home-owners, constituting 27 percent of the 312 home-owners. Forty-six percent of the singles who own a home still pay a mortgage. Among single respondents who have children, 27 respondents are white and 23 respondents are black. Single parents who have children on the most part do not own a home. They constitute only 5 percent of 312 homeowners. Most of the single parents (82%) are employed and 49 percent of them earn \$15,000 or more. Full-families are predominantly white and in most cases the head is young. In only 18 percent of a total of 202 full-families is the head 45 years of age or over. The great majority of them earn a living (87%) and only 6 percent of them earn \$7,999 or less. Full-families constitute the largest group (43%) of homeowners. Most of them still pay a mortgage; 90 percent of 133. Couples in this study are overwhelmingly

white. They are inclined to be young (only 32 percent of the respondents who live with a spouse are 45 years of age and over). Almost half of the couples own their own homes. The great majority are in the job market (75%) and earn moderate to high incomes (\$15,000+).

In Table 4.6, the relationship between family composition and the intention to move is presented.

TABLE 4.6
The Intention to Move by Household Composition¹⁰

	<u>Heads 45 Years of Age and Over</u>			<u>Heads Under 45</u>		
	<u>Couples</u>	<u>Full-Families</u>	<u>Singles</u>	<u>Single Parents Children Present</u>	<u>Full-Families</u>	<u>Couples</u>
Short term	8%	14%	16%	17%	22%	30%
Long term	25	59	43	55	52	35
Non-movers	67	27	41	28	26	35
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(48)	(29)	(180)	(47)	(145)	(105)

The results in Table 4.6 indicate that among those who intend to move shortly, young couples are the most inclined to move while old couples are least anxious. Intention to move among couples and full-families where the head is 45 years of age or below can be explained in part by the changing family size. Among the respondents who intend to move sometime in the future, those most inclined are families with children in which the head of household is over 45 years of age. This move may again be due to changes in family structure. The grown children increasingly leave for their own

place of residence and thus the parents may plan to move to smaller quarters or to retire in other parts of the country. Couples where the head is 45 years of age or over are the least mobile. It is possible that these couples are most satisfied with their living arrangements. Full-families regardless of the head's age are the least inclined to plan to stay in their present dwellings. Single parents with children also do not plan to stay. These results indicate that changes in family composition due to children do play a role in the decision either to stay or move.

The variations in plans to move among the different families will be analyzed here in terms of their un-met housing and neighborhood needs.

Rossi (1955: 73) claims that the demand for more space exists to a larger degree among apartment dwellers than among homeowners. He found that renters are sensitive to family size and age. Among homeowners, family size plays a limited role only among families where the head is between 35 and 49 years of age. According to Rossi, age plays an important role among couples and families, consisting of 4 to 5 persons, who own homes. Again Rossi did not further analyze these results. To find out whether or not family composition explains high rates of mobility among renters, as Rossi proposes, the analysis will concentrate in Table 4.7 on movers among the various types of households controlling for whether people own or rent their home.

TABLE 4.7

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by
Household Composition and Tenure Status

	<u>Full-Families</u>	<u>Couples</u>	<u>Single Parent and Children</u>	<u>Single</u>
Rent	78% (60)	73% (78)	71% (31)	62% (97)
Own	71% (113)	36% (75)	75% (16)	55% (83)

The results in Table 4.7 indicate that full-families who reside in rental units are the most inclined to move while among homeowners, single parents with children and full-families are the most inclined to move. In the case of full-families, a move may be related to the need for more space and better surroundings for their children. For the single parents, a move from a home may be due to changes in financial status. Among renters, the percent of respondents who want to move is greater than those who want to stay regardless of their family status. Home-owning couples are also the least inclined to move among homeowners. Among renters, singles are the least inclined to move.

The results in Table 4.7 show a different pattern of mobility among homeowners and renters than Rossi's findings indicated. According to Rossi, the intent to move will increase with family size. However, the results here show that among couples who rent their apartments, the inclination to move is much greater than it is to stay. These findings reveal the importance of life-cycle stages as well as tenure

status. Also, in contrast to Rossi's findings, the results here show that homeowners also want to move.

Among homeowners, single parents with children are slightly more inclined to move than full-families. This slight difference cannot be explained by family size alone. For example, it is possible to speculate that for single parents with children the cost of maintaining their own home is a financial burden. The central factor that explains different rates of mobility among homeowners and renters is space. The quest for space determines at what stage in the family life-cycle a move will take place.

In Table 4.8, the relationship between the intention to move and satisfaction with space for the different types of families is presented.

TABLE 4.8

The Intention to Move by Satisfaction with Amount of Space and Family Composition

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
Singles	51% (115)	74% (46)	79% (14)
Single Parents with Children	68% (22)	80% (10)	77% (13)
Full-families	64% (88)	76% (52)	97% (10)
Couples	42% (88)	69% (52)	100% (10)

The relationship between satisfaction with the amount of space and the intention to move varies from one type of family to another. Couples

who want to move are very likely to take into account space. All of the couples who were dissatisfied with space want to move. The percent difference between dissatisfaction with space and satisfaction with space among couples is 58 points. Full-families too show a strong tendency to move as they become dissatisfied with space. Almost all of them who are not satisfied with space want to move. The other two family types are to a lesser degree associated with the intent to move and space. The results suggest that large families and families who potentially will be large want to move.

The next factor that is generally thought to affect families with children patterns of relocation is quality of school. In Table 4.9, the intention to move, quality of schools and family composition is analyzed.

TABLE 4.9

The Intention to Move by School Quality Index
And Family Composition

	<u>QUALITY OF SCHOOL</u>		
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fairly Good</u>	<u>Not Good</u>
Singles	50% (12)	79% (29)	92% (25)
Single Parents With Children	75% (8)	55% (11)	67% (9)
Full-families	65% (34)	74% (43)	71% (35)
Couples	33% (12)	57% (14)	56% (27)

Increasingly, a strong relationship exists between quality of school and the intention to move among childless families. A 42 percent point difference exists between single movers who state that the quality of school is good and single movers who view the quality as poor. For couples, a 23 percent point difference exists. Full-families tend to want to move regardless of school quality and among single parents, the relationship between quality of school and the wish to move is negative. One possible explanation for these differences is the fact that families with children have more contact with schools and may be satisfied with the results. Childless families are most likely not to have any direct contact with the school but have high expectations that cannot be met in the local schools. Another possible explanation is that families that have their children already enrolled in the neighborhood school do not want to change schools for reasons other than just the quality of education, e.g. proximity to the schools or friendships their children have developed. Judgements of quality of schools are difficult and complex. Gans claims that people of different backgrounds and economic class have different expectations of schools. Working class families see school as a controlling mechanism that shapes the child to become a good citizen or to stay out of trouble until he reaches maturity. Middle and upper income families view school as a means to enter college.

Another concern that is shared by families with children is where their children spend their play time. One important aspect of this is

the availability and quality of recreational facilities. Michelson (1977) found that families with children are concerned about parks, their safety and the accessibility to recreational facilities. Suttles (1972) too stressed the fact that families with children expect a neighborhood to be a place agreeable for raising children safely. It is hypothesized that poor parks or other recreational facilities will be related to the desire to move among families with children. To test the value of parks to families with children as opposed to childless families, the relationship between the intent to move and quality of parks is controlled by household composition in Table 4.10.

TABLE 4.10

The Intention to Move by Quality of Parks and Household Types

	(% Movers)		
	<u>QUALITY OF PARKS</u>		
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Not too good</u>	<u>Not good</u>
Single	65% (54)	74% (50)	46% (13)
Single & Children	56% (9)	71% (17)	100% (7)
Full-family	62% (45)	75% (60)	86% (36)
Couples	59% (39)	59% (61)	50% (14)

Families with children, particularly those households where only one spouse is present, are the most likely to take into consideration the quality of parks when they decide to move. Looking down the columns

among the respondents who are dissatisfied with the parks and state that they want to move are families with children. These findings support Suttles' and Michelson's findings that the presence of children plays a role in the decision to move to the extent that parents look for parks which are safe and good to play in. Thus, single parents who are perhaps more reliant on external support systems than full-families are most inclined to feel the negative influence on their children of crime ridden parks.

Where Families with Children Want to Move

Long (1972) and Michelson (1977) indicated that a relationship exists between family composition and future location of the dwelling unit. Long found that whether or not a family is relocated over a short or long distance depends on the presence or absence of children in a particular household. Families with children will move a short distance to the new place of residence and this may be due to the children's status in school, while childless households move long distances. Michelson states that moves to downtown areas are made largely by singles and couples. Families with children, and in particular those with preschool children, are inclined to move to the suburbs. Information on whether or not the presence of children influences the location of the move is presented in Table 4.11.

TABLE 4.11

Future Location of Movers by Type of Households

<u>TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD</u> ¹¹	<u>Move within N.Y.C.</u>	<u>Move to N.Y.C. Suburbs</u>	<u>Move to out of N.Y. State</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Singles	46%	17%	37%	100% (89)
Single Parents and Children	36	16	48	100% (25)
Full-Families	24	23	53	100% (116)
Couples	19	24	57	100% (74)

In Table 4.11, it can be seen that residential relocation within the city prevails among singles. Couples and full-families are most inclined to move to the suburbs and out of state. The table shows clearly that the direction of relocation relates to family composition.

SUMMARY

The importance of family composition to mobility is based on the assumption that people relocate at different stages in their life-cycle. The analysis of family composition is based on the age of head of household, family size and whether or not a family is childless. All three factors relate to the intent to move; however, age and family size are independently related to the intent to move. Young people and respondents who head large families want to move. As shown here, these correlations do not present the full dimension of mobility inclinations within

the context of family. An analysis of singles, couples, families with children and single parents all have shown different degrees of intent to move. An illustration of this difference is found in relation to tenure status. Full-families who occupy rented dwellings want to move immediately while full-families who own a home want to move only sometime in the future. It was also found that single parent homeowners with children want to relocate. Families with children are concerned about the quality of parks but surprisingly not with schools. Childless families show a great concern with the quality of schools in their neighborhood. The differences between the various household types is reflected also in the location of their intended move. Singles want to relocate within New York City while couples and full-families want to move to the suburbs.

FOOTNOTES

1. $\text{CHI}^2 = 75.234$, DF = 4, Significance = .0000
2. $\text{CHI}^2 = 10.710$, DF = 4, Significance = .03
3. $\text{CHI}^2 = 16.404$, DF = 4, Significance = .002
4. $\text{CHI}^2 = 22.659$, DF = 4, Significance = .0001
5. Table 14, "Metropolitan Mobility for Family Heads...by Number of Own Children Under 18", p. 30. Geographic Mobility. March 1975 to March 1977. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 320. Feb. 1978.
6. $\text{CHI}^2 = 16.674$, DF = 2, Significance = .0002
7. Instead of a measurement of life-cycle, a typology of household types will be developed. Since the researcher feels that life-cycle means a continuation of changes in family composition at different points in time, this definition is not relevant to the present study. This study deals with different types of households at one point in time.
8. However, Rossi's final conclusion is that his research suffered as a result of the limitation of not defining family life-cycle beyond age and size. He claims that "Life-cycle stages can be more fruitfully approached by definitions of families of differing compositions, e.g. only adults, families with small children, etc. P. 183.
9.

<u>TYPES OF HOUSEHOLD</u>	<u>% OF HEAD OF FAMILIES</u>
Singles, 45 years of age or less	32% (201)
Singles, 45 years of age or less with children	8% (50)
Full families, head is 45 years of age or less	27% (166)
Full families, head is 45 years of age or greater	6% (36)
Couples, head is 45 years of age or less	18% (113)
Couples, head is 45 years of age or greater	9% (55)
TOTAL:100% (621)	
10. $\text{CHI}^2 = 40.5356$, DF = 10, Significance = .0000
11. Age of head is not introduced here because of the very small number of families where the head is over 45 years of age. Moreover, when age of head of household was analyzed in relation to future location, age had little affect on relocation.

CHAPTER FIVE: INCOME, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Michelson demonstrated that income, education and occupation play independent roles in terms of the decision to move. Housing choice is almost purely a function of the husband's income while education and occupation are found to be highly related to choice of location, but not housing type. Gans (1967) also found that a distinction exists between movers' income and their educational status in terms of choosing the location of their new residence. The families that moved from the city to Levittown did so purely for economic reasons. However, the housewives who spent most of their time at home wanted to relocate to other neighborhoods, and some even back to the city. Different educational backgrounds and different occupations led to boredom and lack of interaction in the neighborhood among the residents. Michelson's and Gan's findings support the view that to obtain a clear understanding of why people want to move, education, occupation and income should be analyzed separately.

Chudakoff (1972) and Kessner (1977), who studied residential mobility among working class people, found as does the present study, that income is a crucial indicator of residential mobility. Moving requires a financial outlay, and people move according to their earning capacities. Education and occupation play a secondary role in the decision to move.

Income

Earning capacity is a crucial factor that must be taken into account when analyzing plans to move. Kessner, studying patterns of residential mobility in New York City among Jews and Italians, found that the high earning capacities of Jews enabled them to move out of their old neighborhoods and choose better neighborhoods in the outer rings of the city, while the Italians who occupied the low economic status had to stay in the downtown area, and live near work. The low wages and long hours of the Italian workers forced them to either walk to work or use the easily accessible transportation in the downtown area. Sternlieb and others have shown that high rates of mobility do exist among the poor, but within the core of the city.

Census reports indicate that high rates of mobility exist among both the poor and the very rich. Both groups may move because of inadequate environment, but the direction of the move may vary. Out of 3,729,848 families who lived in the New York City metropolitan area in 1970, 23 percent of the families with incomes of \$6,000 and less did not move during the 1965-1970 period. Fifty percent of those families who earned between \$6,000 and \$14,999 stayed in the area. With incomes above \$15,000, the number of families staying decreased: of families whose income was between \$15,000 and \$24,999, only 21% stayed, while of families who earned \$25,000 and above, only 7% stayed in New York City.

The researcher in another study also found that people with incomes

below \$7,999 are more inclined to move into New York City while people with incomes of \$15,000 and above move out of the city.¹

In Table 5.1, the relationship between income and the intention to move is presented.

TABLE 5.1
The Intention to Move by Income²

	<u>\$7,999 or less</u>	<u>\$8,000-\$14,999</u>	<u>\$15,000+</u>
Short term	17%	20%	18%
Long term	32	44	54
Non-movers	51	36	28
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(113)	(146)	(195)

The correlation between income and the intention to move prevails most clearly among the respondents who do not have immediate plans to move. People whose families earn \$15,000 a year and above are the most inclined to move. The percent difference between high income and low income is 22 percent. Respondents who intend to move shortly are not noticeably influenced by their families' earning capacity. The concentration of low income respondents among the movers as well as among the stayers may be due to the fact that the respondents with low income are in such a great need to relocate that income does not present itself as an obstacle.

Income is not only treated in the literature as a constraining force that determines whether or not one will move, but it is also found to be used as a mechanism through which new-comers to a neighborhood are screened. This latter issue is addressed in this study through a set of questions that reflect respondents' attitudes toward new-comers with lower income status than themselves who might move to their neighborhood. The respondents were asked if "it would make no difference to (them) if someone who was much poorer than (themselves) moved into (their) block"; 88% of the total respondents agreed with the statement. A more direct question that tackles the issue of race and income and education was then asked. "It would make no difference to (me) if a white with less income and education than me moved into my block." Again, overwhelmingly, the respondents agreed with the statement (89%). The respondents (80%) also agreed that it would not make any difference if either blacks or Puerto Ricans with the same education or income as themselves moved onto their block. However, questions directed at the respondents' opinion of non-whites with lower economic status than themselves were unfortunately not asked.

The respondents in this study not only agree to accept poorer people than themselves to their neighborhood but also richer people. Ninety-five percent agreed that it would make no difference to them if richer people than themselves moved to their block. This indifference implies the respondents are not apparently concerned with what economic faction the new-comers represent. It also suggests that the respondents do not attach a prestige value to the address of their resi-

dential location.

Kessner, concentrating on residential mobility among working class Jews and Italians in New York City, states that income acts as a constraining factor on the choice between moving either to the suburbs or relocating within the city. In the light of Kessner's findings the relationship between income and area chosen for relocation is presented in the table below.

TABLE 5.2

Future Location of Intended Movers by Income³

<u>FUTURE LOCATION</u>	<u>\$7,999</u>	<u>\$8,000-\$14,999</u>	<u>\$15,000+</u>
Intra-city move	41%	35%	27%
Suburbs of N.Y.C.	11	19	24
Out of State	48	46	49
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(46)	(78)	(125)

Table 5.2 indicates that low-income families are more likely to move within the city than higher income families. Conversely, high income families are more likely to move to the suburbs. Only among those families that plan to move out of state does income appear to play a role.

The findings of Table 5.2 support Kessner's statement that income plays a role in the decision to either relocate to the suburbs or within the city. These findings also confirm the general view that

a trend exists for middle income residents to move to the suburbs.

Education

Gans (1968) has argued that education is becoming the most important variable, aside from income, for explaining the differences in behavior, attitudes and taste among all groups. Educational diversity makes itself felt throughout American society because most people no longer live in the neighborhoods in which they work. Therefore, class distinctions in the residential community are based increasingly on educational differences. Social and cultural organizations recruit on the basis of educational background, although not openly or even intentionally. People with different educational backgrounds develop different consumer behavior patterns, taste and leisure-activity preferences.

"Neighborhoods conflict over child discipline and community deliberations about juvenile delinquency and teenage recreation programs continually reflect class differences of opinion about how children should be reared and how much adult standards and adult supervision should guide their lives. The diversity of educational aspirations appears most clearly in bitterly fought tax battles." (Gans, 1968: 149)

The importance of Gans' argument for this study is that attitudes towards relocation may also be shaped by educational background. Michelson (1977) found that education does shape people's choice of location for their new home. People with high education prefer to move to neighborhoods in which their neighbors would be of the same or higher educational background.

Lansing and Mueller showed that mobility rates in general tend to rise with education and income. Census reports of New York City in 1970 showed that people with college education were the least inclined to stay. Out of a total population of 2,965,055, 25 years of age and over, 36% with elementary education did not move during a five year period. Among people with high school education, 49% stayed in the city. The most mobile group were people with college education and over; of this group, only 16% did not move.

Hence, the hypothesis here is that different rates of mobility will exist among people with different educational backgrounds, the most highly educated people being the most mobile. In Table 5.3, education by intended plan to move is presented.

TABLE 5.3
The Intention to Move by Education⁴

	<u>11 years or less of School</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>College and over</u>
Short term	19%	20%	19%
Long term	32	43	55
Non-movers	49	37	27
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(155)	(203)	(196)

The percent of people who intend to move immediately does not vary with education. However, education does seem to have some effect on

the desire of those who intend to move after one year of the time of the interview. The results in Table 5.3 show that a 23 percentage point difference exists between well-educated respondents and the poorly educated. This reflects the mobility patterns described by the 1970 census. The intention to eventually move from a neighborhood as expressed by people with high education may be explained by Gan's theory and Michelson's findings. The respondents with high education in this study who want to move and live in working class neighborhoods may want to move to a neighborhood where the residents are of similar educational background.

Type of Occupation

Earning capacities as related to type of occupation and educational achievement appear to influence patterns of residential mobility in New York City. To achieve a more complete picture of the relationship between the desire to move or stay and the social economic status of the subjects, occupation is presented in relation the intention to move.

TABLE 5.4
The Intention to Move by Occupation⁸

	<u>Professional</u> ⁵	<u>Clerical</u> ⁶	<u>Semi-Skilled</u> ⁷
Short term	25%	20%	18%
Long term	52	48	49
Non-movers	23	31	33
TOTAL:	100% (116)	100% (118)	100% (100)

The results in Table 5.4 show that a 7 percentage point difference exists between professionals and semi-skilled workers who intend to move soon. Professionals tend to be more inclined to move while more of the semi-skilled plan to stay. Almost no difference exists among the various occupational categories in relation to those who intend to move a year after the interview took place.

The three factors that describe social economic position indicate that education and income are related to mobility only when people intend to move no earlier than one year of the interview, while occupation is related to the intent to move among people who plan to move immediately. The general findings indicate that education and income are equally related to the intention to move while occupation is not as strongly related.

Participation in the Work Force and the Intent to Move

In this part of the analysis, the intent to move will be explored in terms of the respondents' position in the work force, and if applicable, their search for a job. The analysis will also concentrate on the distinction between families in which one spouse works and families in which both spouses work.⁹ Gans, Michelson and Julie DaVanzo (1977) found that wives' contribution to both the decision to move and the location of the move is dependent on whether or not the wives worked. DaVanzo stated that working wives add significantly to "the power of equations explaining whether a family moves". Hence, wives are not mere

passive migrants, but have significant influence on the family's decision to move.

In Table 5.5, employment status of males and females who are 16 years of age and over is presented in relation to mobility status. This analysis is based on census information for New York City.

TABLE 5.5
Mobility Status¹⁰ of Males and Females, 16 Years of Age
And Over in New York City by Employment Status

<u>Central City Males: 16 years old and over</u>			
	<u>Employed</u>	<u>Not-Employed</u>	<u>Not in Labor Force</u>
Move	34%	34%	24%
Stay	66	66	76
TOTAL:	100% (1,609,400)	100% (63,427)	100% (611,127)
<u>Central City Females: 16 years old and over</u>			
	<u>Employed</u>	<u>Not-Employed</u>	<u>Not in Labor Force</u>
Move	33%	35%	29%
Stay	67	65	71
TOTAL:	100% (1,073,019)	100% (49,875)	100% (1,643,808)

SOURCE: Mobility status of total population of each standard metropolitan statistical area of 500,000 or more, according to employment status, age and sex in 1969, 1978; Table 15, p. 320, Mobility for Metropolitan Areas, 1970 Census of Population, March 1973, PC (2) -2C.

Table 5.5 shows that in New York City, males who are not in the labor force are less mobile. No difference exists between employed or

unemployed males. Among females who live in the Central City, the unemployed are the most mobile.

Table 5.6 presents the relationship between employment status and the intention to move.

TABLE 5.6

The Intention to Move by Employment Status¹¹

	<u>Not Employed</u>	<u>One Spouse in Household Employed</u>	<u>Both Spouses in Household Employed</u>
Short term	15%	20%	26%
Long term	36	49	48
Non-movers	49	31	26
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
	(188)	(278)	(88)

Employed people tend to be more inclined to move than those not employed; a 13 percentage point difference exists between the employed and those who do not work. However, among the respondents who are anxious to move, a different pattern appears. The major difference exists between unemployed individuals and households where both spouses work (11 percent). It should be pointed out that in 26 percent of the total number of 370 married couples, both spouses work. (Among the 211 not employed, 136 are wives or mothers and 75 are single.)

One major group of people among the non-working are the retired.

Lack of mobility among the non-employed can be explained in part by this factor. The average retired individual lives on a fixed income which may be an obstacle to moving. In Table 5.7, the relationship between retirement status¹² and the intention to move is presented.

TABLE 5.7
The Intention to Move by Retirement Status¹²

	<u>Not Retired</u>	<u>Retired</u>
Short term	21%	8%
Long term	46	23
Non-movers	33	69
TOTAL:	100%	100%
	(503)	(51)

The results show that an inclination to stay prevails among the retired. The percentage difference between retired persons and non-retired is 36 points. These results explain in part the tendency to stay among people who are not in the working force. These results suggest that retired people may not be as mobile, at least in New York City as often suggested.

The question now remains of why do those who are not retired and not employed want to move. Part of the explanation for this may be attributed to their search for a job. Therefore, in Table 5.8, the relationship between the intention to move and work seeking is presented.

TABLE 5.8 .

The Intention to Move by Work Search¹⁴

	<u>Not Looking for Work</u>	<u>Looking for Work</u>
Short term	20%	18%
Long term	43	51
Non-movers	37	31
TOTAL:	100%	100%

The results in Table 5.8 show that search for work is only slightly related to the intention to move. A move due to job relocation, or a search for a new job market may be simple and one-sided when it involves one spouse. But what are the processes of planning to move when two spouses are involved? Will residential relocation take place to accommodate the working wife, so she can still fulfill the role of homemaker after work? Some indications of the role of women in the working force can be looked at in relation to attitudes toward residential relocation. In the analysis a comparison is made between households where only the head is working, and families where both husband and wife work. The aim is to find out whether commuting to work is a problem that shapes the desire to move.

Michelson (1977) found that commuting to work plays an important role in the decision to move. Travel time and the type of transportation used, are bases for explaining moving behavior. Therefore, in

Table 5.9, satisfaction with nearness to work is explored among working respondents who intend to move.

TABLE 5.9

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Satisfaction
With Nearness to Work and Number of Wage Earners in Family

<u>NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS</u>	<u>SATISFACTION</u>		
	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
Working heads of household only	64% (89)	66% (77)	85% (33)
Working wives and husbands	63% (40)	81% (32)	100% (12)

Among working people, the intention to move is influenced by satisfaction with nearness to work. The results in Table 5.10 also show when both spouses work the likelihood of wanting to move increases. A 21 percentage point difference in intent to move exists between satisfaction with nearness to work and lack of satisfaction for single wage earners, while in households in which two people work the percentage difference is 37 points.

Lack of satisfaction with the distance to work raises the question of how do people get to work and whether or not the type of transportation used influences the decision to move. In Table 5.10, the working respondents who intend to move are analyzed in terms of the type of transportation they use to get to work.

TABLE 5.10

Percent of Working People Who Stated Their Intention
To Move by Type of Transportation Used to Get to Work
And Number of Wage Earners in Family

<u>NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS</u>	<u>TYPE OF TRANSPORTATION</u>		
	<u>Walk</u>	<u>Public Transportation</u>	<u>Drive</u>
One	76% (25)	68% (99)	66% (80)
Two	77% (13)	69% (45)	82% (27)

The results indicate that the means used of getting to work is a factor which related differently to residential mobility for single wage earner families and for employed wives and husbands. Sixty-six percent of the single wage earners who drive to work want to move and seventy-six percent of the single wage earners who walk to work intend to move. The percent difference between walking to work and driving to work for working wives and husbands is only 5% but in the opposite direction. Nevertheless, the results indicate that driving to work may present some discomfort for working wives and husbands who may share one car.

Looking down the columns, the results indicate that no difference exists between families in which both spouses work and those in which only one spouse works for those who walk or take public transportation. The only difference exists among people who drive. Two wage earners who drive to work are more inclined to want to move than one wage earner.

The last issue that the present data permits us to explore in relation to working families is whether or not they have children. Michelson (1977) found that in general working wives were childless and that not having children permitted them to relocate closer to work. This issue is explored in Table 5.11.

TABLE 5.11
Percent of People Who Intend to Move by
Employment Status and Having Children

	<u>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</u>		
	<u>Not Working</u>	<u>Single Wage Earner</u>	<u>Two Wage Earners</u>
Having Children	76% (37)	73% (134)	72% (50)
Childless	44% (151)	65% (144)	76% (38)

Looking across the rows in Table 5.11, the results show that the intention to move among families with children is unrelated to employment status. Among childless families employment status does influence the intent to move. A 32 percentage point difference exists between the unemployed and families where both spouses work.

Looking down the columns, those who do not work and have children are more inclined to move than respondents who are not part of the working force and do not have children. In single worker households, having children increases the likelihood of moving but the reverse is true in two wage earner households. In these families, the childless are more inclined to move.

The results in this study indicate that people with high income are more likely to state their intent to move than people of low income. However, income is not viewed by the respondents as a "front" that describes what is desirable and what is not in terms of moving to their neighborhoods. Income is also shown to have some influence on the decision to relocate either in New York City proper or its suburbs. Education and occupation also have some bearing on the decision to move. Active participation in the working force was found to relate to the desire to move in particular among households where both spouses work. In addition to a family's own economic status, the status of the region must be taken into account in understanding mobility. This is examined in the next section of this chapter.

Perception of City Economics

Chudakoff (1977: 94) concluded that positive economic growth is related to residential relocation. He distinguished between one's own economic status and the general economic structure of a city as factors which shape residential mobility. He concluded that rates of city growth and relative full employment influence "geographical restlessness in nearly all occupational groupings". Chudakoff's conclusion raises the question of whether or not the economic conditions of New York City influence the respondents' intent to move. Taking into account on one hand the economic status of the city and on the other hand the individual's employment status, the hypothesis emerges that unemployed individuals will be more likely to take into considera-

tion the city's economic situation when plans to move take place.

In New York City, as Peter Kilass (1975) has stated, based on Regional Plan Association reports, the economic conditions show a negative growth.

"The New York Metropolitan region has had a 'significant population loss' for the first time in its 350 years, a greater loss of jobs and slower economic recovery than the country since 1970 ...There has been a loss of more than 400,000 jobs in Manhattan south of 59th Street, and 150,000 in the rest of New York City."

In this study, respondents were asked to answer the following two questions which were used as indicators of the city's economic condition: (1) "One of the most serious problems facing New York City is the flight of jobs from New York City to the suburbs"; 74% agreed strongly, 11% agreed with reservation, 8% disagreed and 7% did not know. And (2) "Because of New York City's financial crisis, cut-backs in services are becoming a serious problem in this neighborhood". 54% agreed strongly, 16% agreed with reservation, 23% disagreed and 7% did not know.

The results are analyzed in Tables 5.12 and 5.13 (independently of one another) by employment status and the intention to move.

TABLE 5.12

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Flight of Jobs From
New York City and Employment Status

<u>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</u>	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree with Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Not working	46% (133)	64% (25)	69% (13)
One Wage Earner	70% (212)	73% (26)	71% (21)
Two Wage Earners	73% (70)	75% (8)	88% (8)

Table 5.13 indicates that for employed individuals, the flight of jobs from New York City has little to do with their decision to move. Among people who do not participate in the working force, a negative relationship exists between flight of jobs and plans to move. The percent differences between the unemployed who disagree with the view that flight of jobs is a problem and those who agree is 23 points. We can conclude from Table 5.13 that the perception of the flight of jobs does not contribute to the intention to move.

TABLE 5.13

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by New York City
Economic Crisis and Employment Status

<u>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</u>	<u>N.Y.C. FACES ECONOMIC CRISIS</u>		
	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree with Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Not working	57% (92)	52% (29)	40% (47)
One Wage Earner	71% (152)	70% (54)	67% (63)
Two Wage Earners	75% (63)	67% (6)	82% (17)

As in the previous table, people who do not work do take into account the economic condition of New York City when planning to move. But interestingly among the non-workers, the relationship is positive, as those who agree with the statement are more likely to move than those who disagree. Correlations between these attitudes and moving indicate that the respondents treat the two situations

differently, independent of one another.

The results above imply that for people who do not work and plan to move, services in their neighborhoods that may be affected by the city's fiscal crisis are more important than the job situation. The unemployed who live on fixed incomes more than other groups are dependent on city services and furthermore they are inclined to spend more of their time in their neighborhood.

Summary

In this study, income is seen as having dual purposes. First, income is seen as a factor which clearly determines people's ability to afford a move. Secondly, income is seen as a yard-stick by which the desirability of new-comers to a neighborhood is measured. The results show that families earning high income seem to want to move more than families with low incomes. However, families that are anxious to move seem not to be influenced by the amount of money they earn. Respondents, furthermore, stated that they were indifferent to the income level of new-comers to their areas.

Education influences the intention to move in the same way as does income. Occupation, unlike income and education, relates differently to the intention to move. The type of occupation one has influences the intention to move among those who were anxious to move and among those who want to move some time in the near future. In both situations, professionals more than any other occupational group want to move.

The results in Chapter Five also show that families in which both spouses work are more likely to want to move than families in which only one spouse works. Retired people who traditionally were found to relocate to retirement communities here tend to state their desire to stay. A general problem that existed in the city at the time of the interviews was New York City's financial crisis. The respondents who seemed to be most affected by it were those who were not part of the working forces. Another related problem was the flight of jobs from New York City. Surprisingly, those who disagree that the flight of jobs is a problem want to relocate.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dlugacz, Y.D. "Patterns of Migration in Seven New York City Neighborhoods", Sociology Department, Graduate Center, C.U.N.Y. Unpublished M.A. thesis, 1977.
2. $\text{CHI}^2 = 19.308$, DF = 4, Significance = .0007
3. $\text{CHI}^2 = 5.298$, DF = 4, Significance = .25
4. $\text{CHI}^2 = 21.967$, DF = 4, Significance = .0002
5. Professional, Managerial and sales people.
6. Clerical, skilled workers, uniform and service.
7. Semi-skilled and non-skilled laborers.
8. $\text{CHI}^2 = 3.546$, DF = 4, Significance = .47.
9. Since the respondents are not necessarily heads of households, head of household is re-defined as follows:

a) married male, not married male/female who are 25 years of age and over.	(357) 58%
<u>NOT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD</u>	
b) Married female	(202) 33%
c) Single male less than 25 years of age	(35) 5%
d) Single female less than 25 years of age	(29) 5%
	(621) 100%
10. Persons who changed residence from 1965 to 1970. It includes persons who on April 1, 1965 lived in the United States in a different house from the one they occupied on April 1, 1970 and for whom sufficient information concerning the 1965 residence was collected.
11. $\text{CHI}^2 = 22.510$, DF = 4, Significance = .0002
12. Retired people are defined as people who don't work presently and are 54 years of age and over.
13. $\text{CHI}^2 = 25.204$, DF = 2, Significance = .0000
14. $\text{CHI}^2 = 3.004$, DF = 4, Significance = .5

CHAPTER SIX: RACE AND PREJUDICE

The importance of analyzing race lies with the fact that one million blacks and Puerto Rican residents were added to the population of New York City during the nineteen-sixties; while at the same time, the white population dropped by one million (Burstein, 1972). It has been projected that by the year 2,000, blacks and Puerto Ricans will constitute 58.5% of the city's total population. The Bronx will become virtually all black and Puerto Rican (94.1%). In Brooklyn, 72.4% of the total population will be non-white. In Manhattan and Queens, blacks and Puerto Ricans will make up less than 50% of the total population. The literature on residential mobility lacks clear information as to why blacks want to move out. The focus in the literature is on white's fleeing or leaving the city and the cause, directly or indirectly, is said to be associated to the presence of non-whites. Yet, Simmons states that the race factor acts only as a constraint on the number of possible alternatives the mover has, and effects the question of "where?" one should move, rather than "why?". Thus, it is reasonable to assume that whites and blacks will choose different locations for their new homes. Mobility rates for blacks into "changing neighborhoods" increases as the normal rate of white out-migration is accelerated by social and economic fears. The crucial aspect in this pattern of movement is not the accelerated white out-migration, but the almost total cessation of white immigration.

In a study conducted in seven New York City neighborhoods during 1972-74, it was found that non-whites are generally more mobile than whites.¹ Moreover, the results show that a distinct pattern of movement has developed for each group. Among whites more moved out of the seven neighborhoods than in, while among blacks more have moved into these areas than have moved out. A high degree of mobility among blacks was also observed by Suttles (1968: 71) who stated that the "urban Negro has been the most transient and least capable of all the ethnic groups of gathering kinfolk, people from a common region, or persons of the same religious denomination." Census data however report very little difference in the rates of mobility among whites and blacks in New York City as a whole or in the rest of the United States. See Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

TABLE 6.1

Percent of People Who Reside in the Same
Place of Residence Between 1965-70, N.Y.C.

	<u>Central City</u>	<u>Balance of SMSA</u>
Total Population of Other than Black	50% (7,279,064)	60% (3,379,376)
Black Population	53% (1,489,246)	52% (194,455)

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population: Mobility for Metropolitan Areas, March 1973, Tables 15, 16; pp. 319, 399.

Within the central city, a 3 percentage point difference exists between percent of black stayers and the rest of the population of the

city. In the balance of the SMSA, the difference between the two populations increases to 8 percent. While in the central city, it is three percent in spite of the small differences between where non-whites and whites live; the trend is in the opposite direction.

In Table 6.2, rates of mobility among whites and blacks is presented by region.

TABLE 6.2
Metropolitan Mobility of Households² by Race
And Region (Numbers in Thousands)

	<u>Non-Movers</u>	<u>Movers</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>U.S. as a Whole</u>			
White	72%	28%	100% (64,882)
Black	71%	29%	100% (7,712)
<u>North-East³</u>			
White	79%	21%	100% (15,191)
Black	77%	23%	100% (1,429)

SOURCE: Current Population Reports "Geographical Mobility", March 1975 to March 1977, Series P-20, No. 320, Table 8: Metropolitan Mobility by Race and Region, p. 18. Issued February 1978.

The results in Table 6.2 show that little difference exists in rates of mobility among whites and blacks in the north-east region and in the United States as a whole. To find out whether the same pattern of residential mobility prevails in New York City, the intent to move of whites and non-whites is presented in Table 6.3 below.

TABLE 6.3
The Intention to Move by Race⁴

	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-white</u>
Short term	17%	28%
Long term	44%	48%
Non-movers	39%	24%
TOTAL:	100%	100%
	(449)	(105)

Table 6.3 shows that more blacks intend to move than whites. A 15 percentage point difference exists between whites and non-whites who intend to move. The main difference between the two races exists among respondents who stated their intention to move within a year of the interview (an 11 percentage point difference between blacks and whites). Only a slight difference exists among white and black respondents who have long-range plans to move. The urgent need for non-whites to move out of their present place of residence leads to the next question: to where do they want to relocate? This question is answered in two parts: one is based on actual mobility for the U.S. and two is based on whites' as well as non-whites' wishes to relocate to a particular place. Census information, presented in Table 6.4, provides data on the locations to which people relocated during 1975-77.

TABLE 6.4

General Mobility by Race and Metropolitan
Mobility for the United States

<u>U.S.</u>	(Numbers in Thousands)	
	<u>Total Movers Within the U.S.</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
Within Same SMSA	46%	67%
Between SMSA's	14	10
From SMSA's to Outside SMSA's	8	3
From Outside SMSA's to SMSA's	6	3
Outside SMSA's at Both Dates	26	17
	TOTAL:	
	100% (47,318)	100% (6,279)
Movers Within Same County	60%	75%
Movers Between Counties Within Same State	22	12
Movers Between States	18	13
	TOTAL:	
	(2 years & over) 100% (47,318)	100% (6,279)

SOURCE: Geographical Mobility: March 1975 to March 1977, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 40, February 1978, Table 43, p. 114.

Table 6.4 shows that blacks are more mobile than whites within metropolitan areas and within the same county. It should be pointed out that high rates of mobility for both races exist within the same SMSA and within the same county. The results suggest that residential

relocation takes place over short distances, therefore, the researcher is suggesting that respondents of both races in this study will be inclined to want to move within the city.

TABLE 6.5

Future Location by Race for Movers Only

<u>FUTURE LOCATION</u>	<u>% MOVERS</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
Intra-city Move	30%	35%
Suburbs of N.Y.C.	21	19
Out-of-State	49	46
	TOTAL: ⁵	
	100%	100%
	(235)	(69)

Contrary to the implications of Simmons' work that blacks and whites would be attracted to the different places, Table 6.5 shows that people of both races want to relocate to the same areas. A slight difference exists between blacks and whites regarding relocation within the city, as blacks exceed whites in this choice by 5 percentage points. These results show a similar pattern to those presented in Table 6.4. However, the literature implies that non-whites tend to replace whites and that the direction of non-whites' moves tend to be toward white neighborhoods while whites tend to relocate in new areas. Therefore, a different pattern should have developed than the one in Table 6.5.

A possible answer for the small differences between whites and non-whites in Table 6.5 may be due to the fact that the literature dealt with actual mobility while here the analysis is constructed on an attitude only. Also, the study has controlled for tenure status, while most others find blacks to more frequently be renters.

Fishman, J.A. (1961); Zehner, R.B.; Chapin, F.S.; Howell, T.T. (1974) and Ginsberg, Y. (1975) found that racial changes in a particular neighborhood was due to the continuing factors of family life cycle stages of the white population and the cessation of whites moving in. High rates of vacancies in white neighborhoods, due to old age, death and the reduction in family size as children moved to homes of their own, produced a vacuum that was filled by black families who needed adequate housing. In this study, this phenomenon cannot be measured, because of study limitations, but an examination can be made of why blacks and whites want to move out and what type of family is the most inclined to move.

The relationship between family compositions and the intent to move is pursued here in relation to race (see Table 6.6).

TABLE 6.6

The Intention to Move by Household Composition and Race

	HEADS 45 YEARS OF AGE OR LESS				HEADS OVER 45 YEARS OF AGE	
	<u>Couples</u>	<u>Full-Families</u>	<u>Singles</u>	<u>Single Parents Children present</u>	<u>Full-Families</u>	<u>Couples</u>
Non-White	85% (13)	82% (38)	73% (26)	67% (21)	67% (6)	100% (1)
White	62% (92)	71% (107)	56% (154)	77% (26)	74% (23)	32% (47)

The intention to move among the various households varies from one household to another, as well as along racial lines. Non-white couples are the most inclined to move while white couples in which the head is 45 years of age and over are the least inclined to move. The results show that non-whites are more inclined to move than whites with the exception of single parents with children and full-families where the head is 45 years of age and over. Black respondents have a somewhat greater tendency to relocate within the city's boundaries. Full-families tend, however, to relocate outside the city. Inasmuch as a majority of 122 black households are not full-families, the bias of blacks to want to move within the city might be explained by family composition. Table 6.7 addresses this issue by relating both race and family composition to future location.

TABLE 6.7

Future Location by Family Composition and Race

		<u>Move within N.Y.C.</u>	<u>Move to N.Y.C. Suburbs</u>	<u>Move to Out of N.Y. State</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Singles	) White:	43%	19%	38%	100% (72)
	) Non-white:	59	6	35	100% (17)
Single Parents & Children	) White:	33	13	53	100% (15)
	) Non-white:	40	20	40	100% (10)
Full- Families	) White:	24	23	52	100% (86)
	) Non-white:	23	20	57	100% (30)
Couples	) White:	18	23	60	100% (62)
	) Non-white:	25	33	42	100% (12)

Despite the small number of blacks in the sample, it can be seen that singles of both races are the most inclined to relocate within the city. However, a stronger inclination to relocate within the city exists among blacks. The results also indicate that among full-families, low rates of mobility within the city exists in both races. Among the families who want to move to the suburbs, black singles are the least likely to move, while black couples are the most inclined to consider such a move. White couples are the most inclined to move out of state followed by families with children. Among blacks, full-families are the most inclined to consider this type of move.

In general, some variation does exist between the races as to where different types of households plan to relocate. Unfortunately, the small size of the black sample and the lack of information on where people want to move out of state limits these findings. Nonetheless, the results indicate that it is worthwhile to examine this issue again on larger samples of whites and blacks and to take into account the location of the new destination. Moreover, future analysis should stress the process by which members of different races are either guided by their own preconceptions of the characteristics of the areas to which they are considering to relocate or by the information which they are fed. Future research should also be concerned with finding out what kind of images people associate with the new location and whether or not racial bias exists.

Race and Economic Status

Suttles, studying the issue of residential mobility among blacks, suggested that poor blacks as well as middle to upper income blacks are very mobile, while Gans and Kessner showed that whites with low incomes tend to be stayers.

In Table 6.8, the intention to move is analyzed in terms of income and race.

TABLE 6.8

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Income and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>INCOME</u>		
	<u>\$7,000 or less</u>	<u>\$8,000-\$14,999</u>	<u>\$15,000 or over</u>
White	43% (95)	58% (104)	71% (167)
Non-white	78% (18)	81% (42)	79% (28)

The results here show that income plays a far more important role for whites than for blacks. The percentage difference between high and low income groups for whites is 28 points while for blacks almost no difference exists. Whites who can afford a move plan accordingly, while non-whites who want to move seem not to take into account the economic constraints of low income.

The next item to be examined here in relation to race and the intention to move is education.

TABLE 6.9

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Education and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>EDUCATION</u>		
	<u>College and Over</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>Less Than High School</u>
White	74% (155)	60% (171)	45% (123)
Black	73% (41)	81% (32)	75% (32)

Education, like income, is related to the intention to move among whites, while among blacks, no relationship exists. The percent difference between whites with college education and whites with less than high school education is 29 points with more of the college educated planning to move. Among blacks, those who have high school education are inclined to move a bit more than others with higher or lower education.

Further differences between white and black patterns of residential mobility was illustrated by Fishman (1961) along occupational lines. Whites with manual occupations tend to remain in a racially mixed neighborhood even when they have negative attitudes towards blacks. Those whites who have white collar jobs and are professionals tend to move despite positive attitudes towards blacks.

Among blacks, Fishman found that occupation plays a major role in residential mobility. Those who occupy the upper occupational ladder are inclined to leave their neighborhood and have negative attitudes towards poorer blacks. The move of people based on their status in the

occupational structure is seen by Fishman as a status oriented move. A sanitation man who may make more money than a professor will find more obstacles to moving into certain neighborhoods than a professor who has more in common with people who are professionals and had acquired higher education.

In Table 6.10, occupation and the intention to move among whites and blacks is presented.

TABLE 6.10

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Occupation and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>		
	<u>Professional</u>	<u>White-collar</u>	<u>Semi-skilled</u>
White	75% (96)	68% (93)	68% (71)
Non-white	85% (20)	72% (25)	66% (29)

Unlike education and income which were related to the intention to move among blacks, we now see that occupation is very much related to the wish to move among non-whites as well as whites. A stronger tendency to move exists among professional non-whites than among professional whites (10 point difference). Fishman explains that for blacks more than for whites, occupation is a means of moving into better neighborhoods. A professional black will more easily be accepted into a white middle class neighborhood than a highly paid blue-collar black worker and therefore the reward for moving is greater for a black professional.

It is possible that other factors related to the occupational structure may shape the intent of blacks to move, i.e. lack of satisfaction with nearness to work and unemployment. The increase in the movement of industry out of New York City and the high cost of commuting to work may force people to consider moving out of the city. Chudacoff pointed out that changes in the location of work promotes residential relocation. The strong relationship between non-whites' occupational status and the intent to move suggests that work related problems exist among the non-whites who are part of the working force. Two possible problems that were found to correlate with the intent to move are shown in the next two tables.

Table 6.11 shows how satisfaction with nearness to work is related to the intention to move for whites and non-whites.

TABLE 6.11

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Satisfaction
With Nearness to Work and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>SATISFACTION WITH NEARNESS TO WORK</u>		
	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
White	66% (116)	69% (90)	85% (34)
Non-white	59% (27)	81% (37)	93% (15)

Among both whites and non-whites, dissatisfaction is related to the intention to move. The relationship is especially strong among non-whites. A thirty-four percent difference between satisfaction with

nearness to work and lack of satisfaction exists among blacks, while for whites, it is only 19%. Out of 240 whites who want to move and stated their level of satisfaction with nearness to work, 48% stated that they are very satisfied. While out of 79 non-whites, only 34% were very satisfied with their nearness to work.

The analysis of the respondents' employment status in this study indicates that people who are not in the work force are less inclined to move than those who are employed. Among the employed, two wage earners are more inclined to state their wish to move than single wage earners. In Table 6.12, the intention to move among whites and blacks in relation to employment status is presented.

TABLE 6.12

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Employment Status and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</u>		
	<u>Not in the Working Force</u>	<u>Households with only One Wage Earner</u>	<u>Household with Two Wage Earners</u>
White	46% (165)	68% (227)	74% (57)
Non-whites	87% (23)	73% (51)	74% (31)

Employment status as a condition of residential relocation differs in its effect on non-whites and whites. The intention to move among whites increases with the number of wage earners, while for non-whites it is higher for those who do not participate in the work force. The

percent difference between the two races among the respondents who do not work is 41%. Within the white sample, employed households in which both spouses work show a somewhat stronger inclination to move than households with only a single wage earner. Among non-whites, virtually no difference exists in relation to residential mobility between households with two wage earners and households with a single wage earner.

J. DaVanzo (1977) found that people's plan to either move or stay is greatly influenced by the act of searching for a job. In Table 6.13, the intent to move of whites and blacks is explored in relation to searching for employment.

TABLE 6.13

Percent of People Who Intend to Move
By Race and Job Search

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Not seeking work</u>	<u>Seeking Work</u>
White	60% (395)	62% (53)
Non-white	73% (90)	93% (15)

Among whites, no difference exists between those who seek work and those who do not. For non-whites, a relationship exists between their search for work and the intent to move. A 20% difference exists between non-whites seeking work and non-whites who are not. But the base number for non-whites who seek work is quite small. The differences between whites and blacks is further illustrated when one

looks at those who seek work. The percentage difference between whites and non-whites in this group is 31%. Even among those who do not seek work, a difference of 13% exists between the two races, with more non-whites inclined to state that they plan to move.

The findings of the present chapter show that the intent to move as stated by whites and blacks is influenced differently by their social economic status. Among blacks, unlike whites, only occupation plays an influential role on the decision to move. The researcher theorizes that the differences are due to interpretations of status in American society by blacks and whites. Blacks may equate high social status with type of occupation. However, a "good occupation" according to blacks may not necessarily also mean good pay and high education. H.F. Taylor (1973) clearly inferred that education is not related to success for black people. More education does not enable a black man or woman to earn more money. W.J. Wilson (1978) stated that while information shows that young black males who are college graduates now receive roughly the same salaries as young white men with college degrees, a significant income gap between all college-educated whites and all college-educated blacks still exists. Kessner states that the associations between the three items that constitute S.E.S. varies from one ethnic group to another. Jews who arrived in New York City with the same social economic status as the Italians developed different goals that brought them into the professional occupations in the city. The Jews realized that high education meant more

money and good occupational positions. For the Italians, education means alienation from the Italian culture and loss of an immediate income. Therefore, to the Italian, education did not mean social success or prestige, but only the capacity to earn money.

Selected Housing and Neighborhood Problems

The housing problems that are chosen here to be analyzed in relation to race encompass issues of rent control, market value of homes and access of new mortgages. The above issues were chosen rather than such problems as inadequate space and other housing facilities because the resident can exercise some control over the latter by moving, complaining to the landlord, or to city authorities. However, the resident does not have control over the housing market, and relocating is not necessarily a solution to the problem. Documents on the subject of disinvestment, redlining and disclosure are full of references to the relationship between the residents' race/ethnicity and the decision by financial institutions not to invest.⁶ Disinvestment affects the ability of homeowners to obtain mortgages, refinancing of existing mortgages or obtaining loans for improvements. This issue is relevant to this study for two reasons: one, the neighborhoods under study are facing racial transition that is most likely to be associated with redlining, and two, non-whites as well as whites want to move out of these neighborhoods. Since discrimination against non-whites has been found in the housing market (see, for example, Molotch's work), it is hypothesized here that non-whites tend to have

easy access to new mortgages. In Table 6.14, whites' as well as non-whites' perceptions of how easy it is for them to get a new mortgage are presented.

TABLE 6.14

Race by Perception of Access to a New Mortgage

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Easy Access</u>	<u>Not Easy Access</u>	<u>Total</u>
White	63%	37%	100% (176)
Non-whites	64%	36%	100% (39)

The results in Table 6.14 show that whites as well as non-whites perceive difficulties in obtaining a new mortgage. What effect this has on the intention to move is examined in Table 6.15.

TABLE 6.15

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Access to a New Mortgage and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Easy Access</u>	<u>Not Easy Access</u>
White	66% (98)	41% (59)
Non-white	78% (28)	67% (12)

For homeowners of both races, easy access to new mortgages relates to the intention to move. However, for whites, the relationship is

stronger than for blacks. The difference between easy access to a new mortgage and the lack of easy access for whites is 25% while for blacks it is 11%.

The intention to move among non-whites who perceive difficulties in obtaining mortgages is stronger than among whites of the same group.

Changes in the market value of homes is the next issue studied here. Again, as in the previous case, it is assumed that non-whites suffer more than whites from lack of investment in their block or neighborhood, hence, non-whites are more likely to experience a decrease in the housing market value of their homes.

TABLE 6.16

Race by Changes in the Market Value

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Total</u>
White	80%	10%	10%	100% (247)
Non-white	74%	11%	15%	100% (53)

Most whites and non-whites alike perceive an increase in the market value of their homes. However, non-whites slightly more than whites perceive a decrease in their home value.

In Table 6.17, the relationship between the changes in the value of homes and the intention to move, controlling for race, is presented.

TABLE 6.17

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by the Changes in the
Market Value of the Homes and by Race for Homeowners

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Decrease</u>
White	54% (182)	55% (20)	65% (23)
Non-white	72% (36)	60% (5)	86% (7)

People of both races who reside in homes in which the market value has decreased want to move more than those whose homes have remained the same or increased in value. The percent difference between increased market value and decreased market value for whites is 11 points while for homes in which non-whites reside the percent difference is 14 points. Non-whites more than whites want to move from homes in which the market is decreasing. There is a 21% difference between non-whites and white residents.

Rent-controlled apartments can become non-liveable quarters when the owner decides not to invest because he cannot increase the rent to pay for his maintenance expenses. Again, it is assumed here that non-whites will suffer more from any disinvestment and thus those non-whites who reside in rent-controlled apartments will be most likely to want to relocate. In Table 6.18, intentions to move among whites and non-whites are explored in relation to rent control.

TABLE 6.18

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Rent-Control and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Rent-controlled</u>	<u>Not Rent-controlled</u>
White	67% (93)	68% (101)
Non-white	82% (11)	78% (37)

Among whites who reside in apartments no difference exists between those who occupy rent-controlled apartments and those who live in non-rent-controlled buildings. For non-whites, there is a slight difference (4%) between the two types of apartment dwellers. Among people who live in rent-controlled apartments, a 15% difference exists between whites and non-whites, with more blacks intending to move out. For the non-rent-controlled, the difference is 10 percentage points.

School Quality

Molotch in his work, Managed Integration, found that white residents with children associate poor quality of schools with the presence of non-white students in the school. This association became a reason for relocating elsewhere. Whites' as well as non-whites' reaction to school quality is presented in Table 6.19.

TABLE 6.19

The Intention to Move by Quality of School and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>QUALITY OF SCHOOL</u>		
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fairly Good</u>	<u>Not Good</u>
White	56% (54)	71% (77)	68% (77)
Non-white	67% (12)	70% (20)	90% (19)

Table 6.19 shows that the moving plans of non-whites are more sensitive than those of whites to the issue of schools. The percentage difference between black respondents who report that schools are not good and those who report that schools are good is 23%, while for whites it is 12%. These results may indicate that the black respondents live in areas where the quality of schools is low as was shown to be the case with crime and poor physical conditions, and therefore, they plan to move.

Another issue that relates to quality of schools and race is busing. White parents generally refuse to bus their children to schools outside their neighborhoods which are in most part white.

In a recent debate over school busing in California, white parents stated that their objection to busing stems from the fact that their children would have to travel on highways during rush-hour to get to school. They also see busing as a political policy that interferes with their privacy and right to send their children to the school of

their choice. In most cases, formal arguments do not equate poor quality of schools with the presence of non-whites. Black parents in contrast see school integration as a means of equalizing their status, achieving higher skills and equal education for their children. As Gans states, through an integrated school system, black children can learn and be admitted to full membership in American society.

A busing index based on four items was constructed, and is presented in Table 6.21. The busing items are as follows:

a) Racially integrated schools are a good way to give equal education to all N.Y.C. school children. 35% of the 621 respondents agreed, 20% agreed with reservation, 38% disagreed and 5% stated that they don't know.

b) The greatest problem facing most families today is the forced busing of school children. 50% agreed, 15% agreed with reservations, 25% disagreed and 10% don't know.

c) School busing is a good way to insure equal educational opportunities for all children. 14% agreed, 10% agreed with reservations, 66% disagreed and 10% don't know.

d) Busing children from one neighborhood to another ruins things for everyone. 50% agreed, 15% agreed with reservations, 25% disagreed and 10% don't know.

A large percent of the respondents seem to have developed negative attitudes toward school busing. This attitude might reinforce the intent to move if busing becomes a reality in the neighborhoods under study.

TABLE 6.20

A Correlation of School Busing Items⁷

	<u>Racially Inte- grated Schools Are Good</u>	<u>Forced Bus ing as a Problem</u>	<u>School Busing Insures Equal Education</u>	<u>School Busing Ruins Things</u>
Racially Integrated Schools Are Good	x	.164	.638	.399
Forced Busing as a Problem		x	.406	.633
School Busing In- sures Equal Education			x	.620
School Busing Ruins Things				x

The busing index was cross-tabulated against the intention to move, but no relationship prevails ($R = .002$). Also no correlation exists between the busing issue and quality of education ($R = .074$). The busing issue was controlled by race, but again showed no relationship with the intent to move (for whites $R = .013$ and for non-whites $R = .002$). Families with children as well as childless families show little interest in the issue ($R = .06$). These findings imply that the great majority of the respondents in this sample were not interested in the busing issue, probably because busing is not at present an issue in their neighborhood. It should be pointed out that a small number of white respondents (26) equate low education with busing and also want to move. A relationship between low quality of education and a perceived negative view of busing and the intent to move exists for whites ($R = .27$) and for blacks ($R = .27$). However, it is difficult to generalize from these findings because the

results apply to only 4 percent of the total sampled population.

The overall picture that emerges is that people tend to move when schools become an issue because the quality of education is low. This is of particular concern for blacks.

Attachment to a Neighborhood

This study has shown that non-whites are more inclined to move than white respondents. Part of this explanation for these different trends lies with short length of residence of non-whites. (See Table 21 below)

TABLE 6.21
Percent of People Who Intend to Move
By Length of Residence and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	
	<u>Up to ten years</u>	<u>11 years plus</u>
White	68% (155)	58% (278)
Non-white	81% (83)	59% (17)

Length of residence is strongly correlated with the intention to relocate among non-whites. Non-whites with less than ten years of residence are more willing to move than whites with the same number of years of residence. In the group of respondents with 11 years of residence or more, no difference exists between the races. Therefore, when people reside in a neighborhood for a long time, they become part of it

whether they are whites or non-whites. Since only a small number of non-whites are long time residents, it is very likely that non-whites in most areas are less involved in community affairs than the whites. Hence, the non-whites are more likely to not feel that they are part of the neighborhood they live in. In Table 6.22, the relationship between the intention to move and being part of the neighborhood is controlled for race.

TABLE 6.22

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by the Perceived View of How Much the Respondent Is Part of the Neighborhood and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>(Being Part of the Neighborhood)</u>			
	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Fairly Much</u>	<u>Not Too Much</u>	<u>Not Much At All</u>
White	44% (131)	64% (133)	66% (125)	79% (58)
Non-white	71% (24)	79% (38)	77% (26)	79% (14)

A distinct pattern of response towards being part of a neighborhood exists among whites and non-whites as shown in Table 6.22. Whites' sense of wanting to move increases with their feelings that they are not part of their neighborhood. The results suggest that whites do indeed take into account the social environment they live within. Non-whites who want to move exhibit indifferent feelings toward their being part of the neighborhood. It is interesting to note that non-white respondents' perceived view of how much others are

part of the neighborhood is correlated to some degree with the intent to move (Table 6.23). Thus, it is possible to assume that when others are part of the neighborhood, while the respondents are not, a social distance is created that reinforces mobility.

TABLE 6.23

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by the Perceived View of How Much Others Are Part of the Neighborhood and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>OTHERS BEING PART OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD</u>			<u>Not of the Community</u>
	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Fairly Much</u>	<u>Not too Much</u>	
White	48% (150)	61% (137)	72% (87)	76% (25)
Non-whites	67% (15)	79% (34)	81% (26)	86% (7)

Racial Attitudes

Duncan, Schuman and Duncan (1973: 102, 110) point out that between 1969-1971 white attitudes continued to shift toward acceptance of the principles of equal treatment and equal status for black Americans. Blacks, during this same time period, felt a greater distrust of whites, increased preference for black associations, and had some second thoughts on traditional techniques of non-violence for achieving equal rights. In this study, it has already been shown that most of the respondents will accept non-whites of equal education and income moving into their neighborhood. However, it is commonly believed that whites "flee" a neighborhood when non-whites enter it. The respondents were asked:

"How likely is it that other people in this neighborhood would move out of this neighborhood if Puerto Ricans or blacks started moving in?" 216 respondents answered very likely, 151 fairly likely, 105 not too likely, 71 not likely at all and 78 do not know.

The high rate of negative response towards non-whites moving in raises the question of whether or not this view is expressed solely by white respondents or shared by non-white respondents as well. In Table 6.24, white and non-white responses to the question of how likely others would move if Puerto Ricans and blacks moved in is presented.

TABLE 6.24

The Likelihood of Others Moving Out Because
Puerto Ricans and Blacks Move in by Race^o

	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-white</u>
Very Likely	39%	45%
Fairly Likely	29	23
Not Likely	33	32
TOTAL:	100% (434)	100% (109)

Non-white respondents seem to be more sensitive than white respondents to the issue of residential relocation due to the movement of non-white residents into a particular neighborhood. A six percentage point difference exists between whites, who state that others are very likely to move because of incoming non-whites, and non-whites who share the same view. This black prediction of what will happen in the future

is most likely based on their past experiences with whites or based on observations in other communities. This black response introduces a new dimension into the study of neighborhood racial change, i.e., the black view of racial changes. Studies that have focused on race relations have dealt with the attitudes of whites toward the incoming non-whites and the fact that whites will move as blacks move in. William Kornblum (1974: 31) describes such a typical situation:

"Most white residents perceive that racial composition of the (South Chicago) neighborhood is destined to change in the next decade. One continually hears gossip about this or that black when they are already moving in."

The reactions of blacks to others moving out because of non-whites moving in needs to be understood in order to find out whether or not white flight also influences black residents to move. The move away by whites from incoming blacks and Puerto Ricans is analyzed below within the context of white attitudes toward blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Attitudes Toward Blacks and Puerto Ricans

In most part, white respondents show high levels of tolerance when they described the blacks and Puerto Ricans in their neighborhood. Some negative attitudes toward blacks and Puerto Ricans are expressed by a small minority of white respondents⁹ which shows that social distance between the two racial groups exists. One statement was made as follows:

"If the neighborhood changed from lily white to colored...if the neighborhood changes from a peaceful neighborhood, it would not be safe to walk on the street without a pistol."

Another view points to the "need" to get away from bad elements-- "colored and Spanish". Respondents also stated that they "do not like

blacks and Puerto Ricans, do not like garbage, mugging, loud music, it's not safe on streets, no landlord and next door there's a welfare building".

Robert Merton (1966), using W.I. Thomas' theory that "if men define situations as real they are real in consequences", equates prejudice with the concept of a self-fulfilling prophecy. When an idea develops, it may be a false definition of the situation, but this idea can evoke a new behavior which makes the originally false concept come true. The mechanism by which an idea is accepted starts with the public definition of a situation (prophecies or predictions) which then develops into an integral part of the situation and thus affects subsequent developments. The contribution of the theory of self-fulfilling prophecies to the understanding of race relations is that people experience beliefs, not as prejudice, not as pre-judgements, but as irresistible products of their own observations. The white who associates crime and neighborhood physical deterioration with the presence of non-whites may not be prejudiced, but the mere association shapes his behavior. Ginsberg (1975: 21) states that prejudice towards blacks was found not to be related to whites fleeing racially mixed areas. "People with high prejudice were not more likely to move out than others...those who moved into the area after it had already started to become black did not differ in their racial attitude from those who left or from those who remained."

In the present study, twenty-three attitudinal questions that deal with various aspects of prejudice including social interaction, neighborhood quality, school busing, social status and general views of the

position of non-whites in the city were cross-tabulated against the intent to move. Only items that addressed the issue of social interaction between whites and blacks were found to be related to some degree with the intent to move. Some of the key attitudes towards non-whites are presented here.

Respondents Opinion About Racially Mixed Neighborhoods

The respondents were asked to express their view of the following statement: "It would make no difference if a Puerto Rican family moved onto this block." 77 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement. Both the responses of whites and non-whites are presented in Table 6.25.

TABLE 6.25

The View That It Does Not Make Any Difference If
Puerto Rican Families Move Into The Block by Race¹⁰

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree with Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree with Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>	<u>Total</u>
White	45%	29%	9%	15%	100% (499)
Non-white	79	16	1	3	100% (122)

Non-whites are more likely to accept other non-whites moving into their block than are whites. However, there is no relationship between the intention to move and the above statement ($R = .019$). This lack of relationship also persists when controlled for race. Another statement which described respondents' views about racially mixed neighborhoods

was: "Blacks have the right to live wherever they can afford to." 78 percent of the respondents supported this statement; 74 percent of the whites as well as 95 percent of the non-whites support this statement. The results show no relationship between this statement and the intent to move ($R = .023$). The statements presented here show that the respondents do not necessarily oppose racially mixed neighborhoods. This view can be further analyzed by seeing whether or not whites would do anything to prevent blacks from moving into their neighborhoods.

The respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: "Whites have the right to keep blacks from living in their neighborhood". 73 percent disagreed with the statement; among non-whites, 90 percent disagreed while among the whites 69 percent disagreed. This statement again does not relate to the intent to move ($R = .090$).

Reasons for Favoring Racially Mixed Neighborhoods

One of the statements which showed support of racially mixed neighborhoods was that "Blacks and whites can live together peacefully in this neighborhood"; 72 percent agreed with the statement, 67 percent of the white respondents agreed, while among the non-whites, 92 percent agreed. Again, as in previous relationships between the intent to move and attitudes towards non-whites, no relationship prevailed ($R = .024$).

The strong support by whites as well as by non-whites of the views that racially mixed neighborhoods can exist and that whites can live in peace with blacks and Puerto Ricans leads to the assumption that the phenomenon of "white flight" will be rejected by the respondents. The statement which captured this issue was: "Whites in this city should

stay in their neighborhood and not run away when blacks start moving in". The results show that whites and non-whites agree that whites should not flee from the city. As with the other attitudinal statements, no relationship exists between the intent to move and this view of "white flight" ($R = .031$). This lack of correlation on the last two positive statements suggests that these views are not an expression of the real life situation. If whites believe that they should stay in the city and that they can live in peace with non-whites, then there should be at least some agreement between those who want to stay and positive responses to the last two sentences. Possible explanations for this lack of relationship and the intent to move are: 1) that the white respondents are very liberal as Duncan found, but then why did their positive attitudes not emerge as an indicator of their decision to stay; 2) the great majority of the respondents did not express in full their feelings about racial relationships, but instead presented other factors that push them to move; 3) the right questions were not asked; and 4) survey research may not be the correct method of getting at people's true feelings about race. It is possible to assume that race relations are such a sensitive and complex issue that it cannot be understood by simply asking questions. The willingness to live in close proximity to non-whites as it is expressed in this study does not mean that interaction will take place between whites and non-whites or that friendship will develop. The question of interaction between the races was addressed here with regard to racial integration.

The respondents were asked to state their opinion of the statement: "White people should be more active in integrating the neighborhood". Only 59 percent agreed. Moreover, among white respondents, 221 disagreed while 222 agreed with the statement. The majority of non-white (76%) respondents agreed with the statement. This view is not related to the intention to move ($R = .007$).

The Position of Non-Whites in New York City

The respondents were also asked about the fact that "This city will be all black and Puerto Rican before long"; 48 percent agreed with the statement while non-whites tended slightly to disagree ($R = .113$). Again, this statement does not correlate with the intent to move, even when the relationship is controlled for race. (For whites $R = .143$; for non-whites $R = .086$; See Table 6.26).

TABLE 6.26

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by the View that the City Soon Will Become Black and Puerto Rican by Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree With Reservations</u>	<u>Disagree With Reservations</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
White	70% (152)	60% (83)	62% (61)	51% (109)
Non-white	86% (21)	69% (13)	63% (16)	75% (32)

Both whites' and non-whites' views about the city becoming black and Puerto Rican are associated with the intent to move. The percentage difference between whites who agree strongly with the statement and

those who disagree is 19 points, while for non-whites, the difference is 11 percentage points. However, non-whites who agree strongly with the statement show a stronger tendency to want to move than whites who agreed with the statement. These findings support the general view that whites would like to move if the city becomes all black and Puerto Rican. However, the same tendency exists among the working class non-whites.

One of the reasons for whites moving out as non-whites move in is reflected in the following statement presented to the respondents:

"Whenever Puerto Ricans start moving into a neighborhood, the quality of the neighborhood starts going down."

63 percent agreed with the statement. However, again no relationship is found between this view and the desire to move ($R = .055$).

A similar statement was presented to the respondents in reference to blacks, with slightly fewer respondents agreeing with the statement (58%). Again, no relationship prevailed between the intent to move and this statement ($R = .020$). White respondents tend to agree with statements that relate a black/Puerto Rican presence with neighborhood decline, while non-whites reject the statement (see Tables 6.27 and 6.28).

TABLE 6.27

The View That Associated Puerto Ricans
With Neighborhood Decline By Race¹²

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree With Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree With Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>	<u>Total</u>
White	44%	25%	14%	12%	100% (449)
Non-white	24	16	10	38	100% (122)

TABLE 6.28

The View That Associates Blacks
With Neighborhood Decline By Race¹³

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree With Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree With Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>	<u>Total</u>
White	40%	25%	15%	13%	100% (449)
Non-white	12	21	20	43	100% (122)

On the basis of the relationship between the intent to move and the two statements that associate blacks and Puerto Ricans with neighborhood decline, one could conclude that a) the respondents are very liberal, and b) the decision to move is not influenced by negative racial attitudes. However, the results in Tables 6.26 and 6.28 show that white respondents have negative attitudes towards non-whites. To find out whether or not the white respondents who want to move have negative attitudes towards non-whites when planning to move, the relationship between the intent to move and attitudes towards non-whites is controlled by race (see Tables 6.29 and 6.30).

TABLE 6.29

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by the View That
Associates Puerto Ricans With Neighborhood Decline by Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree with Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree with Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
White	60% (197)	65% (117)	62% (55)	58% (55)
Non-white	89% (26)	79% (19)	90% (10)	60% (37)

TABLE 6.30

Percent of People Who Intend to Move by the View That When Blacks Move Into a Neighborhood, the Quality of the Neighborhood Goes Down by Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree With Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree With Reservation</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
White	62% (182)	61% (112)	64% (66)	60% (58)
Non-white	83% (12)	88% (24)	81% (21)	67% (42)

The results in Table 6.29 and 6.30 show that contrary to expectation, a relationship does not exist between the intention to move and attitudes toward blacks and Puerto Ricans for white respondents. In contrast, non-white respondents who want to move do to some degree feel that blacks and Puerto Ricans who move into their neighborhood are associated with neighborhood decline. The argument that can be made is that white people who may be prejudiced may not necessarily introduce their bias into the decision to move. Non-white respondents who do state that the presence of other non-white minorities is associated with neighborhood decline cannot be simply labeled as being prejudiced or aloof from the rest of the non-white population. It is possible to speculate that of the two populations, the non-whites live closer to deterioration, which has developed to a larger degree in non-white neighborhoods.

Social Interaction

To find out to what degree racial attitudes are a reflection of racial experience, the respondents were asked what quality of interaction exists in their neighborhood between whites and non-whites.

The question asked of the respondents was: "How much neighborly, friendly visiting would you say goes on in this neighborhood between whites and Puerto Ricans or blacks who live in this neighborhood?" 3 percent of a total of 621 respondents stated that a lot of interaction takes place between the two races; 12 percent stated a fair amount, 54 percent stated that no interaction takes place and 32 percent do not know if such interaction takes place. Whites tend to state that either little interaction takes place between the races or that they do not know of such interaction. Non-whites in contrast are inclined to state that a lot of this interaction does indeed take place.

In Table 6.31, a relationship between the intent to move and the respondent's view of the extent of interaction between Puerto Rican or blacks and whites is presented.

TABLE 6.31

The Intention to Move by the Amount of Visiting
Between Blacks or Puerto Ricans and Whites¹³

	<u>Interaction Takes Place</u>	<u>Not Much Interaction</u>	<u>Do not know</u>
Short term	24%	21%	15%
Long term	45	47	38
Non-movers	31	32	47
TOTAL:	100% (83)	100% (302)	100% (169)

Respondents who claim that interaction takes place between the races are the most likely to intend to move shortly. In contrast, respondents who do not know about such interaction are most likely to state that they want to stay.

The next issue deals with the amount of negative interaction between the two racial groups. "How much trouble would you say there has been between Puerto Ricans or blacks and whites in this neighborhood?" 5% stated that a great deal of trouble exists between the races, 7% stated a lot of trouble, 25% not too much, 52% no trouble at all, and 11% do not know of such trouble.

Only 12 percent of the total sample have experienced trouble between whites and blacks or Puerto Ricans. Twenty-three whites experienced a great deal of trouble, thirty-three a fair amount, while among non-whites, only five respondents experienced a great deal of trouble and thirteen respondents experienced a fair amount of trouble between whites and non-whites. Nevertheless, some conclusion can be made about those who have experienced racial trouble and those have not. In Table 6.32, the intent to move will be analyzed in relation to the respondents' perceived view of racial trouble.

TABLE 6.32

The Intent to Move by Perceived View of Racial Trouble¹⁴

	(Racial Trouble)		
	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Fairly Much</u>	<u>Not Too Much At All</u>
Short term	39%	36%	16%
Long term	46	41	44
Non-movers	15	23	40
TOTAL:	100% (26)	100% (44)	100% (428)

The results of Table 6.32 indicate that those who perceive trouble between races intend to move shortly; a 23 percentage point difference exists between those who claim that trouble exists and those who did not perceive any trouble. Those who see little trouble are, however, inclined to move in the long run.

In Table 6.33, the relationship presented in Table 6.32 is controlled by race.

TABLE 6.33
Percent of People Who Intend to Move by Perceived
View of Racial Trouble and Race

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Fairly Much</u>	<u>Not Too Much</u>
White	81% (21)	75% (32)	58% (356)
Non-white	100% (5)	83% (12)	71% (72)

The results show that both whites and non-whites want to move when a great deal of racial trouble exists in their neighborhood.

The Intention to Move and Neighborhood Change

One of the main factors that has been used to explain the relationship between whites and blacks and/or Puerto Ricans is the tipping point. The theory is that when the percent of blacks or Puerto Ricans in a particular neighborhood reached 30 percent, more or less, of the population, whites will start to move out and the neighborhood will become black.

It has been argued that there is:

"No social science evidence that supports the existence of a single universally applicable tipping point which can explain, and predict the point at which neighborhoods will irreversibly change from white to non-white. Social science has no capacity at present to generate any iron law regarding the rate of racial transition." (Goering: 1978)

Goering's argument, based on his own research into the phenomenon of racial transition in New York City and on other studies, introduces the view that numbers by themselves do not dictate racial transition. But other complex factors such as the political setting in New York City, the economic structure that encompasses bankers, real estate brokers, the construction industry, transportation and the fact that the city is a city of immigrants, all together help to explain the phenomenon of racial transition.¹⁵ This view has helped to shape the theory that one has to look beyond the number of non-whites in a particular neighborhood as a force that shapes whites' decisions about moving. The researcher theorizes that not numbers, but what the people feel about the percent of non-whites in the neighborhood will shape their decision to move. This view is supported by Ginsberg (1971) who found that the residents of Mattapan, Boston did not expect their neighborhood to change in spite of large numbers of non-whites moving to the adjacent blocks. Ginsberg feels that the tipping point depends on people's beliefs which create and recreate the definition of the neighborhood and its racial composition. Thus, predictions and perceptions are more important than actual percent of blacks.

Before any analysis is made of the respondents' perception of the racial makeup of their neighborhood in relation to residential relocation, a presentation of white and non-white respondents' views of their neighbor-

hood racial makeup is presented in Table 6.34.

TABLE 6.34
 Respondents' Perceptions About Their Neighborhood
 Racial Makeup by Race

RACE	White ¹⁶				Puerto Rican ¹⁷				Black ¹⁸			
	0%	1-49%	59%	Total	0%	1-32%	33%+	Total	0%	1-32%	33%	Total
White	4%	14%	82%	100% (462)	22%	72%	6%	100% (498)	39%	56%	6%	100% (499)
Non-white	9	70	21	100% (120)	12	71	17	100% (122)	11	30	71	100% (122)

The majority of white respondents perceive their neighborhoods as predominantly white. In contrast only a minority of non-whites (21%) state that they live in a predominantly white neighborhood. Among whites and non-whites only a very small percent live in neighborhoods where no whites live. Six percent of the total white population state that they live in neighborhoods where the percent of Puerto Ricans and blacks exceeds 33 percent. Non-whites perceive their place of residence to be situated in non-white neighborhoods. However, this view varies in relation to Puerto Ricans and blacks. 71 percent of the total non-whites see their neighborhood as being 33 percent or more black, while only 17 percent see their neighborhood as being 33 percent or more Puerto Rican. These views as expressed by whites as well as by non-whites show that the respondents see their neighborhoods as being racially segregated. This image describes neighborhoods where daily social contacts between whites and non-whites is minimal. As a result the possibility arises that white respon-

dents who do not have these contacts may not develop negative attitudes toward blacks and Puerto Ricans.

In Table 6.35, the relationship between the percent of whites who intend to move and their view of the racial makeup of their neighborhood is presented.

TABLE 6.35

Perceptions of Whites of the Percent of Non-Whites Residing
in Their Neighborhood by the Intention to Move

	% Whites Who Intend to Move		
	<u>0%</u>	<u>1-30%</u>	<u>31%+</u>
Percent black in the neighborhood	55% (68)	63% (253)	79% (28)
Percent Puerto Rican in neighborhood	44% (94)	64% (329)	80% (25)

There is clearly a pronounced difference in the **intent** to move between respondents who feel that no blacks or Puerto Ricans live in the neighborhood and those white respondents who state that large numbers of non-whites live in the neighborhood. The difference becomes greater as people feel that the percent of non-whites in their neighborhood is above 30 percent. Goering (1978: 76) states that "the desire to move cannot be taken as the sole evidence for the inevitable and necessary tipping of a neighborhood...The threat of a white exodus, no matter how intimidating, may be based on nothing more than the frustrations or fantasies of many aspiring movers." True, the intent to

move by itself is not an indication of a neighborhood being tipped from white to non-white, but the combination of people's perceptions of the percent of non-whites in their neighborhood with the wish to move show signs of racial tipping. Moreover, the changes that take place in the neighborhood as a result of the incoming blacks regardless of their actual numbers may force the white residents to relocate. One of the social problems that is associated with resident perceptions about non-whites residing in their neighborhoods is crime. Ginsberg (1975) found that people will state that crime has increased when they perceive that the percent of blacks in their neighborhood has increased. In Table 6.36, the respondents' perceptions of the percent of non-whites in their neighborhood is cross-tabulated with the question which deals with an increase in crime rates in the neighborhood over the past two years.

TABLE 6.36

Perception of Crime Rates by the Perceived View of the Percent of Puerto Ricans in the Neighborhood¹⁹

<u>INCREASE IN CRIME RATES</u>	<u>% PUERTO RICANS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD</u>		
	<u>0%</u>	<u>1%-32%</u>	<u>33%+</u>
No	57%	32%	27%
Yes	43	68	73
TOTAL	100% (101)	100% (379)	100% (45)

The results of Table 6.36 indicate that those respondents who perceive an increase in Puerto Ricans also perceive an increase in crime in

the last two years. The next table also shows that as the perception of blacks in the neighborhood increases, so does perception of increased crime.

TABLE 6.37

Perception of Crime Rates by the Perceived View
of the Percent of Blacks in the Neighborhood²⁰

<u>INCREASE IN CRIME RATES</u>	<u>% BLACKS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD</u>		
	<u>0%</u>	<u>1%-32%</u>	<u>33%+</u>
No	49%	31%	26%
Yes	51	69	74
TOTAL	100% (176)	100% (268)	100% (81)

A loss in the old residents' sense of belonging to their community is another change that communities experiencing racial transition undergo. Ginsberg found that the changes which occurred in Mattapan, Boston as blacks started moving in were so strong that the Jews lost their sense of community and belonging to the neighborhood and this in turn pushed them to relocate.

"The boarded up stores are not the only indication of the disappearance of the Jewish neighborhood. The various synagogues in the area symbolized even more strongly the fact that the Jewish neighborhood had disappeared than the fact that the synagogues had closed down." (106)

With the relocation of other Jewish organizations, the residents claimed that the Jewish character of the neighborhood had disappeared.

In this study, the respondents were asked how much they feel that their neighborhood has changed in the past few years.²¹

TABLE 6.38

The Intention to Move by Neighborhood Change

	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Fairly Much</u>	<u>Not Too Much</u>	<u>Not Much At All</u>
Short term	33%	19%	10%	13%
Long term	47	50	39	27
Non-movers	20	31	51	60
TOTAL:	100% (142)	100% (160)	100% (97)	100% (15)

The results in Table 6.38 support Ginsberg's findings that people who feel or experience changes in their neighborhood will be most likely to move. With regard to moving, a 40 percentage point difference exists between individuals who say their neighborhood has changed very much and those who say it has not changed. To find out whether or not the presence of blacks and/or Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood relates to changes in the neighborhood, the perceived view of the respondents about the percent of non-whites in the neighborhood is presented in Table 6.39 in relation to neighborhood changes.

TABLE 6.39

The Perceived View of the Percentage of Puerto Ricans
and Blacks in the Neighborhood by the Respondents'
View that the Neighborhood Changed Very Much

	<u>0%</u>	<u>1-32%</u>	<u>32%+</u>
Puerto Ricans ²²	22% (67)	33% (348)	67% (43)
Blacks ²³	22% (132)	35% (252)	55% (74)

The results show that as the perceived percent of non-whites in the neighborhood increases, the percent of respondents who stated that the neighborhood changed also increases very much. However, when this relationship is controlled by whether or not people want to move very little relationship exists.

SUMMARY

Whites and non-whites alike want to move from their present place of residence to other areas within the city's boundaries, to the suburbs of New York City and out of New York State. Non-whites show they are only slightly more inclined to relocate within the city while whites tend to want to move to the suburbs. This pattern of intended move does not support the commonly held view that the city will become completely black and Puerto Rican. In fact, whites are less likely than non-whites to be anxious to move. The population studied is divided almost 50/50 between those who agree and those who disagree that New York City will soon become all black and Puerto Rican. For both whites and

non-whites, this issue has little bearing on the intention to move. However, among the respondents who agree strongly that the city will become black and Puerto Rican, non-whites more than whites want to move. Respondents of the two races seem to exhibit different reasons for wanting to move and their plans to move seem to take place under different circumstances. The plans to move of whites as opposed to non-whites are related to their level of attachment to their neighborhood, while the concern of non-whites seems to be more in line with the fact that others in the neighborhood are not attached to it. The results also show that non-whites who live in the same place for less than 10 years are more likely to move than any other group.

Another distinct difference between whites and non-whites is that the plans to move of whites vary with educational achievement, income and occupation. Among non-whites, variation exists only in relation to occupation. The intent to move is highest in relation to employment status in white households where both spouses work. Among non-whites, the intent to move is highest among those who are not part of the working force.

Prejudice against blacks and Puerto Ricans among the white respondents is limited to a small number. The respondents state that they accept non-whites into their neighborhoods and have positive feelings about them. However, the intention to move among whites correlates with their perception of the percent of blacks and Puerto Ricans in their neighborhood. The percent of whites who want to move increases as the perceived

percent of non-whites in the neighborhood increases to 32%. Whites who want to move also expressed their agreement with the statement that the presence of blacks and Puerto Ricans in their neighborhoods is associated with the decline of the neighborhood.

FOOTNOTES

1. Y.D. Dlugacz...The Neighborhoods are Grand-Concourse and Wakefield in the Bronx; East New York, Bushwick and Crown Heights in Brooklyn; Jackson Heights in Queens; and Washington Heights in Manhattan.
2. Mobility status is defined as: "The population of 2 years old and over was classified according to mobility status on the basis of a comparison between the place of residence of each individual at the time of the March 1977 survey and the place of residence 2 years earlier. Non-movers are all persons who were living in the same house at the end of the period as at the beginning of the period."
Household: A household consists of all the persons who occupy a housing unit.
3. Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusettes, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont.
4. $CHI^2 = 10.86837$, $DF = 2$, Significance = .0044
5. 48 people who stated that they do not know where they want to move were treated as missing values.
6. Arthur J. Naperstek and Gale Cincotta. "Urban Disinvestment: New Implications for Community Organization, Research, and Public Policy." A joint publication of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs and the National Training and Information Center.
7. Scores of school busing index distributes as follows:

<u>VALUE</u>	<u>SCORE</u>	
Agree that busing is bad	4-7	52%
Agree with reservation	8-11	30
Disagree	12-16	18
TOTAL:		100% (496)
8. $CHI^2 = 2.08$, $DF = 2$, Significance = .35
9. The statements were recorded by the interviewers in response to an open-ended question: "Why do you think you will move?"
10. $CHI^2 = 50,259$, $DF = 4$, Significance = .0000
11. $CHI^2 = 60.743$, $DF = 4$, Significance = .0000
12. $CHI^2 = 71.063$, $DF = 4$, Significance = .0000
13. $CHI^2 = 13.793$, $DF = 6$, Significance = .032
14. $CHI^2 = 21.247$, $DF = 4$, Significance = .0003

15. For more detailed analysis, see John M. Goering's White Flight/Black Flight: The Dilemmas of Urban Change in Cities Like New York, unpublished, 1978.
16. $\text{CHI}^2=171.201$, DF = 2, Significance = .0000
17. $\text{CHI}^2=20.606$, DF = 2, Significance = .0000
18. $\text{CHI}^2=206.652$, DF = 3, Significance = .0000
19. $\text{CHI}^2=23.975$, DF = 2, Significance = .0000
20. $\text{CHI}^2=20.329$, DF = 3, Significance = .0001
21. "How much do you feel your neighborhood has changed in the past few years--would you say it has changed very much, fairly much, not too much, or not much at all?"
22. $\text{CHI}^2 = 33.182$, DF = 6, Significance = .0000
23. $\text{CHI}^2 = 28.867$, DF = 9, Significance = .0007

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This study has focused on the dynamics of residential relocation in six New York City neighborhoods with an emphasis on the question of why white as well as non-white families want to move. It was found that 57 percent of a total population of 621 stated their intention to move. Of these, 26 percent want to relocate within the city, 18 percent want to move to the suburbs, and 42 percent want to move out of state.

Hacker (1975: 140) has presented evidence that the desire to move among city dwellers is high. His evidence is based on a Gallup survey conducted in 1972 which showed that only 20 percent of the nation's city dwellers list their present location as their first choice.

"...it would appear that almost half of all New Yorkers want to move. Some already have plans underway; others cannot afford to move or are unsure of the reception they might receive elsewhere...Many residents remark: 'I would be happy to remain in New York if only...'"

Hacker furthermore states that the large numbers of people who wish to move leads to high turnover in the city population. He points out that in 1950, 144 out of 1,000 Americans resided in one or another of the nations ten largest cities, while by 1970 only 104 of every 1,000 did so.

In 1974, a survey conducted for the New York Times reported that 54 percent of New Yorkers stated that they stayed in the city not because they wanted to, but out of economic necessity.

John Lindsay¹ in the 1950's remarked that "we Americans do not like our cities very much". However, in this study, the results indicate that New York City residents do like the city and when they decide to move, they are pushed by other factors than dislike of New York. 63 percent of the respondents in this study agreed with the statement that: "New York is still the greatest place in the world to live".

The answer to the question why families want to move from New York City is examined throughout the analysis here in five major sections: (1) housing needs; (2) economic conditions; (3) family composition; (4) physical/social conditions of the neighborhood; and (5) race and prejudice. To summarize the results: Those who want to move are young (17-36 years of age), single or families with children. Non-whites as well as whites want to move, with non-whites slightly more inclined to state their intent to move. The decision to move was expressed as a function of dissatisfaction with space and housing conditions among large households and renters. Surprisingly, homeowners who are satisfied with their amount of space want to move. Housing needs change as family size changes and as the family becomes more sensitive to the social and physical environment provided by the neighborhood. Crime, physical deterioration and lack of social ties were found to be correlated with the intent to move. A decline in city services to a neighborhood affects only a small portion of the sample. This decline is not strongly correlated with the intent to

move. Among respondents who had lived in the same neighborhood for a long period of time and among respondents who felt that they are part of the neighborhood, the inclination to stay is high. Renters and people who had resided in one place for only a short time want to move.

The racial composition of the neighborhood also influences the intent to move. The results show that respondents who claim that non-whites constitute over 30 percent of the total population of their neighborhood want to move.

Some respondents who feel that their neighborhood has changed want to relocate. 75 percent of the respondents agree that their neighborhood has undergone some degree of change in recent years. However, only 27 percent stated that these changes have bothered them to the extent that it is necessary to move. Some of the statements about neighborhood change taken from the respondents associate neighborhood change with increases in crime, mugging, burglary, rundown houses, absentee landlords and poor schools. As one respondent stated: "The neighborhood is deteriorating quickly; I want to split before it happens."

Positive and negative attitudes towards blacks and Puerto Ricans were found not to be associated with the intent to move. Both whites and non-whites agree that they can live in peace near one another. At times whites as well as non-whites want to move when they have experienced a great deal of racial trouble in their neighborhood.

Income, education and occupation were found to differently affect respondents of both races. Occupation is the only item that correlates

with the intent to move across races. Black professionals want to move more than any other occupational groups. It was also found that the unemployed and those who seek work among the non-whites want to move. Whites are found to be influenced by all three factors that describe social economic status. Professional whites, whites who earn high income and whites with college education, want to move. Respondents across races with low education, low income, who are skilled, unemployed or retired, are the least likely to state their intent to move. Households where both spouses work are the most inclined to move.

In general, this study has focused on "who" wants to move and factors that are associated with why. The results in this study also show in general terms where people want to move. Three major destinations were found to be mentioned by the respondents: other neighborhoods within New York City, the suburbs and areas out of state. Unfortunately, the study was not designed to look at the factors which attract people to move. Some people stated that they want to move to a relaxed and safe area such as Florida. Respondents also stated that they were searching for another life-style in the suburbs. The suburbs they hope will provide them with clean streets, the opportunity to use a car, a driveway, "no dog shit", "no hustle-bustle of public transportation" and quiet surroundings.

Ideas for Future Studies

A more elaborate analysis of the type of "pull" factors mentioned above would further add to our understanding of why people move. Items

which would describe where people want to move and why they have chosen a particular location should be examined.

Further work should furthermore develop categories of movers to discriminate between those who state their intent to move and those who have actually looked for new homes and perhaps even those who have thoroughly investigated the characteristics of a new neighborhood. This study has already shown that a difference exists between respondents who are anxious to move soon and those who plan to move at some future date. Along these lines, it would also be worthwhile to study how the cost of moving influences the timing of a move.

Another area for future work would be the study of repeated mobility. Some of the respondents have moved to their present dwellings and plan to move again not necessarily by choice, but because of environmental and social factors. One respondent stated that he had recently moved from Bushwick and would soon have to move again because the situation in his present neighborhood was going "down-hill". Up to now, studies which have dealt with repeated mobility have only explained it in terms of family life cycle.

This study concentrated on the first phase of residential mobility --the intent to move. The examination of this phase has added to the understanding of high rates of residential mobility in New York City. The analysis also showed that both whites and non-whites want to move. This finding challenges the view that the city will become all non-white, and lends further support to the need for more research on the causes and effects of urban mobility.

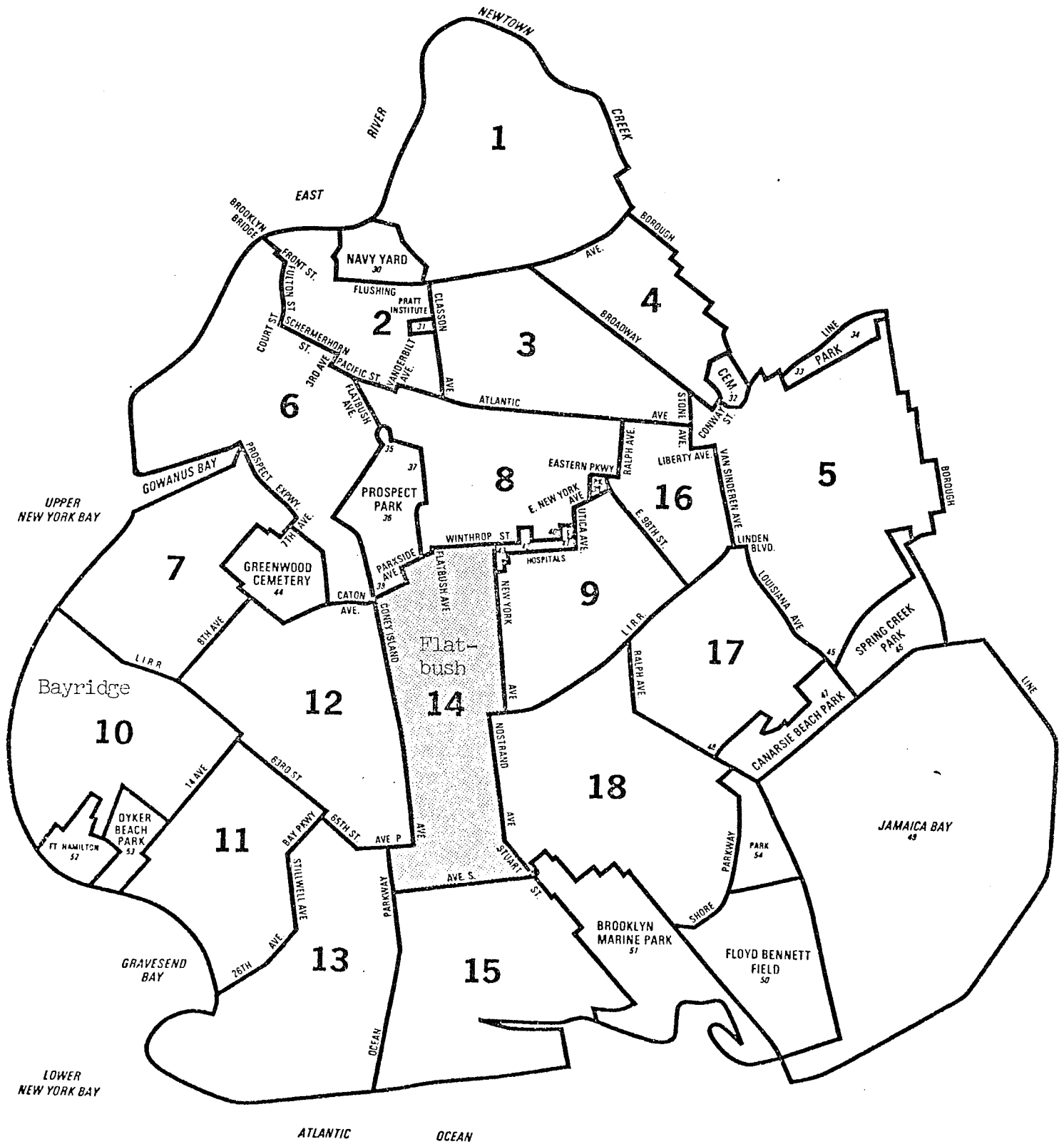
FOOTNOTES

1. In Andrew Hacker's The New Yorkers, N.Y., Mason/Charter, 1975, p. 141.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF BROOKLYN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 14

BROOKLYN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 14



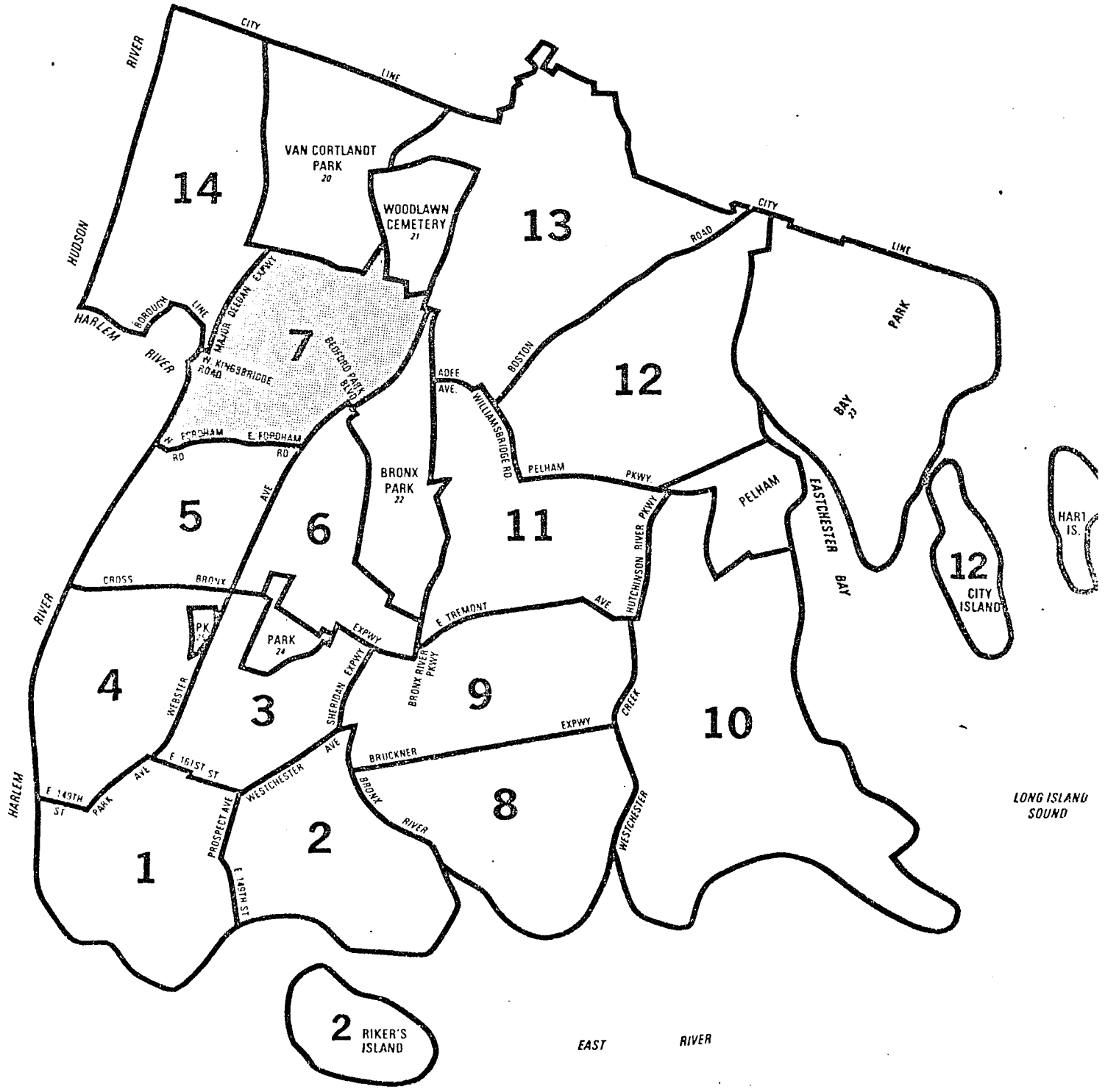
APPENDIX B

MAP OF QUEENS COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 9

APPENDIX C

MAP OF THE BRONX COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 7

BRONX COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 7



107/10-73

APPENDIX D
QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, I'm _____ from the City University. We have been asked by _____ to study various neighborhoods in New York City. Could I please have a few minutes of your time to ask you some questions about your neighborhood and what it is like for you to live there?

1. Do people around here have a special name for this neighborhood? Yes..... Ask Q. 2
No..... Go to Q. 3
Don't Know...

2. What is that? _____

3. How long have you been living in this neighborhood? Include the time you have lived at this address and any other time you have lived in the neighborhood. _____ years

IF ANSWER TO Q. 3 IS NOT "ALL OF RESPONDENTS LIFE", ASK:

4. Where were you living immediately before this? _____

5. Thinking back _____ years, what in particular was it that attracted you to this neighborhood? Anything else?

6. Do you think you will ever move from this neighborhood? Yes..... Ask Q. 7a
No..... Go to Q. 8
Don't Know...

7a. When do you think you will move from this neighborhood?

- b. Where do you think you will move from here? Other place in boro..... 1
Other place in N.Y.C.... 2
New York City suburb.... 3
Other _____ 4
(specify)
Don't know.....
Not applicable.....

c. Why do you think you will move? Anything else?

HAND RESPONDENT CARD A

IF RESPONDENT HAS LIVED IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD 5 OR MORE YEARS (SEE Q. 3)

ASK QUESTION ON RIGHT.

IF RESPONDENT HAS LIVED IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD LESS THAN 5 YEARS (SEE Q. 3)

ASK QUESTION ON LEFT.

LESS THAN 5 YEARS

5 OR MORE YEARS

8a. Think back to when you first moved here. Which of the words on this card best describes what kind of neighborhood you thought this was to live in at that time?

Very desirable..... 1
Fairly desirable..... 2
Not too desirable..... 3
Not desirable at all..... 4
Don't know.....

8b. Think back 5 years. Which of the words on this card best describes what kind of neighborhood you think this was five years ago?

Very desirable..... 1
Fairly desirable..... 2
Not too desirable..... 3
Not desirable at all..... 4
Don't know.....

9. What about today? Which of the words on this card best describe what kind of neighborhood you think this is to live in today?

Very desirable..... 1
Fairly desirable..... 2
Not too desirable..... 3
Not desirable at all..... 4
Don't know.....

IF ANSWERS TO Q. 8 & Q. 9 ARE DIFFERENT, ASK Q. 10.

IF ANSWERS TO Q. 8 & Q. 9 ARE THE SAME, SKIP TO Q. 11.

10. What in particular caused you to change your mind from thinking this was a _____ neighborhood to a (n) _____ neighborhood?

11. In general, how much do people in this neighborhood feel that they are part of this community here -- would you say that they feel they are very much a part of this community, fairly much, not too much or not a part of this community at all?

Very much part of this community..... 1
Fairly much part of this community..... 2
Not too much a part of this community..... 3
Not part of this community at all..... 4
Don't know.....

12. What about yourself? How much do you feel you are part of this community -- would you say you feel very much a part of this community, fairly much a part of this community, not too much a part of this community, or not a part of this community at all?	Very much part of this community..... 1 Fairly much part of this community..... 2 Not too much a part of this community..... 3 Not part of this community at all..... 4 Don't know.....
---	---

IF RESPONDENT HAS LIVED IN NEIGHBORHOOD 5 YEARS OR MORE (SEE Q. 3),
ASK Q. 13.

IF RESPONDENT HAS LIVED IN NEIGHBORHOOD LESS THAN 5 YEARS (SEE Q. 3),
SKIP TO Q. 15.

13a. Do you think your feelings about being a part of this community are different now than they were <u>5</u> years ago?	Yes, different..... 1 Ask Q. 13b No, not different... Go to Q. 14 Don't know.....
---	---

b. How would you say they are different -- would you say you now feel more part of this community or less part of this community than you did a few years ago?	More..... Same..... Less..... Don't know.....
--	--

14a. In general, once people move into this neighborhood, do they tend to stay for a long time or do they tend to move in and then move out quickly?	Tend to stay for a long time..... 1 Some of each..... 2 Tend to move in and move out quickly.... 3 Don't know.....
--	---

b. How many families do you think have moved into this neighborhood in the past year -- would you say very many new families have moved into this neighborhood, fairly many, not too many, or not many at all have moved into this neighborhood in the past year?	Very many..... 1 Fairly many..... 2 Not too many..... 3 Not many at all..... 4 Don't know.....
---	--

15. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your house/apartment. Do you own or rent this house/apartment? Own..... 1 SKIP TO Q. 19
 Rent..... ASK Q. 27

RENTERS

16. About how much rent do you pay for this house/apartment each month--excluding utilities? _____
17. Do you feel this amount of rent is too much, about right, or too little for this house/apartment? Too much..... 1
 About right..... 2
 Too little..... 3
 Don't know.....
18. Is this house/apartment rent controlled? Yes..... 1 GO TO Q. 24
 No.....

OWNERS

19. Are you still making mortgage payments on this home? Yes..... ASK Q. 20
 No..... SKIP TO Q. 22
 Don't know...
20. About how much are these payments each month? \$ _____
21. Which bank owns the mortgage for this home? _____
22. Do you think the value of your home has increased, stayed the same, or decreased in the last few years? Increased..... 1
 Same..... 2
 Decreased..... 3
 Don't know.....

23. If you moved, how easy do you think it would be to get a new mortgage-- do you think it would be very easy, fairly easy, not too easy, or not easy at all to get a new mortgage?	Very easy..... 1 Fairly easy..... 2 Not too easy..... 3 Not easy at all.... 4 Don't know.....
--	---

ALL RESPONDENTS

24. How many people live in this particular household -- include those who are related to you and those who are not? (BE CAREFUL THAT RESPONDENT DOES NOT INCLUDE RELATIVES, ETC., WHO ARE ACTUALLY TENANTS OR OWNERS BUT WHO LIVE IN SEPARATE HOUSEHOLD)	One..... 1 Two..... 2 Three..... 3 Four..... 4 Five..... 5 Six..... 6 Seven..... 7 Eight..... 8 12 or more.... 9
---	--

25. What is their relationship to you?	Husband..... 1 Wife..... 2 Sons..... 3 Daughters..... 4 Mother..... 5 Father..... 6 Mother-in-law..... 7 Father-in-law..... 8 Other: (specify)
--	--

HAND RESPONDENT CARD B.

27. I'm going to ready you a list of phrases that describe various aspects of your housing. For each one I read, I'd like you to read off the phrase on this card which best describes how satisfied you are with each of these things--are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not satisfied at all? Let's begin with:

	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Fairly Satisfied</u>	<u>Not too Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied at all</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
The amount of room in your house/ apartment?	1	2	3	4	
The amount of privacy?	1	2	3	4	
The amount of closet space?	1	2	3	4	
Heating?	1	2	3	4	
The wiring?	1	2	3	4	
The amount of air and sunlight?	1	2	3	4	
The amount of street noise?	1	2	3	4	
The amount of open space around the house/apartment building?	1	2	3	4	
FOR RENTERS ONLY					
The way things are kept up around the house/apartment building?	1	2	3	4	
The way management takes care of any complaints you have?	1	2	3	4	
The way others in the neighborhood take care of their property?	1	2	3	4	
Safety of your house/apartment from burglars?	1	2	3	4	

HAND RESPONDENT CARD B.

27. Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with the housing you and your family now have--would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied or not satisfied at all?

Very satisfied.....	1
Fairly satisfied.....	2
Not too satisfied.....	3
Not satisfied at all...	4
Don't know.....	

28. IF RESPONDENT RENTS (SEE Q. 15), ASK Q. 28.

Would you be interested in owning a house or apartment in this neighborhood?

Yes.....	1
No.....	2
Don't Know....	

HAND RESPONDENT CARD C.

29a. I'm going to read you a list of activities or jobs that many people carry out on a regular basis. I'd like to read the phrase on this card which best describes where you most frequently carry out this activity. Let's begin with grocery shopping.

HAND RESPONDENT CARD D. FOR EACH ITEM "DONE" IN Q. 29a., ASK b AND c.

b. Now I'm going to read the same list again, and I'd like you to read off the phrase which best describes how you usually get to and from these activities. Let's begin again with grocery shopping.

	Within a few blocks	Neigh- borhood	Outside Neigh- borhood	Don't do this	Don't Know	Walk	Public Trans- portation	Drive	Driven or Cab	Don't Know
Grocery Shopping	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Clothes Shopping	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Shopping for major house- hold items such as fur- niture & appliances	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Shopping for small house- hold items	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Visiting the doctor or going to a clinic	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Attending religious services	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Recreational activities	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Work	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	
Socializing with people (friends & relatives)	1	2	3			1	2	3	4	

HAND RESPONDENT CARD B.

29c. I'm going to read the same list once again. This time I'd like you to tell me how satisfied you are with how near your house is to the place where you usually do these things--are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not satisfied at all. Let's begin with:

	Very Satis- fied	Fairly Satis- fied	Not Too Satis- fied	Not Satis- fied at All	Don't Know
Nearness to:					
Grocery shopping	1	2	3	4	
Clothes shopping	1	2	3	4	
Shopping for major house- hold items such as fur- niture & appliances	1	2	3	4	
Shopping for small house- hold items	1	2	3	4	
Doctor or clinic	1	2	3	4	
Church or synagogue	1	2	3	4	
Recreational activities	1	2	3	4	
Work	1	2	3	4	
Friends & Relatives	1	2	3	4	

END CARD 1;
BEGIN CARD 2

HAND RESPONDENT CARD E.

30. I'm going to read you a list of services that may or may not be available in your neighborhood. For each one I read, I'd like you to tell me which phrase on this card best describes the way that service is performed in your neighborhood.

	Very Good	Fairly Good	Not Too Good	Not Good at All	Does not Exist	Don't Know
Collection of rubbish and garbage	1	2	3	4	5	
Cleaning of streets	1	2	3	4	5	
Fire protection	1	2	3	4	5	
Police protection	1	2	3	4	5	
Housing inspection and code enforcement	1	2	3	4	5	
Enforcement of rent control laws	1	2	3	4	5	
Availability of parks	1	2	3	4	5	
Safety of parks	1	2	3	4	5	
Number of schools in area	1	2	3	4	5	
Quality of education in public schools	1	2	3	4	5	
Health facilities in the area	1	2	3	4	5	
Program for drug addicts	1	2	3	4	5	
Recreational facilities	1	2	3	4	5	
Day care facilities	1	2	3	4	5	
Street parking	1	2	3	4	5	
Public transportation	1	2	3	4	5	

31. In general, how do you think the quality of these services now compare with their quality 2 years ago —would you say these services have improved or gotten worse in the past 2 years?

Improved..... 1
Stayed the same... 2
Gotten worse..... 3
Don't know.....

HAND RESPONDENT CARD F.

32. Other people we have talked to have mentioned various things that are problems in their neighborhood. In some neighborhoods these things are problems, in others they are not. For each thing I mention, I'd like you to tell me whether you think this is a serious problem in your neighborhood, a problem but not a serious one, or not a problem in your neighborhood at all.

	Very Serious Problem	Fairly Serious Problem	Not Too Serious a Problem	Not a Problem at all	Don't Know
Drug addicts in the neighborhood	1	2	3	4	
Teen-age gangs	1	2	3	4	
Crime in the street	1	2	3	4	
Dirty streets and sidewalks	1	2	3	4	
Alcoholics in the streets	1	2	3	4	
Abandoned houses	1	2	3	4	
Panhandling	1	2	3	4	
Discipline in the schools	1	2	3	4	
Inconsiderate neighbors	1	2	3	4	
Rundown houses	1	2	3	4	
Welfare families in the neighborhood	1	2	3	4	
Burglary of homes and apartments	1	2	3	4	

33. How safe do you think it is for you to walk in the streets of this neighborhood at night alone--would you say it is very safe, fairly safe, not too safe at all for you to walk in the streets of this neighborhood at night?

Very safe.....	1
Fairly safe.....	2
Not too safe.....	3
Not safe at all...	4
Don't know.....	

34. As far as you know, has there been any increase in the incidence of crimes--in this neighborhood in the past 2 years?

Yes.....	1
No.....	
Don't Know.....	

35. Now I'd like to know a little about some of the organizations you may belong to. Do you belong to any organizations, groups or clubs--either in this neighborhood or outside of this neighborhood?

Yes..... 1 ASK Q 36a
 No..... > GO TO Q 37
 Don't know.....

36a. Please tell me the name of each organization you belong to. IF ORGANIZATION DOES NOT HAVE A NAME, ASK: What type of organization is it? RECORD BELOW.

b. IF MORE THAN ONE ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN Q. 36a, ASK: Which of these organizations are you most active in?

c. FOR ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN Q. 36b, ASK c-h: Does this organization draw most of its membership from within this neighborhood or from outside of this neighborhood?

Within..... 1
 Outside.....
 Don't know.....

d. How frequently do you attend meetings of this group--would you say you attend meetings regularly, not regularly but most of the time, about half of the time, only occasionally, or never?

Regularly..... 1
 Most of the time.... 2
 Half of the time.... 3
 Occasionally..... 4
 Never..... 5
 Don't know.....

e. Have you been an officer in this organization within the last two years?

Yes..... 1
 No.....
 Don't know.....

f. IF NOT OBVIOUS: Is this group or organization connected with a church or temple?

Yes..... 1
 No.....
 Don't know.....

g. Does this group or organization do any work with local problems?

Yes..... 1
 No.....
 Don't know.....

h. What kinds of problems is this particular group dealing with?

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT MARRIED, GO TO Q. 39.

37. Does your husband/wife belong to any organizations, groups or clubs-- either in this neighborhood or outside of this neighborhood?

Yes..... 1 ASK Q. 38a
No..... > GO TO Q. 39
Don't know.....

38a. Please tell me the name of each organization he/she belongs to. IF ORGANIZATION DOES NOT HAVE A NAME, ASK: What type of organization is it? RECORD BELOW.

b. IF MORE THAN ONE ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN Q. 38a, ASK: Which of these organizations is he/she most active in?

c. FOR ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN Q. 38b, ASK c-h: Does this organization draw most of its membership from within this neighborhood or from outside of this neighborhood

Without..... 1
Outside.....
Don't Know.....

d. How frequently does he/she attend the meetings of this group--would you say he/she attends meetings regularly, not regularly but most of the time, about half of the time, only occasionally, or never?

Regularly..... 1
Most of the time... 2
Half of the time... 3
Occasionally..... 4
Never..... 5
Don't know.....

e. Has he/she been an officer in this organization within the last two years?

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know.....

f. IF NOT OBVIOUS: Is this group or organization connected with a church or temple?

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know.....

g. Does this group or organization do any work with local problems?

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know.....

h. What kinds of problems is this particular group dealing with?

39. Other than the organization or group you just mentioned, do you know of any other local organizations or groups in this area that are trying to deal with local problems?

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know.....

Now I'd like to talk to you about changes that may have been taking place in this neighborhood.

40. Do you think your neighborhood has undergone any change in recent years?

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know.....

41. How much do you feel your neighborhood has changed in the past few years--would you say it has changed very much, fairly much, not too much, or not much at all?

Very much..... 1
Fairly much.... 2
Not too much... 3
Not much at all 4
Don't know.....

42. How much have the changes that have been going on in this neighborhood bothered you personally--would you say they have bothered you a great deal, fairly much, not too much, or not at all?

A great deal... 1
Fairly much.... 2
Not too much... 3
Not at all..... 4
Don't know.....

43. Have these changes bothered you enough to make you want to move from this neighborhood?

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know.....

44. Are any members of racial or ethnic groups other than your own moving into this neighborhood?

Yes..... 1 ASK Q. 45
No..... > GO TO Q. 47a
Don't know.....

45. Which racial or ethnic groups are moving into this neighborhood?

- Chinese..... 01
- Greeks..... 02
- Hispanics..... 03
- Italians..... 04
- Irish..... 05
- Negroes..... 06
- Polish..... 07
- Puerto Ricans. 08
- Russians..... 09
- Syrians..... 10
- West Indians.. 11
- Yugoslavians.. 12
- Others

(Please specify)

46. Based on everything you have seen or heard, how many members of these racial or ethnic groups you just mentioned are moving into this neighborhood--would you say that very many members of the racial and ethnic groups you just mentioned have been moving in, fairly many, not too many, or not many at all have been moving into this neighborhood?

- Very many..... 1
- Fairly many... 2
- Not too many.. 3
- Not many at all⁴
- Don't know....

47a. What percentage of your neighborhood would you say is white?

White _____%

b. What percentage is Puerto Rican?

Puerto Rican _____%

c. What percentage is Black?

Black _____%

48. Do you think that any other racial or ethnic groups--other than the ones we have just been talking about--will start moving into this neighborhood?

- Yes..... 1 ASK Q. 49
- No..... > GO TO Q. 50a
- Don't know.....

49. Which of these racial or ethnic groups do you think will move into this neighborhood?

- Chinese..... 01
- Greeks..... 02
- Hispanics..... 03
- Italians..... 04
- Irish..... 05
- Negroes..... 06
- Polish..... 07
- Puerto Ricans.. 08
- Russians..... 09
- Syrians..... 10
- West Indians... 11
- Yugoslavians... 12
- Others

(Please specify)

IF RESPONDENT SAID NO PUERTO RICANS OR BLACKS WILL BE MOVING INTO NEIGHBORHOOD IN NEXT TWO YEARS (SEE Q. 49), ASK Q. 50 ON RIGHT. OTHERS ASK Q. 50 ON LEFT.

YES
BLACKS/PUERTO RICANS

NO
BLACKS/PUERTO RICANS

50a. Are people in this neighborhood doing anything about the fact that Puerto Ricans or Blacks are (might be) moving into this neighborhood?

Do you think people in this neighborhood would do anything if Puerto Ricans or Blacks started moving in? Anything else?

Yes..... 1 ASK b & c
No..... 2 } GO TO Q 51
Don't know... 3

Yes..... 1 ASK b & c
No..... 2 } GO TO Q 51
Don't know... 3

b. What are they doing?

What do you think they would do?

c. Are you participating in this?

Would you participate in this?

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know...

Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know...

IF RESPONDENT SAID NO PUERTO RICANS OR BLACKS WILL BE MOVING INTO NEIGHBORHOOD IN NEXT TWO YEARS (SEE Q. 49), ASK Q. 51 ON RIGHT. OTHERS ASK Q. 51 ON LEFT. (NEXT PAGE)

YES
BLACKS/PUERTO RICANS

NO
BLACKS/PUERTO RICANS

51. How likely is it that other people in this neighborhood are moving out of this neighborhood because Puerto Ricans or Blacks are (might be) moving in--would you say it is very likely, fairly likely, not too likely, or not likely at all that others are moving out because Puerto Ricans or Blacks are (might be) moving in?

Very likely..... 1
Fairly likely..... 2
Not too likely..... 3
Not likely at all... 4
Don't know.....

How likely is it that other people in this neighborhood would move out of this neighborhood if Puerto Ricans or Blacks started moving in--would you say it is very likely, fairly likely, not too likely, or not likely at all that others would move out if Puerto Ricans or Blacks started moving in?

Very likely..... 1
Fairly likely..... 2
Not too likely..... 3
Not likely at all... 4
Don't know.....

52a. How likely would you be to consider giving money or taking part in any organized effort to make this neighborhood a stable, integrated neighborhood--would you be very likely, fairly likely, not too likely or not likely at all to consider giving money or taking part in any organized effort to make this neighborhood a stable, integrated neighborhood?

Very likely..... 1
Fairly likely..... 2
Not too likely..... 3
Not likely at all... 4
Don't know.....

b. How likely would you be to consider giving money or taking part in any organized effort to stop Puerto Ricans or Blacks from moving into this neighborhood--would you be very likely, fairly likely, not too likely, or not likely at all to consider giving money or taking part in any organized effort to stop Puerto Ricans or Blacks from moving into this neighborhood?

Very likely..... 1
Fairly likely..... 2
Not too likely..... 3
Not likely at all... 4
Don't know.....

IF PUERTO RICANS AND/OR BLACKS LIVE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD (SEE Q. 45),
ASK Q. 53. OTHERS GO TO Q. 54.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 53. How much neighborly, friendly visiting would you say goes on in this neighborhood between whites and Puerto Ricans or Blacks who live in this neighborhood--would you say very much, fairly much, not too much, or not much visiting at all goes on between Puerto Ricans or Blacks and whites in this neighborhood? | Very much..... 1
Fairly much..... 2
Not too much..... 3
Not much at all... 4
Don't know..... |
| 54. How much trouble would you say there has been between Puerto Ricans or Blacks and Whites in this neighborhood--would you say there has been very much trouble, fairly much, not too much or no trouble at all between Puerto Ricans or Blacks and Whites in this neighborhood? | Very much..... 1
Fairly much..... 2
Not too much..... 3
No trouble at all. 4
Don't know..... |

HAND RESPONDENT CARD G

I'm going to read you a series of statements about things in your neighborhood and the New York City area. For each one I read, I'd like you to tell me which of the statements on this card best describes how much you agree with the statement. Let's begin with--

	<u>Agree</u> <u>Strongly</u>		<u>Agree</u> <u>with Res-</u> <u>ervations</u>		<u>Disagree</u> <u>with Res-</u> <u>ervations</u>		<u>Disagree</u> <u>strongly</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>
55a. New York City is still the greatest place in the world to live	11	1	2		3		4	
b. The schools in this neighborhood are some of the best in New York City	12	1	2		3		4	
c. Having so many people on Welfare is ruining New York City	13	1	2		3		4	
d. It would make no difference to me if a Puerto Rican family moved onto this block	14	1	2		3		4	
e. City agencies are doing a good job of meeting the needs of this neighborhood	15	1	2		3		4	
f. It would make no difference to me if someone who was much richer than me moved into this block	16	1	2		3		4	
g. Blacks have the right to live wherever they can afford to	17	1	2		3		4	
h. Most people would prefer to live in the suburbs of New York City	18	1	2		3		4	
i. The most important problem facing New York City is to stabilize its neighborhoods	19	1	2		3		4	
j. There is really nothing wrong with using violence to protect your home and family	20	1	2		3		4	

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree with Res- ervations</u>	<u>Disagree with Res- ervations</u>	<u>Disagree strongly</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
55k. It would make no difference to me if a Black family/white family moved onto this block	1	2	3	4	
l. One of the most serious problems facing New York City is the flight of jobs from New York City to the suburbs	21	1	2	3	4
m. Blacks have the right to keep whites from living in their neighborhoods	22	1	2	3	4
n. Racially integrated schools are a good way to give equal education to all New York School children	23	1	2	3	4
o. The city government should just leave the neighborhood alone to solve their own problems	24	1	2	3	4
p. Many people say that Catholics are more willing than Jews to fight to keep their neighborhood as it is	25	1	2	3	4
q. Whenever Puerto Ricans start moving into a neighborhood, the quality of the neighborhood starts going down.	26	1	2	3	4
r. The greatest problem facing most families is the forced bussing of school children	27	1	2	3	4
s. The public schools give children more opportunities than parochial or private schools	28	1	2	3	4
t. It would make no difference to me if someone who was much poorer than me moved onto this block	29	1	2	3	4
u. School busing is a good way to insure equal educational opportunities for all children	30	1	2	3	4

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree With Res- ervations</u>	<u>Disagree with Res- ervations</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
55v. The politicians who run this city don't pay enough attention to the people who live in neighborhoods like this one.	31	1	2	3	4
w. Whites have the right to keep blacks from living in their neighborhood	32	1	2	3	4
x. It would make no difference to me if a white with less income and education than me moved onto this block	33	1	2	3	4
y. Welfare recipients who are able to should have to earn their money rather than just get it	34	1	2	3	4
z. Busing children from one neighborhood to another ruins things for everyone	35	1	2	3	4
aa. Puerto Ricans have the right to live wherever they can afford to	36	1	2	3	4
bb. Black people should stick together to protect their neighborhoods	37	1	2	3	4
cc. The city government favors non-white minorities	38	1	2	3	4
dd. It would make no difference to me if a Puerto Rican with the same income and education as me moved onto this block	39	1	2	3	4
ee. Because of New York City's financial crisis, cutbacks in services are becoming a serious problem in this neighborhood.	40	1	2	3	4

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree with Res- ervations</u>	<u>Disagree with Res- ervations</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
55ff. Blacks and whites can live together peacefully in this neighborhood	41	1	2	3	4
gg. Children just don't learn as much in school these days as they used to	42	1	2	3	4
hh. This city will be all black and Puerto Rican before long	43	1	2	3	4
ii. Good landlords can make a neighborhood a fine place to live	44	1	2	3	4
jj. Whites have the right to keep Puerto Ricans from living in their neighborhood	45	1	2	3	4
kk. It is important for blacks to defend black rights	46	1	2	3	4
ll. Tenant organizations and block organizations are important for making neighborhoods good places to live	47	1	2	3	4
mm. Whites in this city should stay in their neighborhoods and not run away when blacks start moving in	48	1	2	3	4
nn. It would make no difference to me if a black with the same income and education as me moved onto the block	49	1	2	3	4
oo. White people should be more active in integrating neighborhoods	50	1	2	3	4
pp. Our local politicians are doing a good job of taking care of this neighborhood	51	1	2	3	4

	<u>Agree</u> <u>Strongly</u>		<u>Agree</u> <u>with Res-</u> <u>ervations</u>		<u>Disagree</u> <u>with Res-</u> <u>ervations</u>		<u>Disagree</u> <u>Strongly</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>
55qq. Puerto Ricans and whites can live peacefully together in this neighborhood	52	1	2		3		4	
rr. Blacks have the right to keep Puerto Ricans from living in their neighborhoods	53	1	2		3		4	
ss. Whenever Blacks start moving into a neighborhood, the quality of the neighborhood goes down	54	1	2		3		4	
tt. It is important for whites to protect white rights	55	1	2		3		4	
uu. It would make no difference to me if a black moved onto this block	56	1	2		3		4	
vv. If I had friends or relatives who were looking for housing, I would encourage them to move into this neighborhood	57	1	2		3		4	

Now, we'd like to find out a little more about you.

IF MARITAL STATUS IS NOT OBVIOUS FROM PREVIOUS INFORMATION, ASK Q. 56.
OTHER CHECK ANSWER TO Q. 56 AND GO TO Q. 57.

56. Are you presently single, married, widowed, divorced or separated?

Single.....	1
Married.....	2
Widowed.....	3
Divorced.....	4
Separated.....	5

(Please Specify)

57. Where were you born? BE SURE TO GET THE CITY, STATE AND COUNTRY, IF NOT U.S.

City _____
State _____
Country _____

58. What was your age on your last birthday? _____ Years

59. How many years have you lived in New York City? _____ Years

60. What was the highest grade of school you completed? IF TWELVE, ASK: Did you go to college? IF YES: How long?

None.....	00
One.....	01
Two.....	02
Three.....	03
Four.....	04
Five.....	05
Six.....	06
Seven.....	07
Eight.....	08
Nine.....	09
Ten.....	10
Eleven.....	11
Twelve.....	12
One year of college.....	13
Two years of college.....	14
Three years of college...	15
Four years of college.....	16
More than 4 years of college.....	17

61. Are you currently employed? Yes..... 1 ASK Q. 62, THEN GO TO Q. 64
No..... GO TO Q. 63

62a. What type of company or industry do you work in?

b. What kind of work do you do?

GO TO QUESTION 64

63a. Did you ever work? Yes..... 1 ASK Q. 63b
No..... 2 GO TO Q. 63c

b. What kind of work did you do?

c. Are you currently looking for work? Yes..... 1
 No.....
 Don't know..

64a. Do you have a religious preference? Yes..... ASK Q. 64b
 No.....>GO TO Q. 65
 Don't know..

b. What is your religious preference? Protestant..... 1
 Catholic..... 2
 Jewish..... 3
 Other _____
 None.....

HAND RESPONDENT CARD H.

65. On this scale, how would you generally categorize yourself politically? Very conservative... 1
 Conservative..... 2
 Moderate..... 3
 Liberal..... 4
 Very Liberal..... 5
 Don't know.....

IF RESPONDENT IS MARRIED, ASK Q. 66; OTHERS GO TO Q. 76a.

Now we'd like to know a little about your husband/wife.

66. Where was your husband/wife born? City _____
 BE SURE TO GET THE CITY, STATE AND State _____
 COUNTRY, IF NOT U.S. Country _____

67. What was his/her age on his/her last birthday? _____ Years

68. How many years has he/she lived in New York City _____ Years

69. What was the highest grade of school he/she completed? IF TWELVE, ASK: Did he/she go to college? IF YES: How long?

None.....	00
One.....	01
Two.....	02
Three.....	03
Four.....	04
Five.....	05
Six.....	06
Seven.....	07
Eight.....	08
Nine.....	09
Ten.....	10
Eleven.....	11
Twelve.....	12
One year of college.....	13
Two years of college.....	14
Three years of college....	15
Four years of college.....	16
More than undergraduate...	17

70. Is he/she currently employed?

Yes.....	1 ASK Q. 71 & THEN GO TO Q. 73
No.....	GO TO Q. 72a

71a. What type of company or industry does he/she work in?

b. What kind of work does he/she do?

GO TO QUESTION 73a

72a. Did he/she ever work?

Yes.....	1 ASK Q. 72b
No.....	GO TO Q. 73a

b. What kind of work did he/she do?

c. Is he/she currently looking for work?

Yes.....	1
No.....	
Don't know..	

73a. Does he/she have a religious preference? Yes..... ASK Q. 73
 No..... 0
 Don't know.. 0 >GO TO Q. 74

b. What is his/her religious preference? Protestant.. 1
 Catholic.... 2
 Jewish..... 3
 Other

(specify)
 None.....

HAND RESPONDENT CARD H.

74. On this scale, how would he/she generally categorize himself/herself politically? Very conservative... 1
 Conservative..... 2
 Moderate..... 3
 Liberal..... 4
 Very liberal..... 5
 Don't know.....

HAND RESPONDENT CARD I.

76a. Using this card, I'd like you to call off the letter next to the figures which best describe your total family income in 1975 before taxes. IF RESPONDENT SEEMS TO BE HAVING TROUBLE COMPUTING THIS FIGURE, OFFER TO HELP. REMIND RESPONDENT: Remember, any information you give me will be confidential.

	<u>Before Taxes</u>	<u>After Taxes</u>
A	Under \$2000.....01	01
B	\$2000 to 3,999..02	02
C	\$4000 to 5,999..03	03
D	\$6000 to 7,999..04	04
E	\$8000 to 9,999..05	05
F	\$10000 to 12,499 06	06
G	\$12500 to 14,999 07	07
H	\$15000 to 17,455 08	08
I	\$17500 to 19,999 09	09
J	\$20000 to 24,999 10	10
K	\$25000 to 29,999 11	11
L	\$30000 and over 12	12
	Refused.....	
	Don't know.....	

b. How about after taxes. After taxes what was your total family income in 1975?

HAND RESPONDENT CARD J.

75. Which of the phrases on this card best describes your family financial status at the present time?
- | | |
|--|---|
| Very well off..... | 1 |
| Comfortable..... | 2 |
| Just make ends meet, but not comfortable... | 3 |
| Poor; cannot make ends meet, but not desperate | 4 |
| Very poor..... | 5 |
| Refused..... | |
| Don't know..... | |

HAND RESPONDENT CARD K.

77. Using this card, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, lower class, working class or upper class?
- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| Middle class..... | 1 |
| Lower class..... | 2 |
| Working class..... | 3 |
| Upper class..... | 4 |
| Don't know..... | |

78. With what national or ethnic group do you identify?

Africa.....	01	Poland.....	08
American.....	02	Puerto Rico....	09
England & Wales.	03	Russia (USSR)..	10
Germany.....	04	Scandinavia....	11
Greece.....	05	West Indies....	12
Ireland.....	06	Other	
Italy.....	07		

Please specify

79. How important to you is it that you are (Q 78); would you say it is very important, fairly important, not too important, or not important at all?
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Very important..... | 1 |
| Fairly important..... | 2 |
| Not too important..... | 3 |
| Not important at all.. | 4 |
| Don't know..... | |

IF RESPONDENT HAS NO CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME (SEE Q. 25), SKIP TO LAST PAGE. OTHERS CONTINUE WITH Q. 80.

80. We'd like to talk a little about schools now. Earlier you told me you have children. Would you please tell me the ages of your sons and daughters living at home? Let's begin with your sons. What are their ages? What are the ages of your daughters?

SONS	DAUGHTERS
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

	Boys					Girls				
	Q81a NO.	Q81c				Q81b NO.	Q81c			
	PUB	PVT	PAR	OTH	PUB	PVT	PAR	OTH		
Not yet in first grade	___	1	2	3	4	___	1	2	3	4
1-6 grade	___	1	2	3	4	___	1	2	3	4
7-9 grade	___	1	2	3	4	___	1	2	3	4
10-12 grade	___	1	2	3	4	___	1	2	3	4
Special Sch	___	1	2	3	4	___	1	2	3	4

IF RESPONDENT HAS SONS, ASK Q. 81a.

81a. How many of your sons who are living at home are at the following levels of school?
(READ GRADES)

IF RESPONDENT HAS DAUGHTERS, ASK Q. 80b.

No. of children _____

No. of boys.... _____

81b. How many of your daughters who are living at home are at the following levels of school?

No. of girls... _____

FOR EACH CHILD IN SCHOOL, ASK:

81c. Is this a public school, a private school, a parochial school, or some other type of school?

IF RESPONDENT HAS ANY CHILDREN IN PRIVATE/PAROCHIAL SCHOOL, ASK Q. 82;
OTHERS GO TO INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE Q. 83.

82. Why do you send your children to private/parochial school? Any other reasons?

IF RESPONDENT HAS ANY CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOL, ASK Q. 83a AND Q. 83b.
OTHERS GO TO LAST PAGE.

83a. Do you plan to keep your children (who are in public school) in public schools? Yes..... 1
No.....
Don't know..

b. Why do you plan to do this? Any other reasons?

Thank you very much for your time.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____ Date _____

It is possible that we may want to talk to you again about a year from now. If for some reason you have moved, is there someone we could talk to who would know how to reach you? IF YES: Who is this person?

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ANSWERS TO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

SEX: Male..... 1
Female.....

Sampling frame _____

ETHNICITY: White.....
Black.....
Puerto Rican...

HOUSING TYPE: Single Family Home..... 1
Attached House..... 2
Two Family House..... 3
Three or More Family House..... 4
Small Apartment Building (4 fl 25 u).... 5
Medium Sized Apartment Bldg. (5-10
floors, 26-40 units)..... 6
Large Apartment Building..... 7
(11+ floors or 40+ units)

FLOOR APARTMENT IS ON:

One..... 1
Two..... 2
Three..... 3
Four..... 4
Five..... 5
Six..... 6
Seven or more... 7

ELEVATOR: Yes..... 1
No.....

APPENDIX E

TABLES THAT DESCRIBE NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS
IN EACH NEIGHBORHOOD

TABLE 1: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT INDEX BY NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>PHYSICAL CONDITION</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Problem</u>	<u>Not Too Serious A Problem</u>	<u>Not A Prob- lem At All</u>	
Bayridge	18%	37%	45%	100% (100)
North Bronx	25	41	34	100% (92)
Flatbush	58	27	16	100% (97)
Ridgewood	21	28	51	100% (96)
South Ozone	55	25	20	100% (97)
Woodhaven	17	53	30	100% (102)
$\text{CHI}^2 = 98.97$ $\text{DF} = 10$ $\text{Significance} = .0000$				

TABLE 2: PARK INDEX BY NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fairly Good</u>	<u>Not Good</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bayridge	52%	45%	3%	100% (75)
North Bronx	44	49	7	100% (68)
Flatbush	25	46	29	100% (79)
Ridgewood	21	58	21	100% (72)
South Ozone	19	50	31	100% (70)
Woodhaven	52	38	11	100% (85)
$\text{CHI}^2 = 60.31$ $\text{DF} = 10$ $\text{Significance} = .0000$				

TABLE 3: RESPONDENTS PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE INCREASE IN CRIME IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD BY NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>INCREASE IN CRIME</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	
Bayridge	44%	56%	100% (91)
North Bronx	24	76	100% (91)
Flatbush	18	82	100% (91)
Ridgewood	45	55	100% (82)
South Ozone	50	50	100% (84)
Woodhaven	40	60	100% (87)

$\text{CHI}^2 = 31.953$ $\text{DF} = 5$ $\text{Significance} = .0000$

TABLE 4: SCHOOL QUALITY INDEX BY NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fairly Good</u>	<u>Not Good</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bayridge	22%	53%	26%	100% (51)
North Bronx	18	26	55	100% (38)
Flatbush	9	50	41	100% (44)
Ridgewood	28	33	39	100% (36)
South Ozone	44	17	39	100% (52)
Woodhaven	27	47	26	100% (62)

$\text{CHI}^2 = 33.927$ $\text{DF} = 10$ $\text{Significance} = .0002$

TABLE 5: QUALITY OF SERVICES BY NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>SERVICES</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Gotten Worse</u>	
Bayridge	62%	38%	100% (96)
North Bronx	46	54	100% (94)
Flatbush	47	53	100% (95)
Ridgewood	53	47	100% (92)
South Ozone	63	37	100% (95)
Woodhaven	58	42	100% (102)
$CHI^2 = 10.098$			$DF = 5$
Significance = .072			

TABLE 6: HOW MANY NEW-COMERS MOVED INTO THE NEIGHBORHOOD LAST YEAR BY NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>NEW-COMERS</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Very Many</u>	<u>Fairly Many</u>	<u>Not Too Many</u>	<u>Not Many At All</u>	
Bayridge	17%	22%	43%	18%	100% (88)
North Bronx	35	41	18	9	100% (74)
Flatbush	46	32	17	6	100% (54)
Ridgewood	19	33	24	23	100% (86)
South Ozone	18	29	34	18	100% (93)
Woodhaven	10	34	44	12	100% (89)
$CHI^2 = 62.463$			$DF = 15$	Significance = .0000	

TABLE 7: TROUBLE BETWEEN WHITES
AND PUERTO RICANS AND BLACKS

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>TROUBLE</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Fairly Much</u>	<u>Not Too Much</u>	
Bayridge	2%	1%	97%	100% (91)
North Bronx	7	13	81	100% (93)
Flatbush	14	17	69	100% (92)
Ridgewood	2	3	95	100% (91)
South Ozone	1	8	91	100% (92)
Woodhaven	4	7	88	100% (94)

CHI² = 47.158 DF = 10 Significance = .0000

TABLE 8: WHAT KIND OF NEIGHBORHOOD
TODAY BY NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Fairly</u>	<u>Not Too</u>	<u>Not Desir-</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Desirable</u>	<u>Desirable</u>	<u>Desirable</u>	<u>able At All</u>	
Bayridge	36%	52%	7%	5%	100% (102)
North Bronx	10	39	36	16	100% (101)
Flatbush	11	33	34	22	100% (100)
Ridgewood	14	54	23	9	100% (99)
South Ozone	18	48	25	9	100% (103)
Woodhaven	29	57	14	0	100% (104)

CHI² = 96.734 DF = 15 Significance = .000

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