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**PATTERNS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG TENANTS IN URBAN
AGE-SEGREGATED PUBLIC HOUSING**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1982

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PATTERNS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG TENANTS
IN URBAN AGE-SEGREGATED PUBLIC HOUSING

by

LINDA B. LEWIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1982

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

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW AND OBJECTIVES

Housing specifically designated for older people is increasingly regarded as one viable residential alternative for America's burgeoning aging population. Among older people the need for adequate housing is particularly great for the urban poor and minority groups (Lawton, 1975; New York State Office on Aging, 1972). In addition to providing good quality housing at rents that residents can afford, and special design features intended to compensate for declining physical capacities of aging tenant populations, publicly-sponsored residential settings are regarded by some gerontologists as one means of enhancing the informal social support networks of older people (Carp, 1966, 1975; Hochschild, 1973; Rosow, 1967, 1974). Design guidelines for such housing typically include recommendations for promoting social interaction. Space for senior centers; small community lounges and balconies on residential floors; a configuration of corridors; elevators and entrances which require tenants to use common pathways; and seating in well-trafficked areas such as outdoor spaces adjacent to entry doors and in main lobbies are cited as means to this end (Carp, 1966; Lawton, 1975, 1980; Rosen, 1971). It has been suggested that buildings that are designed to maximize the probability that tenants will meet as they go about their daily activities, and that offer community areas which invite informal conversations and formal group activities will

facilitate casual encounters which in turn may lead to more intensive social relationships.

While meticulous care has been given to architectural planning with the intent of facilitating social contact, comparatively little attention has been directed to the composition of tenant populations, despite its obvious relevance to social relationships among neighbors. When the impact of resident composition on levels of social interaction has been considered, discussions have focused on questions relating to homogeneity or heterogeneity of such personal characteristics as age, income, physical and mental health status, national origin and race. Nevertheless, the relative merits of homogeneity or heterogeneity of tenant populations in public housing remain a matter of debate among researchers and planners concerned with housing for the aged (Lawton, 1970, 1976). Perhaps the principal reason for this continuing debate is the fact that with the exception of the effects of age-mix, there is little empirical research that has examined the issue in a comprehensive and detailed manner. Consequently, there is little hard data to guide policy formation.

Given the nature of the information presently available, debates over the general concepts of homogeneity and heterogeneity of tenant populations, and the effects on social relationships among older people seem premature. Before one can meaningfully evaluate this topic there are a number of fundamental issues that must be clarified. For example, what types of behavior fall under the rubric of "social interaction?" How can these behaviors be conceptualized from the perspective of the older person and the researcher? Much previous research has indicated

that people of all ages tend to form primary group¹ relationships with others who share similar personal characteristics (Gans, 1970; Gordon, 1964; Rosow, 1967). Homogeneity is believed to be a necessary condition for formation of "intensive" relationships such as friendships (Gans, 1970). However, a major problem centers around the definition of homogeneity and heterogeneity (Gans, 1970; Gutman, 1970). Among tenants in age-segregated urban public housing, what personal characteristics or constellation of characteristics emerge as salient factors in establishing ongoing social relationships? Is there a connection between status similarity of specific personal characteristics and the types of social interactions that occur? What factors other than status similarity influence patterns of social relationships among tenants? For instance, several studies indicate that proximity of dwelling units exerts a powerful influence on friendship formation among older tenants (e.g., Lawton and Simon, 1968; Nash, Lawton and Simon, 1968). What is the impact of formal organizations, such as a tenants association and a tenant patrol, on the informal social relationships that develop among tenants? What role does on-site staff play in encouraging sociability and mutual assistance in the tasks of daily living? A literature review has revealed significant gaps in knowledge which must be filled before the more abstract question of the impact of homogeneity or heterogeneity is addressed by program planners, researchers and theoreticians.

¹Primary groups have been defined as groups "in which contact is personal, informal, intimate and usually face-to-face, and which involves the entire personality, not just a segmentalized part of it" (Gordon, 1964, p. 32).

Objectives

The most general objective of the present study was to gain an understanding of the factors that influence patterns of social relationships among residents in age-segregated public housing. An underlying assumption was that systematic inquiry would reveal different levels of intimacy among tenants, and a variety of qualitatively different levels of social contact in such settings, ranging from superficial interactions limited to the casual exchange of greetings, to friendship and confidant bonds. More specifically, through an in-depth study of a single age-segregated public housing site this research attempted to:

- provide a detailed descriptive data base of the various types of social relationships that develop in such a setting;
- clarify the meaning of various relationships to the tenants;
- identify the major specific variables of status similarity and dissimilarity that are related to given types of social relationships;
- generate hypotheses regarding the potential consequences of resident homogeneity and heterogeneity;
- identify mechanisms that may facilitate social integration among heterogeneous tenant populations in public housing, and generate recommendations relevant to policy formation and housing management; and
- contribute to the theoretical understanding of the relevance of status similarity as an explanatory

construct for given types of interpersonal relationships within such a residential setting.

Age segregated, low-income housing represents a degree of homogeneity that is rapidly gaining acceptance. Nevertheless, within this degree of segregation, further heterogeneity is encouraged, most commonly by a public policy of assignment to housing without regard to race, religion, national origin or sex. Although eligibility requirements for public housing impose limitations according to current income and assets, there is still the potential for some variability according to economic status as well. The result is a growing number of urban, age-segregated public housing sites with unplanned and varying degrees of heterogeneity in terms of a number of social and personal characteristics of tenant populations.

The growing body of gerontological literature clearly indicates that there is great diversity among the current generation of older Americans, and that "the elderly" cannot be regarded as a homogeneous group (e.g., Brotman, 1976; Cantor, 1976 a; Carp, 1976). Several gerontologists have argued that sound program planning and evaluative research must treat as independent variables such background characteristics as race, religion, national origin, and socioeconomic status; and further, that within these subgroups more refined variations may exist in relation to a number of variables (Gelfand and Kutzik, 1979; Hirsch, Kent and Silverman, 1972; Kalish, 1971; Kimmel, 1980; Moore, 1971; Solomon, 1973). Studies have begun to emerge which document the diversity among the urban aged poor, and thus provide cogent evidence to support this point of view (e.g., Cantor, 1973, 1975, 1976 a, 1976 b; Gelfand and Kutzik, 1979; Mayer, 1976).

The next chapter discusses the importance of local social ties for the urban elderly poor, and examines those factors that have been identified in previous research as influencing the social relationships of older people in various residential settings.

CHAPTER II

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Social contact is commonly regarded as vital to the well-being of the older person. Empirical studies in social gerontology have repeatedly demonstrated that those elderly with reduced mobility and constricted life space are especially dependent upon neighborhood residents as a source of social relationships, and this pattern is even more pronounced if they are from working class or low-income backgrounds. For the urban elderly poor, neighborhood residents--be they kin, friends, or neighbors--are often the mainstay of their informal social support systems (Birren, 1969; Cantor, 1975, 1976 b; Lawton, 1980; Nahemow and Kogan, 1971; Nahemow, Fulcomer and Lawton, 1976; Mayer, 1976; Michelson, 1970; Rosenberg, 1968; Rosow, 1967). It has been suggested that viable local support systems are essential in enabling low-income older people to remain living independently in the community (Cantor, 1976 b). The availability of assistance in times of crisis or illness is particularly important in this regard, as is help with the tasks of daily living for those who require such aid (Cantor, 1975, 1976 b; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Mayer, 1976; Townsend, 1963). Local ties may be a source of emotional as well as practical support for older low-income urban dwellers. Contact with neighbors and local acquaintances and friends can stave off feelings of alienation and loneliness. While this may be true for all people, local ties may be

particularly salient to older people who are more "neighborhood bound" because of limited financial resources and impaired health (Cantor, 1976; Lawton, 1980; Nahemow and Kogan, 1971; Rosow, 1967). The development of friendships among local residents has been positively related to morale (Rosow, 1967) and is considered to be a critical factor in the long-term emotional well-being of the older person (Cantor, 1975; Nahemow et al., 1976). Older people without local support systems "can be severely disadvantaged" (Cantor, 1975).

Previous research in age-segregated housing which has used survey methodology has failed to generate data which reflect the variety of social relationships that occur in such settings, and has tended to focus instead on a single form of behavior such as mutual assistance or friendship formation and social isolation. In developing a conceptual framework for a variety of levels of social contact, this investigator was guided in part by the work of Cantor and her colleagues (1975; 1976 b) and Lowenthal and her associates (1975). While these researchers did not study the social networks among tenants in housing for older people, their views on informal social relationships are most congruent with the observations made during the pilot work for this investigation.

Cantor has proposed that informal social support systems serve three main functions: (1) crisis intervention, or assistance in times of emergency; (2) assistance with the chores of daily living; and (3) social needs (1976 b). She and her associates took into account the functions as well as the frequency of social contact, and respondents' subjective evaluations of the degree of "closeness" that they felt toward various individuals in their informal social support networks.

However, their reported findings (e.g., Cantor, 1976 b; and Mayer, 1976) have tended to emphasize crisis intervention and assistance with the chores of daily living more than issues of emotional support and companionship.

Lowenthal, Thurnher and Chiriboga (1975) suggest a minimum of four categories of dyadic relationships in their examination of friendship patterns among a sample of middle and lower middle class people representing four critical pre-transitional stages of the life cycle:² "(1) acquaintanceship, (2) friendly interaction, (3) friendship, and (4) intimacy" (Lowenthal et al., 1975, p. 48). While these authors do not provide operational definitions for these categories they do conceptualize them as a sequential progression involving increased knowledge of the "unique individuality" of the other member of the dyad. They further suggest that the first two levels are based more upon formal role relationships or stereotyped perceptions, whereas friendship and intimacy are less role dependent, more spontaneous, and involve emotional commitment, closeness and mutuality.

Through content analysis of respondents' subjective descriptions of their friends, Lowenthal et al. (1975) derived 19 specific dimensions of friendship, which for analytic purposes were aggregated into six "logical" broader categories. These categories, presented in terms of the decreasing frequency with which they were cited include: "Similarity,"³ "reciprocity," "compatibility," "structural

²i.e., high school seniors; young newlyweds; middle-aged parents about to become "empty nesters"; and pre-retirees.

³In this study similarity did not involve commonality of ascribed characteristics such as age, sex, ethnicity, etc., but rather similar interests and behaviors.

dimensions,"⁴ "role model" and "other."

In addition, Lowenthal et al. (1975) offer an interesting distinction in an individual's friendship constellation--that is, between "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous" patterns. Considering an individual's three closest friends they examined the respondent's descriptions of each friend in terms of the broad categories listed above. A "heterogeneous" friendship pattern is one in which each friend fulfills a different function. The majority of all age groups reported heterogeneous patterns, although among the pre-retirement group a somewhat higher proportion had homogeneous patterns.

These two perspectives, emphasizing an incremental level of intimacy, and the fulfillment of a variety of personal needs are, in the view of the investigator, two of the major factors that one must consider in understanding social relationships among tenants in age-segregated settings, since they emerged repeatedly in discussions with tenants and staff in various settings during an extended period of pilot work. A critical element is respondents' subjective assessments of the degree of closeness that they feel with the other tenants with whom they interact.

These elements are reflected in the following excerpt from a focused interview with a widowed, retired school teacher who had migrated from the Northeast to a large retirement community in the sun belt. She described clear distinctions in the nature of her social relationships with other members of the community. Her comments best

⁴Structural dimensions included the duration of friendship, and residential proximity.

epitomize the full range of levels of social interactions that were expressed during pilot interviews by many other respondents living in a variety of settings.

Well, I'm 'neighborly' with everybody. I'm 'friendly neighborly' with a few of the people who live in my particular area of the development. Then there are oh, maybe about six that I consider friends--friends I've made since I moved down here [three years prior to the interview]. But my real friends, dearest friends are Ethel, Ruth and Kate. . . . I've known them for years. We've lived through a lot together. . . . I know I could always count on them--no matter what. We all know each other like well-read books. In some ways I'm much closer to them than I am to my own family. There's a kind of closeness with them that I just don't have with the others [i.e., the friends she had made since moving] . . . except, of course, for Ruth [a resident of the retirement community whom she has known for over 40 years].

In further discussion she clarified what she meant by these distinctions. "Neighborly" meant "saying 'hello'," perhaps exchanging pleasantries, or engaging in superficial conversation about impersonal matters such as the weather, or community issues, such as a special activity or the maintenance of the grounds, but "nothing personal." "Neighborly" interactions occurred in public places. "Friendly neighborly" contacts involved borrowing and lending household resources, joint shopping trips and other forms of mutual assistance in the tasks of daily living; and sometimes going to community-sponsored activities together. Proximity was apparently a major determinant of "friendly neighborly" relationships. These kinds of contacts occurred in both public spaces and homes, but they appear to have had a well-defined purpose and were less spontaneous. Relevant to Lowenthal et al.'s observations, this level of contact involved more knowledge about the other person than "neighborly" contacts. In "neighborly" contacts the names of the other persons were not always known, and in most cases

there was little personal knowledge about them. Names and some information about those with whom this respondent was "friendly neighborly" were always known. As she described her "real friends" it appeared that status similarity played a more important role, and proximity of dwelling units was less important. All friends were female, U.S.-born, of the same religion; all but one were widowed, and all but one were from the same Northeastern city. While activities with friends included the same behaviors as those engaged in with people with whom she was "friendly neighborly," there were additional social behaviors that reflected a greater degree of intimacy. "Friends" called one another often on the phone "just to chat"; had casual visits in one another's homes; shared snacks and dinners, both at home and out; celebrated "ceremonial occasions" (Sussman and Burchinal, 1968) together, such as birthdays and religious holiday meals; and shared information about personal matters, although not necessarily intimate details. Friendship involved a greater sense of mutual dependency, a clear emotional commitment, and feelings of trust. In a community of migrants, the formation of on-site friendships may serve many of the functions of what Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) have described as modified extended family networks. But the friendships that were most valued, not only by this respondent, but by so many with whom I spoke, were those established many years ago. Commonality of background characteristics and shared experiences--having "lived through a lot together" and sharing major joys and sorrows--were frequently mentioned when respondents described what "good friends" meant to them. Significantly, in a number of cases, when respondents identified their "good friends" according to their own definitions, these individuals were not

necessarily the people with whom they had the most frequent face-to-face contact.

It has been suggested that association with close friends and particularly confidants, may provide a critical "buffer" to the social role losses that frequently occur in old age (e.g., Blau, 1961; Cantor, 1976 b; Lowenthal and Haven, 1968). The presence of a stable confidant relationship has been identified as a crucial factor in mental health and high morale among older people. In fact, in one study it was found to be more important than high levels of social contact (Lowenthal and Haven, 1968). Cantor (1976 b) proposed that the possibility for fulfilling needs for day to day intimacy will be enhanced if intimates and confidants live near one another. Thus if people are able to establish friendships (in terms of their own criteria) and confidant bonds with neighbors, the informal social support systems should enhance well-being. According to previous research findings that have guided the development of the present study, the probability of developing such relationships will be influenced in part by the proportion of status similars who reside in the same building. Conversely, those who share few social characteristics with other tenants, that is, those living in "contextual dissonance" (Rosenberg, 1968) may be more socially isolated and less likely to develop emotionally gratifying relationships. The relationship between status similarity and the formation of more intensive social contacts is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Major Factors Which May Influence Local Social Networks

Proximity

Since Merton's study of "Crafttown" (1948), the location of dwelling units has been regarded as an important variable in understanding patterns of friendship formation among neighbors. Festinger, Schachter and Back's (1950) analyses of social networks among residents of graduate student housing at MIT has become a basic reference study in this area. Building design, propinquity, and physical and "functional" distance between dwelling unit doors were associated with friendship formation. However, it is essential to remember that the study's population was quite homogeneous in terms of age, marital status, economic resources, and status as students in the same university.

In the majority of studies of social relationships among older people in age-segregated apartment buildings, proximity of dwelling units has been found to be a potent factor in friendship formation. On the basis of data derived from sociometric ratings, Lawton and his colleagues have suggested that the apartment house floor is the major spatial unit in which such relationships develop (Lawton and Simon, 1968; Nash, Lawton and Simon, 1968). In one study site sociometric ratings were analyzed in terms of the physical distance between apartments on the same floor. This more refined measure of proximity was also significantly related to friendship choice (Lawton and Simon, 1968). The tendency for older people to form close associations more often with neighbors on the same floor was also reported in a participant observation study (Hochschild, 1973). However, Carp (1966)

reported that in her study of Victoria Plaza, proximity of dwelling units did not lead to friendship formation, although proximate neighbors did have more frequent casual contacts. The majority of more intensive social contacts such as visiting and eating in residents' apartments, and the selection of "best friends" occurred among people who lived on different floors (Carp, 1966).

Clearly physical and functional proximity of dwelling units is an important factor in increasing the probability that neighbors will meet (Festinger et al., 1950; Gans, 1970) but, social homogeneity of proximate neighbors may be essential in the development of friendships (Gans, 1970).

Homogeneity

As previously noted, one problem related to the question of the relative merits of homogeneity or heterogeneity in housing for older people centers around definitions of homogeneity and heterogeneity. Gans takes the position that both propinquity and social homogeneity are important factors in understanding social relationships among neighbors, but that homogeneity is the more important of the two. While propinquity may be important in terms of initiating social contact, and may serve to encourage neighbors to maintain a "positive" tone to their interactions, it is not a sufficient basis upon which to form more enduring and intensive relationships. Propinquity may exert a strong influence on friendship formation when neighbors are socially homogeneous (Gans, 1970).

. . . [L]ittle is known about what characteristics must be shared before people feel themselves to be compatible with others. We do not know for certain if they must have common backgrounds, or similar interests, or shared values--or combinations of these. Nor do we know precisely which background

characteristics, behavior patterns, and interests are most and least important, or about which issues values must be shared. Also, we do not know what similarities are needed for relationships of different intensities or, for any given characteristics how large a difference can exist before incompatibility sets in . . . (Gans, 1970, p. 504).

Obviously, the specific variables that might serve as a basis for defining homogeneity, or status similarity will depend upon the given personal characteristics that exist within specific residential populations. However, within a given setting the perspective of the researcher or planner may be quite different from that of the residents in terms of defining status similarity. Gans (1970) argues that background characteristics such as age, race, marital status, and socioeconomic status can explain only in part people's perceptions of their similarity to their neighbors. Until researchers systematically explore what residents perceive as salient social characteristics for forming relationships of varying intensities, and then relate them to background variables, ". . . it is impossible to define homogeneity or heterogeneity operationally" (Gans, 1970, p. 504).

Similarly, Gutman (1970) has suggested that propinquity may exert a powerful influence on patterns of social interaction during early periods of residence, but that enduring and more intensive relationships will be formed among those who share similar status characteristics (i.e., those who are "socially homogeneous"). Thus, to the extent that proximate neighbors are socially homogeneous close interpersonal relationships may develop. Implicit in these discussions is the basic question--Why is status similarity so important in developing intensive relationships? This issue has received little attention. Of particular relevance to the present study is the notion that what

may constitute meaningful criteria for defining social homogeneity during one stage of the life cycle may differ for other stages. Cohort groups may differ in terms of characteristics that are salient.

Status Similarity

It has been shown that a major factor in determining levels of social contact and friendship patterns of older people is the degree to which residential settings are populated by others of similar status, as defined by a number of variables--that is the degree to which the settings are homogeneous (Blau, 1961; Nahemow et al., 1976; Rosenberg, 1968; Rosow, 1967, 1974). Studies of friendship formation have consistently demonstrated that sustained relationships develop among those of similar status and interests, and that when older people have a choice they are likely to opt for social homogeneity in their residential setting (Lawton, 1976).

Age. There is strong evidence to support the notion that the age composition of the proximate residential setting is a critical factor in the social integration of older people, and that low density of age peers may clearly limit opportunities for social contact (Bultena and Wood, 1969; Rosen, 1971; Rosenberg, 1968; Rosow, 1967). The phrase "proximate residential setting" while somewhat vague, is deliberately used, since a positive relationship between residential density of age peers and levels of social contact has been observed in physical settings of different scales including single buildings, e.g., (Rosow, 1967) residential city blocks (Rosenberg, 1968); and entire communities (Bultena and Wood, 1969).

Rosow's study of 1,200 older people in Cleveland revealed that friends were most likely to be age peers, and that cross-generational

interaction was rare (Rosow, 1967). A high density of age peers in apartment buildings was associated with higher levels of social interaction, and to a lesser degree with morale. In his analyses Rosow routinely used social class as an independent variable, and found that middle class people were less dependent upon their neighbors for social interaction than were those from the working class. He also found that the tendency to form friendships with status similars applied to sex, marital status, and social class, as well as age.

In a study of a large, multi-building housing project in Vienna that contained age-integrated and age-segregated buildings, Rosenmayer and Köcheis found virtually no social interaction between generations in this housing complex, but did note a higher level of interaction among the tenants who lived in buildings specifically designated for older people (Rosenmayer and Köcheis, 1965).

Rosen (1971) noted that in the low-income housing projects he studied in Baltimore, many of the elderly in age-integrated buildings lived in relative isolation, while in buildings exclusively for older people, tenants generally experienced a sense of community and higher levels of interaction with their neighbors.

Bultena and Wood (1969) studied retired males who had migrated from the midwest to either age-integrated or planned retirement communities in Arizona. Compared to migrants to retirement settings, those who moved to age-integrated communities were significantly more likely to report: a decline in close friendships as a result of the move; and greater dissatisfaction with the number of friendships that they had been able to establish in their new neighborhoods. These authors suggest that a physical concentration of age peers of similar

socioeconomic status and interests, as well as a physical environment that provided opportunities for more group-oriented leisure activities contributed to the higher levels of friendship formation in the retirement communities.

Carp's (1966) study of Victoria Plaza in San Antonio represents perhaps the most comprehensive and meticulously executed study of the effects of age-segregated public housing in this country. She found that when low-income elderly moved to age-segregated housing there were significant increases in social interaction, morale, and general life satisfaction. Carp attributes the increased levels of social contact and the formation of new friendships in part to the high concentration of age peers.

As these studies indicate, the availability of high concentration of age peers has emerged as one significant influence on friendship formation among older people. However, given the great diversity among this segment of the population, there is reason to expect that additional personal characteristics will affect friendships among age peers. And indeed, other areas of social status similarity have been identified as contributing to the social integration--or isolation--of the aged.

Marital, employment and economic status. Blau (1961) studied the impact of widowhood and retirement on the friendships of older people. Differential effects, particularly of widowhood, were noted according to the prevalence of similar status within age, sex, and social class subgroups within two relatively large neighborhoods. Widowhood was found to have a "detrimental" effect on friendships, "in those structural contexts where it is relatively rare, but not in those where it becomes more prevalent" (Blau, 1961, p. 433). She suggests

that friendships suffer when widowhood places the older person in a deviant position among age peers who are still married, as this status differentiates her interests and experiences from theirs. Among the structural subgroups where widowhood and retirement were prevalent, it was the married or employed who occupied a deviant status, and who consequently showed a restriction in social contact. Significantly then, status similarity rather than the status itself, emerged as the critical factor in Blau's study.

Rosenberg (1968) studied the effect of age and poverty on isolation from friends among a sample of white working class people in Philadelphia. He introduced the concepts of "contextual dissonance" and "consonance."

When the individual's social characteristics differ from the social characteristics of others in his neighborhood, the relationship between the individual and his surrounding social environment is dissonant, and when there is similarity between individual and social environment the relationship is termed consonant (Rosenberg, 1968, p. 533).

Rosenberg predicted that levels of social contact would be higher for individuals living in consonant neighborhoods (with neighborhood defined as the city block), and that dissonant neighborhoods would increase social isolation. He found that while neighborhood social context had little effect on men under the age of 65, it contributed significantly to the social isolation of those over 65. Social isolation was greater for individuals living in neighborhoods that were dissonant in terms of income, occupation and race.

Ethnicity. It has been suggested that much of the diversity among older urban dwellers has its origin in ethnic experiences (Gelfand and Kutzik, 1979; Kalish, 1971; Kent, 1971; Solomon, 1973),

and that the study of ethnicity be incorporated as an independent research variable.

Yet relatively little research on social relationships in housing for older people has considered ethnicity as a relevant issue. In those studies which have been reported, "ethnicity" has generally referred to race. There has been no major attempt to identify patterns of social contact of subcultures within the white, black, Spanish-speaking and Asian groups. The present study addresses this issue since pilot work indicated that differences in national origin are extremely salient to older people in their perceptions of their neighbors. It is therefore necessary to review in some detail patterns of residential distribution of ethnic groups in urban areas. This background information will be useful in evaluating: those studies that have examined the impact of ethnic mix in age-segregated housing; and the treatment of ethnicity as an independent variable in the present study.

Immigrants who came to the United States in large numbers during the late 1800's and early 1900's tended to live in urban neighborhoods with high concentration of their own national groups; this has been well documented by historians and sociologists (Gordon, 1964; Handlin, 1973; Giordano, 1973; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Kantrowitz, 1969; Novak, 1971). Ethnic communities in American cities functioned to create a new structure for social organization for immigrants uprooted from familiar social ties. Such associations helped to defend the individual from isolation and identity crises that often followed emigration (Handlin, 1973; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970).

While a definition of ethnicity may be elusive, there is general

consensus that ethnic groups differ not only in terms of race and nationality, but also in terms of language, religion, family structure, values, interests, customs, and life experiences (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970).

It is interesting to note that the residential concentration of white ethnics generally went beyond characteristics of common language, country of origin and religious affiliation. For example, German Jews settled in areas separate from other Germans; Hasidim set themselves apart from other Jews; the Irish Catholics clustered together, and apart from Italian Catholics and other English-speaking people (Handlin, 1973; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970).

In many cases, ethnic neighborhoods that appeared to an outsider as relatively homogeneous were in fact highly differentiated in their social organization. The refined social structure of Italian neighborhoods has been particularly well documented (Gans, 1962; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Giordano, 1973). As Greeley described it:

Thus, in the Italian neighborhoods of New York's lower east side in the early 1920's, it was possible to trace, block by block, not only the region in Italy, but also the villages from which the inhabitants had come. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that some of these blocks were nothing more than foreign colonies of Sicilian villages (Greeley, 1969, p. 17).

Kantrowitz's data (1969) show that almost all ethnic groups in New York City have shown distinctive residential patterns. Further, he states that while voluntary residential segregation among white ethnics may be less visible today, and somewhat attenuated, it still persists; that ". . . ethnic segregation in general has declined very little, and that ethnic segregation in New York resembles that of other cities . . ." (Kantrowitz, 1969, p. 689).

Initially the residential concentration of ethnic groups was in part fostered by discriminatory practices, but it is important to recognize that the immigrant groups also benefited from living among "their own kind." The continuation of white ethnic separatism, and perhaps even a reassertion of ethnic identification and organization has been noted by several authors (e.g., Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Giordano, 1973; Novak, 1971). Birren (1969) has suggested that in old age people are particularly likely to seek association with others of the same or similar ethnic background. Actually the desire to live among members of one's national or racial group may reflect the continuation of life-long patterns.

Prejudice may account for some part of the continuing trend of ethnics to cluster in some areas, but it is clear that other factors also operate. The maintenance of certain life-styles associated with ethnic background requires a minimum concentration of group members. For example, significant numbers of people are required to support churches, synagogues, ethnic food stores, formal organizations, and primary social groups (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970).

While the persistence of residential ethnic separatism may be a matter of choice among many white ethnics, discrimination in housing obviously has been, and continues to be a more potent factor in the segregation of minority groups. Since the residential patterns of these groups have received considerable attention in the general literature, and are readily apparent to even the casual observer, they need not be detailed here. It is simply noted that despite major legislative advances, large, clearly defined areas of blacks, Asians, and Spanish-speaking people continue to exist in major metropolitan areas.

For decades most discussion of racial segregation in housing has focused on the negative social and psychological consequences of such conditions; the positive social benefits of racially segregated areas has been generally ignored. Within the last few years however, some authors have suggested that the minority person may also derive much strength from living among ethnic peers (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Kiefer, 1971; Solomon, 1973). In reference to the black community Glazer and Moynihan wrote:

Formal and informal social life, churches, and other institutions, distinctive businesses, all serve to make neighborhoods that are desirable and attractive for a given group, and to think that this pattern, which operates for all groups, is suspended for Negroes, is to be racist indeed (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970, p. xlii).

It must be recognized that within any given subcultural group of racial and/or national ethnics there is great diversity among its members (Gelfand and Kutzik, 1979; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Gordon, 1964; Kalish, 1971). Primary group associations are commonly differentiated within ethnic groups according to factors such as social class and life cycle stages.

Many authors (e.g., Giordano, Gordon, Handlin, and Novak) concur with Glazer and Moynihan's statement that "The point about the melting pot is that it did not happen" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970, p. 290). This position, however, does not suggest that program planning advance the notion of "ethnic purity" in residential settings, nor does it suggest that a desire for ethnic homogeneity is universal. Clearly many people seek diversity of personal characteristics in social relationships. There is a potential for rich and meaningful exchanges among diverse ethnic groups, and for personal growth of their members

through such exchanges, if community organizations can provide areas of common interest and purpose. What is suggested however, is that for some people, the desire to live among ethnic peers may be strong indeed, and that it may be important to think in terms of a pre-determined minimum concentration of ethnics in residential settings in order to assure that any given individual will have a sufficient potential pool of status similars upon whom to draw for primary group relationships (Lawton, 1970; Nahemow et al., 1976). This issue may be particularly important to consider in planning housing for older people in metropolitan areas where the population over 65 is likely to be extremely heterogeneous in regard to ethnic background.

Few researchers have investigated the impact of ethnicity per se on social relationships in housing for older people. Those studies that have been reported are by Lawton and his associates at the Philadelphia Geriatric Center.

Simon and Lawton (1967) used sociometric choices to study the effect of proximity of dwelling units on friendship formation among tenants in two buildings that might be considered rather homogeneous in that all residents were old and Jewish. Tenants were asked to name their three best friends in the building after periods of three and then fifteen months of occupancy. Proximity of dwelling units was identified as a critical factor in sociometric choices, and the residential floor emerged as a major social unit. The proximity effect continued to be a potent factor over time. Social status characteristics, including nationality, were also examined as variables which might mediate proximity effects. Common national origin was significant in friendship choices after three months of occupancy. However,

after fifteen months, while German-born Jews continued to select each other as friends, national origin was no longer a significant factor for the Eastern European or American-born.

In a study of public housing sites in four cities, Nash, Lawton and Simon (1968) reported a highly significant pattern of both blacks and whites choosing friends of the same race in all of the sites, even when the relevant proportion of potential contacts within race was taken into account. In three of the four sites this tendency was more pronounced for blacks. Proximity of dwelling units again emerged as a critical variable, with both blacks and whites more likely to choose friends on the same floor. It should be pointed out, however, that 31% of the respondents who named friends within their building mentioned one or more people of a different racial group, although when all friendship choices are considered only 19% were cross-racial. These cross-racial sociometric choices were more likely to occur among people residing on the same floor.

Again using sociometric choices among residents of an age and racially-integrated public housing complex in New York City, Nahemow and Lawton (1975) examined friendships in three of seven buildings in the project. They addressed the issues of propinquity of dwelling units and similarity of tenants in terms of age and race (blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans). As in previous studies, proximity was a potent factor in naming first-choice friends, with 88% of the respondents naming people within their building, and approximately half choosing people on their floor. In terms of similarity, residents chose people of their own race for first-choice friends 76% of the time. Where cross-racial choices were made they generally involved a

neighbor residing on the same floor. First-chosen friends were also significantly more likely to be in the same age category. Old people were no more likely to choose status similars as friends than were their young counterparts.

When age and race were combined into an index of similarity, . . . the inverse relationship between similarity and residential propinquity was even more pronounced. . . . Friendships between people of different ages and races existed almost exclusively among those who lived very close to one another (Nahemow and Lawton, 1975, p. 210).

The studies reported by Lawton and Simon (1968), Nash et al. (1968) and Nahemow and Lawton (1975) were essentially concerned with status similarity in friendship choices, rather than the issue of the relative impact of homogeneity or heterogeneity of tenant populations on friendship formation. This latter issue was addressed in a large-scale national survey of 1,682 elderly residents in 101 public housing sites (Nahemow, Fulcomer and Lawton, 1976). Since this is the only study which was identified in an extensive literature review to have used a research design appropriate for addressing the issue of the relative merits of homogeneity and heterogeneity of a specific demographic variable, in this case race, it will be reported in some detail, although in a necessarily simplified fashion. The study sites included age-segregated as well as age-integrated buildings and varying degrees of racial mix. On the basis of the housing managers' reports of the number of tenants of each race, the sites were classified according to the following five groups:⁵ (1) 100% white-"segregated white";

⁵The authors note: ". . . it was felt that the difference between 98 and 100% white or black . . . made a difference in one's perception of the environment, while the difference between . . . 80 and 82% probably did not. The categories selected are based upon what appeared to be meaningful divisions" (pp. 11-12).

(2) 76%-99% white-"predominantly white"; (3) 25%-75% white-"fully integrated sites"; (4) 1%-24% white-"predominantly non-white"; and (5) 0% white-"segregated non-white".

The overwhelming majority of non-whites in the sample were black, although some Asians and Spanish-speaking respondents were included in this group.

The investigators were interested in understanding the effects of race of the tenant and degree of racial integration of the tenant population on six indices of well-being, including on-site friendship formation. Almost one-fourth of the white and non-white respondents lived in buildings that were totally segregated by race. In integrated buildings non-whites were most frequently a minority (i.e., comprising from 1 to 24% of the population), whereas whites tended to be a racial majority. Approximately 54% of the white respondents lived in buildings in which a minimum of three-fourths of the tenant population was white. The race of the tenant was found to be associated with a number of environmental variables which may influence indices of well-being, including on-site friendship formation. For example, non-whites were significantly more likely to live in: urban centers; larger cities; areas with higher activity levels; high-rise buildings; neighborhoods where crime was considered to be more problematic; and buildings which were age-integrated. Factors such as age-integration and fear of crime could be potential barriers to on-site friendship formation for the non-white respondents, and therefore multivariate statistical procedures were used to control for these variables. In this study, the indicator of friendship formation was the total number of people living in the housing site whom the respondent considered "very good friends,"

plus the number of "friends" with whom the respondent visited in either's home during the week prior to the interview.

Using hierarchical multiple regression and orthogonal contrasts in order to control for the effects of a variety of personal factors (e.g., age, sex, marital status, welfare benefits, length of residence and functional health) and environmental factors (e.g., building type; size of project; age-integration; safety; community size) the researchers found that both whites and non-whites were significantly more likely to establish on-site friendships in racially segregated buildings than in buildings which contained any degree of racial integration. In racially integrated buildings, the proportion of like-race tenants similarly was related to on-site friendships, although it is important to note that whites and non-whites were affected differently.

[Non-whites] . . . were more disadvantaged than whites when placed in buildings in which the overwhelming majority of other tenants were of another race . . . [I]n fully integrated environments (the only ones that were literally the same for [non-whites] and whites), both groups had made almost exactly the same number of friends (Nahemow et al., 1976, p. 26).

It must be stressed that the statistical procedures used in this study provide an extremely stringent test of the relationship between race of the tenant and racial composition of the building in regard to friendship formation. Thus, racial homogeneity was found to be highly conducive to developing "friendships" with others in the building. This finding is especially significant because it was obtained after controlling for the potential effects of a number of other variables that have been shown in previous research to influence friendship patterns.

In summary, the literature indicates that propinquity and the

degree to which residential settings are populated by others of similar status are important factors influencing local social ties among elderly urban dwellers. While the existing research has made important contributions to our understanding of social relationships among this group, there are several critical questions which remain unanswered.

Major Gaps in Knowledge

Investigations of the impact of social context have used survey methods which focused on the frequency of contact with neighbors, but provided little or no information about the quality of the relationships or the meaning of the contacts to the respondents. These studies have been primarily concerned with the concepts of "friendship formation" and "social isolation," but the meaning of these concepts is ambiguous. Some investigators simply asked about the number of "friends" or "best friends" without any attempt to define these terms and the authors have acknowledged that such labels have most certainly meant different things to different respondents (Rosow, 1967; Nahemow and Lawton, 1975). For example, Rosow (1967) asked, "About how many good friends would you say you have now?" Responses ranged from none to "fifty or a hundred." He has suggested that such variability in responses may reflect social class differences, with middle class people responding in terms of close friends and working class in terms of acquaintances. Other investigators have presented operational definitions of friend or close friend without determining if such definitions are congruent with an individual's own conception of friendship. In Blau's study (1961) if respondents said that they had one or more "close friends" with whom they "occasionally talked over

confidential matters;" saw this person or persons at least once a month; and/or answered affirmatively to the question: "Would you say that you go around with a certain bunch of friends who visit back and forth in each others' houses?" they were classified as having "high friendship participation" (Blau, 1961, p. 430). Rosenberg asked respondents which of their "friends or neighbors" they had "visited with or talked to" during the previous week. Those who reported no contact were classified as isolates.

A critical look at the studies that have examined the social relationships of older people living in age-concentrated and age-segregated public housing are of particular relevance to this study. As previously indicated, a significant problem centers around the meaning of "friendship." It is important to review the questions which were asked of respondents in some previous studies in order to understand more fully the basis for the conceptual and methodological approach that was used in the present research. In one study which focused on the influence of proximity of dwelling units, and status similarity (in terms of age, race, and sex) on friendship formation people were simply asked, "I'm going to ask you some questions about your best friends in the project. I'd like to know whether they live in this building or not, how often you get together, and where you meet" (Nahemow and Lawton, 1975, p. 208). The authors acknowledge that "best friend" may have had different meanings among respondents, but do not seem to regard this as a significant problem. They assume that frequency of contact is a correlate of intimacy, and note that people reported seeing their "friends" several times a week. Taking frequency of contact as a criterion of intimacy they report ". . . there

is no indication that similar persons were more intimate friends than dissimilar persons" (Nahemow and Lawton, 1975, p. 211). Such a conclusion is unexpected, in the light of sociological studies that have rather consistently shown that primary group associations are generally confined to status similars (Gordon, 1964; Rosow, 1967). Unfortunately no information is provided about the type of activities that "best friends" engaged in; respondents' subjective assessments of the quality of their relationships with neighbors; or sociometric choices among subcultural groups within each race. The absence of such information makes it difficult to evaluate the quality of social contacts. Since in some studies people were simply asked to name their three "best friends" in the building, it is possible that some respondents mentioned proximal neighbors because of the social desirability of naming someone; or that contacts were limited to superficial exchanges that had little affective meaning for the participants. It should be remembered that friendship is the label imposed by the investigators, not by the older people whose social relationships were are trying to understand. More rigorous a priori definitions of friendship, and/or techniques whereby respondents are asked to define their relationships with neighbors would provide a more informative picture of the quality and meaning of social relationships among residents in age-segregated housing.

There are two major studies that have provided rich descriptions of the quality of social relationships in age-segregated public housing --Carp's (1966) study of Victoria Plaza, and Hochschild's (1973) three-year participant observation study of Merrill Court, a 40 unit building in the San Francisco Bay area. Both studies document the advantages of age-segregated housing in terms of several indices of

well-being, and report high degrees of satisfying social relationships, and a strong sense of community among neighbors. It should be noted, however, that the tenant populations in both studies were quite homogeneous in terms of demographic characteristics. In Victoria Plaza 92% of the residents were U.S.-born; 80% were Protestant, and all were white. Similarly, there was a high degree of homogeneity in terms of background characteristics among the 43 residents of Merrill Court. All were white, 90% were Protestant (mainly Fundamentalists), and the remainder were Catholic; most had migrated to California in the 1940's from the Midwest and South; the vast majority (35) were widows; and all were "poor." Hochschild attributed much of the cohesiveness of the community to these common background characteristics. Nevertheless, even in settings which may be considered by conventional criteria as being extremely homogeneous, well-differentiated substructures do exist. In some cases they may become salient in times of strife.

Hochschild (1973) observed:

In the eyes of the outside world, all at Merrill Court were social equals, but within the community there was an elite, a counter-elite, and the masses. What were coexisting friendship networks in time of peace became rivaling juntas when an issue arose. Although there were many separate friendship duos and trios, nearly all of them sided with either the elite or the counter-elite. It was perhaps no accident that the two groups were divided by region, the first including people from Virginia, Oklahoma and Tennessee, the second, from Wisconsin and Montana. The two cliques also worshipped at different Baptist churches (p. 55).

Interestingly, the division of subgroups in terms of geographic area of origin and religious affiliation closely resembles the tendency of ethnic groups to band together on the basis of national origin and religion. Would the high degree of positive social relationships described by Carp and Hochschild develop in buildings where populations

are relatively heterogeneous, particularly in terms of race, national origin and religion?

Obviously, in any age-segregated residential setting people will use as a basis for defining status similarity those characteristics which are available to them, and the researcher must see what options the individual has for identifying a basis of commonality. For example, in urban public housing sites containing populations which are heterogeneous in terms of race, national origin and religion, ethnicity may emerge as a salient variable for status similarity. Among migrants to retirement housing in the sun belt, where the overwhelming majority of community residents are homogeneous in terms of race, religion, national origin and economic status--geographic area of origin, occupation and marital status may serve as a basis for defining status similarity. In the process of "sizing up" or classifying one's neighbors the individual may proceed from relying on relatively conspicuous to more subtle characteristics. For example, if one can only speak a foreign language, obviously common language will be a major factor in establishing social contacts requiring mutual verbal communication. However, if the person is able to identify a number of people with whom he can communicate, more intensive relationships may develop according to other shared characteristics such as sex, marital status, education, occupation, interests and values.

Conceptual Framework

There is evidence from a number of empirical studies to support the notion that a high residential concentration of status similars is likely to be associated with higher levels of social contact, and that

more intimate relationships such as friendships and confidant bonds are more likely to be formed among status similars. The literature documenting this phenomenon is largely descriptive in nature, offering limited discussion of the psychosocial mechanisms that may provide a theoretical explanatory framework.

Assumptions underlying the research. In an effort to contribute to the theoretical understanding of the significance of status similarity or social homogeneity the present study was guided by the following assumptions. A move to new age-segregated public housing represents a critical transition period for tenants. Upon entering such settings, residents face an amorphous social situation. They will attempt to seek structure by classifying their neighbors according to those status characteristics that are most meaningful to them. Based on the findings of numerous studies, a fundamental assumption was that tenants would be more likely to form primary associations with people whom they perceive as being like themselves. The significance of seeking out individuals with similar backgrounds lies in the presumption that membership in a given group will be associated with common life experiences, and that it is this sense of commonality that provides the foundation upon which people may build viable primary group associations (Nahemow and Lawton, 1975). The availability of a potential pool of status similars would permit individuals to maintain some sense of continuity in primary social relationships--if not actually with long-time friends, then perhaps with substitutes who are similar to them. Further, similarity in background may imply a set of built-in norms which may provide some prescriptions for behavior. When people perceive others as coming from similar backgrounds they are apt to feel

that many subtle social customs and ways of interacting will be mutually understood (Marris, 1975; Nahemow and Lawton, 1975), and that the behavior of the other person will be more predictable. The tendency to seek out status similars may thus relate to feelings of control, in that one may anticipate that the behavior of status similars will be more predictable than that of people from different sociocultural backgrounds (Marris, 1975; Winkel, 1976, *Personal Communication*). In the formation of secondary group associations, status similarity may be less important, since formal roles will help to define patterns of behavior.

The theoretical positions presented by Peter Marris in Loss and Change (1975), and Irving Rosow in Socialization to Old Age (1974) are most germane to the assumptions that guided this research. (Selected pertinent concepts in each of these works will be briefly delineated.)

In developing his theoretical position Marris has drawn from research on such diverse topics as reactions to widowhood, slum clearance in cases where the life styles of the rehoused individuals were markedly disrupted, students entering English universities, and African villagers migrating to urban areas. In each of these crucial transitions there was either a disruption or irrevocable loss of "familiar" relationships.

Marris contends that the changes experienced during these transitions were accompanied by anxiety, and that ". . . the anxieties of change centered upon the struggle to defend or recover a meaningful pattern of relationships" (Marris, 1975, p. 1). Typically, people reacted with ambivalence to change which involved a loss. They were torn between the need to adapt to the change and the "impulse" to

restore the past. The anxiety and ambivalence were found whether the change was one which left the individual bereft (as in widowhood) or whether it was desired (as in entrance to the university). Under conditions where the individual must confront behavior patterns to which they are unaccustomed (as in socially heterogeneous housing) the meaning of behavior is less intelligible; less predictable; and the individual's sense of control is diminished.

Central to Marris' thesis is the notion that people resist change that involves a loss of familiar relationships, and that some degree of continuity is essential if people are to be able to interpret the meaning of events. The propensity for continuity has adaptive utility and relates to issues of predictability and control. Marris suggests that the ability to deal effectively with changing environments rests upon the ability to conserve a fundamental structure of meaning that has evolved during the life course of the individual. He makes the assumption ". . . that the impulse to defend the predictability of life" (p. 3) is "universal" to human behavior. This pattern of behavior is referred to as the "conservative impulse" (Marris, 1975).

Most relevant to the issues raised in this study are Marris' findings regarding friendship formation among English university students. Intimate ties typically developed among those of similar sociocultural and regional backgrounds. Group, as well as dyadic affiliations developed. Marris uses the term "tribalism" to describe the process whereby a group of people who share common backgrounds (e.g., common African tribe; social class, religion, occupation, etc.) attempt to "express a group identity" when they "have lost their bearings in a heterogeneous society . . ." (Marris, 1975, pp. 64-65). He

suggests ". . . that tribalism will appear where people of different cultures must treat each other as equals, and cannot get away from each other--where, that is, the social and spatial distance between them is narrow" (Marris, 1975, p. 85).

This observation is particularly important to keep in mind when attempting to explain why many residents of age-segregated public housing may form primary social groups on the basis of similarity of background characteristics. It is not uncommon for an explicit egalitarian philosophy to exist in such settings (Hochschild, 1973; Jacobs, 1969). Further, as stated earlier, urban elderly poor are more dependent upon local residents for social contact. Under conditions where tenant populations are heterogeneous, and poor health or poverty limits opportunities to continue former social ties, one may expect some individuals to seek close ties with others of the same backgrounds, either in an attempt to reinforce a sense of continuity of self-identity, and/or to continue life-long patterns of social relationships.

However, not all tenants appear to seek close associations with status similars. During the pilot work for this study some dyadic relationships were observed between persons of different sociocultural backgrounds. The investigator tentatively proposed that those individuals who had a formal role within the community--that is, within the tenants association and/or the on-site senior center--were more likely to form associations with others of different backgrounds. Obviously, before close relationships can develop, contact must be initiated. Formal roles may facilitate the initiation of social contact among neighbors, since prescriptions for behavior are inherent in

the roles. This may serve as a basis for establishing more intensive relationships among tenants who do not share similar demographic characteristics. The investigator speculated that status similarity in terms of sociocultural characteristics might be a more potent factor in initiating social contacts among those residents who had no formal roles; and conversely, those people with formal roles might be less dependent on common sociocultural backgrounds as a basis for establishing social relationships.

Rosow's (1974) theoretical discussion of adult socialization offers a useful conceptual framework for elucidating the meaning of status similarity and formal roles as facilitating factors in the social integration of older people. Rosow regards entry into old age as a critical transition to a new life cycle status, and in some respects many of his notions supplement those of Marris. Before briefly outlining his position it is essential to stress Rosow's caveat that he is presenting a theoretical analysis of the process of socialization for "old people as a whole" (1974, p. xiii). He acknowledges the diversity among those whom we regard as "old" but in Socialization to Old Age his focus is "the forest, not the trees."

A basic problem for old people is the experience of a series of role losses (e.g., roles of spouse, parent, worker, etc.) which is generally cumulative and irreversible (Rosow, 1974). Since roles establish expectations for behavior, the progressive attrition of formal roles is accompanied by pervasive normlessness during the last stage of the life cycle. Rosow repeatedly makes the point that society provides many proscriptions, but few prescriptions for the behavior of older people. Clark and Anderson (1967) have made a similar observation

and have stated: "The roots of many problems of the elderly in our culture lie in the normlessness of this newly extended life epoch of relatively healthy old age" (p. 10).

To summarize the major points in Rosow's analysis: aging in America involves entry into a devalued position in society, characterized by discontinuity, a loss of roles, and ambiguous norms. These factors result in low motivation or resistance on the part of the older person to be open to an on-going process of adult socialization. Most older people tend to share society's negative stereotypes about the aged. Despite the fact that close friends are generally age peers, older people may fail to identify themselves as old, and may self-consciously resist age-peers as a viable reference group.

The basic themes of his theory are that in contrast to earlier age-graded status changes, American society fails to provide strong social norms for the aged, and that institutionalized mechanisms which might facilitate socialization to this new status are minimal. For example, in contrast to earlier life-cycle transitions, in old age there are: role discontinuities rather than role continuities; social losses, rather than social gains; and few if any rites of passage. Some other mechanisms which facilitate transition to a new status such as: isolation from conflicting group norms; provisions of new, clearly defined roles and peer group affiliations; and clear criteria for conformity are not usually available to the aged in American society.

Some of the theoretical issues which Rosow raises are directly relevant to the present study. He suggests that a residential concentration of age peers--i.e., age-segregated housing--would facilitate an on-going process of successful adult socialization and/or the

resocialization of alienated older people, thus contributing to enhanced self-images, morale and well-being. Residential age-segregation would allow for the existence of several mechanisms that are commonly regarded as essential conditions for socialization or resocialization. Physical insulation from younger people is one critical condition. Under this condition behavior norms and values would develop which would conform, rather than conflict with the older's person's capabilities. Thus, age homogeneity would serve as a buffer against the noxious effects of agism. Further, it would facilitate the acquisition of new roles because residents would not be competing in terms of standards which they could not meet.

There is empirical research to support this argument (Hochschild, 1973; Jacobs, 1969; Messer, 1967). But there is also evidence that within such settings conflicting values and norms may exist (Hochschild, 1973; Jacobs, 1969).

Thus age homogeneity may be a necessary, but not sufficient situation in providing a milieu in which satisfying social relationships may develop. Recognizing this, Rosow proposes two further conditions that would contribute to viable cohesive social relationships. (1) Social homogeneity "on factors other than age, notably social class, race, ethnicity, and marital status" (Rosow, 1974, p. 160), and (2) a "large" concentration of individuals who are socially homogeneous in terms of a number of personal characteristics (Rosow, 1974). From Rosow's analysis one may infer that individual tenants who have few status similars may be socially isolated or feel alienated from their neighbors. This notion was examined in the present study.

CHAPTER III

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present research developed out of the investigator's experiences in an exploratory study of older people who were in the process of moving into a new age-segregated public housing site in a large metropolitan area (Lewin, Unsel, and Olsen, 1977; Lewin, 1978). That research involved a comprehensive analysis of the meaning of housing in the lives of a group of low-income urban elderly. The principal method consisted of case studies of 15 households based on a series of eight in-depth interviews over approximately an 18 month period. The impact of the housing milieu on various dimensions of life style and well-being, both prior to and following the move, was examined. Specific factors in the socio-physical residential environment that facilitated or inhibited participants' efforts to pursue desired activities and those that contributed to or threatened their well-being were identified. A general theme that emerged from that study was that participants' perceptions and evaluations of their socio-physical environments were inextricably related to their life-long histories. The data provide cogent evidence that it is essential to consider the subjective meanings of places, events and relationships if one is to gain a meaningful understanding of the impact of housing on the lives of low-income urban elderly.

The need for a comprehensive and systematic examination of social

relationships within the building also emerged from that study. Although information was gathered about social networks, it was not the major focus of the research.

The investigator's participation in that research afforded the opportunity to become very familiar with the study site and to gather information that was of immeasurable value in developing the focus of the present study of social relationships among tenants. In effect, the background work began in June, 1974, and continued until October, 1977. It included the following procedures:

- Background meetings were held with various levels of housing authority personnel while the site was under construction (June, 1974 - January, 1975).
- A series of meetings were held with the staff of the on-site senior center. Prior to occupancy, background information about the prospective tenants, such as their pre-move housing conditions and social characteristics were obtained. After the building was occupied, monthly meetings were held with these staff members until August, 1976. Additional meetings at less regular intervals continued until September, 1978. These sessions also served as a basis for establishing a working relationship between the researcher and the staff, that led to acceptance of the study and the investigator. There were many times that the assistance of these staff members proved invaluable in gaining the cooperation of respondents during various aspects of the research. Further, rapport with and trust in the investigator developed gradually during this time.

As a consequence staff began to share information which later proved to be invaluable in understanding the types of social relationships that were developing in the building.

- Periodic meetings were held with the housing authority site manager, and these too provided insights into the types of social relationships that were developing within the building. It is important to note that these reports were consistent with those provided by the senior center staff.
- Meetings of the Tenants Association were attended. Detailed notes were taken of the proceedings.
- A single questionnaire, that included demographic characteristics, household composition, health status, presence of relatives and friends within the neighborhood, and general satisfaction with the dwelling, building, and neighborhood was administered by a personal interview, to 50 tenants. This survey was conducted from November, 1975 through early January, 1976. The major purpose of the survey was to obtain an estimate of the degree of variability of background characteristics within the tenant population. The opportunity to become personally acquainted with individual tenants was an added benefit.
- After each visit to the study site notes were made of information relevant to the issue of social relationships within the building. Sources for these log notes included unscheduled informal chats with tenants in public spaces,

casual encounters with staff, and unobtrusive observations of behaviors.

- In delineating the issues to be examined in this investigation I drew primarily on information obtained during the pilot work at the study site. However, in formulating the research design, the feasibility of using other settings as comparison sites was also explored. Contact was made with housing managers and tenants in other age-segregated and age-concentrated housing in an effort to determine if some of the observations regarding the nature of social networks among tenants were unique to this study site or whether similar tenant attitudes and patterns of social contact could be identified in other settings. Focused interviews concerned with tenant composition and patterns of social relationships among tenants were conducted with staff and residents in three age-segregated residential settings and two housing complexes that were age-integrated but contained a high proportion of older people.
- An interview schedule was developed and pilot interviews, with on-going revisions, were conducted with 14 older people living in various settings.

Major Findings from the Pilot Work

While age-segregation in public housing may represent one degree of homogeneity, clearly residents perceive many differences among themselves in terms of background characteristics.

Respondents were clearly aware of the heterogeneous composition of the tenant population, particularly in terms of the diversity of ethnic backgrounds. Ethnicity refers not only to race, but to various subgroup status such as national origin and religion within racial groups. Differences in ethnic backgrounds emerged spontaneously as a salient issue for many case study participants, and those tenants who participated in the brief questionnaire survey. Focused interviews with staff, and pilot interviews with tenants in other housing sites, also indicated that ethnicity was a major factor in on-going social networks. Although the number of those interviews was limited, this finding lends support to the researcher's position that the role of ethnicity in social relationships is not unique to this specific site. Rather, in buildings that contain multi-ethnic populations, it is likely to be one of the significant characteristics in defining social heterogeneity. The role of ethnicity in social relationships was never introduced by the interviewers. Commonality of ethnic background appeared to be a major factor in the formation of social dyads and groups during the early stages of occupancy. Another indicator of the saliency of ethnicity was the observation that when residents referred to specific neighbors they frequently mentioned the person's nationality. They spoke of the "Czech man next door," the "Irish lady," or the "Puerto Rican couple down the hall." Names were rarely given and usually not known. It should be stressed, however, that these observations were made during the first 16 months of occupancy. One goal of the present study was to explore whether ethnicity continued to be an important factor in social relationships among tenants.

Variations in health status also figured prominently in tenants'

perceptions of their neighbors, although no consistent tendency for similarity of health status to play a role in more intensive relationships was observed. Among case study participants and those tenants who took part in the questionnaire survey, friendship dyads were reported between tenants with no physical impairment and tenants with mild impairments, as well as those in which one member of the dyad was physically vigorous and the other had markedly limited functional health. In the latter cases, relationships were apparently first established because of the status dissimilarity in regard to functional health. A few dyads were observed where a more physically competent tenant provided assistance such as shopping to a less competent neighbor. Friendships gradually developed from what was initially a helping relationship.

Perceived differences in "social class" (specifically educational achievement and past and present economic status) while less frequently mentioned, were also apparently important to residents' feelings of status dissimilarity. A few case study participants indicated that they felt "more comfortable" with and enjoyed more the company of those tenants with whom they shared similar socioeconomic backgrounds.

Based on a review of the respondents' spontaneous comments about the relationships that they had formed during the first year and a half in the building, similarities in terms of sex and marital status were apparently not salient factors, although previous research with much larger samples has shown that these characteristics are important in friendship formation (Blau, 1961; Rosow, 1967).

Obviously, one cannot make meaningful statements about the significance of status similarity in terms of specific variables from

the pilot work, given the small number of participants in the intensive case study analysis and the nature of the data generated from case studies and the questionnaire survey, since the content of the interview schedules for both groups of respondents never addressed this issue. It is simply noted that these informal observations, in conjunction with the results reported by other investigators, indicated that status similarity in terms of a variety of personal characteristics is a critical concept to explore in any systematic investigation of patterns of social relationships among tenants in age-segregated public housing.

In addition to status similarity, other factors were identified as potential contributors to patterns of social relationships among the tenants. Some residents had established viable relationships involving mutual assistance and companionship with tenants of different socio-cultural backgrounds. The performance of a formal role within an on-site organization, having experienced a crisis such as the death of a household member, or an illness or accident that required hospitalization or a period of disability, seem to have provided an occasion for tenants to initiate contact with individuals from different sociocultural backgrounds. Just as perceived status similarity may be associated with at least the expectation that there are shared behavioral norms, these events may be associated with a set of shared norms for behavior that may transcend sociocultural factors. If one is a member of the tenant patrol or the "party committee," there are clearly defined prescriptions for interacting with other tenants. If a neighbor is ill there may be the shared value that one should provide assistance. When a neighbor loses a spouse, one may be expected to pay a condolence call. These situations appear to provide an opportunity to establish working

and helping relationships. It is possible that once such behaviors are initiated, the individuals may in time develop primary associations. Some of these notions were tested in the present study.

The pilot work clearly showed that a variety of qualitatively different types of social contacts exist among tenants in age-segregated settings. Intuitively this "finding" may appear obvious. However, this has not been documented in previous research. For example, studies that have only inquired about on-site "friendships" have failed to generate data that reflect other levels of social relationships that are meaningful to tenants and professionals (Howell, 1975). It is imperative to provide a detailed description of these various levels of personal associations. This data base is essential to any attempt to arrive at a meaningful understanding of social relationships in such settings, and specifically to the goals of this study. Preliminary work indicated that interactions ranged from superficial contacts that had little meaning for residents to intimate friendship and confidant bonds. However, there was no information about the relative distribution of these relationships.

Qualitatively different types of social contacts were considered from two perspectives: (1) the tenant's subjective feeling of closeness to another tenant; and (2) a variety of behavioral domains that reflected the kinds of activities that tenants engaged in with other residents in the building. It was considered essential to develop some approach that would combine these two perspectives. Throughout the extended period of pilot work an inventory of neighboring behaviors was compiled. Analysis of case study reports and review of my log notes indicated that it was imperative for the researcher to approach a complex topic

such as social relationships in a way that would incorporate the subjective meanings of these behaviors to the tenants. The older person's perceptions of the meaning of various behaviors would provide a useful supplement to behavioral data. Without such information the researcher who relies only on reported or observed behaviors may arrive at interpretations that do not accurately reflect the experiential aspects of given activities (Hochschild, 1973, 1975; Lewin, 1978).

For example, one highly visible behavior among tenants was sitting and talking on the benches in front of the building. This behavior had different meanings to different people, as the following two dyads illustrate. John O'Connor and Tim Carey had developed a close friendship after moving into the building. In good weather they could be seen regularly sitting on the benches in animated conversation, or sometimes simply enjoying a shared silence. Interviews with both men had revealed that each regarded the other as "my best friend," "my best pal." Similarly, Esther Miller and Sylvia Meyer were repeatedly observed sitting together, engaged in lively discussions. They often sat side by side for hours, and neither woman was ever seen sitting with anyone else on the benches. One day, as Mrs. Meyer was sitting alone, I joined her for an informal chat. She revealed that she and Mrs. Miller were "just acquaintances." Like herself, Mrs. Miller was "all alone," but unlike herself, Mrs. Miller "can't seem to manage the way I can. She's not well, you know. She's always talking about what this doctor said, and what that doctor said. . . . She needs somebody to talk to, and I try to help her, but," she confided, "it gets kinda depressing for me hearin' all this."

The case study analysis (Lewin, 1978) was replete with examples

that what appeared to be identical behaviors often had markedly different meanings to participants.

Preliminary information also suggested that it would be important to consider social relationships among neighbors within the context of the individual's broader social network, which may involve: kinship bonds; friendships with people who do not live in one's building; membership in formal organizations; recreational activities; and for a minority, employment status. For example, some tenants had extensive kinship networks that were most salient to them, and to which they devoted considerable time and had a strong emotional commitment. Others had highly valued on-going friendship networks outside of the housing, or participated in formal organizations such as church groups and national social organizations. Such individuals may therefore not be interested in or have time to develop on-site social relationships. Finally, a small proportion of the tenants were employed full or part-time, and appeared to be less dependent on local residents for friends. The point is that low levels of on-site social contacts may or may not indicate social isolation. Two participant observation studies came to different conclusions regarding the relationship between levels of on-site involvement and levels of participation in off-site social networks. Jacobs (1969) reported that those residents of a small age-segregated public housing complex who had extensive involvement in outside community activities engaged in less on-site visits with neighbors and participated less in the on-site formal organizations. Hochschild (1973) observed that those residents who had more extensive extra-building friendships also had more extensive friendship networks within their building. It was anticipated that a detailed knowledge of

extra-building social contacts would add to an understanding of the types of relationships that older people develop with other tenants.

The efforts of professional staff, specifically the on-site senior center staff and the housing assistant employed by the housing authority, appeared to play a crucial role in the emerging social organization of this age-segregated setting. These individuals helped to promote an atmosphere of friendliness and warmth. They provided the initiative and expertise for the formation of a Tenants Association and a tenant patrol, and continued support and guidance for these organizations, and a system of mutual assistance among tenants in case of emergency (Lewin, 1978). While these staff members may be unusually skillful and dedicated, their activities are not unique to this site. In many public housing projects the formation of tenants associations are encouraged. Thus, in a comprehensive study of social relationships among tenants it is important to recognize the impact of these staff efforts and formal organizations. Formal social structures provide occasions for tenants to come together for a specific purpose. They also offer the opportunity for tenants to acquire new roles. These mechanisms provide the basis for secondary associations which, in time, may develop into primary relationships among residents.

There was support for the finding of other investigators that proximity of dwelling units had a major impact on contact with other tenants. Most tenants appeared to know most or all of the people who lived on their floor. Two factors appear to account for this. (1) There are only eight units on a floor, and thus tenants are likely to have more frequent casual encounters with a limited number of residents. Newman (1973) has posited that in high-rise buildings where nine

or fewer families share a corridor, tenants are more likely to know their proximate neighbors, and to have a greater sense of community than in buildings with more than nine families on a floor. (2) In an effort to organize a viable mutual assistance network, and encourage greater social cohesiveness among tenants, housing, and Senior Center staff focused on the residential floor as a unit. For example, the initial tenant meetings were organized and conducted by Center staff members. Tenants were asked to sit at tables according to their floors, and were encouraged to "get to know your neighbors." Further, through staff initiative, floor representatives either volunteered or were drafted. Staff met separately with tenants on each floor. Through the initiative of the tenants themselves and the intervention of staff, residence on the same floor appeared to be an important factor in instrumental activities such as crisis intervention and assistance in the tasks of daily living. The present study explored systematically whether such associations developed into more intimate relationships.

The presence of community spaces such as outdoor seating and the senior center do provide a setting for casual contacts among tenants, participation in structured activities, and informal conversations. They are a major arena for socializing and for the exchange of information and misinformation. These community spaces also provide an opportunity for some tenants who do not wish to become involved in conversation or group activities to spectate. For some people, the latter behavior constitutes one meaningful form of social contact (Lawton, 1975). This investigation examined the reported use of these community spaces and the types of social contacts that occurred in these settings.

In summary, participation in an in-depth exploratory study (Lewin, 1978) and an extended period of pilot work revealed the complexity of the issue of social relationships in age-segregated residential settings. While status similarity and proximity of dwelling units may be critical independent variables, there are other parameters that may help to explain patterns of social relationships among residents. It is also evident that a study of tenant relationships should attempt to refine dependent variables such as the specific behaviors that tenants engage in, and the perceived level of intimacy associated with these relationships.

CHAPTER IV

GOALS AND HYPOTHESES

Social relationships among tenants in age-segregated residential settings is a complex topic area requiring a research approach that is conceptually and methodologically more comprehensive and rigorous than that which has been employed in previous investigations.

Major Goals

Through the systematic and inclusive study of an age-segregated public housing site the goals of this research were to:

1. describe the range and distribution of qualitatively different types of social relationships that emerged among tenants;
2. develop one or more techniques to describe incremental levels of intimacy of social relationships;
3. examine the relationship between reported levels of intimacy and status similarity with respect to a variety of personal and social characteristics: specifically, race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status and socioeconomic status;
4. examine the relationship between levels of intimacy and factors other than status similarity that may influence types of social relationships among tenants. These factors

include proximity of dwelling units, the performance of formal roles within on-site organizations, and the level of extra-building social contacts.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses related to status similarity and levels of intimacy of social relationships were tested.

Hypothesis 1. Reported levels of intimacy, defined as whether respondents identify tenants named on sociometric items as good friends, people they are friendly with, or acquaintances, will be associated with status similarity in terms of specific characteristics of race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status, and index of social position. Same status nominations will be associated with more intimate relationships, while cross status nominations will be associated with less intimate relationships.

Hypothesis 2. The proportion of status similars in the building will be significantly related to the total number of on-site social contacts reported and to the number of more intimate relationships that individuals develop with other tenants. That is, tenants with relatively greater numbers of status similars will report: (a) significantly more tenants with whom they had contact, and (b) significantly more social relationships of a more intimate nature, than those tenants who have relatively few status similars.

While status similarity of personal and social characteristics may be regarded as a major factor in the development of different types of

social relationships, it is by no means the only issue to consider in a comprehensive study. Previous research clearly indicates that proximity of dwelling units is a potent factor in friendship formation. Older people are more likely to form friendships with others who live on the same floor, rather than another floor within the same building; and within the residential floor, friendships are more likely to be reported among people whose dwelling units are physically closer (Lawton, 1975). Background work for this research suggested that the performance of formal roles within an on-site organization may also influence patterns of social relationships among tenants. In housing for older people, formal roles may provide a potential mechanism for facilitating social interaction. Further, it was suggested that the level of extra-building social contacts--involving friends, relatives, and participation in off-site formal organizations--would influence the types of social relationships that develop among tenants. Tenants with higher levels of extra-building social contacts would, it was anticipated, become less intimately involved with their neighbors than tenants with lower levels of extra-building contacts. Thus, an additional set of hypotheses was related to these considerations.

Hypothesis 3. Factors such as proximity of dwelling units, the performance of formal roles within on-site organizations, and levels of participation in off-site social networks will be associated with specific types of social relationships among tenants.

Sub-hypothesis 3-a. The majority of more intimate social relationships among tenants will involve non-proximate neighbors, that is, tenants who live on different floors.

Conversely, the majority of contacts among proximate neighbors will involve less intimate relationships.

Sub-hypothesis 3-b. Tenants who have performed a formal role within on-site organizations will report: (a) a significantly greater number of total on-site contacts, and (b) a significantly greater number of social relationships of a more intimate nature than tenants who have not performed such roles.

Sub-hypothesis 3-c. There will be an inverse relationship between levels of participation in off-site social networks and the total number of more intimate social relationships with other tenants.

Hypothesis 4. Tenants who have performed a formal role within an on-site organization will report significantly more social relationships, and significantly more relationships of a more intimate nature with residents who are dissimilar in terms of race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status, and index of social position, than tenants who have not performed such roles.

CHAPTER V

METHOD

The Research Setting

This study was conducted at 125 Belmar Drive, a 150 unit age-segregated public housing site located in a neighborhood that is commonly regarded as a most desirable residential area of a large city.⁶

This section of the city had, until the early 1950s, been a stable, working class area. The local population at that time was almost exclusively white, predominantly Catholic, and was comprised of high concentrations of immigrants. There were several ethnic enclaves of, for example, Czechs, Germans, Hungarians and Irish. Community organization was largely structured around these ethnic groups, with many churches, stores, restaurants, social, recreational and service organizations that catered to a particular nationality. Most of the neighborhood's housing had been built around the turn of the century, and consisted primarily of old and new law tenements. The area began to change during the early 1950s, as tenements were razed to make way for high-rise luxury apartment houses. Thousands of local residents were evicted from their homes over the following two decades (Lewin,

⁶None of the names of the places, persons, and organizations mentioned are those of the actual site, in order to protect the anonymity promised to all involved.

1978).

According to the 1970 Census, almost 17 percent of the neighborhood's residents were 65 and over, compared with 12 percent for the city as a whole. The need for good quality, affordable housing within the neighborhood was particularly acute among the older working class residents. In response to this need, plans for the construction of 125 Belmar Drive began in the 1960s.

The Inlet Terrace Neighborhood Association has a long tradition of responsive and innovative service to the poor and working class residents in the area. Working in close cooperation with the local housing authority, and enlisting the support of other local community agencies, the Neighborhood Association spearheaded a proposal for a Federally funded public housing project to be constructed when a local city-owned building was abandoned. In an effort to ease the severe housing problems of at least some of the neighborhood's residents, construction of 125 Belmar Drive was begun in early 1973. The building opened late in February, 1975, and was fully occupied by the summer of that year (Lewin, 1978).

Many of the conditions that have been recommended in guidelines for site location of housing for older people are present in this setting (e.g., Howell, 1976). Several supermarkets, fast-food and low and moderate priced coffee shops and restaurants, drug stores, as well as a bank and post office are from one to three blocks away. A large teaching hospital complex is only two to three blocks from the building. Virtually every type of store and commercial service that one would require on a routine basis, as well as parks, houses of worship, and several community organizations with special programs for older people,

are located within a 10 block radius. This point is stressed, because Cantor (1975), using an approach whereby older people rather than the researcher, provided operational definitions of "neighborhood" found that inner-city elderly respondents consistently defined 10 blocks as the maximum radius for neighborhood boundaries.

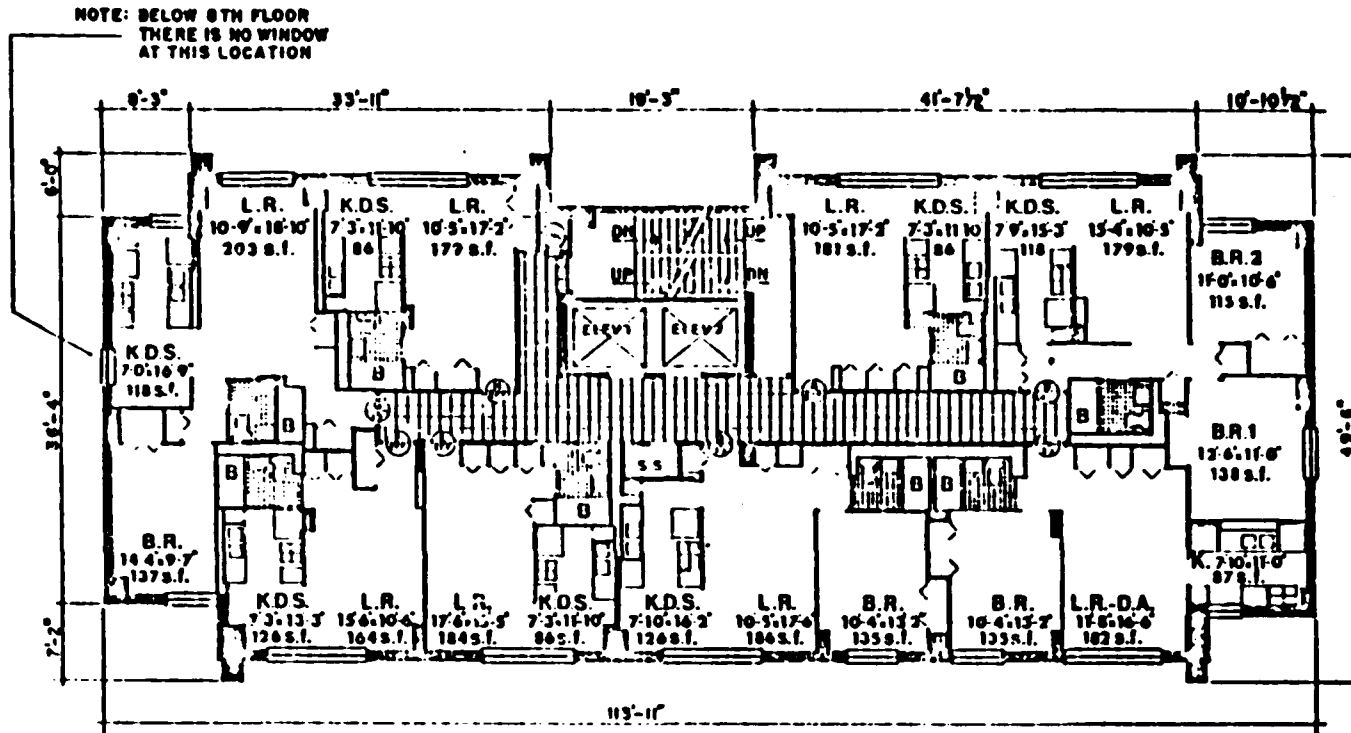
The Physical Setting

This 20 story building contains 75 efficiency, 55 one-bedroom, and 20 two-bedroom units. Floors three through 20 are identical in their design, each containing four efficiency, three one-bedroom, and one two-bedroom apartments (Figure 1). The second floor (Figure 2) contains six dwelling units, a laundry, and one room, originally intended as a lounge, but used instead as a nurse's station, where a nurse-practitioner is available two half-days a week. This room is also used one day a week by the senior center staff to hold small meetings with tenants. The ground floor of the apartment house consists of a lobby in which mailboxes and two elevators are located, but there is no seating available. There is only one entrance to the apartment building from the street. Unlike some public housing projects, this site is identified only by its street address, rather than a project name, which also lends congruence with the surrounding buildings.

The building has a brick facade, and most tenants who participated in the intensive case study and the questionnaire survey perceived the exterior as consistent with the neighborhood's luxury high-rises (Lewin et al., 1977). Spanning the space in the front of the building there are 16 wooden benches that comfortably accommodate two people each, although at times of peak use it is not uncommon to see three people

Figure 1.

Plan of Residential Floors
3 to 20 of 125 Belmar Drive

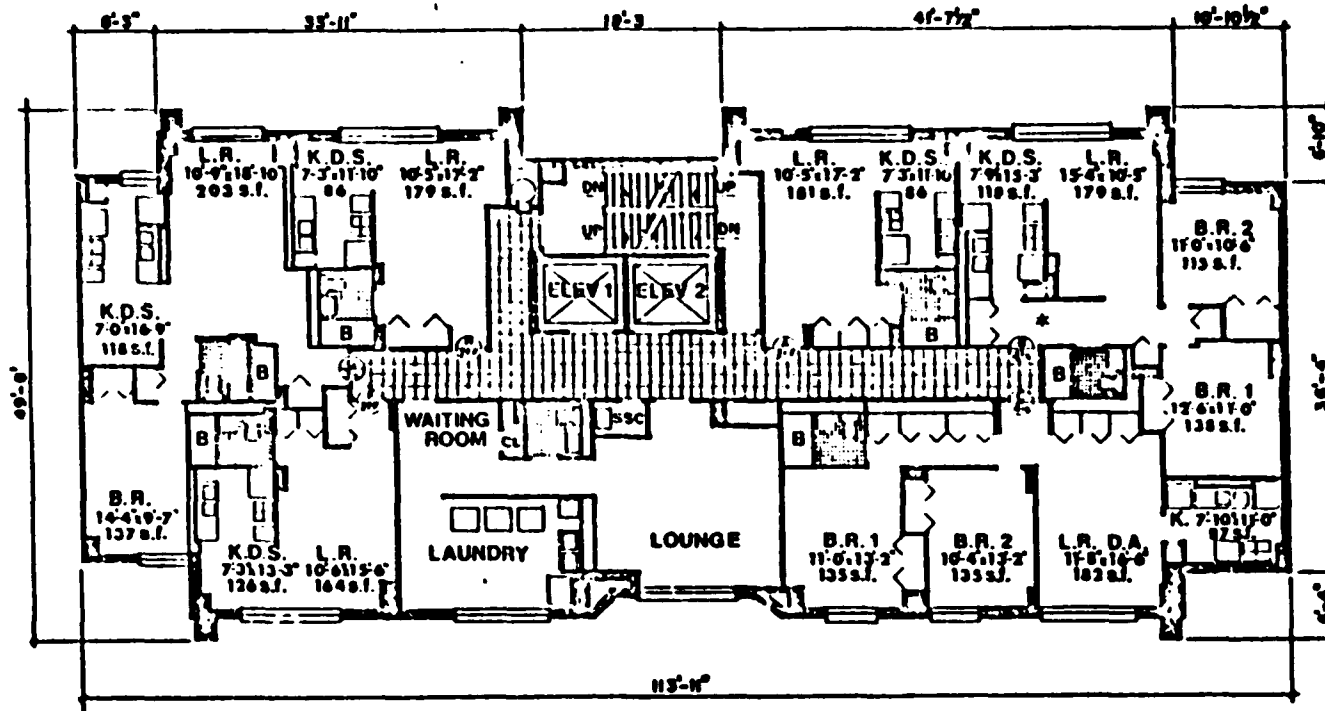


B.R. - Bedroom
D.A. - Dining area

K.D.S. - Kitchen-dining
L.R. - Living room

Figure 2.

Plan of Second Floor
of 125 Belmar Drive



sharing a bench. Some tenants bring their own beach chairs because, "sometimes it's so crowded, you can't get a seat." Attractive landscaping surrounds the building, and in warm weather trees provide welcomed shade for most of the benches.

The major portion of the ground floor (Figure 3) is occupied by the Inlet Terrace Senior Center. There are two entrances to the Center; one leading from the street, the other from the apartment house lobby. The center consists of a reception area; a small staff office; an activity room that may be divided into two sections; a fully equipped, commercial-type kitchen; a large room, which serves as a lunchroom, and may be sub-divided into two sections; and an outdoor patio off the lunchroom located in the rear of the building. The lunchroom is used for a variety of center activities, in addition to their popular luncheon program. This area also serves as a place for tenant meetings, as it is the only space that can accommodate large groups. Space for housing management staff is also located on the ground floor and has only one entrance, from the street; there is a small reception area, and an office for the housing assistant.

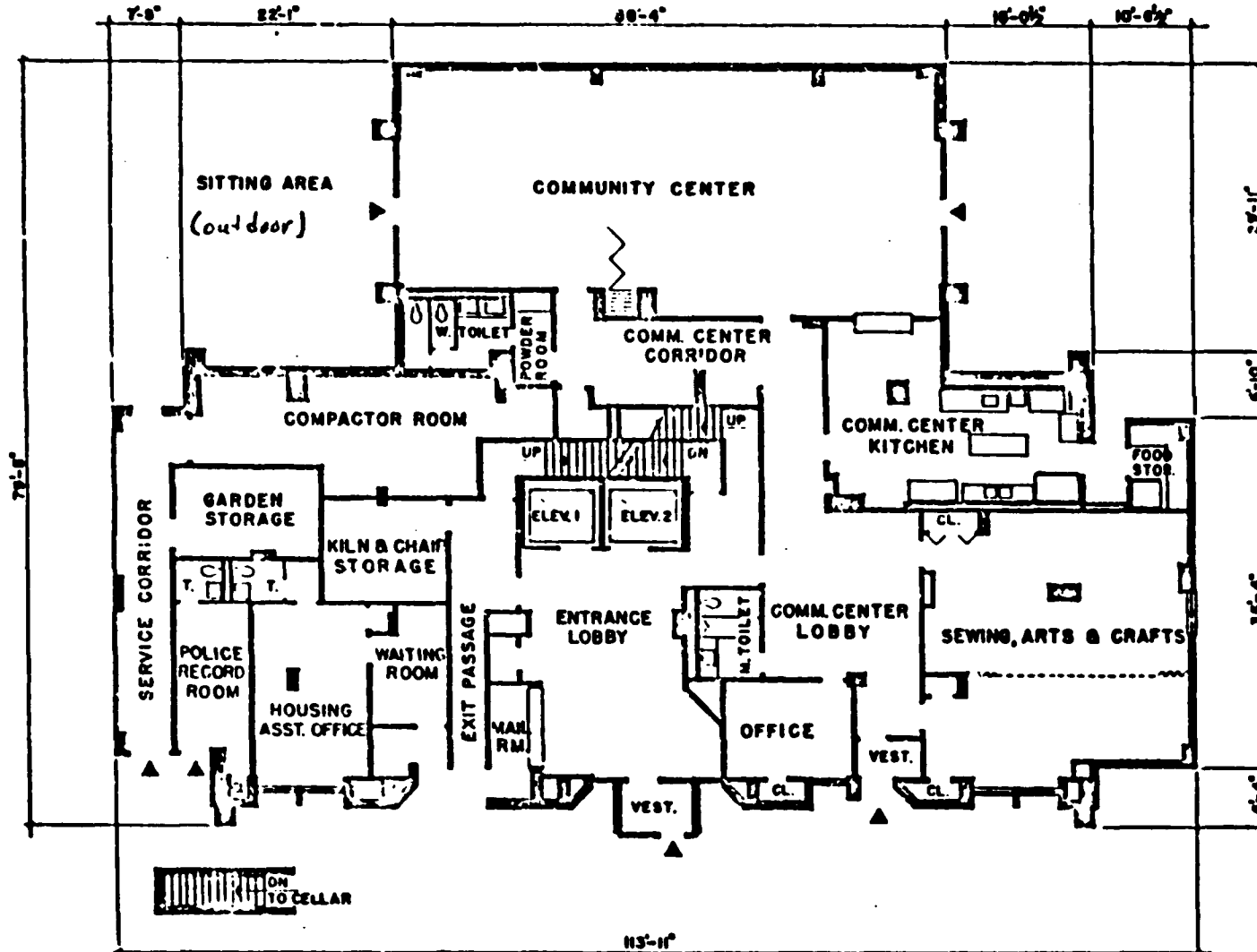
Formal On-Site Organizations

As mentioned in Chapter III, there were several on-site organizations that had an impact on the evolving patterns of social relationships among tenants.

The Inlet Terrace Senior Center. For several years before the building opened, the Neighborhood Association had operated an active Senior Center program on the same block on Belmar Drive. The Center was well known to numerous local elderly residents, and when it moved into

Figure 3.

Plan of the First Floor of 125 Belmar Drive



its new quarters there were over 1,100 members, including many of the tenants. Those tenants who were not already Center members were invited to join, and most did. At the time that data collection began the Center had approximately 1,700 members, although only a small percentage visited the Center regularly. According to several informants who are familiar with senior center programs throughout the city, the Inlet Terrace Center is highly regarded for its knowledgeable and very dedicated staff, its outreach program, the richness and variety of the activities that are offered, and a cadre of volunteers who provide a variety of services to members. Indeed the center enjoys an outstanding reputation and is often described as a model of creativity and service.

The in-depth analysis of the case study participants' experiences during the first 16 months of occupancy revealed that the presence of the Center, and the efforts of its staff had a profound impact on the developing social structure within the building. The Center's Associate Director joined the staff in the summer of 1975. In the fall of that year she discussed her concern with the social structure within the building, during one of my regular meetings with her. Her goal was to help to "build a cohesive community" among residents, which, she noted, did not exist at that time. She regarded the monthly Tenants Association meetings and special educational activities and parties as major mechanisms for developing a cohesive community. She recognized that not all tenants wished to participate in group activities, and was sensitive to the individual needs of the residents. She also expressed the hope that individual tenants would develop informal patterns of visiting, and ultimately friendships within the building. While this existed in some cases already, "it is quite limited now," she said.

The case study analyses also indicated that individuals differed considerably in terms of their participation in Center activities.

Involvement with the center was overwhelmingly important to the daily routines and self-image of some participants; indeed it was the hub of their lives. To others it offered the opportunity to engage in pleasant, meaningful activities and a feeling of "being a part of something." Still others were members in name only. Nevertheless, virtually all case study participants appreciated having the center within their building (Lewin, 1978, p. 295).

The Center also provided a limited number of tenants with formal roles. A few were employed part-time by the Center before they moved, and a few new members became part-time employees or volunteers following the move.

The Tenants Association. The first formal meeting of the tenants was held in April, 1975, and was conducted by the Director of the Senior Center. Additional meetings were held, and under the direction of the center staff, and with the full cooperation and support of the Housing Authority, a formal Tenants Association was formed with elected officers, in August, 1975. Tenants Association meetings were held monthly. Either the Director or the Associate Director of the Center attended almost every meeting for the first two and a half years or so, and on occasion the housing assistant was present. The Housing Authority provided guest speakers and technical assistance for such matters as the functions and by-laws of a Tenants Association, and the formation of a tenant patrol. Over time the Associate Director of the Center became the primary staff liaison person for the Tenants Association. She was always most skillful at striking the delicate balance between providing necessary guidance, support and technical assistance, and encouraging the tenants to function independently and autonomously.

The history of the Tenants Association was a mixed success. There were periods of efficient tenant administration, peaceful cooperation, and significant accomplishments, as well as periods of revolution, anarchy, counter revolution, and factional boycotts. In a few cases, as sometimes happens in civil wars, family member was divided against family member. One couple even separated briefly following a particular divisive meeting, according to two reliable informants.

Despite these vicissitudes, the Tenants Association was something that many residents became passionately involved in at one time or another. The association was a mechanism for tenants to come together to work for their common needs, and to become acquainted with one another. The first President founded a monthly tenants' newsletter that provided a vehicle for disseminating accurate information. With the help of the center staff, other tenants continued to publish the newsletter after the founder resigned. Members of the Association organized parties to which all residents were invited, even those who did not attend meetings or chose not to become formal members. By all accounts these occasions were splendid successes. The tenants began to establish expectations for appropriate behavior; the early meetings especially, and the newsletter, served to socialize tenants to these evolving norms. For example, one tenant regularly scattered bird seed in front of the building, much to the delight of the neighborhood pigeons and the displeasure of other tenants. Some residents would admit visitors into the building without having them identify themselves. Others were sometimes careless about how they wrapped their garbage, and they soiled the chute to the compactor. Social control was swift and effective. Without ever identifying the offending party, such matters were discussed at the

Tenants Association meetings, items appeared in the newsletter, and sometimes censuring notices were posted on the bulletin board in the lobby, or the wall space between the two elevators. The message that such behaviors would not be tolerated was unequivocal. Sometimes written notices contained the threat of exposure, by the addendum, "We know who you are!" The tenants of 125 Belmar Drive were united in their pride in this beautiful, high quality, modern building and in their determination to see that it remained well-maintained.

The Tenants Association provided a variety of formal roles for residents, and opportunities for individuals to achieve visibility. There were positions for officers, and a variety of committee posts. The newsletter was another way for tenants to gain visibility. Some wrote poems, contributed recipes, and submitted special articles of interest. The first editor-in-chief also ran a column entitled, "The Wise Old Owl Says . . .," that featured very brief vignettes of residents, without giving their names, and readers were invited to "Guess Whooo?"

The Center's Associate Director often helped to plan agendas and arranged for guest speakers for some of the educational programs. She suggested the establishment of various committees. During periods between administrations, she provided continuity for on-going projects, and chaired the meetings held to elect new officers. When necessary she stepped in to mediate disputes. Yet, she said, time and again, that she would "assist and guide, and when necessary, help to strengthen leadership," but, that she would not run the Tenants Association. "That's your job," she explained quite firmly. And indeed, many tenants rose to the challenge.

Center staff provided the impetus for establishing a plan for mutual assistance among tenants in times of emergency, especially during evening hours and week-ends. Staff also fostered informal support systems by encouraging tenants to assist one another in the tasks of daily living, to "be good neighbors, and lend a hand in times of need." A group of representatives and alternates from each residential floor was established, and center staff met monthly with this group and provided on-going assistance to the floor representatives. Although a few members of this group has served as officers on one or another Tenants Association administrations, the floor representatives were apolitical in the performance of their responsibilities, and this support system continued to function smoothly.

The tenant patrol. In March, 1976, a tenant patrol was established. This group was administratively separate from the Tenants Association, and was formed with the encouragement and support of the local Housing Authority. The Housing Authority sent management staff and tenant representatives from other sites to meet with the tenants of Belmar Drive, to offer their expertise, and to explain the functions of a tenant patrol. Several speakers echoed the words of one Housing Authority representative who said that tenant patrol participation, "means sitting with your neighbors, chatting, and by your presence, providing a deterrent." But, he added, "You are not policemen, only additional eyes and ears." Patrol members were advised not to "play hero," should a threatening situation ever arise. Housing Authority management selected one tenant from among three men who volunteered to become the supervisor of the patrol, a position that carried a \$3.70 an hour salary for approximately ten hours work per week. All other

patrol members volunteered their time, and all tenants were urged to participate. The first volunteers were recruited at tenant meetings. It was the supervisor's responsibility to see that there was always adequate coverage, and to keep records of the patrol's activities. Some volunteers were later recruited by the supervisor of the patrol. The Housing Authority provided a special telephone for the patrol, should they ever need to contact Housing Authority police, and also provided volunteers with special "Tenant Patrol" jackets. The patrol hours are from 6:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m., and members sit in the lobby at folding tables and chairs which are set up each evening. Typically two to three patrol members sit together at any one time, and the shifts usually averaged two hours per person. Thus, the patrol, like the Tenants Association and the group of floor representatives, offered a number of additional formal roles for tenants to fill, and the structure to meet and be with other tenants.

Admissions Criteria

Criteria for admission to 125 Belmar Drive were set by the local Housing Authority, with one qualification. According to an agreement with the Inlet Terrace Neighborhood Association and the other community groups that had participated in the planning of the building, the first group of tenants was to be drawn from applicants who were already residents of the neighborhood. Tenants were to be 62 years and over, although a minority of somewhat younger people who were disabled were eligible for admission, as were disabled children of older couples, if they were part of the household. Income for efficiency unit occupants could not exceed \$6,800 per annum. Yearly income ceilings for one

bedroom and two bedroom unit occupants were \$8,600 and \$10,000, respectively. Rents ranged from \$81.00 for efficiency units to \$118.00 per month for two bedroom apartments, and included all utilities. However, under the Brooke Amendment no tenant paid more than 25 percent of her or his monthly income for rent. All tenants whose rent exceeded one fourth of their monthly income received rent subsidies. There was no minimum income requirement (Lewin, 1978).

Eligibility for the Study

All tenants who had lived at 125 Belmar Drive for six months or longer were considered potential respondents. The decision to attempt a 100 percent sample of the building's population was based on the following considerations. It would:

(1) permit an accurate description of the building's social context. That is, the proportion of tenants with the same or similar background characteristics, in terms of a variety of indicators, could be determined. This data base was necessary in order to test some of the hypotheses;

(2) permit a detailed descriptive data base of the types of social behaviors that take place among neighbors, and the proportion of tenants who engage in specific types of behaviors;

(3) allow the investigator to examine reciprocity of sociometric choices. This has generally been ignored in previous studies.

Further, there was evidence that the tenant population would vary considerably in terms of a number of the major independent variables such as national origin and the performance of on-site formal roles, and the dependent variables, such as specific types of social behaviors

and different levels of perceived intimacy with other residents in the building. A major goal of the study was to attempt to identify specific indicators of status similarity, and other variables such as formal roles within the building, and levels of extra-building social contacts, that were expected to be related to the types of social relationships that had developed among tenants. Since data analyses would involve a series of subgroup comparisons among the tenant population, the attempt to achieve a 100 percent sample would maximize the probability of obtaining subsample groups large enough to permit statistical comparisons. Obviously a 100 percent response rate was not expected, but I had obtained an 80 percent response rate when the questionnaire survey was conducted during the pilot work (Lewin et al., 1977). It was anticipated that a similar proportion of the tenants would participate in an interview for this study.

Preparation for Data Collection

Many urban elderly poor may be reluctant to participate in social science research, as the pilot work clearly demonstrated. They may be particularly wary of admitting strangers to their homes. Therefore I attempted to meet informally with as many tenants as possible before beginning data collection, which was scheduled for early September, 1978. During July and August, I reestablished informal contacts with tenants whom I knew, and especially those who had held leadership positions in the building, since prior experience had indicated that the latter group could be most helpful in enlisting the cooperation of their more reticent neighbors. While I had visited Belmar Drive periodically following conclusion of data collection for the exploratory

case study, it had been almost two years since I had made frequent visits there. Some tenants, with whom I was better acquainted, greeted me with hugs and kisses upon my "return." Others were friendly, but more reserved, some were apparently indifferent, and a few had no interest in meeting me. During these informal chats, which typically involved one to three people at a time, I reviewed the previous work that my colleagues and I had been involved with, said that in September we would begin the last phase of our work there, and that this time we were asking all tenants to participate in an interview. But these informal contacts were, for the most part, social visits--a chance to learn how individuals had fared, and the latest "goings on" in the building. Log notes were kept on these contacts, and slight modifications in the interview schedules were made to take into account changes that had occurred in the building. Virtually all of these contacts took place in the community spaces--the bench area, the lobby, the senior center--and sometimes as I met tenants walking down the street.

While it may be desirable for potential respondents to at least be able to recognize the interviewer as a familiar face, it is certainly important that the researcher be regarded as a legitimate professional. I had planned to ask permission to attend a monthly meeting of the Tenants Association, in order to discuss the study, announce the beginning of data collection, and also, implicitly, to convey the legitimacy of the research. This courtesy had been accorded in the past, for the questionnaire survey. However, staff efforts to encourage the autonomy of the Tenants Association had succeeded beyond their expectations. During the reign of the last administration in the summer of 1978, the Tenants Association officers barred Center staff from their meetings.

Soon after that the Association temporarily collapsed.⁷ Therefore, the original plan to introduce the study formally at a Tenants Association meeting had to be abandoned.

During this same period, I met with the housing assistant and the Center's director and associate director. These staff members were told that the focus of this study would be the patterns of social relationships that had developed among the tenants.⁸ The general goals of the study were explained, although specific hypotheses were not revealed at that time. I told the staff that I wanted to gain their perceptions about the types of social relationships that had evolved, and also the tenant characteristics and situational factors that they thought might have influenced these relationships. However, after data collection was completed, which included interviews with tenants and staff, the hypotheses were presented to staff.

Before initiating data collection these staff members were fully apprised of the general goals of the research and precisely what would be asked of the tenants. They were also regarded as valuable partners in the project since in the past they had been most generous in taking

⁷Efforts to reestablish a Tenants Association were begun during the winter months, 1978-1979. Once again, at tenants' request, the Center staff provided guidance and support to the efforts to form a new association.

⁸Tenants, however, were not told that the primary focus of the study was social relationships, since it was anticipated that residents would be more likely to participate in a study that was concerned with their general housing experiences, of which relationships with neighbors was only one aspect. While I had misgivings about this approach, the decision seemed right at the time. It should be noted that in earlier phases of the work at Belmar Drive, all of the research goals were fully shared with potential respondents and those who did participate were regarded as full partners in the effort to understand the impact of the housing milieu on their lives.

time from their demanding schedules to share their ideas and provide their support to various aspects of our work there. I requested, and received, their permission to use their names in the letter of introduction that would be sent to the tenants, and also to mention their names, if necessary, should tenants want to "check me out" when I contacted them personally. Housing and Center staff support for previous phases of the research was sometimes the decisive factor in tenants' decisions to participate. A tentative interview schedule was submitted to these three staff members for their review and comments and they were offered the opportunity to include items that would provide information about issues of specific interest to them. They did, in fact, identify areas they were interested in learning more about, and I developed specific questions which they later approved, to be included in the interviews. Late in August, I obtained an updated list of all the tenants in the building, and the approximate move-in dates of the new tenants.

Data collection was scheduled to begin the first week in September, 1978. In mid-August, the housing assistant reported that the painters were due to arrive at the building, and that the apartments would be painted during the next few weeks. Since having one's apartment painted can be quite disruptive and stressful to tenants, particularly those who are physically impaired, data collection was postponed. Informal meetings with staff and tenants continued during this period. Next, Center staff told me that a research project that involved interviewing samples of members and non-members of four senior centers in the city was underway. This project included the participation of a limited sample of the building's residents, and had created

some negative reactions among some interviewees. Staff advised me to "wait a little longer, until the tenants cooled off" from this experience. Thus, the first interview did not take place until the first week in October, 1978.

Data Collection

Method of Contact

Letters of introduction, on University stationery (Appendix A, p. 271) were sent to all tenants who had lived in the building for six months or more, a single residential floor at a time. Tenants on the top floor were contacted first, since the painters had begun their work on the top floor, and these individuals had more time to recover from their painting. The rationale for proceeding floor by floor was based on Carp's (1966) experience that the interview process, and sociometric questions in particular, generated considerable discussion among tenants, especially among proximate neighbors. I had hoped to limit discussion about the content of the interview by concentrating on one floor at a time, moving swiftly from floor to floor, and also by closing the interview session with the following request, "When we do interviews like this we usually ask people not to discuss what is in the interview with the other tenants because we'd like to get their thoughts and opinions, without the person thinking about these things in advance --just as you have." In retrospect, that goal and approach seem remarkably naïve. The grapevine among the tenants was swift and far-reaching, if not always accurate. Sometimes this appeared to have a favorable effect on response rate. Friends and acquaintances of respondents who had enjoyed the session were eager to be interviewed,

and several of them requested an appointment, even before they were approached. In some cases, as will be discussed later in this Chapter, respondents found some of the questions "too personal," and shared this feeling with their neighbors. This clearly had an adverse impact on the response rate.

Three to six days after the letter of introduction was mailed, an attempt was made to contact potential respondents personally. Those with published telephone numbers were called, and the researcher visited the homes of those with no published telephone numbers. At the time of personal contact all potential respondents received a much more detailed, standardized introduction to the study, its purpose, and what their participation would entail (Appendix A, pp. 272-274). Any questions that respondents raised were answered. Typically, an appointment was made for those who agreed to an interview, although a few tenants who were contacted by a personal visit elected to have the interview then and there. Immediately prior to each interview the purpose of the study, the procedure, and the general content of the interview were reviewed with each respondent. Respondents were asked to sign an informed consent statement (Appendix A, p. 275) and the interviewer signed a statement guaranteeing confidentiality, anonymity, and agreement to pay the respondents \$5.00 for their participation. Reasons for refusing an interview were recorded, as well as the person's sex, race (in cases of a personal visit), and whether the person spoke with a foreign accent. Other personal characteristics such as age, nationality, occupation, etc. were also recorded if the person volunteered such information. Interestingly, several of the non-respondents spontaneously did offer such details about themselves. A minimum of six call-backs, at different

times of day, and different days of the week, were made for those who were not contacted on the first attempt.

Interviewers

The investigator conducted all but three of the interviews. In the fall of 1978, an experienced Spanish-speaking interviewer was trained, and she personally contacted tenants who spoke only Spanish, or who had declined an interview stating that their knowledge of English was not sufficient to participate in the study. That Spanish-speaking interviewer was unable to obtain a single interview. In the spring of 1979, another Spanish-speaking interviewer, with considerable experience, was trained and she conducted three interviews with Hispanic tenants. Two of the interviews conducted by the investigator were carried out with the assistance of translators. Each of these interviewees spoke only a few words of English; one chose to conduct the session in Russian, the other in Slavic.

Tenants' propensity to be aware of one another's ethnic membership raised some concern as to whether respondents of different racial, national and religious groups would be comfortable with a younger, white, Jewish interviewer. I was particularly concerned as to whether black respondents would freely share their feelings about living in a building where the majority of tenants was white. There was equal concern that the assignment of a black interviewer to black tenants might foster an undesired emphasis on racial differences in the minds of black and non-black tenants alike. The response rate, as will be reported shortly, was most favorable among black tenants. Further, a review of the comments made by black respondents indicates that they were candid about

racial issues, and that the use of a white interviewer did not present a major problem. Mr. Lee is a case in point. Throughout the interview he spoke about his life-long experiences with racial prejudice. Yet he, as did the others, made clear distinctions between an individual and his or her race. He spoke with some bitterness about some recent encounters with "bigots," and he lavished praise on two staff members who had no prejudice and were "indoctrinated right." Of the interviewer and the interview, he said:

. . . I don't know nothin' about you--only what I met. And by what I gather as we go along. But somehow or another the first time you interviewed me I had a lotta faith in you. See, a lotta people be sayin' one thing and they tryin' ta find out another, you know what I mean? I don't believe that about you. . . . I think I know who to trust. . . . And it's [the interview] been a great pleasure and a great experience. . . . For the professional that's interviewin' me--to see through what I'm talking about. . . . Bein' accepted. . . . This is entertainment. Great entertainment. . . . You see this is a great day. I'd give \$5.00 to have this much company with the right people--or person. . . .

Participation in the Study

All tenants who had lived in the building six months or longer were regarded as potential respondents. The day that data collection began there were 190 eligible tenants in residence. Completed interviews were obtained for 91 people. An additional 80 were personally contacted: 70 of these refused to be interviewed; ten of these said that they would like to participate, but at a later date.⁹ Those who asked to defer an interview were contacted more than once, and in some cases as many as six times. Illness was the most frequently mentioned

⁹Of the ten people who asked to defer an interview, four had protracted serious illnesses, one person's spouse had a serious protracted illness, three reported that they were "too busy," one had recently lost a spouse, and one offered no reason.

reason for refusing or deferring an interview, cited by 25 percent; 15 percent gave no reason; and almost 14 percent stated that they were "not interested." It should be noted that 7.5 percent of those who refused indicated that they were opposed to the study, typically because there were "too many personal questions." While it was stressed that interviewees were free to skip any questions that they didn't want to answer, or that they thought were too personal, and that they could terminate the interview whenever they wished, these individuals stood firm in their decision. An additional five percent ultimately refused interviews because other tenants or their spouses urged them not to participate. Table 1 presents a summary of participation in the study and a detailed description of the reasons for refusing or deferring participation. Finally, 19 tenants were never personally contacted. Of these, seven died or were permanently institutionalized before an interview could be requested. Of the remaining 12, ten were never found at home despite a minimum of six call-backs at different times of the day and different days of the week; were on extended vacations; or they simply would not answer their door or even acknowledge that they were at home. (I later learned that one of these individuals was "completely deaf.") I was advised not to contact two tenants. One was severely emotionally disturbed; the other was considered physically and mentally incapable of participating in an interview. Thus, 171 (90%) of the 190 eligible tenants were personally contacted for an interview. Completed interviews were obtained for 53.2 percent of those contacted.

Table 1
Participation in the Study

Summary	N	
Eligible tenants	190	
Unable to contact	19	
Tenants contacted	171	
Completed interviews	91	
Refused or deferred interviews	80	
<u>Reasons cited for refusal or deferral</u>		
	N	%
Too ill	20	25.00
No reason	12	15.00
Not interested	11	13.75
Opposed to study	6	7.50
Didn't "want to get involved"	5	6.25
Language barrier	5	6.25
Too busy	4	5.00
Initially accepted, later, cancelled, offering specious excuses	4	5.00
Recent bereavement	2	2.50
Case study participant (Nothing further to say)	2	2.50
"Nothing to say" (Felt incapable)	2	2.50
Peer pressure not to participate	2	2.50
Spouse opposed to study	2	2.50
Spouse too ill	1	1.25
Opposed to consent form (Initially accepted)	1	1.25
Interviewer aborted interview	1	1.25
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	80	100.00

Problems in Data Collection

It was originally anticipated that data collection would take three months. In reality, it took nine months to interview half of the eligible tenants who were still in residence as of the spring of 1979. A number of unanticipated problems account in part for the relatively high refusal rate and the extended period of time required to complete the study. Beginning in December, 1978 and continuing through March, 1979, an unusually high incidence of serious illness, hospitalization, and death occurred among tenants. The Center's director reported that she had "never seen anything like it." Many tenants were amenable to an interview, but were too ill to participate at the time they were contacted. In some cases it was necessary to wait as long as four months until the person felt well enough to participate in the study.

It was not uncommon for potential respondents to agree to an interview and then have to cancel their appointment because of their own illness or hospitalization, or that of a family member. The overwhelming majority of these cases rescheduled appointments and complete interviews were eventually obtained. Some respondents simply forgot an appointment or had unexpected visitors, and they, too, had to reschedule appointments. It is possible that my frequent informal visits at the building may have created the impression that I was readily available, and thus may have contributed to the casual attitude that some respondents had about appointments. There were, however, eight people who when first contacted, agreed to participate in the study and made appointments which they later cancelled and declined to reschedule. In half of these cases, the tenants were forthright in their explanation that they had changed their minds on the advice of other tenants, or

that their spouse had reconsidered, and was opposed to the study. The typical objection to the interview was that there were "too many personal questions." These individuals usually went to great pains to explain that their decision was "nothing personal" or that they realized "you don't make up the questions," and two even extended invitations for a social visit but "no interview."

The other four tenants who cancelled an appointment and who declined to reschedule offered a variety of excuses that did not seem very plausible, and they appeared anxious and evasive when another appointment was requested. For example, when Mrs. Brown was first contacted in December, she replied warmly, "I wouldn't dream of refusing you," and she made an appointment for the following week. The day before the scheduled appointment, Mrs. Brown left a message at the University that she couldn't keep her appointment. After several unsuccessful phone calls the following day, I finally reached Mrs. Brown at 8:30 p.m. She explained that she "had a cold" and "wasn't feeling well." When I mentioned that I had tried to reach her during the day, but that there was no answer, she became a bit flustered and evasive, and said that she was "still recuperating." She declined to reschedule an appointment, "with the way things are now," and she added, "I know you're doing a good job, and have interviewed quite a number of people." There was a similar scenario involving another tenant a few weeks later. This time the tenant explained that "there was a problem in the family" and that she would have to be out of town. In fact, she was at home at the time the appointment was scheduled. When I greeted her in the elevator a few days later and asked "How are things?" she replied, "Not too well." She appeared anxious and eager to avoid further discussion on that and

subsequent meetings. Prior to this, the tenant had been friendly whenever we met. Log notes for this period refer to the "need to understand some unexplained undercurrent associated with tenants' reluctance to be interviewed." A decision was made to keep a low profile for a while. Perhaps tenants were fearful that their comments would be shared with housing and Center staff, and so meetings with staff were suspended. Informal conversations with tenants, staff and senior center members were also avoided, lest respondents think that privileged information was shared. It was clear that political factions had developed within the building, and therefore I avoided being seen with members of identified groups.

On January 15, 1979, some of the mystery was lifted. I arrived for an appointment with Mr. and Mrs. Dubnov, a couple who had also taken part in the questionnaire survey. Ann Cunningham, whom I had interviewed for the present study, was also there. She was a good friend of the Dubnovs, offering constant practical and social support. Everyone had apparently dressed up for the visit. Ann began by saying, "We have a problem. Someone who lives in the building was down here and told Mrs. D. not to be interviewed--not to have anything to do with you." I asked why, and Ann said that the "party in question" said that the interview contained "too many personal questions." A long discussion followed, in which I tried to clarify any misunderstandings, reviewed in detail the content of the interview, that tenants need not answer any questions that they thought were too personal, and so forth. Ann urged the Dubnovs to participate, said that she had thoroughly enjoyed the interview and hadn't found "anything objectionable or too personal." Mrs. D. appeared embarrassed, said that she would like to "help out" but kept

her promise to the other tenant not to be interviewed. Ann referred to "the tenant in question" as "a trouble maker." She went to some lengths to conceal the person's identity, but inadvertently revealed, beyond doubt, who the person was. I was stunned at this revelation. The "person in question" had a large formal and informal network within the building, and was someone whom I had regarded as an important informant, even though the request for an interview had been refused.

Following the meeting with the Dubnovs and Ann Cunningham, notes of personal contacts with all tenants who had refused an interview were reviewed. While it is clearly impossible to determine with any certainty how many others were similarly persuaded not to be interviewed, there is reason to suspect that at least seven tenants, in addition to the Dubnovs, were influenced by this individual.

Over the years I had encountered resistance and occasional open hostility from older community residents when they were asked to take part in social science research. I respect these people and even admire them for their honesty and directness. In this case, however, I was confused, hurt, and angry, particularly by the duplicity of this one tenant, and most especially by the covert campaign to persuade other tenants to refuse to be interviewed. A sense of betrayal was particularly acute since moments before I arrived at the Dubnov's apartment, I had met "the tenant in question," was greeted in a cheerful and apparently friendly fashion, and we had exchanged a few words.

At this point, the mailing of letters of introduction was suspended for approximately ten days. During this time I attempted to defuse what appeared to be a potentially explosive situation. Repeated requests for a brief discussion with "the person in question" were rebuffed. Finally,

I accepted the fact that peer pressure against participation was one of the hazards of field research, and data collection was resumed.

Another circumstance that made data collection difficult was the fact that almost 32 percent of the tenants had either unpublished telephone numbers or no phone. (The great majority of these had unpublished numbers.) These people were particularly difficult to contact personally. Since a significant proportion of these tenants were reluctant to open their apartment doors, and some would not even talk through closed doors, I began to spend time around the mail boxes in the lobby, especially between 11:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m., the hour when most people came to collect their mail. Since apartment numbers were clearly displayed on the mail boxes, I could then identify the tenants, approach them if they had not already been contacted, introduce the study, and request their participation. Even for tenants who refused to be interviewed, this approach nevertheless enabled me to identify the person's sex, race, and whether she or he spoke with a foreign accent. As warm weather approached, tenants were also contacted in the bench area. Finally, in May, 1979, a last ditch effort was made to increase the response rate. A decision was made to terminate data collection when 50 percent of the remaining eligible tenants had been interviewed, or, if that goal was not achieved, by June 30. A somewhat more forceful follow-up letter was sent to all tenants who had not flatly refused to participate (Appendix A, p. 276). There was no limit on the number of call-backs for people who were not contacted. The help of floor representatives was requested for floors where response rate was particularly low, and I enlisted the direct help of Center staff. The Spanish-speaking interviewer had been unable to obtain a single interview. Another highly recommended

Spanish-speaking interviewer was trained, since one tenant, who spoke only a few words of English, had expressed her willingness to participate in the study. The second interviewer was given the names, apartment numbers, and when possible, the telephone numbers of other Hispanic tenants and asked to contact these people again. A total of three interviews were conducted in Spanish. All of these efforts had only a modest impact on increasing the number of respondents.

After data collection was terminated, a concerted effort was made to obtain demographic information for all tenants who did not participate in the study, in order to permit as accurate a description as possible of the social context of the tenant population. This information was obtained in a variety of ways. Approximately 22 percent of those who were not interviewed for the present study had participated in the questionnaire survey or in the intensive case study research, and thus complete demographic profiles were available for these individuals. Information regarding age, sex, race, religion, place of birth, and marital status was available from Center records for an additional 31 percent of the tenants who were not interviewed. Some non-respondents spontaneously provided rather complete information about relevant personal characteristics when they were personally contacted. Frequently, respondents offered comments about the characteristics of other tenants. If two or more respondents, from different households, provided consistent information about a specific tenant, such as "Mrs. Novak is Czech," that information was regarded as reliable. Finally, after the data from all of the above sources were compiled, the investigator met with the Center's director and associate director in an effort to obtain any missing information. (The housing assistant, who

was personally acquainted with all of the tenants, had moved to another state just before data collection was completed. Unfortunately, information about demographic characteristics of non-respondents could not be obtained from her. However, it is doubtful that housing staff could, in an official capacity, provide such information.) Center staff members were also asked to provide information about a sample of respondents as well, since, as I explained, this would serve as an indication of the validity of their reports, and would help to conceal the identity of those tenants who did, and did not, participate in the study. There was every indication that information provided by staff was completely accurate. In one case, they were uncertain about the tenant's nationality, and even called someone at the Neighborhood Association for confirmation. The one characteristic for which an acceptable level of information was not obtained was index of social position. This variable requires precise knowledge of the education and occupation of the head of the household.

The critical question, of course, is whether respondents differed in any systematic fashion from non-respondents. Table 2 presents selected demographic characteristics for respondents; the combined group of those who refused or deferred an interview, or who could not be contacted (labeled as non-respondents); and for the total building population. This last group includes respondents, non-respondents, the seven people who died or were permanently institutionalized before an interview was requested, and two other tenants who had died shortly before data collection began, but who were named by respondents on sociometric questions. Where the distribution of characteristics differed for men and women, these data are presented separately for

Table 2
Selected Characteristics of Respondents,
Non-Respondents, and Total
Tenant Population

Personal Characteristic	Respondents (N = 91)		Non-respondents (N = 92)		Adjusted %	Total tenant population ^a (N = 192)		Adjusted %
	<u>N</u>	% ^b	<u>N</u>	%		<u>N</u>	%	
Sex								
Men	28	30.8	31	33.7	33.7	62	32.3	32.3
Women	63	69.2	61	66.3	66.3	130	67.7	67.7
Race								
White	76	83.5	77	83.7	84.6	161	83.9	84.3
Black	9	9.9	5	5.4	5.5	14	7.3	7.3
Hispanic	6	6.6	7	7.6	7.7	14	7.3	7.3
Asian	-	-	2	2.2	2.2	2	1.0	1.1
No information	-	-	1	1.1	-	1	.5	-
Religion								
Catholic	54	59.3	47	51.1	69.1	106	55.2	63.5
Protestant	15	16.5	8	8.7	11.8	24	12.5	14.4
Jewish	12	13.2	10	10.9	14.7	23	12.0	13.8
Eastern Orthodox	2	2.2	1	1.1	1.5	3	1.6	1.8
Other Christian	5	5.5	2	2.2	2.9	8	4.2	4.8
None	3	3.3	-	-	-	3	1.6	1.8
No information	-	-	24	26.1	-	25	13.0	-

^aThis group includes respondents, non-respondents, and an additional nine tenants who died or were permanently institutionalized during the course of the study.

^bPercents may not always add to 100 because of rounding.

Table 2--Continued

Personal Characteristic	Respondents (N = 91)		Non-respondents (N = 92)		Adjusted % ^c	Total tenant population (N = 192)		Adjusted % ^c
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%		<u>N</u>	%	
Place of Birth								
Whites								
Austria	1	1.1	3	3.3	3.7	4	2.1	2.2
Canada	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Cyprus	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
Czechoslovakia	9	9.9	10	10.9	12.2	19	9.9	10.5
Denmark	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
England	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
France	1	1.1	2	2.2	2.4	4	2.1	2.2
Germany	3	3.3	4	4.3	4.9	9	4.7	5.0
Greece	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Hungary	3	3.3	5	5.4	6.1	10	5.2	5.5
Ireland	11	12.1	6	6.5	7.3	18	9.4	9.9
Italy	-	-	3	3.3	3.7	3	1.6	1.7
Poland (Christian)	1	1.1	2	2.2	2.4	3	1.6	1.7
Poland (Yiddish-speaking)	-	-	3	3.3	3.7	3	1.6	1.7
Russia (Christian)	2	2.2	-	-	-	2	1.0	1.1
Russia (Yiddish-speaking)	2	2.2	-	-	-	2	1.0	1.1
Scotland	2	2.2	1	1.1	1.2	3	1.6	1.7
Sweden	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
United States	38	41.8	26	28.3	31.7	65	33.9	35.9
D.K. but foreign-born, non- English-speaking country	-	-	3	3.3	-	3	1.6	-
No information	-	-	6	6.5	-	7	3.6	-

^cAdjusted percent based on the number of individuals for whom data was available.

Table 2--Continued

Personal Characteristic	Respondents (N = 91)		Non-respondents (N = 92)		Adjusted %	Total tenant population (N = 192)		Adjusted %
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%		<u>N</u>	%	
Blacks								
British Guiana	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
Jamaica, B.W.I.	2	2.2	1	1.1	1.2	3	1.6	1.7
Martinique, F.W.I.	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
United States	7	7.7	2	2.2	2.4	9	4.7	5.0
Hispanic								
Columbia	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Cuba	3	3.3	-	-	-	3	1.6	1.7
Puerto Rico	2	2.2	5	5.4	6.1	8	4.2	4.4
Hispanic, D.K. country	-	-	2	2.2	2.4	2	1.0	1.1
Asian								
China	-	-	2	2.2	2.4	2	1.0	1.1
No information--race or nationality	-	-	1	1.1	-	1	.5	-
Country of residence until age 15								
Whites								
Austria	1	1.1	3	3.3	3.6	4	2.1	2.2
Canada	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Cyprus	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
Czechoslovakia	8	8.8	11	12.0	13.3	19	9.9	10.4
Denmark	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
England	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
France	1	1.1	2	2.2	2.4	4	2.1	2.2
Germany	3	3.3	4	4.3	4.8	9	4.7	4.9

Table 2--Continued

Personal Characteristic	Respondents (N = 91)		Non-respondents (N = 92)		Adjusted %	Total tenant population (N = 192)		Adjusted %
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%		<u>N</u>	%	
Greece	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Hungary	5	5.5	5	5.4	6.0	12	6.3	6.6
Ireland	11	12.1	6	6.5	7.2	18	9.4	9.9
Italy	2	2.2	2	2.2	2.4	4	2.1	2.2
Poland (Christian)	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Poland (Yiddish-speaking)	-	-	3	3.3	3.6	3	1.6	1.6
Russia (Christian)	2	2.2	-	-	-	2	1.0	1.1
Russia (Yiddish-speaking)	2	2.2	-	-	-	2	1.0	1.1
Scotland	2	2.2	1	1.1	1.2	3	1.6	1.6
Sweden	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
United States	35	38.5	29	31.5	34.9	65	33.9	35.7
D.K. but foreign-born, non- English speaking country	-	-	3	3.3	-	3	1.6	-
No information	-	-	5	5.4	-	6	3.1	-
Blacks								
British Guiana	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
Jamaica, B.W.I.	2	2.2	1	1.1	1.2	3	1.6	1.6
Martinique, F.W.I.	-	-	1	1.1	1.2	1	.5	.6
United States	7	7.7	2	2.2	2.4	9	4.7	4.9
Hispanic								
Columbia	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Cuba	3	3.3	-	-	-	3	1.6	1.6
Puerto Rico	2	2.2	5	5.4	6.0	8	4.2	4.4
Hispanic, D.K. country	-	-	2	2.2	2.4	2	1.0	1.1
Asian								
China	-	-	2	2.2	2.4	2	1.0	1.1

Table 2--Continued

Personal Characteristic	Respondents (N = 91)		Non-respondents (N = 92)		Adjusted %	Total tenant population (N = 192)		Adjusted %
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%		<u>N</u>	%	
No information--race or nationality	-	-	1	1.1	-	1	.5	-
Index of Social Position								
Class I	1	1.1	-	-	-	1	.5	.6
Class II	5	5.5	1	1.1	5.0	7	3.7	6.0
Class III	24	26.4	2	2.2	10.0	27	14.1	23.1
Class IV	36	39.6	12	13.0	60.0	48	25.0	41.0
Class V	25	27.5	5	5.4	25.0	34	17.7	29.1
No information	-	-	72	78.3	-	75	39.1	-
Household Composition ^d								
Men								
Single man	6	21.4	13	41.9	41.9	19	30.7	30.7
With spouse	15	53.6	16	51.6	51.6	33	53.2	53.2
With spouse and dependent child	2	7.1	-	-	-	3	4.8	4.8
With mother	-	-	1	3.2	3.2	1	1.6	1.6
With sister	2	7.1	-	-	-	2	3.2	3.2
With unrelated woman	1	3.6	1	3.2	3.2	2	3.2	3.2
With son/grandson	2	7.1	-	-	-	2	3.2	3.2
Women								
Single woman	39	61.9	35	57.4	57.4	79	60.8	60.8
With spouse	13	20.6	16	26.2	26.2	29	22.3	22.3

^dPercents for household composition calculated separately for each sex.

Table 2--Continued

Personal Characteristic	Respondents (N = 91)		Non-respondents (N = 92)		Adjusted %	Total tenant population (N = 192)		Adjusted %
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%		<u>N</u>	%	
With spouse and dependent child	3	4.8	-	-	-	3	2.3	2.3
With unrelated man	2	3.2	-	-	-	2	1.5	1.5
With son	-	-	1	1.6	1.6	1	.8	.8
With brother	2	3.2	1	1.6	1.6	3	2.3	2.3
With sister	-	-	6	9.8	9.8	6	4.6	4.6
With niece	-	-	1	1.6	1.6	1	.8	.8
With unrelated woman	4	6.3	1	1.6	1.6	6	4.6	4.6

each sex. Chi-square analyses, comparing respondents with non-respondents, revealed no significant differences between the two groups with respect to sex, race, religion, nationality, marital status, or household composition. Among non-respondents, the ages of 58.1 percent of the men and 54.1 percent of the women were known. This information was used as an estimate of the mean age of the non-respondents. Among the women, the non-respondents were significantly older than the respondents. The respective mean ages were 77.27 and 72.63 years ($t(93) = 3.08, p < .01$). No significant age difference was observed between the men who did not participate in the study and those who did. The respective mean ages for the men were 74.11 and 74.68 years. Index of social position, the indicator of socioeconomic status, could be determined for only 19.6 percent of the non-respondents. This was not considered sufficient to serve as an estimate of index of social position among non-respondents, and therefore no statistical comparisons were made with respect to this variable.

Of particular importance is the issue as to whether the patterns of social relationships of respondents differed from those of non-respondents. Unfortunately, there was no reliable way to assess this. However, it should be noted that comments by the housing assistant, the Center staff, and tenant respondents indicate that those tenants who did not take part in the interview included some people who had extensive relationships with others in their building, as well as some people who had virtually "nothing to do with the other tenants." Other characteristics that may be associated with patterns of social relationships, such as physical and mental health status, and languages spoken, were examined. Taking into account the stated reasons for

refusing to participate, and the higher proportion of older women among the non-respondents, it does appear that the non-respondents may have been somewhat more physically impaired than the respondents, at least during the period of data collection. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that approximately 14 percent of the respondents reported marked physical impairment, which restricted their ability to perform a number of the activities of daily living. At least two of the non-respondents exhibited, or were reported to have, clear paranoid symptoms, as did at least one of the respondents. (Paranoid ideation was suspected in two other respondents, although the investigator is clearly not qualified to make a definitive clinical judgment.) Five of the non-respondents either spoke no English, or were unable to carry on a conversation in English; this was also the case for five respondents. In summary, there is evidence that among women, non-respondents were older than respondents, and it is suggested that non-respondents may have been less physically healthy than respondents. However, there is no indication from the demographic data, anecdotal material, and observations, to indicate that respondents differed from non-respondents in other respects, except, of course, in their willingness to participate in the study.

The refusal rate was higher than expected, and certainly higher than desired, given the original goals of the study. Yet, it should be pointed out that the proportion of tenants who were interviewed compares favorably with the response rate obtained by other researchers in relatively recent studies conducted in public housing sites in Northeastern cities. In their study of an age-integrated public housing complex in New York City, Nahemow and Lawton (1975) attempted a 100

percent sample of tenants in three buildings. They succeeded in interviewing 67 percent of the residents in two buildings and 47 percent of those in the third. McCarthy (1978) reported a 45 percent acceptance rate among a sample of tenants in another age-integrated New York City public housing complex. Hernandez (1980, personal communication) obtained a 52 percent response rate in an age-integrated public housing complex in Jersey City, after extending considerably the anticipated period of data collection. Thus, when one considers that the present study involved only older people, that a significant proportion had emigrated from non-English speaking countries, and that the interview required a minimum of an hour to an hour and a half, the response rate ultimately obtained may be regarded as acceptable.

This detailed discussion of the refusal rate and the problems encountered by the researcher should not detract from the point that the overwhelming majority of those tenants who did participate in the study reacted enthusiastically to the interview. Some respondents brought out family photographs, their citizenship papers, displayed their hobbies, or explained the history of treasured personal possessions, as one woman put it, "So you will know better who I am." A few shared very private experiences, thoughts and fears and asked that these things not be included in the "report." The great majority were warm and gracious. Many of the women embraced me and kissed me before I left. Most respondents offered some refreshment, and several of the women had baked especially for the occasion. Some women even prepared packages of homemade cookies or yeast cakes to take home. Some extended invitations to lunch or dinner, and asked that I visit them again and keep in touch. On a snowy evening, one couple adamantly

refused to let me leave, after a three hour session, until I had shared a glass of schnapps with them.

Thus, to many, the interview was a social occasion, as well. Others were more businesslike. The shortest session lasted an hour and ten minutes; some visits lasted over three and a half hours, and the modal time required to complete an interview was approximately two hours. Only two respondents were openly hostile during the interview, becoming particularly annoyed at the questions dealing with social relationships with family, good friends, and neighbors. Still, completed interviews were obtained in these cases. One interview was terminated by the interviewer, without attempting to go through the entire schedule. This respondent had agreed to participate only because Center staff had personally asked her. She "preferred" not to provide certain demographic information, explaining that she, "can't see what this has to do with housing," and she declined to answer any sociometric questions. Therefore, only selected questions, of a general nature, were asked, and this person was regarded as a refusal. A few people had prepared notes or well-written and thoughtful statements expressing their opinions about various aspects of their housing experiences. The researcher was impressed by the candid, thoughtful and insightful comments offered by the majority of respondents, and by the warmth, kindness and courtesy that they typically extended.

Assessment Measures

The interview. A single interview that contained a combination of highly structured items, requiring fixed-alternative and short answers; and non-directed, open-ended questions served as the primary

source of data (Appendix B). The major topic areas covered included: personal characteristics of the respondents; extra-building social contacts (with kin and good friends, participation in off-site formal organizations, and use of recreational facilities); informal relationships with other tenants; participation in on-site formal organizations; and general housing satisfaction. Information regarding such variables as demographic characteristics, self-reported functional health status, length of residence, formal roles in on-site organizations, and levels of extra-building social contacts, were elicited through structured questions. Relationships with other tenants were explored in greater detail through a series of open-ended questions and a variety of sociometric items.

Additional information was gathered about topics that were not directly related to the goals and hypotheses delineated for this study. A series of questions focused on respondents' experiences with and opinions about their housing, their use of the senior center, and their attitudes toward the center's program, the Tenants Association and the tenant patrol. These questions served multiple purposes. They generated information of interest to the housing management staff and senior center staff, and data for an understanding of other aspects of housing for older people. More pertinent to the present study, the inclusion of these questions provided topics for discussion, and a chance to develop rapport, before introducing the questions about social relationships with family, friends and other tenants. Past experience with interviewing older people had indicated that questions about personal relationships were regarded as intrusive by some interviewees. Pilot interviews for this study suggested that respondents tended to

be more relaxed, and to elaborate more freely about their contact with and their feelings about their neighbors, if these questions were introduced later in the interview schedule. Further, I suspected that tenants would be more likely to agree to an interview that dealt with social relationships among tenants as only one aspect of their housing experiences, rather than as the sole purpose of the interview.

Before introducing specific sociometric items that explored relationships with other tenants, respondents were asked a series of questions about friendship. For example, the interviewer said, "Now I'd like to talk about friends. What does good friend mean to you? How would you describe a good friend?" This open-ended question was followed by non-directed probes to elicit as full a description as possible of the qualities that a respondent ascribed to good friends. This question also provided the opportunity to have the respondent consider the qualities that characterize a good friend according to her or his own criteria, and thus to establish a self-anchored definition of a good friend.

An effort was made to obtain quantifiable data that would reflect the types of relationships that respondents had developed with other tenants in their building. A series of sociometric items was designed to reflect specific individuals with whom respondents had social contacts, the types of behaviors involved in these contacts, and the respondent's perception of the level of intimacy with each tenant named on these items. These items provided the data base for dependent variables used to provide a description of the patterns of relationships among tenants and to test hypotheses. The sociometric items explored a variety of behavioral domains such as visiting in tenants' apartments,

confidant relationships, regular visiting in the bench area, assistance in a variety of specific tasks of daily living, and whether tenants engaged in specific off-site activities together, such as shopping, and recreational and social activities. Care was taken to avoid phrasing sociometric questions in a manner that might encourage false positive responses. For example, with respect to home visits, respondents were asked, "Do any of the people who live in the building visit with you . . .," rather than "Who are the people who visit you . . .". Respondents were free to name up to ten tenants on most items, and no attempt was made to obtain a minimum number of nominees. After completing all sociometric questions, the interviewer said, "Now I'd like to go over the names of the tenants that you've said that you do things with, and ask if you think of them as an acquaintance, someone you're friendly with, or as a good friend, in the way that you have described a good friend." The interviewer then stated the name of each person that the respondent mentioned, and the respondent indicated the level of intimacy. A small minority of interviewees could not or declined to identify other tenants by name, but they would provide the apartment, or initials and floor of residence, and the sex of the other tenant. In these cases, the interviewer stated the "identity" of the tenant named in the form that it was provided by the respondent. Additional information about respondents' perceptions of the social context of the building, and social relationships among neighbors was obtained through a series of open-ended questions which preceded the sociometric items. The material derived from the open-ended questions was used to explicate data from the sociometric items.

The investigator agrees with researchers such as Townsend (1963)

and Hochschild (1973) that standardized questions that call for fixed-choice or short answers will have different meanings among respondents; that they will sometimes be appropriate, sometimes inappropriate; and that they do not, by themselves, provide an adequate basis for understanding the quality of social contacts, nor the older person's subjective evaluation of such contacts. In developing the interview schedule there was an effort to reduce some of the inherent problems of structured questions. On-going revisions of questions were made during the pilot work so that hopefully there was a greater degree of shared meaning among respondents and the researcher in regard to the terms used in this study. For example, early pilot interviews had revealed that "neighbor" had different meanings among respondents. To some it meant only the households living in adjacent apartments; others had as their reference point the tenants on their floor. Some regarded all of the tenants in their building as neighbors; while in at least two cases respondents spoke of people who lived from two to eight blocks away when asked about their contact with "neighbors." Therefore, care was taken in phrasing questions dealing with social relationships within the building to state, "people who live in this building," rather than the potentially ambiguous term, "neighbor."

All but five of the interviews were tape recorded, and all but three of the interviews were conducted in respondents' homes.

Meetings with Senior Center and housing staff. Periodic meetings were held with Senior Center staff and with the housing assistant, prior to, during, and following the period of data collection. (As reported earlier in this chapter, formal meetings with staff were suspended for approximately three of the nine months devoted to tenant interviews.)

Notes were made of these sessions. Staff provided insights into the on-going social relationships within the building, and this material was used in interpreting the tenant interview data.

Log notes. During visits to Belmar Drive the investigator typically had informal chats with tenants and staff. Detailed log notes, identifying the specific informant, were kept of information relevant to social relationships among tenants. This information was also used in interpreting the interview data.

Identification of Major Variables

Major independent variables included race, religion, nationality, parents' place of birth, sex, marital status, socioeconomic status, proximity of dwelling units, on-site formal roles, and levels of social contacts outside of the building. Subordinate independent variables included household composition, age, functional health, and length of residence in the building.

Specific types of social contacts among tenants, and the number of tenants named on sociometric questions, constituted the major dependent variables. Types of social relationships among tenants were considered from two perspectives: (1) specific behaviors that tenants engaged in with other residents of the building; and (2) the different levels of perceived intimacy with each tenant named on sociometric questions. Sociometric questions explored specific behaviors designed to reflect different levels of intimacy. The behavioral domains included: (1) confidant relationships, (2) home visits for the purpose of companionship, (3) assistance in the tasks of daily living, (4) regular informal visits in public spaces, such as the bench area, and

(5) regular social contact in structured situations such as Senior Center and Tenants Association activities. It was anticipated that it would be possible to develop a typology of incremental levels of intimacy based on these behaviors, taking into account the level of intimacy that respondents reported with the tenants with whom they engaged in given behaviors. However, as will be discussed in the results section, this goal was not realized. Reported levels of intimacy, that is, whether respondents considered tenants named on sociometric items as good friends, people they were friendly with, or as acquaintances, served as a principal dependent measure for several hypotheses, as did the total number of tenants named on all sociometric questions, and the total number of tenants named at each of the three levels of intimacy.

Definitions of Selected Terms Relevant to Hypotheses

It is essential to clarify the meaning of the terms that were used in the statement of hypotheses, and in the analysis of the data.

Social relationships. The most generic term to be used in regard to social relationships is social interaction. This may range from the simple awareness of the presence of another person through visual or auditory perceptions, to intimate relationships. It was assumed that the majority of interactions with other tenants would be of a superficial nature (Lewin, 1978) and these, therefore, were not investigated systematically. The research focused on what Townsend (1963) has called, "social contact" defined as ". . . a meeting with another person, usually prearranged or customary at home or outside, which involves more than a casual exchange of greetings between, say, two neighbors in the street" (Townsend, 1963, pp. 188-189). Townsend did not consider

the "function, intensity, or duration of the contact" (p. 189), although the frequency of contact was obtained.

Techniques for determining levels of extra-building social contact. As noted earlier, it was considered essential to determine the individual's profile of extra-building social contacts since it was anticipated that this would be related to the types of relationships that the person had established within the building. The technique used by Townsend (1963) was adopted with slight modifications, in an effort to arrive at this profile. (A number of other approaches had been considered, but Townsend's method permitted a more detailed and meaningful indication of the level of contact with kin, friends who live outside of the respondent's building, and participation in off-site formal organizations, and thus permitted a more refined analysis of the data.) It should be noted that extra-building social contacts that did not involve other tenants did not take into account the function, quality, or duration of the contact. The scores obtained reflect the number of face-to-face extra-building social contacts per week. For standardization, in calculating the scores, the investigator assumed a four-week month and a 48-week year when respondents gave frequencies in monthly or yearly intervals. For example, if Mrs. Jones saw a brother once a month, and a niece six times a year, the respective "number" of contacts per week would be .25 and .125. Respondents frequently reported that certain contacts occurred infrequently, or at irregular intervals. In such cases the average number of contacts per year was obtained, and then this value was converted into the number of contacts per week. The scores for extra-building social contacts with kin, good friends, and "other" types of social contact were summed, in order to provide a

single score for extra-building face-to-face social contacts. Levels of contact were determined in the following manner.

Kinship social contact score. A score of one is given for each person for each day per week of contact.

Example:

<u>Social contact</u>	<u>Number of social contacts per week</u>
Daughter seen daily	7
Grandchild seen 5 times/week	5
Son-in-law seen twice/week	2
Sister seen once/week	1
Brother seen once/month	.25
	<hr/>
Kinship contact score	15.25

Friendship social contact score. This score is based upon contact with a person who the respondent has identified as a "good friend," when that person does not live within the study site.

Example:

<u>Social contact</u>	<u>Number of social contacts per week</u>
Friend A seen 5 times/week	5
Friend B seen 2 times/week	2
Friend C seen once/month	.25
	<hr/>
Friendship contact score	7.25

Social contact scores for other than kinship, friendship and contact with other tenants. As per Townsend, an arbitrary score is assigned for each of the following types of contacts.

Example:

<u>Social contact</u>	<u>Contact score</u>
Full-time job	20
Part-time job	10
Each visit to a senior center	2
Each visit to church	2
Each visit to other formal organization	2
Each visit to movies, park, etc.	2

Ethnicity and ethnic similarity. Ethnicity refers to race, and to specific sub-cultural groups within each race. Race, religion and nationality were regarded as three indicators of ethnicity. Racial groups were defined as white, black, Hispanic and Asian. Religious groups were defined as Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox, "Other Christian" (which typically involved membership in a Christian sect that was distinct from the major denominations), and people with no religious affiliation.

Designation of nationality groups was more complex, since as Table 2 shows, there was great variability among the tenant population with respect to this variable. Information regarding nationality was recorded for both the country where the person was born, and for the country where the person lived until age 15. Review of these data revealed that over four percent of the tenants had been born in one country, but were raised in another. A small minority of the tenants were born in the United States, but moved with their families to European countries as infants or toddlers, where they remained until they finally settled in the United States as young adults. Similarly, a few tenants were born in European countries, but entered the United States before they were five years old. Therefore a decision was made to define nationality as the country of residence until age fifteen, rather than the country of birth. However, a few of the tenants had come to the United States when they were just under 15 years of age. Therefore "country of residence until age 15" was further defined as the country where the person spent from two-thirds to 100 percent of her or his first 15 years.

Clearly, the choice of the first 15 years is an arbitrary one,

but it is suggested that it is appropriate for this particular population. Based on information from numerous interviews, it appears that the country in which the person spent her or his "pre-adult" years is a critical element in ethnic identity. In most cases this appeared to be far more important than the number of years that the person had lived in the United States. It is proposed that "pre-adult" years be defined as from birth to age 15. This criterion is based on the observation that most individuals in the age and socioeconomic group of the tenant population had completed their education and had assumed a work role at approximately this age. Obviously, given the age range of the tenants, and the diversity of their background experiences, this rationale will not apply to all individuals. It does, however, apply to most white immigrants. It is suggested that individuals who had spent the greater portion of their pre-adult years in a foreign country would be more likely to have incorporated the values and customs of that country, and to have a stronger ethnic identity with that country.

Status similarity was considered separately for race, religion, and nationality. Persons were considered status similar if they were of the same race, or the same religion. Because of the large number of nationalities represented, and the complexity of ascribing status similarity with respect to nationality, three alternate methods of classification were employed. Method I required an exact match of country, that is, two persons from Czechoslovakia, or two persons from Hungary. Method II utilized an aggregation of countries. Countries were grouped on the basis of the following considerations: (1) historical and cultural factors; (2) languages spoken; and, (3) in the case of Eastern-European Jews, religion. For example, according to Method

II, individuals from England, Ireland, Scotland, and the English-speaking provinces of Canada were considered status similar. The third method of aggregating countries was based on race, nationality and language, and is not necessarily reflective of historical and cultural factors. For example, one group consisted of individuals who were white, and raised in English-speaking countries. Another group consisted of individuals who were white, and raised in non-English speaking countries. Each method for defining status similarity with respect to nationality is presented in Appendix C.

Socioeconomic status. Hollingshead's two factor index (Hollingshead, 1958), based upon education and the usual occupation of the head of the household, was used to indicate socioeconomic status. Tenants with histories of multiple occupations, involving different class scores, were assigned the higher ranking score. This index was selected because it provides a potential for five classifications of SES, and therefore may allow for finer discriminations of status similarity and dissimilarity on this variable than other classification systems. While Hollingshead's index may be viewed as outdated, it is suggested that it is relevant in a study of older people. This was the only classification system of occupations this investigator reviewed that included the range of occupations that were reported by respondents in pilot interviews. Although concepts of occupational status and prestige, and expectations regarding educational achievement have clearly changed over the last 20 years, this classification system reflects the prevailing evaluations of social class when the majority of the study population was in the work force.

Individuals with the same class score were considered status

similar. The possibility of categorizing individuals with the same class score, plus or minus one class difference, as status similar was considered. However, this approach was rejected since the distribution of social class scores among tenants would likely have resulted in a spuriously high proportion of status similars. For example, 39.6 percent of the respondents were categorized as Class IV, and 93.2 percent of all potential nominees in the building, for whom social class was known, were categorized as Class III, Class IV, or Class V. Thus, virtually all nominees of Class IV respondents would have been regarded as status similar with respect to index of social position if the second method of classification had been employed.

Formal roles within on-site organizations. There were four distinct formal organizations at Belmar Drive: (1) the Tenants Association, (2) the tenant patrol, (3) the group of floor representatives, and (4) the Senior Center. Formal roles were operationally defined as to whether or not the tenant had ever served as: (a) an officer in the Tenants Association, (b) a member of a Tenants Association committee, (c) a contributor to the tenants' newsletter, (d) a member of the tenant patrol, and/or (e) a floor representative. With regard to the Senior Center, the tenant was considered to have performed a formal role if she or he had served as: (a) an officer of the Senior Center, (b) a part-time paid employee, or (c) a volunteer in the Center. The number of distinct formal roles for each respondent was obtained. Whenever possible this information was determined for non-respondents as well.

Functional health. A modification of the Guttman scale, developed by Rosow and Breslau (1966) was used to assess functional health.

Proximity of dwelling units. Proximity was defined by whether or

not the respondent lived on the same floor, or a different floor from the tenant(s) named on sociometric items.

The primary target. The fact that respondents were, in effect, free to name as many or as few of the tenants in their building as they wished on the sociometric questions presented problems in terms of this data's applicability to certain statistical procedures, particularly for the analysis of the relationship between status similarity and level of intimacy. In order to satisfy the assumption of independence of observations, statistical analyses should be performed for only one of the tenants whom the respondent names. Ideally, the researcher should select a single tenant who is presumed to be the most intimate for each respondent.¹⁰ Frequently investigators deal with this issue by performing analysis on the first named friend in response to the question, "Who are your best friends in this building?" To select the first named person as the primary target for such an analysis did not seem justified in this study, given the nature of the questions, and the order in which they were presented. The investigator sought a criterion with more cogent face validity. The notion of a "primary target person," operationally defined as a tenant who is named most frequently by the respondent on the four best sociometric questions,

¹⁰In the present study the interview question, "Of all the people who live in this building [other than household members] who do you feel closest to?" was designed to provide the nomination of a single tenant with whom the respondent was most intimate. This goal was not met because 15.4 percent of the respondents named more than one person, finding it impossible to say which of these was "the closest;" 23.1 percent clearly indicated that there was no one whom they felt closest to, and 6.6 percent declined to place one person above another among several tenants with whom they had developed relationships. There was a sense among those in the last group that to place one person above another would violate the respondent's sense of propriety.

was suggested.¹¹ The following criteria were employed to determine the four best questions: sociometric items on which; (1) at least 50 percent of the respondents name at least one person; (2) of all tenants named on that question, at least 50 percent of the nominees are identified as good friends; and (3) no more than 15 percent of all those named on that question are identified as acquaintances. The following four questions met these criteria:

1. "Of all the people who live in this building [other than household members] who do you feel closest to?"
2. "Of all the people who live in this building [other than household members] whose company do you enjoy most?"
3. "Do any of the people who live in the building visit with you in your apartment--that is, to have a social visit--or maybe to watch television, have coffee, a snack or a meal?--Things like that?"¹²
4. "And do you visit with any of the other tenants in their apartments? That is, to have a social visit, or maybe have coffee, a snack or a meal? Things like that?"¹²

¹¹The author is grateful to Dr. Edgar F. Borgatta for suggesting the notion of the primary target person.

¹²These questions attempted to distinguish visits that implied companionship from visits that were, for example, associated with providing assistance with the tasks of daily living, or a one-occasion only visit. Thus, if a respondent reported that a tenant came to change a light bulb but, "didn't stay to visit," that was not coded under this question. Similarly, if a respondent reported that another tenant visited one time only, to pay a condolence call, that visit was not coded under this question.

In a minority of the cases there were ties for the primary target designee. This most typically occurred among respondents who named a married couple on each of the four criterion questions, although in rare instances ties were observed for individuals who lived in different households. In such cases additional questions were employed to break the tie. Examination of the data revealed that the criteria for the selection of additional best questions had to be modified, since there were no other questions on which at least 50 percent of the respondents named at least one tenant. In order to break ties, the investigator selected questions on which the highest proportion of respondents made at least one nomination, and where the proportion of good friend nominees on that question was at least 50 percent, and the proportion of acquaintance nominees on that question did not exceed approximately 15 percent.

Data Analyses

The first stage of data analyses involved descriptive statistics of the independent and dependent variables. Parametric and non-parametric statistics were used to test the hypotheses. The parametric methods included: z-tests, one sample t-tests, t-tests for correlated means, t-tests for independent samples, one-way analysis of variance, Pearson Product Moment Correlations, and stepwise hierarchical multiple regressions. Non-parametric methods included the binomial test, Chi-Square tests of goodness of fit, Chi-Square tests of association, and Mann-Whitney U tests. The results of these analyses are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter VII deals with the interpretation of these findings.

Statistical analyses of the quantitative data were supplemented by qualitative material that was obtained from interviews with tenants and staff, as well as information from log notes made during the pilot work and the period of data collection for the present study.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

In an attempt to obtain quantifiable data that would reflect patterns of social relationships among tenants, the interview schedule contained a series of sociometric items that served as a basis for determining the types of contacts that occurred among tenants, the perceived level of intimacy that each respondent reported with respect to each tenant named on a sociometric question, and the identity of each tenant named on a given sociometric item. The information generated from these questions provides the data base for a description of the types of social contacts that occurred among tenants, and serves as the basis for testing hypotheses. The first set of results presented in this chapter simply provides descriptive data that reflect the types of behaviors that were reported among tenants, and the perceived level of intimacy associated with the tenants named on sociometric questions. The second section of the chapter focuses on the hypotheses.

Part I. Descriptive Analyses of Reported Social Relationships

Behavioral Indicators

The sociometric questions explored 37 specific behaviors that were designed to reflect the three general areas of relationships among neighbors that were investigated by Cantor (1976b) and Mayer (1976).

These three areas are: (1) "socializing," (2) emergency assistance, and (3) assistance in the tasks of daily living. The selection of the specific behaviors was based on an inventory of neighboring activities that was developed during the pilot work. This inventory was derived from reports by tenants, staff, the investigator's observations and from a review of the literature.

A complete list of the specific behaviors included in the sociometric questions is presented in Appendix D, pp. 314-315. The actual questions appear on pages 19 to 27 of the interview schedule (Appendix B). Several discrete behaviors within a general question, such as specific types of assistance with the tasks of daily living that the respondent provided to other tenants, were reported infrequently. Further, several of these specific items, such as grocery shopping, errands, and banking, were redundant, in that it was fairly typical for the respondent to name the same tenant for more than one of these behaviors. This response pattern was also found for one general question that focused on a variety of off-site activities with other tenants (e.g., taking a walk, going to the movies, eating out, etc.). Therefore, some of the specific items dealing with assistance in the tasks of daily living were combined into the single category of "other assistance in the tasks of daily living." Similarly, the specific off-site activities were combined into a single item, "all off-site activities." For example, if a respondent named the same tenant for three separate off-site activities, the target person was counted only once. In addition, the item, mailing a letter for someone, was deleted since many respondents reported that they provided this assistance to "anybody that asks me;" often the name of the person was not known, and

the circumstances were typically fortuitous with respect to this behavior. Thus, the number of behaviors was reduced from 37 specific activities to 17 behavioral domains.

Table 3 presents these behavioral domains, the percent of respondents who reported having engaged in a given behavior with at least one other tenant, and the mean percent of all tenants named who were regarded as: good friends, people the respondents were friendly with, and acquaintances. The mean percents of good friends, people respondents were friendly with, and acquaintances of the respondents were obtained in the following manner. For each respondent who named at least one tenant in a given behavioral domain, the number of good friends named was divided by the total number of tenants named on that particular item. This yielded the percent of tenants with whom a given behavior was performed who were regarded as good friends. Analogous procedures were employed to determine the percent with whom the respondent was friendly, and the percent of tenants named who were acquaintances. For example, if a respondent reported that eight tenants came for social visits to her apartment, and of these, four were regarded as good friends, three were considered to be people the respondent was friendly with, and one person was regarded as an acquaintance, the respective percents for each level of intimacy would be: 50 percent, 37.5 percent, and 12.5 percent. This process was repeated for each of the 17 behavioral domains. Then the mean percent of tenants named at each level of intimacy was calculated for all respondents who named at least one tenant for that behavioral domain.

These data, reflecting the types of behaviors that were reported among neighbors, were examined in a variety of ways. One area of

Table 3
Reported Behaviors Among Tenants

Behavioral Domain	Percent reporting engaging in behavior	Reported level of intimacy with tenants named		
		Mean % good friends	Mean % friendly with	Mean % acquaintances
Tenants visit in respondents' home (Q. 78)	68.1	53.0	30.2	16.8
Respondents visit in targets' homes (Q. 79)	63.7	54.2	33.3	12.4
Regular visits on benches (Q. 80)	36.3	42.0	30.8	27.1
Sit with at Senior Center or Tenants Assoc. functions (Q. 81)	35.2	36.7	49.5	13.8
Respondent discusses personal/confidential matters with target (Q. 82)	19.8	84.7	6.9	8.3
Respondent discusses problems, "worries" with target (Q. 83)	8.8	62.5	25.0	12.5
Target discusses personal/confidential matters with respondent (Q. 84)	14.8	57.7	26.9	15.4
Target discusses problems, "worries" with respondent (Q. 85)	14.6	82.1	11.5	6.4
Respondent does following for target: (Q. 86)				
a. Collects mail, waters plants if target is away	28.6	60.3	20.5	19.2

Table 3--Continued

Behavioral Domain	Percent reporting engaging in behavior	Reported level of intimacy with tenants named		
		Mean % good friends	Mean % friendly with	Mean % acquaintances
b. Keeps keys	27.0	63.2	28.5	8.3
c. Help in emergency	22.2	5.0	24.2	70.8
d. All other assistance in tasks of daily living	52.7	30.9	31.7	37.4
Target does following for respondent: (Q. 87)				
a. Collects mail, waters plants if respondent is away	19.8	66.7	16.7	16.7
b. Keeps keys	26.4	62.5	22.2	15.3
c. Help in emergency	9.9	25.0	44.4	30.6
d. All other assistance in tasks of daily living	40.7	45.7	30.6	23.6
All off-site activities (Q. 88)	48.4	55.9	37.1	7.0

interest was simply the proportion of respondents who named one or more tenants on a specific behavioral domain. The most frequently reported behaviors were: visiting in respondents' homes (reported by 68.1 percent), respondents visiting in the homes of other tenants (reported by 63.7 percent) respondents providing "all other" types of assistance with the tasks of daily living¹³ (reported by 52.7 percent), engaging in off-site activities with another tenant¹⁴ (reported by 48.4 percent), and receiving "all other" types of assistance with the tasks of daily living from another tenant (reported by 40.7 percent). Just over a third of the respondents reported that they customarily got together with specific tenants in the building's community spaces--that is, the bench area, and the Senior Center space for Center-sponsored or Tenants Association-sponsored activities. (It should be noted that while a tenant might typically meet and perhaps engage in conversation with a number of tenants in the community spaces, the interviewer asked about, and recorded, only tenants with whom the respondent regularly spent time with in these spaces.) As Table 3 indicates, 22 percent of the respondents said that they had provided emergency assistance to another tenant, whereas only 9.9 percent reported having received emergency assistance from another tenant. Similarly, a higher proportion of the respondents reported having provided "all other" assistance in the tasks of daily living (52.7 percent) than in having received such assistance (40.7

¹³"All other" assistance with the tasks of daily living included: grocery shopping, other errands, help with fixing things around the house or cooking, escort to doctor or clinic, lending things, banking, and translating.

¹⁴All off-site activities with another tenant included going to: movies, concerts or theatre; church/synagogue; off-site social organizations such as other senior centers, national organizations and social clubs; taking a walk; eating out; shopping; and "other."

percent). (It should be kept in mind that any resident of the building could be named on any of these questions.) These differences may be related to the possibility that the respondents may have been somewhat more healthy than non-respondents, and to the fact that among women, respondents were younger than the non-respondents (c.f. Chapter V, pp. 96-97). Respondents may have been less likely to have experienced an emergency, or perhaps more likely to have coped with an emergency without assistance than tenants named on these items. By the same token, respondents may have required less assistance in the tasks of daily living. It is also possible that one is less likely to recall receiving help than giving help or less willing to report it. To be the recipient of assistance may contribute to a sense of vulnerability. It is noteworthy that sharing confidences, and discussing personal problems or "something that is bothering" the individual were reported relatively infrequently.

Do tenants who report having engaged in a particular type of behavior with other tenants differ from those tenants who do not report a given behavior? This issue was examined for each of the 17 behavioral domains in terms of the following characteristics of the respondent: race, religion, nationality,¹⁵ sex, marital status, index of social position, functional health, number of formal roles, and length of residence in the building.

Formal roles, functional health, sex, and marital status were the only independent variables that distinguished respondents who did and did not report specific types of behaviors with other tenants.

¹⁵Nationality, defined according to Method III, described in Appendix C, pp. 313.

Chi-square tests of association indicate that significantly more men than women ($\chi^2 = 6.38$, $df = 1$, $p = .019$), and significantly more married than not-married persons ($\chi^2 = 5.43$, $df = 1$, $p = .019$) named tenants whom they regularly talked with or spent time with on the benches. Tenants who had performed one or more on-site formal roles were significantly more likely to entertain other tenants in their apartments than tenants with no formal roles ($\chi^2 = 4.14$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$) and those with formal roles were significantly more likely to name tenants with whom they usually spent time in the Senior Center at Center-sponsored or Tenants Association-sponsored activities ($\chi^2 = 6.99$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$). Having performed one or more formal roles was also significantly related to providing emergency assistance to other tenants ($\chi^2 = 4.586$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$). Significantly more married than not-married respondents also reported that they had provided emergency assistance to other tenants ($\chi^2 = 4.25$, $df = 1$, $p = .039$). "All other" assistance in the tasks of daily living was provided more often by tenants who reported higher levels of functional health ($\chi^2 = 13.23$, $df = 4$, $p = .01$), and by tenants with one or more formal roles ($\chi^2 = 5.92$, $df = 1$, $p < .02$). As one would expect, significantly more respondents with lower levels of functional health reported having received "all other" types of assistance with the tasks of daily living than respondents who were more competent in terms of functional health ($\chi^2 = 12.11$, $df = 4$, $p = .02$). No other respondent characteristics were significantly related to having engaged in a specific type of behavior with other tenants.

Reported Behaviors as Indicators of Levels of Intimacy

One goal of this study was to develop one or more techniques to describe incremental levels of intimacy of social relationships among tenants. It had been anticipated that two alternate techniques would be used in this study to reflect levels of intimacy; one based on behavioral indicators, the other based exclusively on the respondents' reports of whether tenants named on sociometric questions were regarded as good friends, someone they were friendly with, or as acquaintances. The researcher had been critical of other studies that had used a priori behavioral indicators to assess intimate social relationships, without having ascertained the meaning of given behaviors to the individuals who had participated in the study. There is cogent evidence that given behaviors may have markedly different meanings for researchers and for the people whom they are attempting to understand (Hochschild, 1973, 1975; Lewin, 1978). Therefore, in this investigation, I had planned to develop behavioral indicators of levels of intimacy by incorporating respondents' reports of the degree of intimacy they perceived with the individuals with whom they engaged in a given behavior. The difficulties encountered in this effort clearly demonstrated that it is far easier to criticize than to create.

The first approach to developing a typology of level of intimacy, based on the 17 behavioral domains, involved an attempt to perform a principal-component factor analysis, employing the percent of all tenants named on a given behavioral domain who were regarded by the respondent as good friends. Because of the high proportion of respondents who named no one for several of the behaviors, a factor analytic

approach was not possible. Next the descriptive data presented in Table 3 were examined in a variety of ways, in an effort to arrive at some basis for defining level of intimacy in terms of behavioral indicators. The development of a satisfactory typology of levels of intimacy, based on the 17 behavioral domains proved to be a formidable task, beyond the purview of this investigation.

The meaning of any typology based on these behaviors would have been equivocal. Such a typology would have been based on a consensus among respondents regarding the level of intimacy ascribed to persons named with respect to given behaviors. If each respondent had consistently ascribed the same level of intimacy to each tenant named with respect to a given activity, a typology based on behavioral indicators might have been more defensible (e.g., if respondent A considered all tenants who came to her apartment for social visits as good friends, and tenant B considered all tenants who visited as people she was friendly with). This, however, was not typically the case. Rather, individual respondents who named more than one person on a particular sociometric question frequently ascribed different levels of intimacy to the tenants named on that single behavioral domain.

Thus, there is evidence of variability with respect to the degree of intimacy that a given individual ascribed to the persons with whom she or he engaged in a given activity. There is little question that even greater variability existed among respondents with respect to the degree of intimacy they ascribed to the individuals named on specific behavioral domains. Several examples have been presented to support the position that reported behaviors have different meanings to different tenants (c.f. pp. 50-51; Hochschild, 1973, 1975; Lewin, 1978).

Given these considerations, the goal of developing a typology of level of intimacy based on behavioral indicators was abandoned in favor of using the respondents' reports of the level of intimacy with each tenant named on sociometric questions as the only indicator of the intensity of the relationship. The respondents' perceived level of intimacy has obvious advantages over the behavioral indicators. To reiterate, all respondents were asked whether they regarded each person named on any of the sociometric questions as a good friend, someone they were friendly with, or as an acquaintance. While it is acknowledged that individual respondents most certainly held different subjective definitions for each of these levels of intimacy, clearly all respondents had as a reference a three-point scale that reflected incremental levels of intimacy. Thus, it is argued that a tenant who was identified by a respondent as a good friend can be considered more intimate than a tenant who was identified as someone the respondent was friendly with, and that relationships with tenants identified as acquaintances were the least intimate.

Perceptions of Level of Intimacy with Tenants Named on Sociometric Questions

Table 4 presents a frequency distribution of the number and percent of tenants identified by respondents as good friends, persons with whom they were friendly, acquaintances; and, in the last column, the number and percent of all tenants named, without regard to the reported level of intimacy.

As Table 4 reveals, 51 respondents (56 percent) named at least one person as a good friend, 56 (61.5 percent) named at least one person with whom they were friendly, and 61 (67.0 percent) named at least

Table 4
 Frequency Distribution of Number and Percent
 of Tenants Named on Sociometric Questions
 by Level of Intimacy

Number of tenants named	Level of intimacy						Nominations at all levels of intimacy	
	Good friend		Friendly with		Acquaintance		f	%
	f	%	f	%	f	%		
0	40	44.0	35	38.5	30	33.0	6	6.6
1	14	15.4	12	13.2	23	25.3	6	6.6
2	7	7.7	10	11.0	16	17.6	6	6.6
3	15	16.5	14	15.4	8	8.8	9	9.9
4	4	4.4	10	11.0	2	2.2	11	12.1
5	3	3.3	4	4.4	6	6.6	5	5.5
6	--	---	3	3.3	1	1.1	12	13.2
7	4	4.4	2	2.2	2	2.2	12	13.2
8	3	3.3	1	1.1	1	1.1	7	7.7
9	1	1.1	--	---	2	2.2	7	7.7
10	--	---	--	---	--	---	3	3.3
11	--	---	--	---	--	---	4	4.4
12	--	---	--	---	--	---	1	1.1
13	--	---	--	---	--	---	1	1.1
14	--	---	--	---	--	---	1	1.1
Total N Named	165		174		163		502	
Total N Respondents naming at least one person	51	56.0	56	61.5	61	67.0	85	93.4

one person whom they regarded as an acquaintance. When the total number of tenants named was considered without regard to the reported level of intimacy, 85 of the respondents (93.4 percent) named at least one other tenant, and six respondents (6.6 percent) did not name anyone. It should be noted that a substantial proportion of the respondents never identified a single tenant at each of the three levels of intimacy. Forty-four percent did not identify any nominee as a good friend, 38.5 percent did not identify any nominee as a person they were friendly with, and 33.3 percent did not identify any nominee as an acquaintance. The respondents' use of the three categories of intimacy is clarified in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5
Frequency Distribution of the Highest
Level of Intimacy Reported

Level of intimacy	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Good friend	51	56.0
Friendly with	23	25.3
Acquaintance	11	12.1
No one	6	6.6
Total	91	100.0

Table 5, which presents the frequency distribution of the highest level of intimacy reported by each of the respondents, shows that 56.0 percent of the respondents named at least one good friend, 25.3 percent named no good friends, but did name at least one person with whom they were friendly, and that for 12.1 percent, acquaintance was the highest

level of intimacy reported. As previously noted, 6.6 percent of the respondents named no tenants on any of the sociometric questions.

Table 6
Summary of All Levels of Intimacy Reported

Levels of intimacy	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Good friend, friendly with, acquaintance	23	25.3
Good friend, friendly with	10	11.0
Good friend, acquaintance	11	12.1
Good friend only	7	7.7
Friendly with, acquaintance	16	17.6
Friendly with only	7	7.7
Acquaintance only	11	12.1
No one	6	6.6
	<u>91</u>	

Table 6 presents a more detailed summary of the categories of levels of intimacy reported by the respondents. Only 25.3 percent named at least one person at each of the three levels of intimacy; an additional 11.0 percent named at least one person in both the good friend and "friendly with" categories, but named no acquaintances; 12.1 percent named both good friends and acquaintances, but no one in the intermediate level of intimacy; and 17.6 percent named both people they were friendly with and acquaintances, but no good friends. A total of 25 respondents (27.5 percent) used only one category of intimacy, and an additional six (6.6 percent) named no one. Sixty respondents (65.9 percent) named one or more tenants on at least two levels of intimacy. Thus, respondents differed not only in terms of

their use of the three categories reflecting incremental levels of intimacy, but also in terms of the number of nominations in each category.

The number of tenants named on all sociometric questions, and the level of intimacy ascribed to these nominees serve as a major data base for testing some hypotheses.

Part II. Testing of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Reported levels of intimacy, defined as whether respondents identify tenants named on sociometric items as good friends, people they are friendly with, or acquaintances, will be associated with status similarity in terms of specific characteristics of race, religion, nationality,¹⁶ sex, marital status, and index of social position. Same status nominations will be associated with more intimate relationships, while cross status nominations will be associated with less intimate relationships.

To determine the relationship between reported levels of intimacy and status similarity, a series of different statistical techniques was used. This approach was considered appropriate given the nature of the data. It should be recalled that respondents differed in terms of their use of the various categories reflecting levels of intimacy, and in terms of the number of people named in each category. This presented a number of questions regarding the appropriateness of various inferential statistics which might be applied to test for the significance of the relationship between status similarity and level of intimacy. For example, the fact that there are multiple observations for each respondent implies a violation of the assumption of independence of

¹⁶Unless otherwise specified, throughout the analyses for Hypothesis 1, nationality refers to the country in which respondents, and the tenants they named, lived during their first ten to 15 years. Status similarity for nationality was determined according to "Method II," described in Appendix C.

observations inherent in many statistical procedures. The various analytic approaches employed to deal with such issues are discussed in turn below. In each case, the advantages and limitations of the particular statistical approach are noted.

Comparison of Good Friends to Acquaintances on Status Similarity

One analytic approach to the relationship between level of intimacy and status similarity involved the comparison of the proportion of good friends who were status similar to the proportion of acquaintances who were status similar among respondents who named at least one individual in each of these categories. As shown in Table 6, there were a total of 34 respondents who named at least one individual in both the good friend and acquaintance categories. For each of these 34 respondents, the proportion of good friends and the proportion of acquaintances who were status similar was calculated for each of the following status similarity variables: race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status at the time of the move to the building, marital status at the time of data collection, and index of social position. Then, for each status similarity variable, the proportion of status similar good friends was compared to the proportion of status similar acquaintances, using the t-test for correlated means. Thus, the problem of multiple nominations for each respondent was dealt with, since proportions were calculated separately for all good friend nominations and all acquaintance nominations, resulting in two correlated proportions for each of the 34 respondents.

The results of these t tests are presented in Table 7. The proportion of status similars among good friends was significantly

Table 7

t Tests for Correlated Samples Comparing Percent
 Good Friends of the Same Status Characteristic
 with Percent Acquaintances of the
 Same Status Characteristic

Status Characteristic	N	Percent same status		Mean difference	<u>t</u>	p ^a
		Mean	SD			
Race						
% good friends same	34	97.18	9.49	29.47	4.25	.0005
% acquaintances same		67.71	40.75			
Religion						
% good friends same	31	65.52	39.90	19.75	2.12	.021
% acquaintances same		45.77	40.91			
Nationality						
% good friends same	34	51.91	36.50	28.70	3.39	.001
% acquaintances same		23.21	33.69			
Sex						
% good friends same	34	75.38	33.05	8.23	.92	.183
% acquaintances same		67.15	38.16			
Marital Status						
% good friends same	34	58.18	37.84	12.36	1.33	.095
% acquaintances same		45.82	33.15			
Index of Social Position						
% good friends same	26	45.77	37.29	11.54	1.20	.122
% acquaintances same		34.23	39.28			

^aOne-tailed test.

higher than the proportion of status similars among acquaintances when status similarity was considered on the basis of race ($p < .0005$), religion ($p = .021$) and nationality ($p = .001$). These findings are consistent with the hypothesis. However, no significant differences were obtained based on status similarity with respect to sex, marital status or index of social position. For each of these variables the mean difference between the proportion of status similars among good friends and the proportion of status similars among acquaintances was in the expected direction, but the magnitude of the differences was not sufficient to achieve statistical significance.¹⁷ These non-significant differences were contrary to expectations.

In an attempt to understand why no significant differences were obtained between the proportion of status similars among good friends and the proportion of status similars among acquaintances with respect to sex, marital status and index of social position, the following points should be noted. The number of respondents available for these analyses represents only 40 percent of those respondents who had named at least one person at any of the three levels of intimacy, since only respondents who had identified other tenants as both good friends and acquaintances could be included. Thus, one must question the representativeness of this sub-sample of respondents.

Another relevant consideration is the possibility that for certain status similarity variables there may be almost as strong a

¹⁷Preliminary analyses included a consideration of the appropriateness of these data for the t -test for correlated means. It was noted that the distribution of differences pertaining to race was somewhat skewed. As a precaution, the Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks tests were performed along with the paired t -tests for all variables. Identical results were obtained for these two procedures.

tendency to identify as acquaintances those who are status similars as to identify as good friends those who are status similar. Certainly with respect to sex, it may be observed that even among acquaintances, an average of 67.15 percent of those named are the same sex. It was then proposed that respondents tended to name status similars, regardless of level of intimacy, beyond that which would be expected by chance on the basis of the proportion of status similars among all potential nominees in the building. The next series of analyses reported address this issue.

Tendency to Nominate Status Similars at All Levels of Intimacy

To determine whether respondents tended to nominate status similars at all levels of intimacy at a rate significantly higher than that which would be expected by chance, the following procedure was employed. Based on the total number of tenants named, without regard to level of intimacy, the proportion of status similars for each of the status similarity variables was calculated for each respondent. For example, the status similarity variable, religion, contains the subgroup Catholic. For each Catholic respondent the proportion of all named persons who were also Catholic was obtained. Next, for each major subgroup within each of the status similarity variables, the mean and standard deviation were obtained for the distributions of proportions of all nominees who were status similar. Thus, for all Catholic respondents who named at least one person, the average proportion of all nominees who were also Catholic was calculated. Then, for subgroups within each of the status similarity variables, the proportion of the total number of potential nominees in the building belonging to that subgroup was obtained. This

value was used as an estimate of the proportion of all nominations who would be expected to be status similars in terms of a given characteristic under the assumption of random choice. One sample t -tests were then performed to compare the observed proportion of status similars to the proportion which would be expected on the basis of chance, given the composition of the tenant population. Again referring to the example of Catholic respondents, the one sample t -test compared the mean proportion of Catholics actually named by Catholic respondents to the proportion of Catholics that they would be expected to name under the assumption that nominations were random within the building with respect to religion. A total of 18 one-sample t -tests were performed for the following status characteristic subgroups: (1) whites; (2) blacks; (3) Hispanics; (4) Catholics; (5) Protestants; (6) Jews; (7) Austrians, Czechs, and Hungarians; (8) Canadians, English, Irish, and Scots; (9) U.S. whites; (10) U.S. blacks; (11) women; (12) men; (13) married; (14) not married; (15) social classes I and II; (16) Class III; (17) Class IV; and (18) Class V. As Table 8 indicates, the results are highly significant for 16 of the 18 status characteristic subgroups. With the exception of maritally unattached respondents, and those of social classes I and II, respondents named a higher proportion of status similars at all levels of intimacy than would be expected under the assumption of random choice given the tenant composition of the building. These findings tend to support the notion that perhaps no significant differences emerged in terms of sex, marital status and index of social position when the proportion of status similars among good friends was compared to the proportion of status similars among acquaintances because respondents tend to choose status similars in disproportionately large numbers, regardless of the reported level of intimacy.

Table 8

One Sample *t*-Tests Comparing the Observed Mean
Proportion of Status Similar Tenants Named to
the Expected Proportion of Status Similar

Status Characteristic	N ^a	Observed proportion of status similar tenants named		Expected proportion of status similar tenants	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> ^b
		Mean	<u>SD</u>			
Race						
Whites	71	94.72	9.62	84.29	28.14	< .0005
Blacks	8	32.63	25.42	7.33	13.28	< .0005
Hispanics	6	85.33	23.76	7.33	35.78	< .0005
Religion						
Catholics	52	68.77	26.87	63.47	7.30	< .0005
Protestants	16	27.88	21.32	14.37	11.35	< .0005
Jews	11	26.55	29.87	13.77	7.39	< .0005
Nationality						
Austrian, Czech, Hungarian	13	57.31	36.70	19.20	21.79	< .0005
Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland	14	51.71	23.09	12.60	29.35	< .0005
U.S. Whites	34	48.47	29.96	35.71	13.39	< .0005
U.S. Blacks	6	25.0	22.93	4.95	9.36	< .0005
Sex						
Women	59	82.15	17.33	67.71	26.42	< .0005
Men	26	47.46	19.35	32.29	17.24	< .0005

^aNumber of respondents who named any tenant.

^bOne-tailed test.

Table 8--Continued

Status Characteristic	N	Observed proportion of status similar tenants named		Expected proportion of status similar tenants	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
		Mean	<u>SD</u>			
Marital Status						
Married	37	49.68	26.76	43.09	7.64	< .0005
Not Married	48	58.02	27.64	56.91	1.11	> .10
Index of Social Position						
Classes I and II	5	9.40	14.52	6.83	1.35	> .10
Class III	23	34.96	30.60	23.08	10.08	< .0005
Class IV	36	54.47	37.55	41.03	12.98	< .0005
Class V	20	45.50	36.97	29.06	11.79	< .0005

The fact that significant differences were observed for race, religion, and nationality when the proportion of status similar good friends was compared to the proportion of status similar acquaintances suggests that ethnic factors are more salient than sex, marital status and social class for more intimate relationships, at least among this sample of respondents.

Analysis of the Relationship Between Level of Intimacy and Status Similarity Based on All Nominations

In view of the relatively small number of respondents (34) who had identified tenants as both good friends and acquaintances, and the possible bias of this sample, an alternative approach to the analysis of Hypothesis 1 was undertaken. The unit of analysis was shifted from the respondent to the individuals they named, and the reported level of intimacy was crosstabulated with status similarity. Contingency tables were prepared for each status similarity variable indicating the number and proportion of same status and different status nominees according to the three levels of intimacy. Chi-square tests of association were performed to assess the significance of the relationship between status similarity and level of intimacy.

The researcher is fully aware of the fact that the use of multiple nominations from individual respondents involves a violation of the assumption of independence of observations for the Chi-square test of association. The use of the Chi-square statistic in spite of this deviation from the exact underlying mathematical model has been defended by Newcomb (1961), who cautions the researcher not to generalize findings so derived to an entire population without first determining whether

significant differences may have resulted from the impact of numerous systematic responses from a few individuals. In the present study, the results obtained from these Chi-square analyses will be seen to be generally consistent with the results of analyses using the respondent as the unit of analysis. Nevertheless, these results should be regarded with caution, particularly with respect to their external validity. The primary advantage of this approach is that all available data are utilized. The contingency tables therefore represent the most complete description of the relationship between status similarity and level of intimacy for all nominees.

Contingency tables were prepared for the following status similarity variables: race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status, and index of social position. A summary is presented in Table 9, along with the corresponding Chi-square tests of association.

Table 9 reveals that for all status similarity variables examined, the proportion of status similars who were identified as good friends exceeded the proportion of status dissimilars who were identified as good friends. For example, while 35.4 percent of those named who were the same race as the respondents were considered good friends, only 17.8 percent of those named who were a different race were considered good friends. Chi-square tests of association indicated a significant relationship between status similarity and level of intimacy for all status similarity variables except sex. These results provide general support for the hypothesis that respondents consider status similar tenants as more intimate than status dissimilar tenants. With respect to sex, 35.3 percent of same sex nominations were considered good friends, while 27.6 percent of opposite sex nominations were considered

Table 9
 Number and Percent of Status Similar and Status
 Dissimilar Tenants Named, by Level of Intimacy

Status Characteristic	Level of Intimacy														Total N tenants named	χ^2	df	p		
	N and % of status similar tenants named as:							N and % of status dissimilar tenants named as:												
	Good friend			Friendly with		Acquaintance		N ^a tenants named	Good friend			Friendly with		Acquaintance					N ^a tenants named	
	N	%		N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	N	%						
Race	152	35.4		157	36.6	120	28.0	429	13	17.8	17	23.3	43	58.9	73	502	26.705	2	< .001	
Religion	100	40.8		89	36.3	56	22.9	245	54	23.8	79	34.8	94	41.4	227	472	23.305	2	< .001	
Nationality	98	41.7		84	35.8	53	22.5	235	67	25.3	90	34.0	108	40.7	265	500	23.103	2	< .001	
Sex	122	35.3		117	33.8	107	30.9	346	43	27.6	57	36.5	56	35.9	156	502	2.990	2	NS	
Marital Status (at the time of the move)	101	36.7		101	36.7	73	26.6	275	63	27.9	73	32.3	90	39.8	226	501	10.390	2	< .01	
Marital Status (at the time of data collection)	101	37.4		92	34.1	77	28.5	270	63	27.3	82	35.5	86	37.2	231	501	6.887	2	< .05	
Index of Social Position	64	44.4		38	26.4	42	29.2	144	50	24.6	81	39.9	72	35.5	203	347	15.567	2	< .001	

^aNumber of tenants named refers to all targets for whom a given status characteristic was known.

good friends. Although this difference was in the expected direction, the distribution of nominees was not sufficiently different for all three levels of intimacy to achieve statistical significance.

Given the non-significant findings between level of intimacy and status similarity based on sex, additional analyses were performed examining level of intimacy by status similarity for the nominees of men and women separately. (Such analyses were undertaken because review of respondents' comments during the interviews suggested that some single women were somewhat reluctant to form close associations with men in the building, lest they become targets of gossips.)

The first analysis dealt only with those men and women who named at least one good friend, and simply tested: whether women who were living with men were more likely to name at least one man as a good friend, than women who were not living with men; and similarly, whether men who were living with women were more likely to name at least one woman as a good friend. Eight of the 13 women (61.5 percent) who were living with men, and who had identified anyone as a good friend, named at least one man, compared to only five of the 23 women who were not living with men. This difference was significant at the .05 level ($\chi^2 = 4.108$, $df = 1$, Yates corrected for continuity). The analogous analysis for men was non-significant.

The next set of analyses examined status similarity based on sex, for all three levels of intimacy, for men and women respondents separately. This process was further refined by performing the same analysis for the following four subgroups: (1) men living with women; (2) men not living with women; (3) women living with men; (4) women not living with men. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 10. The

Table 10
 Number and Percent of Same Sex and Different Sex
 Tenants Named, by Level of Intimacy

Status Characteristic	Level of Intimacy														Total N tenants named	χ^2	df	p
	N and % of same sex tenants named as:						N and % of opposite sex tenants named as:											
	Good friend		Friendly with		Acquaintance		N tenants named	Good friend		Friendly with		Acquaintance		N tenants named				
N	%	N	%	N	%	N		%	N	%	N	%						
All men	24	25.8	39	41.9	30	32.3	93	26	28.0	32	34.4	35	37.6	93	186	1.194	2	NS
Men living with women	15	24.2	27	43.5	20	32.3	62	21	30.4	24	34.8	24	34.8	69	131	1.168	2	NS
Men not living with women	9	29.0	12	38.7	10	32.3	31	5	20.8	8	33.3	11	45.8	24	55	1.122	2	NS
All women	98	38.7	78	30.8	77	30.4	253	17	27.0	25	39.7	21	33.3	63	316	3.267	2	NS
Women living with men	36	40.0	20	22.2	34	37.8	90	12	38.7	10	32.3	9	29.0	31	121	1.441	2	NS
Women not living with men	62	38.0	58	35.6	43	26.4	163	5	15.6	15	46.9	12	37.5	32	195	5.99	2	.05

only significant relationship to emerge was for women who were not living with men. They were significantly more likely to identify other women as more intimate than the men whom they named. Thus, the data failed to support the hypothesis for status similarity based on sex.

Analyses of Primary Target Designees

The final analytic approach taken to test the relationship between level of intimacy and status similarity involved the primary target. For this series of analyses a restatement of the formal hypothesis was required, although conceptually the alternative hypothesis is consistent with Hypothesis 1.

Alternative hypothesis, 1-A. The most intimate relationship reported by a given respondent will be associated with status similarity in terms of specific characteristics of race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status, and index of social position.

The criteria for determining a primary target for a respondent have been described in the methods chapter (see pp. 112-113) and will not be reiterated here. It should be noted, however, that a respondent's primary target may be regarded as the one tenant among all those named with whom the respondent has the most intensive relationship. It should also be pointed out that the use of the primary target circumvents some major problems of analysis. It provides data about a single tenant for each respondent who named another tenant who met the criteria for a primary target, regardless of the level of intimacy reported by the respondent. Thus, a respondent who identified another tenant as a good friend could have a primary target, as could those respondents whose highest reported level of intimacy was "friendly with" or acquaintance. In contrast to the first series of analyses which included only those 34 respondents who named both good friends and acquaintances,

analyses of the primary target include a total of 77 respondents. Thus, 91 percent of the 85 respondents who named at least one person on sociometric questions had a primary target. Therefore, this sample tends to reduce possible systematic bias which may have been related to a respondent's propensity to identify tenants at a particular level of intimacy. Moreover, the designation of a single nominee eliminates the problem of multiple observations for each respondent and consequently the violation of the assumption of independence of observations inherent in many inferential statistical tests.

Tests of significance were performed to determine whether the proportion of primary targets who were status similar exceeded the proportion that would be expected on the basis of chance, given the tenant composition of the building. This feature of the analysis is important since the proportions of various status characteristic subgroups within the building's population differ considerably. For example, the building's population is predominantly: female (69.2 percent of respondents, 67.7 percent of all potential nominees); white (83.5 percent of respondents, 83.9 percent of all potential nominees); and Catholic (59.3 percent of respondents, 55.2 percent of potential nominees). Thus, for certain variables such as sex, race and religion, respondents who are in a majority are more likely to name a primary target of the same or similar status on the basis of chance alone. Similarly, unless the expected probability of same status selection is controlled for among tenants who occupy a minority status, a highly significant tendency to name a status similar might be obscured. Therefore in any analyses it was desirable to control for chance selection of a target with the same or similar status. In the following analyses such chance choices were

taken into account.

Separate tests were performed for major status similarity subgroups within the status characteristics of race, religion, nationality,¹⁸ sex, marital status,¹⁹ and index of social position. Thus it is possible to determine the tendency of different subgroups within each status characteristic to have primary targets who are similar.

In testing the hypothesis that the proportion of primary targets who were status similar exceeded chance expectations, one of two inferential statistics was employed for each subgroup: (1) if the number of respondents in the subgroup was less than or equal to 20, the binomial test was used; (2) if the number of respondents in the subgroup exceeded 20 the corresponding z-test was employed. The results of these tests are presented in Table 11.

As shown in Table 11, the subgroups based on race and sex are perfectly consistent in that each of them demonstrates a highly significant tendency to have status similar primary targets at a rate greater than that which would be expected by chance. While Protestants ($p < .0001$) and Jews ($p < .05$) have status similar primary targets, the proportion of status similars for Catholics is not greater than chance expectancy ($p = .23$). With respect to nationality subgroups, U.S. whites did not demonstrate a significant tendency to have primary targets who were status similar, nor did foreign-raised blacks from English speaking countries. All other nationality subgroups for whom analyses

¹⁸Analyses for nationality were performed for all three methods of determining status similarity, as described in Appendix C, pp. 312-313.

¹⁹Status similarity for marital status was analyzed for two points in time: (1) the time of the move; and (2) the time of data collection.

Table 11

Summary of Primary Target Analyses:
 Tests of Significance for Naming a Status Similar
 Primary Target Beyond Chance Expectation

Status Characteristic	N choosing a primary target	Observed proportion choosing a status similar	Proportion expected by chance	Statistic	Value obtained	p
Race						
White	64	.98	.84	z-test	2.95	.0016
Black	7	.71	.07	binomial	-	< .0002
Hispanic	6	.67	.07	binomial	-	< .0013
Religion						
Catholic	43	.70	.63	z-test	.7279	.2327
Protestant	14	.71	.14	binomial	-	< .0001
Jewish	10	.40	.13	binomial	-	< .0499
Nationality ^a (Method I)						
Czechoslovakia	7	.57	.10	binomial	-	< .0028
Hungary	5	.80	.06	binomial	-	< .0004
Ireland	9	.67	.09	binomial	-	< .0001
Scotland	2	1.00	.01	binomial	-	< .0025
U.S. black	5	.60	.04	binomial	-	< .0011
U.S. white	28	.43	.35	z-test	.6324	.2643
(Method II)						
Austria, Czechoslovakia & Hungary	13	.69	.19	binomial	-	< .0001

^aMethods for determining status similarity with respect to nationality are described in Appendix C.

Table 11--Continued

Status Characteristic	N choosing a primary target	Observed proportion choosing a status similar	Proportion expected by chance	Statistic	Value obtained	p
Canada, England, Ireland & Scotland	12	.83	.12	binomial	-	< .0001
U.S. white	28	.43	.35	z-test	.6324	.2643
U.S. black	5	.60	.04	binomial	-	< .0011
Hispanic (Method III)	6	.67	.07	binomial	-	< .0012
Foreign-raised white, English- speaking country	12	.83	.18	binomial	-	< .0001
Foreign-raised white, non- English speaking country	23	.57	.29	z-test	2.63	.0043
U.S. white	28	.43	.35	z-test	.63	.2643
U.S. black	5	.60	.04	binomial	-	< .0011
Hispanic	6	.67	.07	binomial	-	< .0001
Foreign-raised black, English- speaking country	2	.00	.02	binomial	-	NS
Sex						
Men	24	.63	.33	z-test	2.86	.0021
Women	53	.91	.68	z-test	3.44	.0003
Marital Status						
(Time of move)						
Married	35	.46	.43	z-test	.18	.4286
Not married	29	.69	.57	z-test	1.46	.0721
(Time of data collection)						
Married	32	.38	.36	z-test	.02	.4920
Not married	45	.78	.63	z-test	7.10	< .0001

Table 11--Continued

Status Characteristic	\bar{N} choosing a primary target	Observed proportion choosing a status similar	Proportion expected by chance	Statistic	Value obtained	p
Index of Social Position						
Class: I and II	5	.20	.06	binomial	-	.91
III	14	.50	.22	binomial	-	< .028
IV	24	.79	.41	z-test	3.65	.0002
V	17	.47	.28	binomial	-	.359

were possible, did demonstrate significant tendencies to nominate status similars as primary targets at levels well beyond chance expectation.

Results with respect to marital status and index of social position were mixed. Among subjects who were not married at the time of data collection, there was a significant tendency to have status similar primary targets. No such tendency was found for respondents who were married at the time of data collection. When marital status was based on the time of the move, neither married nor unmarried respondents demonstrated any significant tendency to choose status similars as primary targets.

With respect to index of social position, significant tendencies to select status similar primary targets beyond chance expectation were observed among members of classes III and IV, but not among members of other classes.

Hypothesis 2. The proportion of status similars in the building will be significantly related to the total number of on-site social contacts reported and to the number of more intimate relationships that individuals develop with other tenants. That is, tenants with relatively greater numbers of status similars will report: (a) significantly more tenants with whom they have contact and; (b) significantly more social relationships of a more intimate nature, than those tenants who have relatively few status similars.

This hypothesis was tested in terms of six independent variables. These reflected the proportion of status similars in the tenant population, for each of the following characteristics: (1) sex, with the groups men vs. women, where women was the majority status; (2) race, with the groups white vs. non-white, where white was the majority status; (3) religion, with the groups Catholic vs. non-Catholic, where Catholic was the majority status; (4) marital status, with the groups not-married vs. married, where not-married was the majority status;

(5) index of social position, with the groups "low" vs. "high," where "low" represents Hollingshead's Classes IV and V, and constituted the majority status; and (6) nationality, with the groups identified as "high," "intermediate," and "low" density. The three nationality groups were defined in the following manner. The high density category contained persons whose nationality group constituted more than 12 percent of the total tenant population; these were whites raised in: (a) Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; (b) Canada, England, Ireland and Scotland; and (c) the United States. The intermediate category contained individuals whose nationality group constituted from five to 12 percent of the tenant population; these groups included (a) Germans, (b) Hispanics, and (c) U.S. blacks. The low density category included all those respondents whose nationality group²⁰ constituted less than five percent of the tenant population; these included emigrants from France, Greece, Italy, Jamaica-British West Indies, Poland, and Russia.

Two dependent variables were employed: (1) the total number of reported on-site social contacts, defined as the sum of the number of tenants named by the respondent as good friends, people the respondent was friendly with, and acquaintances of the respondent; and (2) more intimate social relationships, defined as the number of tenants the respondent identified as good friends plus the number of tenants the respondent indicated he or she was friendly with.

For the five independent variables for which majority/minority status was viewed as a dichotomy, t-tests for two independent samples were performed to determine the significance of the difference between

²⁰Nationality group was based on Method II for determining status similarity with respect to nationality, described in Appendix C.

the mean score of the majority group and the mean score of the minority group for both the total number of tenants named and the number of more intimate relationships (Table 12). For the nationality variable, which had three groups, two one-way analyses of variance were performed to determine the significance of group differences in terms of the two dependent variables (Tables 13 and 14).

Residential Density of Status Similar
and Total Number of Tenants Named

As Table 12 indicates, significant differences between majority and minority status similarity groups were obtained with respect to the total number of tenants named when majority and minority status was based on sex and marital status. The 63 women constituting the majority sex group named an average of 5.02 tenants at all levels of intimacy ($SD = 3.24$). In contrast, the 28 men named an average of 6.64 tenants ($SD = 3.15$). The difference between these means was significant ($t(89) = -2.23, p = .014$). However, contrary to expectation, the men, comprising the minority group, named significantly more tenants at all levels of intimacy than did the women.

Among the 54 maritally unattached respondents constituting the majority group for marital status, the mean number of tenants named at all levels was 4.67 ($SD = 3.23$). Among the 37 married respondents comprising the minority group the mean was 6.76 ($SD = 2.99$). This difference was also significant ($t(89) = -3.12, p = .001$). The significantly higher number of tenants named by married respondents is similarly contrary to expectation.

Differences between majority and minority status similarity groups were not significant with respect to the total number of tenants named

Table 12

t-Tests for Two Independent Samples Comparing
Majority and Minority Status Similarity Groups
for Total Number of Tenants Named and Number
of More Intimate Social Relationships

Status Characteristics	Percent of tenant population	Total number of tenants named				Number of more intimate social relationships					
		<u>N</u>	<u>X̄</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p^a</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>X̄</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p^a</u>
Race											
White (majority)	84.29	76	5.51	3.28	-0.02	.491	76	3.75	2.77	0.19	.426
Non-white (minority)	15.71	15	5.53	3.44			15	3.60	3.14		
Religion											
Catholic (majority)	63.47	54	5.74	3.22	0.79	.217	54	4.06	2.72	1.36	.089
Non-Catholic (minority)	36.53	37	5.19	3.40			37	3.24	2.91		
Sex											
Women (majority)	67.71	63	5.02	3.24	-2.23	.014	63	3.46	2.75	-1.35	.090
Men (minority)	32.29	28	6.64	3.15			28	4.32	2.92		
Marital Status											
Not-married (majority)	56.91	54	4.67	3.23	-3.12	.001	54	3.17	2.75	-2.35	.011
Married (minority)	43.09	37	6.76	2.99			37	4.54	2.75		

^aOne-tailed test.

Table 12--Continued

Status Characteristics	Percent of tenant population	Total number of tenants named					Number of more intimate social relationships				
		<u>N</u>	<u>X̄</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p^a</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>X̄</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p^a</u>
Index of Social Position Hollingshead classes IV and V (majority)	70.09	61	5.13	3.22	-1.61	.056	61	3.48	2.59	-1.21	.115
Hollingshead classes I, II, and III (minority)	29.91	30	6.30	3.33			30	4.23	3.21		

when majority vs. minority status was considered for race or religion. The results approach significance for index of social position ($t(89) = -1.61, p = .056$). The 30 respondents who were members of Classes I, II, and III, and constituted the minority status group for index of social position named an average of 6.30 ($SD = 3.33$) tenants at all levels of intimacy, contrasted to the majority status group (Classes IV and V) who named an average of 5.13 ($SD = 3.22$) tenants. Once again, the findings are contrary to the hypothesis.

Significant differences among the three groups formed on the basis of nationality density were obtained with respect to the total number of tenants named on all levels, and these differences are consistent with the hypothesis. Table 13 reveals that among the 64 tenants who were members of nationality groups representing more than 12 percent of the total tenant population, the average number of tenants named at all levels of intimacy was 5.97 ($SD = 3.18$). The corresponding mean for the 16 respondents who made up the intermediate density nationality groups (5-12 percent of the tenant population) was 5.19 ($SD = 3.33$); and for the 11 respondents from the low density nationality groups (less than five percent of the population), the mean was 3.36 ($SD = 3.20$). The differences among these three means were significant, ($F(2, 88) = 3.20, p = .047$), although post hoc Scheffe contrasts indicated that there were no significant pair-wise mean differences.

Residential density of status similars and more intimate social relationships. With respect to the dependent variable, number of more intimate social relationships, only one significant difference emerged when density of status similars was examined in terms of race, religion, sex, marital status, and index of social positions (Table 12). This

Table 13

Analysis of Variance for Total Number
of Tenants Named by Three Independent
Nationality Density Groups

Nationality density group	<u>N</u>	Mean number of tenants named	<u>SD</u>
High (More than 12% of the tenant population)	64	5.97	3.18
Intermediate (5 - 12% of the tenant population)	16	5.19	3.33
Low (Less than 5% of the tenant population)	11	3.36	3.20

ANOVA Table

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between groups	65.80	2	32.90	3.20	.047
Within groups	904.92	88	10.28		
Total	970.72	90			

difference was again related to marital status. The mean number of more intimate relationships reported by the 54 maritally unattached respondents (the majority status group) was 3.17 ($SD = 2.75$), compared to a mean of 4.54 ($SD = 2.75$) for the 37 married respondents who constituted the minority group. This difference was significant ($t(89) = -2.35$, $p = .011$), and the direction of the difference, as in the previous analyses, was contrary to expectation.

Significant differences among the three nationality density groups were obtained with respect to this dependent measure, and are consistent with the hypothesis. As Table 14 indicates, the mean number of more intimate social relationships for the high, intermediate and low density nationality groups was 4.03 ($SD = 2.75$); 3.93 ($SD = 3.11$), and 1.63 ($SD = 1.86$), respectively. The analysis of variance was significant ($F(2, 88) = 3.66$, $p = .030$). Post hoc Scheffe contrasts indicated that the only significant pairwise mean difference was that between the high and low density nationality groups.

In summary, the hypothesis that tenants with relatively greater numbers of status similars will report significantly more tenants with whom they had contact, and significantly more social relationships of a more intimate nature, was tested for six status similarity variables: race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status, and index of social position. The hypothesis was confirmed for only one of these independent variables--the proportion of status similars in terms of nationality. Tenants with relatively higher proportions of status similars with respect to nationality were significantly more likely to report more tenants with whom they had contact, and a greater number of more intimate social relationships. While significant differences were obtained for

Table 14

Analysis of Variance for the Number of More
Intimate Social Relationships of Three
Independent Nationality Density Groups

Nationality density group	<u>N</u>	Mean number of more intimate social relationships	<u>SD</u>
High (More than 12% of the tenant population)	64	4.03	2.75
Intermediate (5 - 12% of the tenant population)	16	3.93	3.11
Low (Less than 5% of the tenant population)	11	1.63	1.86

ANOVA Table

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between groups	54.71	2	27.36	3.66	.030
Within groups	657.42	88	7.47		
Total	712.13	90			

the proportion of status similars based on sex and marital status, in terms of the total number of tenants named, the findings were contrary to expectation. Those in a minority status with respect to sex and marital status reported significantly more tenants with whom they had contact. A similar trend was observed for index of social position. No significant differences were observed for the total number of tenants named when majority vs. minority status similarity groups were based on race and religion. When the hypothesis was tested using more intimate relationships as the dependent variable, only married respondents, who constituted a minority, reported a significantly greater number of more intimate relationships than their maritally unattached counterparts, and once again, the finding was contrary to expectation.

Status similarity of personal and social characteristics was regarded as a major factor in the development of social relationships, but by no means the only issue to consider in a comprehensive study. An additional set of hypotheses was related to proximity of dwelling units, having performed formal roles within on-site organizations, and levels of participation in off-site social networks.

Hypothesis 3. Factors such as proximity of dwelling units, the performance of formal roles within on-site organizations, and levels of participation in off-site social networks will be associated with specific types of social relationships among tenants.

Sub-hypothesis 3-a. The majority of more intimate social relationships among tenants will involve non-proximate neighbors, that is, tenants who live on different floors. Conversely, the majority of contacts among proximate neighbors will involve less intimate relationships.

Table 15 presents the residential proximity of tenants named on sociometric questions, by reported level of intimacy.

Table 15
Level of Intimacy by Proximity of Tenants Named

Proximity	Level of intimacy					
	Good friends		Friendly with		Acquaintances	
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%
Same floor	30	18.2	43	24.7	83	50.9
Different floor	135	81.8	131	75.3	80	49.1
	<u>165</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Chi-square tests of association indicate a highly significant inverse relationship between level of intimacy and proximity of dwelling units when all three levels of intimacy are considered ($\chi^2 = 46.07$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$); and when more intimate social relationships is defined as good friends plus tenants with whom respondents are friendly ($\chi^2 = 44.38$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that 21.5 percent of all nominees identified as good friends and people with whom respondents are friendly live on the same floor as respondents. This proportion is certainly greater than one would expect by chance if proximity were not a factor in the formation of more intimate relationships. Due to the varying numbers of tenants residing on each of the residential floors of the building it was considered impractical to attempt to test statistically the precise hypothesis that the 21.5 percent exceeds chance expectations. Instead, the observed numbers of proximate neighbors who were identified as good friends and as persons with whom respondents were friendly were compared to an estimate of the numbers of nominations that would be expected by chance, based on an average of approximately

9 out of 191 potential nominees residing on the same floor. As shown in Table 16, Chi-square tests of goodness of fit revealed that the observed number of proximate neighbors who were identified as good friends and as persons with whom respondents were friendly greatly exceeded chance expectations.

Table 16
Comparison of Observed and Expected Frequencies
of Level of Intimacy by Proximity
of Tenants Named

Proximity	Level of intimacy			
	Good friends		Friendly with	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
Same floor	30	7.75	43	8.18
Different floor	135	157.25	131	165.82
	<u>165</u>	<u>165.00</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>174.00</u>
$\chi^2 = 67.03$ ($p < .001$) $\chi^2 = 155.53$ ($p < .001$)				

Thus, the hypothesis that the majority of more intimate social relationships involved tenants on different floors is confirmed. However, this finding is not in conflict with the results of other studies that have indicated that proximity of dwelling units is an important factor in friendship formation among tenants in age-segregated housing.

Sub-hypothesis 3-b. Tenants who have performed a formal role within on-site organizations will report: (a) a significantly greater number of total on-site social contacts; and (b) a significantly greater number of social relationships of a more intimate nature than tenants who have not performed such roles.

Respondents with no formal roles were compared to respondents with one or more formal roles with respect to two dependent variables: (1) the total number of tenants named on sociometric items, without regard

to the level of intimacy; and (2) the number of more intimate social relationships, defined as the number of tenants the respondent identified as good friends, plus the number of tenants with whom the respondent was friendly. For each of these dependent variables, t-tests for independent samples were performed to determine the significance of the difference between the mean scores of those respondents with and without formal roles.

As Table 17 reveals, for the 44 respondents with one or more formal roles the mean number of tenants named at all levels of intimacy was 6.91 (SD = 2.79), compared to a mean of 4.21 (SD = 3.20) for the 47 respondents with no formal roles. The difference between these means was significant (t (89) = 4.27, $p < .0005$). Similarly, when the groups were compared in terms of the mean number of more intimate social relationships, respondents with one or more formal roles named significantly more tenants than those with no formal roles. The respective means were 4.68 (SD = 2.71) and 2.83 (SD = 2.63); (t (89) = 3.31, $p < .001$).

Additional analyses related to hypothesis 3-b. Clearly, having performed a formal role within an on-site organization may be related to tenant characteristics such as age, sex, functional health, nationality, length of residence within the building, etc. These same characteristics may also be related to the total number of tenants named on sociometric items, and to the number of more intimate relationships reported by respondents. For example, statistical analyses related to hypothesis 2 revealed that married persons named significantly more tenants than maritally unattached persons on each of these dependent variables.

Thus, two stepwise hierarchical multiple regression analyses were

Table 17

Total Number of Reported On-Site Contacts and
the Number of More Intimate Social Relationships,
by Tenants With and Without Formal Roles

Number of formal roles	<u>N</u>	Mean number of tenants named	<u>SD</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
<u>Total number of reported on-site contacts</u>					
None	47	4.21	3.20	4.27	< .0005
One or more	44	6.91	2.79		
<u>Number of more intimate social relationships</u>					
None	47	2.83	2.63	3.31	< .001
One or more	44	4.68	2.71		

performed to determine the effect of formal roles on the total number of tenants named on sociometric questions and on the number of more intimate relationships, while controlling for the effects of age, sex, marital status, functional health, race, religion, nationality, index of social position, and length of residence in the building. In these analyses the nominal variables, marital status and race, were collapsed into dichotomies (married vs. not married, and white vs. non-white). The nominal variables, nationality and religion, were each collapsed into four categories, and three dummy variables were created for each to make possible the inclusion of these nominal variables in the regression equation.

In each analysis the variables age, sex, marital status, functional health, race, index of social position, and length of residence in the building were entered at the first hierarchical level. Nationality and religion were entered at the second and third hierarchical levels. The number of on-site formal roles was entered last as the critical predictor variable. Thus, the predictive effect of the number of formal roles was measured only after the effects of the other variables had been taken into account. This provides the most stringent test of the effect of formal roles on the criterion variables.

The results of the two stepwise hierarchical multiple regression analyses indicate that the number of formal roles was a significant predictor of both the number of tenants named at all levels of intimacy ($F(1, 76) = 13.62, p < .001$) and of the number of tenants named at more intimate levels ($F(1, 76) = 13.55, p < .001$). The number of formal roles accounted for 12.05 percent of the variance in the number of tenants named at all levels of intimacy, and 11.83 percent of the

variance in the number of tenants named at more intimate levels.

These analyses provide compelling support for the hypothesis that tenants who have performed formal roles within on-site organizations develop significantly more relationships with other residents in their building, and significantly more relationships of a more intimate nature, than tenants who have not held such formal roles.

Sub-hypothesis 3-c. There will be an inverse relationship between levels of participation in off-site social networks and the total number of more intimate social relationships with other tenants.

The result of a Pearson Product Moment Correlation to test the relationship between the number of extra-building face-to-face social contacts²¹ per week and the sum of the number of tenants identified by the respondent as good friends and people she or he was friendly with, was not significant ($r = .05$, $p = .33$). In addition, the number of weekly extra-building contacts was correlated with: (1) the total number of tenants named at all levels of intimacy, (2) the number identified as good friends, (3) people the respondent was friendly with, and (4) acquaintances of the respondent. In no case was a significant relationship observed.

Thus, there is no evidence that a significant relationship exists between levels of participation in off-site social networks and the total number of more intimate social relationships that tenants develop with other residents in their building.

²¹The number of extra-building face-to-face contacts is a composite score of the frequency of contact with good friends who do not live in the building and kin who do not live in the building; participation in extra-building formal social organizations, recreational activities, church attendance, and work. The method for determining the score is described on pp.106 -107.

Hypothesis 4. In comparison to tenants without a formal role, tenants who have performed a formal role within an on-site organization will report significantly more social relationships, and significantly more relationships of a more intimate nature, with tenants who are dissimilar in terms of race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status, and index of social position.

Tenants with no formal roles were compared to tenants with one or more formal roles with respect to the total number of status dissimilar tenants named at all levels of intimacy, and with respect to the number of status dissimilar tenants named at more intimate levels. The number of more intimate social relationships was defined as the sum of the number of good friends and the number of people that the respondent indicated she or he was friendly with. The status similarity variables examined were: race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status, and index of social position. Since the distributions of the numbers of status dissimilar nominees were typically positively skewed, Mann-Whitney U tests were performed. The results of these tests are presented in Table 18. Referring to the upper portion of the table, headed "Total number of cross-status nominations," it may be observed that in comparison to respondents with no formal roles, those with one or more formal roles named significantly more tenants who were status dissimilar for each of the following characteristics: race ($p = .027$), religion ($p = .001$), nationality ($p = .007$), sex ($p = .004$), marital status ($p = .013$), and index of social position ($p = .002$).

When the analyses were performed using number of more intimate cross-status nominations as the dependent variable, compared to respondents with no formal roles, those with one or more formal roles named significantly more tenants who were status dissimilar in terms of religion ($p = .005$), nationality ($p = .038$), sex ($p = .018$), and index

Table 18
Mann-Whitney U Tests Comparing Tenants With and
Without Formal Roles for Total Number of
Cross-Status Nominations and Number of
More Intimate Cross-Status Nominations

Number Formal Roles	Status characteristic																							
	Race				Religion				Nationality				Sex				Marital status				Index of Social Position			
	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P
<u>Total number of cross-status nominations</u>																								
None	41	0.56			41	1.90			41	2.49			41	1.32			41	2.22			40	1.78		
			712.0	.027			546.0	.001			621.5	.007			606.5	.004			652.5	.013			558.5	.002
One or more	44	1.14			44	3.39			44	3.70			44	2.32			44	3.07			44	3.00		
<u>Number of more intimate cross-status nominations</u>																								
None	34	0.21			33	1.21			34	1.65			34	0.97			34	1.59			28	1.46		
			635.5	.260			434.0	.005			519.0	.038			493.5	.018			562.0	.095			369.0	.011
One or more	40	0.58			40	2.33			40	2.52			40	1.68			40	2.05			39	2.31		

of social position ($p = .011$). No significant differences between the two groups were obtained with respect to the number of more intimate cross-racial nominations ($p = .26$), or the number of cross-status nominations with respect to marital status ($p = .095$), although the observed differences were in the expected direction.

Thus, the general hypothesis that tenants with formal roles will report significantly more social relationships, and significantly more relationships of a more intimate nature with status dissimilar residents in their building, was confirmed for all status characteristics that were examined, with the exception of race and marital status with respect to more intimate social relationships.

It has already been noted, in connection with hypothesis 3-b, however, that those respondents with one or more formal roles named significantly more tenants at all levels of intimacy, and significantly more tenants with whom they had developed more intimate relationships than respondents with no formal roles. Thus, the finding that respondents with formal roles are significantly more likely to make cross-status nominations may, in part, be a function of the significantly greater number of tenants whom they named on sociometric questions. The more people one names, the more cross-status people one is likely to name.

Therefore, the Mann-Whitney U tests reported above were repeated, using the proportion rather than the number of cross-status nominees as dependent variables. The results of this second set of analyses are presented in Table 19.

Referring to the upper portion of Table 19, headed "Proportion of all cross-status nominations," it may be noted that in comparison to

Table 19
Mann-Whitney U Tests Comparing Tenants With and
Without Formal Roles for the Proportion of All
Cross-Status Nominations and Proportion of
More Intimate Cross-Status Nominations

Number Formal Roles	Status characteristic																							
	Race				Religion				Nationality				Sex				Marital status				Index of Social Position			
	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P	N	\bar{X}	U	P				
	<u>Proportion of all cross-status nominations</u>																							
None	41	0.09			41	0.46			41	0.55			41	0.23			41	0.46			40	0.51		
			716.5	.030			797.5	.178			883.5	.435			679.5	.024			878.0	.416			805.0	.248
One or more	44	0.15			44	0.52			44	0.54			44	0.34			44	0.45			44	0.59		
	<u>Proportion of more intimate cross-status nominations</u>																							
None	34	0.04			33	0.33			34	0.49			34	0.21			34	0.31			28	0.49		
			631.5	.230			499.5	.036			680.0	.500			493.0	.019			630.0	.292			433.0	.072
One or more	40	0.10			40	0.46			40	0.48			40	0.32			40	0.39			39	0.65		

respondents with no formal roles, respondents with one or more formal roles named a significantly higher proportion of tenants who were status dissimilar with respect to race ($p = .030$) and sex ($p = .024$). No significant differences between the two groups were obtained with respect to religion ($p = .178$), nationality ($p = .435$), marital status ($p = .416$), or index of social position ($p = .248$).

When the same analyses were performed, based on the proportion of cross-status nominations at more intimate levels, respondents with one or more formal roles named a significantly higher proportion of tenants who were status dissimilar with respect to religion ($p = .036$) and sex ($p = .019$). No significant differences between the two groups were obtained with respect to race ($p = .230$), nationality ($p = .50$), marital status ($p = .292$), or index of social position ($p = .072$).

In summary, the analyses employing the number of cross-status choices confirms the hypothesis that tenants having one or more formal roles are significantly more likely than tenants without such roles to report larger numbers of relationships with tenants who are status dissimilar.

A comparison of the findings presented in Tables 17 and 18 would indicate that the tendency of respondents with formal roles to name more status dissimilar tenants on sociometric questions may reflect their tendency to name more individuals in general. When the two groups were compared with respect to the proportion of cross-status nominations at all levels of intimacy, significant differences emerged only with respect to race and sex. And when the two groups were compared with respect to the proportion of more intimate cross-status nominations, significant differences were obtained only with respect to religion and sex.

This chapter has presented quantitative analyses of the types of social relationships that were reported among the tenants of Belmar Drive. Descriptive statistics were employed to show the variety of behaviors among residents and the respondents' perceptions of the levels of intimacy of these relationships. Inferential statistics were employed to test the hypotheses. In the next chapter these findings are interpreted within the context of the qualitative material from the interviews, and the conceptual framework delineated in Chapter II.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

This chapter is concerned primarily with the ways in which status similarity and social context, the performance of formal roles within on-site organizations, and characteristics of the physical environment influenced the patterns of social relationships that were observed among the tenants of Belmar Drive. These issues are presented thematically, combining results from separate but related hypotheses. Each section includes a recapitulation of the relevant statistical relationships, interpretations of these findings, and when appropriate, theoretical considerations.

A major goal of this study was to provide descriptive information about the quality and the meaning of social relationships among the residents of this setting. Throughout this chapter, extensive use is made of the qualitative material from the interviews. This information is supplemented by log notes made during the period of data collection, and by relevant data (especially from the case study analysis, and the questionnaire survey) that were obtained during the extensive pilot work. The procedures employed during the pilot work have been described in Chapter III, pp. 43-45.

In drawing vignettes of individual tenants, I have altered certain biographical facts, while attempting to preserve the unique integrity of each person. On occasion, some facts about individuals, such as their

race and nationality, could not be altered without compromising the understanding of how these characteristics influenced their social relationships with other tenants. Nevertheless, in these cases, other information was either disguised or withheld in order to protect their identities.

Quotations are used generously so that the tenants of Belmar Drive may speak for themselves, and so that the reader may gain a greater understanding of who they are and how they perceived their social experiences within their building. All quotes are verbatim, although in the interest of economy and cohesiveness I have occasionally taken the liberty of combining quotes from different portions of an individual's interview. Clearly, the selection of individuals and quotations is a subjective process. Every effort was made to select individuals because their opinions and experiences were typical of a given subgroup that they were chosen to represent. Perhaps at times I have favored people whose comments were a bit more elaborate, articulate or colorful. Whenever a person was atypical, or the views they expressed were divergent, this is noted.

Status Similarity

This section addresses the ways in which status similarity with respect to race, nationality, religion, sex, marital status, and index of social position influenced social relationships among the tenants of Belmar Drive. Although these variables are considered separately, it is acknowledged that in the formation of dyadic social bonds these personal characteristics are obviously inseparable.

Of all the personal characteristics examined, nationality is

discussed in the greatest detail. The emphasis on nationality reflects the marked saliency of this dimension in the formation of social ties within this particular setting. Since few studies of ethnicity and aging have analyzed social relationships among subcultural groups within races (Gelfand and Kutzik, 1979) and no study, to my knowledge, has addressed this issue specifically with respect to social relationships among tenants in age-segregated public housing, it is hoped that this detailed analysis of the topic will provide information that will be useful to practitioners, researchers, and theoreticians.

Race

Racial similarities and differences have a profound and pervasive influence on social relationships in American society. Thus, it is not surprising that race was a salient factor in social relationships among the tenants at Belmar Drive.

Each of the three racial groups in the building demonstrated a highly significant tendency to name same race tenants on all sociometric items, well beyond chance expectations, when the proportion of same race tenants was taken into account. Analyses of the relationship between status similarity and level of intimacy clearly indicate that tenants of the same race are significantly more likely to be regarded as more intimate--that is, to be identified as good friends or persons with whom respondents are friendly, than are tenants of a different race. Conversely, the majority of all cross-racial nominees were identified as acquaintances.

Still, some close friendships involving persons of different races had developed at Belmar Drive. Previous research has indicated

that cross-racial friendships usually develop among tenants who live on the same floor (Nahemow and Lawton, 1975). The present study attempted to elucidate how cross-racial friendships develop among proximate neighbors, and to identify additional factors that contribute to cross-racial friendships. It is just as important, and perhaps even more illuminating, to focus on the minority of respondents who reported close association with tenants of another race, than the majority of respondents whose more intimate relationships with neighbors were confined to individuals of the same race.

The findings obtained in the present study with respect to race are generally consistent with the results reported by other investigators (Nash et al., 1968; Nahemow and Lawton, 1975). The tendency for black and white tenants in age-segregated public housing to choose friends of the same race, beyond chance expectation; was found by Nash et al. (1968) in a study involving four sites in four large Northeastern and Midwestern cities. Thus, the tenants of Belmar Drive cannot be considered unique.

A basic assumption of the present study was that the move to Belmar Drive marked a critical transition for tenants. Even though many residents had come from buildings where contacts with neighbors were not particularly satisfying (Lewin, 1978), movers nevertheless experienced the loss of familiar relationships, and they faced an amorphous social situation. The vast majority did not know any of their new neighbors, nor what to expect from them. During the first few months of occupancy, contacts among residents were informal, as there were no organized tenants' groups to facilitate social interaction.

According to Marris (1975), under such circumstances, individuals

are likely to experience considerable anxiety. As common sense suggests, and Marris' research adduces, in their need to establish structure and meaning, individuals begin to classify their neighbors according to highly visible characteristics that provide clues about another's socio-cultural background, values, and life experiences. Obviously, in our society race is one of the most salient personal characteristics that individuals use when classifying a large group of strangers. Certainly race is one of the most visible characteristics.

Individuals who find themselves surrounded by a majority of people who come from different sociocultural backgrounds are likely to perceive the behavior patterns of others as unfamiliar and unpredictable. The minority person's sense of self-identity may be threatened, and anxiety may be enhanced, regardless of the personal characteristics that define minority status. When an individual perceives that most people are different, she or he is likely to seek out the company of status similars in an effort to reduce anxiety and to reinforce a sense of self-identity (Marris, 1975).

Research suggests that when members of any racial group find themselves in a minority, they are more likely to seek out the company of others of the same race. For example, Nash et al. (1968) report that the tendency for whites to "overchoose" each other as friends was greatest in buildings where the proportion of black tenants was highest. Marris (1975) observed that individuals are most likely to seek out status similars, and attempt to "express a group identity" when they are a minority in a heterogeneous setting.

The current generation of older Americans typically lived in racially segregated settings, and had limited opportunities for

interracial social contact (Dowd, 1980). Marris suggests that if individuals are to cope successfully with unfamiliar environments and a disruption of familiar relationships they must be able to preserve some degree of continuity in patterns of social behavior. The tendency to associate primarily with others of the same race, and to establish more intimate relationships with same race neighbors may in part reflect the propensity for people to attempt to maintain familiar patterns of social behavior. This is not to deny, nor to gloss over, the significant role that racial prejudice plays in interpersonal relationships. Rather, it is essential to recognize, as Nash et al. suggest, that two major factors present barriers to forming primary relationships with someone of another race: "prejudice and status homophily" (Nash et al., 1968).

A person choosing a friend of another race is probably not prejudiced. A person choosing most of his friends from the same race may be doing so not on the basis of prejudice but on the basis of a complexly determined status homophily similar to the force leading people of similar age, nationality, or geographic residence to choose each other (Nash et al., 1968, p. 2).

Most black and Hispanic respondents indicated an acute awareness of their minority status at Belmar Drive. Some offered examples of racial prejudice that were sometimes subtle, and sometimes flagrant.

Throughout the interview Mr. Lee spoke passionately about the prejudice that he had encountered all his life. For no other black interviewee was racial prejudice such a pervasive theme. He candidly discussed several examples of racial slights that a number of the minority residents either alluded to or discussed briefly.

. . . I'm gonna tell it like it is, 'cause I'm not afraid. They creates a lotta little things here, called--ah--"get together" things. You can't make nobody love you. And there's some people --creatin' these things--they're self-appointed--and they

downright insult ya in a lotta ways. . . . Like comin' in the door there. They call themselves tenant patrols. And I've noticed . . . they're not evenhanded with people--with races I'm tellin' ya like it is . . . And these things--this exists everywhere--everywhere. Race prejudice. That exists everywhere. So you know it exists here.

Virtually all respondents who spoke of prejudice were nevertheless quick to point out that such experiences were tempered by very positive relationships with most of the white tenants. One black woman repeatedly mentioned that she felt rejected and excluded by white tenants, most of whom she regarded as "very prejudiced" and "arrogant." Still, the majority of her contacts within the building were with whites. Mrs. Trowell's most intensive relationship was with an Irish woman on her floor. The two women visited in one another's homes two to three times a week.

. . . She comes in and she always brings me a little this or that. . . . She's very Irish, so she loves to show me things from Ireland. . . . Maureen is always like me, busy runnin' her mouth. That's why Maureen and I get along. . . . She's always trying to give me something, or show me something that's beautiful. . . . And we exchange plants and cookies and recipes and all that . . .

Mrs. Trowell was also friendly with a white man in the building. When she was hospitalized for more than a month, she said, "The one gentleman that's very kind to me here, came every day to hold my hand Very lovely man."

The influence of race on social relationships among tenants was never introduced by the interviewer, nor was the influence of any other status similarity variable, for that matter. Rather, such issues were introduced by respondents, and their comments appeared spontaneously within the context of a variety of questions. It should be noted that a third of the nine black interviewees never mentioned experiences with

prejudice at Belmar Drive, and one black woman denied having personally experienced racial prejudice.

I enjoy [living here] quite well. I have friends here. We have problem people [laughs] and um--personality problems. I have fun with others. On the whole I am--I am liked. And I get along well with people. . . . And there are quite a few activities here . . . at the Inlet Terrace Senior Center. I enjoy it quite well, living here. I don't encounter any prejudice, for instance. There's not much. I myself am not prejudiced. I don't come from that background. We are free people--Jamaicans. We had a long history of freedom. . . . All kinds of nationalities here--we don't have prejudice.

It should be noted that all of the black respondents who named anyone on sociometric items (i.e., eight out of nine) named at least one white tenant. Of these individuals, half identified at least one white person as a good friend or someone with whom they were friendly. Thus, all black respondents had contacts with whites in the building, and a significant proportion had developed satisfying cross-racial relationships with their neighbors.

Spanish-speaking tenants had developed close relationships among themselves, and appeared to have established a more cohesive and insular network than black tenants. Language was a critical factor. Some Hispanic tenants could not carry on a conversation in English, and even among those who could, Spanish was usually their preferred language. Clearly, language barriers prevented some Hispanic tenants from establishing close cross-racial relationships with neighbors. The fact that Hispanics were in a minority in the building may have heightened the sense of group affiliation. Living in a building where English was the predominant language certainly limited the potential pool of contacts, made full participation in group activities difficult or impossible for others, and likely enhanced a sense of outgroup status.

Several Hispanic respondents described their relationships in terms of familial bonds. In effect, this group did function as an extended family. As Mrs. Cruz put it:

. . . We are very in contact with each other. Because the family--[Spanish] famil[ies] that live here--we are like family. . . . We are so close to each other, you know. Let's put [give as an example] Mrs. Garcia. That she have been sick since her husband died. And for us to stay with her in her house--well the only people that she have is us. How do you like that? . . . But this happen everywhere--is not over here only . . . We are very close to people, you know. And when they need us --we are there. . . . When we see--we go to a hospital--we go --anyplace we go--and is one Spanish there, or two, we look after each other. And we look after each other and after other people [non-Spanish]--we don't care. . . . Well, maybe I was raised that way--and we are raised in that way.

Indeed, from all accounts, the Spanish tenants, whether Puerto Rican or Cuban, comforted Mrs. Garcia in her bereavement, and shared responsibilities for her care during her serious, protracted illness. Crises, such as Mrs. Garcia's, can serve as occasions for strangers to become acquainted. Close dyadic relationships can emerge from having shared a *common commitment and experience*. Mrs. Ruiz described how she had become very friendly with Lita Roman.

I know her from Mrs. Garcia. I went to see Mrs. Garcia when Mr. Garcia died. Lita was like a sister to her. Lita is like a sister to me.

The Spanish tenants had developed close relationships among themselves, and the majority of all Hispanic respondents' more intimate relationships involved other Spanish residents. Nevertheless, the primary targets of two (out of six) Hispanic respondents were whites, who in each case were proximate neighbors. This observation is consistent with the findings of Nahemow and Lawton (1975) who report that when their respondents mentioned a tenant of another race as the first-named good friend, this typically involved a tenant living on the same floor.

At Belmar Drive the majority of the more intimate cross-racial choices made by members of the three racial groups involved proximate neighbors.

The factors that appeared to be associated with the development of more intimate cross-racial relationships at Belmar Drive were: (1) residential proximity, (2) providing assistance in the tasks of daily living--which generally occurred among tenants living on the same floor, and (3) the performance of formal roles within on-site organizations. These factors will be discussed further in subsequent sections.

The following experiences of a Puerto Rican woman illustrate how cross-racial friendships may develop among proximate neighbors.

Most of Mrs. Ortiz' more intimate relationships in the building involved other Hispanic residents who lived on different floors. Yet she felt closest to Mr. and Mrs. Day, an Irish couple who lived across the hall. "They are everything for me. Friend and family--everything! Anything happen to me, I go to them."

Clearly, proximity was a critical element in their initial meeting, and in the early stages of their association. Mrs. Ortiz and the Days moved in at the same time, and met in the corridor. As Mrs. Ortiz tells it, "Mr. Day said--'Oh, you are the one gonna [live across the hall].' He said, 'Well, here we are--anything you need,' and this and that." She described how their friendship developed and why, among all of the people in the building, she felt closest to the Days.

Because they are very good to me. When I was sick they take care of me. And everything that I have to fix . . . in the apartment, he fix. You know, you need a man in the house for a lot of things, and he do everything. . . . And anything I have to do--fill [out] an application . . . he do for me.

Mr. Day provided virtually the same account of their meeting, and the gradual development of a close friendship. The critical themes in

both accounts are residential proximity, and a spirit of generosity to freely lend a hand to a neighbor who needs help.

The majority of white respondents confined their contacts within the building to tenants of the same race. White respondents made no obvious references to attraction to other whites based on race per se, and rarely indicated prejudice against black and Hispanic tenants. As the results show, status similarity based on national origin was a far more salient issue for patterns of social relationships among white tenants.

Nationality was the only demographic characteristic that distinguished those whites who did and did not make at least one cross-racial choice on sociometric items. White respondents who had been raised in non-English speaking countries were significantly less likely to name a black or Hispanic on sociometric questions than those whites who had been raised in the United States or in foreign English-speaking countries.²²

The majority of more intimate cross-racial relationships that were reported by whites correspondingly involved tenants who lived on the same floor. Again assistance in the tasks of daily living appeared to be the foundation upon which most of these relationships were built. In some cases such contacts occurred spontaneously--one neighbor simply

²²Among white respondents who named anyone on any sociometric questions, only 13 percent of those raised in non-English speaking countries reported at least one cross-racial nominee, compared to 38 percent of the U.S. raised, and 43 percent of those whites who had emigrated from English-speaking countries. When emigrants from non-English speaking countries were compared to both English-speaking groups combined, this difference was significant ($\chi^2 = 3.97$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$, Yates corrected for continuity).

extended help to another, as did Mr. Day. Other cross-racial relationships developed between proximate neighbors where one member of the dyad served as a floor representative. This formal role often prompted the initiation of contact with another tenant on one's floor.

The performance of formal roles in other on-site organizations was also associated with cross-racial social contacts. Compared to those with no formal roles, respondents who had one or more formal roles reported significantly more cross-racial social contacts, when all levels of intimacy were considered. However, performance of formal roles was not associated with higher levels of more intimate cross-racial ties. Formal roles as a mechanism for facilitating contact among status dissimilar tenants will be discussed later.

The relationship between levels of social contacts and the concentration of same-race tenants. On the basis of previous research, it was hypothesized that black and Hispanic tenants would be socially disadvantaged at Belmar Drive, since each of these racial groups comprised only approximately seven percent of the total tenant population. Tenants were expected to associate primarily with residents of their own race, and to establish more intimate social relationships with like-race residents. Indeed, this general pattern was observed. Since the potential pool of same-race tenants for blacks and Hispanics was limited, it was reasoned that they would have fewer tenants to choose from who would share other characteristics such as common interests and values.

The data failed to support this hypothesis. In fact, black, Hispanic and white interviewees reported virtually the same number of contacts with tenants at all levels of intimacy, and tenants whom they regarded as good friends and persons with whom they were friendly--the

operational definition of "more intimate social relationships." This contrasts with the results obtained by Nahemow et al. (1976).

The following factors must be considered in interpreting this finding. First, it may not be as meaningful to speak only of the proportion or relative concentration of status similars in high-rise housing, without taking into account the number of individuals who share a given personal characteristic. Obviously, the proportion of same-race tenants may be identical in different settings, but the actual numbers of same-race tenants will vary directly with the size of the tenant population. For example, if the proportion of a given racial group was ten percent, in a building with 200 tenants any given person of that group would have 19 other tenants who were status similar; in a building with 50 residents, there would be only four status similar tenants. For every black and Hispanic tenant at Belmar Drive there were 13 other same-race residents. It is possible that this number provided a sufficient pool of like-race tenants to choose from in establishing viable primary relationships.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine from the literature if there is some critical number of status similar residents below which older people may be disadvantaged in terms of on-site friendships. However, with respect to race, it has been suggested that older persons of any racial group may develop fewer on-site friendships in high-rise buildings where less than one-fourth of the population is status similar (Nahemow et al., 1976).

It has been suggested that at Belmar Drive, the relatively low concentrations of status similars may have enhanced cohesiveness among black and Hispanic tenants. As previously discussed, perhaps because

they were in a minority, black and Hispanic tenants actively sought on-site friendships. The general tendency to establish social bonds with status similars is likely to be more pronounced among people who are a minority in a culturally heterogeneous setting, than persons who are in the majority (Marris, 1975; Nash et al., 1968). The Hispanic residents of Belmar Drive did establish a highly cohesive and supportive network. Language differences further contributed to group boundaries. Status similarity based on race was surely a salient factor in the patterns of social relationships among black respondents as well. Still, of the three racial groups, blacks were the most likely to report cross-racial contacts. The many opportunities to participate in on-site activities and to hold formal roles within on-site organizations were apparently critical factors in the observed levels of on-site social ties (particularly the cross-racial associations) that were reported by black interviewees. Formal roles provided the structure for prescribed contacts with status dissimilar tenants. Staff efforts to integrate minority tenants into the mainstream of organizational activities were also important in this respect. For example, at one of the early Tenants Association meetings the Center's associate director suggested the establishment of a hospitality committee. When no one volunteered, she drafted a particularly affable black woman, who hesitantly agreed. Two other black women with whom she was sitting then offered their services. Committee membership provided many occasions for contact with other tenants of all races. Some of these contacts in time developed into "friendly" bonds. A few close friendships between black and white residents also developed when both members of the dyad performed formal roles within on-site organizations. Working together on the tenants'

patrol or as volunteers in the Senior Center, for example, provided opportunities for sustained contact and a comfortable structure to discover many areas of commonality and compatibility. These formal mechanisms, as well as staff efforts to establish viable supportive networks on each residential floor, fostered social relationships among tenants, and seem to have been especially important in promoting cross-racial ties.

In summary, despite the relatively low concentrations of like-race tenants at Belmar Drive, black and Hispanic respondents did not report fewer on-site social contacts in general, nor fewer more intimate ties than white tenants. The actual number of like-race tenants, opportunities to hold formal roles, and staff efforts to foster social relationships within the building apparently served as buffers against the negative social consequences observed in other settings where older people were in a racial minority.

Nationality

Nationality figured prominently in the way that tenants viewed themselves and each other. While relatively few respondents spoke of race as a basis of personal attraction to other tenants, a majority of interviewees discussed the impact that nationality had on social relationships within the building. Indeed, of all personal characteristics, nationality was the most frequently mentioned when respondents described perceptions of status similarity and dissimilarity among neighbors. Respondents' comments provide a useful supplement to the quantitative analyses of the sociometric data, and provide insights into how national origin influenced contact among neighbors.

Respondents more often reported social contacts with tenants of a different nationality than tenants of a different race. Nevertheless, the analyses indicate that when one takes into account the proportions of tenants in the building who are status similar with respect to nationality, respondents named other residents of a similar national group well beyond chance expectations, independent of level of intimacy. Further, there was a highly significant relationship between level of intimacy and status similarity based on nationality. Significantly more tenants of the same or similar nationality were regarded as good friends, whereas significantly more status dissimilars were identified as acquaintances. Additional analyses were performed for respondents' primary targets. It will be recalled that the primary target is regarded as the one tenant with whom the respondent had developed the most intensive relationship. With the exception of U.S. whites, members of all national groups for whom this analysis was possible showed a highly significant tendency to have status similar primary targets, well beyond what would be expected by chance, given the composition of the tenant population.

Since relatively high proportions of older people in large metropolitan areas are foreign born (Birren, 1969), it is surprising that there is such a paucity of research on the relationship between nationality and friendship formation among tenants in age-segregated housing.

Observations and interviews with tenants during the pilot work at Belmar Drive suggested that nationality was one of the major status similarity variables that influenced social relationships among residents during the first 16 months of occupancy. As the data reveal, this characteristic continued to be an important factor over time.

The saliency of any given personal characteristic as a basis for

perceiving status similarity or dissimilarity is obviously a function of the social context of a given setting, and is also related to the meaning that a given characteristic has for the individuals in that setting. The tenant population at Belmar Drive was more heterogeneous with respect to nationality than any other personal characteristic. Tenants had been raised in 24 different countries. The parents of the overwhelming majority of the U.S.-raised whites had been immigrants. Fifty-six percent of the tenants spoke at least one language in addition to English, and at least six percent spoke a foreign language exclusively.

Given the social context of the new housing, it is not surprising that nationality emerged as a critical status similarity variable. As Kastenbaum (1979) observed, ethnic characteristics may be of limited importance in understanding variations in behavior of persons in ethnically homogeneous settings, but they are essential to consider in ethnically heterogeneous settings. Further, this dimension of ethnicity had particular meaning for individual tenants. As will be illustrated in the following discussion, one's national origin profoundly influenced self-identity and lifestyle.

Nationality and self-identity. Sixty-three percent of the white respondents who were raised in foreign countries had lived in the United States for fifty years or more, and eighty percent had lived in the United States for forty years or more. Despite their long tenure in America, their bonds to their homelands remained strong. For the vast majority of immigrants one's self-identity was inextricably tied to one's nationality. National origin exerted a profound influence on most dimensions of lifestyle--social relationships, customs, values, and home furnishings.

Bucolic prints--whether of Czech villages, the thatch-roof houses

of the English countryside, or the lush green hills of Ireland--were prominently displayed in apartments, as tangible statements of where one came from and who one was. The apparent attempt of many immigrants to integrate two cultures in their lives, while preserving the distinctive characteristics of each, was often reflected in the home. Exquisitely crocheted Czech doilies adorned a new sofa from Macy's. A crisp Irish linen tablecloth covered a formica and chrome dinette table at tea time. While the immigrants cherished the opportunities and privileges afforded by their new lives in the United States, most remained deeply bonded to their homelands.

Mrs. Vasik, a 79 year-old widow, was 23 when she came to America. As her comments were typical of the experiences and feelings expressed by so many of the immigrant respondents, she will serve as the principal spokesperson for this group.

. . . Our people are hard working. . . . I'm proud, Linda, I'm proud to be American. We get first paper, you know, right away. And then we get citizen paper, five years after me and my husband. Because this is important when you wanta have all the work and everything in this country, you should really be a citizen. And I'm proud of it. And I'm also--I, I, ah--you know, half of my body is in Czechoslovakia--in my hometown. Everybody say that. Every immigrant.²³

Nationality and residential history. To understand how common national origin influenced informal relationships among tenants, it is necessary to keep in mind the residential experiences of the white immigrants in America, and the residential experiences of the tenants at Belmar Drive in particular.

Historically, being economically and educationally disadvantaged, and confronted with the complexities of unfamiliar and often hostile

²³Emphasis added.

conditions in the cities, immigrant groups tended to seek out "their own kind" and to live in enclaves rich in informal social networks (Giordano, 1973; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Gordon, 1964; Handlin, 1973; Novak, 1971). The immigrants, uprooted from familiar social ties, mores, and clearly defined status, banded together, and created their own viable formal and informal support networks. Membership in ethnic enclaves provided economic, political, medical, and charitable, as well as emotional support, and also afforded the opportunity to maintain cultural practices (Giordano, 1973). These networks served as a buffer to protect the newcomers from the identity crises and isolation that often followed immigration (Handlin, 1973).²⁴

Typical of their counterparts in large American cities, the immigrants who settled in the neighborhood surrounding Belmar Drive established tight-knit ethnic communities. During the first half of this century this section of the city was comprised of areas that contained large concentrations of Czechs, Hungarians, Irish and Germans. According to respondents, other national groups, such as Greeks, Poles, and Ukrainians also carved out their eco-niche. Indeed, several long-term neighborhood residents gave rather consistent accounts of the geographic boundaries that separated the various national groups.

Mrs. Vasik described the neighborhood she knew as a young woman.

This was Czech neighborhood--from Green to Fanwood Street. A little further down, there was even Slavic people, you know. Further down--Polish, Yugoslavian, Ukrainian, up to Pine street, everybody has their neighborhood. Further up, German people --Kassel Street--that was their neighborhood. Then Hungarian people, you know. . . . Belmar Drive, they call it Czech

²⁴The residential patterns of white ethnics in American cities has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter I, pp. 21-24.

Promenade, You know why? Because Thursday all the maids, they have a day off, and they was marching back and forth, like on Promenade.

The vast majority of the immigrants found their way to these ethnic enclaves as soon as they arrived in the country. There the newcomers could find formal support from national organizations, each serving their own group, and informal support in the company of their countrymen. Neighborhood life centered around the ethnic communities, and for many groups, formal national organizations were the focal point. Respondents spoke of the Czech Community Hall, the Hungarian House, the Deutsche Haus, and the Scots Lodge. Once again, Mrs. Vasik's experiences of her arrival in the United States were typical of those recounted by other immigrants.

In 1922 I came and I had nobody. First thing I went to the Community Hall, you know, all kindsa Czech people. . . . I was standing already 11 o'clock at night. I said, "Where am I going to sleep?" But I don't care, it was August. . . . So I says, "I'm gonna sit on my two baskets, in the corner, you know, overnight." I was not afraid, see. . . . And I could still feel the hunger. I still could feel the hunger. . . . So anyway, one man, he feel so sorry, he said, "Oh my God, I haveta look around for some, you know, where you could sleep."

That night the Czech man found lodging for Mrs. Vasik, with another Czech woman, who within the week had helped her to find employment as a domestic. Eventually, Mrs. Vasik married a Czech, and raised her family within the tight-knit Czech community. "When we was living here we was just like one big family." Quasi-extended family networks developed among the immigrants. "Because they feel kinda lonely in this country. Many people have no relatives here. . . . But they was crying here. They say they never expect this country like that--so many nationalities." In time these communities, where "we know everybody," became the new

hometowns. If half of Mrs. Vasik's body was in her hometown in Czechoslovakia, the other half was "Right here! This is my roots here! Linda, my roots are here! I'm gonna die here."

The ethnic communities served to socialize the immigrants to life in a new country, and at the same time provided a critical degree of continuity by affording the opportunity to recreate familiar elements of their past lives in their homelands. The high concentration of ethnic similars made it possible to speak one's native language, patronize national stores, and find companionship with others who shared one's experiences, values and customs. The ethnic communities shielded the newcomers from the abrupt, and potentially devastating effects of emigration. Thus, the elements necessary to cope effectively with loss and change, inherent in emigration, were present in the ethnic communities. Here the newcomers could reassemble familiar elements of their former style of life, and thus maintain a sense of personal continuity, and what Myerhoff (1978) has called "historic continuity." According to long-time neighborhood residents, national cultures and customs were transplanted, nurtured, and thrived for many years.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the physical and social character of the neighborhood began to change, as luxury high-rise buildings replaced tenements. Countless white ethnic poor were evicted from their homes, and many were unable to find replacement housing within their neighborhood. There was a gradual but steady attrition of the ethnic communities, as long-time residents were forced to move out, and the older people died. Many immigrant respondents lamented the demise of their cohesive communities, from which they derived so much support and enjoyment. Most of the ethnic stores were forced to close

and the national organizations either moved or drastically curtailed their programs. Today only remnants of the once flourishing communities remain. Of the Czech community, Mrs. Vasik said:

From the Community Hall we used to have here all kinds of picnics, and they used to play on the stage. . . . Czech play, and we used to have gym, and celebrations. . . . That's all gone. The Community Hall, and also one on Fanwood Street, and Calco Street. We have so many before. We have nothing now. You know, they moved to Bradley,²⁵ and whenever they have a picnic, we go. . . . They used to have all those things right here. Now we have nothing. . . . We are lost, you know. We are lost. All the neighborhood used to go. You didn't know where to go first. There was everything here, before, you know. . . . Now is hardly any stores left. All high-rise buildings now. The buildings they tear down. The people passed away, the old storekeepers, you know, the drug store man, the baker, the butcher, and everything. I could tell you what used to be. . . . Belmar Drive, there was no houses like there are now--the high-rise buildings. Everything is changing--that's many years. . . . You know, store people, they have signs, "We speak German," "Wir sprechen Deutsch," "We speak Hungarian," "We speak Slavic." You know, so the people don't have to speak English, they don't know English, so they could go there, they speak their own language, and they could get the things they want. . . . Now somehow we feel like lost. And now new buildings, new people move in, and the neighborhood start changing. . . . And now since they tearing down the houses--old people die, and their children don't wanta belong to the Czechs--because they don't speak Czech. And third generation--they don't speak at all Czech--you know, so everything is dying, and children, grand-children, they have different kindsa things, so you can't blame them. . . . But is not only our neighborhood, but no matter what neighborhood you move in, what nationality used to live there. . . . Doesn't matter where you go--is every country like that.

The residential histories of the immigrants were marked by a series of changes, each involving the irrevocable loss of familiar relationships. Clearly the most abrupt and drastic change came with immigration. In time, a new sense of place identity was established, with viable social support networks. The next major change was related

²⁵A community approximately an hour's trip from Belmar Drive by public transportation.

not to residential mobility, but rather to the gradual, altered character of the neighborhood. The move to new housing represented yet another major transition.

There is cogent evidence from the intensive case study analysis that the move to Belmar Drive represented a critical turning point in the lives of the residents (Lewin, 1978). The great majority had come from substandard housing. The physical condition of some pre-move dwellings was horrendous. Others had lived in physically sound dwellings, but because of impaired health they had become, in their own words, "prisoners" of their walk-up apartments. Several case study participants expressed fears that their buildings would be torn down, or that their rents would be raised beyond their means. Some were the butt of landlord harrassment.

Following the move, the overwhelming majority of the tenants were overjoyed with the new, high quality housing, the modern conveniences, and the ease of mobility that came with living in a building with an elevator. To most the move represented a change in social status. The fine quality of the apartments, a facade that "looks like these luxury buildings," and the location in one of the most desirable neighborhoods of the city conveyed to tenants that they had moved up in the world. Virtually all case study participants derived enormous satisfaction from the fact that at last they had a permanent home (Lewin, 1978).

The physical and social characteristics of 125 Belmar Drive presented a marked departure from the residential settings to which most tenants were accustomed. Nevertheless, tenants quickly and easily adapted to the physical change of residence. Many reacted with ingenuous delight as they described their first reactions to their new homes.

Evidence that residents were "grieving for a lost home" (Fried, 1963) was rare indeed. But then, the changes in the physical residential environment generally involved unqualified gains rather than losses for the tenants. In contrast, some tenants perceived the move as a loss of familiar patterns of social relationships. Their feelings about the social environment were more equivocal and adjustment was more gradual.

The great majority of respondents had moved from the neighborhood's remaining tenements where, according to many interviewees, other tenants of the same nationality also lived. In contrast, Belmar Drive was a modern, 150-unit high-rise building. The relatively large scale of the new housing, and the multi-ethnic composition of the tenant population were unfamiliar to them. Time and again, in describing the other tenants who lived in the building, respondents referred to the large, multi-national population.

Mrs. Vasik described her perceptions of the social milieu following the move. Her comments, typical of most respondents, reflect the feelings of a lack of social structure and the saliency of the diversity of ethnic backgrounds.

In the beginning--the first year, it was very hard, because so many nationalities. . . . The first year we have to get adjusted. . . . Now like I said, there is all different nationalities in our house. We never lived in a house like that before. This is the first time. . . . We don't know each other. We don't know how we can trust each other, you know. Everybody was shy--keeping back. . . . You know why? Because we never live in a big building like that. Mostly was four tenants on a floor--three-story building. You know the whole building. So this was the first time that we haveta get adjusted together, and we haveta work together, and respect each other. Respect is very important, you know.

Nationality, social structure and norms. Like the African villagers who migrated to urban areas, and the English University

students studied by Marris (1975), the tenants of Belmar Drive categorized their neighbors according to superficial and readily perceived characteristics that provided clues about an individual's sociocultural background. Tenants relied heavily on accents, manner of speaking, and a person's nationality in their effort to classify this large and diverse group of neighbors. During the first year of occupancy, I was struck by the regularity with which case study participants and respondents in the questionnaire survey identified tenants by their nationality (c.f. p. 46).

To a degree, the move to the new building was analogous to the social experience of emigration, although obviously in an attenuated fashion. The new building on Belmar Drive was a complex micro-neighborhood of many nationalities, languages and people with diverse customs. Review of the qualitative material obtained during the course of this study suggests that following the move, many immigrants used the same socially adaptive strategies that had served them effectively following emigration. Just as the immigrants found comfort in the ethnic enclaves when they arrived in America, so they found comfort in their association with other tenants of the same or similar nationality. With their ranks decimated, some immigrants seemed to cling even more tenaciously to these ethnic ties.

A small minority of the respondents had known other tenants casually before they moved, either through chance meetings in the neighborhood or through membership in the same national organizations. A few had known one another through the Inlet Terrace Senior Center. In all but a handful of cases, these associations were superficial--a familiar face in a crowd of strangers. For some people these casual acquaintances provided

a vital link to one's past. While individuals may not have known one another well, they nevertheless felt a special bond in having shared common experiences and a common ethnic heritage. Over time, some close friendships developed.

At the first tenants' meeting, Mrs. Vasik discovered that Czechs whom she had known years ago had also moved into the building. These were people who had also gone to the picnics sponsored by the Community Hall. She had not seen some "for maybe 30 years."

. . . We start shaking hands already, and we so glad that we have a friend here. Oh, that's so important--I tell you--I'm speaking from my own experiences. . . . We know each other around this neighborhood, maybe more than 50 years. . . . I says, "Oh my God! How did you get in here?" "We gonna live here." I says, "Oh, I'm so glad!" You have no idea the feeling! . . . You know, I get goose pimples. I can't believe it, you know, how you meet people. That's very important, how you meet people. And all of a sudden you are best friends. You are best friends, you can't help it. And you trust, you trust right away, more to the people, oh yes. And we don't know each other so good like we know each other now. . . . And then we start talking about old timers, "You remember about this? You remember about that?" We get more close together now. Even different nationalities, that they know me.

Mrs. Vasik's feelings of immediate trust in the other Czech tenants contrast sharply with her initial feelings about living in a building with "all different nationalities" where, "We don't know how we could trust each other." Important also, is her recollection that the reacquaintance process involved recalling old times and mutual acquaintances. Such comments support the notion that following a move to a socially heterogeneous setting, individuals are likely to seek out others of similar backgrounds in an effort to maintain some degree of continuity that is essential to self-identity. Common past experiences and shared cultural norms facilitated social interaction during the early stages of occupancy, and in many cases provided the foundation

upon which intimate relationships were built.

Of all the people in the building, Mrs. Vasik felt closest to another Czech widow whom she had known for "more than 50 years." The two women first became acquainted through the Czech Community Hall shortly after arriving in America. Although they had known each other casually, it was only after moving into the building that they developed a close friendship, characterized by mutual assistance, trust, and compatibility. It should be pointed out that these two women were status similar with respect to all the personal characteristics examined in this study--race, nationality, religion, sex, marital status, and social class. Mrs. Vasik described how their friendship evolved during the first year in the building, and why they had grown so "close together."

You know why? Because she can't trust everybody. You see, she is more nervous. You know, she's 82 or 83 already. She goes downstairs. Otherwise she's very quiet lady. But she was so lost. . . . And she couldn't speak so good English. And she's afraid right away. She starts shaking, you know. So we know each other before, but not that much. But since we move in she says, "Oh my God! I'm so glad you live here." . . . So she was so lonely. So in the wintertime she said, "Please, can you come down? You know the people I know." So . . . I used to come down so she wouldn't be so lonely. The first year we talk and talk, so many hours. And we get more close together and know each other that we don't know about it all them years. . . . And now she knows my life, and I know her life.

The propensity to form more intimate relationships with others of the same or similar nationality does seem to reflect, as Marris posits, a need for some continuity in patterns of social relationships. During periods of adjustment to unfamiliar circumstances (such as a move to age-segregated housing) this need is enhanced (Marris, 1975). When death or physical distance make it impossible to maintain relationships with old friends, it is not surprising that the elderly tend to establish new relationships with people who are similar, not only to themselves, but

to the friends who have been lost. Cultural diversity in residential settings may pose a threat to one's self-identity (Marris, 1975). For the immigrants of Belmar Drive, self-identity was closely related to ethnic identity. The opportunity to rekindle old associations or to develop new ties with other tenants who shared one's ethnic experiences likely served to strengthen the individual's sense of self.

Typically, respondents developed their closest ties within the building with tenants whom they met only after the move. Similar past experiences and interests, as well as commonality of ethnic background were often mentioned when respondents explained why they felt closest to a given individual.

John O'Connor felt closest to Tim Cary because, "We like each other--same disposition, more or less. He's Irish, I'm Irish. We have a lot in common. He was a doorman, too, you know."

One might speculate that in preferring the company of others of the same or similar nationality, and at times avoiding people of different nationalities, that tenants were playing out the historical enmities between different national groups. There was, however, no evidence to support this notion. Perceived similarity did not always involve individuals from the same country. Mrs. Kelly, an Irish immigrant, felt closest to Mary Burns because, "When I moved in she came and knocked on my door. She's Scotch, you know, so I guess we have a little in common."

The sociometric data and respondents' comments indicate that many tenants seemed to feel a special affinity toward others who came either from the same country or from the same general sociocultural backgrounds. Perceived similarity based on nationality may be relative. In some

cases, it may be defined and redefined in terms of the social context of the setting in which individuals find themselves. This was most evident among the emigrants from the British Isles and those from the Slavic countries. For example, in their respective homelands, the Scots and the Irish may be acutely aware of their differences, and friendships between them may be rare. However, at Belmar Drive, where a significant proportion of the tenants were Central and Eastern Europeans, commonality of language and mores was more important than the differences which, in another social context, might have divided people from England, Ireland and Scotland.

Jean Guthrie, a Scots woman, referred repeatedly to the multi-ethnic character of the building. She reported only one "good friend" in the building, who was, by no coincidence, also Scots. All but one of the people with whom she was "friendly" had emigrated from English speaking countries, and she reported no contact with Continental European immigrants. In describing her relationships with the other tenants she commented:

I don't mix around. They're a mixed crowd. . . . There are certain different races--than what you been used to. (What had you been used to?) Well, your own people--and I mean--other--different, Irish. Here, so many different nationalities. And what annoys me is why they have to talk their own language when they're in an English speaking country, they should be made to talk . . . English. It's not because--I'm Scots myself--and I'm not biased because I get along with anybody. I work with Irish all the time, and you know the Irish and the Scots--it's going on just now--but it doesn't make a bit of difference to me. . . . And they're [Europeans] a different--ah--well, they're not brought up the same as what we are. They're different. . . . I suppose it's just--everybody's got their own countries, and they have their own ways. But I mean it doesn't make any difference to me, because I can make myself at home with anybody. These kind I don't bother with, you know.

Respondents' comments support the notion that perceived commonality

of ethnic background was associated with the expectation that persons of the same cultural background shared behavioral norms, and that the nuances of social interaction were mutually understood. Thus, the social behavior of people who were "brought up the same as what we are" would be more predictable, and the individual's sense of control would be enhanced.

In culturally diverse settings individuals are likely to regard others as stereotypic representatives of a given subgroup. In this way a socially heterogeneous environment becomes more manageable and interpretable (Marris, 1975). This process has adaptive utility for the individual, although it may not necessarily work to the advantage of the society as a whole.

Marris observed that English University students tended to form close associations with other students who shared similar past educational experiences, and who came from the same regional and social class backgrounds. The more heterogeneous the student body, the greater the tensions among the various groups. Students were quick to stereotype their classmates on the basis of "superficial differences" in appearance and activities (Marris, 1975, p. 84).

The stereotypes helped to define a pattern of avoidance, minimizing communication between incompatible styles of self-expression. Not that students from diverse backgrounds never became friends. But the crude categorisation mapped the social field, so that students could steer clear of relationships perceived as awkward and unfamiliar unless they were socially adventurous. . . (Marris, 1975, p. 85).

Similarly, at Belmar Drive, some respondents reported that they avoided tenants of a different nationality, not because they were xenophobic, but because cultural norms sometimes clashed. Their comments support the notion that individuals were apt to be wary of others who

came from different sociocultural backgrounds, because they regarded their behavior as more unpredictable. Norms for even superficial interaction may differ among various national groups. Violation of another's sense of propriety may have most unpleasant consequences.

Martha Madison, a white Protestant widow, was born in New England, as were her parents. As a bona fide Yankee, she belonged to the smallest national minority group in the building. She participated in both the questionnaire survey and the present study. Our first contact took place one year after the building opened. She reported an incident that illustrates some of the consequences of ethnic diversity. Martha commented: "I know most everyone in the building by sight. . . . I don't have much in common with a lot of them. . . . There's a language problem. . . . And each group has their own ways." She then related an experience that illustrates how differences in sociocultural norms may create tensions, and also shows that indeed, the behavior of people from different cultural backgrounds may be less predictable than the behavior of those who "are brought up the same as us."

"I don't care what anyone in the building does--but back in New England we had a very strict upbringing, and we were taught to say, 'Good morning, Mr. Soandso,' 'How are you, Mrs. Smith?' . . ." One day Martha was in the elevator and, as was her custom, she said "hello" to people by name. She then turned to "this one German man" and said, "I don't know your name. What's your name?" The man became "furious" and began to scream at her, "'You don't ask my name! I won't tell you!' and so on." Martha was dismayed and upset by his behavior and related the encounter to "the German lady across the hall" who explained that the man in question was from Nuremberg, and that there it is considered

inappropriate to ask someone their name. "In Nuremberg you never ask anyone their name." Martha went on to say that she felt "strange" among the other tenants and that she used strategies to avoid becoming too closely involved with them, while at the same time maintaining a friendly facade.

During the first year a number of tenants indicated that norms for initiating social interaction differed among national groups. For example, a Hungarian immigrant reported that during the first few months of occupancy, he had met few other tenants. He explained that in Hungary it was considered inappropriate to engage in even casual conversation with a stranger unless one had been introduced by a mutual acquaintance.

Housing and Senior Center staff were sensitive to the fact that some tenants found it difficult to initiate social contact with strangers. The formal tenant organizations, the Senior Center's activity programs, and special recreational events for tenants were regarded by staff and Tenants Association officers as mechanisms for promoting social interaction and fostering a "cohesive community."

Nationality and leisure activities. There is a paucity of research dealing with ethnic variation in desired leisure activities. Guttman (1973) found differences between older American-born and Eastern European-born and raised members of a Jewish community center. The former were more interested in activities such as painting, where they could express their individuality. Eastern European Jews tended to prefer group activities that fostered a sense of belonging and common purpose. Markson (1979) observed the existence of open conflict, based on ethnic differences, among elderly former mental hospital patients who

were living in an adult home. This was sometimes expressed during recreational activities such as musical events, where bitter slurs were exchanged if the program favored the songs of a given ethnic group. She concluded, "Because of a heterogeneous population, mixed staff and limited resources, [many facilities for the ethnic aged] become a simmering pot of discontent. . . . It seems unrealistic to expect that, without planning, they would not" (Markson, 1979, p. 354).

Although the present study did not systematically investigate the relationship between demographic characteristics and participation in on-site recreational programs, the interviews suggest that nationality influenced tenants' preferences for leisure time activities. To be sure, some planned events such as bingo, refreshment time, and Tenants Association parties were enthusiastically embraced by members of all ethnic groups.

For example, eight months after the building opened, the Tenants Association organized an elaborate party for all residents. This occasion was the first of several where tenants worked together, bonded by a common goal. The first party was held by tenants to celebrate their good fortune in being able to live in this beautiful building. The Tenants Association president and the Center staff also regarded this occasion as a significant step in their efforts to build a cohesive community within the building. The party was hailed as a great success by tenants of different national groups. Yet it is interesting to note that several respondents likened this affair to festive occasions that were meaningful to them in terms of their individual ethnic experience. One woman exclaimed, "What a party! They did everything so nice, I thought I was at a Bar Mitzva. And Sadie got up and sang, 'My Yiddishe

Mama.'" Another reported, "Oh, it was wonderful! We had a dance, you know, and the food! Just like an Irish wedding."

A great deal of careful planning had gone into this party. The Center staff and the Tenants Association president had been successful in enlisting broad-based active participation of the tenants in various aspects of the event. They had made a conscious effort to involve as many tenants as possible, and to capitalize on an individual's unique talents. The goal of the party was clearly stated and understood, and all residents, by virtue of their "tenant role" were tacitly recognized as equal participants. Those tenants who worked on various committees had their jobs clearly defined. Thus, the social organization of the party was highly structured. I did not attend the party, and therefore have no direct observations of the event. Yet from tenants' comments it appears that a spirit of good will prevailed and that for the most part tenants worked together in harmony.

However, the comments expressed by some respondents after having lived in the building for over three years, suggest that providing recreational activities on a routine basis that are pleasing to all participants may be problematic in ethnically heterogeneous housing. What is familiar and enjoyable to some people may be alien and distasteful to others. In speaking of the other tenants, Mrs. Greene observed:

Their outlook on life is different than ours. Being foreign bred there's many a time we have little arguments at the table. How they look at things. They look at them differently than I would because being American-born and all--we talk about politics and things, you know, family life, for instance, and recreation things, you know. Things that they like. Now they'll go down to the center . . . and dance a polka, folk dancing and that I cannot take. Now those people like it because they're foreign bred. They're used to that. . . . I would like a waltz and a nice fox trot, or the hustle or something. Being in the building we would like to be friendly with one another and be able to enjoy the same activities. It would be marvelous.

Language. Language was one of the most fundamental ways that nationality influenced social relationships within the building. Most of the Hispanic tenants and a minority of the European immigrants were either unable to carry on a conversation in English, or they had only a limited command of English. For these groups, language barriers obviously precluded meaningful communication with status dissimilars, and consequently viable primary relationships were confined to others of the same or similar nationality. Tenants who spoke only English, and those who were multi-lingual, expressed alike their frustrated efforts to make themselves understood if the other person's primary language was different, especially if he or she had a pronounced accent.

Despite the fact that most of the European immigrants spoke English rather well, many still preferred to speak their native language. Those tenants who spoke only English frequently mentioned their dismay and resentment when they encountered groups of tenants speaking a "foreign" language. They interpreted this, not as the desire of persons of common background to be together--to share a common heritage and experience--but rather as a means of exclusion.

A Scots woman described her contacts with the people whom she had met at the Senior Center and Tenants Association events.

With them of course, you just meet them and that's it. But you can get friendly with them, but not close. . . . They all have their own friends, you see. A lot of them don't speak English at all, you see. They're all Czechs, Hungarians, Polish, and whatever have you, and you see all the time that they're downstairs they're talkin' their own language. . . . And no matter, even if they're sitting at a table where two or three people speak English, they don't consider you at all. They just keep on talkin' their own language. . . . I don't like it. I think if there's a group of English-speaking people, and they can speak English as well as you or I, then I think that they should speak English. But I can't tell them that. Of course, I wouldn't tell them anyway.

Language was clearly a primary vehicle through which national identity was expressed. Indeed, it did serve as a mechanism of exclusion, defining the boundaries between different national groups. Opportunities to speak one's native language also contributed to ease of self-expression, feelings of comfort and belonging, and fostered a sense of personal and cultural continuity.

The tenants of Belmar Drive were certainly not unique in this respect. The overwhelming majority of the older Central, Eastern and Southern European immigrants studied by Guttman (1979) and Mostwin (1979) were proud of their national origin. They attached great importance to ethnic associations and to preserving their respective native languages. Mostwin (1979) interpreted the preference of the immigrants to speak their native language "as a major aspect of personal and group survival" (Mostwin, 1979, p. 270).

Myerhoff (1978) also observed that Yiddish seemed to bind together the diverse groups of Jews whom she studied. It was the mother tongue of the Eastern European immigrants, whatever their country of origin. Among these multi-lingual people, Yiddish was "used for the most emotional discussions" (Myerhoff, 1978, p. 5). Myerhoff's perspicacious principal informant explained that the Jews of the Diaspora used Yiddish to separate "the inside sweet world" of the shtetl from "the hard world outside" (Myerhoff, 1978, p. 61).

Similarly, it is suggested that many of the immigrants of Belmar Drive chose to speak their own language, not always out of necessity or convenience, but in part because this was a mechanism that most effectively separated the insiders from the outsiders, and thus enhanced feelings of belonging. This was also an effective mechanism for

safeguarding private conversations, particularly in the community spaces such as the bench area, which many respondents decried as a hotbed of gossip. On numerous occasions I observed duos or trios speaking in their native language, even though each individual was perfectly fluent in English.

A sense of continuity, an affirmation of self-identity and the maintenance of boundaries is powerfully reinforced by the opportunity to speak one's native tongue. This was perhaps most eloquently expressed by one woman who participated in the pilot interviews.

At the Fanwood Senior Center all you see is Czech and I understand every word because it's similar to my language--so I feel like I'm home, you get it? . . . Sometimes they speak English too, but actually . . . everybody try to sit with your own. If they are Germans, they sit by Germans, Hungarians by Hungarians. They find, I don't know, more entertaining or what, with your own nationality or group. They speak English too, but when Czech together alone they speak Czech and I feel comfortable and happy. I'm not alone here--a foreigner.

The desire to associate with countrymen was not limited to the immigrant groups. American-born-and-raised whites indicated that they felt most at ease, and shared a greater understanding with "other Americans." Even though they formed the largest single national group (36 percent of the total tenant population) this was not their perception. Although the Americans often specified the variety of national groups represented at Belmar Drive, when they described the social context of the building they commonly thought in terms of a dichotomous population--"Americans" and "foreigners." Mr. Podell's perceptions and experiences were typical of many of the American-raised respondents.

. . . We were born in the neighborhood here, and we knew most of the people in the area 'cause being in business there. But somehow or other, this building filled up with a lotta foreign people. Very few born Americans are in this building. . . That's a very important thing with us. . . There was supposed to be

a set-up when this building was built--the way I understand it--it was for people in the area--in the neighborhood. Now I know people that were very poor and very much needed this house--never got it. American born. People born like we are in the area. . . . I would like to see a few Americans . . . you see, the majority is all foreign. . . . The Czechs go together, the Germans go together--they talk. They're very nice. They talk to us, too, but it's "Good evening," or, "How do you do?" but when they get their own together, they talk. . . . 'Course, there's a language barrier, too . . .

Mr. and Mrs. Podell proceeded to count up the number of "Americans" in the building and concluded that there were only "maybe about four couples." (In fact, there were 65 white American-raised tenants in the building.) It was typical for respondents of different groups to underestimate the number of other tenants who were status similar with respect to race and nationality.

A minority of the respondents spontaneously mentioned that they enjoyed the international atmosphere at Belmar Drive, and that they found the diversity of nationalities stimulating. Several of these respondents described the building as "a little United Nations." In some cases participation in formal groups provided the forum for learning about another's cultural background. One man, an American, had established several "friendly" ties with some immigrant tenants through his participation in the Center's oral history class.

. . . And it's surprising how interesting people really are, when they talk about their youth and their childhood. Different people coming from different lands. It's all very interesting--to me anyway.

A German woman, whose only "good friend" in the building was "a French lady on my floor" commented,

I like people of different backgrounds. There is nothing that--ah--your mentality can be the same. I think it makes it more interesting. I don't always get along with Germans. I drop them then. But, ah--with this French lady, we get along very well . . . I like people of different backgrounds.

The relationship between levels of social contacts and the concentration of status similar tenants. It was hypothesized that tenants with relatively greater numbers of status similars in the building would report significantly more tenants with whom they had contact, and also significantly more social relationships of a more intimate nature than tenants with relatively few status similars. Nationality was the only status similarity characteristic that was consistent with this hypothesis. The significant differences were observed for only those respondents with fewer than five percent status similars in the building.

This finding raises once again the question of whether there is some critical number of status similar tenants below which older people may be disadvantaged in terms of establishing on-site social bonds. For each of the respondents who comprised the "low density" nationality group (i.e., those with less than five percent status similars), there were only three or fewer other tenants who had been raised in the same country. Since all but two of these respondents spoke English fluently their relative isolation cannot be attributed solely to language barriers. It is noteworthy that respondents with eight or more status similar tenants in the building did not appear to be socially disadvantaged.

In future studies of social relationships among tenants in age-segregated housing, it seems important to pursue the issue of critical numbers of status similars in tenant populations. If consistent results emerge to suggest that a minimum number of status similars may be necessary to assure that individuals of a given status have a sufficient pool of similar people to choose from in establishing social relationships,

this information would be valuable in planning the social context of age-segregated housing. Considering the great ethnic diversity among the present cohort of older Americans it is unrealistic to expect that "sufficient" numbers of status similars could necessarily be achieved in a given setting. The findings of the present study suggest that tenants with fewer than five status similar tenants with respect to race and nationality may be socially isolated within their buildings, and may require special outreach techniques.

Thus, nationality was the only personal characteristic that showed the expected relationship between the relative numbers of status similar tenants and levels of on-site social contacts. In view of the profound impact that nationality had on respondents' styles of life and self-concepts, and the saliency of this personal characteristic in influencing patterns of on-site social relationships, this finding is hardly surprising.

Religion

Religion, the third indicator of ethnicity, was also associated with the patterns of social relationships that had developed among tenants at Belmar Drive. Statistical analyses of the sociometric data revealed that for each of the three major religious groups, the proportion of all reported social contacts that involved tenants of the same religion was far greater than that expected by chance, given the proportion of status similar persons in the entire tenant population. As with race and nationality, there was also a highly significant relationship between level of intimacy and status similarity with regard to religion. Persons of the same religion were significantly more likely

to be regarded as good friends, and conversely, tenants of a different religion were apt to be considered acquaintances. Further, Protestants and Jews, who each comprised approximately 14 percent of the tenant population, were significantly more likely to have primary targets of the same religion when the proportion of status similars was taken into account. This pattern was especially pronounced for Protestants. Although 70 percent of the Catholic respondents' primary targets were also Catholic, this proportion was not significantly greater than the 63 percent expected by chance. Nevertheless, this finding may be regarded as substantively consistent with respondents' general tendency to establish their most intensive relationships with other tenants of the same religion.

The interviews contained a wealth of qualitative data that provided insights into why more intimate relationships with other tenants involved persons of the same race and nationality. In contrast, there were very few references to the relationship between religious background and social bonds within the building. While respondents rarely mentioned the influence of religion on the formation of social ties within the building, one cannot infer from this that religion was not a salient issue. Perhaps respondents adhered to the adage--"I never discuss politics and religion," or this predominantly Christian group of respondents may have been reticent to discuss religious issues with a Jewish investigator. Both status homophily and prejudice were evident when respondents explained why they felt a particular affinity towards others of the same race or the same nationality, and why at times they avoided persons who were different on these dimensions. There was a definite affective quality--positive or negative--associated with the

discussions of racial or national influences on social relationships. In contrast, only two women--both Jewish--expressed emotion in reference to the influence of religion on social relationships within the building.

It is suggested that some of the observed findings regarding religion may be attributed to status similarity based on nationality. The sociometric data offer some support for this notion. A majority (62 percent) of all tenant nominees who were regarded as good friends or persons with whom respondents were friendly, and who were status similar with respect to religion, were also status similar with respect to nationality. Thus, a substantial proportion of the more intimate dyadic relationships involving persons of the same religion may simply be a correlate of social ties that were formed primarily on the basis of common national background. Immigrant groups from Continental European countries tended to be rather homogeneous in terms of religion. As the previous section has documented, status similarity based on nationality was a major contributing factor to the formation of more intimate bonds among tenants.

There is cogent evidence that during the initial stages of acquaintanceship tenants were attracted to other residents with similar, readily perceived personal characteristics. Status similarity for race and sex were obviously immediately apparent, and one needed only to exchange a few words with another person in order to gain some idea about her or his nationality. On the other hand, knowledge of another's religion was not necessarily immediately available. Although one may rely on names, nationality, and the display of religious symbols in jewelry and household objects for clues, one may not be certain of another's religion unless the person chooses to reveal this information.

Still, the available information does suggest that there is a tendency to regard persons of the same religion as more intimate than persons of a different religion. A substantial proportion (38 percent) of the more intimate social relationships that were reported between tenants of the same religion did involve persons of a different nationality, and in a minority of cases, persons of a different race. Further, it is interesting to note that among certain national groups (such as Hungarians and American whites), where persons of different religions are represented, there was a tendency to identify relationships with countrymen of the same religion as more intimate than those with countrymen of a different religion. However, since the number of cases available for such comparisons was limited, this observation must be regarded as tenuous. Nevertheless, this trend is consistent with the notion that the greater the number of status characteristics that persons share, the more intensive their relationship is likely to be (Rosow, 1974).

Among Catholics and Protestants, it appears that membership in the same parish church in some cases contributed to social bonds, particularly between tenants of different nationalities and different races. There were, however, no comments to indicate that respondents felt an affective tie to a given person of the same religion simply because of this dimension of similarity, as there were for race and nationality. Perhaps membership in the same church increased opportunities for contact with some other tenants, and provided another shared role, in addition to tenancy at Belmar Drive. A few respondents reported that their clergymen had encouraged them to become friendly with a church member since, "'After all, you're both living in the same place.'" It

was also pragmatic for some individuals--particularly women who lived alone--to develop ties with fellow church members. A few women welcomed having someone to accompany them to services and to church-based social activities. These excursions offered an opportunity for individuals to become better acquainted. Some of these contacts in time developed into friendships.

It has been posited that tenants, particularly during the early stages of occupancy, sought out residents of the same race and similar nationality as an adaptive strategy to achieve a sense of continuity that was essential to maintaining their self-identity in this culturally diverse setting. It appears that race and nationality exerted a greater influence on sociocultural dimensions of life style than did religion. This is not to say that religion was not a major component of self-identity for some respondents. Indeed, among the Catholic women 17 percent attended Mass daily. However, in maintaining one's religious practices and identity, the person could rely on the formal structure of the church. Furthermore, some deeply religious respondents spoke of a very personal relationship with God, independent of community support.

From the available data it appears that the tenants of Belmar Drive were more dependent on primary relationships with people like themselves in terms of race and nationality, rather than religion, in order to support their feeling of self-identity. Opportunities for social interactions with persons who shared one's language, history, customs and values helped to maintain racial and national identities whereas religious identity seemed to be a more private affair.

The hypothesis that tenants who comprised a religious majority in

the building would have more social contacts in general, and more relationships of a more intimate nature than those with few status similars was not supported by the data. The numbers of social relationships reported by Catholics, who were clearly the predominant religious group, were not significantly greater than those reported by Protestants and Jews.

However, a minority of the Jewish respondents confided that they were guarded about revealing their religious background to their neighbors. They correctly perceived the social context of the building as predominantly Christian. These individuals either implicitly or explicitly indicated their concern that they might be the targets of religious prejudice. For example, when a small but vocal group of tenants questioned the expenditures of a party fund to which each participating tenant had contributed 50 cents, one U.S.-born Jewish woman feared that the inquiry had anti-Semitic overtones, since the tenant who had administered the fund was Jewish. Another Jewish respondent related an incident where one tenant cast vulgar, anti-Semitic epithets at her during a Senior Center function. Although this was the only incident of that nature, she never returned to the center again.

While the proportion of Protestants was virtually the same as the proportion of Jews in the building, Protestant respondents did not refer to their minority status. Perhaps Protestants did not perceive themselves as a minority religious group, or they did not feel excluded because of their religion. Protestants are, and historically have been, the predominant religious group in American society. Further, the religious beliefs and practices of Protestants are obviously closer to those of Catholics, the predominant religious tenant group, than the beliefs

and practices of Jews. It is also possible that Jewish respondents felt more comfortable than Protestants in expressing their concern about or experience with religious prejudice, given the fact that the investigator was Jewish.

Sensitivity to one's minority status appears to be particularly pronounced among members of ethnic groups who historically have been the targets of prejudice, harsh discrimination, and persecution. Thus, the discomfort expressed by some of the Jews about their minority ethnic status at Belmar Drive, while less intense, is consistent with similar feelings revealed by black and Hispanic study participants. However, unlike the Hispanic and black tenants, Jewish residents did not form a cohesive social group. Further, almost all of the Jewish respondents who reported having established more intimate social relationships with other tenants named at least one non-Jew among their closest friends.

The saliency of any given personal characteristic as a basis for perceived status similarity will obviously vary according to the social context of a given setting. Belmar Drive was more heterogeneous with respect to nationality than any other personal characteristic. Therefore, nationality, and concomitantly race, were the principal dimensions by which tenants classified their neighbors. In settings that are homogeneous in terms of race and nationality, but heterogeneous in terms of religion, the latter may emerge as a salient characteristic in the development of social relationships.

Sex and Marital Status

Sex and marital status were closely related demographic variables; significantly more men than women were living with their spouses.

Respondents also linked these dimensions when they described personal characteristics that influenced their daily social interactions at Belmar Drive. Therefore, these two variables are discussed together.

The findings that indicate a relationship between same-sex status and patterns of social relationships among the tenants at Belmar Drive are, in general, consistent with those obtained by other researchers. For example, studies that have focused on respondents' "closest friends" or "best friends" reveal that both men and women are more likely to have same-sex than cross-sex friendships (Hess, 1978; Lawton and Nahemow, 1975; Lowenthal et al., 1975; Rosow, 1967). Similarly, in the present study there was a highly significant tendency for both men and women to establish their most intensive relationship with other tenants of the same sex. In addition, the majority of social contacts, independent of level of intimacy, reported by both men and women, involved persons of the same sex at rates well beyond chance expectations, given the proportion of status similars in the building. Men, however, were more likely than women to report cross-sex relationships, a pattern also reported by Lawton and Simon.(1968). Given the facts that the tenant population was predominantly female, most men were living with their wives, and that a spouse's friend often becomes one's own, this pattern is hardly surprising.

However, of all the personal characteristics that were examined in terms of status similarity and each of the three levels of intimacy, sex was the only variable that failed to reach statistical significance, although the findings were in the expected direction. Given the unexpected absence of a statistically significant relationship between sex and reported levels of intimacy, additional analyses examined status

similarity based on sex for all three levels of intimacy for men and women respondents separately. This was further refined in terms of whether a respondent was living with a person of the opposite sex. This examination revealed that women who were living alone or with another woman were significantly less likely to identify a man as a good friend than women who were living with men.

No consistent pattern emerged between status similarity based on marital status and the nature of social relationships among tenants. To recapitulate, when all reported sociometric choices were examined without regard to level of intimacy, married persons named tenants who were also married, beyond chance expectations, given the proportion of status similars in the building. However, the proportion of same status nominees reported by maritally unattached persons was no greater than that expected by chance. When one considers the primary target analyses (the data that reflect the one person with whom each respondent had developed her or his most intimate relationship), it is only the not-married who reported status similar primary targets at statistically significant levels. No such tendency was found for married respondents. The picture is further blurred by the finding that status similarity based on marital status was related to reported level of intimacy. These analyses involved all tenants with whom respondents reported social contacts, in terms of all three levels of intimacy. As anticipated, respondents were significantly more likely to regard their relationships with other tenants who were status similar with respect to marital status as more intimate than tenants who were status dissimilar, although the levels of significance obtained for these analyses were less impressive than those obtained for the ethnicity variables and index of social

position.

As the qualitative data reveal, a variety of factors contributed to the ways in which sex and marital status influenced the nature and intensity of social ties among tenants.

Sex and shared interests. It has been noted that more intensive dyadic social bonds typically develop between individuals with the same or similar ascribed characteristics because such persons are likely to share common interests and activities (Lawton and Nahemow, 1975; Lowenthal et al., 1975; Rosow, 1967). The men and women at Belmar Drive clearly differed in many of their interests and preferred leisure time activities. In this respect they resembled their counterparts in other settings for older people (e.g., Carp, 1966; Myerhoff, 1978).

Men were more apt than women to express desire for same-sex companionship. This was usually associated with their wish to talk with someone who shared their interests, particularly in sports, world affairs, and gambling. Several men spoke of their boredom, impatience or ire with the mundane issues that seemed to preoccupy the women, and what they saw as the women's insatiable appetite for gossip. The following remarks were typical.

. . . I enjoy a group of men to speak to. Women are fine. I like women as much as men--but the conversation--oh, is different I still like to talk about baseball and the old days, and ah--I've listened to some of the women here--and all they seem to be talkin' about is ailments--doctors, hospitals Men complain too but--ah, men of my age were brought up--when they were younger--they were told that it's unmanly to complain. "Keep your troubles to yourself--don't complain too much." But girls never were taught that and they like to complain--and they probably have good reason for complaining. But listening to steady complaints--it's more than annoying.

Another man remarked,

. . . We have a lot of old women These women I have nothing to do with, because their mentality. I don't like this small gossip here. Like, "This is a bad woman," and what this one does and that one dresses Or perhaps hairdressers, where is the cheapest hairdresser, and this kind of thing. It's kitchen gossip. This is not for me I have interest in many, many things . . . political and economic situations And the gentlemen I like--very polite, and very nice people. Sometimes we meeting downstairs [on the benches].

To be sure, a number of the women also complained about gossips and tenants who were preoccupied with health matters. However, the targets of their complaints were always other women.

Sex and physical settings for social contact. The men and women of Belmar Drive also differed somewhat in where they visited with other tenants. Men were significantly more likely than women to use the outdoor benches as a place where they regularly socialized with friends in the building. Related to this, married respondents of both sexes were significantly more likely than the not-married to use the benches as a social arena for interacting with friends. Most married persons engaged in social visits as a couple. Since married men typically expressed a more favorable attitude toward the benches than the women, one may infer that wives apparently acquiesced to their husbands' preferences in this matter.

Although men were no more likely than women to engage in off-site social or recreational activities with other tenants, the men went to a greater number of places together, and their all male groups were larger than the women's groups. Sports events, occasional trips to the race track, and frequent visits to a local betting parlor were the favorite activities for men; women favored bingo games and church-based social functions. Actually, a number of the men shared an avid interest in gambling. On numerous occasions, I observed a group of men huddled

around one of the outdoor benches, studying a racing form. The betting parlor, only two blocks from Belmar Drive, was a very important social space that apparently provided a common ground for men of different sociocultural backgrounds to come together.

Sex and social norms. The propensity of people to develop their closest friendships with persons of the same sex, and to have friendship networks that predominantly, although by no means exclusively, involve same sex individuals has been observed by a number of investigators, among people in different cultures and different cohort groups (Hess, 1978; Lowenthal, 1975). Indeed, in American society this pattern is typically observed throughout the life span (Hess, 1978). This has been interpreted as negative societal sanctions against potential sexual relationships. It has been suggested that in old age such sanctions diminish and that there is a greater tolerance for cross-sex friendship (Hess, 1978).

Respondents' comments do not indicate that the tenants of Belmar Drive enjoyed greater social freedom in this area. To the contrary, several interviewees indicated that strong prohibitions and social control against cross-sex friendships existed when one member of the dyad was not married.

Mrs. Colby, a frail, lonely 86 year old widow, needed assistance with the tasks of daily living. She was most grateful for the help provided by a couple on her floor. However, because of tenants' comments she felt compelled to curtail her contact with the couple, since it was the husband who usually came to her aid. As she explained,

. . . There's a family here, the Days. They're Irish, and I've called them as early as 6:30 in the morning. And she came and made me some hot tea . . . very nice. In the spring I was kinda

sick and he used to take me to the doctor three times a week.
 . . . Well, people began to talk, "How's your boyfriend? "
 . . . And then he'd come in the morning, in the very beginning,
 make out a little list, ask what I wanted, and I'd give him a
 list of groceries. Although he didn't really have to, but he
 did--until, I don't know, they got sort of--you know, they
 began to talk. It's not pleasant. After all, I'm not after
 somebody else's husband at this age. [Laughs.] I got my own
 problems.

Similar accounts were provided by other women, and they were not limited to cross-sex contacts within the building. Ann Cunningham's closest friends were a couple who lived in the neighborhood and whom she had known for more than 20 years. ". . . The association between Alice and Bob and I . . . is a lasting friendship. If one is ill, we're all sick . . . It's very close." The only thing that detracted from this relationship was the disapproval of Ann's neighbors when Bob visited her alone.

. . . I don't like people to say, "There she is. There's her best friend's husband--he has two wives. He takes care of both of them." That irritates me, when they talk out loud like that. That bothers me a great deal Because they don't know what they're talking about so why don't they keep quiet? Don't invent something and make mischief.

Given such experiences, it is not surprising that single women were significantly less likely than women who were living with their spouses or brothers to identify men in the building as "good friends."

A few of the single men also indicated that social norms inhibited the development of close ties with single women. For example, Mr. Solti was a Hungarian immigrant. He would have welcomed more contact with other tenants, but as he frequently explained, conversations with non-Hungarians were frustrating to both parties because of language differences. Mr. Solti would have liked a closer relationship with Mrs. Karpov, a widow and "a Hungarian woman" who, like himself, was

"very intelligent."

. . . She speaks perfect Hungarian. I am very polite. We help each other, and we have [one another's] telephone number and so on. But she never invited me for coffee. And she is a lady--I cannot invite her. She has a friend, Mrs. Henrici, Hungarian, is a very nice woman too. They are always together.

Similarly, Mr. Garlow, a most affable and popular man, reported that he was particularly friendly with four of the other men in the building. Nevertheless, ever since his wife's death, 15 months before our interview, he had felt "very lonely." He said that there were many lonely widows in the building, but that "the women are out for companionship."

. . . On my floor there's a lot of ladies here. They're all lonely. I can't go to them. They can't come to me. [Why is that?] Well . . . they more bashful like. They greet me, . . . but none of them was in my house yet. I wasn't in their house either. But we be friendly together. [By friendly you mean?] When I need help they help me When the gas leaks, you know, they come to me. And anything they got to do, curtains, I help them with curtains, you know. [So they are bashful to come in just for a social visit?] That's right, that's right!

Cross-sex social relationships. Many social bonds did, however, develop between men and women at Belmar Drive, and between persons of different marital status. The majority of more intimate cross-sex relationships involved married couples. The commonly observed convention of married couples engaging in social activities with other married couples was the norm. This pattern is consistent with that reported by a number of investigators (Hess, 1978; Lowenthal et al., 1975). In many cases either the husband or wife also developed a friendship with a single person of the same sex, and in time this person was also regarded by the spouse as a good friend. It appears that such triads were socially acceptable as long as a husband and wife (or even a brother and

sister) together visited with a single man or woman.

Some cross-sex relationships developed precisely because of sex role differences, although such dyads were not commonplace. These ties typically began as helping relationships, with women offering assistance with cooking or home decorating to single men, and men helping single women with household repairs and business matters. Despite what was sometimes a rather sustained, mutually supportive bond, respondents rarely identified such relationships as more intimate than acquaintanceships or "friendly" associations. Further, as the following quote illustrates, these relationships were characterized by a high degree of almost immediate reciprocity, a mechanism that Wentowski (1979) suggests is employed when the participants wish to maintain their independence and limit the degree of intimacy or commitment in the relationship.

Alice Small, a widow, had developed such a relationship with Henry Black, a widower who lived next door.

. . . Last week Henry pulled the stove out to show me how to clean it. . . . He's a nice neighbor, friendly, and he . . . did that. Another time, about a month or two ago, there was something wrong with my lock. And so he seen me at the door with the keys, messin' around, and he worked in the building line. And he said, "Do you mind if I take a look at it?" . . . So he looked at it and said I need a new lock, which I bought and he put in. . . . So I went to thank him . . . I knocked on his door and wanted to give him five dollars. He said I insult him. "Don't you dare insult me." And he made me take the money back. But the next day I came up, I knew he was a beer drinker, and I bought him a six-pack beer, the expensive beer, and I just knocked on his door and slid it in, you know. And that was it. Now when he came in the other day to pull out the stove, he said, "Oh, your place is so beautiful. . . . You can tell the difference between a man and a woman. Your place is neat and so warm and cozy. . . . And the gorgeous curtains." He said, "I got terrible curtains, white with purple panels on the side." They were awful So I got him [new] curtains . . . and I gave 'em to him. He paid me for 'em, but this is how I am, my gratitude. Henry always says, "If anything goes wrong, here I am,"

Finally, some cross-sex ties developed between tenants who performed formal social roles within the on-site organizations. These roles provided clear prescriptions for behavior and socially approved opportunities for interaction. There is some evidence that with the help of Center staff some tenants came to relax their preconceptions about traditional sex roles, and appeared to gain a greater tolerance for men and women to work together as equals to achieve community goals. For example, at one Tenants Association meeting it was difficult to find anyone who was willing to serve as secretary. Howard Shor, a well-educated man, volunteered for the job. His offer was strongly opposed by a few members on the grounds that, "The secretary has to be a woman!" The Center's associate director intervened, explaining that, "We do not discriminate on the basis of sex here," and Howard was duly elected. Similarly, women were finally accepted on the tenant patrol--a role that was initially perceived as "a man's job." As noted earlier, tenants who performed formal roles were significantly more likely to report cross-sex ties than tenants with no formal roles.

The relationship between levels of social contacts and the concentration of status similar tenants. Since men and married persons of both sexes were in the minority at Belmar Drive, it was anticipated that they would report fewer social contacts, independent of level of intimacy, and further, fewer contacts of a more intimate nature than their counterparts who were in the majority. Contrary to expectations, in comparison to women, men named significantly more tenants with whom they had contact when the total number of sociometric nominees was considered without regard to the level of intimacy. No significant differences were obtained when men and women were compared with respect to the number of more

intimate on-site social relationships. Married respondents reported significantly more social contacts than the not-married on both of these dependent measures. Again, these differences were contrary to the hypothesis.

The following factors may account for these findings. Most of the men (71 percent) were living with their spouses or sisters. Thus, the higher levels of social contacts reported by men and married persons of both sexes typically reflect the pooled social contacts of the household. Further, it is suggested that precisely because they were in a minority, men more actively sought to establish social ties with other men who shared similar interests and enjoyed the same activities. Virtually all of the male interviewees who were asked directly said that they wished that there were more men in the building. As one man remarked, "I tell ya, I'm always surrounded by women. We men have to stick together!" Finally, once again, it must be pointed out that it is not very meaningful to discuss "minority" status without taking into account the actual numbers of status similars to whom a given individual has access. At Belmar Drive the men made up almost one-third of the tenant population, and 43 percent of the tenants were married. Thus, members of these "minority" groups had a relatively large pool of status similars among whom they could choose, and still find other areas of commonality and compatability.

Index of Social Position

Significant relationships were also found between status similarity based on index of social position (ISP) and patterns of social contacts among the tenants of Belmar Drive. Respondents at all class

levels were significantly more likely to regard other tenants of the same class as good friends than tenants who were status dissimilar on this dimension. Conversely, tenants who were status dissimilar with respect to ISP were more likely to be regarded as acquaintances. Further, with the exception of those persons rated as Classes I and II (the two highest levels of social position) respondents tended to associate with a higher proportion of persons of the same ISP, independent of level of intimacy, than would be expected by chance. Class III and Class IV respondents demonstrated a significant tendency to establish their most intensive relationships with status similars, although this pattern was not found for respondents rated as Classes I and II and Class V. It is not surprising that respondents categorized as Classes I and II had relatively low proportions of same status nominees in terms of all reported social contacts and primary targets, since there was only a small pool of tenants who shared this characteristic.

Obviously social class was related to other personal characteristics--such as race, nationality and religion--that may have been more salient in influencing social relationships among tenants. Unfortunately, because of the variability of social class scores within each of these other status characteristics, it was not possible to examine systematically the contribution of social class, given the relatively small subsample sizes. The following discussion focuses only on the social class indicators of education and occupation, as they influenced social bonds among the tenants.

While tenants were relatively homogeneous in terms of current income and assets, they surely were aware of their heterogeneity in terms of past educational achievements and occupational status.

Education and past occupation provided additional dimensions for tenants to classify their neighbors, particularly during the early stages of occupancy (Lewin, 1978). Members of Classes I, II, and III, who were clearly in the minority, were more likely than Class IV and V tenants to comment on social class differences when they described how they were different from other people in the building. Still, references to social class differences were far less frequent than references to racial or national differences. As with race and nationality, tenants relied on readily perceived superficial characteristics to class-type other residents. The newness, stylishness and quality of one's clothes, as well as one's manner of speaking were the major clues used to form an opinion about another person's social class.

Expressions of compatibility or incompatibility based on education, interests and "class" typically occurred among respondents with more formal education and those who had achieved greater occupational success. These individuals said that they felt "more comfortable" and "more relaxed" with other tenants of the same social class. "You enjoy them more. You have more interests in common, and they understand what you're talking about."

Mrs. Greene had completed business school and had taken some college courses. All of the tenants with whom she had contact were "just acquaintances" and she stated quite emphatically that "there is no possibility" that she would develop closer bonds with her neighbors because of differences in social class and nationality. Still, she wished that she could have "at least one good friend" at Belmar Drive. "I'd like to have something in common . . . and someone with the same interests and education. They don't have to be a college graduate--no--but

someone you could talk to intelligently." Mrs. Greene attempted to relieve her sense of isolation within the building by providing assistance to other tenants where she could utilize her education and her business skills. "They know that I've had a little education, so whenever they need help they always come to me and ask if I would help them."

Helping others with tasks that required some education, knowledge of the business world and good communication skills apparently became a common adaptive mechanism for many of those tenants who were rated among the three highest class levels. These individuals helped less educated tenants and those with limited command of English with bills, bank statements, income tax returns and other correspondence.

The social context of Belmar Drive was predominantly working class. Several respondents within the three highest class categories said that they were resented by some working class residents because they were perceived as economically advantaged, and therefore undeserving of an apartment there.

Again, Ann Cunningham is a case in point. She had some college education, had been married to a professional man, and had herself held a middle-management position in a large firm. After widowhood and a long, disabling illness her savings were totally depleted and she was forced to go on welfare. She was always impeccably groomed and attractively dressed, although her clothes were many years old. Her appearance (which was outstanding) made her the object of suspicion and scrutiny, she said.

My reputation here is not the best. My reputation is that I don't belong here--that I have too much money to be living here. . . . [Tenants] say, "There she goes, she's too well dressed to

be in this house. . . . But I don't bother very much with the [other tenants].

Other middle class respondents recounted similar experiences, and some working class interviewees expressed to me their resentment that there were some "rich people living here" when there was such a desperate need for quality housing among the neighborhood's poor.

Several of these respondents who had experienced downward economic mobility were distressed that, because of their financial situations, they had no housing options other than public housing. These individuals were delighted with their apartments, the high quality of the building, and its location. When one considers only the physical environment, their housing satisfaction was very high indeed. However, living among people who were predominantly working class heightened their sense of loss of status, and detracted from their overall housing satisfaction.

For example, Mrs. Raskin had two years of college, and after her husband's death she held a highly responsible middle-management position in a prestigious firm. After catastrophic family illnesses, and years of widowhood and retirement, her savings were exhausted; social security was her only source of income. Mrs. Raskin thought that Belmar Drive was "a beautiful house--it's a beautiful environment," and that "We have some very lovely people." But she liked least, "The very fact that this is for ah--actually disadvantaged--financially . . . and disadvantaged in general." She characterized her contacts with other tenants as only acquaintanceships or at best a few "friendly" ties. Because of social class differences she had no "good friends" in the building.

Well, I suppose it's a horrible thing to say--but very few people are--I would put on the same level as myself, insofar as so many aspects are concerned--education, expertise, and ah--all kinds of things--the type of life I've lived--lifestyle. So they're

entirely different. There's really no place we can really meet
--no meeting ground. . . .

Some respondents who had been better off financially in years past felt self-conscious about inviting their more affluent friends to their homes. As Mrs. Raskin explained, the move to Belmar Drive had changed both the image her friends held of her, and her self-image. She hesitated to tell new acquaintances where she lived.

Because I guess it affects my image. . . . You can just see the expression on the face. . . . [It affects my image] in their eyes. But by the same token it affects my image to me, because I feel as though somebody's chipping at it, as though I'm an alabaster statue and someone is chipping at that thing. 'Cause I myself have a high opinion of myself. Let's face it, otherwise I wouldn't have such pride--right? And if I feel that in any way that someone looks at me with a difference, you know, seeing a different image, it affects my own self--my own feeling. . . . It really shouldn't bother me, but by the same token, there's where the ambivalence is. . . . It does affect me.

The sentiment expressed here provides support for Marris' (1975) interpretation that living in close proximity to other people who are predominantly from different sociocultural backgrounds may produce anxiety and threaten an individual's self-image, particularly in settings where people are expected to treat one another as equals. Friendships with persons who come from the same or similar sociocultural backgrounds provide a buffer that helps to protect the individual's self-concept and reduces anxiety.

This discussion of social class differences should not obscure the high degree of social contact and the many close friendships that occurred among tenants of different socioeconomic groups.

The major mechanisms that fostered more intimate relationships between persons who differed by two or more class levels were: providing assistance with the tasks of daily living, and working together in

the performance of formal roles toward a common goal. Both of these activities provided opportunities for continued contact, and thus allowed persons of different socioeconomic backgrounds to discover other areas of commonality and compatibility.

In addition, it must be noted that many of the tenants of Belmar Drive who were rated as Hollingshead Classes IV and V may have been atypical of their counterparts in other public housing sites. Many of these individuals had worked as domestics. Of these, a number had spent their working years employed by wealthy households. A few, in fact, had worked for families of great wealth and prestige. Two women, for example, spent their later years "in service" as ladies' maids. One recalled the times that she accompanied her employers on European vacations, and spoke nostalgically about the "crossings on the Queens every summer." Several of the men had worked as elevator men and doormen in the neighborhood's luxury buildings, and a few had been private chauffeurs.

Thus, while some tenants were categorized as either Class IV or Class V, these individuals were accustomed to styles of life well above their "formal" social position. It is not uncommon for people "in service" to identify with the values of their employers. Further, these individuals typically possessed excellent social skills. They were well spoken, well read, and very much at ease in most social situations. There is some evidence, albeit limited, to suggest that this subgroup was perceived by other tenants as belonging to a higher social class than their formal scores indicated. For example, when a retired chauffeur finished with his copy of a nationally respected newspaper, he usually passed it on to his "Class II" neighbor, who told me, "You

know, I think he used to work for that paper. He gets it delivered. I think that's part of his pension." Review of those dyads that involved more intimate relationships between persons who were status dissimilar by two class intervals often involved such persons. Thus, formal class status perhaps was not as important as perceived class status.

The relationship between levels of social contacts and the concentration of status similars. As with race, religion, sex and marital status, minority status with respect to ISP was not associated with fewer social contacts in general, nor with fewer social relationships of a more intimate nature. In fact, respondents rated at the three highest ISP categories, who together comprised approximately 30 percent of the tenant population, reported slightly higher levels of on-site social contacts than did persons rated as Classes IV and V, although these differences failed to reach statistical significance. This observed pattern is generally consistent with the findings that the middle class reports higher levels of social contacts than the working class (Rosow, 1967).

Thus, the statistical analyses of the sociometric data do not indicate that tenants from the three highest ISP levels were socially disadvantaged because they were in a minority at Belmar Drive. However, analyses of the qualitative material do suggest that these tenants perceived their neighbors as less compatible--because of social class differences--than did tenants of Classes IV and V who were the majority group. There was also evidence that residents who were better educated, and had achieved higher occupational positions were sometimes envied and resented by some tenants who had not achieved such successes.

As previously discussed in connection with other status variables,

the actual numbers of status similars to whom tenants have access may be more important than the proportion of status similars. Further, performance of formal roles and providing or receiving assistance in the tasks of daily living facilitated contacts between tenants from different socioeconomic backgrounds, just as these behaviors facilitated relationships between persons who were status dissimilar on other variables.

In summary, status similarity had a profound impact on the patterns of social relationships that emerged among the tenants of Belmar Drive. In general, respondents reported higher levels of contact with status similars than with status dissimilars, compared to chance expectations. Further, relationships with tenants who were status similar were significantly more likely to be regarded as more intimate than those with tenants who were dissimilar.

The most pronounced relationships between status similarity and level of intimacy were noted for ethnic characteristics and for social class. It has been suggested that the general tendency to form relationships with others who were similar with respect to these dimensions arose from a need to establish structure and meaning out of an amorphous social situation. Individuals are likely to assume that others from the same sociocultural backgrounds will share common behavioral norms, interests and values (Marris, 1975; Nahemow and Lawton, 1975; Rosow, 1967). The qualitative data also provide cogent support for Marris' (1975) position that associations with persons of similar sociocultural backgrounds will reduce the anxiety that often follows a residential move, and will enhance feelings of personal continuity, self-identity, and control for individuals in socially heterogeneous residential

settings.

Commonality of interests and preferred leisure-time activities, as well as societal conventions and sanctions were important in understanding how similarity with respect to sex and marital status contributed to the formation of dyadic bonds.

Although not commonplace, some associations--particularly helping relationships--appeared to develop precisely because tenants were status dissimilar. For example, women sometimes offered helpful hints on cooking or home decorating to bachelors or widowers; men helped women with household repairs. Tenants with relatively more education and excellent command of English sometimes helped residents who had limited education or language problems with their correspondence. Most social bonds that were characterized primarily by helping relationships were regarded as acquaintanceships. In some cases, however, in time these types of contacts developed into good friendships.

Contrary to expectations, those respondents with relatively few status similars in the building did not report lower levels of on-site social relationships, nor fewer more intimate bonds with their neighbors. Only respondents of national groups with very low concentrations of status similars (i.e., less than five percent) appeared to be socially disadvantaged. It has been suggested that the skillful efforts of dedicated staff to: promote social interaction within the building, stimulate the development of informal support networks, and provide opportunities to participate actively in on-site organizations served as buffers against the potentially negative social consequences of having access to only a relatively small pool of status similar tenants within one's building.

Status similarity can explain only in part the nature and intensity of the social bonds that developed among the residents of Belmar Drive. Other salient factors are discussed in the following sections.

Formal Roles and Social Relationships

Previous research had indicated that status similarity and proximity contribute significantly to friendship formation among tenants in age-segregated housing. Yet, as the present investigation and previous studies have found, friendships develop between tenants who live on different floors, and tenants who are status dissimilar with respect to a variety of personal characteristics. Therefore, a major goal of this investigation was to identify additional conditions under which on-site relationships develop, particularly between persons who are status dissimilar. Rather than limiting this inquiry to "best friends" or "good friends" the present study took into account all tenants with whom respondents reported social contacts. The pilot work suggested that the performance of formal roles within on-site organizations would facilitate social contacts among tenants.

As the results indicate, respondents who had performed formal roles named more tenants with whom they had social contacts, and a larger number of more intimate relationships than respondents with no formal roles. Formal roles remained a significant predictor of these measures of social relationships even after statistically controlling for a variety of other factors that might have influenced whether or not a person held a formal role.

Further, the data revealed that formal roles played a major part in facilitating social contacts among persons who were status dissimilar.

When all tenants named on sociometric questions were considered without regard to reported level of intimacy, respondents with formal roles reported significantly more cross-status choices than respondents with no formal roles for each of the six status similarity characteristics examined in these analyses. When only the number of more intimate cross-status nominations were considered, compared to respondents with no formal roles, those with one or more roles were significantly more likely to regard tenants who were status dissimilar in terms of nationality, religion, sex and index of social position as good friends or persons with whom they were friendly. Although formal roles were related to higher levels of contact with tenants of a different race and marital status, these associations did not necessarily involve more intimate bonds.

One may argue that those tenants who held formal roles were more sociable to begin with, and that even in the absence of the on-site organizations they would have developed relatively high levels of involvement with their neighbors. While it does appear that some tenants who held formal roles were active and outgoing before they moved, there is also evidence that for others residence at Belmar Drive provided opportunities for new roles, which as Rosow (1974) suggests, facilitated social integration. Given the research design and the available data, there is no rigorous way to test this notion. However, the extensive information that is available for the 15 households who participated in the in-depth exploratory case study (Lewin, 1978) sheds some light on this question. Detailed data about pre-move contacts with kin, friends, neighbors, and formal organizations were gathered for each case study participant. Expectations about social involvement at Belmar Drive,

and attitudes toward social relationships with neighbors were also obtained prior to the move. Review of this material, together with log notes and the data obtained from the interviews conducted for the present study offers no support for the notion that those people who eventually came to hold formal roles were particularly inclined to become friendly with their new neighbors. To the contrary, it was surprising to find that in several cases, persons who were shy and retiring, and who in fact had planned not to become closely involved with their neighbors were among those who held formal roles and who reported high levels of on-site social contacts.

Mr. Day's experiences epitomize those of many other tenants. Prior to their move, although they maintained close ties with their family and a few long-time friends, the Days "never visited" with their neighbors. They repeatedly explained that they preferred to "keep to ourselves" and "lead a quiet life." They anticipated that this pattern would continue after they moved to Belmar Drive. During their first few months in the building, the Days reported only minimal contact with some tenants on their floor, explaining, "We don't bother with anybody." After about six months, the pattern began to change. Mr. Day noted,

You sit outside and you meet different people, talk to them.
You make new acquaintances, you know, very nice people. . . .
And down at these meetings, you know, you meet people (Lewin, 1978).

After having lived in the building for three and a half years, Mr. Day was so involved with his neighbors that his wife commented, "And I'm his secretary." Altogether Mr. Day had held four different formal roles. I was at the tenants meeting when he agreed to accept his first formal organizational post. Like so many others, he was a reluctant

draftee, rather than an eager volunteer. Mr. Day's official jobs brought him into contact with many residents, and Mrs. Day served as his "assistant." In this way the couple gained visibility and came to know their neighbors. In time they developed informal bonds as well. They frequently entertained neighbors who in turn invited the Days to their apartments, "just for a social visit."

It is suggested that formal roles enhanced tenants' informal social networks by providing clearly defined norms for initiating contact with other residents. Such norms are particularly critical during transition periods such as change of residence (Rosow, 1974). Prescriptions for behavior, inherent in the roles, help individuals to achieve social structure and meaning from situations that are initially ambiguous.

Many respondents revealed that they found conversations "just to be sociable," could be awkward. Ed Bart explained,

First of all, it isn't that I don't like people. It's that I don't know what to talk about, you know. Some people, they could sit and talk for hours. I can't. I could only say like, "How you ya?" or "How's everything?" "Nice day" or "The weather's nice," "I like that coat on ya." Outside that, then I'm finished. I don't know how to continue a conversation. So that makes me . . . feel embarrassed. I can't talk, so I usually cut it short and say, "I have to go someplace," you know, like that. See, I'm not a mixer--a good talker.

Mr. Bart was a rather lonely man. Unlike the great majority of respondents he had no one--either within the building or outside--whom he considered a good friend. Serving on the tenant patrol, Tenants Association committees, and eventually as an officer in one Tenants Association administration gave Mr. Bart something to talk about. He had become "friendly with" three other tenants, something that he attributed to their joint participation in the Association's activities.

By working together, "You could get to know each other better," Mr. Bart observed. Although Mr. Bart's contacts with these people did not extend beyond organized activities, they were still enjoyable and meaningful to him. In the beginning he only worked with these tenants. Later he began to eat lunch and visit with them at the Senior Center. Of all the people in the building, Mr. Bart felt closest to one of the men he sat with on the tenant patrol. "Now we're friendly. In the beginning it was more like an acquaintance. . . . But we don't get too familiar. . . . Just that the way we talk, I could see that he is glad to talk to me and I'm glad to talk to him, like that." After spending many hours on patrol together, Mr. Bart discovered that "He has almost the same likes and dislikes I have. We have more things in common."

For some tenants like Ed Bart, formal roles promoted friendly interactions and gave individuals the feeling that they "belong--that you're a part of something." In some cases close friendships developed among tenants with similar roles. The sociometric data and qualitative material from the interviews documents that performance of formal roles resulted in secondary social bonds that in many cases eventually developed into viable primary social relationships.

A number of these dyads involved persons who were status dissimilar. It is suggested that the association between formal roles and the development of cross-status bonds is conceptually consistent with the interpretation of why status similarity facilitated social relationships. Individuals tended to expect that other tenants with the same ethnic and social class backgrounds shared social norms and customs, and found persons of similar backgrounds more compatible. Commonality implied a set of shared norms that offered mutually understood prescriptions for

behavior. As previously discussed, by forming associations with people like oneself, and at times avoiding persons with conflicting values and customs, a tenant could map out a social field within which behavior was more predictable and one's feelings of control and self-identity were enhanced.

Formal roles provided similar prescriptions for behavior, as well as defined circumstances for individuals to initiate contact. For example, in their official capacities, floor captains could knock on a neighbor's door if she or he were ill, and offer assistance. Conversely, tenants knew that they could call on their floor captains if help was needed. As a member of the hospitality committee, one could visit a tenant in the hospital. Working together on the party committee, in the Senior Center, or on the tenant patrol, brought people of different backgrounds together. These activities provided a structure for tenants with different personal characteristics to "get to know each other better" and in many cases to discover other areas of commonality and compatibility.

Opportunities to hold formal roles were inextricably related to the physical environment of Belmar Drive and to the efforts of Housing Authority and Senior Center staff to promote social interaction among the tenants. Obviously, formal organizations must exist before tenants can have formal roles within them. Suitable physical space to support organized activities is the sine qua non for formal organizations. Tenants had easy access to a vital community Senior Center program. Some tenants found formal roles within the Center, either as part-time paid employees or as volunteers. These roles provided structured occasions for these tenants to interact not only with Center members

who lived in the community, but also with other residents in their building. The Center also made their facilities available for Tenants Association meetings, parties and special recreational events that were exclusively for residents in the building. The Center's community room was the only space large enough to accommodate the entire tenant population. Had this space not been available, such activities could not have taken place.

The study of Belmar Drive indicates that while a functional and hospitable physical setting may be a necessary condition for on-site organizations, it is by no means a sufficient condition to support such activities. Without the on-going efforts of skillful and dedicated staff members it is doubtful that viable organizations and a variety of formal roles would have emerged. On numerous occasions staff stepped in as mediators when disputes threatened to dissolve the organizations. While Tenants Association officers might come and go, with staff support, the organizational structure endured. As discussed in Chapter V, the longest and most serious crisis of the Tenants Association occurred during the summer of 1978 when the officers barred Center staff from their meetings. Soon after, the Association disbanded. Following a four-month hiatus, there was an effort to form a new Association, and this time tenants enlisted the help of Center staff. As Mr. Bart explained, "[The Association] is gonna be started again. There's a meeting tomorrow. This time [the Center's director] is backin' us up. Now there, she's got the know-how, right? We don't have the know-how. I think it will really go!"

Accounts of divisiveness among organization members have been reported by participant observers of other settings for older people

(Hochschild, 1973; Myerhoff, 1978). Thus, the problems encountered by the Belmar Drive Tenants Association cannot be considered unique. The accumulated information does indicate that staff members with community organization skills may be crucial to the success of structured social activities in similar settings.

In her analyses of Merrill Court, Hochschild (1973) identified two essential elements that she believed accounted for the vital, cohesive community that developed among the residents: (1) the social homogeneity of the tenant population; and (2) the fact that most tenants had, at one time or another, held a formal role within the building. The present study provides additional support for the notion that formal roles can, as Rosow (1974) posits, facilitate social relationships among tenants of age-segregated housing. There is also evidence that in socially heterogeneous settings, formal roles are efficacious mechanisms for promoting social relationships among tenants of different ethnic and social class backgrounds.

The Relationship Between Levels of Extra-Building and Intra-Building Social Contacts

On the basis of the pilot work it was anticipated that tenants with extensive extra-building social networks would be less likely to establish more intimate social bonds with their neighbors than tenants who had limited off-site ties. Systematic inquiry failed to reveal any consistent relationship between levels of participation in off-site social activities and the number of tenants whom respondents identified as good friends or persons with whom they were friendly. This finding is in general agreement with the results obtained by other investigators

(Rosenberg, 1967; Rosow, 1967) who reported no consistent patterns between frequency of contact with relatives and the number of neighbors who were regarded as good friends.

Characteristics of the Physical Environment and Social Relationships

Community Spaces

With the goal of promoting social interaction among tenants, design guidelines for age-segregated residential settings typically include recommendations for community spaces where tenants can congregate. The location of entrances and elevators, as well as configurations of pathways that will maximize the probability that residents will meet as they go about their daily activities are also regarded as ways of facilitating casual encounters (Carp, 1966; Lawton, 1975, 1980; Rosen, 1971). The community spaces at Belmar Drive included the Inlet Terrace Senior Center, the bench area in front of the building, and a laundry room on the second floor (see Figures 2 and 3, pp. 63 and 65). Since preliminary observations showed that the laundry room was rarely occupied, the interviews explored only respondents' use of the Senior Center and the outdoor benches in front of the building.

The Senior Center. The great majority of respondents endorsed the idea of a Senior Center within their building. To some, participation in Center activities had become a central part of their lives. Close proximity and easy access to the Center were especially valued by those tenants who had formal roles there, and those who derived great satisfaction and enjoyment from the programs that were offered. The rich variety of available activities provided numerous options for the Center's

diverse membership. Many respondents noted, "Why they've got just about every [activity] that a person could want," or "There's something for everybody!" Even the majority of those respondents who did not engage in the programs thought that it was important to have the Center within the building for those tenants who wanted to participate. Several of the non-users also spontaneously commented that if their circumstances were to change--either because of widowhood or declining health--they anticipated that they would become more active in Center life, and they were grateful that it was "right downstairs." Non-users also expressed comfort from knowing that they could depend on Center staff for assistance should they require it.

The Senior Center appeared to be more valued as a place where one could engage in planned group activities, rather than as a place for informal visits. Informal social contacts with other tenants, for the purpose of companionship, more often took place in respondents' homes than in public spaces. While 68 percent of the respondents named tenants who came to their apartments for "social visits" only 35 percent named tenants whom they regularly spent time with at the Senior Center.

Still, the Center clearly facilitated social contacts and was perceived by some interviewees as a place where one could make new acquaintances. Over a fourth of the respondents mentioned the Center when asked if there were any things about living at Belmar Drive that made it easier for them to meet people.

As previously discussed, the Inlet Terrace Senior Center played a major role in the social organization of the tenants of Belmar Drive. By personal example staff fostered an atmosphere of caring, friendliness and warmth. Center and housing staff encouraged informal mutual

support networks among tenants on residential floors; provided initiative for the establishment of the group of floor representatives, the Tenants Association, and tenant patrol; and gave on-going guidance and support for these organizations. The impact of supportive staff is rarely discussed in research of age-segregated housing. The present study suggests that staff may have a significant influence on social relationships among tenants, and should receive more attention in future studies.

The outdoor benches. Sixteen wooden benches span the entire front of 125 Belmar Drive. In many respects the design of this space is consistent with recommendations for outdoor seating in residential settings for older people. For example, a number of the benches are placed at right angles to one another to promote casual conversations. Several benches are placed back-to-back, and a few are located off to either side of the building and are oriented toward the sidewalk. The latter seating arrangement is typically suggested to accommodate persons who may wish to sit outdoors and perhaps spectate, but who may prefer not to sit near others (Lawton, 1975). As there is only one entrance to the apartment building, tenants must traverse this area to enter or leave the building. Attractive landscaping surrounds the building, and trees provide shade for many of the benches during the spring, summer, and early fall.

Systematic observations revealed that in good weather the benches were heavily utilized. During peak hours, particularly 11:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. there was rarely a vacant spot, and a few tenants brought their own beach chairs to assure that they would be able to sit down. The mid-day crowd included tenants, as well as Center members who

attended the popular luncheon program.

There were lively conversations among the bench sitters, and a number of tenants who entered or left the building sometimes paused a few moments and exchanged greetings with those who sat outdoors. Some people just sat and watched the comings and goings of tenants, Center members, and the flow of traffic on the street and sidewalks. If one had relied only on observations of behaviors to evaluate the benches, one would likely have concluded that this space was a great architectural and social success. However, the interviews revealed that this bench area was the single most controversial space at Belmar Drive.

Comments about the benches emerged spontaneously within the context of a variety of open-ended questions such as what respondents liked best and least about living at Belmar Drive, and what things made it easier for them to meet and become friendly with people. After having conducted several interviews, the question, "What do you think of the benches in front of the building?" was added to the interview schedule, given the saliency of the benches, and the diverse opinions that were expressed. Of those tenants whose attitudes toward the benches were tapped directly, almost half were consistently positive in their assessment, approximately one-third were strongly opposed, and the remainder expressed ambivalence.

Some respondents who liked the benches cited this area as a place to visit with other tenants, non-resident Center members, and on occasion, other people from the neighborhood. For these people the benches did provide opportunities for tenants to engage in casual conversations, and to learn more about one another. A few respondents traced the development of on-site friendships to such occasions. As one woman said,

You meet lovely people in the summertime, sitting on those benches. . . . I made lovely friends out there on those benches --sitting there--talking to different people. . . . You really meet them to talk to--very nice.

As in other age-segregated settings (e.g., Carp, 1966; Howell and Epp, 1978), this public space attracted a group of "regulars." These people were nearly unanimous in their unequivocal endorsement of the outdoor seating. As one person enthusiastically reported,

I think they're wonderful! I try to get out there everyday. . . . In the summertime we had a wonderful time. There's a bunch of us, and we'd meet and sit on the benches.

A few of the regulars, however, objected to the fact that the benches were also used by non-tenants. It was almost as if they had read Newman's Defensible Space (1972) as they freely suggested design solutions and territorial markers such as low fences and shrubs, so as to discourage non-residents from sitting there. In most cases, the regulars didn't perceive the non-tenants as offensive, but rather resented the fact that sometimes, "there's not even enough room for the tenants. Now that's not right."

Some respondents viewed the benches as a pleasant alternative to their apartments. As one woman noted, "You could talk to people, or just sit by yourself." Those with impaired mobility particularly valued the opportunity to sit outdoors in attractive surroundings. On a cold winter afternoon, one frail woman said longingly, "I can't wait for spring to come. The trees will be in bloom--I'll be able to sit out there. It's like a vacation bein' able to get out."

The range of positive comments about the benches was relatively limited--opportunities for social interaction, a pleasant alternative to one's apartment, and a place just to watch the action. Negative

comments were more varied, and the intensity of respondents' feelings is best conveyed in their own words. By far, the most frequently mentioned objection to the benches was the gossip that seemed to flourish there. A close second was the related issue of unavoidable scrutiny of the bench sitters as one entered or left the building. One man stated his views, and his design solution.

I don't sit by the benches, and they should cut the benches and chop them up for fire wood. That creates a lot of trouble. . . . See, [in another building] they got the benches about half a block away from the building. This is too near the building. When you come in or outa the building, the people that live here --sitting there--they stare at ya, as though ya owe them something. There's a lotta people there. . . . I don't even wanta talk to, and they stare at ya. Now I don't like that. . . . And it's the same old crowd, it's a clan, and that's no good!

Even the most sociable respondents expressed similar opinions. The feelings of one particularly affable woman were typical.

I don't like the benches around the door. . . . Because there are a lot of busy bodies and you come in and you go out and they look you from bottom to top and if you come home with groceries, which you have to do . . . and they as much as say, "Oh boy, you're out spending your money," or "You got something good?" And, "Can we come up for dinner," or "What did you buy?" And this I am very much against. And I feel . . . they should have the benches on the side, not in the doorway.

When asked, "Are there any tenants in the building whom you regularly talk with and spend time with on the benches?" a number of respondents offered spontaneous comments similar to the following:

I avoid [the benches]. . . . Because they're always talkin' about this one and that one. And they're wanting to know your own personal things, you know. And they don't tell you anything. Or they want to know all about you. . . . I don't like gossip! That's why I avoid those benches.

Few respondents actually gossiped about other tenants during our discussions, but the interviews were replete with what Hochschild has called "'meta-gossip' (talk about gossip)" (Hochschild, 1973, p. 55).

More often than not, the "meta-gossip" focused on the outdoor benches. This was clearly the prime spot for monitoring the activities of others --what they did; what they wore; who, if anyone, they were with. This was also an ideal setting to exchange information, misinformation, and on occasion, I suspect, disinformation. Indeed, in preparation for data collection, I had used the benches to learn the latest goings-on in the building. This area also provided the best opportunity to meet casually with tenants.

While it was actually impossible for tenants to avoid the benches if they wanted to enter or leave the building, several respondents shared the strategies they had adopted to avoid "getting involved" with the bench sitters. Typically, they would quicken their pace as they walked in or out of the building, and through posture and avoidance of eye contact, they would, as one person put it--"Just zip right through!" A few respondents confided that they tried to maintain a friendly facade and that they had well thought-out plans. For example, when one woman was asked where she was going, she replied that she was off to what was regarded as an unsafe area of the city, and she would ask her inquisitors if they would like to join her. "'Oh, no' they say," she noted, with a laugh. Most interviewees who said they avoided the benches were quick to point out that they were not unfriendly, but that they simply didn't have the time to stop and chat, or that they didn't want to become identified as a member of a clique or a gossip. Some respondents were good natured about greeting tenants on the benches, although these contacts had little affective meaning for them. One man explained sympathetically,

Well, . . . the elderly people--they want friends. Most of these

people are alone. . . . And they want someone to greet them-- which we do. And I'm like an alderman sometimes when I go out --"Hi, Hi" like I'm runnin' for office, you know.

Gossip and the scrutiny of other tenants were not the only objections to the benches and their design. Some respondents complained that "undesirables"--a term that included "bums," "winos," neighborhood dog walkers, and uninhibited young lovers--used the benches, especially after dark. When asked what she thought of the benches, one woman replied,

I hate them. . . . They create problems for the house because after 9 - 10 o'clock, when the folks are in, there are other people who'll come sit there and you hear them talking right from up here on the fourth floor. And rowdy-dowdies who get there and drink. They've even had sex relations down on those benches. Would you believe it? And we have seen it. It's disgusting.

Finally, a minority of the respondents objected to the image that they felt the benches presented to the neighborhood residents and tenants alike. A few people perceived the benches as undignified. As one woman explained, "It looks like a Coney Island down there. They all come with their beach chairs. Now that's not right. It looks terrible." There were also a few interviewees who complained that the heavily utilized area gave the appearance of "an old age home," or a nursing home. Another woman remarked, "It looks like a nursing home. I understand that there are sick people here--they can't go very far. But they all sit out there--come in wheelchairs and sit there. They should have a place in the back where those people could sit."

The controversy over the benches illustrates once again that the experiences of the tenants of Belmar Drive resemble those of their counterparts in similar residential settings. Other investigators have found that tenants in age-segregated housing complain about gossip and

scrutiny from residents who congregate in public spaces that were designed to promote social interaction (Carp, 1966; Howell and Epp, 1978). Howell and Epp describe this problem as "Offensive surveillance . . . where some individuals experience resentment or displeasure at being watched by others" (Howell and Epp, 1978, p. 9). Carp (1966) reported that Victoria Plaza residents considered gossip as one of the major problems in their building. Such complaints were often related to building design, such as the necessity to pass through the lobby--a favorite gathering place for gossips--in order to enter or leave the building, or to mail a letter (Carp, 1966).

That such problems exist, however, attests to the fact that significant proportions of tenants like to congregate in heavily-trafficked areas, to visit with other residents and watch the action.

Planners and architects often have in mind the laudable goal of promoting social interaction when they design such spaces. Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that not all older people are lonely, nor do they all wish to come in contact with their neighbors. Older people have the same needs for freedom of choice--to meet or avoid their neighbors--as any other group of people.

The results of the present research provide support for the recommendation of Howell and Epp (1978) that architectural design should provide freedom of choice and alternative paths for those tenants who want to sit and talk with others, or just spectate, as well as those who would rather not meet other tenants. This is a challenging task since systematic observations reveal that older people tend to gather around entryways and other heavily trafficked locations. Where seating is provided in relatively secluded areas such as lounges on residential

floors and enclosed courts or patios, these spaces are likely to be underutilized. If seating is not provided around the hub of activity, tenants may bring down their own chairs, or rely on improvised seating arrangements around entryways, to ensure advantageous views of the comings and goings of others (Howell and Epp, 1978; Lawton, 1975; Lewin et al., 1977; Rosen, 1971). Howell and Epp (1978) offer specific architectural guidelines for seating around entrances that would still provide tenants with freedom of choice to interact or not to interact.

Some respondents said that they didn't participate in Center activities because of gossip. Yet it is interesting to note that very few objected to having the Center within their building. The relative absence of criticism of this community area may be related to the design of the space. The Senior Center is what Howell and Epp have called "semi-public zones," that is, "spaces to accommodate social and recreational activities" (1978). They suggest that such areas be located near primary paths so as to provide the option for "dropping in" but also allow people to enter or leave the setting without feeling obligated to stop and talk. This was precisely the physical arrangement at Belmar Drive. Non-tenants entered the Center from the sidewalk. Tenants had the option of also entering the Center through a door that lead from the apartment house lobby to the Center's reception area. Thus, tenants could either leave the building directly from their lobby, free from offensive surveillance of Center members, or they could pass through the Center, "just to stop in" or "say 'hello'" on their way outside, as many did.

Proximity and the Intensity of Social Relationships

Lawton and his colleagues have repeatedly found that proximity of dwelling units is a potent factor in friendship formation among tenants in age-segregated and age-concentrated housing (e.g., Lawton and Simon, 1968; Nash et al., 1968; Nahemow and Lawton, 1975). "Friends were overwhelmingly likely to be next-door or across-the-hall neighbors and were considerably less likely to live on another floor than one would have expected by chance" (Lawton, 1980, p. 40). Review of these studies gives the impression that the majority of on-site friendships involves proximate neighbors, and that the apartment house floor is the principal spacial unit where such relationships develop.

The pilot work at Belmar Drive suggested that indeed proximity was a major factor in determining the frequency of face-to-face interactions with other tenants, but was not usually related to level of intimacy. From the case study material (Lewin, 1978) and observations made during visits to Belmar Drive, it appeared that the majority of tenants' most intimate bonds involved status similar persons who lived on different floors and that the associations with tenants on one's own floor were typically rather superficial. Thus, in the present study it was hypothesized that: "The majority of more intimate social relationships among tenants will involve non-proximate neighbors, that is, tenants who live on different floors. Conversely, the majority of contacts among proximate neighbors will involve less intimate relationships." This hypothesis was confirmed; a highly significant inverse relationship between level of intimacy and proximity of dwelling units was found when all three levels of intimacy were considered.

Contrary to her expectation, Carp (1966) also found that proximity had surprisingly little influence on friendship formation among Victoria Plaza residents. ". . . The majority of social contacts were with people on different floors of the building. This was true not only for selection of best friends, but also for visiting and eating together" (Carp, 1966, p. 160). Thus, the association between proximity and patterns of social relationships among the tenants of Belmar Drive is similar to that observed by Carp (1966).

The findings of the present study are not, however, in conflict with those obtained by Lawton and his associates. Propinquity does seem to contribute to the formation of more intimate relationships, since the proportion of proximate neighbors who were identified as good friends and persons with whom respondents were friendly greatly exceeded chance expectations. Still, it must be noted that of all tenants who were identified as good friends, 82 percent lived on different floors than respondents, and the clear majority (78 percent) of all reported more intimate relationships involved tenants living on different floors (see pp. 159-160). Clearly, the impact of proximity on social relationships among tenants at Belmar Drive was less pronounced than in the sites studied by the Philadelphia Geriatric Center.

This difference may be due in large measure to variations in methodological approaches. In Lawton's studies respondents were asked to name their "best friends in this house" or "best friends in the project." The names of all tenants mentioned were accepted, although analyses were performed on only the first three nominees. Further, if less than three names were provided, "the respondent was urged to name others" (Lawton and Simon, 1968, p. 110). Proximity effects were

somewhat more marked for first named friends than for subsequent choices (Nahemow and Lawton, 1975). It is possible that this procedure yielded data that favored nominees who live on one's floor.

Individuals tend to develop a cognitive set that helps them to structure their physical environment and significant others in it. Thus, some respondents may have had cognitive sets to name proximate neighbors first, beginning with those who live closest to themselves, and then proceeding to name persons at greater distances. If this were the case, analyses that involved only the first three nominees would indicate a marked proximity effect. The viability of this interpretation could be tested empirically in future research.

In addition, the less marked proximity effect noted at Belmar Drive likely reflects the different approach taken to obtain sociometric nominees. In the present study, analyses were performed taking into account all tenants named on a variety of sociometric items, and effort was made to reduce the likelihood of false-positive responses to sociometric questions. After respondents had named all tenants with whom they had social contacts, they were asked whether they regarded each person as "an acquaintance, someone you're friendly with, or as a good friend, in the way that you have described a good friend." Thus, respondents at Belmar Drive were asked to employ three levels of intimacy to indicate the intensity of their relationship with each of the nominees. In contrast to respondents in the other studies, these respondents may have had more stringent criteria for "good friend" since they used as a reference their own definition. When interviewees are asked to name their "best friends in this house," although the persons mentioned may be "best friends" within that context, it may be

problematic to infer that such relationships are subjectively regarded as qualitatively the same as when one's own definition of good friend is used. For example, in connection with another study, when asked how many "good friends" she had, one senior center member said, "I'll tell you, here [at the center] we are all 'good friends,' but we are not, what you would call 'intimate.'"

Those investigators who find that proximity is a critical factor in friendship formation in high-rise housing suggest that chance meetings occur more frequently among tenants who live on the same floor than tenants who live on different floors. It is generally assumed that these casual encounters invite informal conversations, which in time may lead to the development of more intensive relationships.

At Belmar Drive, tenants do, indeed, more often meet the people who live on their floor. However, most of these chance meetings, even after approximately four years of occupancy, are usually quite superficial, and involve only the casual exchange of pleasantries. The following comment, describing contact with tenants on one's floor is typical.

We say "good morning," "hello," and like that. . . . Friendly like, but not friendship. We speak to each other and they are very nice, but no friends or nothin'. Just acquaintances, that's all.

That such interaction remains superficial is not surprising. Some tenants consciously chose to limit their contact with proximate neighbors to a "friendly" but perfunctory, "hello" in an effort to safeguard their privacy. Virtually all respondents indicated that they were always ready and willing to help another tenant in need. However, most were not eager to give the impression that their doors were always open

for a social visit. Several respondents commented that it was customary to telephone before visiting neighbors, even those with whom they had established very close ties. Further, it appears that when casual exchanges attempt to go beyond ritualized greetings, they tend to become somewhat awkward, unless there are some perceived areas of commonality, a specific topic to discuss, or some formal social structure to prescribe norms for interacting.

The data generated in this study suggest that mere proximity does not lead to the development of close friendships. However, proximity does appear to be related to providing and receiving assistance with the tasks of daily living. This pattern is related, in part, to sheer convenience. A tenant is more likely to ask next-door neighbors to keep her ice cream in their freezer while she defrosts her refrigerator, rather than to go to a good friend who lives on another floor.

Staff efforts to encourage informal support networks among tenants also had a major influence on the relationship between proximity and patterns of mutual assistance. At Belmar Drive, housing and Senior Center staff focused on the residential floor as a unit, in an attempt to build viable mutual assistance networks. At tenant meetings and in the building's newsletter, tenants were urged to "get to know your neighbors" and to "offer a helping hand when you see that somebody on your floor needs help." With staff expertise the group of floor representatives was established. Tenants knew that they could turn to at least one person on their floor for emergency or other assistance. Similarly, this formal support structure provided floor representatives with the clearly defined role to initiate contact by offering assistance. Some helping relationships occurred spontaneously, and during the early stages of occupancy, when most tenants, particularly those who lived

alone, needed some assistance in setting up their apartments. The overwhelming majority of all respondents who reported more intimate bonds with proximate neighbors indicated that such relationships had grown out of contacts that initially involved assistance in the tasks of daily living. In social network analyses, providing or receiving assistance has been identified as a critical mechanism that promotes a sense of commitment to the relationship (Wentowski, 1979). Further, more intimate cross-racial ties were noted among proximate neighbors than persons who lived on different floors. This pattern is consistent with the results obtained by Nahemow and Lawton (1975). Helping neighbors with the tasks of daily living provides occasions for tenants to learn more about each other--to look beyond a person's skin color or accent, and perhaps to find other areas of commonality and compatability.

In summary, the data from the present study indicate that proximity is associated with frequent face-to-face contact, but that these casual encounters do not, in the vast majority of cases, progress directly to friendly interactions. Residence on the same floor was, however, associated with providing and receiving assistance in the tasks of daily living. It is suggested that helping relationships are a critical intermediate factor between proximity per se and the development of viable primary relationships.

Summary and Conclusion

This research was generally concerned with gaining a comprehensive understanding of the salient factors that influenced social relationships among tenants in urban age-segregated public housing. More specifically, through the intensive analysis of a single site, this

study has attempted to contribute to existing information by addressing a number of issues that have received little or no attention in previous research.

In contrast to other studies in which analyses have been limited to on-site "friendships," this investigation explored a variety of qualitatively different types of social relationships that developed among neighbors, and utilized a technique that provided data which reflect respondents' perceptions of levels of intimacy.

Analyses of the relationship between levels of intimacy and status similarity with respect to race, nationality, religion, sex, marital status and social class, revealed that in general, bonds with tenants who were status similar were regarded as more intimate than bonds with tenants who were status dissimilar. Further, it was demonstrated that nationality is a critical factor to consider in settings where tenant populations are multi-national and polyglot.

Extensive use has been made of qualitative material in an effort to contribute to the theoretical understanding of why status similarity has such a marked influence on social relationships. The writings of Peter Marris (1975) served as a most useful conceptual framework for the interpretation of these data. There was cogent support for the notion that when faced with an amorphous social situation, tenants in socially heterogeneous settings will tend to seek out others from similar sociocultural backgrounds on the assumption that such persons will share common behavioral norms, customs and interests. In this way, an ambiguous social milieu becomes more intelligible and predictable. Associations with persons like oneself, it is suggested, help to relieve anxiety that frequently follows a residential move to a culturally diverse setting.

These relationships may enhance tenants' feelings of personal continuity, self-identity and a sense of control.

The performance of formal roles within on-site organizations was identified as an important mechanism that facilitated social relationships among tenants. Of particular interest is the finding that formal roles facilitated social contacts among tenants who were status dissimilar. Clearly defined social norms are inherent in formal roles. Thus, it was suggested that formal roles operate in a manner analagous to status similarity by providing mutually understood prescriptions for behavior, which also help individuals to achieve social structure and meaning from situations that are initially ambiguous. Further, formal roles appeared to enhance tenants' self-confidence, which in turn may have contributed to increased social activity.

There is evidence that the efforts of staff to promote interaction among tenants also contributed to the development of a social structure, and to the observed patterns of social relationships. In this setting, staff provided the impetus and on-going support for a variety of on-site organizations, and encouraged the development of viable informal mutual assistance networks among tenants.

It was suggested that community areas, particularly indoor spaces large enough to accommodate the entire tenant population, are essential to the development of formal organizations, and provide opportunities for tenants to become acquainted. It was recommended that such spaces be located near primary pathways, but that the physical design should not require that tenants pass through public areas where other residents tend to congregate.

Proximity of dwelling units was related to social relationships.

Nevertheless, the proximity effect in the present study was not nearly as pronounced as that observed by other investigators. Variations in methodological approaches may account for this difference. It was suggested that proximity per se does not lead to the development of intensive relationships. Rather, proximity was related to providing and receiving assistance in the tasks of daily living. Helping relationships may be a critical intermediate factor between proximity and the development of primary relationships among neighbors.

Research based on a single setting is open to serious questions about external validity. In this study, emphasis was placed on generating data that have a high degree of ecological validity. Whenever possible, in lieu of comparative sites, reference has been made to the relevant findings reported by other investigators. Such comparisons suggest that in many respects the experiences of the participants in this study resemble their counterparts in similar residential settings. It is hoped that the results of this study will have heuristic and practical value for practitioners, researchers and theoreticians. Further, it is anticipated that some findings will generalize, at least in principle, to other groups of older people living in various residential settings.

Policy and Research Implications

Some findings from this study have policy implications for planning the social context, physical design and management of urban high-rise housing for older people in order to facilitate on-site relationships.

If one goal of publicly sponsored housing for the elderly is to enhance the informal social support networks among tenants, increased

attention should be devoted to the composition of tenant populations in such settings. This study supports previous research which indicates that tenants tend to establish more intensive on-site social ties with persons who are the same or similar to themselves in terms of a variety of ascribed and achieved status characteristics. The accumulation of empirical research suggests that where feasible, it may be socially advantageous to residents to plan for a pre-determined minimum concentration of same status tenants in order to assure that individuals will have a sufficient pool of others like themselves from whom to choose in establishing satisfying social relationships. However, there appear to be no easy answers or general formulas to the critical questions: What status characteristics are most relevant to tenant populations in public housing?; and What constitutes a "sufficient" concentration of status similar individuals?

It is suggested that the basis for perceived status similarity and the relevance of specific characteristics in establishing more intimate social ties will depend upon the given personal characteristics that exist among residents of a specific setting. This will differ according to regional population characteristics. The primary theoretical framework within which the present research was interpreted (Marris, 1975) posits that the greater the heterogeneity of a given personal characteristic in a specific setting, the more salient that dimension will become in influencing social relationships among residents.

For example, in this study the tenant population was more heterogeneous with respect to nationality than any other status character-

istic, and indeed national background was a major factor that influenced patterns of on-site social ties. However, in other settings that are homogeneous with respect to nationality and other indicators of ethnicity, one may hypothesize that status similarity based on characteristics such as marital status, education, occupational background and shared interests and values may emerge as the salient dimensions that influence social relationships. In areas where high proportions of tenants are migrants, geographic area of origin may surface as a critical determinant of friendships. Qualitative material suggests that people tend to establish primary social relationships with others who share personal characteristics and experiences that are central to their self-identities.

The notion of planning for a predetermined minimum concentration of like status tenants within housing sites raises some complex ethical and political issues since current policy prohibits the consideration of race, religion, nationality and sex as criteria for admission to public housing. Nevertheless, if research consistently demonstrates that minority status with respect to such characteristics contributes to social isolation, such policies must be re-examined. It must be stressed, however, that in planning social contexts, total homogeneity is not advocated. Rather the goal is to populate buildings with minimum proportions of tenants of a given status in an effort to reduce the risk of social isolation and feelings of alienation.

Previous studies of friendship patterns among older people in various residential settings indicate that those with "low" concentra-

tions of status similars report significantly fewer friends than those with relatively higher concentrations of status similars. This general relationship has been reported for a variety of personal characteristics including: age (e.g. Bultena and Wood, 1969; Rosenberg, 1968; Rosow, 1967), marital status (e.g. Blau, 1961), socioeconomic status (Rosenberg, 1968), and race (Nahemow et al, 1976).

Based on these findings, in the present study it had been anticipated that tenants with relatively higher proportions of status similars within their building would report significantly more residents with whom they had contact, and significantly more social relationships of a more intimate nature than those tenants with relatively low proportions of like status residents. This hypothesis was tested for six variables: race, religion, nationality, sex, marital status and social class. Nationality was the only characteristic for which the expected association was found, and even this relationship was observed only for those tenants of nationality groups that comprised less than five percent of the building's population.

The general absence of the expected relationship between levels of on-site social ties and the residential concentration of status similar tenants indicates directions for future research. It was suggested that in high-rise housing, the actual number, rather than the proportion of like-status tenants in a building may be the crucial issue in determining whether or not individuals of a given status characteristic will be socially disadvantaged if they are in a minority.

The studies upon which the hypothesis was based typically focused on the relative proportions of status similars within comparison settings. Further, these investigations involved residential settings of markedly different scales including single apartment buildings, multi-building complexes, residential city blocks, and entire communities, which obviously makes abstract generalizations to other settings most problematic.

It was pointed out that in high-rise housing, while the proportion of same status tenants may be identical in different buildings, the actual numbers of status similars is a function of the size of the tenant population. Thus, if the proportion of residents sharing a given status characteristic is ten percent, in a building with 200 tenants there would be 19 other status similar tenants for each person with that characteristic; in a building with 50 residents there would be only four status similar tenants.

It is noteworthy that in the present study site black and Hispanic tenants, who each comprised only approximately seven percent of the building's population, reported virtually the same levels of on-site social contacts and more intimate bonds as their white counterparts. Each tenant of these two minority groups had access to 13 other same-race people within their building. This number may constitute a sufficient pool of same race tenants to choose from in establishing viable primary ties. Respondents' comments also indicate that minority status with respect to race, nationality and sex appeared to enhance the propensity for individuals to seek out other residents who shared a given

characteristic--precisely because they were in a minority. In socially heterogeneous settings such individuals may experience heightened needs for affiliation.

In this particular setting, with the exception of a few nationality groups with only four or fewer tenants, the number of available like status tenants may have provided an adequate potential pool of contacts. In addition, the social structure within the building and opportunities to hold formal roles contributed in part to the general finding that tenants with relatively fewer like-status neighbors were not socially disadvantaged in comparison to those with relatively higher proportions of status similars. It should also be noted that for some characteristics such as marital status and sex, "minority" proportions were rather substantial.

The notion should be pursued that there may be some critical number of status similar residents below which older people may be deprived in terms of opportunities to develop on-site friendships. Additional research is also required to determine whether the elderly who have few status similars within their building are adversely affected on other dimensions of physical and psychological well-being. This inquiry could include analyses of rates of morbidity, mortality, institutionalization and voluntary moves to other community housing. It may be possible to answer some of these questions through secondary analyses of existing data. If consistent results emerge, then informed policy decisions may be made regarding the planning of social contexts in urban age-segregated public housing.

Sensitive and informed design decisions and management practices can facilitate on-site social contacts and increase the probability that tenants will interact. But in the words of one study participant, "You can't make nobody love you." It is essential that planners, architects and housing management recognize that there is great variability among tenants in terms of their desire to establish on-site social bonds, and that there are limitations to any intervention efforts.

The physical design of pathways and community spaces should allow tenants freedom of choice to meet or to avoid popular gathering places as they go about their daily activities.

The presence of functional and hospitable community spaces in housing for the elderly is generally recognized as an important element in meeting the social needs of tenants, and in most public housing such spaces are now provided. However, funding for social service staff is not mandated (Lawton, 1980). As this study indicates, professional staff can play a crucial role in fostering informal support networks and in establishing and maintaining viable formal organizations. It is therefore recommended that government funding be provided for such staff.

The findings that the performance of formal roles within on-site organizations had such a significant influence on enhancing informal social relationships among tenants has major implications for the management of age-segregated public housing. Staff and tenant leaders alike should be apprised of the potential social benefits of on-site organizations and opportunities to hold formal roles within them. Conscious efforts should be made to achieve broad-based tenant partic-

ipation in meaningful, clearly defined roles, while at the same time recognizing and respecting those residents who may choose not to become involved in such activities.

In the present study site some tenants who eventually held formal roles within on-site organizations were initially reluctant draftees, rather than enthusiastic volunteers. It appeared that in most cases hesitation to accept a position of responsibility did not reflect an unwillingness to perform the tasks at hand. Rather, some individuals doubted their capabilities to meet the challenge. Others appeared to be waiting to be asked to assume a position, and their initial mild protestations seemed to represent adherence to a shared norm that to volunteer oneself for a leadership role was a sign of immodesty and self-aggrandizement. Such individuals may require practical assistance and encouragement from staff.

The degree to which staff may need to become involved in the day-to-day operation of such organizations will depend upon the characteristics of the tenant population and the natural leadership that exists in a given setting. While staff initiative and expertise may be particularly important in establishing organizational structures and a variety of activities and roles, tenant groups should be encouraged to function as independently as possible. Staff should however, be prepared to strengthen leadership if necessary, and to mediate disputes that may threaten to dissolve the organizations. Although periodic divisiveness among organization members may not be uncommon, formal roles can be efficacious mechanisms for promoting meaningful relationships among tenants in socially heterogeneous settings.

APPENDIX A.

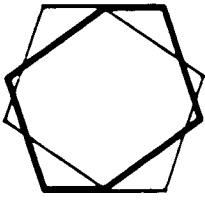
DATA COLLECTION FORMS

Initial Letter of Introduction

Standard Introduction to the Study

Respondent's Consent Statement

Follow-up Letter

APPENDIX A: INITIAL LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

The Graduate School and University Center
 of the City University of New York
 Graduate Center: 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

Dear [Tenant's Name],

The need for housing is a major problem for many older people living in this and other large cities. The Graduate School of the City University of New York is currently conducting research about housing and building design. Your building is one of the places we have been studying. In fact, we began our study of 125 Belmar Drive when the building first opened. Many of you provided us with valuable information at that time. Unfortunately we were not able to interview all of the tenants then.

Now that the building has been open for over three years we want to learn how well the housing meets the daily needs of the people who live there, and what people think of their building and neighborhood. The purpose of this project is to provide information to architects and planners with the hope that this information will help to improve housing in other settings. But it is only through the opinions and experiences of people such as yourself that we can gain the information so necessary for future planning.

We are not connected with the Metro Housing Authority, although they have given us permission to conduct our work at 125 Belmar Drive.

Within the next week I will telephone or stop by to ask if you would like to take part in this project. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide to be interviewed we will pay you for the time you volunteer. Any information that you give us will be confidential and anonymous. Your name will never be used for any purpose.

It has been my pleasure to have met many of you over the last three years. I look forward to seeing you again and to meeting those of you whom I don't know. While our work is completely separate from the Housing Authority and the Inlet Terrace Center, Mrs. _____ in the management office, and the staff in the Senior Center know me, and that I will be contacting the tenants. If you want to find out more about our study please feel free to call me collect at the City University of New York, (212) 790-4553 between 9:30 a.m. and 5:00 p.m.

Sincerely,

Linda Lewin
 Housing Studies Project

APPENDIX A (Continued):

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND THE INTERVIEW

Hello, Ms./Mr. _____. I'm Linda Lewin from City University. I wrote to you a few days ago about a housing study that we are doing. Did you get my letter? As the letter said, we are studying housing in different parts of the City and we're especially interested in housing for older people. Your building is one of the places where we have been working. Actually we began our work when the house first opened. Now that the building has been open for over three years, I'm asking all tenants if they would like to take part in a follow-up interview.

I'd like to tell you more about our project and then ask if you'd like to become a part of the study. Your participation is completely voluntary and if you decide you would like to be interviewed, we will pay you \$5.00 for the time you volunteer.

First of all, we have the permission of the Housing Authority to carry out our work at Belmar Drive, but we don't work for that agency or any other agency. The purpose of this project is to provide information to architects, planners and other professionals, with the hope that this information will be helpful in planning housing in other settings. While we cannot make any changes at Belmar Drive, nor can we provide any services, we hope that the things we will learn from you will help to improve housing for other people in the future. We need the opinions and experiences of people like you to gain this information.

Now I'd like to tell you exactly what's involved for you. There will be an interview, to be held at your convenience. We'll be talking about your general housing satisfaction--what you think of your apartment, building and neighborhood; and how well your housing meets your daily needs. We've found that we can't just look at housing without knowing something about the people who live there. So we'd also like to know some things about you--your age, health, and things like that--and also the way you spend your time, the people you see, relatives, friends and neighbors, and how well your housing fits into all of this.

The interview takes about an hour to an hour and a half, and I use a tape recorder. (IF PERSON ASKS WHY, OR APPEARS TO BE UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT TAPE RECORDER EXPLAIN--"That way I don't have to spend so much time writing things down, and can concentrate better on what you have to say." IF PERSON OBJECTS TO TAPE RECORDER SAY: "If you prefer we won't use it, and I'll take notes.") The things you tell me are strictly confidential and anonymous. Your name will never be used for any purpose. If there are any questions you would rather not answer, you just tell me, we'll skip it and go on to something else. Also, you are free to stop the interview at any time.

Do you have any questions about the project?

Could I make an appointment for you to be interviewed?

IF PERSON AGREES TO AN INTERVIEW:

I have some forms here I'd like to go over with you. By law we're required to have you read this--or I can read it to you.

(PRESENT CONSENT FORM AND READ IT TO TENANT UNLESS THEY PREFER TO READ IT ALONE.)

I also have a second form that I sign and give to you.

(READ INTERVIEWER'S STATEMENT, SIGN AND PRESENT TO RESPONDENT.)

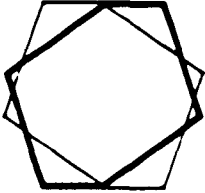
Do you have any questions?

Introduction to Interview

Now we can begin the interview. There are no right or wrong answers. I'm interested in your opinions and your experiences.

At the Close of the Interview

Well, those are all of the questions that I have. Are there any other things that you would like to discuss about living in the building that we haven't talked about? Do you have any questions? What did you think of the interview? When we do interviews like this we usually ask people not to discuss what is in the interview with the other tenants because we'd like to get their thoughts and opinions, without the person thinking about these things in advance--just as you have.

APPENDIX A (Continued):

The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center: 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

RESPONDENT'S CONSENT STATEMENT

_____ of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York has informed me of their project dealing with tenants' opinions of and experiences with their housing environments. I was told about the purpose of the project, the expected benefits, that my participation involves an interview, and the general content of the interview. I understand that my participation is completely voluntary. I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in this project. I have been informed that the interview will be anonymous and confidential, and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

I agree to participate in this project and acknowledge that I have received a complete copy of this consent statement,

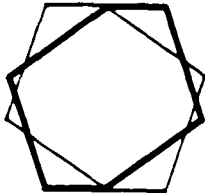
(response's signature)

(date)

I have informed _____ about the nature and extent of her/his participation in this project. I have made clear the general purpose and methods of this study and that her/his participation is completely voluntary. All information provided by this respondent will be kept strictly confidential. Anonymity of the respondent will be safeguarded in every feasible way. The respondent will receive \$5.00 in cash for participating in the interview. I certify that one copy of this statement has been given to the respondent above.

Linda Lewin

date

APPENDIX A (Continued): FOLLOW-UP LETTER

The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center, 33 West 42 Street, New York, N. Y. 10036

Dear [Tenant's Name],

I wrote to you some time ago about a housing study that is currently being done in your building by the Graduate School of the City University of New York. Unfortunately I was unable to contact you personally to tell you more about the project and ask if you would like to be a part of it.

The purpose of this work is to learn how well housing meets the daily needs of the tenants and what people think about their apartment, building and neighborhood. This information will be useful to architects, planners and other professional people in helping to plan housing in other settings. But it is only through the opinions and experiences of people such as yourself that we can gain the information so necessary for future planning. We would like to give every tenant a chance to be interviewed. Much of the success of this study depends on the number of people we interview. Each person has his or her own needs and opinions. The more people we talk to the more we can learn and the more likely it is that your particular point of view will be represented.

We are not connected with the Metro Housing Authority, although they have given us permission to conduct our work at 125 Belmar Drive. While our work is completely separate from the Housing Authority and the Inlet Terrace Senior Center, Mrs. _____ in the management office, and Miss _____ and Mrs. _____ in the Senior Center know me and that I have been interviewing in the building.

Within the next week I will stop by your apartment to tell you more about this project and ask if you would like to take part in it. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide to be interviewed we will pay you for the time you volunteer. Any information you give us will be confidential and anonymous. Your name will never be used for any purpose. If you would rather contact me to find out more about our study you can call me collect at the City University, (212) 790-4550 on Wednesday and Friday between 9:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m. If that is not convenient you can leave your name and telephone number at that number any weekday between 9:30 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. and I will call you back as soon as possible.

I look forward to meeting with you and I hope that you will want to be included in this important work.

Sincerely,

Linda Lewin
Housing Studies Project

APPENDIX B: THE INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW

1-3. Code # _____

4-6. Unit I.D. _____

7. When did you move in? _____ Year moved: 1. 1975
 (Month) 2. 1976
 3. 1977
 4. 1978

8. Do you live alone? OR Who else lives here with you?

01 lives alone	07 two sisters
02 with spouse	08 two brothers
03 with spouse and dependent child	09 with other relative
04 single parent with child	10 with non-relative
05 with spouse and dependent parent	11 with aide, homemaker
06 brother, sister	12 other
	99 N.A.

9. Where were you living before you moved here?

10. How long did you live there? (If less than 10 years go to Q. 11;
 if more than 10 years go to Q. 12)

11. IF #10 LESS THAN 10 YEARS:

How many places have you lived in during the last 10 years? _____

AddressLength of residence

12. How long have you lived in this neighborhood? _____

1 since move	5 11-19 yrs
2 2 yrs or less (prior to move)	6 20-30 yrs
3 3-5 yrs	7 31 yrs or more
4 6-10 yrs	9 N.A.

-2-

13. How long have you lived in New York City? _____
- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 2 yrs or less | 5 20-30 yrs |
| 2 3-5 yrs | 6 31 yrs or more |
| 3 6-10 yrs | 9 N.A. |
| 4 11-19 yrs | |
14. How much do you like your apartment - very much, somewhat, not much, or not at all?
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------|
| 1 very much | 3 not much | |
| 2 somewhat | 4 not at all | 9 N.A. |
15. And how much do you like this neighborhood - very much, somewhat, not much, or not at all?
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------|
| 1 very much | 3 not much | |
| 2 somewhat | 4 not at all | 9 N.A. |
16. What do you like most about living here?
(IF NOTHING/EVERYTHING: Well, are there particular things that you especially like?)
17. What do you like least about living here?
(IF EVERYTHING/NOTHING: What are some of the things that you don't like, or like least?)

-3-

18. If you could live anywhere you wanted, where would you like to live?

1 Here (Go to Q. 20)

2 Somewhere else (Specify) _____

(Go to Q. 19)

19. IF "SOMEWHERE ELSE" ON #18: Why is that?

20. Considering everything, would you say you like living here fairly well, very much, or not very much?

1 very much 2 fairly well 3 not very much 9 N.A.

21. What do you think of living in a building that has only older people?

IF UNCLEAR ASK: Do you prefer a building that has:

_____ only older people

_____ younger adults, but no children or teenagers

_____ all age groups

_____ the age of the tenants doesn't matter

-4-

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself. Here again, if there are any particular things that you'd rather not talk about, just tell me, we'll skip it, and go on to something else.

As I mentioned, to understand people's housing, it's important to know something about the people themselves.

22. First of all, how old are you? _____
(exact age)

23. Where were you born? RECORD RESPONSE AS GIVEN: _____

00 Austria	12 Ireland
01 British West Indies	13 Italy
02 Canada	14 Norway
03 China	15 Puerto Rico
04 Czechoslovakia	16 Poland
05 Denmark	17 Russia
06 England	18 Scotland
07 France	19 Spain
08 French West Indies	20 Sweden
09 Germany	21 U.S.
10 Greece	22 Yugoslavia
11 Hungary	23 Other
	99 N.A.

24. IF FOREIGN BORN: How long have you lived in this country?

(exact years)

25. IF FOREIGN BORN: AGE AT IMMIGRATION _____
(exact age)

26. Where was your mother born? _____

Code as in #23.

27. Where was your father born? _____

Code as in #23.

28. Do you speak any language(s) other than English? Which?
Are you able to carry on a conversation in that language?

CODE ONLY IF PERSON CAN CONVERSE IN THAT LANGUAGE

00 English only	06 Hungarian	12 Yiddish
01 Chinese	07 Italian	13 Other _____
02 Czech	08 Polish	
03 French	09 Russian	
04 German	10 Slavic	
05 Greek	11 Spanish	

-5-

29. Which language do you prefer to speak at home, or with your family and friends?

 Code as in #28.

30. Which language do you speak most often? _____
 Code as in #28.

31. EDUCATION - FOR FOREIGN BORN ASK: Did you go to school in _____?
 (place of birth)

FOR ALL: How many years of school did you finish? _____

0 none	4 high school grad
1 some grade school	5 some collage/business school
2 grade school grad	6 college grad
3 some high school	7 post grad
9 D.K./N.A.	

32. What is your religion?

0 Catholic	2 Jewish	4 none	9 N.A.
1 Protestant	3 Greek/Russian Orthodox	5 other _____	

33. IF UNCLEAR: Have you ever been married?

0 never married	2 widowed	9 N.A.
1 married now	3 divorced/separated	

34. IF WIDOWED, DIVORCED OR SEPARATED: How long have you been (W, D, S)?

0 one year or less	5 21-30 years
1 2 yrs	6 31 yrs or more
2 3-5 yrs	8 DMA
3 6-10 yrs	9 N.A.
4 11-20 yrs	

35. Do you work now?

1 yes, employed now	3 no, unemployed/disabled	9 N.A.
2 no, retired	4 no, never worked	

36. IF EMPLOYED NOW: What do you do?

Do you work: _____ full time

_____ part time -
 Hrs/wk _____

Have you always done this kind of work?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF NO: What did you do?

-6-

37. IF NOT EMPLOYED: What kind of work did you do?

38. IF WOMAN, AND EVER MARRIED: What does (did) your husband do?

H-R INDEX SCORE _____

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your health.

39. How is your health now - would you say it's:

1 very good 3 fair 9 N.A.
2 good 4 poor

40. How is your health now, compared to a year ago?

1 better 3 worse 2 same 9 N.A.

41. Are you under a doctor's care for any reason now?

0 no 1 yes 9 N.A.

42. What is the problem?

1 arthritis 7 GI major other specify _____
2 cataracts 8 GU
3 diabetes 9 heart
4 emphysema 10 hypertension
5 glaucoma 11 other skeletomuacular
6 GI minor 12 "hardening of the arteries"

43. Which of these things are you healthy enough to do without any problems?

Can you do:

_____ heavy work around the house, like washing walls

Can you:

_____ walk about 8 ordinary blocks
_____ go out to a movie, to church or a meeting
_____ visit people who live outside this building
_____ walk up a flight of stairs
_____ none of these

-7-

44. Which of these statements fits you best?

- I cannot work (keep house) at all now because of my health.
 I have to limit some of the work or other things that I do now because of my health.
 I am not limited in any of my activities now because of my health.

45. Have you been in the hospital at any time since you've moved in here?

No Yes

When was that?

46. During the time you were in the hospital, did you have anyone who helped you out with things like collecting your mail, watering your plants, things like that?

No Yes

IF YES: Who was that? IF NEIGHBOR SPECIFY WHO: _____
 (relationship)

 (relationship)

47. Did you have any sickness since you've moved in here, when you had to stay in bed, or stay in your apartment?

No Yes

When was that?

48. During that time did you have anyone who helped you out with food shopping, collecting your mail - things like that?

No Yes

IF YES: Who was that? IF NEIGHBOR SPECIFY WHO: _____
 (relationship)

 (relationship)

-8-

Now I'd like to ask you some general questions about yourself.

49. What things do you particularly enjoy doing - how do you like to spend your time?

50. In general, how happy would you say you are?

- 1 very happy
- 2 fairly happy
- 3 not too happy
- 4 not happy at all

51. What do you see as your main problems now?

52. What are the things you fear or worry about a lot?

53. Do you have anyone you can talk these things over with?

- 1 yes
- 2 no (GO TO Q. 54)

IF YES: Who is that? _____
(relationship)

(NOTE ALL CONFIDANTS MENTIONED)
IF NEIGHBOR: WHO IS THAT?

(relationship)

(relationship)

-9-

54. IF NO PROBLEMS/WORRIES: Well, if you did have something that was troubling you, is there anyone you could talk it over with?

1 yes 2 no

IF YES: Who is that? _____ (IF NEIGHBOR, WHO IS THAT?)
(relationship)

(relationship)

(relationship)

We've found that when we ask people about their satisfaction with their housing, it's important to know how housing affects their social lives. We'd like to ask you some questions about your relatives, friends, neighbors and other people you know.

IF NECESSARY: Before we begin, do you have a telephone?

_____ yes _____ no

IF NO: Why is that?

CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 55 ON PAGE 10.

-12-

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you ever talk with them on the phone?	y/n	y/n	y/n	y/n	y/n	y/n	y/n
How often?							
times/week	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
times/month	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
times/year	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

57. Would you like to see your relatives more or less often, or do you think there's about the right amount of contact now?

- more (general)
- more (selected few)
- less (general)
- less (selected few)
- about right (unqualified)
- about right (resigned)

58. FOR QUESTIONS 58 & 59, KEEP IN MIND ANY REFERENCES THE PERSON HAS MADE REGARDING BEREAVEMENT, ESPECIALLY ON THE QUESTIONS REGARDING HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND MARITAL STATUS. IF THE PERSON HAD MENTIONED THE DEATH OF A HOUSEHOLD MEMBER SINCE THE MOVE PROBE FOR THE FOLLOWING DETAILS ONLY IF NECESSARY. GO DIRECTLY TO Q. 59 IF THE PERSON HAS NOT MENTIONED BEREAVEMENT.

Death of household member since moving into the building:

yes no

IF YES: RELATIONSHIP

spouse other relative (specify) _____
 sibling other non-relative (specify) _____

WHEN did death occur? _____

59. Since you've moved in here have there been any (other) major changes or events in your family - that is those with whom you are close - such as: (a child getting married); any of your close family moving away, becoming very sick, or passing away? PROBE FOR EVENT: KINSHIP TIE: PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF PERSON IN QUESTION: AND WHEN EVENT OCCURRED.

RELATIONSHIP	EVENT	RESIDENCE	WHEN
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

-13-

60. Now I'd like to talk about friends. What does good friend mean to you?
How would you describe a good friend?
PROBE: Are there any other ways that you could describe how you think of
friendship? (NOTE ANY DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN "GOOD FRIEND" AND "FRIEND")

61. How many people do you consider good friends, in the way that you've described
a friend? (Also record spontaneous comments - e.g. "so many are gone now, moved,
passed away," etc.)

number named _____

COMMENTS:

IF RESPONDENT HAS NO GOOD FRIENDS AND NO "FRIENDS" ASK:

- a. Well, are there some people, other than relatives, with whom you do things?

_____ yes _____ no

- b. IF YES: Could you describe the kind of relationship that you have with them -
how you spend your time together?

- c. IF APPLIES: About how many people do you think of in this way?
_____ number. IF MORE THAN TEN, ASK: Who are the ones that are
the most important to you?

NAME AND DO CHART (Q. 62) FOR EACH IF IT APPLIES.

-15-

63. Would you like to see your friends more or less often, or do you think there is about the right amount of contact now?
- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> more (general) | <input type="checkbox"/> less (general) | <input type="checkbox"/> about right (unqualified) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> more (selected few) | <input type="checkbox"/> less (selected few) | <input type="checkbox"/> about right (resigned) |

64. Are there any things about your apartment or building that interfere with having friends or relatives visit with you?

no yes

IF YES: What kinds of things?

65. Are there any things about your apartment or building that make it easier for you to have friends or family visit you?

no yes

IF YES: What kinds of things?

66. Do you wish that you had more people that you were friendly with, or are you pretty satisfied with the way things are now?

67. Do you ever feel lonely? (Open - use non-directed probes)

-16-

68. Do you have any ways of meeting new people now?

_____ no _____ yes

IF YES: How?

69. If you (are/were) interested in meeting people that you could be friendly with, what things would you look for in them? (What would you like them to be like?)

70. Are there any things about living here that make it easier for you to meet people now?

_____ no _____ yes

IF YES: What things?

71. Are there any things about living here that make it hard for you to meet people, or become friendly with them?

_____ no _____ yes

IF YES: What things?

-17-

72. Now I'd like to talk about people who live in this building. What are they like - how would you describe them? PROBE: Any other ways you could describe them?

73. Are most of the people in this building the same or different from you?

same different both same and different can't say

In what ways? How would you say they are the (same/different)?

PROBE: Any other ways they are the (same/different)?

IF RESPONDS - "CAN'T SAY" . . .

PROBE: Why is that?

SAME:

DIFFERENT:

74. In other places that we've studied, we've found that people have different attitudes about having contact with the other people who live in their building. For example, some like to stick pretty much to themselves - not get involved; others want to be friendly with one or two people; some want to be active with a lot of people. How do you feel about that?

PROBE: Have you always felt this way or have your attitudes changed since you've moved in here?

75. Do you feel that there are enough people in the building with whom you have things in common?

yes no

IF NO: Why is that?

-18-

76. IF PERSON NAMED A TENANT AS GOOD FRIEND ON QUESTION 62 SAY:

We talked about good friends before, and you mentioned (NEIGHBOR) as one of your good friends. Are there any other people in the building that you think of as a good friend?

_____ no _____ yes

IF YES: Who is that? Anyone else? _____

OR

IF NO TENANTS WERE NAMED AS FRIENDS ON QUESTION 62 SAY:

We talked about good friends before. Would you consider any of the people who live in this building as a good friend?

_____ no _____ yes

IF YES: Who is that? Anyone else? _____

77. Of all the people who live in this building (other than household members) whom do you feel closest to?

NAME

APARTMENT

Why is that?

How did you become close with _____?

88. Do you ever do any of the following things with another tenant in the building, that is, do these things together?

	Yes	No	Who	Apt	How Often	Acq	Fr'ly	Gd Fr
go shopping								
go to the movies, a concert, or theatre (OTHER THAN GROUP TRIPS ARRANGED BY ITSC)								
go to church/synagogue								
go to the center downstairs								
go to another Sr. Ctr. in the area, or to a club meeting or other social meeting outside the building								
take a walk								
eat out together (other than lunch at the Sr. Center)								
Are there any (other) things like this that you do together with the other tenants? What?								

89. Now I'd like to go over the names of the tenants that you've said that you do things with, and ask if you think of them as acquaintance, someone you're friendly with, or as a good friend, in the way that you have described a good friend.

-28-

90. Of all the people who live in this building (other than household members) whose company do you enjoy the most?

(Name)

(Apartment)

Why is that do you think?

How did you become friendly with them?

91. Do you feel that you have enough privacy living here?

_____ yes _____ no

IF YES: In what ways?

IF NO: In what ways?

92. Do you ever do anything to avoid contact with the other tenants?

_____ yes _____ no

IF YES: What do you do?

IF NECESSARY: Why is that?

IF NECESSARY: Could you give me an example?

-29-

93. Did you belong to the tenant's association?

___ yes ___ no

IF NO: Why did you decide not to join?

___ dues	___ family responsibilities
___ negative feelings about officers	___ poor health
___ negative feelings about tenant members	___ no interest
___ too many other outside interests	___ work
	___ other/specify _____

IF YES: How often did you usually attend the meetings? _____

Do you think the tenants' association should be started again?

___ yes why? _____

___ no why? _____

94. Have you ever served as:

___ a floor representative
 ___ a tenant association officer
 ___ on a committee of the tenants' association
 ___ on the tenants' patrol
 ___ did you work on the newsletter
 ___ or take part in any other activity of the tenants' association besides going to meetings (specify)

95. Did you attend any of the parties that the tenants' association held?

___ yes ___ no

IF NO: Why is that?

96. Now I have a few questions about the Center downstairs:
 Do you belong to the Senior Center downstairs?

___ yes ___ no

IF YES: When did you join?

___ prior to move ___ after move

IF NO: Why did you decide not to join?

-30-

97. How often do you usually go there?

 number of times/week number of times/month

98. What do you usually do when you go to the center?

 lunch meet and talk to members talk to staff for social visit for specific problem/service activity groups (formal) art bingo ceramics dances exercise class handicrafts horticulture language class literature class theatre class writing class other / specify _____ Informal activities cards other games Other planned group activities Birthday party films lectures

99. Have you ever worked for the center:

 at the front desk in the office sold lunch tickets in the kitchen or done any other type of work down there? Specify:_____

-31-

100. Are there any (other) activity groups or classes that are not available now, that you would like the center to offer?

_____ yes _____ no

IF YES: What activities?

101. What do you like most about the senior center?

102. And what do you like least about the senior center?

103. Do you belong to any (other) clubs or organizations now?
(Include religious organizations)

_____ yes _____ no

IF YES:

<u>Which ones</u>	<u>Type of organization</u>	<u>How often do you usually attend</u>	<u>Location</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

IF NOT MENTIONED, ASK ABOUT CHURCH/SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP AND OTHER SENIOR CENTERS.

-33-

107. Are there any kinds of services that you need now that you are not receiving, or that are not available to you? By services I mean help with housecleaning, shopping, information about medical or dental care, or information about medicare or SSI - things like that?

no yes

IF YES: What kinds of things?

Are there any other types of help you need now, but are not getting?

no yes

IF YES: What? Anything else?

108. (a) Do you know about CASS?

yes (B & C) no

IF YES:

- (b) How did you find out about CASS?

I.T. Senior Center Staff

CASS Outreach

Other/SPECIFY _____

- (c) Do you have any contact with CASS?

yes no

IF YES: What kind?

counseling (SPECIFY TYPE) _____

escort service

friendly visitor

homemaker

referral to service agency

shopping, errand service

telephone reassurance

other _____

-34-

SEX 1 female
 2 male

RACE 1 white
 2 black
 3 Hispanic
 4 Asian

COMMAND OF ENGLISH

1 excellent
2 very good
3 fair
4 poor

RESPONDENT SPOKE WITH

1 no accent
2 a slight accent
3 a decided accent

LEVEL OF COMMUNICATION

1 full understanding of questions and answers
2 difficulty on some questions
3 major problem on many questions

ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERVIEWER

1 very cordial
2 cooperative
3 reserved
4 guarded
5 antagonistic

APPEARANCE OF RESPONDENT

- 1 meticulously groomed
- 2 neat
- 3 somewhat unkempt
- 4 disheveled

APPEARANCE OF APARTMENT

- A. 1 very neat, nothing "out of place"
- 2 neat, but "lived in look"
- 3 articles in disarray
- B. 1 densely furnished
- 2 moderately furnished
- 3 sparsely furnished

DESCRIBE RESPONDENT: _____

DATE: _____

TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN: _____

TIME INTERVIEW ENDED: _____

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW _____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: _____

APPENDIX C.STATUS SIMILARITY WITH RESPECT TO NATIONALITY

Note: Nationality is defined in terms of the country where the individual lived for two-thirds to 100 percent of her or his first 15 years. A specific country is defined in terms of the national boundaries that existed during that period of an individual's life.

Method I

Method I requires an exact match of nationality for two individuals to be considered status similar.

Method II

For Method II, countries are aggregated as indicated below. Targets are considered to be similar if their nationality matches the respondent's according to this aggregation.

Same = Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary

Same = Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland

Same = Columbia, Cuba, Puerto Rico; and foreign-raised Hispanic,
D.K. country

Same = British Guiana, Jamaica B.W.I.

Same = Poland, Christian; Russia, Christian

Same = Poland, Yiddish-speaking; Russia, Yiddish-speaking

Same = Denmark, Sweden

FOR THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES AN EXACT MATCH IS REQUIRED TO BE CODED SAME:

China	Germany	Martinique, F.W.I.
Cyprus	Greece	U.S. white
France	Italy	U.S. black

Method III

For Method III, countries are aggregated as indicated below. Targets are considered to be similar if their nationality matches the respondent's according to this aggregation.

Same = White foreign-raised, English-speaking countries. Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland

Same = White foreign-raised, non-English speaking countries. Austria, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland (Christian), Poland (Yiddish-speaking), Russia (Christian), Russia (Yiddish-speaking), Sweden, AND foreign-raised white--non-English speaking country--D.K. country.

Same = Hispanic-raised. Columbia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, AND foreign-raised Hispanic--D.K. country.

FOR THE FOLLOWING AN EXACT MATCH IS REQUIRED TO BE CODED SAME:

Martinique, F.W.I.

U.S. white

U.S. black

APPENDIX D.LIST OF SPECIFIC BEHAVIORS EXPLORED
ON SOCIOMETRIC QUESTIONS

- Question 78: Tenants who visit the respondent in respondent's home, for a social visit.
- Question 79: Tenants whom respondent visits in their homes, for a social visit.
- Question 80: Tenants with whom the respondent regularly talks with and spends time with at the benches.
- Question 81: Tenants whom the respondent sits with at (Tenants Association meetings, tenant parties, or other special tenant events/and Senior Center activities) in the Center space.
- Question 82: Tenants with whom the respondent discusses her or his "personal or confidential matters."
- Question 83: Tenants with whom the respondent discusses "a problem" or "something that might be bothering" the respondent.
- Question 84: Tenants who discuss their "personal or confidential matters" with the respondent.
- Question 85: Tenants who talk about their "problems" or "things that are bothering them" with the respondent.
- Question 86: Tenants for whom the respondent has provided the following type of assistance, within the past year:
- a. grocery shopping
 - b. errands (e.g., pick up something such as newspapers, medication, etc.)
 - c. collect mail, or water plants if tenant is away
 - d. help with fixing things around the house or cooking
 - e. go with tenant to the doctor or clinic
 - f. lend tenant something
 - g. mail a letter
 - h. keep tenants' keys
 - i. do banking for tenants, or take care of their checks
 - j. help in an emergency
 - k. translate for tenants (if applicable)
 - l. any other type of assistance.
- Question 87: Tenants who have provided the following types of assistance to the respondent, within the past year:

- a. grocery shopping
- b. errands (e.g., pick up something such as newspapers, medication, etc.)
- c. collect mail, or water plants if respondent is away
- d. help with fixing things around the house or cooking
- e. go with respondent to the doctor or clinic
- f. lend respondent something
- g. mail a letter
- h. keep respondent's keys
- i. do banking for respondent, or take care of her/his check
- j. help in an emergency
- k. translate for respondent (if applicable)
- l. any other type of assistance.

Question 88: Tenants with whom the respondent has engaged in the following off-site activities:

- a. shopping
- b. movies, concerts, or theatre (other than group trips arranged by the Center)
- c. church/synagogue
- d. visits to formal social organizations, such as senior centers outside of the building, national organizations, bingo parties, etc.
- e. walks
- f. eat out (other than lunch at the on-site senior center)
- g. "other" off-site activities (e.g., some of the men reported that they frequented a local betting parlor with other men in the building).

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