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# URBAN RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

by

MARY JOAN SCHEARER

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

1998

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Abstract

URBAN RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

by

Mary Joan Schearer

Adviser: Professor Leanne Rivlin

This study examined the salience of neighborhood change in residents' daily lives. It explored circumstances under which residents with different backgrounds expressed common or disparate perceptions of neighborhood life and change. The site was a moderate density, economically and ethnically diverse community in Brooklyn, New York. The primary data source was an interview with 88 community residents, based on extensive fieldwork. Women and Catholics comprised nearly two-thirds of the sample, and 74% were employed. Nearly one-half completed some post-secondary education.

While disparate views of neighborhood life and change emerged, perceptions shared among residents with different backgrounds were more common. Ethnicity was not generally found to significantly shape residents' perceptions, although Hispanic residents generally were more satisfied with the neighborhood than were non-Hispanic white residents. More recent arrivals were more positive about the area than were longer-term residents.


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In this neighborhood without dramatic deterioration or gentrification, change did not surface as monolithically disruptive to residents' lives. The changes cited most frequently as affecting residents' lives were increased crime, the growth of community groups, and the rehabilitation of apartment buildings. Only the first was considered detrimental. No single neighborhood change was identified by a majority of respondents as having exerted an impact on their lives in the community.

Residents' experiences most often affected by changes were their feelings about the area and their future in it, and their behavior in the neighborhood. Particularly the growth of community organizations and government-subsidized rehabilitation of apartment buildings made residents feel more positive about the neighborhood. Change-related behavioral impacts most often were limitations related to having to leave the area for desired goods and services. In this highly organized community, informal public life suffered more than did formal public life.

Multivariate analyses revealed that readily quantifiable outcomes were shaped by both discrete and experiential predictors. Experiential predictors explained noteworthy variance in housing-related perceptions. Combinations of discrete and experiential variables more effectively predicted broad neighborhood life, social life, and neighborhood change-related outcomes than did either discrete or experiential variables.

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The findings endorsed efforts to sustain diverse communities, critical to urban futures--particularly improved service delivery, housing maintenance, and intergroup relations.

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In memory of

Mary Noone Schearer

and

Walter P. Schearer, Sr.,

loving parents, teachers, and explorers.

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I am grateful to the residents and leaders of the community studied. They were very generous with their time and gracious in welcoming a stranger into their homes and workplaces. Their candor and deliberation allowed me to pursue this research.

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# Chapter One

## Introduction

The principal goal of this study was to understand better the ways in which neighborhood conditions and, particularly, changes are perceived by urban residents. Under which circumstances do residents deem neighborhood changes as important to their daily lives? For example, what do investment decisions on large- and small-scales mean in the daily lives of people living in urban communities? Is neighborhood change universally disturbing to residents or disruptive of their lives? What criteria do residents use to assess conditions and changes in their neighborhoods?

My original interest in this topic stemmed from the experience of growing up in a Philadelphia neighborhood undergoing public and private disinvestment. During the time I lived there--from the mid-1950s through the early 1970s, many stores, particularly those offering merchandise and services of high quality, left the neighborhood. It became increasingly difficult to find such services as bakeries, beauty parlors, movie theaters, supermarkets, pharmacies, and hardware stores. Conventional banks and insurance companies cut their services in the area. Utility companies and public service agencies closed local branch offices. Public and private service providers, from police officers to fuel oil delivery men, were less constructively responsive or complimentary about your address than they

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were about those in neighboring suburban communities. There was an extraordinary amount of real estate activity in the neighborhood.

Basically, I wanted to understand the processes operating within community disinvestment. What was happening? Why were these actions occurring? And of greatest importance to me, what did these phenomena mean to the people living in communities like this one? The literature about communities, community development, and "redlining"[1] described the mechanics of disinvestment and the early reinvestment efforts. However, I found it far more difficult to understand how these community changes translated into

---

[1]Redlining refers to the disinvestment which affected many cities as banking, insurance, and real estate institutions severely limited investment in particular geographical areas. In establishing lending priorities, these institutions literally drew "red lines" around areas which were no longer to receive conventional funding. People interested in "redlined" neighborhoods then had to rely on less desirable lenders (often because their terms were less generous than conventional lenders) such as mortgage finance companies, private mortgages, or government-insured agents. Other authors documented in detail the most notorious characteristics of redlined areas, viz., their proximity to minority populations, the age of housing stock, and the ready availability of more lucrative investment alternatives for lenders (Bowman, 1975; Boyer, 1973; Downie, 1974; Stokes & Tilzer, 1980). By limiting conventional investment in certain areas, including the availability of mortgages, insurance, and home improvement loans, institutional disinvestment affected neighborhoods in a number of ways: encouraging residents and landlords to defer housing maintenance, fostering rapid turnover in housing ownership, and ultimately promoting arson-for-profit and abandonment. Other researchers described the process of decline that occurred in neighborhoods when disinvestment was concurrent, as was not unusual, with real estate speculation and racial steering, the curtailing of even essential public services, and the availability of preferential borrowing terms to suburban homebuyers (Bowman, 1975; Boyer, 1973).

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residents' perceptions. There was a gap in the social science literatures related to this aspect of disinvestment. In fact, there was little in the broader literatures related to environmental change or the impact of government decisions on local areas, from which I could draw directly. It promised to be a fruitful area of inquiry.

I framed my research questions, did extensive pilot work in a community that was accessible to me, and conducted the study described below through the mid-1980s. It should be noted that the contribution of other research to this investigation is reflected in its placement within this dissertation. That which helped to shape the design is presented in the first two chapters. Literature available later in the course of conduct of the study is discussed in Chapter Four.

Throughout the early phases of content analyses and data analyses, the issues under consideration seemed farther from those receiving national attention than they were when I began the project. Still, the popular and advocacy press provide ample evidence that the neighborhood change processes that served as catalysts for this study are still underway in U.S. cities. Urban neighborhoods with substantial American minority populations have endured for decades with a lower level of private and public services than have neighboring communities. Residents of these communities have had to pay premium prices for poorer quality goods and services than have residents of

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predominantly white communities. Many issues considered critical by residents of the neighborhood explored in this study remain so there, as well as in other places across the country. Hopefully, policy makers will find the issues residents identified in this investigation worthy of more serious attention in the next decade than they have been accorded over the last decade.

It was my basic assumption, which had been supported elsewhere (Cybriwsky, 1978; O'Hanlon, 1982; Susser, 1982), that in shaping the jobs, housing, schools, shopping, and health care available to families, investment in communities also shapes the attitudes and aspirations residents develop about life in general, and about their roles in a particular community, as well as in a larger society.

At the time of the design of this project, research literature and the popular press were replete with stories of the changes continually occurring in, and which had come to characterize urban neighborhoods. These stories described the economic and political processes underlying the development of neighborhoods. Various authors had noted the roles such changes, including urban highway construction (House, 1970), deindustrialization (Harrison, 1982; Hartman, 1974; Goodman, 1979; O'Hanlon, 1982; Piven & Cloward, 1979; Susser, 1982), racial change (Aldrich, 1975; Eisinger, 1980; Molotch, 1972), and urban renewal (Cagle & Deutscher, 1970; Cybriwsky, 1978; Terreberry, 1969) played in residents' social activity, commuting time and costs, residential

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mobility and housing costs. Some suggested that such large-scale neighborhood changes influence family relations, neighboring habits, and overall mental health. Yet, there had been little systematic investigation of the meaning of neighborhood conditions and changes within the overall context of residents' lives.

Existing data did not explain what material conditions in a neighborhood mean to residents, given their purposes or objectives for being in a neighborhood at a particular time in their lives. Implicit within much of the scholarly and political discussion of housing and neighborhoods had been an assumption of a close relationship between the way people live, their aspirations and expectations for the way they want to live, could live, and, if they had free choice, would live, and the place where they currently live. Yet, little was known about the criteria residents apply to neighborhoods or about how well neighborhoods meet the expectations residents have for their lives in neighborhoods.

The project described here attempted to provide basic definitional information about residents' experiences of neighborhoods, describing what different residents want from a neighborhood and identifying some of the criteria residents use in assessing neighborhood life. It was an exploration of the importance of neighborhood conditions in the routine conduct of residents' daily lives.

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What are neighborhoods to the people who live in them? How do residents view their neighborhoods over time? During the 1980s,[2] these questions achieved renewed significance as dramatic shifts in the nature of private and public investment in U.S. cities and as increasing housing costs altered the face of urban neighborhoods. Macroeconomic changes, such as rising energy costs, industrial restructuring and the related deindustrialization of cities, were some of the forces that had, and continued to dramatically alter the land uses and populations characteristic of some urban neighborhoods (Goodman, 1979; Harrison, 1982; Piven & Cloward, 1979). These changes also accentuated what appeared to be a very public reassessment of the meanings and significance investors and policy makers assigned to neighborhoods and housing.

The variation in community interests and viewpoints has been particularly apparent in discussions in which housing and residential location were valued primarily as commodities with surpluses, articles to be exchanged for a maximal financial return. Policy analysts developed an argument from this line of reasoning to conclude that planned shrinkage of service delivery and planned gentrification might be necessary (Goetze, 1979). Such policy-making sessions often occurred without recognition of

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[2]Again, the data were collected from the early through the mid-1980s, with the primary data collection (interviews with community residents) extending from May 1983 through December 1984.

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the concerns and priorities residents brought to a neighborhood (beyond a concern regarding financial return on their investment), the contexts in which residents' concerns and priorities were rooted, and the variety of residential viewpoints held by residents with different housing and community experiences.

The variety (and sometimes related conflict over neighborhood values) raised two questions. First, to what degree should decision makers within and beyond a community value an area largely on the basis of its short-term economic return? And, to what degree should an area be assessed in terms of its capacity to meet other fundamental human needs (e.g., the way that area supports the needs of daily life) of its users? The current project attempted to identify some of the other fundamental human needs people bring to and seek to have met in their neighborhoods.

The main purposes of this study were to (a) identify some of the commonalities and differences in residents' perceptions of neighborhood conditions and changes and to (b) better understand residents' views of the implications of neighborhood conditions and changes for their future neighborhood experience. There seemed to be an urgent need for this information at the time. Decisions governing the shape of neighborhoods appeared to be made with an ever-decreasing awareness of, or concern for, the residential priorities and values of urban neighborhood residents.

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## Relevant Literature

### Definitions of Neighborhood

This investigation first required a review of existing research offering definitions of neighborhoods and changes influencing neighborhoods. Research and popular literature defined neighborhoods as commonly identified areas with institutions, markets, etc. serving a local populace--who are able to participate in a number of necessary and desired activities within a relatively small, easily accessible distance from their homes (Goetze, 1979; Schoenberg, 1979). Some investigators described neighborhoods as cohesive communities, offering residents such valued experiences as security, trust, and substantial involvement with neighbors (Cybriwsky, 1978; Fried & Gleicher, 1970). Others spoke of neighborhoods in a much more limited way--almost as convenient places to do household shopping (Goering & Rogowsky, 1978), and still others characterized neighborhoods as something in between--offering (in addition to readily accessible institutions and markets) distanced respect from one's neighbors most of the time ("manifest neighborliness"), and more involved neighborly attention in times of need ("latent neighborliness") (Smith, 1975). Such definitions suggested the variety of purposes served by neighborhoods and the related variety of meanings neighborhoods may hold for residents (Goering & Rogowsky, 1978; Smith, 1975; Wellman & Leighton, 1979).

Other research examined the spatial area residents

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consider their neighborhood. Researchers reported variation in the perceived geographical size of the neighborhood area, the nature and permeability of its boundaries, the importance of local social relationships, and characteristic uses of local public space, related to the length of time people have lived in an area and a resident's gender and socioeconomic status (Fried & Gleicher, 1970; O'Hanlon, 1982). Pilot interviewing for my study suggested that there were marked differences in the spatial areas male and female residents and long-term residents and newcomers considered their neighborhoods.

Existing research had not gone beyond these neighborhood definitions and suggestions to systematically investigate residents' own views of the most salient characteristics of neighborhoods. My study attempted to understand the spatial area residents considered their neighborhood and the neighborhood characteristics that were most personally important to residents, given their specific neighborhood experience and self-defined household needs (e.g., good schools and neighbors, child care, public transportation, public safety, low-cost housing for households of a certain size).

Changes in Neighborhoods

If anything has seemed to characterize neighborhoods, it has been their continuous "state" of flux. Neighborhoods rarely have been described in terms of conditions in an area at one point in time. More often, they have been discussed

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in terms of factors that have shaped them over time, including: cultural, economic, political, and technological reasons behind long- and short-term movements of different population groups (Bordewich, 1979; Harrison, 1982; Hudson, 1980; Jonassen, 1947, 1961; Molotch, 1972; Schoenberg, 1980); investment and real estate opportunities in an area (Bowman, 1975; Boyer, 1973; Downie, 1974; Stokes & Tilzer, 1980); changes in the relationships between the people of a local community (given their ethnic and economic background) and its larger society (Jonassen, 1947; Schoenberg, 1980); physical (location, specific land uses, density, age and condition of housing stock), social (Hollister, Auger, Walter, & Pattison, 1978; Zehner & Chapin, 1974), and economic (rate of housing ownership) (Cybriwsky, 1978; Hollister et al., 1978) characteristics of an area; and the presence of and the community role taken by local institutions, particularly churches (Jonassen, 1947; Kantowicz, 1980; O'Hanlon, 1982).

There were clear differences in the spatial/ geographical levels of analysis used in earlier studies. These ranged from Castells' (1976) description of the city as a product of history reflecting society's action in a particular place, through other investigators' examinations of the process of community and neighborhood change in particular communities (Cybriwsky, 1978; Eisinger, 1980; Hudson, 1980; Jonassen, 1947, 1961; Pfuhl, 1978; Schoenberg, 1980). Despite these differences, most researchers agreed

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that community change largely could be characterized as a gradual process, more likely to occur over several decades, rather than to occur as a sudden massive change. Eisinger (1980) identified a number of historical continuities in the process of ethnic change in three American cities. It remained to be seen, however, how urban residents saw the causal and temporal sequences, the scale of changes, and the particular influences and cues they considered important to their daily lives in their communities. This investigation sought information related to these topics.

Through the mid-1980s, neighborhood- and neighborhood change-related research attempted to identify specific characteristics of neighborhood dynamics that were most influential in people's experiences of neighborhoods. In descriptions of neighborhoods and the large-scale changes underway in some (e.g., the "revitalization" then occurring in many cities), researchers were able to describe the processes feeding such distinct community phenomena as gentrification and upgrading (Clay, 1979; Goetze, 1979), and to recognize the diversity in relevant household interests and community definitions (e.g., community with or without propinquity) (Janowitz, 1967; Webber, 1968, 1970; Winters, 1979). In addition, researchers noted the variety of adjustments residents make when facing a transition or new community order (Cybriwsky, 1978; Eisinger, 1980; Jonassen, 1947, 1961). There was some evidence regarding the specific nature of changes in neighborhoods--making some places with

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some types of residents more likely than others to undergo gentrification, or upgrading, or another change in existing neighborhood functioning (Goetze, 1979; Salins, 1979). Similarly, it was suggested that there were only certain situations in which such changes as an area's existing neighborhood image are important to the outcome of events in an area (Goetze, 1979).

A major concern of community and neighborhood researchers in the 1970s was the impact of disinvestment or "redlining" in urban neighborhoods (Bowman, 1975; Stokes & Tilzer, 1980; Urban-Suburban Investment Study Group, 1975). By the late 1970s, however, developments in international and national financial markets were highlighting positive and negative aspects of reinvestment phenomena (Winters, 1979), particularly gentrification (Bernstein & Wilson, 1974; Bordewich, 1979; Burton & Morley, 1979; Clay, 1979), displacement (Bernstein & Wilson, 1974; Clay, 1979; Cohen, 1980; House, 1970; National Urban Coalition, 1978; Rubenstein & Ferguson, 1978; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1981), and community responses to specific development plans (Thompson, 1979). In fact, there had been a call for research on the impact of displacement on low and moderate income residents (National Urban Coalition, 1978).

Various authors described the mechanics of changes occurring in urban neighborhoods--usually describing root changes or macroeconomic system changes and the translation

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of these large-scale changes onto the level of a community (e.g., local land use changes, population changes). The macroeconomic changes considered as protagonists of urban neighborhood change included: the deindustrialization of cities, rising energy costs, increasing housing costs, real estate and taxation strategies, and changes in the focus and mechanics of private and public investment. I seldom found an analysis of the integration of macroeconomic conditions with local community manifestations. There had been a few exceptions to this norm (Cybriwsky, 1978; Jonassen, 1947, 1961; O'Hanlon, 1982; Susser, 1982). Within its focus on residents' perceptions of neighborhood change, a principal concern of this investigation has been the nature of residents' awareness of material conditions in their community and residents' sense of the implications of these conditions for their daily lives in the community.

Residents' Perceptions of Neighborhood Change

Residents' perceptions of neighborhood change had not received much direct theoretical attention for a variety of reasons, not the least compelling of which had been the complexity of the problem--the range of actors, motives, other antecedents, temporal dimensions, and environmental conditions operating on a number of levels of influence.

There had been relatively little empirical investigation of the experience of residents remaining in neighborhoods undergoing substantial change, especially given the volume of research on the mechanics of the larger processes

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of neighborhood change. In addition to descriptions of the large-scale forces influencing particular local conditions, there had been empirical investigations of established residents' perceptions of newcomers to their areas (Cybriwsky, 1978; Molotch, 1972; Zehner & Chapin, 1974), the relationship of larger neighborhood conditions over time to residents' patterns of neighborhood involvement and "sense of community" (Cybriwsky, 1978; Hunter, 1975), and the criteria urban residents use in recognizing neighborhood changes (Winkel, 1979). These, and related works, suggested the variety of neighborhood characteristics residents consider important and the variety of characteristics of residents' experience that contribute most to their perceptions of neighborhood conditions. Research also suggested the need for more systematic investigations of this variety, toward a better understanding of the social, spatial, and temporal context of behavior in neighborhoods. The current project attempted to address these concerns by focusing its consideration of residents' neighborhood perceptions on those characteristics suggested by then-existing research to be the most salient components or dimensions of perceptions of neighborhood change.

## This Investigation

### Critical Assumptions of the Resident's Role

Research relevant to perceptions of neighborhood change had described the role residents play in the neighborhood

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change process in different ways. The current study presumed that urban residents take an active stance in their lives within the neighborhood. I assumed residents to be goal-oriented, active agents working on their own behalf, attempting to exert control over their own lives. They were expected to articulate the criteria they used to assess residential areas, as well as the substance of their perceptions and their activities related to a neighborhood. Implicit within this was another assumption that community residents did more than adapt to ongoing change. Instead, I expected that, over time, they extracted and used relevant information to construct a useable picture of a neighborhood or city (e.g., strategies to make themselves feel more capable of dealing with events still perceived as threats, and so, to lessen any perceived risk).

There was clear precedence for this approach in community research. In his 1945 work in Boston, Firey (1961) spoke about the residents' conscious decisions to leave or remain in the Italian North End that made that community a symbol of positive choice, of ethnic solidarity, rather than an area of minimum choice. Similarly, Jonassen (1961) described the particular residential priorities held by Norwegians in the Bay Ridge (New York) community and traced the cultural and economic roots of their residential priorities. He also described some of the strategies (including community organizations, migration) residents used to find a place where they could live in the particular

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way they wanted to live, to maintain the things they valued. The Norwegian community was more than a place of survival or a path of least resistance. Residents did not seem to be in either of these communities by default. Rather, they had deliberated over the capacity of a particular area to support their chosen ways of living, given certain (e.g., economic, ethnic) constraints.

This interest in the active role residents take in their communities was also reflected in the way my research concerns were addressed. To understand the consequences of neighborhood conditions and changes residents perceived, I examined their reports of any adjustments they had made in their chosen way of life or in their expected household routine. This path seemed more sound than predicating a view of neighborhood conditions and changes in terms of a one-way impact on residents or in simply relying on their opinions of change.

Rationale Underlying This Study

There were a number of ways to examine residents' perceptions of neighborhood change. Existing research suggested the personal and social importance residents attribute to their neighborhoods and provided some, if minimal, systematic information on residents' perceptions of heterogeneous communities. Research conducted prior to this study indicated that neighborhoods contribute to residents' feelings about themselves and their neighbors, that residents notice certain changes in their neighborhoods,

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that often there is some disruption of household functioning related to major neighborhood change, and that there seem to be fairly specific circumstances under which people report what goes on in their neighborhood as important to their personal lives in a community.

Yet, it was not clear what it was about neighborhoods that residents valued most, what particular neighborhood conditions or changes certain residents found disruptive, or what it was about certain neighborhood conditions or events that made them salient in residents' daily lives.

There were two major premises of the current study. The first was that urban residents were aware of neighborhood conditions as these affected or related to their daily lives. Residents would recognize whether these conditions affected their lives by, for example, increasing or decreasing household expenses, making it more or less difficult for household members to work or to provide for the household (e.g., availability of fresh produce, dry cleaning, or recreational opportunities of a certain quality and cost). The second premise was that residents would be able to describe the way conditions in their neighborhood affected their daily lives.

One investigator (O'Hanlon, 1982) questioned the feasibility of getting this information from any research form other than a case study. Although there were decided advantages to the information to be gleaned from case studies, there also were considerable advantages to the

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structured interview method used in my study. By the early 1980s, there was ample information in the literature (e.g., suggesting fruitful topics of inquiry, specific types of questions and population samples) to warrant a broader survey of residents' perceptions than that which would have been possible with a case study. In pilot interviews for this study, I found residents able to discuss their neighborhood in terms of their households' daily routines and plans for the future. Based on my preliminary fieldwork and the state of other research in the field, I elected to pursue this method of investigation.

Dimensions of Neighborhood Perception

In addition to reviewing the research methods used in earlier studies, I considered the content of neighborhood perceptions suggested by prior research. In the literature review and preliminary fieldwork, seven major dimensions of neighborhood perception emerged as elements essential to an understanding of neighborhood change in residents' daily lives. As such, these were topics about which residents might be questioned. The rationale for including each dimension is elaborated below.

Geographical definitions of neighborhood. This dimension was intended to identify the particular areas and sizes of the areas residents considered their neighborhoods, as well as to serve as referents for residents' other neighborhood perceptions. Certain people may have used and felt comfortable in only very limited areas of the

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neighborhood, while other residents felt free to travel throughout the neighborhood. This basic geographical information was intended to clarify some of the similarity or variation among residents' broader perceptions of the neighborhood.

Degree to which a neighborhood satisfies or "fits" household needs. This was another dimension of neighborhood life which had been noted as important to residents' neighborhood perception. Whether in terms of safety for children playing outside, access to transportation to work, availability of quality shopping, or desirable housing for elderly parents, residents described the crucial importance of this dimension--in interviews for this and other investigations. Responses offered in pilot interviews for this project suggested that some residents (e.g., mothers at home with children) had very specific concerns or criteria for their household's continued life in a community. Certain violations of those requirements (e.g., children becoming adolescents at a time when local gang problems had not been satisfactorily resolved) would make life in the neighborhood untenable for those residents.

In their analysis of the development of "poor people's" (social action) movements, theorists Piven and Cloward (1979) felt that one of the primary reasons people resorted to such drastic actions as mass protest and disruption was that, otherwise, they felt unable to satisfactorily lead their daily lives. Harvey (1976) described the struggles

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between representatives of labor and capital over the meaning of the built environment and definitions of quality of life. He felt it more important to consider the built environment in terms of a set of use values for labor (or "what it is to be human"), than in more conventional "capitalist" emphases on the commodities to be produced in a particular place. Within his emphasis on more contextually oriented research, Stokols (1981) cited the need to understand spatial behavior in terms of the support or disruption afforded one's personally important goals and activities.

Other research described the variations in self-perception, motivation, and social support associated with different "stages of family life" (Tamir & Antonucci, 1981). Among empirical investigations up to that time addressing this concern, perhaps those of Michelson (1973, 1977) had described in greatest detail and most clearly the variation in residential interests, needs and priorities over time, at various stages in the family life cycle. His work identified specific family life stages related to friendship patterns, the selection of housing and location, and general perceptions of single-family housing held by middle- to upper-income Toronto residents.

Importance of social factors in perceptions. The neighborhood assessment and change literatures, in describing what residents considered "desirable places to live," repeatedly noted the importance of social variables

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in residents' assessments (Kornhauser, 1952; Hollister et al., 1978). There was evidence that social variables occasionally overshadowed the importance of physical characteristics of areas (Cybriwsky, 1978; Fried, 1963; Hollister et al., 1978; Lamanna, 1964). Investigations of neighborhood residents' experience of urban renewal (Cagle & Deutscher, 1970; Fried, 1963), racial change and socio-economic change (Bernstein & Wilson, 1974; Cybriwsky, 1978; Molotch, 1972; Zehner & Chapin, 1974) described alterations in local social life (viz., loss of social activities related to neighbors moving, remaining residents' reluctance to initiate social contact with newer residents) and perceptions (of social isolation, etc.) which established residents reported to be some of the most challenging aspects of change they had encountered. A number of studies of communities experiencing change sought to identify characteristics of people established residents might consider "a desirable neighbor." The most crucial characteristics seemed to be status similarity (Jonassen, 1947) and an acceptance of local norms of property maintenance and social interaction and neighborhood attitudes (Clay, 1979; Cybriwsky, 1978; Zehner & Chapin, 1974). In addition to noting undesirable variation in particular behaviors characteristic of "undesirable neighbors," researchers mentioned established residents' concern with the perceived and actual impact of social variety on their property values (Molotch, 1972).

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There had been considerable exploration of the salience residents attached to local social homogeneity and heterogeneity. Studies of neighborhood confidence, preference, and satisfaction provided mixed support for the notion that homogeneity among residents was a crucial neighborhood characteristic for residents (Cagle & Deutscher, 1970; Coleman, 1978; Cybriwsky, 1978; Durand & Eckart, 1973; Harris, 1978; Hollister et al., 1978). Although there was somewhat more visible support for the concern with social homogeneity, this often came from investigations in cities with less ethnic diversity than the population mix seen in many larger, older U.S. cities. In his analysis of resident responses to a Toronto "Chinatown" redevelopment plan, Thompson (1979) reported less ethnicity/class interdependence than intraethnic diversity, based in social stratification in responses to the redevelopment plan. The authors of a critique of an established planning standard of social homogeneity cited a number of empirical studies of tensions in ethnically mixed areas but still proposed that good interethnic relations could be expected in neighborhoods characterized by ethnic heterogeneity but social status homogeneity (Soen & Agnon, 1980).

In directly examining residents' social preferences, the current project sought information absent from then-existing research. This study was conducted in a predominantly modest income, working class community,

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diverse economically, ethnically and racially, in New York City. As such, the responses elicited can be taken to indicate the extent to which and the manner in which social characteristics of a neighborhood were salient in the daily lives of residents living near people of different economic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds. Under which conditions are social factors important to residents' overall feelings about their neighborhood?

Salient neighborhood conditions and changes. What was it about certain conditions or changes that were of concern to residents? It was not clear that changes within neighborhoods, in themselves, were particularly salient to all residents. Among the residents I interviewed in the pilot phases of the research, many described change as an expected characteristic of neighborhood life. They felt that only under certain circumstances had neighborhood change become an issue in their lives. I wanted to know about particular circumstances in which neighborhood change had become an issue in resident's lives. I was interested in residents' perceptions of specific changes that had occurred (as reported by community activists, leaders and staff people of local service agencies) in the area over the preceding few years. In addition, I wanted to know how relevant the notion of neighborhood change was in their daily lives and if the changes I (and community activists, etc.) had identified were relevant to residents.

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Perceived impact of neighborhood conditions and changes. Researchers had suggested that people's lives were affected by changes in their neighborhoods, yet there had been little exploration of the perceptions of neighborhood change and its impact on residents who remained in a neighborhood through change. O'Hanlon (1982) dealt with perceptions of change held by remaining residents, but had not dealt with the impacts residents may have seen as related to change. Some research had described the isolation residents experienced in the midst of neighborhood change (Hartman, 1974; Terreberry, 1969; Weissman & Paykel, 1972). Investigators who considered "impacts" largely had done follow-up case studies with people forced to relocate because of major physical change in these neighborhoods (e.g., highway construction, urban renewal)(Colony, 1972; Fried, 1963; Northwood, 1975; Terreberry, 1969).

Residents' expectations about the neighborhood's future. Theorists had speculated on the ways in which people's economic, cultural (e.g., folk-urban), and racial backgrounds influenced their sense of and orientation toward the future (Banfield, 1970; Wright, 1980). These theorists posited that people from different economic and "subcultural" backgrounds differed in their basic desires, in their abilities to imagine a future, and in their capacities for behavior to maximize their achievements in the future.

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An empirical investigation of middle and working class residents' environmental images and preferences for future town development (Goodchild, 1974), though, found people from different classes equally capable of describing changes they considered objectionable. Among residents of a small English town (population 6,500), Goodchild (1974) noted that people from different classes recognized similar items currently in their town, but evaluated these items and prospective town "developments" differently. The distinctions seemed largely related to the specific needs of residents' households. For example, working class residents stressed the importance of local employment opportunities in their prescriptions for the area's future, while middle class residents placed greater emphasis on aesthetic improvements (which they hoped would enhance the already gracious style of country living they sought in this town). Whether one is planning strategies for local community organizing or service delivery, any assessment of current neighborhood "health" and projections for the future of an area requires an understanding of residents' expectations and plans for their local residential future.

Perceived residential options. There had been little explicit investigation of this issue as a factor in residents' perceptions of the areas where they currently live. However, the literature had suggested that the opportunities available to different groups had shaped their migration to other communities and their lives within their

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original communities. In studies of residents displaced by highway construction in Milwaukee (House, 1970) and urban renewal in Syracuse (Cagle & Deutscher, 1970), investigators described the important roles race and income played in residents' expressed choice of their relocation housing. Specifically, House (1970) noted that within the housing available to a Milwaukee household, given the city's established pattern of racial segregation, the variables that most affected relocation housing choices were racial and financial factors and housing quality. Klaff's (1980) description of the persistence of residential segregation and the need to assimilate subordinate groups into the mainstream noted that poverty and economic factors accounted for little of the residential segregation in American central cities and metropolitan areas. Using data from a three-year study of black and Italian communities in St. Louis, Schoenberg (1980) reported that the persistence of these ethnic neighborhoods and social networks appeared to be a product of the occupational and housing opportunities (largely a function of social discrimination) available to different groups, and of the structure of ethnic relations among these groups over their tenure in this country. Her analysis showed how larger societal forces had become critical determinants of ethnic solidarity or dispersion over time.

Research prior to the mid-1980s had been fairly limited in its investigation of the role residents' perceived

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housing alternatives played in their perceptions of their current neighborhoods.

Factors Within Residents' Experience Expected to Influence Their Neighborhood Perceptions

Then-existing research and preliminary fieldwork identified potential contributors to residents' perceptions of neighborhood conditions and changes. A primary objective of this study, however, was to go beyond an examination of the role of variables representing discrete characteristics describing residents or their lives (e.g., income, gender, age) to look at residents' neighborhood perceptions in terms of variables expected to more closely represent residents' actual experience in communities. In describing residents' experience, rather than only discrete characteristics of residents or their social groups, I expected to learn how much residents from various backgrounds had in common (and what the experiences and things were that they shared with their neighbors), as well as those things that distinguished them from their neighbors. People's lives in a community are complicated and colored by more than even such overriding single influences as residents' income or race,[3] their membership in formal organizations, or the size of their families.

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[3]Admittedly, these two variables exert a particularly powerful influence on residents' lives in terms of the housing, social, educational, political, etc., opportunities and constraints they afford residents.

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For example, two women encountered in the pilot phase of this research were the same age and race, lived with an employed spouse, had recently become involved with their respective block associations, and had almost identical houses, each with a tenanted apartment. Yet, one bought her home five years before the other (with a much lower mortgage), could charge a much lower rent of her tenant, felt that she did not need or want to be a wage-earner, enjoyed volunteer work in her community (begun as her oldest child entered school), and was prepared to care for her aging parents and parents-in-law should they require it. Along with her husband, the second woman earned a joint income nearly twice the income of the first woman's husband. She wondered if she could financially afford a childbirth leave from work, although she felt that she could afford long-term child care. These women's lives were even more complicated than this, but such an example suggests the number of factors contributing to their lives in this community (and presumably to their perceptions of life in the community), the similarities and differences in residents' experiences, the combinations of variables which could potentially alleviate or aggravate any difficulties. The second couple's income, in the absolute sense, was quite comfortable for two people and would easily meet their household's needs, were it not for their mortgage. The first couple's income just comfortably met their needs. The second couple reported being extremely cautious in their financial

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dealings. If they had a large mortgage, the first couple would be scrimping, the woman might have to become a wage-earner, cut back on her community work, and make other plans for the care of her children and (soon-to-be) elderly parents. As it was, these two couples had fairly comparable amounts of "discretionary" income after their housing costs were paid, but they had markedly different local experiences and needs, and presumably different perceptions of what was happening in the neighborhood.

To address such complexities of residents' lives, I examined residents' neighborhood perceptions using what I called experiential variables.[4] Preliminary fieldwork suggested that these variables might better represent the experience of the person in the neighborhood environment than would the single, discrete variables more traditionally investigated (e.g., race, income). My analysis of the experiential variables was an attempt to understand residents' neighborhood perceptions and the context of their perceptions in residents' daily experience and

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[4]These were ten variables which I felt described a resident's experience in the community; viz., (1) the economic and social resources available to a resident, (2) whether the resident was in the racial majority or minority in the area immediately surrounding her/his home, (3) whether or not the resident worked outside the home, (4) whether or not the resident had children at home, (5) whether or not the resident had friends and (6) relatives currently living in the neighborhood, (7) the percentage of the resident's life during which s/he lived in this community, (8) the household's per capita income after housing costs had been paid, (9) the resident's responsibilities to her/his household, (10) and the resident's appreciation of urban life.

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responsibilities within the community.

A number of empirical works urged investigators to pose more "multiplicative models of the interaction of independent variables"--to look at the nature of the particular interdependencies characteristic of certain phenomena in certain settings--whether class or race (Thompson, 1979), income and family size or occupation (Salling & Harvey, 1981), or race and status homogeneity-heterogeneity (Soen & Agnon, 1980). Stokols (1981) emphasized the importance of contextually oriented research. He felt that such an approach in environmental psychology potentially could reveal more about situational specificity of spatial behavior, and so, could better describe environmental experience than could examinations of more discrete variables.

Some of my interest in experiential data was based on field experience and drew from Escalona's theory of development (1968). During preliminary fieldwork for this project, I found residents from different backgrounds (e.g., ethnic groups, homeowners and tenants) expressing more views about the neighborhood in common than I had expected on the basis of then-existing literature considering single characteristics of people's lives in communities. For example, however important race and housing ownership were in shaping their experience in a community and views of that community, there often seemed to be something else in residents' experiences exerting a stronger influence on

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their feelings about their community. At this point, I reconsidered Escalona's (1968) emphasis on the developmental importance of experience. In work with children from a variety of childrearing situations, she found their developmental progress more clearly linked to a constellation of characteristics (e.g., parenting styles, feeding routines, relationships with siblings, objects available for child's play, contact with people beyond the household) that might provide certain valuable experiences, rather than to discrete stimuli. Children seemed to progress after they had had certain experiences (e.g., competence, the support of others), however they got them (whether from time spent with a sitter hired while parents worked, a mother who was in the home full-time, contact with other adults or siblings).

Similarly, I proposed that residents' experiences of a community were dynamic integrations of several characteristics of their lives. There were any number of ways to meet some basic needs (e.g., shelter, physical and social support, care for family/household), but I suspected that neighborhoods served residents best by providing ranges of alternatives from which residents can choose and select environmental opportunities that "fit" their needs and capabilities most adequately at any particular time.

Preliminary fieldwork and existing literature suggested examining the role of two groups of variables affecting residents' neighborhood perceptions. The first was a

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construct I labelled the Resource Set and the second was a group of nine single variables reflecting residents' neighborhood experience.

Existing literature referred to differences in neighborhood perception related to differences in residents' income (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979; Jones, 1973; Kornhauser, 1952). This factor clearly influences a resident's experience in housing and communities--what is available to a resident and much of that person's capacity to shape what is available. Yet, the standard income measures inadequately described the income residents actually had available for household use. These measures rarely considered such factors as the number of people dependent on household income or the major non-discretionary expenses (e.g., housing) a household had to bear. Another way to examine income was in terms of the money available after housing expenses were paid. Housing costs are a necessary expense and one which can consume a major portion of household income. The amount of money a household has available after housing expenses have been paid serves as a financial resource they can apply to other needs.

Researchers and activists alluded to differences in levels of attachment and general views of a neighborhood held by residents who rented and those who owned their homes (Hunter, 1975; Michelson, 1973). The different levels of community commitment, etc., often were attributed to homeowners' presumed greater "investment" in the area around

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their homes. I wanted to see how renting or owning one's home related to one's feelings about that area, what it was about owning or renting that contributed to a resident's neighborhood perceptions, and to what extent owning a home could be considered a resource for community residents. At that point, I could not predict the direction of influence in this relationship. I expected residents who owned their homes to be more positive in their views of the community and its future than would renters. Though, as tenants in this community characteristically moved within the community, I expected any marked perceptual differences between owners and tenants to be mediated by other variables (e.g., length of residence in the community).

The third component of the proposed Resource Set was a resident's formal involvement in local groups or organizations. Previous research indicated that residents involved in community organizations were aware of different information, recognized more alternatives regarding their communities, and usually felt more positive, more hopeful, about their communities than did residents without such organizational involvement (Fernandez & Dillman, 1979; Hunter, 1975). Some of my previous research in communities reaffirmed this notion. I found residents involved in community organizations aware of more plans for their area; more conversant in details of particular development, etc., proposals; more hopeful about the future of their area than were residents not involved in community groups. While

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research indicated that this sort of experience was related to residents' neighborhood perceptions, there was mixed evidence regarding the direction of the influence (Carr, Dixon, & Ogles, 1976; Cornelius, 1975; Hunter, 1975; Wandersman & Giamartino, 1980). That is, the literature was unclear as to whether residents who were more involved in their community had more positive feelings about their community, or whether residents who felt more positively about their community were more likely to participate in community groups or less formal community social life.

Residents were expected to differ in the neighborhood conditions they recognized as a function of local organizational involvement, but I could not predict the nature of the relationship between this variable and any impacts of changes on residents' lives. I assumed that local organizational involvement served as a resource for participants (e.g., providing information about various forms of assistance available in the community, social contact, and an enhanced perceived ability to influence the future of their community in ways that matter to them). It could make their lives in the community easier and so, support their lives in the community.

In the pilot interviews with community residents, I found some residents who belonged to work-related unions aware of a relatively large number of changes (particularly physical changes) in their community and eager to put these changes into a broader political and economic perspective.

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For example, they seemed aware of political and economic fluctuations on a community-wide, citywide, and national level that they felt were shaping some conditions in the community to a greater extent than were residents without this type of involvement. The finding suggested that another source of information about one's home area and a resource for neighborhood life was involvement in organizations outside the neighborhood (e.g., in a workplace group, in a city- or nationwide group organized around a range of issues). I had not located other investigations which described the role organizational involvement beyond the community played in neighborhood perceptions. Piven and Cloward (1979) discussed the necessary integration of people's experiences at work and in their communities, and other researchers (O'Hanlon, 1982; Susser, 1982) described the broad impact of industrial restructuring on modest-income communities. Yet, no one directly examined the relationship of experiences beyond and those within the neighborhood for individuals or specific groups of residents and their households.

Many groups organized around a variety of interests (e.g., noise pollution, family violence, senior citizens) at geographic levels larger than a neighborhood use their discussions and publish materials to address issues directly and indirectly relevant to members' immediate community (i.e., neighborhood) lives. To the extent to which such organizational involvement informs residents of

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alternatives, resources, etc., available to assist them or provides opportunities for social contact and skills development, I saw involvement in organizations beyond the community as a resource for community residents.

There was some suggestion in the literature that residents with friends and relatives living nearby might feel more positively about the neighborhood and that such social involvement could serve as a tie to an area and, to some extent, could ameliorate any stress related to changes in the neighborhood (Cybriwsky, 1978; Fried, 1963; Goering & Rogowsky, 1978). Local friends and relatives serve as substantial resources for residents, by providing tangible (e.g., sharing food expenses immediately before a payday, reliable low-cost child care, having someone available to receive deliveries without having to take time away from work), as well as intangible support (e.g., friendship, personal history, memories).

Resource Set. I attempted to construct this variable on the basis of existing literature and preliminary fieldwork, to include the characteristics of:

- household per capita income after housing costs had been paid,
- homeownership,
- formal involvement in local groups or organizations,
- formal involvement in groups outside the neighborhood,
- having friends living in the neighborhood, and
- having relatives living in the neighborhood.

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These characteristics were grouped on the assumption that several combinations of these supports could assist residents under stress and further buoy them in good times. I expected residents who experienced any strong combination of these to have more positive, hopeful perceptions of the neighborhood and its future than residents who experienced a dearth of these supports. I also expected this combination to be more strongly related to residents' perceptions than would be any of its components.

During preliminary fieldwork, there were indications that each of these variables offered a valuable support to residents, and that a variety of combinations of these variables influenced residents' experience in the neighborhood and their perceptions of the neighborhood. While there had been little mention of the role of so broadly defined resources, the research literature had noted the importance to neighborhood perception of a number of the Resource Set components.

Other experiential variables. In addition to considering the role the Resource Set played in residents' neighborhood perceptions, I examined the influence of nine single experiential variables. A review of the literature, along with my pilot work, had indicated that more traditional considerations of these variables provided a limited understanding of residents' views of their neighborhoods. Perhaps we could better understand residents' perceptions by examining aspects of their neighborhood

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experience, rather than examining single characteristics of their lives (e.g., race, income) that might influence their neighborhood experience in a number of unspecified ways.

The first single experiential variable suggested by preliminary fieldwork was the resident's racial majority or minority status in the area immediately surrounding her/his home. There were earlier examinations of the role of race in neighborhood life. These described how residents' race or ethnic backgrounds affected their experiences in and views of the neighborhood (Baroni & Green, 1977; Bernstein & Wilson, 1974; Hunter, 1975; Klaff, 1980; Schoenberg, 1980). Bogart and Hutchison (1978) found race to be an important factor in people's attitudes about the cause of social problems. They found race, especially when considered along with the particular community of residence available to different people, to be very important to residents' "selective perception" of changes in the local community. However, it was not clear whether there was a direct relationship between race and neighborhood perceptions, or to what extent it was a relationship mediated by income, home ownership, characteristics of the residential location (different people live in different places with different amenities, levels of service delivery, etc.), or by racial minority or majority status in one's neighborhood.

In many ethnically mixed urban areas such as the site of this investigation, a person's race/ethnicity historically has shaped the range of opportunities available

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to a resident, including housing, education, employment, and even the quality and cost of food a person can purchase. At different times, race/ethnicity has made a difference in the places to which people could walk safely in neighborhoods. With a capacity to influence so profoundly the environmental opportunities available to residents, race/ethnicity was expected to influence residents' perceptions.

I suspected, however, that majority/minority status in a neighborhood was a more crucial determinant of a resident's environmental experience (and so neighborhood perceptions) than was racial group identification in itself. Information about a resident's status relative to her/his neighbors was expected to give a better sense of the potential social opportunities or the social context available to a person than would ethnic identification alone. I examined residents' experiences in this vein by looking at their racial/ethnic identification, compared to the groups which were the majority and minority group in the census tract immediately surrounding any individual resident's home.

I was unable to predict the exact nature of any relationship between aspects of one's neighborhood experience which might have been a function of a resident's race/ethnicity and that resident's neighborhood perceptions. Presumably, the more severe any limitations (possibly related to race/ethnicity) residents had experienced, the more negative would be their perception of the local area.

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Such limitations might include a diminished sense of solidarity with neighbors and a lesser overall sense of security within the neighborhood. Yet, I could not predict how residents would describe their neighborhood if they felt their alternatives to living in their present community were extremely limited, however limited they found their current living situation.

The relationship between neighborhood perceptions and the next two experiential variables I examined could have been linked with the gender of a resident. In instances during the preliminary data collection where gender differences were apparent, it was not clear whether differences in neighborhood perceptions were primarily a function of experiences related to the respondent's gender-role upbringing (e.g., explicitly described limited environmental range of women from childhood), or whether other daily experiences such as having children at home or working outside one's home were more salient. Clearly, the latter two variables play a major role in determining the amount of time a resident (particularly a woman) spends in the community as well as the manner in which time in the community is spent. As such, these variables were expected to influence the way residents (particularly women) described their community across the full range of perceptual dimensions.

A growing body of literature described differences in the definitions of home and neighborhood perceptions held by

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men and women (Jones, 1973; Kornhauser, 1952; Mackintosh, 1982; Saegert & Winkel, 1980). However, relatively little research considered gender differences in neighborhood perceptions over time. Preliminary interviews with community residents suggested that women felt comfortable in more limited areas of the community than did men, and that men and women (particularly mothers) emphasized different aspects of community life in their perceptions (e.g., men seemed more aware of physical and property changes, while women emphasized social and personal safety issues more often).

In examining the roles working outside the home and having children living at home played in residents' overall experience of the neighborhood, I expected to find these variables exerting the sort of influence more often attributed directly to a resident's gender. I hoped to discover which neighborhood conditions and changes were recognized and assessed as a function of a resident's gender (and expected related variations in that resident's environmental range) and which were more likely a function of a resident spending much of the day away from home, or having to consider the welfare of children still at home.

The next experiential variables considered whether or not residents currently had <u>friends and relatives living in the neighborhood</u>. The literature suggested that residents with friends and relatives living nearby often felt more positive about their communities (Cybriwsky, 1978; Fried,

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1963; Goering & Rogowsky, 1978) than did residents without this kind of social opportunity. Literature relevant to this variable was summarized earlier--in the description of the Resource Set components. The research literature and my preliminary fieldwork suggested how important residents considered social factors in their overall assessment of neighborhoods, as well as the capacity of social involvement to ameliorate certain stresses under certain conditions.

I also planned to examine residents' neighborhood perceptions as a function of the percentage of their lives they had lived in this community. This was intended to complement existing information on the contribution of a resident's length of residence and age to neighborhood perceptions. There was evidence that residents differed in their community activities and feelings about the community (e.g., community commitment and satisfaction) as a function of the length of time they had lived in an area (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979; Hunter, 1975; Kornhauser,1952). Yet, there had been no conclusive evidence about the direction of influence or the nature of the relationship between length of residence in a community and community perceptions and behavior. Some of the limitations in the existing data may have been related to the framing of these questions in terms of length of residence, without considering them in more experiential terms (e.g., percentage of one's life spent in the community).

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I suspected the importance of this measure during the preliminary fieldwork--as young adults who had spent most of their earlier lives in this community described neighborhood changes with much of the same patient, historical sense of community change as some of the older people and very long-term residents. Newcomers were less nostalgic and longing for "the old days" than were the longer-term residents. In some ways, the recent arrivals seemed less demanding of the neighborhood. They placed different demands on the neighborhood than did longer-term residents. Presumably, recent arrivals made their decisions to live in this area based on its present, rather than past conditions. It also could be said that later arrivals may have a greater need to see their decisions as reasonable ones, thereby viewing the area in more positive (or less demanding) ways.

Many newcomers had less of the sense of a natural flow of change that many longer-term residents saw as characteristic of neighborhood life. I tried to better understand the extent to which such a sense of "natural" community change might be related to the percentage of one's life lived here, to age, or to years in local residence. Differences in this experiential characteristic were expected to be closely related to differences in residents' environmental ranges and the neighborhood conditions and changes residents identified, and I expected to find the influence of this variable mediated somewhat by other factors (e.g., age).

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I also examined neighborhood perceptions in terms of an index of the income a household had available for its use after some fixed expenses were paid (viz., housing costs). I considered the per capita income available to a household after housing costs.[5] Earlier research that considered the cost of housing had not examined the relationship between housing cost and neighborhood perceptions. It only identified the range of housing costs for a sample (Bielby, 1979). There was similarly limited information regarding the role of residents' income in their neighborhood perceptions (Kornhauser, 1952). I saw the measure of per capita income after housing costs had been paid to complement existing findings from measures of income and housing costs. It could provide a more accurate sense of the income residents had at their discretion than could income or housing costs measures alone. I expected available income to be positively related to positive feelings about the neighborhood currently and to residents' expectations about the neighborhood's future.

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[5]Based on preliminary fieldwork, I anticipated that some residents would be reluctant to give income-related information and that this measure might be difficult to construct. Most residents provided the constituent data. As is apparent from the range of responses, several respondents sufficiently underestimated income or overestimated housing expenses as to render per capita incomes after housing costs below zero. In addition, in asking residents to select a range within which their income fell, I was forced to rely on the midpoints of each of those ranges as the income indicator. I might have secured, just as easily, more precise information by asking residents to estimate their income to the nearest thousand dollars.

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Other investigators suggested the importance of residents' responsibilities to their households (Hunter, 1975; Michelson, 1977). I attempted to consider this variable in terms of the number and nature of residents' roles and responsibilities to their households. I wanted to examine the relationship between residents' neighborhood perceptions and household responsibilities to see which responsibilities different residents had to meet, which areas of household responsibilities the neighborhood had and continued to support, which it hindered, and which of these responsibilities residents considered most important for a neighborhood to support. I also hoped this measure would suggest where, if residents were exposed to other places during the day, they were able to find resources to meet their responsibilities to their households--in the neighborhood or elsewhere.

The final experiential variable I considered was an index of a resident's appreciation of urban life. In the preliminary fieldwork, I repeatedly noticed a difference among residents, with some markedly espousing the view I labelled Urban Appreciation, and other residents taking a more negative view of urban life. Urban Appreciation seemed to include four major elements, along which residents consistently differed: (a) an appreciation of a flexibility of lifestyle made possible by convenient transportation, (b) a toleration of diversity among residents, (c) an acknowledgement of social interdependence, and (d) a view of

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the local area as capable of serving a number of purposes besides being a homespace.

There had been fairly little empirical work related to this concern, and much of this relied on responses to attitude scales. There were investigations of the "components" of this measure, for example, cultural differences in acceptance of social interdependence (Jonassen, 1947) and greater tolerance for population diversity than previously expected (Durand & Eckart, 1973; Harris, 1978; Soen & Agnon, 1980). Through content analysis of responses to questions related to neighborhood definition and perceptions of neighborhood change, I planned to search for references to the four factors I considered important elements of Urban Appreciation. I expected to find residents differing in levels of "appreciation" also differing in their perceptions of neighborhood conditions and changes.

Those were the variables of residents' experience that I examined systematically. In addition to considering their relationship to residents' neighborhood perceptions as indicated in the hypotheses described below, I looked grossly at the area immediately surrounding their homes in terms of certain of its resources (e.g., recent financial investment in area, sanitation conditions, public assistance recipiency rate, per capita income figures for the census tract). There was evidence in the literature that residents of different areas described their neighborhoods in substantially different ways (Haney & Knowles, 1978) and

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that there were similarities and differences in the ways people living near one another described an area (Goodchild, 1974). Yet, there was little information related to the way residents within a relatively small geographic area experienced variations in local resource distribution. I expected that residents' neighborhood perceptions would reflect the conditions in the area immediately surrounding their homes (i.e., I expected residents in areas having relatively substantial resources to have more positive views of the neighborhood and its future than would residents of areas with relatively fewer resources). At that time, I could not predict the nature of the relationship between local resources and residents' perceptions of changes.

In the twelve years since these data were collected, other research has addressed these issues. In addition, the neighborhood has changed in several ways. In the last chapter, I will discuss the findings in relation to both.

Hypotheses Summary

I anticipated that there would be substantial similarities as well as differences in the ways people saw conditions and changes in their neighborhoods and in the ways they assessed the importance of these conditions and changes in their daily lives. The differences were expected to reflect variations in people's experiences and resources within and beyond the local area. I expected that people would report that neighborhood conditions and changes had affected their activities in, their feelings about, and

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their plans for their future in their community of residence. I proposed that the criteria residents used in assessing neighborhood conditions and changes would reflect less of what is considered rational economic decision-making, and more of what they considered personally important experiences. I hypothesized that residents' neighborhood perceptions would reflect broader criteria than those many planners and other policy makers consider important. One objective of this investigation was a better understanding of the range of factors residents considered important in their neighborhoods over time.

Hypotheses. The study addressed eight hypotheses, four of which were more basic or overarching to four others which were more pointed or specific. Both groups of hypotheses included propositions addressing commonality, as well as variability, in residents' perceptions of neighborhood change.

The basic or overarching hypotheses anticipated that:

1. In their neighborhood definitions and perceptions of neighborhood change, residents would describe the area in terms of its personal importance to them.
2. Residents' responses to questions on neighborhood definition and perceptions of neighborhood change would reflect an active stance in their lives within the neighborhood. I expected to find less evidence of residents passively dealing with conditions and changes in the neighborhood and more evidence of goal-oriented

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people:

- actively constructing an image of what was and had happened in their neighborhood and what was and had been possible for their aspired way of living,
- capable of articulating the criteria they use in assessing local conditions,
- making adjustments they deem necessary for life, given their needs and the constraints and opportunities under which they operate in the neighborhood.

3. Residents would describe and assess neighborhood conditions and changes in specific terms, rather than giving blanket affective evaluations.
4. Findings would reveal substantial diversity in residents' definitions and conceptions of the neighborhood, reflecting the variety of experience in communities that prior research and preliminary fieldwork suggested residents would have.

The four specific hypotheses anticipated that:

1. The following elements would be identified as some of the most important (and so, most frequently mentioned) characteristics of residents' neighborhoods:
   - relationships with neighbors,
   - particular household needs at the time, and
   - expectations for the households' residential futures and the future of the neighborhood.

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I expected residents to describe housing costs as important to the extent that financial resources available after these expenses had been paid facilitated or impeded other household endeavors (e.g., school, vacation expenses).

2. The predictors most closely reflecting people/environment relationships (or experiential variables) were expected to discriminate most among residents' neighborhood definitions and perceptions of neighborhood change. The experiential variables were expected to exert a stronger influence over the dependent variables (e.g., perceptions of neighborhood conditions and changes) than were single, discrete characteristics of an individual's community experience.
3. Residents would be most likely to describe neighborhood conditions and changes as having affected their lives in the community when they felt that community conditions and changes had forced them to make adjustments in their chosen ways of life or when these conditions and changes had in some way altered their expected household routines.
4. This sample, largely urban working and lower middle class, would place less emphasis on ethnic homogeneity as an important neighborhood characteristic than other investigators had reported.

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# Chapter Two

## Method

To explore answers to the questions raised in the first chapter, the study relied upon field research techniques. Preliminary fieldwork included a review of the area's history; a review of existing small scale and aggregate data on the area's then-current economic, physical and social composition; in-depth interviews with local community activists and leaders for their identification of the most salient neighborhood change issues; in-depth pilot interviews with community residents in the groups to be systematically investigated--to further identify the most important and fruitful areas of questioning; and more focused interviews with residents meeting the sample specifications. The primary data source was a structured interview with neighborhood residents.

It also should be noted that I lived in the community described in this report from the spring of 1983 through the summer of 1985. From 1978 through to the present, I have lived in three of its neighboring communities.

### Research Affiliation

These data were gathered as part of an ongoing program of research evaluating a government civil rights agency's community-intervention program[6] in Brooklyn, New York.[7]

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[6]The program (largely community organizing) began working in the area in April 1981.

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I was employed by the agency as one of a team of researchers evaluating the community organizing program. The ready access to neighborhood leaders and the various sources of aggregate data afforded by my involvement with this program carried with it additional fieldwork responsibilities beyond the standard field research concerns for the protection of respondents. The political situation, volatility, and diversity of the area warranted efforts to protect the confidentiality of remarks made by community spokespeople and residents to prevent jeopardizing their positions in the community.[8]

It was advantageous to work in this neighborhood at this time. It was a diverse community, with considerable resources to apply to its problems. As were so many neighborhoods in older U.S. cities, it appeared to be in a critical period in its history. The community had many ways of developing its resources, but was susceptible to the influence of interests (e.g., real estate speculation,

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[7]The identity of the neighborhood has been disguised to preserve the confidentiality of the activists and residents with whom the investigator spoke during this research. References which would identify the neighborhood have been deleted from the description of the setting and from the bibliography. Readers interested in these references should contact the author for the citation of concern.

[8]Confidentiality protection efforts included: assuring respondents of the confidentiality of our discussions and informing them that they need not answer questions they would rather decline, a standard consent form (see Appendix A), disguising the community's identity in reports, and having the intervention program's research director review research instruments to ensure that none of the questions would in any way disrupt community functioning.

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government agencies siting public facilities) not always committed to the long-term health and viability of the current neighborhood and its population. It seemed particularly urgent to identify the goals and priorities residents had for their neighborhood in its current functioning and for its future.

## Neighborhood Description

The site of the investigation was a Brooklyn, New York neighborhood which is identified as Port Hill throughout this report.

### History

Local historians refer to titles to this land dating from the seventeenth century, when the area was pasture and farmland owned by Dutch and Huguenot families. Its cemetery, the city's first great park, opened in 1838. By the mid-nineteenth century, the area was fast developing a thriving port. It prospered with the influx of immigrants, most of whom came from European regions with strong maritime industries. The newcomers were originally Irish and German, followed by Scandinavians, particularly Finns and Norwegians. They were drawn by the range of available work (everything from unskilled laboring jobs to highly skilled craftswork), as well as by the physical beauty of the area. The natural beauty of the hills rising from the harbor and the pleasant views were a welcome relief from the congestion immigrants found in the more densely populated areas where they first settled in New York.

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Port-related industries and low-cost housing were built side by side, particularly in the western part of Port Hill. This type of development, considered "haphazard" since the advent of zoning statutes, continues to characterize some sections of the neighborhood. However, by the end of the last century, real estate speculators and contractors had begun laying out streets and building the brick and brownstone row houses that characterize the exclusively residential sections of Port Hill. Also at this time, 24.5 acres of greenspace were set aside as a park--Hill Park.

The additional housing and recreational facilities were needed for the continuing influx of waterfront, dock, and warehouse workers and their families--now Italians, Greeks, and Poles. A subway line opened in 1915, changing a major avenue from a tree-lined boulevard into a bustling thoroughfare and contributing to the further development of the area. The neighborhood continued to prosper, along with the employment of residents at local industries. Local port facilities were at their peak during World Wars I and II, shipping troops and supplies abroad. The largest complexes, a military terminal and a 200-acre (civilian) terminal, included a network of piers, warehouses, manufacturers, and railroad sidings.

Beginning in the early 1940s, the neighborhood began to experience a number of changes which, according to local activists and long-term residents, dramatically altered local life. Many of these changes served as a continuous

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assault on Port Hill's physical and social integrity. Community activists have since recognized these changes as common to many neighborhoods and have seen some changes as local manifestations of national and international decisions and policies (e.g., at the national level, home financing policies and shifts in employment distribution; at the international level, characteristics of a post-industrial economy). The most notorious changes included:

- the construction of a highway over a major avenue, which cost the community 100 stores in a once vital commercial strip, displaced 1,300 families, and effectively separated an area of mixed land uses (including very low-cost housing) from the rest of the neighborhood;
- Federal home and highway financing schemes which fostered suburban development at the expense of urban neighborhoods;
- additional home financing, real estate and insurance schemes which encouraged higher rates of property turnover, arson, and decreased property maintenance in some sections of the neighborhood;
- a dearth of commitment among municipal administrators to sustain manufacturing and industrial work within the city. At the same time, states west and south of the city were enticing manufacturers with tax abatements to build modern, relatively low-maintenance plants staffed

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by non-union, lower-waged employees.[9]

- increased demands placed on the ever-decreasing resources of municipal service-providers;
- gerrymandering of political and service districts leading to the decreasing accountability of legislators and service providers to this community;
- designation of the neighborhood as a "poverty area," further stigmatizing Port Hill;
- parallelling these changes, the postwar arrival of the next immigrant group--Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic groups. Many local people came to believe that the lower level of home financing and maintenance, public service delivery (including police capability and interest in dealing effectively with serious gang and drug problems), and what was seen as the resulting flight of people with resources were directly related to the incoming Hispanics. A great deal of racial tension developed.

Conditions at the Time of Data Collection

Of the neighborhood's population of 98,646 (approximately 90,000 in the area I consider Port Hill proper[10]) at

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[9]For example, partially because New York longshoremen had originally fought development of a container port in the city, container port facilities were developed in neighboring New Jersey ports. More recently, local containerization was approved, and appropriate facilities were built on the Brooklyn waterfront (including Port Hill).

[10]The widest area residents and most community activists consider Port Hill is smaller than the official local planning district in which Port Hill is located.

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the time of data collection, 47.3 percent were Hispanic (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980). An estimated 46.6 percent of the residents counted in the 1980 Census were white.[11] Most of the remaining population were Asian (3.4%) or Black (2.7%). Fifty-three percent of the population were women.

A substantial segment of this community's population were elderly (over 65) (11.8%), as was characteristic of the New York City as a whole (13.5%) and the borough of Brooklyn (12.5%). The area was distinguished, however, by the great number of young people in its populace. People under 18 comprised 25 percent of New York City's population; young people were 28.3 percent of Brooklyn's residents. Community-wide, people under 18 accounted for approximately 31 percent of the population (this figure represents one of the largest youth populations in any community district in the city). The median age in this community district was notably lower (men = 27.3 years; women = 30.5 years) than the medians for Brooklyn (men = 29.0 years; women = 32.5 years) and New York City (men = 31 years; women = 34.3 years). In certain areas within the neighborhood, young people comprised an even larger percentage of local residents. In half of Port Hill proper's 38 census tracts, no less than 30 percent of the population were under 18 years of age. This age distribution

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[11]Because of the ambiguity of 1980 Census questioning on this topic, the figure for white population was estimated by subtracting the total number of Asians, Black, Spanish Origin, and other population groups from the total population. The remainder is given here as the estimate of white population.

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is reflected in neighborhood activists' focus on issues related to the area's youth and to youth-related crime (e.g., gang activity).

There was a high rate of home ownership in this neighborhood. In both New York City overall and Brooklyn, 23.4 percent of the occupied housing units were owner-occupied (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980). Of the 38 census tracts in Port Hill proper, 22 had owner-occupancy rates higher than the city and Brooklyn averages. Six of the Port Hill proper tracts had owner-occupancy rates exceeding 35 percent.

Reviews of 1980 Census and other aggregate data on various indicators of neighborhood conditions indicated that this area as a whole was in something of a middle ground relative to other neighborhoods in the city.[12] Health, public assistance recipiency, arson and other crime statistics over the five years preceding the main data collection placed Port Hill as a whole in the lower end of a middle range of city neighborhoods. In this review, Port Hill consistently appeared, along with a group of other "middle range" (and modest income) communities, to have substantially greater arson and crime problems, higher rates of public assistance recipiency, and poorer health than a block of higher income communities (including one

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[12]Prior to and during the data collection phase of this project, only the 1980 Census data were available and consulted. During the report-writing phase of the project, the 1990 Census was conducted. Those data are discussed in the last chapter of this report.

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immediately adjacent), and substantially fewer of these problems than a block of very low-income communities (including three nearby).

My emphasis on "the community as a whole (i.e., Port Hill)" is deliberate. Structured observations of physical conditions in the area and the comments of researchers and residents affirmed the current and historical existence of a number of "sub-areas" within the larger 1553-acre area the city planning agency considers Port Hill. Within this relatively small geographical area, the sub-areas are characterized by differences in population race/ethnicity, age, and income; land uses; and type and condition of housing stock. This investigation attempted to appreciate the expected diversity of housing and community experience and related perceptions among residents in different areas of the larger community.

The neighborhood also has been characterized by its community organizations. From its earliest days, Port Hill has boasted religious, ethnic, social, and civic associations. In the decade preceding the primary data collection, local organizations and activists tried to deal with some of the problems threatening the neighborhood (viz., housing deterioration; unemployment, especially among local youth; drug trafficking and related crime). Groups organized to expand the resources available to the community by getting to know their neighbors better and by getting to know the responsibilities and capabilities of local service

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providers. The accomplishments of these activists included the rehabilitation of small homes and multiple-family dwellings for local people of low and moderate income. The low-income housing rehabilitation effort was in response to substantial housing deterioration suffered in some sections of the neighborhood. It was part of local activists' commitment to maintaining a racially and economically diverse community (versus welcoming gentry to the exclusion of the low-income population currently living there). In the latter interest, Port Hill stood in direct contrast to a neighboring community where the loss of low-income residents seemed to be seen as a natural and welcome consequence of neighborhood revitalization.

Port Hill has been an area with substantial resources, yet one in some jeopardy. Historically, diversity has been its main characteristic. It is a neighborhood mixed physically and socially (economically, ethnically, and generationally). Historically, some tensions have accompanied this mix, but so have benefits. The area includes bustling commercial blocks, as well as peaceful and watchful residential blocks. It has a number of active community organizations; a good public transportation system; a number of religious, health care, and social service institutions committed to the continued development of the neighborhood; a solid, affordable and varied, if somewhat deteriorated, housing stock; some recreational facilities; irreplaceable greenspaces; some established and

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thriving shops and local industries; a recent (to the period of data collection) commitment of public community assistance programs; and renewed interest among private investors. Residents had to balance these attractions, though, with selective housing deterioration and arson, underemployment, drug trafficking and related crime, a less-than-constructively responsive police presence, the loss of quality shopping, and generational and ethnic tensions in neighborhood decision-making. Such problems could make the gentrification (which had begun as the primary data collection was undertaken), as housing prices in neighboring communities become exorbitant, seem less threatening. It should be noted, however, that there was some controversy over whether this area would be a target for gentrification among people within the community and outside observers (Salins, 1979). Throughout the period of data collection, displacement was a serious threat to low and moderate income residents--in some areas because of housing deterioration and in others because of revitalization efforts.

The most serious deterioration was occurring in those parts of the neighborhood closest to the water, areas zoned for light industrial use or mixed use. Much of this land was slated to be used as back-up storage space for more active containerport facilities. For some time, mixed use sections of the city had suffered from limited to totally unavailable home improvement loans and mortgage money. As a result, residents of these areas had particular difficulty

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maintaining their properties. To help ease the plight of homeowners in some of these blocks, city planning agency staff near the time of data collection had attempted to rezone the area to be more supportive of the existing land use.

As I embarked upon this study, I felt that this neighborhood was facing major changes over the next few years which might dramatically alter local land use, population, and interaction among the area's population. Given the scale, variety, and potential impacts of these changes, I felt that it was vital to understand the range and context of residents' views of the area, their needs in a neighborhood and their expectations about the future.

## Research Design

To understand how residents defined their neighborhood and how they perceived conditions and changes in Port Hill, I collected qualitative and quantitative data about the community from several sources over four years. In the twelve years since the core data collection, I have monitored events in Port Hill via ongoing review of the local and metropolitan media.

My original literature review suggested that a primary data source should be face-to-face interviews with local residents. With that in mind, I did considerable preliminary fieldwork which helped to develop the interview to be used with residents. In addition to helping establish rapport with respondents, the preliminary research shaped the

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sampling specifications for the interviews.

I wanted to speak with residents broadly representing the major groups in the area. To the extent that it was possible, I wanted to speak with residents who were in the middle-ground of the neighborhood, rather than those with access to far greater or far fewer resources than was typical of this community. I assumed that the more extreme situations would reveal more about the extremes of resource availability than about most residents' experiences within the neighborhood.

As was noted in the review of the literature, in the past, many variables had been formally examined as related to the nature of people's neighborhood experiences. Among those most frequently cited were home ownership or tenancy, race or ethnicity, and the length of residency in the neighborhood. As the preliminary fieldwork got underway, I recognized that these were key variables in this community as well. I determined that a critical period in the community's life had been the mid- to late-1970s. Life in Port Hill and publicity about the neighborhood had changed considerably since that time. The community leaders with whom the research team spoke advised us that it was during that period when the most recent substantial out-moving by residents occurred. With that information, I chose to recruit residents for the interview on the basis of these three variables--and to examine length of residency in terms of whether residents had lived in the neighborhood for

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longer than eight years, or if they were more recent arrivals. During the preliminary fieldwork, I also noted differences in the land use, as well as other physical and social conditions in different parts of the neighborhood.

Interview Rationale

I chose a structured in-depth interview with community residents as the primary data source, given the focus of this investigation--the salience of neighborhood change in residents' daily lives, and the state of the relevant information then available in existing research. Other investigators had described the crucial importance of perceptual data (Ahlbrandt, Charny, & Cunningham, 1977; Goetze, 1979), particularly when used to complement more traditional "objective" measures (Goetze, 1979; Krupat & Guild, 1980; Michelson, 1973).

Admittedly, there are limitations to reliance on self-report data for a full picture of neighborhood conditions as they are experienced in daily life in a community. A primary tenet of this investigation has been that it is crucial to understand neighborhoods as residents define and experience them. To understand the way people live in a neighborhood, I had to know more than what the neighborhood looked like, its land uses, the amount of money invested there, the ethnic composition of its populace, and the sorts of things people did in it. It was essential to know what residents considered important for their daily lives in the area, given the resources available to them and the demands of

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their lives within and beyond the neighborhood. People may want to do much more than they are able to do in a particular place, for any number of reasons. Perceptual data may tell us more about what residents really want to do in a space, beyond what (e.g., observing) their behavior might suggest. Behavior could be limited by a number of unspecified constraints. The fieldwork I did to develop the interview provided other types of information describing conditions in Port Hill, in addition to the perceptual information that was my primary interest.

Preliminary Data Collection

Fieldwork preceding the interviews began in the summer of 1980 and included the collection of the following data:

1. an ongoing review of existing material about Port Hill (e.g., newspaper clippings and promotional material describing local life; directories of local services; community development applications; city planning agency papers; studies related to specific development schemes),
2. structured observation of 208 blocks in Port Hill proper and other blocks in neighboring communities for familiarity with the area and to provide current information on local land uses, population, sanitation conditions, block associations and then-current real estate activity in the area,

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3. structured interviews with 32 community leaders[13] for their descriptions of the most salient neighborhood change issues, perceptions of relevant historical, current, and anticipated neighborhood conditions and priorities; and suggestions regarding the selection of residents to be interviewed in depth,
4. detailed observations of building and sanitation conditions on 56 sample blocks within Port Hill proper. I attempted to sample from a middle range of blocks, wanting neither those blocks that were in the worst condition nor those in the best condition.
5. obtaining from area spokespeople the names of contact residents on the 56 sample blocks,
6. updating information by field visits, attending community affairs and church services, reviewing local newspapers, meeting with local community organizers and city agency staffers,
7. reviewing 1980 Census data,
8. seeking additional sources of (particularly aggregate) information on the community. I wanted to further develop the data base on this community and to identify characteristics that might distinguish any sections of the community from the others.

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[13]These individuals most often were presidents of established community groups or officers of the local planning board. Many were active in a few community groups. In a few cases, a group's executive board was interviewed.

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9. piloting of the interview with 15 residents. The piloting cited here was of a fairly well-developed instrument, which had been constructed and refined in earlier attempts to try-out questions and instructions. With modifications, I piloted the survey with residents of the target community, though from blocks beyond the anticipated sample blocks. Finally, the interview was piloted with residents of the sample blocks.

Interviews with Neighborhood Residents

The core data collection occurred between May 1983 and December 1984,[14] when we[15] interviewed 105 residents who had lived in Port Hill for at least one year. Respondents were heads of households[16] and between 19 and 60 years of age. I tried to have residents interviewed by an interviewer of the same race/ethnicity. As nearly half of the community's residents were of Hispanic descent or origin, we developed a Spanish version of the consent form and the interview. The two Spanish-language interviewers recruited were fully bilingual. Later in this chapter, I describe limitations related to the availability of interviewers and the community's acceptance of certain interviewers.

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[14]The bulk of the interviews were conducted between June 1983 and June 1984, with the last six conducted in November and December 1984.

[15]The interviews were conducted by one of four women (one Latina and three non-Hispanic white women--one of whom was bilingual).

[16]I considered any adult as a head of household if that person made decisions for, and was responsible for larger household functioning.

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Sampling. For the interviews with residents, the sampling goal was to include those roughly representative of the neighborhood's population. Residents were selected to be invited to participate in the project on the basis of:

1. the level of resources available in the census tract immediately surrounding their home (two levels--sets of census tracts determined in advance to have more or less substantial resources relative to the norm for the community, yet still within its "middle ground"),
2. their home ownership or tenancy (two groups),
3. their length of residency in the community (two groups--less than or equal to eight years, more than eight years), and
4. their race/ethnicity (two groups--Hispanic and non-Hispanic white[17]).

The final sample is described in the next chapter. Table 1 outlines the key sampling specifications in terms of the study's 16-cell 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 design (see next page).[18]

Blocks were sampled throughout Port Hill. Individual blocks were selected for the sample from census tracts which were the middle ground of the area (i.e., neither those blocks that were in the best nor the worst physical and economic condition). The condition of a census tract was

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[17]Hispanics can be of any race, but throughout this report, references to "white" residents should be understood to mean "non-Hispanic white" residents.

[18]Throughout this report, single-page tables are incorporated into the text. Multi-page tables are found in the Appendixes.

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Table 1

Sample: Primary Discrete Variables[a]

| Length of Residence | Race | Area Resource Level | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Area 1: Fewer Than Community Average | | Area 2: Greater Than/Equal to Community Average | |
| | | Own | Rent | Own | Rent |
| Less than or equal to 8 years | Hispanic | n = 7 | n = 6 | n = 5 | n = 7 |
| | | | | | n = 25 |
| | White[b] | n = 6 | n = 5 | n = 8 | n = 4 |
| | | | | | n = 23 |
| | | | | | n = 48 |
| Greater than 8 years | Hispanic | n = 5 | n = 5 | n = 5 | n = 5 |
| | | | | | n = 20 |
| | White | n = 6 | n = 3 | n = 6 | n = 5 |
| | | | | | n = 20 |
| | | | | | n = 40 |
| | | n = 24 | n = 19 | n = 24 | n = 21 |
| | | n = 43 | | n = 45 | |
| TOTAL | | | | | n = 88 |

[a] These were the 16 major design cells.

[b] Hispanics can be of any race, but throughout this report, "white" should be understood to mean "non-Hispanic white."

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defined by physical observation of the area and a review of relevant census data. The detailed observation of physical conditions was undertaken to secure data then unavailable (to be provided later, in the 1980 Census data).

The sample was built as a "snowball," beginning with residents active in local organizations--to whom I had been referred by community leaders in the earlier phases of the project. Once the interviewing phase was underway, the recruitment efforts were expanded. At the close of each interview, respondents were asked to identify friends and neighbors they felt might be willing to be interviewed. As we progressed through the interviewing stage of the project, interviewers asked residents for references to acquaintances who were not involved in neighborhood groups.

In asking respondents for referrals to other residents who might be interested in participating in the project, interviewers described the sampling specifications to the respondents.[19] Fortunately, three-quarters of the respondents (75%) suggested other residents who they thought might be interested in the study. We then followed-up with a telephone invitation. This became particularly important as the other routes for finding respondents were far less

---

[19]In proceeding through the interviews, the sample was narrowed to fill the design cells. The sampling specifications became more focused and more difficult to satisfy. For example, in the later months of the data collection, referrals were sought to household heads under 60 years of age who rented their homes, lived in certain parts of the neighborhood, had lived in the area for longer than eight years, and were not active in community organizations.

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productive [viz., calling randomly selected names from a telephone directory (Cole's, 1984), leaving flyers describing the project in local businesses].

The acceptance rate for residents contacted through referrals from previous respondents was 62% (n = 71) and through cold calls, 22.6% (n = 34). For the recruitment effort overall, it was 39.7% (n = 105).[20] Clearly, the referrals were a tremendous help. They provided access to residents meeting the sampling specifications as well as to people who were receptive to the interview invitation.

The data collection initially proceeded smoothly and quickly. In the first 18 weeks, 51 useable interviews were conducted, 64 of the 105 interviews conducted overall. The response rate during the early stages was relatively high--most likely because these were residents active in community groups. However, when unaffiliated residents were targeted, the response rate decreased markedly. At that point, the pace of the interviewing slowed notably. As we seemed to approach the point of diminishing returns, it was decided to end that part of the data collection.[21]

There were 88 respondents in the final or "working

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[20]In calculating these figures, I did not count calls answered by children, very elderly people, those with hearing problems, or residents speaking languages other than English or Spanish (e.g., Polish).

[21]Following the pilot phase of the interviews, 105 interviews with community residents were conducted. Seventeen interviews were withheld from the data analysis presented here, because the respondents fell outside of some part of the original sampling specification (e.g., age, residence located within sample census tracts, being the head of household).

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sample." This report presents data for the working sample of 88 respondents.

The instrument. The primary data source for the project--a structured, in-depth interview (see Appendix B) with community residents--focused on seven topics identified as "dimensions of neighborhood perception." These topics seemed essential to understanding neighborhood change in residents' daily lives. I examined neighborhood perception along these dimensions: (1) residents' geographical definitions of their neighborhood, (2) the degree to which a neighborhood satisfied or "fit" household needs, (3) the importance of social factors in residents' perceptions, particularly the homogeneity and heterogeneity of neighbors, (4) salient neighborhood conditions and changes, (5) the perceived impact of neighborhood conditions and changes, (6) residents' expectations about the future of their neighborhood, and (7) the neighborhood options residents perceived to living in the area.

In previous research, some of these dimensions were found to be salient in residents' characterizations of their neighborhoods and changes in those neighborhoods. I included others as dimensions of neighborhood perception because of one of the project's basic assumptions--that three experiences most vital to a person's life in any community were (a) the ability to manage one's household, (b) a feeling of ease with one's neighbors, and (c) a sense of security with the future of one's residential area and one's

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own residential future. As such, I examined the salience of these three particular characteristics of neighborhood experience for residents. I included some of the other topics because local activists and residents cited these as crucial to a neighborhood's long-term health in the interviews done during the preliminary fieldwork. Still other characteristics of neighborhood experience were included to clarify the meanings or significance of primary dimensions.

Geographical definitions of neighborhood. First, I asked residents to define to their neighborhood in terms of the geographical/spatial areas encompassed. This question was intended to identify the particular areas and the sizes of those areas residents considered their neighborhoods, as well as to serve as referents for the residents' other neighborhood perceptions. It was to specify the parts of the neighborhood residents who lived four blocks apart were talking about when they said "This neighborhood has gone to the dogs over the past few years," or "This area is wonderful, you never could and still can't find a better place to live." I expected it to reveal whether certain groups of residents (e.g., women, Hispanics, newcomers) considered markedly different geographical areas to be their neighborhoods than did other residents.

Degree to which a neighborhood satisfies or "fits" household needs. This study investigated the degree to which modest income residents felt able to conduct their

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households' lives in this neighborhood as they chose. The study also attempted to understand characteristics of the local area which made it easier or more difficult for residents to conduct their everyday lives.

Importance of social factors in perceptions. I examined this third dimension of neighborhood perception because I presumed that residents' ease with their neighbors (if only from a distance or under certain circumstances) was vital to their satisfaction with the neighborhood and to its health. It may be important if only because the density of urban living requires a degree of mutual respect and appreciation of local norms of, for example, property maintenance and behavior in shared spaces.

Salient neighborhood conditions and changes. The fourth dimension I examined pertained to neighborhood elements that residents considered important to their lives in the community--whether these were conditions locally, changes in conditions, or events. Here, I explored those conditions, changes, or events which residents considered noteworthy.

Perceived impact of neighborhood conditions and changes. I was interested in "impacts," if any, that residents saw as related to then-recent conditions and changes in their neighborhood. I asked residents if they felt that any changes they had noticed in the neighborhood had affected their lives in any way. Then I inquired whether they felt that these changes had affected their feelings and behavior toward the neighborhood as a whole, their

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neighbors, the future of the neighborhood as a whole, or their future in the area.

Residents' expectations about the neighborhood's future. This was the sixth dimension of neighborhood perception investigated in detail. The project attempted to provide information about the ways in which residents from differing backgrounds in an economically and ethnically diverse urban neighborhood felt about the future of the community and their residential future in this area. In addition, I tried to understand similarities and differences in residents' views of the neighborhood's future that might be a function of particular needs residents brought to their current lives in the community.

Perceived residential options. The seventh dimension of neighborhood perception was an examination of alternatives to living in this neighborhood that residents perceived as available to them. An objective of this study was to better understand the way the residential alternatives respondents perceived might be related to their broader assessments of the neighborhood currently and their expectations and plans for the neighborhood's future.

The neighborhood perception dimensions were translated into interview questions addressing the:

- geographical area the resident considered her/his neighborhood (question 8),
- degree to which the neighborhood satisfied particular household needs at a particular time (questions 25, 28,

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29//18, 21, 22[22]),

- characteristics of a neighborhood that the resident considered most important (questions 10, 12, 27//10, 12, 20),
- neighborhood conditions and recent changes the resident considered most important to her/his life in the community (questions 31, 32, 48//24, 25, 48),
- neighborhood changes a resident recognized (question 33//26),
- gross evaluation of the changes the resident recognized (question 34//27),

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[22]The slash marks between some of the question numbers reflect a change in the order in which some questions were posed, made early in the data collection. The revised order was intended to improve the quality or richness of the responses. Basically, two sections of the interview (i.e., Neighboring and Involvement in Community Organizations) were moved from an earlier part of the interview to a later part. Questions originally numbered 16 through 22 became questions 41 through 47. The two sections included a total of seven, largely scale and forced-choice (i.e., no/yes) questions. After 17 interviews, approximately five weeks into this phase of the data collection, it was hoped that the change would make the interview flow more smoothly and lessen fatigue. The change moved forward the more demanding open-ended questions that were the focus of the interview, and posed these when respondents were fresher. The assumption was that respondents could address the simpler questions even with any fatigue that might develop later in the interview.
The wording of the interview introduction, the directions, and the questions throughout the interview remained the same throughout the entire data collection--for both the English and the Spanish versions. There was no modification of the questions asked, only a change in the order in which they were posed. The Spanish version of the interview posed questions in the same order as those of the English version in use at the time of the interview.
The questions were coded without respect for the order in which the questions were asked. Of the two sets of question numbers listed in this text, the first represents the original question order, the second represents the question order used from late June 1983 through the end of the interviews.

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- perceived impact of these conditions and changes (questions 36-41, 43//29-34, 36),
- importance of social factors in neighborhood perceptions (content analysis of responses to questions 10, 12, 27//10, 12, 20),
- neighborhood options a resident perceived to living in the area (question 47//40),
- future of the area (questions 44, 45//37, 38), and
- resident's own residential future (questions 42, 46//35, 39).

The Spanish version of the interview was translated by a native Spanish-speaker born in Puerto Rico and critically reviewed by two other Puerto-Rican native Spanish-speakers.[23]

Interview notes. Various characteristics of the conduct of the interviews are cataloged in Table 2 (see next page). The information in this table was recorded by the interviewer immediately upon completion of each interview.

As the table indicates, most interviews were conducted in English (73%) in respondents' homes (83%). Interviewers reported that respondents had the greatest difficulty responding to scale questions[24] and to the change list when the questions were read aloud. Fortunately, when interviewers offered the printed questions to respondents,

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[23]To save space, the Spanish version of the interview is not included in this report. It is available from the author.

[24]These were seven-point Likert scales.

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Table 2

Characteristics of the Interview

| | Percentage | Number |
|---|---|---|
| Language of administration | | |
| English | 72.7% | 64 |
| Spanish | 27.3% | 24[a] |
| Location of the interview[b] | | |
| Home | 83.0% | 73 |
| Workplace | 6.8% | 6 |
| Community intervention agency office | 6.8% | 6 |
| Elsewhere | 2.3% | 2 |
| Respondents having difficulty understanding questions as printed?[b] | | |
| No | 80.7% | 71 |
| Yes | 18.2% | 16 |
| Respondents having difficulty understanding questions as read aloud?[b] | | |
| No | 64.8% | 57 |
| Yes | 34.8% | 30 |
| Respondents having difficulty responding to any questions?[b] | | |
| No | 71.6% | 63 |
| Yes | 27.3% | 24 |
| Interview audiotaped?[c] | | |
| No | 15.9% | 14 |
| Yes | 84.1% | 74 |
| Duration | | |
| Range = 40 to 210 minutes | | |
| M = 83.6 minutes | | |
| Median = 75 minutes | | |

[a]This figure represents just over one-half of the 45 interviews with Hispanic respondents (53% of the sample, n = 24).

[b]Because data are missing for one case, the percentages are calculated on n = 87.

[c]At the beginning of each interview, we asked respondents if we could tape record the session. If s/he preferred that we not record it, the interviewer relied on hand-written notes as the record of the session.

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they were able to respond.

I wanted to determine if any of these difficulties were particularly common with specific interviewers, using the Spanish version of the instrument, for residents of a particular age, or among residents with less formal education. Most of the chi-square ($\chi^2$) findings related to the three possible problems (i.e., difficulty understanding the questions as read aloud or as printed, and difficulty responding to the questions) and five variables (i.e., age, race, use of the Spanish version of the instrument, interviewer, formal education) were insignificant. Yet, one interviewer, who conducted 15% of the interviews, was significantly more likely to report that her respondents had difficulty understanding the questions as printed than did the other interviewers ($\chi^2$ (1) = 27.15, $p$ <.001). Both of the bilingual interviewers reported that their respondents had difficulty understanding questions read aloud significantly more often than did the other, more experienced interviewers, who worked solely with the English version of the instrument ($\chi^2$ (3) = 10.48, $p$ < .05). Interviewers reported significantly more often that Hispanic residents had difficulty understanding questions as read aloud ($\chi^2$ (1) = 9.49, $p$ < .01) than did white residents. In cases where the Spanish version of the instrument was used, interviewers were more likely to report that respondents had difficulty understanding questions read aloud ($\chi^2$ (2) = 9.89, $p$ <.01) than they were when the English version was

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used. The higher the level of a respondent's formal education, the less likely it was that the interviewer would report that the respondent had difficulty understanding questions read aloud ($\chi^2$ (6) = 19.59, $p < .01$).

The problems identified were rather specific (i.e., responding to scale questions and understanding the change list directions as read aloud). The difficulties were compounded by having the less experienced interviewers using the Spanish version of the instrument. It is not clear whether the interviewers' responses reflect a low threshold for identifying problems (as stressed in my direction to them to report any difficulties with the interview process) as much as a genuine problem with the instrument or the interviewer's level of experience. Alternatively, Hispanic respondents may have been less familiar with interviews and questionnaires than were white respondents.

Two other noteworthy problems were encountered in the course of the data collection beyond those related to the interview instrument. These were difficulties building a sample meeting each of the original specifications[25] and finding experienced bilingual interviewers acceptable to the

[25]Although I sought a sample as closely representative of neighborhood residents as possible, the actual sample had more women, more people involved with local organizations, and was slightly older than the community average. I was unable to fill two cells of the design--to locate a sufficient number of white tenants of the lower resource areas of Port Hill who had lived in the community for more than eight years or white tenants living in the higher resource areas for eight years or less. Residents contacted in the first group often were older than the 60 year age limit for the sample. Many recent arrivals were opting to buy rather than to rent their homes.

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respondents.[26]

Data Analysis

I used a variety of data analytic techniques to gauge support for the study's eight hypotheses. The techniques included descriptive and inferential statistics, univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses. The statistics used are identified in the section of Chapter Three addressing each hypothesis in its turn.

Coding. Based on a content-analysis of responses to each open-ended interview question, codes were developed reflecting the level of complexity, as well as the content of sampled responses. For example, many responses to a number of questions included behavioral and affective

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[26]Another problem was an unanticipated limitation in the pool of interviewers community residents would accept. From the beginning, it was difficult to find skilled bilingual interviewers willing to do the very demanding and time-consuming interview, translation, and transcription tasks for the wages available. Originally, I planned to have each resident interviewed by an experienced interviewer, either a man or woman of the same racial background as the resident. As half of the interviews were to be conducted with Hispanic residents, I wanted the capacity to conduct the interviews in Spanish. Half of the interviewers were to be fluent in Spanish, as well as in English. The bilingual interviewers had to be able to communicate with residents from across Latin America (e.g., Columbia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico). The first experienced bilingual interviewers identified were Hispanic males. After orientation to the project, the community, and the survey instrument, the interviewers began to contact residents. After several weeks of steady work, it was clear that the community was not going to welcome male interviewers into their homes, or even to agree to meet the men in a public office of the sponsoring city agency. Other field researchers confirmed this preference, particularly common in Latino communities (Marin & VanOss Marin, 1991; I. Rodriguez, personal communication, August 1983; J. Rolon, personal communication, November 1987). With exclusively female interviewers recruited, the invitations were much more readily accepted.

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components, as well as precipitating neighborhood conditions. After determining that an inter-rater reliability of .90 or higher had been achieved, two raters independently coded the responses. This procedure was also followed for the forced-choice questions.

After reviewing initial frequency data on all the data entered, some response categories for the open-ended questions were collapsed to make further analyses more manageable. For most open-ended questions, residents gave multiple responses, which were coded in the order in which they were offered. The presentation of results in Chapter Three specifies the number of responses given for each question or part of a question. Where appropriate, I state whether the analysis is based upon the number of responses given or on the number of respondents.

In an effort not to "put words in people's mouths," the coding was conservative. For example, in recording responses to scale questions, where a respondent selected a point between two scale points, in coding, we noted that and assigned the lower of the nearest scale points as that person's response. Where a respondent could not give a definite "yes" or "no" response, we recorded and coded that response as an "other." If there is bias in the response coding, it has been a consistently conservative one. This may have contributed to a slight, but consistent under-estimate of the depth of respondents' sentiments on these matters.

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# Chapter Three

## Results

Responses indicated that residents were aware of neighborhood conditions and changes and were able to articulate in considerable detail their feelings about these conditions. Residents were responsive to investments in the neighborhood--whether large (e.g., large-scale housing rehabilitation) or small (e.g., tree planting). They attended to social and attitudinal, as well as to physical and economic changes in the area. While recognizing desirable and undesirable changes, residents most often were positive in their evaluations of the neighborhood. They were thoughtful and reflective and most seemed genuinely pleased to discuss the neighborhood. Residents' perceptions reflected an appreciation of the complexity of neighborhood conditions and changes and underlying distinctions among components of a phenomenon.

The findings of this investigation are presented in terms of the original hypotheses. This report presents findings related to the more specific hypotheses in detail and briefly summarizes findings related to the overarching hypotheses. Hypotheses in both groups address response commonality, as well as response variability.

### Description of the Sample

#### Overview

The interview sample was diverse. It included nearly equal numbers of Hispanic (51%) and white residents (49%).

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Respondents lived on blocks zoned for residential use, evenly split between those living in areas with more (51%) or fewer (49%) resources than the area's average level of resources. While many respondents were long-term residents, over half had lived in the area for eight years or less (54.5%). Over half of the sample owned their homes (54.5%). Nearly two-thirds were women (65.9%). Approximately the same number were Catholic (64.8%). Respondents' ages ranged from 19 through 60, with a median age of 36 years. Half of the participating households included children under 18 living in the home (50.6%). Most children were in households with two adults (89.8%). While there was a range of household composition, the median household included three members living in a five-room home. Respondents' median monthly housing costs were $450. Three-quarters worked outside of their home (74%), most commonly working in Brooklyn (42%). Their household annual income for 1982 ranged from under $7,000 to over $45,000 (median = $20,000). Most residents had relatives (62.5%) and friends (90%) living in Port Hill and over half socialized with their neighbors at least on a monthly basis (54.5%). Over 40% considered themselves active in the community. It seems fair to say that the sample represented the middle range of the community (i.e., rather than residents with extraordinary limitations or those with extraordinary resources).

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Tables 3[27] and 4 (see next pages), respectively, present the relationships among the major discrete and experiential variables.

Specific Demographic Findings

The following overview describes the sample in greater detail, and offers any evidence of statistically significant relationships among the sample descriptors.

Location of residence. Most respondents lived on the exclusively residential streets of Port Hill (93.2%, n = 82), rather than on the more commercial avenues (6.8%, n = 6).[28] The sample was nearly evenly divided between residents living in areas deemed to have less than Port Hill's average level of resources (48.9%, n = 43) and those considered to have resources equal to or greater than the average resources for the larger community (51.1%, n = 45).

Length of residence. Although more respondents lived in the area for eight years or less (54.5%, n = 48) than lived in the area for longer than eight years (45.4%, n = 40), their average length of residence was 14 years (median = 7

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[27]Many tables are incorporated into the text of this chapter, although I often refer to tables located among the appendixes for elaboration of the summaries presented within the chapter. Some tables are so lengthy as to be disruptive within the text. Those are included in the appendixes. At several points in this chapter, I provide an abbreviated table of significant findings related to an outcome within the text and refer readers to a related unabbreviated table in the appendixes for a full review of the relevant findings. Where two tables are provided, the table numbering is parallel. For example, the complete Table 29 is provided as an appendix and Table 29A, the abbreviated version, is incorporated within the text.

[28]Any residents of the avenues lived in those areas where the avenue was zoned and used strictly for residential use.

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Table 3
Correlations Among Primary Discrete Variables[a]

| | Home ownership | Area Res. Lvl. | Length of resid. | Race | Gende |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership | ____ | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. |
| Area resource level | | ____ | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. |
| Length of residence | | | ____ | n.s. | -.223 (n=88 |
| Race | | | | ____ | n.s. |
| Gender | | | | | ____ |
| Age | | | | | |
| Income | | | | | |
| Housing costs | | | | | |
| Household size | | | | | |
| Formal education | | | | | |

[a]The two-tailed significance: *** = p < .001, ** = p < .01. *

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a

| Race | Gender | Age | Income | Housing costs | Household size | Formal education |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | .5934*** (n=76) | .6760*** (n=81) | .2659* (n=88) | n.s. |
| n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. |
| n.s. | -.2232* (n=88) | .6058*** (n=88) | n.s. | -.2684* (n=81) | .2561* (n=88) | n.s. |
| ____ | n.s. | n.s. | .3309** (n=76) | n.s. | n.s. | .4135*** (n=83) |
| | ____ | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | -.2325* (n=88) | .3824*** (n=83) |
| | | ____ | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | -.3583*** (n=83) |
| | | | ____ | .4368*** (n=73) | n.s. | .4906*** (n=74) |
| | | | | ____ | n.s. | .2438* (n=78) |
| | | | | | ____ | n.s. |
| | | | | | | ____ |

** = p < .01. * = p < .05.



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Table 4
Correlations Among Experiential Variables (Excluding Urban

| | In racial majority/ minority | Work outside home | Children at home | Friends in area | Rela in a |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In racial majority/minority | ____ | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | -.24 (n=8 |
| Work outside home | | ____ | -.23* (n=87) | n.s. | n.s. |
| Children (under 18) at home | | | ____ | .27* (n=87) | n.s. |
| Friends in neighborhood | | | | ____ | .36*' (n=8' |
| Relatives in neighborhood | | | | | ____ |
| Percentage of life lived in this neighborhood | | | | | |
| Per capita income after housing costs have been paid | | | | | |
| Total number of responsibilities of responsibilities to household | | | | | |

[a]As this combination of variables was found not to constit
Appreciation with the other variables.

[b]The two-tailed significance: *** = p < .001, ** = p < .01.

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cluding Urban Appreciation)[ab]

| Friends in area | Relatives in area | Percent. of life here | Per capita income after housing costs | Total no. current responsibilities | Resource Set |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| n.s. | -.24* (n=88) | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. |
| n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | .39*** (n=73) | n.s. | .28* (n=69) |
| .27* (n=87) | n.s. | n.s. | -.42*** (n=87) | .41*** (n=87) | n.s. |
| ____ | .36*** (n=87) | n.s. | n.s. | .23* (n=88) | .40*** (n=69) |
| | ____ | .30** (n=88) | -.32** (n=73) | .23* (n=88) | n.s. |
| | | ____ | n.s. | n.s. | .26* (n=69) |
| | | | ____ | n.s. | .45*** (n=69) |
| | | | | ____ | .48*** (n=69) |

not to constitute a reliable scale, I did not attempt to correlate Urban

** = $p < .01$. * = $p < .05$.



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years). The range of length of residence extended from one year to 60 years.[29]

As indicated earlier, I wanted to consider the length of time residents had lived in the community in other terms as well. I calculated the percentage of her/his life during which a resident had lived in Port Hill. The range for this variable extended from three percent through 100 percent of respondents' lives lived in this community ($M$ = 33.1%, median = 19.1%, mode = 100%, SD = 30%). This measure was found to be correlated with the discrete measure length of residence in the community ($r$ = .67, $n$ = 88, $p < .001$).

Location of previous residence. Prior to living in their current homes, 41 percent of respondents had lived in either this or one of the adjacent neighborhoods (40.9%, n = 36). Another forty percent (39.8%, n = 35) had moved to Port Hill from other neighborhoods within New York City.

Home ownership or rental status. Over half of the respondents (54.5%, n = 48) owned their homes in Port Hill. The others rented their homes (45.5%, n = 40).[30]

Race/ethnicity. The sample was almost equally divided between Hispanic (51.1%, n = 45) and white (48.9%, n = 43) residents. In addition to examining race as what I have

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[29]This range was only limited by the sampling specifications that respondents were to have lived in the community for at least one year, to be household heads, and to be under 60 years of age.

[30]Thirty-nine respondents had always owned their homes, 36 had always rented their homes. The other respondents had had a mixed experience during their tenure in the community.

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termed a discrete variable, each respondent's status as a member of a racial majority or minority in the area immediately surrounding her/his home was considered. These figures were correlated with and mirror those just offered for race when considered alone ($r = .36$, $n = 88$, $p < .001$). Just over half of the respondents (51.1%, n = 45) were in the racial minority in the area immediately surrounding their homes, while 49 percent (n = 43) were in the racial majority in their immediate neighborhood. Hispanic respondents were more likely to live in areas where they were in the racial majority. White respondents were more likely to live in areas where they were in the racial minority. This information suggests that for Hispanic residents, historical residential segregation largely remained in place.

Residents were asked to specify their nationality or to provide some further ethnic identification.[31] The most frequent responses specified Hispanic (44.2%, n = 42), European (38.9%, n = 37), and American origin (9.5%, n = 9). The European descent responses most commonly referred to Irish (32.4%, n = 12 responses) and Italian (24.3%, n = 9) origin. The Hispanic responses most often represented Puerto

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[31]This information is presented in terms of the number of responses given, rather than the number of respondents--because the residents listing more than one nationality did not emphasize any one of the identities they listed. I chose to describe the sample in its widest breadth. Seventy-seven respondents provided this information. Fifteen gave two lines of descent, and three specified three different nationalities. There were 95 responses to this question, across the three possible points for listing ethnic background.

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Rican (66.6%, n = 28), Dominican (9.5%, n = 4), or Ecuadoran (7.1%, n = 3) heritage.

Religious affiliation. The ethnic composition of the sample appears to have shaped its religious composition. Nearly two-thirds of the sample were Catholic (64.8%, n = 57). The remainder were Protestant (8.0%, n = 7), Jewish (6.8%, n = 6), members of other faiths (10.2%, n = 9), or not aligned with a particular faith (10.2%, n = 9).

Gender. Despite efforts to vary the sample composition, the working sample was composed predominantly of women (65.9%, n = 58).

Formal education. With some variation, the sample largely was composed of high school graduates. The mean number of years of formal education was 13 (median = 12 years). Seventeen percent attended college, and another 18 percent were college graduates. Fourteen percent had training at or beyond a graduate level.

Household composition. The average household participating in this project had 3.2 members (median = 3.0, range = 1 - 7). Just over one-third of the households were composed of one or two members (36.4%, n = 32). Over half had three to five members (54.5%, n = 48).

Half of the residents in the sample had children 18 years or younger living in their home (50.6%, n = 44). Most families were small, with 84% of the respondents with children having one or two children then living at home. There were two parents in most of the families participating

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in the project (89.8%, n = 79). Nearly one-third reported having three or more adults in their households (30.7%, n = 27).

School enrollment. More families reported enrolling their children exclusively in non-public schools (50%, n = 19) than exclusively in public schools (42.1%, n = 16). The remainder of the households with school age children who provided school data (n = 38) had some children attending public and others attending non-public schools. The majority of children enrolled in non-public schools attended area Roman Catholic parochial schools. The children of residents earning between $35,000 and $45,000 per year were significantly more likely not to be enrolled in public schools than were the children of residents with lesser incomes ($\chi^2$ (5) = 14.51, $p < .05$). Similarly, children enrolled in non-public schools lived in households with significantly higher annual per capita incomes after housing costs than did public school students (t = 2.97, $p < .01$).

Respondents' ages. The sample included respondents aged 19 through 60, with a mean age of 39.2 years. The median age of 36 years was notably higher than the median age for the community district cited in the 1980 and 1990 Census reports (29.4 and 30.5 years respectively) (Schaffer, 1992).

Size of home. The size of the average home was 5.71 rooms (median = 5, range = 3 - 17), excluding bathrooms. Among the 85 respondents providing this information, nearly one-third (31%, n = 26) had homes of four rooms or less.

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Nearly one-half reported homes of five and six rooms (46%, n = 39).

Household density. The sample included households with a wide range of household densities (i.e., the number of persons in the household divided by the number of rooms in their home, excluding bathrooms). Among the 85 households for whom this figure could be calculated, densities extended from .11 to 1.67 with an average household density of .60 (median = .60). Women reported significantly higher household densities ($M$ = .66) than did male respondents ($M$ = .50)($t = 2.35$ (83), $p < .05$). Hispanic households reported significantly higher densities ($M$ = .70) than did white households ($M$ = .50) ($t = 3.10$ (83), $p < .01$). As might be expected, years of formal education negatively co-varied with density ($r = -.30$, $n = 81$, $p < .01$).

Housing costs. Respondents reported monthly housing costs ranging from $165 to $1293 ($M$ = $573.80, median = $450, n = 81). Three-quarters of the 81 residents responding to this question reported monthly housing costs under $867.

Employment. Nearly three-quarters of the sample reported working outside their home (73.9%, n = 65). Sixty percent worked full-time (60.2%, n = 53). Fifteen percent (14.8%, n = 13) worked part-time. More respondents worked in Brooklyn (42%, n = 37) than elsewhere. One-quarter worked in the neighborhood (25%, n = 22). Another 20 (22.7%) worked in Manhattan.

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Income. Residents reported annual incomes ranging from under seven thousand dollars to over $45,000.[32] The median income was in the $15,000 to $25,000 range. Of the 76 residents providing income information, twelve (15.8%) reported incomes under $7,000; 27.6% reported incomes under $15,000 (n = 21). Forty-one percent (n = 31) reported incomes between $15,000 and $35,000. Thirteen percent (n = 10) reported incomes between $35,000 and $45,000. The remaining 14 respondents (18.4%) reported incomes over $45,000.

The construction of other proposed indicators (e.g., per capita income after housing costs had been paid, Resource Set) required a more precise measure of income than these ranges. This estimate was derived by taking the midpoint of each of the income ranges posed to residents, and assigning that midpoint as the income for all residents who identified that income range as their own. This midpoint income was the measure used to show the role of income in correlations with outcome measures. The range for this measure (labelled INCOME2 in the analyses) extended from $3000 (n = 12) through $60,000 (n = 14) ($\underline{M}$ = $27,829; median = $20,000; mode = $20,000; SD = $19,022).

As mentioned earlier, I wanted to consider the income residents had available after they had paid their housing

---

[32]Interviewers presented ranges of incomes (e.g., $15,000 to $19,999, $30,000 to $34,999) and asked respondents to select the range that represented their household's income from all sources for 1982. Seventy-six (86.4%) respondents estimated their income. The others declined to provide this information.

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costs, as it seemed to be a more informative measure of the financial resources available to residents than either housing costs or income. I calculated an annual figure for per capita income after housing costs. It was strongly correlated with income ($r = .77$, $n = 73$, $p < .001$), and more modestly correlated with housing costs ($r = .30$, $n = 73$, $p < .01$). As might be predicted by the variation in the component measures of household size, income, and housing costs, there was wide variation in this measure. The range for this measure extended from zero[33] to $28,902 ($M$ = $8102; median = $5365; $n = 73$).

Relatives in the neighborhood. Most survey respondents had relatives currently living in Port Hill (62.5%, $n = 55$). This figure is notably higher than the figure for respondents with family living in the community when they moved into Port Hill (51.1%, $n = 45$). Residents with relatives living in the neighborhood had lived in the neighborhood for a significantly longer period of time ($M$ = 18.1 years) than had residents without relatives in the area ($M$ = 7.7 years)($t = 3.43$ (86), $p = .001$). Similarly, residents with relatives in the area had lived in Port Hill for a significantly greater percentage of their lives ($M$ = 42.3%) than had residents without relatives in the area ($M$ = 17.9%)($t = 4.01$ (86), $p < .001$).

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[33]Income after housing costs required an absolute figure, so a value of zero was assigned in six cases in which the data the respondent provided indicated that the household's per capita income after housing costs was a negative number.

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Friends in the neighborhood. Respondents were even more likely to have friends living in the community (89.8%, n = 79). Half of the respondents had friends living in the neighborhood when they settled in Port Hill (50%, n = 44). As might be expected, residents with friends in the neighborhood had lived in the neighborhood for a significantly greater percentage of their lives ($M$ = 35.0%) than had residents without friends in the neighborhood ($M$ = 16.4%) ($t = 2.96$ (16), $p < .01$).

Crime victims. Most respondents reported that they or someone close to them had been the victim of a crime in the last five years (71.3%, n = 62). Respondents described crimes that ranged in severity from purse-snatching to murder. As had been reported regularly in the local press, auto-related crime and burglary were frequently cited by this sample. In most instances (74.2%, n = 46), the crime was committed locally.[34]

As presented in Tables 5[35] and 6 (see Appendixes),

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[34]Because I anticipated that the severity of the crime might differentially affect a resident's views of neighborhood conditions, I also coded the most severe of the crimes a resident reported. Among the 61 residents providing this information, half (50.8%, n = 31) cited property crimes, 29.5% (n = 18) reported crimes against the victim's person (e.g., mugging). Twelve (19.7%) described violent crime (e.g., weapons-related assault, murder, rape).

[35]As in many tables to follow, data in Table 5 are arranged in terms of the categorical independent variables, followed by data for the interval-level independent variables. To the extent possible, within each of those two groupings, data for the comparable experiential and discrete variables are presented adjacent to one another. For example, data for the discrete variable race are presented next to those for the experiential variable in the racial majority/minority.

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there was relatively little systematic variation in residents' reports of crime or of the severity of the crimes they reported. Only two predictor variables significantly distinguished among residents' reports of crime victimization--race/ethnicity and gender. Hispanics were significantly less likely to report a crime than were white residents ($\chi^2$ (1) = 9.07, $p < .01$). White residents were significantly more likely to report crimes against property than were Hispanics ($\chi^2$ (3) = 13.23, $p < .01$). While not as striking as these two differences, whites were found to be more likely to report crimes against their person than were Hispanics, and Hispanics were more likely than white residents to report particularly violent crime.

In addition, men were significantly more likely to report that they, or someone close to them, had been the victim of a crime during the preceding five years than were women ($\chi^2$ (1) = 5.30, $p < .05$). In examining the differences in the severity of any crime reported, the most distinct gender-related differences were that women were one-third as likely as were men to report any crime and that men were twice as likely as women to report property crimes ($\chi^2$ (3) = 14.2, $p < .01$).

Responsibilities to residents' households. I proposed that residents' perceptions of neighborhood conditions would be colored by their household responsibilities. Interviewers asked residents whether or not, at the time of the data collection, they held any of a list of eight household

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responsibilities. Residents reported holding an average of 4.1 responsibilities (median = 4). Seventy percent were spouses (n = 62), 67% were parents (n = 59). Over half identified themselves as homemakers (53.4%, n = 47). Sixty percent were working full-time (n = 53), 14.8% were part-time workers (n = 13). Twelve respondents (13.6%) reported caring for elderly parents, thirteen (14.8%) were students, and ten cited any of a variety of other household responsibilities (10.2%). Residents of the area for longer than eight years reported significantly more responsibilities ($\underline{M}$ = 4.53) than did more recent arrivals to the neighborhood ($\underline{M}$ = 3.83)($t = 2.02$ (86), $\underline{p} < .05$).

Community activism. At the time of data collection, approximately forty percent of the respondents were active in the community--either in considering themselves active members of their church or temple (41%, n = 36), or by being active in the community in other ways (40%, n = 35)[36] [37]. Seventeen (19.3%) were active in groups or organizations outside the neighborhood. Predictably, two of these figures were consistent over time. Over 40% of the respondents were active members of their church or temple (40.9%, n = 36) and 19.3% (n = 17) were active in organizations outside the

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[36]In many cases (n = 19), residents who reported being active in their religious community were also active in the broader community ($\chi^2$ (1) = 4.02, $\underline{p} < .05$).

[37]Community activism was not a criterion for selection into the sample. Earlier in this report (see pages 68-72, 80), the sampling strategy and the related problems encountered are described in detail.

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neighborhood when they moved into the area. At that time, one-quarter (26.1%, n = 23) were otherwise active in local organizations.

Over half said they had joined clubs, organizations, or groups since they lived in the neighborhood (53.4%, n = 47). Another five residents reported exploring although not actually participating in local groups (5.7%).[38]

In addition to this indicator of organizational involvement, respondents were asked if they currently "belonged to any clubs, organizations, or groups outside this neighborhood." The latter measure merely reflects membership in groups, whereas the measure previously cited reflected the respondent's sense of active involvement in a group outside the neighborhood. Just over one-third of the respondents (36.4%, n = 32) reported belonging to groups outside the neighborhood.[39]

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[38]Residents who indicated that they had been involved with local groups were asked to identify the organizations. Up to four groups that each respondent might mention were coded. Most (n = 51) listed only one group. Across the four possible responses, grassroots groups (mentioned in 30.4% of the 112 responses to this probe, n = 34) and church groups (cited in 21.4% of responses to this probe, n = 24) were mentioned most frequently. The next most commonly mentioned organizations were education and youth-oriented groups (15.2% of responses, n = 17) and unaffiliated funded organizations (14.3% of responses, n = 16). The last category included the restoration committee and the redevelopment group as well as private social service organizations.

[39]Residents cited groups which included professional organizations (13.6%, n = 12), organizations beyond those originally listed by the interviewer (13.6%, n = 12), unions (12.5%, n = 11), political groups (8.0%, n = 7), citywide church groups (6.8%, n = 6), women's organizations (6.8%, n = 6), alumni/ae associations (4.5%, n = 4), fraternal organizations (3.4%, n = 3), musical groups (3.4%, n = 3),

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Resource Set. I proposed that examining a combination of six variables representing the economic and social resources available to a resident would be more informative than would an independent examination of any of the six. I hypothesized that these six variables might operate together to influence residents' neighborhood experiences and perceptions. The components of the Resource Set were homeownership, per capita income after housing costs, membership in local organizations, membership in groups outside the neighborhood, having friends in the neighborhood, and having relatives in the neighborhood.[40]

A figure was calculated for each resident who described the composite resources s/he had available. I assigned the summary Resource Set figure based on the following values for each of the Resource Set components:

| | |
|---|---|
| homeownership status: | renter = 1<br>owner = 2 |

---

craft organizations (2.3%, n = 2), service organizations (2.3%, n = 2), and a chorus (1.1%, n = 1).

[40]The exploration of this construct began with an examination of the correlation among the elements, using two-tailed tests of significance. Most component variables were independent of each other. As indicated in Table 7 (see next page), there were three very modest, yet significant relationships. Residents with friends in the neighborhood were significantly more likely to have relatives in the neighborhood ($r = .36$, $n = 88$, $p = .001$). Those who were formally involved in local groups were significantly more likely to be formally involved in organizations outside the neighborhood ($r = .23$, $p < .05$). The higher a resident's per capita income after housing costs, the less likely that resident was to have relatives living in the neighborhood ($r = -.33$, $n = 73$, $p < .01$).

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Table 7

Resource Set: Correlations Among Component Variables[ab] (n =

| | Per capita income after housing costs | Homeownership | Formal i in local |
|---|---|---|---|
| Per capita income after housing costs | ____ | n.s. | n.s |
| Home-ownership | n.s. | ____ | n.s |
| Formal involvement in local groups | n.s. | n.s. | ___ |
| Formal involvement in groups outside the neighborhood | n.s. | n.s. | .23 (n = |
| Having friends in neighborhood | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. |
| Having relatives in neighborhood | -.3302** (n = 73) | n.s. | n.s. |

[a]Two-tailed tests of significance were used.

[b]*** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

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riables[ab] (n = 73 to 88)

| hip | Formal involvement in local groups | Formal involvement in groups outside the neighborhood | Friends in neighborhood | Relatives in the neighborhood |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | -.3302** (n = 73) |
| | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. |
| | ____ | .2325* (n = 88) | n.s. | n.s. |
| | .2325* (n = 88) | ____ | n.s. | n.s. |
| | n.s. | n.s. | ____ | .3583*** (n = 88) |
| | n.s. | n.s. | .3583*** (n = 88) | ____ |



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per capita income after housing costs:
under $3,600 = 1
$3600 to $9000 = 2
$9000 or more = 3[41]

membership in local organizations:
no = 1
yes = 2

membership in groups outside the neighborhood:
no = 1
yes = 2

having friends in the neighborhood:
no = 1
yes = 2

having relatives in the neighborhood:
no = 1
yes = 2.

Using all of the contributing pieces of data, some of which residents declined to share with us, I was able to calculate the Resource Set for 69 residents. The basic descriptive data for this variable included a range from seven through 13 ($\underline{M}$ = 10.1; median = 10.0; mode = 9; SD = 1.6). These represent the Resource Set figures cited in tables which summarize the findings of the investigation.

Urban Appreciation. As indicated earlier, I proposed that a resident's general level of appreciation of urban life would shape her/his views of neighborhood conditions and changes. I hypothesized that this, intended as the last of the experiential variables, would be composed of four major elements: (a) an appreciation of a flexibility of lifestyle made possible by convenient transportation, (b)

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[41]This three-point scale was used after reviewing the original response range (described earlier in this chapter) and splitting that range into approximately equal segments.

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toleration of diversity among residents, (c) an acknowledgement of social interdependence, and (d) a view of the local area as capable of serving a number of purposes besides being a homespace.[42]

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[42]The coders gauged the presence of these components by counting the number of responses in these categories offered spontaneously by a resident in response to questions on neighborhood definition and neighborhood change (i.e., questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22, 24, 25, 29-36, 38). The coding decisions for these variables were very conservative. The respondent had to explicitly state the prescribed response category, not merely imply the sentiment targeted within a particular category. For example, I intended the second component, toleration of diversity to give some indication of residents' toleration of ethnic diversity within the neighborhood. In the early coding of this response, coders encountered many residents explicitly endorsing the notion of living among people from a wide range of age groups, although not mentioning ethnic or racial diversity. One of the study's objectives was to understand residents' degree of openness to ethnic diversity. As such, I elected to focus on references to ethnic diversity, and only note anecdotally that residents welcomed other forms of diversity which were perhaps less threatening than ethnic diversity.

In addition, residents offered responses that explicitly expressed appreciation of city living (e.g., "Brooklyn's a lot of fun to live in, provided you have the right frame of mind ... [where] others see crowds, I see kids playing and people trying to take care of their plots of gardens," "[here] you get a strong sense of neighborhood," "you can't beat the convenience of travel and shopping here," "I value being in a city," "I wanted the experience of living in a multifamily building and not a single family house--it's an entirely different experience," "[public] transportation makes life easier," "it's great if you enjoy living in a city," "I enjoy living in a city, with its opportunities," "it's really an old-time neighborhood neighborhood, a store on every corner," "you don't have to get in a car and go to a mall," "in a city I can get what I want," "[unlike a high-income suburban area 30 miles east of Port Hill] the cheaper living costs we have here allow us to send our kids to private schools, see lots of movies and take trips to [the family home in] the islands"), but were not related to the categories I originally specified. For this type of response, I added another 'catch-all' response category, and included it in the examination of the intercorrelation among the Urban Appreciation components.

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There were considerable differences in the frequency with which residents cited each of the potential Urban Appreciation components. Table 8 (see next page) summarizes the central tendency data on the construct components.

To determine whether or not this set of variables could be considered an amalgam or scale, a Cronbach's alpha internal consistency reliability coefficient was calculated. The coefficient was calculated along with item-total correlations. In the case of Urban Appreciation, it was found that four of the five items had modest (i.e., .36 - .39) item-total correlations, indicating that they measured different things. The fifth item had an even lower item-total correlation (i.e., .17). The total scale, composed of five items had an alpha of .48. As .60 would be considered a marginal level of reliability, the Urban Appreciation could not be considered a scale.[43] Any further analyses only could rely on the component items as separate variables, rather than the originally proposed scale combining the five components.

In conceptualizing this measure, I elected to focus on positive or appreciative views of urban life. This may have been too narrow a perspective for the range of views

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[43]As is described in the next chapter, some of the measures derived by counting the number of citations of specific behavior or experiences might be examined more appropriately in light of the respondent's overall verbosity. In those cases, the frequencies of certain references are noted as ratios (of relevant topics divided by the number of lines spoken) rather than the original frequencies alone. When the Urban Appreciation components were considered as such ratios, the alpha for the construct was even lower (alpha = .27).

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Table 8

'Urban Appreciation' Components: Descriptive Information (n = 88)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Appreciation of a flexibility of lifestyle made possible by convenient transportation | Range = 0 - 1<br>M = .068<br>Median = .000<br>% giving response = 6.8% |
| 2. | Toleration of [ethnic] diversity among residents | Range = 0 - 6<br>M = 1.091<br>Median = 1.0<br>% giving response = 56.8% |
| 3. | Acknowledgement of social interdependence | Range = 0 - 16<br>M = 4.852<br>Median = 4.000<br>% giving response = 96.6% |
| 4. | View of the local area as capable of serving a number of purposes besides being a homespace | Range = 0 - 9<br>M = 4.318<br>Median = 4.000<br>% giving response = 90.9% |
| 5. | Other urban appreciation comments | Range = 0 - 3<br>M = .273<br>Median = .000<br>% giving response = 19.3% |
| 6. | Total Urban Appreciation Score | Range = 0 - 27<br>M = 10.534<br>Median = 10.000 |
| | Percentage of respondents scoring above zero | % giving response = 98.9% |

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explicitly stated by residents. A later investigation might examine responses along a broader attitudinal spectrum (e.g., from disregard through appreciation of the issues raised by these components).

Although data related to this measure could not be used as originally intended, its construction revealed that most respondents spontaneously expressed toleration of ethnic diversity in the neighborhood. Many spoke with pride of the [great] "variety of people in [Port Hill]," some referred to Port Hill as a local "United Nations." Respondents spoke with sympathy toward newcomers whose customs (e.g., reluctance to deposit savings in banks) left them particularly vulnerable to victimization. Longer term Italian-American residents recalled the difficulties they encountered growing up in the formerly Scandinavian neighborhood, which was often less than welcoming to outsiders. These established residents saw an ethnically diverse neighborhood as a healthy one.

In addition, nearly all respondents acknowledged social interdependence in the neighborhood and saw the neighborhood as capable of serving a number of purposes beyond being a homespace. Some respondents described their desired neighborhood as place in which youngsters could safely test their independence by walking to the movies alone, or with their friends, in the evening. They cherished the neighborhood in which they could informally socialize while walking children in carriages or window shopping.

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The sample included Hispanic and white residents, homeowners and tenants, recent arrivals to Port Hill and long-term residents, residents with and without children at home, people with greater or lesser resources, and those with higher and lower incomes, expenses, and housing costs. In sum, it seemed to represent the middle range of the community, rather than residents with extraordinary limitations or resources.

## Findings Related to the Overarching Hypotheses

As indicated earlier, although this research addressed eight hypotheses overall, four were more basic or overarching to four others which were rather specific. The overarching propositions are summarized very briefly, and the bulk of the report discusses findings related to the four more pointed hypotheses. As three of the overarching hypotheses initially were construed as a foundation for the others, this set is presented first among the reported findings.

### Neighborhood Definitions and Perceptions: Matters of Personal Importance

The first hypothesis anticipated that residents would describe Port Hill in terms of its personal importance to them. To assess the soundness of this hypothesis, I reviewed residents' responses to the principal questions related to neighborhood definition and perceptions of neighborhood change. Nearly half of these questions were open-ended. Two questions asked residents to rate the neighborhood on a

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seven-point scale and eight other questions required a yes/no answer. In these cases, interviewers probed a resident's core response.

As anticipated, many of the most commonly cited issues were matters of personal [and household] importance. Across their responses to the major open-ended questions,[44] more residents cited the following topics than cited any other characteristics of neighborhood life: good relations among residents, personal safety, and with lesser but equal frequency among them, the pleasant and sound physical condition of the neighborhood, good public service delivery, and the ready availability of good shopping.

Active Stance in Life Within the Neighborhood

The second hypothesis proposed that residents' responses to the questions on neighborhood definition and perceptions of neighborhood change would reflect an active stance in their lives in Port Hill. That is, I expected to find less evidence of residents passively dealing with conditions and changes in the neighborhood and more evidence of residents as goal-oriented people: (a) actively constructing an image of what was happening in their neighborhood and what was possible for their aspired ways of living, (b) capable of articulating the criteria they used in assessing local conditions, and (c) making adjustments

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[44]These questions tapped neighborhood values and satisfaction, recognition and assessment of neighborhood conditions and changes, perceived impacts of neighborhood change, and perceptions of the neighborhood's future.

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they deemed necessary for life--given their needs and the constraints and opportunities under which they operated in the neighborhood. I expected that residents would be more likely to describe their lives in the neighborhood as conscious, deliberate choices rather than lives of minimal choice, or largely as reflections of the views of significant others.

To assess the merit of this proposition, I reviewed responses to questions related to neighborhood definition and perceptions of neighborhood change (i.e., questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22, 24, 25, 29-36, 38).[45]

I found support for the hypothesis that residents would be able to articulate the criteria[46] they used to assess

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[45]In the initial effort to code relevant responses for this purpose, the two coders tried to count the instances respondents spoke in all of the three "active" terms just specified. We found this original combination too complicated to code reliably, as this conception required us to combine perceptual and behavioral elements. I decided to split the construct into three separately coded components. The first would be the references to residents constructing images of what was happening in the neighborhood, describing choices they made related to the neighborhood, and articulating the criteria they used to assess local conditions. The second component was the behavioral element of "making adjustments residents deemed necessary for life, given their needs and the constraints and opportunities under which they operated in the neighborhood." The third was a listing of the aspirations or desired personal experiences that each resident mentioned.

[46]Criteria touched several areas of community life, including characteristics of residents' homes, physical characteristics of the area, advantages of the neighborhood's location, services available locally, limited activities and employment opportunities available in Port Hill, comparisons of Port Hill with other neighborhoods, the area's social diversity, broader social characteristics of the neighborhood, things prospective residents would need to know to live in Port Hill, safety concerns, challenges faced by residents raising families, community activism, and economic, physical, and social changes

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neighborhood conditions. In addition, they could describe adjustments[47] they had made to live as they wanted to live, within existing neighborhood constraints and opportunities. I found it more difficult to gauge the support for another element of this hypothesis--that related to personal and household aspirations. Information related to aspirations was elicited, if at all, by questions across the interview, rather by a specific question. Fortunately, it could be retrieved by reviewing responses across several questions.

Neighborhood Conditions and Changes in Specific Terms

The third hypothesis anticipated that residents would describe and assess neighborhood conditions and changes in specific terms, rather than by giving blanket evaluations. This prediction largely was supported.

The specificity was apparent in residents' responses to virtually all of the open-ended questions. We originally coded between 20 and over 100 distinct response categories for each open-ended question.[48] Beyond the variety and detail of their responses, many residents also included several different types of experience in their responses to

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in Port Hill.

[47]These were largely negative (e.g., sending children to private, rather than to public schools, as the resident would prefer; grocery shopping outside the neighborhood; not visiting relatives as often at night, because the resident does not want to walk home from bus stop alone), although some positive adjustments were cited (e.g., increased involvement in local organizations, "putting down roots here").

[48]For analytic purposes, these were collapsed into a smaller number of categories.

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some open-ended questions (e.g., the identification of a tangible neighborhood characteristic, an affective component, and a behavioral component).

Admittedly, the specificity of the responses could be construed as being "demanded" by the questions or by the probes which followed many of the core questions. Still, residents often described and contrasted different aspects of the phenomenon they were citing. They noted examples of the same phenomenon in different settings and integrated that information. They recognized distinct manifestations of the same phenomenon. Residents looked for underlying causes of behavior they considered negative--understanding the behavior made it more palatable. They seemed open to a range of information from a variety of sources, and suggested some complex ways of assessing the neighborhood.

Residents of all backgrounds were able to describe in detail, for example, the significance of public and private service delivery cuts in their lives. A respondent distinguished between the desirability of different groups of men congregating on nearby street corners--one, a welcome local group meeting on this corner since their adolescence as watchful "eyes on the street" and another, a group of outsiders in menacing attire, selling drugs. Other residents noted that police presence did not always translate into police responsiveness and that bank advertisements for home mortgages were not guarantees of readily accessible local mortgage investment.

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While not included in the original hypothesis, residents' specificity suggested that the matters they discussed were of considerable personal importance. Many responses reflected the considerable attention residents had given to these issues over time and the varied sources of information they used to construct their images of neighborhood life.

Variety in Neighborhood Definitions and Conceptions

Most of the study's hypotheses anticipated finding commonality in respondents' perceptions. The fourth hypothesis was one of two in the study which explored perceptual variation. This hypothesis predicted finding substantial variation in residents' definitions and conceptions of the neighborhood. The variation was felt to reflect the variety of experience in communities I believed residents to have, based on existing literature and my preliminary fieldwork.

This premise was partially supported.[49] [50] Yet, I also

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[49]As was discovered in examining findings relevant to the second specific hypothesis, across the seven dimensions of neighborhood perception examined, I explored 504 relationships--between 18 predictors and 28 outcomes. In 76 instances (15%), there were statistically significant findings, although in many cases, the significant findings represented rather low correlations. In most cases related to the Likert scales, there were relatively few significant differences among the ratings assigned by residents with different neighborhood experiences.

[50]In addition to reviewing responses to Likert scale and forced-choice questions, I also examined responses to open-ended questions for evidence addressing this hypothesis. I found considerable variability in responses to the open-ended questions, although I only examined this variability systematically in a few cases. As predicted, substantial

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encountered considerable consistency among residents in their views of the current status of the neighborhood, in the primary concerns and values they brought to the neighborhood, as well as in their expectations about and recommendations regarding the area's future. The findings suggest that there is commonality in the issues of greatest concern to residents, but that there is variation in the level of detail into which many residents may delve, as well as in the roots of their sentiments.

Findings Related to the More Specific Hypotheses

Beyond these broad-based hypotheses were four that posed more specific questions. This latter group addressed perceptions shared by residents, as well as those distinctive to residents from different backgrounds. These hypotheses explored residents' perceptions of the most important neighborhood characteristics, perceptual variability, neighborhood change as it related to households' daily routines, and the role of race/ethnicity in perceptions of neighborhood life and change.

Most Important Neighborhood Characteristics

In the first of the specific hypotheses, I speculated that the following were some of the most important (and so, most frequently mentioned) characteristics of residents' neighborhoods: relationships with neighbors, specific

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variation in residents' definitions and conceptions of the neighborhood emerged. The sample often gave 60 or more distinct responses to each of several open-ended questions. Their responses most often included more than one type of experience (e.g., content, affect, and evaluative elements).

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household needs at the time, and their expectations for their households' residential future and for the future of the neighborhood. I anticipated that another major element of neighborhood living, housing cost, would be described as important to the extent that the financial resources available to households after these costs had been paid facilitated or hindered other household endeavors (e.g., school, vacation expenses). I found some support for this hypothesis. Although the importance of good neighbors consistently appeared throughout residents' discussion and housing costs emerged with considerable frequency, the other issues were not mentioned with the same frequency.

The frequency with which residents cited these issues is presented in tables summarizing responses to the principal open-ended questions, in which residents described their neighborhood and changes within it.

Relationships with neighbors. Responses to the initial open-ended question (question 10) revealed social conditions in the neighborhood to be clearly of importance to most residents. As indicated in Table 9 (see Appendixes), nearly two-thirds of the respondents (63.6%, n = 56) cited some aspect of area social life in describing their feelings about living in Port Hill. Primary among references to social conditions was mention of good relationships with neighbors and friendships established in Port Hill.

Similarly, in response to question 12, residents noted the area's social makeup. This was the third most frequently

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cited piece of "inside information" respondents would offer prospective residents (see Table 10 in Appendixes). Over one-third of the respondents to this question (36.0%, n = 31) offered information about, for example, the nice people in the area, the area's many young people, or the area's growing Hispanic population.

When residents described what it was that they had wanted to get from life in Port Hill, that they had found here, most often, it was friendship. Over one-third of residents (35.2%, n = 31) described friendships they had built in the neighborhood (see Table 11 in Appendixes).

Other than safety, the neighborhood characteristic that residents said they would value most in any neighborhood was a good relationship with neighbors. Three-fifths of the residents cited this as a critical value in their neighborhood (see Table 12 in Appendixes). They valued "knowing that [neighbors] will help each other." Good neighbors "respect one another" and "make you feel at home."

When asked what it was about the neighborhood that made it easier to live the way they wanted to live (see Table 13 in Appendixes), one-fifth of the residents (30% of those who indicated that some neighborhood characteristics had made their lives easier) described some aspect of their good relations with other people in the neighborhood. In stating what it was that had made life easier, their appreciation of good relations with neighbors was second only to that for the good public transportation that serves Port Hill.

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Predictably, just as neighbors can make life more pleasant, they also might make life more trying. Among the neighborhood characteristics that made it more difficult to live the way residents wanted to live, poor social relations were mentioned with second greatest frequency. One-fifth of the residents who described neighborhood difficulties (14.8% of the overall sample, n = 13) cited some aspect of the area's social fabric that did not work well for them--most often, people who did not care about or work with their neighbors (see Table 14 in Appendixes).

When residents rated the neighborhood as a good (or not-such-a-good) place to live, the most frequently mentioned reason for the rating they assigned was their estimation of their neighbors (see Table 15 in Appendixes). One-third of the respondents (33.0%, n = 29) were pleased that in Port Hill, (a) they have not had to worry about "keeping up with the Joneses," and (b) that they have had good neighbors and friends nearby. The ties with people in the area may have been a reason why some of the areas of experience least frequently mentioned as affected by neighborhood changes were residents' feelings about and behavior toward their neighbors (see Table 16 in Appendixes). Residents were approximately twice as likely to report that neighborhood changes had affected the way they felt about the neighborhood or their own future here than they were to say that they felt or behaved differently toward the people of Port Hill as a function of these

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neighborhood changes.

One of the most prominent elements of the neighborhood residents hoped Port Hill would be in five years was a more positive attitude among residents (see Table 17 in Appendixes). On a par with an improved commercial district, reduced crime, and a cleaner neighborhood, was their hope for better communication among residents. They wanted people to greet one another on the streets, to care about one another, to have a sense of pride and interest in the community, and to care about each other's children.

Particular household needs. The importance of specific household needs in shaping neighborhood perceptions was not always explicit in responses to the open-ended questions. Often, these needs could be inferred from responses, but they were not clearly stated. These interests did not emerge in response to the open-ended questions as clearly as did residents' appreciation of good neighbors, or as I will note later, affordable housing. Still, responses to a few questions provided information about household priorities.

When asked what it was that they would value most in any neighborhood where they might want to live, residents were most likely to say safety, good neighbors, and a quiet and peaceful place without disturbances, with stores nearby (see Table 12 in Appendixes). The neighborhood characteristics that residents cited most frequently in describing Port Hill as they wanted it to be in five years were improved service delivery (especially the schools and

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youth activities), continued refurbishing of area housing, reduced crime, an improved commercial district, better communication among residents, and a more physically attractive neighborhood (see Table 17 in Appendixes).

Perhaps the clearest understanding of household needs can be found in responses to question 18A--what it was that residents got from living here that they had wanted to get. As noted earlier, residents were pleased to find good relationships with neighbors, affordable housing, a physically appealing home, in a peaceful neighborhood. They would have preferred a safer place (see Table 11 in Appendixes). When residents described what it was about the neighborhood that "fit" as their idea of a good or not-such-a-good place to live, they spoke about a neighborhood that was socially comfortable--surrounded by good people, without the stress of social competition, a place safe enough to raise children. They were looking for sound and affordable homes in a physically well-tended area (see Table 15 in Appendixes).

The neighborhood characteristics that have made life easier here included good public transportation, having friends in the area, having ready access to services, work, and shopping (see Table 13 in Appendixes). The things that have made life more difficult for residents and their households have been fears for their safety, poor relations with some neighbors, limitations in the services delivered here, as well as in the limited shopping available locally

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(see Table 14 in Appendixes).

Expectations for the future. Expectations for the household's future and the future of the neighborhood were not spontaneously elicited by most of the open-ended questions, beyond those questions that specifically addressed the neighborhood's or the resident's plans for her/his future here. Residents' expectations may have been imbedded in their responses to the broader set of questions, but those expectations were not made explicit.

As is indicated in Table 16 (see Appendixes), among the perceptions most frequently affected by neighborhood change were residents' feelings about their future in Port Hill. Nearly half of the respondents (48%, n = 42) said that neighborhood changes had affected the way they felt about their future there. Among the 58 residents who explained how their feelings had changed,[51] half said that they now felt more negatively about their future in the neighborhood (51.7%, n = 30). Over one-quarter now felt more positively about their future in the neighborhood (27.6%, n = 16). Twelve percent (12.1%, n = 7) had both positive and negative emotions about their future in the area. This influence did not carry through into residents' actually altering their plans for their future in the neighborhood (question 34). Two-thirds of the residents (64.8%, n = 57) said that

[51]As indicated in Table 16, the reason for the discrepancy between the number of respondents cited is that fewer residents gave a definite "yes" or "no" answer to the core question. Yet, many more offered an elaboration, which is presented in this second group of findings (n = 58).

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neighborhood changes had not affected the plans they had made for their future here. Among the 32 residents who responded to the probe about how the changes had influenced their plans, most said that the impact had been negative (62.5%, n = 20).

When asked how long they planned "to continue living in this neighborhood," half of the 86 residents answering the question either had "no plans" to leave the neighborhood (33.7%, n = 29) or planned to live here "forever" (17.4%, n = 15). One-quarter (24.4%, n = 21) planned to leave the neighborhood within the five years following the interview. Another 15 residents (17.4%) planned to leave the neighborhood ten or more years from the interview period. The remaining residents either planned to move, but had no specific date in mind (4.7%, n = 4) or planned to move sometime between five and ten years after the data collection (2.3%, n = 2).

A little later in the interview, interviewers asked "If things go as you expect they will, where do you think you will be living five years from now?" Among the 77 residents answering the question, 62.3 percent (n = 48) expected to be living in Port Hill in five years. Eighteen percent (n = 14) expected to be living in another part of New York City. Nine percent (n = 7) thought that they would be living anywhere other than in Port Hill, and the remaining 10.4 percent (n = 8) had specific expected destinations in other parts of this state or in another state in the U.S.. When asked whether

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they could move if they found they had to, most said that they could (72.4%, n = 63).

When directly questioned about their household's future, many residents were able to project into the future. Yet, those plans and possibilities were only elicited by such direct questions. It was not as difficult to find references to expectations for the future in summaries of the individual open-ended questions as it was to find mention of household aspirations across the responses to the 16 questions related to neighborhood definition and neighborhood change. Residents may have found it easier to address more tangible elements of neighborhood life than those related to aspirations.

Housing costs. The cost of housing was noted by residents with considerable frequency, but far less than that garnered by social relationships. As can be seen in Table 10 (see Appendixes), it was the seventh most frequently mentioned bit of "inside information" residents said they would offer to loved ones considering moving into Port Hill. One-fifth of the residents (19.8%, n = 17) described "good housing values" to be found there. When asked whether they had gotten what they wanted to get from living in Port Hill, over one-quarter (26.1%, n = 23) cited Port Hill's affordable housing as something they were pleased to have found--second in frequency only to residents' cherished friendships (see Table 11 in Appendixes).

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When asked to list the three things they would value most in any neighborhood where they might want to live, affordable housing was infrequently mentioned (see Table 12 in Appendixes). Apart from a small number, most residents focused on neighborhood qualities other than housing. Where sixty percent cited safety and good relations with neighbors, two percent (n = 2) selected affordable housing. Although affordable housing was not cited as one of any neighborhood's most prized characteristics, it was appreciated. Ten percent of residents (15% of those mentioning neighborhood characteristics that made life easier for them) spontaneously mentioned affordable housing as something that made it easier to live the way they wanted to live (see Table 13 in Appendixes). Two residents noted that low housing costs left more money available for other household purposes, such as vacations. Only one resident cited high rent as something that made it more difficult to live as she wanted (see Table 14 in Appendixes). When asked what it was about the neighborhood that made this a good or not-such-a-good place to live, the seventh most frequently mentioned neighborhood element was housing costs (see Table 15 in Appendixes). Although not mentioned as often as good relations with neighbors or safety in responses to that question, housing costs were cited with comparable frequency (12.5%, n = 11) to that of residents' own homes and the area's stores.

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Housing cost increases were among the neighborhood characteristics spontaneously mentioned as one of the most important things that had happened in Port Hill in the preceding five years (question 24), mentioned sixth most frequently among the neighborhood elements cited (see Table 18 in Appendixes). It was mentioned with comparable frequency (seventh most frequently mentioned) by residents asked to list the most important changes in the neighborhood over those five years (question 25) (see Table 19 in Appendixes). In this instance, the eight residents citing it (9.1%) referred to the increasing values of homes in the area. Among the six residents who recognized this as a change and then evaluated it, two-thirds viewed it as bad for their lives in the community (see Table 20 in Appendixes). In the series of "impact" questions which followed the change list, the increase in housing costs was identified by still more residents (12.5%, n = 11) as exerting an impact on their lives in Port Hill. It was mentioned in this light with fifth greatest frequency (see Table 21 in Appendixes). Although the frequency was too low to warrant further systematic examination, I noted informally that property owners saw rising housing values as positive. Increasing housing values encouraged them to feel better about the neighborhood. Renters saw increasing housing values as a sign that they soon might be forced to leave Port Hill.

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The importance of housing costs was apparent in residents' views of the neighborhood's future. Primary among their expectations for the area's economic picture in five years (question 37) was a sense of increasing property values and housing prices. This was the neighborhood characteristic mentioned fourth most frequently among all of their expectations, behind changing social conditions, housing conditions and service delivery (see Table 22 in Appendixes). Parallelling the limited emphasis on housing costs found when we asked about those neighborhood elements most valued (question 20), housing costs were far less of an issue when we asked residents what they wanted Port Hill to be like in five years (question 38). As presented in Table 17 (see Appendixes), housing costs were included within residents' discussions of housing conditions. Although residents' wishes for improved housing stock were their second most frequently cited hope--behind only improved service delivery, affordable housing accounted for one-fifth of the responses included within that category.

Summary. With this hypothesis, I proposed that some of the most important and most frequently mentioned characteristics of residents' neighborhoods would be: relationships with neighbors, particular household needs at the time, and residents' expectations for their households' residential futures and for the future of the neighborhood. Housing costs would be cited as important only as these costs impinged on a household's capacity to meet other

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needs. The data offered partial support for this premise. Respondents consistently cited the importance of good neighbors and good relationships with neighbors in response to questions throughout the interview. They cited housing costs, though with considerably less frequency. Residents' expectations for the household's future and for the future of the neighborhood were cited largely in response to a few specific questions. Residents explicitly referred to particular household needs with far less frequency.

A summary of ranks across ten of the primary open-ended questions (viz., 10, 12, 18A, 20, 21A and B, 22A, 24, 25, 37, 38) revealed the most frequently mentioned characteristics of residents' neighborhoods.[52] In the order of greatest frequency, those characteristics were: social conditions and relationships within the neighborhood, safety concerns, the adequacy of public service delivery, the condition of the area's housing stock, and the overall physical condition of the neighborhood. The last category included references to cleanliness, noise level, appearance of structures and landscaping (i.e., whether the appearance reflected care for property and the community), sidewalk maintenance, beautification efforts (e.g., tree planting), traffic conditions, empty buildings, and landmark preservation efforts.

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[52]For any of the response categories offered by at least 15 percent of the sample, the response categories were ranked in order of the frequency with which they were cited.

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Variability in Residents' Perceptions--A Comparison of the Roles of the Discrete and the Experiential Variables

The second hypothesis addressed correlates of differences in residents' neighborhood perceptions. I anticipated that where residents' neighborhood perceptions differed from one another, such differences more likely would be related to the experiential variables than to the play of the discrete variables.

Initially, I examined response variability data revealed via bivariate analyses. Multivariate analyses built on these bivariate findings. The bivariate results are presented first in this report, followed by related results of the multivariate analyses.

Findings are presented in the order of the seven dimensions of neighborhood perception specified in Chapter Two. Although I will refer to tables cited earlier in this report that summarized residents' responses to the open-ended questions, the bulk of the new information presented in this section examines responses to forced-choice and Likert scale questions.

Residents' Geographical Definitions of Their Neighborhoods

Neighborhood name. Over two-thirds of the residents considered their neighborhood to be Port Hill (69.3%, n = 61). Ten percent (10.2%, n = 9) reported living in Waterhill.[53] Seven percent (6.8%, n = 6) considered their

[53]As is Port Hill, the names assigned to neighboring communities are pseudonyms.

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neighborhood Westpark or South Westpark. The remainder characterized their neighborhood in other terms (e.g., ____ Street, "the area where I walk," [Hamilton], "limbo--not [Westpark] and not [Port Hill]"). Given some comments by community leaders in the earlier set of interviews, I expected to find different neighborhood names used to describe the same geographical area. While most considered the area Port Hill, some community leaders relayed local lore that the name Port Hill had been foisted upon the community by federal anti-poverty programs in the 1960s. Some recalled that the only area referred to as Port Hill was that immediately surrounding Hill Park. Members of the local historical society studied the matter, and discovered that the area was called Port Hill as far back as 1898.

Table 23 (see next page and Appendixes) reveals that only three of the major independent variables were significantly related to the name residents assigned to the neighborhood--length of residence in the area, the percentage of one's life lived here, and the presence or not of children in the home.

Residents who considered the neighborhood to be Waterhill had lived in the area for significantly longer ($\underline{M}$= 29 years) than had residents who referred to the area as Port Hill ($\underline{M}$ = 13 years) or by some other term ($\underline{M}$ = 10 years) ($F(87) = 6.41$, $\underline{p} < .01$). The experiential correlate of this predictor also was significantly related to the name by which residents referred to the area. Residents who

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Table 23A

What Do Residents Call Their Neighborhood? (Question 9)[a] [b]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Waterhill N | Waterhill Percentage | Port Hill N | Port Hill Percentage | Another Neighborhood Name N | Another Neighborhood Name Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 9 | 20.9 | 28 | 65.1 | 6 | 14.0 | |
| Yes | __ | ____ | 33 | 75.0 | 11 | 25.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 10.87**[c] |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 9 | | 61 | | 18 | | |
| M | 29.2 | | 13.3 | | 9.9 | | |
| SD | 21.6 | | 12.8 | | 12.0 | | F (87) = 6.41** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 9 | | 61 | | 18 | | |
| M | 59.5% | | 32.1% | | 23.4% | | |
| SD | .38 | | .29 | | .23 | | F (87) = 4.89** |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: [Waterhill] said by 9 (10.2%); [Port Hill] said by 61 (69.3%); or some other neighborhood name, cited by 18 (20.5%). Among the residents grouped in the last category, six (6.8% of the sample) considered their neighborhood [Westpark] or [South Westpark]. The remainder of the respondents characterized their neighborhood in other terms (e.g., ____ Street, "the area where I walk", [Hamilton], "limbo--not [Westpark] and not [Port Hill]").

[b] Summary data for this variable (n = 53) are: "in a negative direction" said by 25 (47.2%); "in a positive direction" said by 23 (43.4%); or either both positively and negatively or neither positively nor negatively said by 5 (9.4%).

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

considered the neighborhood to be Waterhill had lived in the area for a significantly greater portion of their lives (M = 60%) than had residents who referred to the area as Port Hill (M = 32%) or by some other term (M = 23%) ($F$ (87) = 4.89, $p < .01$). Residents with children currently living at home were significantly more likely to refer to the neighborhood as Port Hill (75%) than by another name (25%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 10.87, $p < .01$).

Neighborhood size. In response to question eight, virtually three-quarters of the residents (73.9%, n = 65) described their neighborhood in terms of areas within the boundaries of specific streets. Another eleven residents (12.5%) described their neighborhood as an area near their home--either their home block, the area right around that block, the area between their home and a specific place or activity (e.g., church, store, relatives' homes), or a nearby area without street names (e.g., the area around the park). For the residents who identified a specific geographic area, I calculated the approximate size of the area enclosed by the boundaries residents cited--in square blocks.

Table 24 (see Appendixes) summarizes residents' responses to this question and reveals that the "typical" neighborhood included an area of 149 square blocks. As is also indicated in the table, there was little variability in responses to this question--at least as might be related to the primary independent variables. None of the primary

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independent variables (e.g., home ownership or tenancy, race, length of residence, presence of children in the household, employment status) were significantly related to the size of residents' self-defined neighborhoods.

The Degree to Which the Neighborhood Satisfies or "Fits" Household Needs

The second dimension of neighborhood perception which I investigated referred to the adequacy of the "fit" between the neighborhood and the needs of the participating households. Earlier in this chapter, I summarized the responses to several relevant open-ended questions. In addition to these open-ended questions, interviewers posed forced-choice questions and Likert scales focusing on specific aspects of relevant neighborhood experience. The responses to these questions are discussed in the summary which follows.

Found what they wanted in Port Hill? Question 18 asked residents to recall their plans for living in this neighborhood and to assess whether or not they had "gotten what they wanted to get from living in this neighborhood." As is presented in Table 25 (see Appendixes), two-thirds of the respondents to this question reported having gotten what they wanted to get from living in this neighborhood (66.3%, n = 57). As might be expected to follow from that figure, there was little variability, and no systematic variation in the responses to this question--related to either the discrete or to the experiential variables. The responses to

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the probe of this question (viz., what it was that residents reported finding in Port Hill) were summarized in Table 11 (see Appendixes).

Willing to recommend the neighborhood to others?

Another forced-choice question asked residents if they "would recommend that a good friend or relative move into this neighborhood ...." Table 26 (see next page and Appendixes) indicates that over three-fifths of the residents said that they would recommend Port Hill to prospective residents (61.4%, n = 54). Three predictor variables were significantly related to responses to this question--race, the length of one's residence in the neighborhood (both as a dichotomous and as a continuous variable), and the latter's experiential counterpart, the percentage of one's life lived in Port Hill. Hispanic residents were significantly more likely to recommend the neighborhood to prospective residents than were white residents ($\chi^2$ (2) = 8.14, $p < .05$). Residents of the area for more than eight years were more likely to report that they would recommend Port Hill without reservation to others than were more recent arrivals to the neighborhood ($\chi^2$ (2) = 8.97, $p < .05$). When the relationship with length of residence used as a continuous, rather than as a dichotomous variable is examined, the finding changes. Residents unwilling to recommend the neighborhood to newcomers had lived in Port Hill for significantly longer ($M$ = 28.1 years) than had residents who would recommend the neighborhood ($M$ =

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Table 26A

Would Residents Recommend That Friends Move Into the Neighborhood? (Question 13)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 2 | 4.4 | 33 | 73.3 | 10 | 22.2 | |
| White | 10 | 23.3 | 21 | 48.8 | 12 | 27.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 8.14*[b] |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 3 | 6.3 | 28 | 58.3 | 17 | 35.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 9 | 22.5 | 26 | 65.0 | 5 | 12.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 8.97* |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 12 | | 54 | | 22 | | |
| M | 28.1 | | 13.1 | | 9.3 | | |
| SD | 18.4 | | 12.3 | | 13.4 | | F (87) = 7.91*** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 12 | | 54 | | 22 | | |
| M | 56% | | 32% | | 22% | | |
| SD | .31 | | .28 | | .29 | | F (87) = 5.56** |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 12 (13.6%); "yes" said by 54 (61.4%); and something "other" said by 22 (25.0%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

13.1 years) ($F$ (87) = 7.91, $p$ < .001). Residents unwilling to recommend the neighborhood to newcomers had lived in Port Hill for a significantly greater percentage of their lives (56%) than had residents who would recommend the neighborhood (32%) ($F$ (87) = 5.56, $p$ < .01).

In addition to the responses to the open-ended and forced-choice questions related to this dimension, two Likert scales tapped residents' broad assessments of Port Hill as a suitable place for them to live.

Ease of living as you want. The first of the scales asked residents to rate the extent to which the neighborhood makes it easier (7) or more difficult (1) to live the way [they] want to live and to do the things [they] want to do. Typically, residents assigned a rating indicating that the neighborhood had not made it particularly easy or difficult "to live the way [they] wanted to live and to do the things [they] wanted to do" ($M$ = 4.5, median = 4.0). Table 27 (see Appendixes) reveals very modest relationships between any of the predictor variables and residents' ratings on this scale. Only two relationships achieved statistical significance--race and the number of a resident's responsibilities to her/his household. Using this scale, Hispanic residents rated the neighborhood as making it significantly easier to live the way they wanted to live and to do the things they wanted to do than did white residents ($Z$ = 2.45, $p$ < .05). A very low, but significant correlation ($r$ = .22, $p$ < .05) indicated that residents with more

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responsibilities to their households were more likely to rate the neighborhood as making it easier to live the way [they] want to live than were residents with fewer household responsibilities.

Is the neighborhood a good place to live? Another scale asked residents to rate how well (7) or poorly (1) the neighborhood fit as their idea of a good place for them to be living. Residents typically rated Port Hill only slightly above the midpoint ($M = 4.40$).[54]

Table 28 (see Appendixes) summarizes the relationships between neighborhood ratings using this scale and the primary discrete and experiential variables. There was striking consistency in residents' ratings. Only one significant relationship between this rating and an independent variable was found--and that was a very low correlation with (the continuous scale version of) length of residence ($r = -.24$, $p < .05$). More recent arrivals in the community were more likely to rate Port Hill as a good place to be living than were longer term residents.

That question was followed by one asking residents what would make the neighborhood a better place to live. Residents answered in some detail and their answers to that

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[54]Interviewers probed residents' responses to this scale, and Table 15 summarized their comments. Again, the neighborhood characteristics most commonly cited by residents in their responses to the probe were the area's pleasant social conditions (i.e., fine neighbors, lack of social comparison, good friends, a heterogeneous population), an inadequate sense of personal safety in the community, and a variety of personal experiences.

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question are summarized in Table 29 (see Appendixes). The recommendations residents offered most commonly were to improve public service delivery (particularly that of the criminal justice system, youth services, schools, and transportation), rehabilitate physical conditions in the neighborhood, improve some of the area's social conditions as well as some attitudes prevalent among residents, and enhance Port Hill's commercial district.

Housing. It is apparent from responses to many of the open-ended questions previously summarized that for many residents, one of the greatest advantages to living in Port Hill has been its ample, fairly well-maintained, and affordable housing stock. Because I could not be sure that housing would emerge as a major issue in responses to the open-ended questions, I posed two questions specifically addressing the cost and quality of housing in the community. Both were seven-point Likert scales.

The first asked residents to rate the cost of housing in Port Hill--from very expensive (1) to very cheap (7). Table 30 (see next page and Appendixes) indicates that residents typically rated the cost of housing in the area as slightly closer to very expensive than to very cheap ($M$ = 3.84, median = 4.0). The predictors gender, having friends in the neighborhood, working outside the home, income, and its experiential correlate, per capita income after housing costs significantly distinguished among residents' responses. Women rated Port Hill's housing as significantly

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Table 30A

Relationships Between Rating of the Cost of Housing in the Neighborhood[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 14)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 55 | 3.6 | |
| Males | 27 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.17*[c] |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 22 | 3.3 | |
| Yes | 60 | 4.1 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.12* |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 7 | 4.9 | |
| Yes | 75 | 3.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.35* |
| (Interval) | | N | Correlation/ significance |
| Income2[d] | | 73 | .26* |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | 70 | .33** |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n=82; mean=3.84; median=4.00; mode=4.00; SD=1.37; range=1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. Means are listed solely for the reader's edification.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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more expensive than did men ($Z = 2.17$, $p < .05$). Residents with friends in the neighborhood rated housing as significantly more expensive than did residents without friends here ($Z = 2.35$, $p < .05$). As residents' income increased, so did their appreciation of the economy (i.e., low cost) of local housing ($r = .26$, $p < .05$). That relationship was more pronounced when the experiential correlate of income--per capita income after housing costs was considered ($r = .33$, $p < .01$). The greater the per capita income after housing costs available to a resident, the cheaper that resident's rating of housing in the neighborhood. Residents who worked outside of their homes rated local housing as significantly less expensive than did respondents who did not leave home for employment ($Z = 2.12$, $p < .05$).

Immediately following this question, residents were asked to rate the quality of their current housing--from in terrible condition, needs a lot of work (1) to in great condition, doesn't need any work at all (7). As Table 31 (see next page and Appendixes) reveals, residents typically rated their housing as being in fairly good condition ($M = 5.24$, median = 5.0). The significant differences among residents' responses to this question were related to the play of both discrete and experiential variables.

Three discrete variables were significantly related to residents' ratings on this variable--home ownership status, race, and length of residence in the neighborhood. Residents

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Table 31A

Relationships Between Rating of the Quality of Respondents' Housing[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 15)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 37 | 4.7 | |
| Owners | 48 | 5.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.59**[c] |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 4.8 | |
| White | 40 | 5.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.57** |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 47 | 4.9 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 38 | 5.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.06* |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 85 | .22* |
| Income2[d] | 75 | .38*** |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 72 | .36** |
| Housing costs | 79 | .26* |
| Resource Set | 72 | .40*** |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 85; mean = 5.24; median = 5.00; mode = 6.00; SD = 1.49; range=1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. Means are listed solely for the reader's edification.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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who owned their homes rated the quality of their housing significantly higher than did tenants ($Z = 2.59$, $p < .01$). White residents rated the quality of their housing significantly higher than did Hispanic residents ($Z = 2.57$, $p < .05$). Residents who had lived in Port Hill longer than eight years rated the quality of their housing significantly higher than did more recent arrivals to the community ($Z = 2.06$, $p < .05$).[55] This last finding was supported by a low, yet significant correlation between ratings of the quality of residents' current housing and the percentage of residents' lives lived in Port Hill ($r = .22$, $p < .01$)--the greater the percentage of one's life spent in this neighborhood, the higher that resident's rating of the quality of her/his housing.

I also found four significant relationships between this scale rating and income and other resource-related variables, both discrete and experiential. The greater a resident's income ($r = .38$, $p < .001$) and housing costs ($r = .26$, $p < .05$), the higher the resident's rating of housing quality. These findings parallelled those for the related experiential variables. The greater the per capita income available to a resident after her/his housing costs had been paid, the more highly s/he rated the quality of her/his

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[55]This finding was not supported when length of residence was entered an interval scale. Instead of the significant relationship revealed when length of residence entered as a dichotomy (one to eight years v. longer than eight years), I found an insignificant correlation between the ratings assigned and length of residence in its original form.

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housing ($r = .36$, $p < .01$). Similarly, residents with more substantial Resource Sets available to them rated the quality of their housing significantly higher than did residents with less substantial Resource Sets available to them ($r = .40$, $p < .001$).

It is not unexpected to find residents with greater resources, however defined, regarding their homes as being of a higher quality than residents with lesser resources. Similarly, it is fairly predictable that longer-term residents would be relatively satisfied with their housing. The finding that white residents and longer-term residents rated their housing quality significantly higher than Hispanics and newer residents, yet found themselves less able to recommend the neighborhood to prospective residents than were Hispanics and area newcomers suggests the importance of other elements of neighborhood life in shaping neighborhood perceptions. This may be related to things that can and cannot be controlled in one's neighborhood.

Salient Neighborhood Conditions and Changes

As in the review of the first two dimensions of neighborhood perception, responses to the open-ended questions relevant to this third dimension have been offered in summary tables discussed earlier in this chapter (see Tables 9, 10, 12, 17, 18 in Appendixes). Data analysis related to the first overarching hypothesis examined responses to two broad open-ended questions which asked residents to identify the most important things and changes

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that had happened in Port Hill over the five years preceding the interviews (questions 24 and 25). As indicated in Table 18 (see Appendixes), residents were most likely to consider the following "important things" that had happened in Port Hill in the five years preceding the interviews: housing rehabilitation efforts (44.3%, n = 39), population changes--which included the arrival of middle income professionals and more young people (33.%, n = 29), local crime (29.5%, n = 26), and a growing community organizing effort (25.0%, n = 22). Interviewers then asked residents to identify the "most important changes" that had occurred in Port Hill during the preceding five years. The major changes, summarized in Table 19 (see Appendixes), were related to area housing rehabilitation (30.7%, n= 27) and social conditions (21.6%, n = 19). In the latter case, residents often referred to the area's growing ethnic diversity related to recent immigration.

This section of the report summarizes responses to the forced-choice and scale questions assessing neighborhood conditions and changes.

Overall neighborhood rating--from the best to the worst place to live. In the first of the Likert scales, interviewers asked residents to select a point on a seven-point scale to rate the neighborhood overall as a place to live--from the worst possible place to live (1) to the best possible place to live (7). Typically, residents rated Port Hill as slightly above the midpoint (M = 4.52, median =

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4.0). They viewed this area as only modestly closer to being the best possible place to live than it was to being the worst possible place to live.

Table 32 (see next page and Appendixes) reveals that only two of the independent variables differentiated among residents' responses to this question--the discrete variable race and the experiential variable of having children living in one's home.[56] Hispanic residents gave the neighborhood a significantly higher rating than did white residents ($Z = 2.13$, $p < .05$), and people with children living in their homes rated the neighborhood significantly higher than did residents without children currently living at home ($Z = 2.61$, $p < .01$).

Importance of the neighborhood as a part of life as a whole. Another Likert scale asked residents to rate the importance of their neighborhood and what happens there as a part of their lives as a whole. The scale extended from my neighborhood is not nearly as important as other parts of my life (1) to my neighborhood is much more important than other parts of my life (7). Table 33 (see next page and Appendixes) reveals that residents typically rated the neighborhood as somewhat more important than other areas of their lives ($M = 5.14$, median = 5.5).

The table also indicates that three variables were significantly related to residents' ratings--home ownership

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[56]There was no significant relationship between race and household size.

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Table 32A

Relationships Between Overall Rating of the Neighborhood[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 11)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 4.8 | |
| White | 42 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.13*[c] |
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 42 | 4.2 | |
| Yes | 44 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.61** |

Table 33A

Relationships Between Rating of the Importance of the Neighborhood Within My Life[d] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 23)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 36 | 4.6 | |
| Owners | 48 | 5.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.19* |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 42 | 5.5 | |
| White | 42 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.13* |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 50 | 4.7 | |
| Yes | 33 | 5.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.78** |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 87; mean = 4.52; median = 4.00; mode = 4.00; SD = 1.05; range=3-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. Means are listed solely for the reader's edification.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[d] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 84; mean = 5.14; median = 5.50; mode = 7.00; SD = 1.77; range=1-7.

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status, race, and involvement in community activities. Residents who owned their homes rated the neighborhood as significantly more important in their lives than did renters ($Z = 2.19$, $p < .05$). Hispanic residents rated the neighborhood as significantly more important in their lives than did white residents ($Z = 2.13$, $p < .05$). Predictably, people who were active in the community[57] described the neighborhood as significantly more important to their lives than did those not active in the community ($Z = 2.78$, $p < .01$).

Overall assessment of change in the neighborhood. The next Likert item asked residents to rate the extent to which things overall in [the] neighborhood [were] getting [much] better (7), remaining the same, or getting [much] worse (1). As is shown in Table 34 (see Appendixes), residents typically used the scale rating to indicate that things were improving slightly in the neighborhood ($M = 4.43$, median = 4.0). The table also reveals considerable consistency among residents' in their assignment of this rating. Only housing costs significantly, if modestly, distinguished among residents' ratings. The greater a resident's housing costs, the more likely s/he was to characterize neighborhood change as an improvement ($r = .31$, $p < .01$).

In addition, I examined the relationship between the number of changes residents cited in response to the list of changes identified by community leaders and the primary

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[57]A resident's status on this variable was determined by self-report--in a response to question 19, item 9 ("Are you now active in the community?").

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independent variables. The summary of these responses provided in Table 35 (see next page and Appendixes) reveals that typically, residents identified 14 changes ($M$ = 13.7, median = 13.5).

Several predictor variables were significantly related to the number of changes residents identified. As might be expected, residents who were active in the neighborhood cited significantly more changes ($M$ = 16.9) than did residents who did not consider themselves to be active in the community ($M$ = 11.5) ($t$ (85) = -4.41, $p$ < .001). Similarly, residents with friends in the neighborhood reported significantly more neighborhood changes ($M$ = 14.4) than did residents without local friends ($M$ = 6.9) ($t$ (86) = -3.73, $p$ < .001). Residents with relatives living in the neighborhood also cited significantly more neighborhood changes ($M$ = 14.9) than did residents without relatives living in Port Hill ($M$ = 11.7) ($t$ (86) = -2.41, $p$ < .05). Home owners reported significantly more changes ($M$ = 15.4) than did renters ($M$ = 11.6) ($t$ (86) = -2.99, $p$ < .01). Length of residence was significantly related to the number of changes residents identified--regardless of whether the predictor was considered as a dichotomy or as a continuous variable. Residents who lived in the neighborhood longer than eight years noticed significantly more neighborhood changes ($M$ = 15.4) than did shorter-term residents ($M$ = 12.2) ($t$ (86) = -2.53, $p$ < .05) ($r$ = .31, $n$ = 88, $p$ < .01). The experiential counterpart of this variable, the

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Table 35A

Relationships Between the Number of Neighborhood Changes Noticed[a] and the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables (Questions 26 and 27)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | | |
| Renters | 40 | 11.6 | 6.4 | |
| Owners | 48 | 15.4 | 5.4 | t(86)=-2.99**[b] |
| Length of residence | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 48 | 12.2 | 5.9 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 40 | 15.4 | 6.0 | t(86) = -2.53* |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 52 | 11.5 | 5.7 | |
| Yes | 35 | 16.9 | 5.5 | t(85) =-4.41*** |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 9 | 6.9 | 3.9 | |
| Yes | 79 | 14.4 | 5.9 | t(86)= -3.73*** |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 33 | 11.7 | 5.4 | |
| Yes | 55 | 14.9 | 6.3 | t (86)= -2.41* |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 88 | .31** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 88 | .29** |
| Resource Set | 73 | .30** |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 88; range from 0 through 27; mean = 13.7; median = 13.5; mode = 16.0; standard deviation = 6.2.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood also was significantly, if modestly correlated with the number of neighborhood changes the resident noticed ($r = .29$, $n = 88$, $p < .01$). As might be expected to follow from these data, the Resource Set was modestly, though significantly correlated with the number of neighborhood changes noticed ($r = .30$, $n = 73$, $p < .01$). These findings suggest that such neighborhood "investment" as home ownership, longer-term residency, active involvement in community groups, or having local friends and relatives heightens a resident's neighborhood awareness.

Finally, I considered the relationships between the ratio of positive to negative changes cited and the primary independent variables--to see whether the direction of residents' evaluations of neighborhood changes systematically varied with particular elements of neighborhood experience. Table 36 (see next page and Appendixes) indicates that, typically, residents saw the changes as substantially more positive than negative (mean ratio of positive to negative changes = 2.41, median = 1.7). Six predictor variables were significantly related to the ratio of positive to negative changes residents reported in their responses to questions 26 and 27. Most often, the findings related to this outcome measure concur with those cited earlier in the report.

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Table 36A

Relationships Between the Ratio of Positive to Negative Changes Cited[a] and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | | |
| Renters | 33 | 1.5 | 1.4 | |
| Owners | 42 | 3.1 | 3.1 | t(59)=-3.16**[b] |
| Work outside the home | | | | |
| No | 22 | 1.7 | 1.4 | |
| Yes | 53 | 2.7 | 2.9 | t (72) = -2.04* |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Income2[c] | 64 | .37** |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 61 | .31* |
| Housing Costs | 68 | .30* |
| Resource Set | 58 | .34*** |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variables are: n = 75; mean = 2.41; median = 1.7; mode = .50; SD = 2.58; range = .09 through 16.00.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Home owners' characterizations of neighborhood changes were significantly more positive[58] (M = 3.1) than were those of renters (M = 1.5) (t (59) = -3.16, p < .01). Residents who worked outside their homes evaluated the changes as significantly more positive (M = 2.7) than did residents who did not work outside their homes (M = 1.7) (t (72) = -2.04, p < .05). The greater a resident's income (r = .37, p < .01), per capita income after housing costs (r = .31, p < .05), housing costs (r = .30, p < .05), and Resource Set (r = .34, p < .001), the more likely a resident was to recognize and assess recent neighborhood changes in a positive light.

Perceived Impact of Neighborhood Conditions and Changes

A series of questions followed the open-ended questions related to neighborhood change and the change list. In these, interviewers asked if any neighborhood changes residents identified had altered their feelings about or behavior in the neighborhood, feelings about or behavior toward other people in the neighborhood, or feelings about or plans for their future in the neighborhood.

Number of neighborhood changes identified as having an impact on life in the neighborhood. In response to questions which followed the change list, typically, residents indicated that three changes had affected their lives in Port Hill (M =2.6, median = 3.0). As reported in Table 21

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[58]Relative to the changes residents evaluated in a negative light.

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(see Appendixes), the changes residents most often mentioned as exerting an impact on their lives in the community were the increase in crime, the growth of community groups, the rehabilitation of apartment buildings, and population changes.

Table 37 (see next page and Appendixes) summarizes the relationships between the number of changes residents identified as exerting an impact on their lives in the community and the primary independent variables. Three predictor variables were significantly, though very modestly related to this outcome--race, length of residence as an interval variable, and Resource Set. White residents cited significantly more neighborhood changes as having affected some aspect of neighborhood life ($\underline{M}$ = 3.2) than did Hispanic residents ($\underline{M}$ = 2.1) ($t$ (86) = -2.56, $\underline{p} < .05$). When considered as a continuous variable, length of residence was modestly, though significantly correlated with the number of neighborhood changes residents identified as having affected their neighborhood lives ($r$ = .24, $n$ = 88, $\underline{p} < .05$). The greater the Resource Set available to residents, the greater the number of changes exerting an impact on their neighborhood lives ($r$ = .31, $n$ = 69, $\underline{p} < .001$).

Impact on feelings about the neighborhood. Question 29 asked residents whether or not any of the neighborhood changes they had previously cited had affected the way they felt about the neighborhood. As reported in Table 38 (see next page and Appendixes), nearly three-fifths of the

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Table 37A

Relationships Between the Number of Neighborhood Changes Exerting an Impact and the Primary Independent Variables[a]

| Independent Variable | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Race | | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 2.1 | 2.0 | |
| White | 43 | 3.2 | 2.2 | t (86)=-2.56*[b] |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | 88 | .24* |
| Resource Set | 69 | .31*** |

[a] This measure represents the number of neighborhood changes which residents spontaneously mentioned as having an impact on their lives in the community -- in the series of questions (questions 29-34, 36, 48) which followed the change list. The basic descriptive data for this variable include: n = 88; range = 0-9; mean = 2.6; median = 3.0; mode = 0; SD = 2.16.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 38A

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About the Neighborhood?[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 17 | 37.8 | 21 | 46.7 | 7 | 15.6 | |
| White | 12 | 27.9 | 30 | 69.8 | 1 | 2.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 6.9*[b] |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 21 | 36.2 | 29 | 50.0 | 8 | 13.8 | |
| Males | 8 | 26.7 | 22 | 73.3 | _ | ____ | $\chi^2$ (2) = 6.54* |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 24 | 46.2 | 25 | 48.1 | 3 | 5.8 | |
| Yes | 5 | 14.3 | 25 | 71.4 | 5 | 14.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 10.0** |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Resource Set | | | | | | | |
| N | 23 | | 43 | | 7 | | |
| M | 9.4 | | 10.6 | | 10.3 | | |
| SD | 1.7 | | 1.7 | | 1.5 | | F (72) = 3.97* |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 29 (33%); "yes" said by 51 (58%); and something "other" said by 8 (9.1%).

[b] *** = p < .001; ** = p < .01; * = p < .05.

residents said that neighborhood changes had affected their feelings about the neighborhood (58%, n = 51). The table also reveals that there was relatively little systematic variation among residents in their responses to this question. The predictor variables significantly related to this outcome were race, gender, community activism, and the Resource Set.

Significantly more white residents reported that neighborhood changes had affected their feelings about the neighborhood (69.8%) than did Hispanic residents (46.7%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 6.9, $p < .05$). Significantly more men reported that local changes had affected their feelings about the neighborhood (73.3%) than did women (50.0%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 6.54, $p < .05$). Residents who saw themselves as active in the community were significantly more likely to report an impact on their feelings about the neighborhood (71.4%) than were residents without such community involvement (48.1%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 10.0, $p < .01$). Residents who cited this impact had significantly greater overall resources, as reflected in their Resource Set ($M$ = 10.6), than did residents who did not report that their feelings about the neighborhood had been affected by local changes ($M$ = 9.4) (F (72) = 3.97, $p < .01$).

Where residents included an evaluative remark in response to question 29, we coded that response. The 53 respondents to this part of the question were almost evenly divided in their evaluations. Nearly half (47.2%, n = 25)

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indicated that changes in the neighborhood made them feel negatively toward the neighborhood. Still, over two-fifths reported a positive change in their feelings about the neighborhood related to the community changes (43.4%, n = 23). As presented in Table 39 (see next page and Appendixes), three predictor variables were significantly related to these responses--length of residence and its experiential counterpart, percentage of one's life lived in the area, and housing costs.

Whether length of residence was examined as a dichotomous or as a continuous variable, results indicated that more recent arrivals in the neighborhood saw local changes as influencing the way they feel about the neighborhood in a positive light ($\underline{M}$ = 8.9 years). Longer-term residents were more likely to link neighborhood changes to their negative feelings toward the area ($\underline{M}$ = 24.1 years) ($F$ (52) = 7.34, $\underline{p} < .01$). Similarly, residents who reported that neighborhood changes had affected their feelings about the neighborhood in a negative way had lived in Port Hill for a significantly greater percentage of their lives ($\underline{M}$ = 53.3%) than had residents who linked neighborhood changes to positive affect ($\underline{M}$ = 23.7%) ($F$ (52) = 5.93, $\underline{p} < .01$). Residents who reported that neighborhood changes had affected their feelings about the neighborhood in a positive direction reported significantly higher housing costs ($\underline{M}$ = $756) than did residents who linked neighborhood changes with negative affect toward the neighborhood ($\underline{M}$ = $489) ($F$

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Table 39A

How Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Feelings About the Neighborhood? (Question 29 Probe)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Negative View N | Negative View Percentage | Positive View N | Positive View Percentage | Neither/Both Directions N | Neither/Both Directions Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 7 | 26.9 | 16 | 61.5 | 3 | 11.5 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 18 | 66.7 | 7 | 25.9 | 2 | 7.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 8.45*[b] |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 25 | | 23 | | 5 | | |
| M | 24.1 | | 8.9 | | 9.8 | | |
| SD | 17.2 | | 10.9 | | 10.8 | | F (52) = 7.34*** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 25 | | 23 | | 5 | | |
| M | 53.3% | | 23.7% | | 32.4% | | |
| SD | .31 | | .27 | | .39 | | F (52) = 5.93** |
| Housing Costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 23 | | 22 | | 5 | | |
| M | $489 | | $756 | | $509 | | |
| SD | 243 | | 312 | | 300 | | F (49) = 5.43** |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 53) are: "in a negative direction" said by 25 (47.2%); "in a positive direction" said by 23 (43.4%); or either both positively and negatively or neither positively nor negatively said by 5 (9.4%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

(49) = 5.43, $p < .01$).

Impact on residents' behavior in the neighborhood. Question 30 asked residents whether or not any of the changes they noticed in the neighborhood--as reported in response to questions 26 and 27--had affected their behavior in the neighborhood. Most residents reported that changes had not influenced their behavior (55.7%, n = 49). As indicated in Table 40 (see next page and Appendixes), three predictors significantly distinguished among residents' responses to this question--length of residence and its experiential counterpart, percentage of one's life lived in the neighborhood, as well as community involvement.

Residents who had lived in the area for longer than eight years were significantly more likely to report that neighborhood changes had affected their actions in the neighborhood (57.5%) than were more recent arrivals to Port Hill (25.0%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 11.42, $p < .01$). This finding was more pronounced when length of residence was considered as an interval variable. Residents reporting that neighborhood changes had influenced their actions had lived in Port Hill for significantly longer ($M$ = 21.4 years) than had residents indicating that they had not experienced this impact of community changes ($M$ = 9.8 years) (F (87) = 8.73, $p < .001$). Similarly, residents reporting that neighborhood changes had influenced their actions had lived in Port Hill for a significantly greater percentage of their lives ($M$ = 47%) than had residents who indicated that they had not

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Table 40A

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Behavior in the Neighborhood?[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 32 | 66.7 | 12 | 25.0 | 4 | 8.3 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 17 | 42.5 | 23 | 57.5 | _ | ____ | $\chi^2$ (2) = 11.42**[b] |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 36 | 69.2 | 15 | 28.8 | 1 | 1.9 | |
| Yes | 13 | 37.1 | 19 | 54.3 | 3 | 8.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 9.30** |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 49 | | 35 | | 4 | | |
| M | 9.8 | | 21.4 | | 4.3 | | |
| SD | 10.2 | | 17.4 | | 3.0 | | F (87) = 8.73*** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 49 | | 35 | | 4 | | |
| M | 25% | | 47% | | 12% | | |
| SD | .25 | | .33 | | .08 | | F (87) = 7.19*** |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 49 (55.7%); "yes" said by 35 (39.8%); and something "other" said by 4 (4.5%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

experienced this impact (M = 25%) ($F$ (87) = 7.19, $p < .001$). Residents who considered themselves active in the community were more likely to report that neighborhood changes had affected the things they do in the neighborhood (M = 54.3%) than were residents without such community involvement (M = 28.8%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 9.30, $p < .01$).

Impact on feelings about other residents. Residents were asked whether or not they felt that the neighborhood changes they had identified had influenced their feelings about other people in the neighborhood. Table 41 (see Appendixes) summarizes responses to this question.

Over three-fifths of the residents said that changes had not influenced the way they felt about their neighbors (62.5%, n = 55). As might be anticipated from this information, there was little significant systematic variation in responses to the question. Residents of those parts of the neighborhood with resources equal to or greater than the community's average were significantly more likely to report that they did feel differently toward other residents as a function of changes in the area (37.8%), than were residents of the lower resource area (14.0%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 7.27, $p < .05$).

Impact on behavior toward other residents. Question 32 asked residents whether or not neighborhood changes had affected the ways they act toward other people in the neighborhood. Over two-thirds of residents reported that neighborhood changes had not so influenced their lives

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(71.6%, n = 63). Table 42 (see next page and Appendixes) reveals that while there was little systematic variation in responses to this question, two predictor variables were significantly related to this outcome.

Residents who considered themselves active in the community were significantly more likely to report that neighborhood changes had affected the way they behave toward other residents (34.3%) than were residents who did not consider themselves active in the community (13.5%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 6.12, $p < .05$). Here, respondents were referring to extending themselves more to neighbors, or a social expansion. Residents who reported that neighborhood changes had affected the way they behave toward other residents had lived in Port Hill for a significantly greater percentage of their lives (47%) than had residents who stated that changes had not influenced the way they behaved toward their neighbors (28%) (F (87) = 3.29, $p < .05$). In this case, respondents largely were referring to a contraction of their social lives.

Impact on feelings about their future in the neighborhood. Question 33 asked residents if they felt that the changes in the neighborhood they identified earlier had influenced the way they felt about their future in the neighborhood. While one-third (35.2%, n = 31) said that the changes had not had this effect, nearly one-half of the residents (47.7%, n = 42) reported that they did feel differently about their future in Port Hill as a result of

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Table 42A

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Act Toward the People Around Here? (Question 32)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 40 | 76.9 | 7 | 13.5 | 5 | 9.6 | |
| Yes | 22 | 62.9 | 12 | 34.3 | 1 | 2.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 6.12*[b] |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 63 | | 19 | | 6 | | |
| M | 28% | | 47% | | 43% | | |
| SD | .25 | | .35 | | .44 | | F (87) = 3.29*[c] |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 63 (71.6%); "yes" said by 19 (21.6%); and something "other" said by 6 (6.8%).

[b] *** = p < .001; ** = p < .01; * = p < .05.

[c] No two groups are significantly different at the .050 level.

these neighborhood changes.

As indicated in Table 43 (see Appendixes), there was virtually no significant variation in this response related to the predictor variables. Residents who stated that they felt differently about their future in Port Hill as a result of neighborhood changes had slightly greater Resource Set values (10.7) than had residents who did not feel differently about their future in the neighborhood (10.0) ($F(72) = 3.93$, $p < .05$).

In response to question 33, 58 residents gave an evaluative direction--positive, negative, etc.--to their sentiment. Half felt more negatively about their future in the neighborhood as a result of neighborhood changes (51.7%, n = 30). Over one-quarter felt more positively about their future in Port Hill than they had previously (27.6%, n = 16). Table 44 (see Appendixes) indicates that the only significant variation in this set of responses was related to housing costs. Residents who were uncertain of a direction of influence or negative in their feelings about their future in Port Hill reported significantly lower housing costs ($467, $499) than did residents whose feelings about the neighborhood were mixed or positive ($M$ = $799, $714) ($F(53) = 2.95$, $p < .05$).

Impact on residents' plans for their future in the neighborhood. Interviewers also asked residents whether or not the neighborhood changes they had identified had affected the plans they had made for their future in the

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neighborhood. Nearly two-thirds (64.8%, n = 57) said that they had not changed their plans, although one-quarter had made such changes (26.1%, n = 23). Table 45 (see Appendixes) reveals that there was no significant variation in responses to this question related to the primary discrete or experiential variables.

The Importance of Social Factors

As I described in some detail earlier in this report, social conditions consistently figured among the most frequently cited elements of neighborhood life. The importance of social factors persisted across the responses to each of the interview's primary open-ended questions. In addition to finding such comments emerging in response to open-ended questions throughout the interview, I asked forced-choice and scale questions which directly addressed socialization among residents.

The degree to which residents take care of each other. In question 41, residents were asked to use a Likert scale to describe the degree to which they felt people in the neighborhood take care of each other--from very poorly (1) to very well (7). I characterized care as "watching out for little children in the street," and "doing errands and looking out for older people." The Table 46 (see Appendixes) summary of responses to this scale reveals that residents rated this type of neighborly care in Port Hill as slightly above the midpoint ($\underline{M}$ = 4.84). Here, again, I found little variability related to either the discrete or experiential

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variables. The only significant difference found was that related to residents' community activism. Residents who described themselves as active in the community assigned significantly higher ratings here than did residents who were not active in the community. Activists were more likely to see their neighbors as taking care of one another fairly well ($\underline{M}$ = 5.2) than were residents not involved in Port Hill in this way ($\underline{M}$ = 4.6) ($Z = -2.01$, $\underline{p} < .05$).

Although this evaluation does not portray a particularly warm social ambience throughout Port Hill, a somewhat different view emerges upon examination of residents' responses to the next question. In this case, residents were asked whether there were "people in [the] neighborhood [they] could count on in an emergency (e.g., leave [their] children with them in a family emergency, ask a neighbor to drive [them] to the hospital)." Over ninety percent of the respondents (90.9%, n = 80) said that they could rely on people in the neighborhood for such assistance.[59] Only four residents (4.5%) said that they were not able to rely on such help. So few residents reported having no one on whom they could count in an emergency, that I was unable to systematically examine differences related to the independent variables by calculating meaningful chi-square statistics. I was able to

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[59]Over half of these residents were referring to neighbors for this assistance (n = 45). Three residents were counting on relatives for help. Twenty-nine residents were relying on neighbors and relatives for help in emergencies.

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compute F tests for homogeneity of variance for residents' income, percentage of life lived in this community, and the Resource Set available to residents. Only the last variable was significantly related to residents' status on this outcome. Residents who reported that they could rely on people in the neighborhood to help them in an emergency had significantly, if modestly, greater resources ($\underline{M}$ = 10.4) to draw upon than did residents who were unable to count on their neighbors in this way ($\underline{M}$ = 9.0) ($F$ (72) = 3.95, $\underline{p}$ < .05).

Do residents share the concerns of their neighbors? The next question asked residents to use a scale to indicate whether the concerns of 'the people around here' were (1) very different from their own or very similar to their concerns (7). Table 47 (see next page and Appendixes) summarizes the responses to this question. Residents typically described the concerns of their neighbors as slightly more similar to their own concerns than they were different from their own ($\underline{M}$ = 4.35).[60] There were some significant, if modest, differences in residents' responses --related to a discrete and to a few experiential variables.

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[60]For respondents answering at or above the scale midpoint, interviewers followed-up on this response by asking them to identify some of the things they had in common with their neighbors. We coded up to three items for each respondent. Across the three possible responses, the most frequently cited common concerns were caring for their block or homes, a general unspecified concern for the neighborhood, and safety concerns.

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Table 47A

Relationships Between Rating of the Similarity of One's Concerns With Those of One's Neighbors[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 43)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 33 | 3.5 | |
| Owners | 46 | 4.9 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.91**[c] |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 44 | 4.0 | |
| Yes | 34 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.01* |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 8 | 2.8 | |
| Yes | 71 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.13* |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 31 | 3.7 | |
| Yes | 48 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.39* |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Resource Set | 66 | .27* |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 79; mean = 4.35; median = 4.00; mode = 6.00; SD = 2.01; range=1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Home owners rated their neighbors' concerns as significantly more similar to their own concerns than did renters ($Z = 2.91$, $p < .01$). Residents who were active in the community saw their neighbors' concerns as more similar to their own interests than did residents who were not active in the community ($Z = 2.01$, $p < .05$). Residents with friends ($Z = 2.13$, $p < .05$) and those with relatives ($Z = 2.39$, $p < .05$) in the neighborhood rated their neighbors' concerns as more similar to their own than did residents without these loved ones living nearby. In addition, there was a low, though significant positive correlation between estimation of the similarity of one's neighbors' concerns with a resident's own concerns and the amalgam of social and economic resources a resident enjoys (i.e., Resource Set) ($r = .27$, $p < .05$).

Frequency of socializing with neighbors. The next question asked residents to describe how often they socialized with any of their neighbors (i.e., either going out together or getting together in someone's home). I treated these data, basically a six-point scale, the same as the ordinal data presented for the Likert scales, and have summarized the responses in Table 48 (see next page and Appendixes). On the average, residents socialized with neighbors between once a month and once every six months ($M = 3.35$). I found only two significant relationships between this outcome measure and any of the independent variables. Residents who were active in the community got together

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Table 48A

Relationships Between the Frequency of Socializing With One's Neighbors[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 44)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 52 | 2.7 | |
| Yes | 35 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -4.24***[c] |
| (Interval) | | N | Correlation/ significance |
| Housing costs | | 81 | .23* |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 88; mean = 3.35; median = 4.00; mode = 1.00, 5.00; SD = 1.89; range = 1-6.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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socially with their neighbors significantly more often (at least once a month) than did residents who were not active in the community (at least annually) ($Z = 4.24$, $p < .001$). There was a low, though significant positive correlation between residents' housing costs and the frequency with which residents socialized with their neighbors ($r = .23$, $p < .05$).

Expectations About the Neighborhood's Future

Interviewers asked residents what they expected Port Hill to be like in five years and what they wanted it to be like in five years. The responses to these questions were presented in Tables 22 and 17, respectively (see Appendixes).

In describing the neighborhood they expected Port Hill to be in five years, nearly half of the residents (47.7%, n = 42) cited changes they expected to find in the area's social composition (see Table 22 in Appendixes). Most often, the elements of this social change were increasing numbers of middle class residents, gentrification, more residents caring for the neighborhood and property, the displacement of lower income residents and related tensions, and the arrival of new immigrants. One-third of the sample (33.0%, n = 29) expected to see changes in the area's housing stock, and this almost always was of an expected improvement in housing. One-quarter of the residents (26.1%, n = 23) referred to the status of service delivery in the community --most often in terms of a modest improvement in services.

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As presented in Table 17 (see Appendixes), residents' hopes for Port Hill five years into the future were slightly different. Their "wish list" focused on improved service delivery--particularly that related to schools and services for youth (45.5%, n = 40) and continued housing rehabilitation (34.1%, n = 30). Nearly one-third of the sample wanted to see improvements in cleanliness and in the overall physical condition of the neighborhood (30.7%, n = 27), in the way crime is handled (30.7%, n = 27), in the area's commercial district (30.7%, n = 27), and in the attitudes of residents (30.7%, n = 27). Respondents wanted their neighborhood to provide more opportunities for their children to grow, in a clean and safe setting where neighbors care about one another, and where they can purchase the goods and services necessary for life.

Personal residential expectations. Question 35 asked residents how long they planned to continue living in the neighborhood. Half of the 86 residents answering the question either had "no plans" to leave the neighborhood (33.7%, n = 29) or planned to live here "forever" (17.4%, n = 15). One-quarter (24.4%, n = 21) planned to leave the neighborhood within the five years following the interview.[61]

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[61]Another 15 residents (17.4%) planned to leave the neighborhood ten or more years from the interview period. The remaining residents either planned to move, but had no specific date in mind (4.7%, n = 4) or planned to move sometime between five and ten years after the data collection (2.3%, n = 2).

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Table 49 (see next page and Appendixes) indicates that there was relatively little systematic variation in response to this question related to the primary predictors. Responses varied systematically with race, home ownership status, income, per capita income after housing costs, and the Resource Set. Though each case was statistically significant, only the first two sets of relationships were substantial.

Hispanic residents were significantly more likely to report having "no plans" to move (55.8%) than were white residents (20.9%). White residents were more likely to have plans to remain in the neighborhood for up to five years (32.6% versus 16.3% for Hispanic residents) or for a period longer than five years than were Hispanics (30.2% versus 9.3% for Hispanic residents) ($\chi^2$ (3) = 13.98, $p < .01$). Residents who rented their homes were significantly more likely to have "no plans" for how long they might remain in Port Hill (50.0%) than were homeowners (28.3%). Homeowners planned to remain in Port Hill for a period longer than five years (52.1% versus 20%) ($\chi^2$ (3) = 10.3, $p < .05$).

The results related to income and resources suggest that residents with greater resources--whether examined in terms of discrete or experiential variables--were more likely to report having plans to remain in the neighborhood for at least five years, if not longer, than were residents with more modest resources.

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Table 49A
How Long Do Residents Plan to Continue Living in the Neighborhood (Question 35)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | No plans N | No plans Percentage | Up to 5 years N | Up to 5 years Percentage | Longer than 5 N | Longer than 5 Percentage | Stay forever N | Stay forever Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 20 | 50.0 | 12 | 30.0 | 3 | 7.5 | 5 | 12.5 | |
| Owners | 13 | 28.3 | 9 | 19.6 | 14 | 30.4 | 10 | 21.7 | $\chi^2(3)=10.33$*[b] |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 24 | 55.8 | 7 | 16.3 | 4 | 9.3 | 8 | 18.6 | |
| White | 9 | 20.9 | 14 | 32.6 | 13 | 30.2 | 7 | 16.3 | $\chi^2(3)=13.98$** |
| Income2[c] | | | | | | | | | |
| N | | 28 | | 19 | | 14 | | 13 | |
| M | | $20,571 | | $31,895 | | $37,929 | | $29,000 | |
| SD | | 15,431 | | 22,684 | | 18,357 | | 16,308 | F(73) = 3.2* |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | | | | | |
| N | | 26 | | 19 | | 14 | | 12 | |
| M | | $5577 | | $11,359 | | $10,859 | | $6,417 | |
| SD | | 6,260 | | 9,759 | | 7,850 | | 5,161 | F(70)=2.98*[d] |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 86) are: no plans or planning to move, but at no specific time said by 33 residents (38.4%); moving within 5 years said by 21 (24.4%); moving at some specific time beyond 5 years said by 17 (19.8%); or staying forever (n = 15, 17.4%).

[b] *** = p < .001; ** = p < .01; * = p < .05.

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

[d] No two groups are significantly different at the .050 level.

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Table 49A--continued
How Long Do Residents Plan to Continue Living in the Neighborhood (Question 35)

| Independent Variable | No plans | Up to 5 years | Longer than 5 | Stay forever | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Resource Set | | | | | |
| N | 25 | 17 | 13 | 12 | |
| M | 9.3 | 10.2 | 10.7 | 10.8 | |
| SD | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.3 | F(66)=3.53*[a] |

[a] No two groups are significantly different at the .050 level.

Perceived Residential Options

Most residents felt that they had options to living in this neighborhood. In response to the direct question, "... if you found you had to move, could you?," over 70% of the 87 residents who answered question 40 replied that they could move if it were required (72.4%, n = 63). As Table 50 indicates (see next page and Appendixes), there was considerable agreement in responses related to this dimension of neighborhood perception. There were significant differences related only to four independent variables--home ownership status, having friends currently living in the community, housing costs, and the amalgam of resources available to a resident.

Residents who owned their homes were significantly more likely to report being able to move (85.4%), if necessary, than were renters (56.4%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 14.4, $p < .001$). Residents with friends in the community were significantly more likely to report that they would be able to move if the need arose (76.9%), than were residents without friends locally (33.3%) ($\chi^2$ (2) = 7.79, $p < .05$). The residents reporting that they would be able to move paid significantly higher monthly housing costs ($M$ = $629) than did residents reporting that they were unable to leave the community ($M$ = $361) (F (79) = 4.08, $p < .05$). Residents who indicated that they could move, if necessary also reported having greater overall resources (i.e., Resource Set) ($M$ = 10.6) than did the residents who felt unable to move from Port Hill ($M$ =

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Table 50A

Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 12 | 30.8 | 22 | 56.4 | 5 | 12.8 | |
| Owners | 1 | 2.1 | 41 | 85.4 | 6 | 12.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 14.4***[b] |
| Have friends in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 3 | 33.3 | 3 | 33.3 | 3 | 33.3 | |
| Yes | 10 | 12.8 | 60 | 76.9 | 8 | 10.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 7.79*[c] |
| Housing Costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 11 | | 58 | | 11 | | |
| M | $361 | | $629 | | $520 | | |
| SD | 258 | | 303 | | 278 | | F (79) = 4.08* |
| Resource Set | | | | | | | |
| N | 10 | | 55 | | 7 | | |
| M | 8.6 | | 10.6 | | 9.1 | | |
| SD | 1.3 | | 1.6 | | 1.8 | | F (71) = 8.80*** |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 87) are: "no" said by 13 (14.9%); "yes" said by 63 (72.4%); and something "other" said by 11 (12.6%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[c] Two of six cells with expected frequencies less than 5.

8.6) ($F$ (71) = 8.80, $p < .001$).

Two-thirds of the residents (66%, n = 59) were able to say where they would go, if they found they had to move. Among the residents who identified a place they would move, nearly half (47.5%, n = 28) selected another Brooklyn neighborhood. An additional 15.3% (n = 9) said that they would leave Brooklyn, but would remain within New York City. A clear majority (62.7%) would stay in the city. Nearly one-quarter (23.7%, n = 14) said that they would leave the state and move to another state within the U.S.. The remainder of respondents to this query would move either to another area of New York State (8.5%, n = 5) or outside the U.S. (5.1%, n = 3).

In addition to tapping perceived residential options, I wanted to know if and how perceived residential options might be related to other neighborhood perceptions. Table 51 summarizes the relationships between responses to question 40 ("... if you found you had to move, could you?") and responses to forced-choice and Likert scale questions (see next page and Appendixes). As presented in Table 51, a perceived ability to leave the neighborhood was significantly related to residents' responses to seven questions.[62]

---

[62]In a few instances, the data are less persuasive than I might hope, because of small cell sizes. The table includes notations where this is an issue. The low cell frequencies are due to the relatively small number of residents who reported being unable to leave the neighborhood should the need arise (n = 13, 14.9%).

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Table 51A

Relationships Between Responses to the Major Outcome Measures and the Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)[a]

| Outcome Measures (Categorical) | N | Said "No" Percentage | N | Said "Yes" Percentage | N | Said Something Else Percentage | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Would residents recommend that friends move into the neighborhood? (question 13) | | | | | | | |
| no | 5 | 41.7 | 7 | 58.3 | | | |
| yes | 6 | 11.1 | 42 | 77.8 | 6 | 11.1 | |
| other | 2 | 9.5 | 14 | 66.7 | 5 | 23.8 | $\chi^2$ (4)= 11.0*[bc] |
| Have residents gotten what they wanted to get from living here? (question 18) | | | | | | | |
| no | 5 | 45.5 | 4 | 36.4 | 2 | 18.2 | |
| yes | 5 | 8.8 | 45 | 78.9 | 7 | 12.3 | |
| other | 3 | 17.6 | 12 | 70.6 | 2 | 11.8 | $\chi^2$ (4) =10.8*[d] |
| (Likert scales (1-7)) | N | Mean | N | Mean | N | Mean | Significance[e] |
| How well or poorly does this neighborhood fit as your idea of a good place to live? (question 22) | 11 | 3.5 | 62 | 4.5 | 9 | 5.2 | $\chi^2$ (82) = 6.53* |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 87) include: "no" said by 13 residents (14.9%); "yes" said by 63 (72.4%); and something "other" said by 11 (12.6%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[c] Four of nine cells have an expected frequency lower than five.

[d] Four of nine cells have an expected frequency lower than five.

[e] Because I have more than two values for the independent variable, I have used the Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA. I present the means solely for the reader's edification.

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Table 51A--continued

Relationships Between Responses to the Major Outcome Measures and the Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)

| Outcome Measures (Likert scales (1-7)) | Said "No" | | Said "Yes" | | Said Something Else | | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Mean | N | Mean | N | Mean | Significance |
| Overall evaluation of neighborhood change (question 28) | 12 | 3.3 | 60 | 4.7 | 11 | 4.3 | $\chi^2(83)=15.6$*** |
| How well do people take care of each other here? (question 41) | 11 | 3.9 | 59 | 4.8 | 9 | 6.0 | $\chi^2$ (79) = 8.1* |
| How similar are your concerns to those of the people around here? (question 43) | 13 | 2.8 | 58 | 4.7 | 8 | 4.8 | $\chi^2$ (79) =9.11** |
| (Interval measures) | | | | | | | |
| Number of square blocks in resident's neighborhood (question 8) | 11 | 78.1 | 43 | 181.1 | 9 | 96.4 | F (62) =3.28*[f] |

[f] No two groups significantly differed at the .050 level.

Residents who saw themselves as unable to leave Port Hill, if necessary, were significantly less likely to recommend the neighborhood to friends considering moving into the neighborhood (11.1%) than were residents who saw themselves as able to move from the neighborhood (77.8%) ($\chi^2$ (4) = 11.0, $p < .05$). Residents who saw themselves as able to move were significantly more likely to report that they had gotten what they wanted from living in Port Hill (78.9%) than were residents who did not perceive this option (8.8%) ($\chi^2$ (4) = 10.84, $p < .05$). When asked how well or poorly the neighborhood fit as their idea of a good place to live, residents unable to move from Port Hill rated the neighborhood significantly lower ($M$ = 3.5) than did residents who felt they could move, if the need arose ($M$ = 4.5) ($\chi^2$ (82) = 6.53, $p < .05$). Residents who saw themselves as unable to move from Port Hill rated the overall direction of neighborhood change as significantly less positive ($M$ = 3.3) than did residents who felt that they could move ($M$ = 4.7) ($\chi^2$ (83) = 15.6, $p < .001$). Residents who did not see a way out of Port Hill rated the support among local residents significantly lower ($M$ = 3.9) than did residents who saw options ($M$ = 4.8) and residents who gave something other than a "yes" or a "no" answer to the able to move query ($M$ = 6.0) ($\chi^2$ (79) = 8.1, $p < .05$). Respondents who felt unable to leave the neighborhood reported that they had less in common with their neighbors ($M$ = 2.8) than did residents who saw a way out of Port Hill ($M$ = 4.7) ($\chi^2$ (79) = 9.11, $p <$

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.01). Finally, residents who saw themselves as able to move defined their geographical neighborhood as a significantly larger area ($M$ = 181.1 square blocks) than the neighborhoods defined by residents unable to move ($M$ = 78.1 square blocks) ($\chi^2$ (62) = 3.28, $p < .05$).

The data also indicate that perceiving that one could move from Port Hill, if necessary, was not significantly related to residents' reports that neighborhood changes had affected one's feelings about or behavior toward the neighborhood or other residents, or their plans for their future in the area. Perceived residential options were not related to residents' overall assessment of the neighborhood or to the importance of the neighborhood in one's life.

Results of Multivariate Analyses

In addition to bivariate analyses comparing the contribution of the discrete and the experiential variables to quantifiable outcomes, multivariate analyses were conducted. Again, I presumed that the experiential variables more closely reflected people/environment relationships. As such, I hypothesized that the experiential predictors would explain more of the variation in residents' definitions and perceptions of neighborhood change than would the discrete predictors.

The first of two groups of regression equations separately examined the contribution of the discrete and experiential predictors. This group of regressions was the only multivariate analysis originally planned to address the

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hypothesis. Although not explicitly required by the original hypothesis, the second group of regressions seemed warranted by the results of the initial regressions. The second group considered the contribution of both the discrete and the experiential predictors in the same equations to determine how all predictors related to one another. All of the multivariate analyses built on the findings of the earlier analyses. Only predictors which previously had been found significantly related to the outcomes were included in the multivariate analyses. This decision removed some predictors examined in the bivariate analyses (e.g., Area Resource Level, racial majority/minority status, work outside of home) from this set of analyses.

The initial series of stepwise multiple regression analyses examined the contribution of three sets of predictors to 18 readily quantifiable outcomes. For each outcome examined, a set of three stepwise regression equations was run. Regressions examined the outcomes in terms of the contribution of (a) the discrete variables, (b) the experiential variables using the Resource Set as a composite, and (c) the experiential variables using the Resource Set components. Table 52 (see next page) lists the predictors included in those categories.

The outcomes targeted for the regressions explored four areas of neighborhood perception: broad neighborhood life, social life, housing, and change. The specific outcomes examined within these four categories are listed below.

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Table 52

Predictors Examined in Multivariate Analyses

| | |
|---|---|
| **Discrete Variables** | |
| home ownership (vs. rental) | [OWNRENT][a] |
| race/ethnicity (Hispanic, white) | [RACE] |
| gender | [GENDER] |
| income | [INCOME2] |
| length of local residency | [LENRESID] |
| **Experiential Variables** | |
| housing costs | [HSGCOSTS] |
| (self-reported) being active in the community | [ACTVCOMM] |
| percentage of life lived in this neighborhood | [LIFCOM] |
| having children living in the household | [KIDSHOME] |
| (using the Resource Set as a composite) | |
| * Resource Set | [RESETSCO] |
| (using the Resource Set components) | |
| * home ownership (vs. rental) | [OWNRENT] |
| * per capita income after housing costs have been paid | [PCINCAH] |
| * formal involvement in local organizations | [LOCGRPS] |
| * formal involvement in organizations outside of the neighborhood | [OUTSGRPS] |
| * having friends in the neighborhood | [FRIENDS] |
| * having relatives in the neighborhood | [RELATIVS] |

[a]These are the variable names used in the analyses.

*Indicates the Resource Set and its components.

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Seven outcomes reflecting broad neighborhood life included residents' (seven-point Likert scale) ratings of overall neighborhood quality (OVERALL[63]), the neighborhood as a good place to live (GOODPLAC), the ease of living as a resident chose to live in this neighborhood (EASYHERE), and the importance of the neighborhood in a resident's life overall (LIFEIMP). The other outcomes included in this group were the size of the geographical area residents considered their neighborhood (SQBLKSND), the length of time residents anticipated continuing to live in the neighborhood (HOLONGHR), and their perceived ability to move from the neighborhood, should the need arise (ABLEMOVE).

Four outcomes related to neighborhood social life included the self-reported gross frequency of socializing with neighbors (SOCIALIZ), residents' assessments of whether or not they felt they could rely on neighbors for help in an emergency (CANCOUNT), and responses to two seven-point Likert scales. The scales tapped the degree to which respondents saw neighborhood residents as taking care of each other as needed (TAKECARE) and the degree to which respondents felt that they shared common concerns with other people in the neighborhood (SIMCNCRN).

The two outcomes related to area housing were residents' scale ratings of the quality of their own housing and the cost of local housing (QUALHSG) (COSTHSG).

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[63]The terms in caps are the variable names used in the analyses. They are used here and in tables in the interest of brevity.

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Five change-related outcomes also were examined via a series of regression equations. The first was a resident's Likert scale rating of the overall direction (deterioration-improvement) of neighborhood change (OVRLCHNG). The other change-related outcomes constituted ratio-level data:

- the number of neighborhood changes identified by residents as having occurred in the five years preceding the interviews (NCHANGES),
- the ratio of the number of neighborhood changes residents considered beneficial to the number they considered detrimental to their lives in the neighborhood (CHANGRAT),
- the number of neighborhood changes residents identified as having impacted on their lives in the neighborhood (NIMPACTS), and
- the number of adjustments residents indicated they had made in their household routine related to neighborhood conditions and changes (CHHROUTN).

For each multiple regression, the criterion for entry employed was a probability-to-enter of .20 or less.[64]

The results of the first group of regressions--the set of three regressions for each of the 18 outcomes listed earlier--are summarized in Tables 53 through 56.[65] The

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[64]Tables were prepared for each outcome which identified the predictors meeting the entry criterion, indicated whether or not the predictor contributions were statistically significant, and listed other predictors whose contribution to the outcome was examined, but which did not meet the entry criterion. In the interest of brevity, only tables summarizing the multivariate findings for individual outcomes by four areas of neighborhood perceptions are presented in this report. The tables for individual outcomes are available from the author.

[65]Please note that, in a few cases, none of the group of predictors being examined (i.e., discrete, either of two sets of experiential predictors) met the entry criterion for a particular outcome.

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tables list the percentage of outcome variance explained by the three sets of predictors.

The first group of outcomes summarized are the seven which reflected broad perceptions of neighborhood life (i.e., LIFEIMP, OVERALL, SQBLKSND, GOODPLAC, EASYHERE, HOLONGHR, ABLEMOVE). As can be seen in Table 53 (see next page), for this set of outcomes, the experiential variables[66] predicted more of the outcome variance than did the discrete variables for four broad neighborhood life outcomes (viz., LIFEIMP, OVERALL, EASYHERE, and HOLONGHR). The discrete predictors explained more of the variance for three broad neighborhood life outcomes (viz., SQBLKSND, GOODPLAC, and ABLEMOVE). For this set of outcomes overall, the discrete variables typically accounted for nine percent ($\underline{M}$ = 9.4%) of the outcome variance. Using the Resource Set composite, the experiential variables explained six percent ($\underline{M}$ = 5.6%) of the outcome variance. Using the Resource Set components, the experiential variables explained 11% ($\underline{M}$ = 10.9%) of the variance.

The second group of outcomes summarized are four which reflect residents' perceptions of neighborhood social life (i.e., SOCIALIZ, SIMCNCRN, TAKECARE, CANCOUNT). As can be seen in Table 54 (see next page), for each of the outcomes in this category, the experiential variables again predicted

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[66]In each case, the experiential variables using the Resource Set components explained more variance than did the experiential variables using the Resource Set composite.

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Table 53

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (1): Broad Neighborhood Life Outcomes

| Outcomes | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[a] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Discrete Variables | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Composite | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Components |
| LIFEIMP (perceived importance of neighborhood in resident's life) | $R^2$=18<br>RACE<br>OWNRENT**[b]<br>INCOME2* | $R^2$=10<br>ACTVCOMM** | $R^2$=26<br>ACTVCOMM**<br>OUTSGRPS**<br>OWNRENT |
| OVERALL (overall rating of area as a place to live) | $R^2$= 3<br>RACE | ___[c] | $R^2$=12<br>KIDSHOME*<br>RELATIVS |
| SQBLKSND (size of area considered neighborhood) | $R^2$= 5<br>RACE | ___[c] | ___[c] |
| GOODPLAC (degree to which neighborhood is good place to live at this point in life) | $R^2$= 6<br>LENRESID<br>GENDER | ___[c] | ___[c] |
| EASYHERE (degree to which neighborhood makes it easier or more difficult to live as one chooses) | $R^2$= 6<br>RACE<br>LENRESID | $R^2$= 7<br>RESETSCO* | $R^2$= 8<br>PCINCAH* |
| HOLONGHR (plans to continue living here) | $R^2$=10<br>OWNRENT** | $R^2$=18<br>RESETSCO<br>LIFCOM<br>HSGCOSTS | $R^2$=20<br>OWNRENT**<br>LIFCOM |
| ABLEMOVE (perceived ability to move from area) | $R^2$=18<br>OWNRENT***<br>INCOME2<br>GENDER | $R^2$= 4<br>HSGCOSTS | $R^2$=10<br>OWNRENT** |

[a]Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less).
[b]Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.
[c]No predictor met the entry criterion.

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Table 54

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (1): Social Life Outcomes

| Outcomes | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[a] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Discrete Variables | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Composite | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Components |
| SOCIALIZ (frequency of socializing with neighbors) | $R^2$= 6<br>OWNRENT*[b] | $R^2$=27<br>ACTVCOMM*** | $R^2$=35<br>LOCGRPS*<br>ACTVCOMM*<br>HSGCOSTS |
| SIMCNCRN (perceived similarity of concerns among local residents) | $R^2$=11<br>OWNRENT** | $R^2$= 7<br>RESETSCO* | $R^2$=29<br>OWNRENT**<br>OUTSGRPS*<br>LOCGRPS |
| TAKECARE (perception of degree to which residents care for each other) | $R^2$= 3<br>GENDER | ___[c] | $R^2$= 4<br>LOCGRPS |
| CANCOUNT (perception of whether or not residents can rely on neighbors for emergency help) | $R^2$=10<br>OWNRENT**<br>RACE | $R^2$= 7<br>RESETSCO<br>LIFCOM | $R^2$=24<br>LOCGRPS**<br>OWNRENT*<br>OUTSGRPS<br>LIFCOM |

[a]Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion for the analysis (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less).

[b]Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[c]The regression run for this outcome was not productive. None of the predictors met the entry criterion.

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more of the outcome variance than did the discrete variables. Also for each social life outcome, the set of experiential predictors using the Resource Set components explained more of the variance than did the set using the Resource Set composite. For this group of outcomes overall, the experiential variables using the Resource Set components typically accounted for 23% of the outcome variance. The experiential predictors using the Resource Set composite accounted for 10% (M = 10.3%), and the discrete predictors explained 8% of the outcome variance (M = 7.5%).

The third group of outcomes summarized are two related to the quality of their own housing and the cost of area housing. Table 55 (see next page) indicates that, again, the experiential variables predicted more of the outcome variance than did the discrete variables. This finding held for both outcomes in this group. Using the Resource Set components, the experiential predictors accounted for one-quarter of the variance in residents' ratings of local housing (M = 24%). The discrete predictors explained 16% of the variance. The experiential predictors using the Resource Set composite explained 9% of the outcome variance.

For the change-related outcomes presented in Table 56 (see next page), however, the picture was different. For four of the five outcomes in this group (i.e., OVRLCHNG, CHANGRAT, NIMPACTS, CHHROUTN), the discrete predictors explained more of the outcome variance than did either set of experiential predictors. Only for the outcome reflecting

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Table 55

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (1): Local Housing Outcomes

| Outcomes | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[a] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Discrete Variables | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Composite | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Components |
| QUALHSG (rating of quality of respondent's housing) | $R^2$=20<br>INCOME2**[b]<br>RACE<br>LENRESID | $R^2$=11<br>RESETSCO** | $R^2$=23<br>PCINCAH*<br>LIFCOM*<br>HSGCOSTS*<br>OUTSGRPS |
| COSTHSG (rating of the cost of local housing) | $R^2$=12<br>GENDER*<br>INCOME2 | $R^2$= 7<br>RESETSCO* | $R^2$=25<br>PCINCAH<br>FRIENDS*<br>RELATIVS<br>OWNRENT<br>KIDSHOME |

[a]Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion for the analysis (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less).

[b]Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 56

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (1): Change-Related Outcomes

| Outcomes | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[a] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Discrete Variables | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Composite | Experiential Variables--Resource Set Components |
| OVRLCHNG (rating of degree to which neighborhood is changing for better or worse) | $R^2$=12<br>OWNRENT**[b]<br>INCOME2*<br>GENDER | $R^2$= 7<br>HSGCOSTS* | $R^2$=10<br>HSGCOSTS*<br>PCINCAH |
| CHANGRAT (ratio of changes deemed positive to those deemed negative for resident's life here) | $R^2$=23<br>INCOME2<br>LENRESID*<br>OWNRENT | $R^2$=16<br>RESETSCO*<br>HSGCOSTS | $R^2$=19<br>OWNRENT**<br>RELATIVS<br>ACTVCOMM |
| NCHANGES (number of changes recognized as having occurred in last five years) | $R^2$=15<br>LENRESID**<br>OWNRENT* | $R^2$=31<br>ACTVCOMM**<br>LIFCOM**<br>HSGCOSTS* | $R^2$=35<br>ACTVCOMM**<br>LIFCOM**<br>HSGCOSTS*<br>KIDSHOME* |
| NIMPACTS (number of neighborhood changes mentioned as impacting on resident's life) | $R^2$=12<br>RACE<br>LENRESID<br>INCOME2 | $R^2$=10<br>RESETSCO** | $R^2$= 9<br>LOCGRPS** |
| CHHROUTN (number of changes in household routine linked to neighborhood changes and conditions) | $R^2$=28<br>RACE**<br>GENDER***<br>INCOME2<br>OWNRENT | $R^2$= 8<br>RESETSCO* | $R^2$=18<br>PCINCAH**<br>ACTVCOMM<br>OWNRENT |

[a]Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less).
[b]Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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the number of changes residents recognized as having occurred in the preceding five years (NCHANGES) did the experiential variables predict more of the outcome variance than did the discrete variables. Still, the experiential variables using the Resource Set components and the discrete variables each predicted 18% of the variance in the change-related outcome group. The experiential variables using the Resource Set composite explained 14% (M = 14.4%) of the outcome variance for this group.

Across the 18 sets of regression analyses, the experiential predictors explained 41% more outcome variance than did the discrete predictors. The experiential predictors accounted for the largest portion of the variance for eleven of the outcomes. For seven outcomes, the discrete variables explained greater amounts of variability than did either configuration of the experiential predictors. Overall, while the experiential predictors using the Resource Set components accounted for more variance (M=17.1%) than did the discrete predictors (M=12.1%), the experiential predictors using the Resource Set composite (M=9.4%) explained less of the variance than did the discrete predictors.[67] When entered separately from the discrete predictors, the experiential predictors using the Resource Set components accounted for 20 percent or more of the variance in eight of the targeted 18 outcomes. The discrete predictors accounted for 20 percent or more of the

[67]This was the case for 14 of the 18 outcomes examined.

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response variation in three of the 18 targeted outcomes.

The predictors most frequently making statistically significant contributions to the variability in these readily quantifiable outcomes were home ownership or rental and the overall resources a resident brought to life in the neighborhood (i.e., Resource Set). Among the discrete predictors, home ownership (vs. rental) accounted for a significant amount of the variance in eight outcomes[68] and income did so for three outcomes.[69] Among the experiential predictors when the Resource Set composite was used, the Resource Set composite accounted for a significant amount of the variance in seven outcomes[70] and self-reported community activism did so for three outcomes.[71] An examination of the contribution of the experiential predictors using the Resource Set components revealed that home ownership or rental made a significant contribution to five outcomes.[72] Four other experiential variables (i.e., being active in the community, involvement in local organizations, housing costs, and per capita income after housing costs had been paid) accounted for significant

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[68]These were LIFEIMP, HOLONGHR, ABLEMOVE, SOCIALIZ, SIMCNCRN, CANCOUNT, OVRLCHNG, and NCHANGES.

[69]These were LIFEIMP, QUALHSG, and OVRLCHNG.

[70]These were EASYHERE, SIMCNCRN, QUALHSG, COSTHSG, CHANGRAT, NIMPACTS, and CHHROUTN.

[71]These were LIFEIMP, SOCIALIZ, and NCHANGES.

[72]These were HOLONGHR, ABLEMOVE, SIMCNCRN, CANCOUNT, and CHANGRAT.

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amounts of the outcome variance in three outcomes.

The outcomes for which the predictors examined were most effective in accounting for response variability were: the number of neighborhood changes residents identified (NCHANGES), the frequency of socializing with neighbors (SOCIALIZ), the perceived similarity of a resident's concerns with those of other residents (SIMCNCRN), the number of changes in household routine linked to neighborhood changes and conditions (CHHROUTN), the perceived importance of the neighborhood in residents' lives (LIFEIMP), and ratings of area housing costs (HSGCOSTS). The predictors examined explained at least one-quarter of the variance in each of these perceptions.

It should be noted that in several cases, the predictors examined accounted for relatively little of the outcome variance (range = 3 percent to 35 percent). This suggests that the outcomes explored are complex and explained by a synthesis of many variables, some beyond those identified here. In addition, the original sampling specification, intended to avoid the extremes or outliers of household resources and neighborhood experience, may have substantially compressed response variability. The issue of limited explanatory utility is discussed at greater length in Chapter Four.

This round of multivariate analysis suggested that the discrete and experiential predictors explain different amounts of variability for different types of outcomes. The

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experiential predictors explained more of the variability in the two ratings of local housing conditions and in a set of four social life outcomes than did the discrete predictors. For a set of seven broad neighborhood life outcomes, the experiential predictors explained more variability for four outcomes,[73] while the discrete predictors explained a greater percentage of the variability for three outcomes.[74] The discrete predictors explained more of the variance in four of the five change-related outcomes than did the experiential predictors.

Following this round of analysis, I ran a fourth set of 16 regression equations. This last set examined the contribution of all predictors--discrete and experiential--that had entered any of the previous three sets of regression equations. It was intended as a direct comparison of the contributions of the discrete and experiential predictors to those outcomes warranting such a comparison.[75] The results of this group of regressions are

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[73]These were the importance of the neighborhood in residents' lives (LIFEIMP), a broad assessment of the neighborhood as a place to live (OVERALL), a rating of the degree to which the neighborhood makes it easy to live as one chooses (EASYHERE), and the expected duration of a resident's continued life in Port Hill (HOLONGHR).

[74]These were the size of the area residents deemed their neighborhood (SQBLKSND), a broad rating of Port Hill as a good place to live at this point in life (GOODPLAC), and residents' perceived ability to leave the neighborhood (ABLEMOVE).

[75]When the review of the initial regression results revealed that among the predictors examined, either the discrete or the experiential predictors (and not both) explained any variance, that outcome was excluded from this second stage of the

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provided in four summary tables.

Table 57 (see next page) summarizes results for the second set of regression equations examining broad neighborhood life outcomes. Five outcomes were included in this set of regressions, instead of the seven originally included in the broad neighborhood life category of outcomes. In the initial round of multivariate analyses of two outcomes in this category, only discrete predictors met the entry criterion.[76]

When the discrete and experiential predictors were entered together into the equations for the broad neighborhood life outcomes, overall, the predictors examined accounted for 16.2% of the variance for the outcome category. Forty-four percent of this (7.2% of the overall outcome variance) could be attributed to the combined contribution of the discrete and experiential predictors. Such a combined contribution explained over one-third of the variance in the perceived importance of the neighborhood in a resident's life (LIFEIMP).

Experiential predictors significantly contributed to residents' ratings of:

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mutivariate analysis.

[76]The experiential predictors did not contribute to the variance in the size of the area residents considered their neighborhood (SQBLKSND) or in that related to ratings of the degree to which they considered the neighborhood a good place to live (GOODPLAC). In addition, the contribution of the discrete predictors, accounting for 5% and 6% of the variance respectively, was not statistically significant.

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Table 57

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (2): Discrete and Experiential Predictors Contributions to Broad Neighborhood Life Outcomes

| Outcomes[a] | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[b] |
|---|---|
| LIFEIMP (perceived importance of neighborhood in resident's life) | $R^2$ = 36<br>OUTSGRPS*[c]<br>ACTVCOMM***<br>RACE<br>OWNRENT*<br>INCOME2 |
| OVERALL (overall rating of area as a place to live) | $R^2$ = 6<br>KIDSHOME* |
| EASYHERE (degree to which neighborhood makes it easier or more difficult to live as one chooses) | $R^2$ = 8<br>PCINCAH* |
| HOLONGHR (plans to continue living here) | $R^2$ = 20<br>OWNRENT***<br>LIFCOM |
| ABLEMOVE (perceived ability to move from area) | $R^2$ = 11<br>OWNRENT** |

[a] Two additional outcomes previously were included in "Broad Neighborhood Life Outcomes," viz., SQBLKSND and GOODPLAC. These outcomes were not examined in this set of regression equations as the only predictors to enter the earlier sets of regression equations were discrete predictors.

[b] Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less). Predictors examined were all those that entered an earlier set of three regression equations comparing the relative contribution of the discrete variables, the experiential variables with the Resource Set intact, and the experiential variables with the Resource Set components separated.

[c] Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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- the perceived importance of the neighborhood in their lives (LIFEIMP),
- the area as a place to live (OVERALL), and
- the degree to which the neighborhood made it easier or more difficult to live as they choose (EASYHERE).

The significant predictors of residents' ratings of the importance of the neighborhood in their lives (LIFEIMP) were their involvement in organizations outside of the neighborhood (e.g., professional organizations, unions, political groups, women's organizations, citywide religious groups), active local involvement, and home ownership. Residents involved with groups beyond and within Port Hill, and home owners rated the neighborhood as a more important element of their lives than did other respondents. This group of predictors explained over one-third of the outcome variance.

Although it accounted for only six percent of the outcome variance, having children in the household was the most crucial determinant of residents' overall ratings of Port Hill as a place to live (OVERALL). Respondents with children living at home rated the neighborhood more highly than did residents without children in their households.

The most important factor shaping residents' ratings of the degree to which the neighborhood made it easier or more difficult to live as they chose (EASYHERE) was their per capita income after their housing costs had been paid. This experiential variable only predicted eight percent of the outcome variance. Residents with higher per capita incomes

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after housing costs were more likely to find Port Hill a difficult place to live as they chose than were residents with less discretionary income.

Home ownership was the strongest, and the only statistically significant determinant of residents' plans to continue living in Port Hill (HOLONGHR), as well as their perceived abilities to move outside of the neighborhood (ABLEMOVE). Residents who owned their homes reported both plans to remain in Port Hill for a longer period of time, yet a greater capability to leave it, if necessary, than did residents who rented their homes.

Table 58 (see next page) summarizes results for the second set of regressions examining outcomes related to neighborhood social life. None of the predictors effectively accounted for variance in residents' ratings of the degree to which neighborhood residents take care of each other (TAKECARE). When the discrete and experiential predictors were entered into the same regression equations, for two of the remaining three social life outcomes, both discrete and experiential predictors accounted for significant amounts of the outcome variance. Only experiential predictors entered the regression equation of the frequency of socializing with neighbors (SOCIALIZ). While accounting for 31% of the variance in three of the outcomes in this category, the predictors examined explained 24% of the variance for the four social life outcomes overall. Sixty percent of this variance was due to a combined contribution of discrete and

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Table 58

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (2): Discrete and Experiential Predictors Contributions to Social Life Outcomes

| Outcomes | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[a] |
|---|---|
| SOCIALIZ (frequency of socializing with neighbors) | $R^2$ = 38<br>ACTVCOMM**[b]<br>LOCGRPS*<br>HSGCOSTS |
| SIMCNCRN (perceived similarity of concerns among local residents) | $R^2$ = 29<br>OWNRENT**<br>OUTSGRPS*<br>LOCGRPS |
| TAKECARE (perception of degree to which residents care for each other) | ---[c] |
| CANCOUNT (perception of whether or not residents can rely on neighbors for emergency help) | $R^2$ = 27<br>LOCGRPS**<br>OWNRENT*<br>OUTSGRPS<br>LIFCOM<br>RACE |

[a] Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion for the analysis (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less). Predictors examined were all those that entered an earlier set of three regression equations comparing the relative contribution of the discrete variables, the experiential variables with the Resource Set intact, and the experiential variables with the Resource Set components separated.

[b] Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[c] The regression run for this outcome was not productive. None of the predictors met the entry criterion.

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experiential predictors.

Nearly two-fifths of the variance in the frequency of socializing with neighbors (SOCIALIZ) was accounted for by residents' reports of "being active in the community" and by their formal involvement in local groups. Residents involved locally reported more frequent socializing with their neighbors than did other residents.

The primary predictors of residents' ratings of the similarity of their concerns with those of their neighbors (SIMCNCRN) were home ownership and formal involvement in organizations beyond Port Hill. Home ownership and extra-local formal involvement contributed to residents recognizing a common bond with their neighbors.

While 91% of the respondents reported that they "could count on" their neighbors in an emergency, formal involvement in local organizations and home ownership predicted over one-quarter of the variance in this outcome (CANCOUNT). These predictors were the only significant contributors to a resident's perception of this type of neighborhood support.

As summarized in Table 59 (see next page), the major contributors to outcomes related to Port Hill's housing were experiential variables. These accounted for one-quarter of the variation in residents' perceptions of area housing. The prime determinant of residents' ratings of the quality of their housing (QUALHSG) was the cost of residents' own housing. Not surprisingly, residents paying more substantial

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Table 59

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (2): Discrete and Experiential Predictors Contributions to Local Housing Outcomes

| Outcomes | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[a] |
|---|---|
| QUALHSG (rating of the quality of respondent's housing) | $R^2$ = 23<br>RESETSCO<br>RACE<br>HSGCOSTS*[b]<br>LIFCOM<br>PCINCAH |
| COSTHSG (rating of the cost of local housing) | $R^2$ = 27<br>PCINCAH<br>GENDER<br>RESETSCO**<br>FRIENDS*<br>KIDSHOME |

[a] Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion for the analysis (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less). Predictors examined were all those that entered an earlier set of three regression equations comparing the relative contribution of the discrete variables, the experiential variables with the Resource Set intact, and the experiential variables with the Resource Set components separated.

[b] Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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housing costs rated their housing quality more highly than did those with lower housing expenses. It was the only significant contributor among five which accounted for 23% of the outcome variance.

Over one-quarter of the variation in residents' ratings of area housing costs (COSTHSG) was accounted for by their composite resources (i.e., Resource Set) and the access to friends within the neighborhood. Residents with greater resources saw local housing as less expensive than did those with more meager resources. Those with friends living nearby were more likely to rate the housing as more costly than were other residents.

Table 60 (see next page) summarizes multivariate findings for the five change-related outcomes. The predictors examined accounted for 22% of the variance in residents' perceptions of neighborhood change--62% of which could be attributed to the combined contribution of discrete and experiential predictors.

Fifteen percent of the variation in residents' ratings of the degree to which neighborhood changes had been beneficial or detrimental (OVRLCHNG) was determined by their housing costs. Those paying higher prices for housing were more likely to rate neighborhood change overall as beneficial to their lives than were other residents.

The primary contributor to the ratio of the number of specific neighborhood changes considered positive to the number of changes considered negative for the resident's

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Table 60

Summary of Findings of Multivariate Analyses (2): Discrete and Experiential Predictors Contributions to Change-Related Outcomes

| Outcomes | Percentage of Variance Explained by Predictors[a] |
|---|---|
| OVRLCHNG (rating of degree to which neighborhood is changing for better or worse) | $R^2$ = 15<br>HSGCOSTS**[b]<br>INCOME2<br>GENDER |
| CHANGRAT (ratio of changes deemed positive to those deemed negative for resident's life here) | $R^2$ = 14<br>INCOME2** |
| NCHANGES (number of changes recognized as having occurred in the preceding five years) | $R^2$ = 37<br>ACTVCOMM***<br>OWNRENT**<br>LENRESID**<br>KIDSHOME |
| NIMPACTS (number of neighborhood changes mentioned as impacting on resident's life) | $R^2$ = 12<br>RESETSCO<br>LOCGRPS |
| CHHROUTN (number of changes in household routine linked to neighborhood changes and conditions) | $R^2$ = 30<br>PCINCAH**<br>GENDER***<br>RACE*<br>OWNRENT |

[a] Predictors listed are those which met the entry criterion (i.e., probability-to-enter of 0.20 or less). Predictors examined were all those that entered an earlier set of three regression equations comparing the relative contribution of the discrete variables, the experiential variables with the Resource Set intact, and the experiential variables with the Resource Set components separated.

[b] Significance at the final step of the regression equation: *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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life in Port Hill (CHANGRAT) was income. Higher-income respondents evaluated neighborhood change more harshly than did lower-income respondents.

Over one-third of the variance in the number of neighborhood changes residents recognized as having occurred in the five years immediately preceding the interviews (NCHANGES) could be attributed to three predictors, experiential and discrete. These were self-reported active involvement in the community, home ownership, and length of residence in Port Hill. It seems that the greater the resident's stake in the community, whether because of community activism, home ownership, or a long period of local residence, the greater the number of neighborhood changes the resident recognized.

None of the discrete or experiential variables examined were significant predictors of the number of neighborhood changes mentioned as impacting on residents' lives (NIMPACTS). Still, the Resource Set and formal involvement in local organizations accounted for 12% of the variance in this outcome. Respondents with greater resources and formal local involvement were more likely to report impacts of neighborhood changes on their lives than were other residents.

Three predictors, experiential and discrete, explained 30% of the variance in the number of changes in household routine linked to neighborhood changes and conditions (CHHROUTN). These were a household's per capita income after

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housing costs, gender, and ethnicity. Residents with greater discretionary income, women, and white residents were more likely to report having made adjustments in their household routines linked to neighborhood changes than were other respondents.

Summary. This hypothesis proposed that any differences in residents' neighborhood perceptions would more likely be related to the play of the experiential variables than to that of the discrete variables. I addressed this hypothesis largely through bivariate and multivariate analyses of the relationships between discrete and experiential predictors and responses to the interview's forced-choice and Likert scale questions.

In the bivariate analyses, I found both discrete and experiential predictors systematically varying with outcome variables. Across the seven dimensions of neighborhood perception, I explored 504 relationships--between 18 predictor variables and 28 outcomes. In 75 instances (14.9%), there were statistically significant findings. Examined in these terms, for six of the seven dimensions of neighborhood perception, the experiential variables systematically co-varied with the outcomes proportionately less than or equal to the number of significant findings for the discrete predictors. Only in the fifth dimension, the importance of social factors, were notably more experiential variables related to outcomes than were discrete variables. This might be expected, as three of the experiential

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variables drew from social affiliations (i.e., active in the community, having local friends and relatives). Note must also be made that, in many cases, in absolute terms, the relationships that achieved statistical significance were very modest.

Multivariate analyses indicated that 18 readily quantifiable outcomes were shaped by both the discrete and experiential predictors. When discrete and experiential predictors were entered separately into regression equations, the experiential variables explained more of the variance (17.1%) than did the discrete predictors (12.1%). In that regression series, the greater explanatory power of the experiential predictors occurred most often when components of the Resource Set were applied, rather than when the composite Resource Set was used. The Resource Set composite was less revealing than were its components.[77]

The results of the second series of regression equations, those entering discrete and experiential predictors in concert, revealed that overall, experiential predictors accounted for a greater percentage of the variance (10.1%) than did discrete predictors (2.3%) or combinations of experiential and discrete predictors (8.7%).

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[77]The Resource Set components which surfaced as significant predictors included: home ownership (OWNRENT), formal involvement in local organizations (LOCGRPS), formal involvement in organizations outside the neighborhood (OUTSGRPS), per capita income after housing costs have been paid (PCINCAH), and having local friends (FRIENDS).

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Along with this finding came evidence that discrete and experiential predictors were differentially effective in explaining different types of outcomes. When the contributions of different predictor groups were compared directly, the experiential predictors explained all of the noteworthy variance in residents' housing-related perceptions. Combinations of the discrete and experiential variables were more effective predictors of outcomes related to broad neighborhood life, social life, and neighborhood change than were either the discrete or experiential variables.

In two series of regression equations, whether the discrete and experiential predictors were entered separately or in concert, the outcomes predicted most effectively were:

- the frequency of socializing with neighbors (SOCIALIZ),
- the number of changes recognized as having occurred in the preceding five years (NCHANGES),
- the perceived importance of the neighborhood in residents' lives (LIFEIMP),
- the number of changes in household routine linked to neighborhood changes and conditions (CHHROUTN),
- the perceived similarity of concerns among local residents (SIMCNCRN),
- the perception of whether or not residents could rely on neighbors for emergency help (CANCOUNT), and
- residents' ratings of area housing costs (COSTHSG).

In each case, the predictors examined explained over one-quarter of the outcome variance.

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Neighborhood Changes Altering Household Routine

The third hypothesis posited that residents were most likely to describe neighborhood conditions and changes as having affected their lives in the community when they felt that these conditions and changes had forced them to adjust their chosen way of life or alter their expected household routine. The study's findings largely supported this premise.

Following open-ended questions about the most important things and changes that had occurred in the neighborhood in the five years preceding the interview and the list of changes which residents might or might not have recognized, came a series of questions about whether or not residents felt that neighborhood changes had affected their lives in the community in any of seven specific ways. These questions directly asked residents if any neighborhood changes [had] affected their feelings about and behavior in the neighborhood, their feelings about and behavior toward the people in the neighborhood, their feelings about and plans for their future in the neighborhood, or in any other way affected their lives. Table 16 (see Appendixes) provided a summary of responses to those questions. Over half of the residents reported that changes in the neighborhood had affected their feelings about the neighborhood. Nearly half--48 percent--reported that neighborhood changes had affected their feelings about their own future in the neighborhood. Fewer residents, though most often at least one-quarter of the

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respondents, acknowledged that their feelings and behavior were affected in other ways by neighborhood changes.[78]

After reviewing each resident's responses to the change-related open-ended questions (viz., questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22A & B, 24, 25, 29-36, 38), we recorded the number of different adjustments the resident explicitly described as being related to community conditions and changes.[79] Residents cited adjustments including using private services (e.g., private school) rather than using public services the resident deemed inadequate, extending oneself more to other residents, limiting one's social life, leaving the neighborhood to shop or for entertainment, patronizing local merchants who seemed to be trying to improve the service provided, and taking special precautions in situations perceived to be dangerous.

Most residents (87.5%, n = 77) mentioned having made some change in household routine. Most residents cited more that one adjustment ($\underline{M}$ = 3.94, median = 3, SD = 3.8).

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[78]The changes cited most frequently as affecting residents' lives were increased crime, the growth of community groups, and the rehabilitation of apartment buildings. Residents' experiences most often affected by neighborhood changes were their feelings about the area and their future in it, and their behavior in the neighborhood. Particularly the growth of community organizations and government-subsidized rehabilitation of apartment buildings made residents feel more positive about the neighborhood. Change-related behavioral impacts most often were limitations related to having the leave the area for desired goods and services.

[79]We recorded any particular adjustment once, regardless of the number of times a resident mentioned that adjustment in response to the 18 questions listed above as those from which responses for this construct were drawn.

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Table 61 (see next page and Appendixes) summarizes the relationships between this variable and the primary discrete and experiential variables. As indicated in the table, nine independent variables were significantly related to this outcome measure. The significantly co-varying predictors were the resource level of the area surrounding a resident's home, race, gender, length of residence in the neighborhood,[80] the percentage of life lived in the neighborhood, age, income, per capita income after housing costs had been paid, and the Resource Set. It should be noted, however, that most of these relationships (the bulk of which were correlations), though statistically significant, were modest ($r = .21$ to $.31$).

Residents living in parts of the neighborhood with resources equal to or greater than the neighborhood average reported having made significantly more alterations in their household routine ($M = 5.1$) than did residents from parts of the neighborhood with fewer than average resources ($M = 2.7$) ($t(68) = -3.05$, $p < .01$). White residents reported significantly more alterations in their household routine ($M = 5.3$) than did Hispanic residents ($M = 2.6$) ($t(58) = -3.55$, $p < .001$). Women cited significantly more alterations in their household routines related to neighborhood conditions

[80]This relationship was significantly, if modestly correlated with the number of alterations in household routine ($r = .30$, $p < .01$) when length of residence was used as an interval variable. When considered as a dichotomous variable--with length of residence either eight years or less or longer than eight years, the relationship was insignificant.

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Table 61A

Relationships Between Adjustments in Household Routine[a] [b]and the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | |
| Lower than average | 43 | 2.7 | 2.4 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 45 | 5.1 | 4.5 | t(68)=-3.05**[c] |
| Race | | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 2.6 | 2.1 | |
| White | 43 | 5.3 | 4.6 | t(58)=-3.55*** |
| Gender | | | | |
| Females | 58 | 4.6 | 4.3 | |
| Males | 30 | 2.6 | 2.0 | t (85) = 2.94** |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 88 | .30** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 88 | .21* |
| Age | 88 | .25* |
| Income2[d] | 76 | .22* |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 73 | .26* |
| Resource Set | 73 | .31** |

[a] This variable, labelled "changes in household routine," was constructed by counting the number of different alterations or adjustments in household routine the resident explicitly and spontaneously cited in her/his answers to the open-ended questions related to neighborhood conditions and changes. Those questions were questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22A/B, 24, 25, 29-36, 38.

[b] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 88; range from 0 through 23; mean = 3.9; median = 3.0; mode = 4.0; standard deviation = 3.8.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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and changes ($M$ = 4.6) than did men ($M$ = 2.6) ($t$ (85) = 2.94, $p < .01$).

Overall, residents of those parts of the neighborhood with greater-than-average resources, whites, and women reported having made significantly more adjustments related to neighborhood changes than did residents of neighborhood areas of lesser resources, Hispanic residents, and men. The older a resident, the longer a resident had lived in Port Hill, the greater the percentage of a resident's life lived in the neighborhood, the larger the number of reported adjustments in household routine linked to neighborhood changes. In addition, whether considered in terms of the discrete or experiential predictors, the greater the temporal attachment to the Port Hill neighborhood, the larger the number of adjustments cited. Also, whether considered in terms of the discrete or experiential predictors, the greater the resources upon which a resident could draw, the larger the number of adjustments the resident reported. The latter finding may suggest that residents with greater resources left the neighborhood for desired services, whereas residents with lesser resources were unable to do so.

To address this hypothesis, I correlated the number of alterations in household routine with the responses to the seven forced-choice questions about specific ways in which neighborhood changes may have affected residents' lives in

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the community.[81] Those correlations are presented in Table 62 (see next page). As indicated in the table, the number of alterations in household routine co-varied positively and significantly, if modestly, with four of the seven perceived impacts discussed with residents. The more adjustments in household routine that residents mentioned, the more likely they were to report that neighborhood changes had affected their activity in the neighborhood, their feelings and behavior toward people in the neighborhood, as well as an assortment of other effects. The number of adjustments made in one's household routine was not significantly related to residents' feelings about the neighborhood, the feelings they had about their future in the neighborhood, or the plans they had made for their future in this neighborhood.[82] Where I found a significant relationship, I examined

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[81]In addition, I examined the relationships between the number of distinct adjustments or alterations in household routines related to community conditions and changes and other measures soliciting residents' evaluations of neighborhood conditions and changes. These data are presented later in the summary related to this hypothesis.

[82]Some of the responses from which the "adjustment" count was drawn were responses to the series of impact questions (questions 29-34, 36). Those accounted for seven of the 18 questions from which the count was drawn. I do not feel that this potential repetition was harmful to the analysis. "Adjustments" were counted only when residents explicitly described the alteration in household routine. Any adjustment or alteration was counted only once, no matter how many times the resident mentioned that adjustment in the course of the interview. We did not count as an "adjustment" a resident's "yes" response to any in the series of impact questions. We only counted the explicit mention of an actual adjustment, and this usually appeared in response to the probes to these questions (e.g., "In what way has this affected the plans you've made ... "). Even with any potential repetition, there remained considerable room to vary the number and nature of

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the differences in the relevant means for the outcome measures. These data are presented in Table 63 (see next page).

As shown in the table, residents who reported that neighborhood changes had affected their behavior in the neighborhood cited significantly more adjustments in their household routines related to neighborhood changes ($\underline{M}$ = 6.1) than did residents not reporting an impact on their neighborhood behavior ($\underline{M}$ = 2.3) (t (45) = -4.50, $\underline{p}$ < .001). The relationship held true for residents reporting that neighborhood changes had affected their feelings toward people in the neighborhood ($\underline{M}$ = 6.4 vs. $\underline{M}$ = 2.7, t (27) = -3.26, $\underline{p}$ < .01), for residents reporting that their behavior toward their neighbors had been affected ($\underline{M}$ = 6.8 vs. $\underline{M}$ = 3.1, t (80) = -3.95, $\underline{p}$ < .001), and for residents reporting other effects of neighborhood change ($\underline{M}$ = 6.9, $\underline{M}$ = 3.0; t (20) = -2.90, $\underline{p}$ < .01).

Predictably, these findings were corroborated by the finding of a positive relationship (r = .46, n = 88, $\underline{p}$ < .001) between the number of adjustments in household routine and the number of identified neighborhood changes residents described as having had an impact on their lives in the community (questions 29 - 34, 36, 48). The analysis of responses to question 26 included the number of neighborhood

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adjustments residents cited. The relationship between adjustments and behavioral changes is understandable. The number of adjustments is not linked to the other two most frequently cited impacts (viz., changed feelings about the neighborhood and one's future there).

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Table 62

Correlations Between Adjustments in Household Routine[a] and Perceived Impacts of Neighborhood Changes

| Perceived Impact | Correlation[b] | Number of respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Feelings about the neighborhood (question 29) | .12 | 88 |
| Behavior in the neighborhood (question 30) | .43***[c] | 88 |
| Feelings about the people around here (question 31) | .32** | 88 |
| Behavior toward people around here (question 32) | .24* | 88 |
| Feelings about your future in this neighborhood (question 33) | .03 | 88 |
| Plans you've made for your future in this neighborhood (question 34) | .01 | 88 |
| Affected life ... in any other ways (question 36) | .35*** | 87 |

[a] This variable, labelled "Changes in household routine", was constructed by counting the number of different alterations or adjustments in household routine the resident explicitly and spontaneously cited in answering the open-ended questions related to neighborhood conditions and changes. Those questions were questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22A and B, 24, 25, 29-36, 38.

[b] The "impact questions" required a "yes" or "no" answer. I examined the relationships of these dichotomous data with the interval data, the number of alterations in household routine, via the Pearson product-moment correlation statistic.

[c] *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

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Table 63

Comparison of the Number of Adjustments in Household Routine[a] and Perceived Impacts of Neighborhood Changes[b]

| Perceived Impact/t value | Adjustments Cited by Respondents Giving this Response to the Question Listed at Left | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No | | | Yes | |
| | N[c] | Mean | SD | N | Mean | SD |
| Affected what you do in the neighborhood? (question 30) t (45) = -4.50***[d] | 49 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 35 | 6.1 | 4.7 |
| Affected the way you feel about the people around here? (question 31) t (27) = -3.26** | 55 | 2.7 | 2.6 | 23 | 6.4 | 5.1 |
| Affected the way you act toward people around here? (question 32) t (80) = -3.95*** | 63 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 19 | 6.8 | 4.1 |
| Affected your life in any other ways? (question 36) t (20) = -2.90** | 62 | 3.0 | 2.2 | 19 | 6.9 | 5.7 |

[a] This variable, labelled "Changes in household routine," was constructed by counting the number of different alterations or adjustments in household routine a resident explicitly and spontaneously cited in her/his answers to the open-ended questions related to neighborhood conditions and changes. Those questions were questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22A and B, 24, 25, 29-36, 38.

[b] For each of these questions, the pairs of groups (difference in the number of "Changes in household routine" cited between respondents saying their behavior, etc. had or had not been affected as specified) were significantly different at the .050 level.

[c] N = number of respondents giving this response.

[d] *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

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changes residents recognized and later identified as having exerted an impact on their lives in the community. Among the 32 changes originally presented to residents (question 26) and the other 14 changes residents spontaneously identified in their responses to question 24 and 25, residents typically referred to three as having had an impact on their lives in the community ($M$ = 2.63, median = 3.0). Twenty percent of the residents (n = 18) did not identify any changes as exerting an impact on their lives here.

The three changes which residents cited most frequently as having exerted an impact on their lives were an increase in crime (33.0%, n = 29), the growth of community groups (17.0%, n = 15), and the rehabilitation of apartment buildings (15.9%, n = 14). The related findings were summarized in Table 21 (see Appendixes).

As can be seen in Table 64 (see next page), there was a significant relationship between the number of adjustments in household routine that residents described and the number of changes they identified as exerting an impact ($r$ = .46, $p$ < .001). Yet, no significant relationship was found between the number of adjustments cited and the perceived direction of the impacts identified.

In addition, the number of alterations in household routine was correlated with residents' responses to some of the Likert scales. These questions asked residents to rate the neighborhood as a place to live, to rate how much easier or more difficult the neighborhood has made it for them to

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Table 64

Correlations Between Adjustments in Household Routine[a] and Evaluations of Recognized Neighborhood Changes

| | Correlation[b] | Number of Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Number of neighborhood changes recognized and described as being bad or negative for the resident's life in the community (question 27) | .17 | 88 |
| Number of neighborhood changes recognized and described as being good or positive for the resident's life in the community (question 27) | -.09 | 88 |
| Ratio[c] of positive to negative changes identified (question 27) | -.07 | 75 |
| Number of neighborhood changes recognized and later identified as having an impact on their lives in the community (questions 27, 29-34, 36, 48) | .46*** | 88 |

[a] This variable, labelled "Changes in household routine", was constructed by counting the number of different alterations or adjustments in household routine the resident explicitly and spontaneously cited in her/his answers to the open-ended questions related to neighborhood conditions and changes. Those were questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22A and B, 24, 25, 29-36, 38.

[b] *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

[c] This indicator was constructed for each resident, from the two figures just described--the number of changes recognized and deemed as good for life in the community (question 27) over the number of changes recognized and deemed bad for life in the community (question 27).

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live as they wanted, and to assess the overall direction of change in the community. The results of these correlations are provided in Table 65 (see next page). As is shown in the table, the number of adjustments to household routine reported was significantly, if modestly, negatively correlated with each of these scale ratings. The more adjustments residents have had to make in their lives in Port Hill, the poorer their evaluations of the neighborhood as a place to live and the more negative their perceptions of neighborhood change, consulting any of four different scales.

Summary. The third hypothesis proposed that residents were most likely to describe neighborhood conditions and changes as having affected their lives in the community when they felt that neighborhood conditions and changes had forced them to alter their expected household routines. At its core, the hypothesis required residents to operationalize any effects of neighborhood changes. They did so.

Residents more often reported that their feelings were influenced than was their behavior. The aspects of personal experience most readily affected by neighborhood changes were residents' feelings about the neighborhood and their feelings about their future in the neighborhood. The three changes which residents cited most frequently as exerting an impact on their lives were an increase in crime, the growth of community groups, and the rehabilitation of apartment buildings.

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Table 65

Correlations Between Adjustments in Household Routine[a] and Perceptions of Neighborhood Conditions

| Perceptions of Neighborhood Conditions | Correlation[b] | Number of respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Rating of the neighborhood as a place to live, compared with the worst and best possible places to live (1 - 7 scale rating) ("worst" - "best") (question 11) | -.30** | 87 |
| Rating of how well or poorly this neighborhood fits as a good place for the resident to live at this point in her/his life (1 - 7 scale rating) ("very poorly" - "very well") (question 22) | -.34** | 82 |
| Rating of how much easier or more difficult the neighborhood makes life for the resident (1 - 7 scale rating) ("much more difficult" - "much easier") (question 21) | -.29** | 79 |
| Rating of the overall direction of change in the neighborhood (1 - 7 scale rating) ("things getting much worse" - "things getting much better") (question 28) | -.25* | 83 |

[a] This variable, labelled "Changes in household routine", was constructed by counting the number of different alterations or adjustments in household routine the resident explicitly and spontaneously cited in her/his answers to the open-ended questions related to neighborhood conditions and changes. Those questions were questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22A and B, 24, 25, 29-36, 38.

[b] *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

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Where residents did identify alterations in their household routine, though, the number of alterations in household routine co-varied positively and significantly, if modestly, with four of the seven perceived impacts discussed with residents. The more adjustments in household routine that residents mentioned, the more likely they were to report that neighborhood changes had affected their activity in the neighborhood, their feelings and behavior toward people in the neighborhood, as well as an assortment of other effects. The more adjustments residents had to make in their lives in the community, the poorer their evaluations of the neighborhood as a place to live and the more negative their assessments of neighborhood changes.

Focus on Ethnic Homogeneity

The fourth specific hypothesis proposed that the urban, largely working class and lower middle class sample would place less emphasis on ethnic homogeneity as an important neighborhood characteristic than had been found in other investigations. I planned to rely on responses to three open-ended questions as the basis for findings on this issue (viz., questions 20, 22B, 38[83]). In addition to reviewing responses to questions expected to elicit relevant responses, though, I also reviewed responses to other

[83]These questions asked residents to describe the things they would "value most in any neighborhood where they might want to live," "what would make this neighborhood a better place to live," and what they would "like the neighborhood to be like in five years." The questions were intended to tap preferences in neighborhood life.

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questions which initially had not been expected to elicit pertinent responses. I found residents rarely explicitly stating a desire for ethnic homogeneity.

There probably are at least two reasons for this finding. The first might be resident self-selection. As I noted in the description of the community, historically, the neighborhood has had an ethnically and racially diverse population. It is located in New York City, also characterized by diversity. In addition, even residents who might prefer a more ethnically homogeneous neighborhood were not likely to say so directly, if only because of the social undesirability of such a comment.[84] Most of the few relevant responses approached ethnic homogeneity from the perspective of requesting or appreciating diversity. In a few cases, comments included references to an ethnic "balance." As there were so few responses relevant to this issue, I present largely descriptive data.

Question 20 asked residents to name three things they valued most in a neighborhood. Table 12 (see Appendixes)

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[84]The invitations to residents to participate in the study cited only the community intervention program's name and not the broader civil rights agency's name. I did this deliberately, to avoid prematurely raising the issues of race and ethnicity. In addition, the program was relatively new to the community, virtually unknown to many prospective respondents, and so would be less likely to have a known preferred response set operating than might the mention of the broader sponsoring civil rights agency. For residents who asked for more information about the agency sponsoring the research, it was described in general terms of service to the community. A major purpose of the study was, in fact, a needs assessment to determine the most effective application of this new resource to needs the community identified.

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presents responses to this question in terms of the number of respondents who gave a response within a particular response category. Well over half of the respondents (59.1%, n = 52) cited "social conditions" as a highly valued element of neighborhood life. Across the four response opportunities coded for each respondent, residents offered 289 responses to this question. Within those responses, nearly one-quarter of the responses given (23.9%, n = 69) addressed social conditions. After content-analyzing the responses, I developed a coding scheme of 55 possible responses to this question. Within those response categories, there were 11 that I later collapsed into the "social conditions" category. The original response subcategories contributing to "social conditions" included the following:

- general reference to "social conditions,"
- [I'd value] "having good people for neighbors (e.g., "where they welcome everybody, make you feel at home"),"
- "having no problems with neighbors,"
- "a diverse or mixed population,"[85]
- "ethnic diversity,"
- "a sense of community--knowing neighbors will help each other out/respect one another/get along,"
- "having or making friends in the neighborhood,"
- "having people from every age group,"
- "having social activities [in the neighborhood],"
- "people who take care of property, houses, and each other's property," and
- "working people.[86]"

These categories included two directly germane to

---

[85]This and the next subcategory were separate. The second was seen as more explicit in the diversity to which it referred (v. diversity in terms of age or socioeconomic status).

[86]The meaning of this reference varied. For one respondent, this meant middle class residents. For another, it meant anyone struggling to provide for their family.

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ethnic homogeneity--"diverse population" and "ethnic diversity in population." These responses were given by three respondents (3.4%), and accounted for three of the 289 responses to this question. The other "social conditions" responses were offered by over half (58%, n = 51) of the sample.

Among the three residents who specifically cited the area's "diverse population" or "ethnic diversity," all were white and were relative newcomers to the area. They had lived in Port Hill between one and five years. Two were tenants, the other owned his home. Two respondents sought diversity in a home community, one did not.

A 36 year-old man, employed in "social services," who with his wife, owned the Port Hill home where they had lived for five years, expressed it this way:

> [What three things do you value most in any neighborhood ... ?] "1. mutual respect for each other, 2. mutual respect for each other's property, 3. a large mix of people--that is, with diverse incomes and diverse ethnicities."

A 28 year-old woman, a volunteer program administrator, who had rented her home in Port Hill for one year, said this:

> [value most?] 1. a sense of community--neighbors who <u>care</u>[87] about each other, 2. a neighborhood that was inclusive of <u>all</u> generations and different ethnic groups, and 3. safety is still high on my list ... physical safety, property safety, being able to go away and come home and feel comfortable about walking back into the house. And I do.

A 20 year-old "government employee," who with his two room-

---

[87]The emphasis was that expressed by the respondent.

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mates had rented an apartment in Port Hill for 18 months, was less appreciative of the neighborhood's "diverse population":

> [value most?] "proximity to work; safety; feeling comfortable--having the right mix of people (Is that largely just to have a mix of people around you, or would you prefer to be able to socialize with folks?) Oh yes. That's one of the things I don't like now--is that I can't really go out with, and talk to people...."

We understand this comment better when we review his response to the first open-ended question[88]:

> ... It's a working class to lower class neighborhood, which makes me feel a little bit uncomfortable because there aren't many of my kind of people there, so to speak. (Your kind of folks?) Whites and middle class professionals, or aspiring to be professionals. (And what is it, is it just having people around who are like you, or?) Sure. That makes me feel a little uncomfortable. Yeah. I don't think I'm unusual in that regard. And also, the kinds of facilities available in the neighborhood--like for shopping. They're not very broad. And so they attract a certain kind of clientele. Well, I guess they're really neighborhood people, but again, not many of those neighborhood people are like me. So that's what makes me feel somewhat uncomfortable.

While there were other responses to question 20 which might be construed as surrogates for desired homogeneity--"people who take care of property," "working people," such comments might just as readily be interpreted as desires for socioeconomic homogeneity among neighbors. There were seven citations of either of these two responses by the residents --across the four response opportunities coded for each respondent for this question.

---

[88]Question 10--"Overall, how do you feel about living in this neighborhood?"

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Question 22B probed responses to a scale question (22A) about how well or poorly the neighborhood fit as the respondent's idea of a good place to be living. The probe was "Now, what would make this neighborhood a better place for you to be living?" Across the five possible responses coded for each resident were 250 responses. The most commonly cited responses were improvements in public service delivery (38%, n = 69), changes in a variety of social conditions--including attitudinal changes (15.6%, n = 39), changes in the area's physical condition--including that of general property, housing, and streets (15.6%, n = 39), and enhancing feelings of safety (14.4%, n = 36). When the "social conditions" category was examined more closely to focus on responses specific to ethnic homogeneity, I found few relevant responses. The figures just cited referred to the final set of nine categories--collapsed from the original 80 categories drafted during the content analysis of responses to this question. Among those 80 categories, only one addressed ethnic homogeneity, if from another perspective--a desire for "more population mix, [a] better integrated [neighborhood]." Only three respondents (3.4%) gave this response, indicating that if the neighborhood had "more of a population mix, or [were] better integrated," the neighborhood would be improved. Nearly one-fifth of the respondents (19.3%, n = 17) made some reference to social conditions in the area, and over one-quarter of the sample (28.4%, n = 25) cited either a social characteristic or an

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attitude among residents which they felt could make "the neighborhood an even better place to live." Thirteen residents (14.8%) specified any of a collection of positive attitudes among residents which they felt would improve the neighborhood. Sixteen residents (18.2% of the sample) who said that a change in social conditions would improve the neighborhood did not refer to "better integration" of the neighborhood. The broader social condition category included this and 16 other categories.

Admittedly, as was noted in the review of responses to Question 20, some other social condition or attitude-related responses to this question might be considered surrogates for ethnic homogeneity preferences (e.g., "lower population density," "more middle income people," "fewer people hanging out," "greater interest and pride in the community," "people who care about property values," "personal pride/hope/self-esteem"). If those responses (offered by both Hispanic and white residents) were substitutes, they did specify the behavior or experience respondents wanted, and did not focus on desires for ethnic homogeneity.

Question 38 asked residents what they would like the neighborhood to be like in five years and was the last major question for which I hypothesized finding responses related to ethnic homogeneity. Ninety-eight response categories emerged from the initial content analysis of responses to this question. As noted in Table 17 (see Appendixes), across five possible coded responses per respondent, the 328

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responses to this question were collapsed into twelve response categories. As a whole, the collapsed "social conditions" category accounted for only 23 (7.0%) of the responses to this question. The original, uncollapsed, response categories yielded only one directly related to homogeneity--"more population mix/better integrated/a balance." Two residents (2.3% of the sample) offered that response. Once again, a few other responses might be construed as indirectly related to the topic--"no welfare," "more working people," "no people hanging out, fixing their cars in the street." These critical descriptors, or possible surrogates for ethnic homogeneity preference were cited by eight respondents (9.1.%). The collapsed "attitudes" category included 38 remarks (11.6%), a few of which might be construed as implicitly related to pleas for homogeneity (e.g., "people with similar basic values," "people who care about property or property values"). Five residents (5.7%) offered these critical attitude responses--seven responses included among the 38 "attitude" references across the five possible responses from each resident. As with potential surrogates for ethnic homogeneity preference responses noted for question 22B, these responses did not explicitly focus on ethnic homogeneity. They may refer to preferences for class homogeneity.

While these were the three primary venues where I anticipated finding data relevant to this hypothesis, the issue is so critical to planning practice that I chose to

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probe further. I also examined responses to the open-ended question that asked residents for the "inside information" they would offer a loved one who was considering moving into this neighborhood (question 12). This question went beyond preference to a seminal description of their current neighborhood. Among the responses to this question, six residents (6.8%) described the area as "ethnically diverse." One used exactly that term. Another mentioned "the different ethnic groups in the area," along with "conveniences of transportation" and "low taxes." The relevant comments from the remaining four respondents, Hispanic and white, were:

> ... We've got a large variety of people in terms of religion and ethnicity. So that there is always a multitude of different things to do and see. It's a real mixture. I'm Brooklyn-born and raised. I compare this to [an adjacent gentrified neighborhood] where you basically have one type of resident class-wise--the class likes and outlets are basically all the same. [In an answer to an earlier question, she referred to not having enough outlets for all the community's youth.]
>
> " ... and then we have a mixture of all different types of people. We have Puerto Rican, Polish, Scandinavian, Chinese, Palestinians."
>
> Essentially, that the population is a mixed population, and if [the prospective residents] had particular feelings about Hispanics--in the negative sense, I would not suggest that they move in here....
>
> We do have a multiple language-speaking people. We have Greek, Italian, Spanish--there's quite a few. I think it would mainly be the person themselves, what I knew of them--if they were bigoted, I'd say, go some place else. Because we do have Black families, and a lot of people are "I don't want to live next to them." But I would say people have bought their homes, they're not renting. Some of these yards belong to the Spanish and the Black people are better than this dump out here [respondent points to her own yard]. Mainly, bide

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your time, and make what you want ....

In their "inside information," three respondents (3.4%) described the area as "heavily Hispanic" or having "a large Hispanic population." Respondents elaborated:

> exactly what I told you, but I do feel that the neighborhood is coming back. [What have you noticed that suggests it's coming back?] I've noticed more and more white people coming back in, English-speaking people, I should put it that way. At one point, I had become so disgusted, I wanted to sell. I would, my bedroom is on the street, and you lay in the bed and all you'd hear were the Hispanic sounds coming up and down the block, no English. That's the first thing I noticed. But now I find that there's English. I'm not saying that they're not troublemakers, too, because you can hear some of the rowdies coming at night that's in English. But the English tongue is coming back into the neighborhood. [When did you notice that kind of thing?] About two years ago.
>
> [The neighborhood is] "heavily Hispanic, [we have a] lovely park, [you] can't beat the transportation ... "
>
> "I'd tell about the Hispanic population...."

This last resident then referred back to his answer to the initial open-ended question, for which he went into considerable detail related to this issue. The response of this 31 year-old architect to the initial question is presented in its entirety approximately four pages later in the coverage of this hypothesis.

There were no significant differences among residents citing the area as "ethnically diverse" as a function of their age, length of residence in the community or its experiential correlate, percentage of life one's lived in this community, race or its experiential correlate, being in the racial majority or minority in the area immediately

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surrounding their home. Yet, all six of the residents giving this response owned their homes, and there was a significant difference in this reference as a function of the home ownership vs. rental variable ($\chi^2$ (1) = 5.37, $p < .05$). There was no significant difference in the characterization of the area as "heavily Hispanic" as a function of respondents' home ownership/rental status, their race, or racial majority/minority status, their age, length of residence in the community, or the percentage of their lives they had lived in this community.

In response to these open-ended questions, residents did not emphasize ethnic homogeneity as had respondents in other investigations. If residents sought ethnic homogeneity in Port Hill, they did not say so.

In addition to searching for explicit references to ethnic homogeneity or diversity in responses to these major open-ended questions, I reviewed relevant components of the Urban Appreciation measure. The initial construction of this measure with its four original components included "toleration of ethnic diversity among residents." As presented in Table 8 (see page 104), over half of the respondents (56.8%, n = 50) made an explicit reference to such toleration in their responses to the questions related to neighborhood conditions and change. Typically, residents made only one reference to toleration ($M$ = 1.09, median = 1.0, range 0 - 6). Table 8 reveals that such references were given considerably less often than were those related to

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social interdependence (96.6%, n = 85) or the local area serving as more than a homespace (90.9%, n = 80).

As responses coded in "tolerance of ethnic diversity" by definition, were positive or appreciative, I considered another spot in the Urban Appreciation coding likely to have noted respondents' less appreciative remarks about residents of other ethnic groups. That spot was in the coding for the third component--social interdependence. Most of the remarks related to this component were positive and appreciative of some constructive behavior on the part of community residents. Yet, I noted that in their spirit, a few of the "social interdependence" remarks, in referring to the behavior of some residents and its impact on the experience of other residents, did <u>implicitly</u> criticize residents of ethnic groups other than that of the respondent. For example:

> "I have a stereo and no one knows it. I have it. Why play the stereo against [out] the window?"
>
> A small minority of the newer elements just don't care. They have no consideration--graffiti, radios blaring at 6 a.m.. Sure, there are times you'll have a party. But consistently to have speakers in windows and doorways? You can hear it [their music] in your house.
>
> [The] "new people are slobs. They drink beer and throw cans away in the street. They have no respect for themselves or for property. "

And from a 57 year-old woman who owned her home and had lived in the area for virtually all of her life:

> I'm kind of ashamed that my neighbors are messy and sloppy and dirty. They're just not polite--they have that foreign attitude. If you've been to Spain or Puerto Rico--not Puerto Rico, their

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> country is so beautiful. But if you've been to Madrid or Barcelona or Portugal--they have that attitude. If you're walking in the same path, one of us should step aside or if you're looking in a window and you don't, they will walk into you. This is their attitude--me, macho. (Is it just men?) No. Women are just as bad. They push and they spit. I get sick. The man next door spits in Mamma's garden. I said, "Please. I put my hands in there." Every day, he goes out and spits. (Why are you ashamed of them pushing or spitting?) Because that's not the American way. That's not the good old USA. USA, to me, means God, think of your neighbor, think of your friends, think of one another. How was this country built? Same way. I'm always considerate. If I see a banana peel on the sidewalk, I pick it up. Why can't they bend and pick it up? I walked down the street and saw a mother with her child, [dropped litter]. I gave it back to her, "In the garbage." That's what I'm ashamed of. Someone could hurt themselves. We used to have baskets along the avenue for litter. They're stealing them. They steal the carts from the supermarkets, they don't return them. Why I'm ashamed of them is they don't respect anybody else or anybody else's property. To them, this is America, this is free. It's free to an extent--when it's your property. But I want respect on my property--it's mine, I bought it and I paid for it.

These comments represent the bulk of the disparaging remarks related to residents of another ethnic group. Even at that, much of that which respondents reported as troublesome was rather specific behavior. I do not think we can extrapolate from these data that Port Hill residents were uniformly welcoming of all prospective residents, regardless of their homeland or race. Still, in the low numbers of residents expressing such negative sentiment, there was evidence that most residents at least tolerate residents from other backgrounds. Perhaps, they always have seen Port Hill as a diverse community and hope that it remains so. Some of the few people who explicitly expressed

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sentiment other than appreciation of the area's diversity were concerned with a possible segregation of the area (i.e., "becoming too Hispanic"). They did not mind an integrated neighborhood, as long as no one group predominated.

This sentiment was most strongly stated by a 31-year old architect of Italian descent, who with his wife, had lived in Port Hill for two years in a co-op they owned. His third response to the initial, open-ended question ("Overall, how do you feel about living in this neighborhood?") included the following remarks:

> ... and I like being in what is an old Finnish enclave. I find that very nice. My wife is Danish, American-born, but Danish in history. And I have some attraction to being in a Scandinavian area. And I like the fact that there's a real strong concentration of Finns and all of these co-ops surrounding the park. Which includes the Finnish co-ops that I like. I like the makeup of the people in my building. We have a lot of older, and even my age, Finnish people in the building, as well as Italians--which appeals to me. Just generally a good mix of folks. They're all very concerned about the building. The building is another thing that I like, is that the building is in excellent condition...I like the building. I like the people in the building, I like the geographic qualities of [Port Hill], I like it's proximity to my job.
> But in terms of any dialogue with folks outside of the people in the co-ops in the immediate area, I have <u>none</u>. My preference is not to live in a Hispanic community. And [Port Hill] is a <u>little</u> too heavily Hispanic for my tastes. It's more than I had anticipated when I moved in, although I'm not sorry that I moved here. However, I'm very sensitive to ethnic differences and I enjoy a good mix of ethnic groups, I really do. And I would like to live in an area that has it. So that side of it I don't like.
> I'm told that the Hispanic population is like 60 percent. However, on the street, it's really like 90 percent, because the white population is the

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> older Scandinavians and older folks who just aren't out on the street. [A primary local commercial avenue], in terms of shopping, is probably 95-98 percent Hispanic. I feel a lot more comfortable shopping on [another major local commercial avenue] because it's like a mix, because you get the Italians, a few Jews from [adjacent neighborhood]; but there's like more of an Italian-Hispanic mix. So, although I don't want to live in a segregated area by <u>any</u> means, I would just like a little bit less of an overwhelming Hispanic population. And that's probably what makes me a little <u>un</u>comfortable living there....

Still, there were ample indications of appreciation of the diversity. One example came from a 28-year old white female tenant who had lived in the area for a little over one year in her response to the first open-ended question:

> I really like it. It's the first time for me living in a neighborhood in the U.S. where I'm in the minority, as far as being white, middle class, single. And I chose it. That was one of the reasons, besides the fact that this is where I could <u>find</u> housing, that I made a <u>conscious</u> decision when I was looking in New York--to live in a neighborhood where everybody didn't look just like me.

I also examined residents' responses to item ten on the "change list" (questions 26 and 27). This item asked whether or not the respondent noticed changes in population in the neighborhood in the years immediately preceding the interview, and how the respondent would evaluate any changes s/he recognized. As shown in Table 66 (see next page and Appendixes), most residents acknowledged the change (61.4%, n = 54). The only respondent characteristics that significantly distinguished between residents' positive and negative evaluations of this change were their home ownership status, community involvement, and housing costs.

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Table 66A

Residents' Recognition and Evaluation of Population Changes Among Changes in the Neighborhood in Recent Years (Questions 26 and 27)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Negative N | Negative Percentage | Neither N | Neither Percentage | Positive N | Positive Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 5 | 27.8 | 11 | 61.1 | 2 | 11.1 | |
| Owners | 5 | 16.7 | 8 | 26.7 | 17 | 56.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 9.9**[b] |
| Active in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 6 | 26.1 | 12 | 52.2 | 5 | 21.7 | |
| Yes | 4 | 16.0 | 7 | 28.0 | 14 | 56.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 5.91* |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Housing Costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 9 | | 19 | | 19 | | |
| M | $423 | | $493 | | $766 | | |
| SD | 186 | | 307 | | 245 | | F (46) = 7.34** |

[a] These figures represent the number and percentage of residents who, when presented with the list of neighborhood changes suggested by community leaders (question 26), recognized change #10, "changes in population." The change was recognized by 54 residents. 51 of whom offered an evaluation of the change in their response to question 27. This table presents the three most frequently given evaluations--residents indicating that the change was "bad or negative for [their] life in the community (n = 10, 18.5%)," "good or positive for [their lives] in the community (n = 19, 35.2%)," and residents who saw the change as "neither good nor bad for [their lives] in the community (n = 19, 35.2%)." Three other residents (5.6%) saw both positive and negative aspects of this change. The remaining three residents (5.6%) recognized the change, but were not sure how they would evaluate it.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

Homeowners were significantly more likely than were renters to describe changes in population as positive ($\chi^2$ (2) = 9.9, $p$ < .01). Residents who reported being active in the community were more likely to see changes in population as positive than were residents who did not consider themselves to be community activists ($\chi^2$ (2) = 5.91, $p$ < .05). Residents who described changes in population as positive reported significantly higher housing costs than did residents who characterized changes in population less favorably (F (46) = 7.34, $p$ < .01). It is not clear, however, what were the particular changes in population to which respondents were referring. Because of the particular respondent characteristics varying significantly with these responses, as well as the direction of the variation, I suspect that these responses reflect more closely socioeconomic and class preferences than ethnic preferences.

The area's ethnic diversity was noteworthy to some residents--for a variety of reasons. As has been indicated in the quotes already presented, some appreciated it. Others were concerned about certain undesirable public behaviors and attitudes they attributed most often to residents from backgrounds other than their own. Some residents enjoyed diversity, but did not want to be in a racial minority in their neighborhood. It is a topic that relatively few respondents addressed directly. A few more examples may illustrate the personal significance and challenges of living in a mixed community.

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A 35-year-old Hispanic mother of two teens, who had been a tenant in the neighborhood for 13 years described her experience with racism this way:

> ... I came to [Port Hill] because I needed larger housing facilities for my two children and my husband and myself. And I wasn't too thrilled about it because I encountered a lot of racism. It really bothered me and I thought I would never be happy in Port Hill because of the racism. But I was able to learn to deal with it and learn to cope with it and learn to fight against it, which was most important.... When I first moved here, we were the first Hispanics that were living in the area. The two 'Hispanics' that were living here were either [people of other nationalities] married to Hispanics or [Hispanics married] to Greeks. So they weren't totally Hispanics. They were just somebody. I find a lot of Hispanics that do marry into other races forget that they are Hispanics and become whatever it is, they claim they become Americans. There is no such thing as far as I'm concerned ... they are not totally Hispanic, and they lose a lot of their culture and they do lose their self-esteem and they do lose a lot of their self-being. Which I'm not too proud of losing and therefore did not allow it to happen to me.

A 43-year old Puerto-Rican woman, who lived with her husband and two adolescent children in a home they had owned for 23 years, described difficulties her Irish-American husband found in communicating with some neighbors. She suggested a gap this has left in his enjoyment of the neighborhood:

> ... he does not have many English-speaking people to interrelate to. I think that's a very sore point in our home life, and I think he misses that. My husband is not prejudiced at all. He just misses that, the interchange with people that speak a common language or have a common background. My husband is bilingual in the sense that he understands Spanish, but he doesn't speak it. His parents raised him that, when he was growing up, you come here, you speak English. So that's the way he was brought up. Thank God, he

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> doesn't think that way with our kids. (Is that the main thing that makes it difficult?) Yeah. The only American people in our block are very old.

Finally, a white homeowner who had lived in Port Hill for five years, a 37-year-old single mother, addressed the complexity of relations among residents of different groups in identifying what for her was the most important change in the neighborhood over the last five years:

> People get along a lot more, racially, they've been getting along a lot better now. (any other changes?) It's just one thing, an attitude. (What is it about that makes it important?) I'm surrounded. I'm a minority. It's important that people get along well. (And you feel that things have improved?) Yeah. (Why do you think so?) I feel that people are coming here from foreign countries are starting to realize their potential as workers and they no longer have to shout and push, so they're a little more relaxed about themselves. And they go to school functions or church groups, they participate. They're not overbearing. They're relaxed about themselves, because they know they put in a nice day's work, they have a house, and they can afford to be relaxed.

In addition to searching for evidence of ethnic homogeneity preferences in responses to the open-ended questions through bivariate analyses, I also explored this issue via multivariate analysis of more readily quantifiable data. These data included responses to forced-choice and scale questions, as well as counts of neighborhood changes which residents cited and evaluated as beneficial or detrimental for their lives.

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Race/ethnicity-related findings[89] of multivariate analyses. As was described in detail earlier in the report, I conducted two rounds of multivariate analyses to address the hypothesis concerning response variability.[90] The outcomes fell into four different categories related to broad aspects of neighborhood life, neighborhood social life, local housing, and neighborhood change. These categories and the specific outcomes comprising each were described in greater detail in the section of this chapter related to the second hypothesis.

In the first round of multivariate analyses, the predictor race met the entry criterion for eight of the 18 regression equations. Among those cases, race achieved statistical significance for its contribution to one outcome. Race accounted for 11% of the variability in the number of changes in household routine the respondent linked to neighborhood conditions and changes (i.e., CHHROUTN[91]). White residents reported significantly more changes in their

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[89]In the interest of brevity, all references to race/ethnicity in the text and tables in this section will be cited as race.

[90]The first round separately examined the contribution of the discrete and the experiential predictors for 18 outcomes. The second round placed any predictors, discrete or experiential, which had met the entry criterion in the first round of multivariate analyses into equations for 16 of those readily-quantifiable outcomes which previously had been shown to have noteworthy contributions by both discrete and experiential predictors. Each respondent's race was considered as a discrete predictor.

[91]As noted in the larger review of findings of the multivariate analyses, in the interest of brevity, I cite the variable names used in the analyses to refer to the outcomes examined.

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household routine related to neighborhood changes (M = 5.3) than did Hispanic residents (M = 2.6).

In comparison, all of the other discrete predictors were significant predictors for more outcomes than was race. The home ownership (vs. rental) predictor, used as a discrete variable,[92] met the entry criterion for ten outcomes and was a statistically significant predictor of eight. Those eight outcomes fell into three of the four outcome categories, including broad neighborhood life, social life, and neighborhood change-related outcomes. In the cases in which home ownership (vs. rental) was a significant predictor, it accounted for 4 to 19% of the outcome variability.[93]

Gender exerted significant explanatory power for two outcomes. These were residents' ratings of the cost of local housing (COSTHSG) and the number of changes in household routine residents linked to neighborhood changes and conditions (CHHROUTN). Gender accounted for eight percent of the outcome variability in the first case. Women rated local housing as significantly more expensive (M = 3.6) than did men (M = 4.3). In the second case, in conjunction with race,

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[92]It also was included as an experiential variable as a Resource Set component. In that capacity, it met the entry criterion for eight outcomes and was a statistically significant predictor for five outcomes.

[93]These figures represent the amount of variability accounted for solely by home ownership (v. rental). When working in concert with other predictors, this predictor accounted for up to 26% of the outcome variance.

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gender accounted for 24% of the variability. Women reported having made significantly more alterations in their household's routines related to neighborhood changes (M = 4.6) than did men (M = 2.6). The predictive power of gender is more impressive given the fact that the sample was 66% female.

Length of residence in the neighborhood also was a significant predictor of two outcomes--the number of neighborhood changes the respondent recognized as having occurred in the five years preceding the interview (NCHANGES) and the ratio of the number of changes a resident considered advantageous to those considered detrimental to her or his life in the neighborhood (CHANGRAT). In the first instance, length of residence solely accounted for nine percent of the outcome variability. In the second, length of residence along with income accounted for 19% of the variance.

Income was a significant predictor for three outcomes--residents' ratings of the importance of the neighborhood in their larger lives (LIFEIMP), respondents' ratings of the quality of their housing (QUALHSG), and ratings of the overall direction of neighborhood change (OVRLCHNG). This predictor accounted for 18% (shared), 14% (sole), and 9% (shared), respectively, of the variability in these outcomes.

Among the four experiential predictors (using the

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Resource Set composite)[94] which met the entry criterion for the equations, all except for one predictor (i.e., that representing the percentage of a resident's life lived in the neighborhood) reached statistical significance for two or more outcomes. Self-reported active involvement in community organizations was a significant predictor of three outcomes. These were residents' ratings of the importance of the neighborhood in their lives overall (LIFEIMP), the frequency of socializing with neighbors (SOCIALIZ), and the number of changes residents recognized as having occurred in the preceding five years (NCHANGES). The Resource Set was a significant predictor for seven outcomes, across all four outcome categories.

The comparison of race to other predictors was more pronounced in reviewing the contribution of the ten experiential predictors--using the Resource Set components--to the outcomes examined in the first round of multiple regressions. Only the two experiential predictors, having friends and relatives living in the neighborhood, showed less predictive power than did race.

In the second round of multivariate analyses, the predictor race met the entry criterion for 5 of the 16 outcomes examined in that round. As in the first round, race

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[94]Each of the 18 outcomes explored in the first round of multivariate analyses was examined in terms of three sets of predictors--the discrete variables, the experiential variables using the Resource Set composite, and the experiential variables using the Resource Set components.

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made a significant contribution to one outcome--the number of changes in household routine residents linked to neighborhood changes and conditions (CHHROUTN). In comparison, other predictors, including home ownership (vs. rental) and active involvement in community groups made significant contributions, respectively, to six and three outcomes.

The evidence from the multivariate analyses of more readily quantifiable outcomes supported that culled from examining the qualitative data. While race was not an inconsequential predictor, nor was it crucial to neighborhood perceptions. Race was not preeminent within the substance of residents' perceptions, nor was a resident's race a critical determinant of her or his perceptions of the neighborhood.

Summary. The fourth hypothesis proposed that the study's urban, largely working class and lower middle class sample would place less emphasis on ethnic homogeneity as an important neighborhood characteristic than had been found in other investigations. The data largely supported this premise.

In addition to analyses of responses to open-ended interview questions, bivariate and multivariate analyses of responses to forced-choice and scale questions revealed that race rarely was an effective predictor of neighborhood perceptions. When entered into regression equations in direct comparison with all other predictors, it emerged as a

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significant predictor of a single outcome--the number of changes in household routine the respondent linked to neighborhood conditions and changes.

The data indicate that while most residents were not actively seeking an ethnically diverse community, nor were they seeking a homogeneous one. Ethnic differences among neighbors were clearly meaningful to residents, and at times challenging, but were far from universally disagreeable. There were indications that, for some residents, class preferences were strong. In these cases, residents spoke directly about a "lower class type of people," "a lot of welfare [recipients]," and their preferences for home owners (vs. renters) or middle class neighbors or at least people seen to be striving to provide for their families. These respondents disparaged people who "fix their cars in the street" and wanted a broader range of retail stores in the neighborhood, beyond those catering to working class or lower income "neighborhood people."

Overall Results Summary

Responses indicated that residents were aware of neighborhood conditions and changes and were able to articulate in considerable detail their feelings about these conditions and changes. Residents were responsive to investments in the neighborhood--whether large (e.g., large-scale housing rehabilitation) or small (e.g., tree planting). While recognizing desirable and undesirable changes, residents most often were positive in their

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evaluation of the neighborhood.

Residents cataloged the elements they most valued in any neighborhood as safety, good neighbors, a quiet and peaceful place without disturbances, with stores nearby. In Port Hill, respondents were pleased to have found good relationships with neighbors, affordable housing, physically appealing homes, in a peaceful neighborhood. Their recommendations for further neighborhood development most often addressed public service delivery (particularly that of the criminal justice system, youth services, schools, and transportation), the rehabilitation of neighborhood physical conditions, improvements in some social conditions as well as in residents' attitudes, and the enhancement of Port Hill's commercial district. In response to the major open-ended questions, more respondents cited the following topics than any other characteristics of neighborhood life: good relations among residents, personal safety, and with lesser but equal frequency among them, the pleasant and sound physical condition of the neighborhood, good public service delivery, and the ready availability of good shopping.

When asked to identify "the most important changes" in the neighborhood over the five years immediately preceding the interviews, residents most often cited changes related to housing rehabilitation and social conditions. In the latter case, residents often referred to the area's growing ethnic diversity linked to recent immigration. This broad question was followed by a list of neighborhood changes

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previously identified by community leaders. Residents were asked to identify those changes from this list which they had "noticed in this neighborhood in recent years." Virtually all residents noticed the rehabilitation of apartment buildings. Nearly two-thirds cited the refurbishing of local stores. Three-fifths noticed a changing population, more young children in the community, and the deterioration of large apartment buildings. Over one-half saw a growth of community groups, the improved "image" of the community among residents, more middle class people in the neighborhood, and young people buying homes. Half reported an increase in crime.

In operationalizing any effects of neighborhood change, residents more often reported that their feelings were influenced than were their actions. The aspects of personal experience most readily affected by neighborhood changes were residents' feelings about the neighborhood and about their future in it. Where residents reported that neighborhood change had affected their behavior in the neighborhood, they most commonly cited a behavioral limitation. Where residents adjusted household routines due to neighborhood changes and conditions, most often, the adjustments were curtailments of their households' use of and lives in the neighborhood. The three changes residents cited most frequently as exerting an impact on their lives were increased crime, the growth of community groups, and the rehabilitation of apartment buildings. The greater the

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number of adjustments in household routine that residents mentioned, the more likely they were to report that neighborhood changes had affected their activity in the neighborhood and their feelings and behavior toward people there. The more adjustments residents had had to make in their lives in the community, the poorer those residents' evaluations of the neighborhood as a place to live and the more negative their assessments of neighborhood changes.

Residents who saw themselves as having alternatives to living in Port Hill felt more positively about life in the community than did residents who recognized no such choice. Residents who saw themselves as unable to leave Port Hill were significantly less likely to recommend the neighborhood to prospective residents than were residents who saw a residential option. They also were less likely to consider the neighborhood to be a "good place to live." Neighborhood change overall was significantly more negative for them than it was for residents with perceived residential options. Respondents perceiving no residential options rated the level of support among local residents lower, and felt that they had less in common with their neighbors than did residents who perceived alternatives to living in this neighborhood. Respondents who saw themselves as able to move were significantly more likely to report having gotten what they wanted from living in Port Hill than were those who did not perceive this option. Residents who perceived residential alternatives defined significantly larger geographical

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neighborhoods than those defined by respondents who saw themselves as without residential alternatives.

The findings revealed commonality in the issues of greatest concern to residents, along with variation in the level of detail into which many residents delved, as well as in the roots of their sentiments. In addition, I found both the discrete and the experiential variables systematically varying with outcome measures.

Multivariate analyses indicated that 18 readily quantifiable outcomes were shaped by both the discrete and experiential predictors. When discrete and experiential predictors were entered separately into regression equations, the experiential variables explained more of the variance (17.1%) than did the discrete predictors (12.1%). In a second series of regression equations, entering discrete and experiential predictors in concert, overall, the experiential predictors accounted for a greater percentage of the variance (10.1%) than did discrete predictors (2.3%) or combinations of experiential and discrete predictors (8.7%). Along with this finding came evidence that discrete and experiential predictors were differentially effective in explaining different types of outcomes. When the contributions of different predictor groups were compared directly, the experiential predictors explained all of the noteworthy variance in housing-related perceptions. Combinations of the discrete and experiential variables were more effective predictors of outcomes related

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to broad neighborhood life, social life, and neighborhood change than were either discrete or experiential variables.

Ethnicity did not emerge as a strong determinant of residents' perceptions. Contrary to the findings of some earlier investigations, the sum of Port Hill respondents' comments indicated that while most were not actively seeking an ethnically diverse community, nor were they seeking a homogeneous one. Ethnic differences among neighbors were clearly meaningful to residents, and at times challenging, but were far from universally disagreeable. Perhaps the distinction made between Hispanic and white residents was too gross to reveal differences which would have been more apparent in a comparison of specific ethnic groups (e.g., Dominican vs. Italian). Alternatively, within group differences may have been more meaningful than between group differences. There were indications that, for some residents, a preference for class or socioeconomic homogeneity was strong.

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# Chapter Four

# Discussion

As was noted earlier, this research was planned in the early 1980's. The primary data collection extended from May 1983 through December 1984. Because of the twelve-year gap between the primary data collection and the preparation of this report, this chapter describes developments in the community studied since the data were collected, and gives an updated literature review--as pertinent to the findings of the investigation. The chapter ends with implications for policy and practice and overall conclusions.

## The Port Hill Study

### Residents' Perceptions of Change

The neighborhood changes deemed important had been important in overall neighborhood life and seemed not to have been distinct from the fabric of ongoing processes in the neighborhood. Rather than having been monolithically disruptive, change appears to have been expected in neighborhood life.

There was systematic variation in the number of changes residents identified, related to the primary predictor variables. As might have been expected, residents with greater investment and involvement in the neighborhood recognized more changes than did other residents--whether due to being active in the neighborhood, having local friends or relatives, owning a home, or living in Port Hill longer or for a greater percentage of their lives. It is not

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clear whether this signified a heightened environmental awareness, a greater significance of these particular changes for residents with these experiences, or both. Again, the changes residents most often recognized were government-subsidized housing rehabilitation, the refurbishing of local stores, population changes, more young children, the deterioration of large apartment buildings, the growth of community groups, an improved image of the neighborhood among residents, more middle class people in the area, young people buying homes, and an increase in crime.

Evaluation of Changes

When asked to assess the overall direction of neighborhood change, residents typically reported that the changes represented slight improvement. There was considerable consistency among residents in this assessment, whether examined in terms of a single rating or as a derived measure incorporating evaluations of specific changes.

This finding was corroborated by an analysis of the number of changes evaluated as positive or negative for neighborhood life. Typically, residents saw the changes as substantially more positive than negative (mean ratio of positive to negative changes = 2.4). There seemed to be a more complex story in this finding, though. Homeowners and residents with higher incomes, per capita incomes after housing costs, housing costs and overall resources saw significantly more changes as positive than did residents

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with lesser resources or monetary investment in the neighborhood. Residents who worked outside their homes evaluated significantly more changes as positive than did those who did not work outside their homes. Taken together, these findings suggest that monetary investment, resources, and possibly alternatives may have been more influential in the recognition and evaluation of change than other types of personal stake in the community. Other types of community investment (e.g., community activism, length of residence) seemed to affect the number of changes recognized, although not residents' evaluation of the changes.

In readily quantifiable responses related to change, residents largely described neighborhood change as positive. Responses were consistent across questions. The degree to which this finding is valid or an artifact remains unclear. Some deterioration is apparent in the neighborhood (e.g., poor housing maintenance, street crime, unemployment, extremely limited adult and youth recreation opportunities). Yet, Port Hill also continues to offer important benefits to residents (e.g., good quality housing, convenient location, public transportation, local organizations, a youthful and diverse population) and recently, signs of increasing public investment have become visible. It is not clear whether the content of the specific changes underway or the perceived arrest of earlier neighborhood deterioration has encouraged residents, or whether the perception is more a reflection of the interview situation or of the respondents themselves

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(e.g., related to the social demands of the interview, or whether the neighborhood's most engaged, most optimistic residents were those who accepted the interview invitation).

Impacts of Changes

Daily life seems to have been affected by some, although few, changes in the neighborhood. Typically, residents indicated that three changes had affected their lives in Port Hill. Most common among these were increased crime, the growth of community groups, the rehabilitation of apartment buildings, and population changes. No single change was identified by a majority of residents as having exerted an impact on their lives in the community. Increased crime commonly was linked with residents feeling less secure in the neighborhood and altering their behavior (e.g., not going out at night). The growth of community groups made residents feel more positively about the neighborhood, and for some, engaged them in community activism. Where residents linked the rehabilitation of the area's apartment buildings with any impact on their lives, most often this change contributed to their feeling more positively about the neighborhood. The influence of the population changes was far more varied--from positive to negative affect about the neighborhood, and less often, about the neighborhood's residents.

The parts of residents' experience most often affected by neighborhood changes were their feelings about the neighborhood and their future in it, and their behavior in

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the neighborhood. Although I had not predicted this, findings that feelings about neighbors and behavior toward neighbors were unaffected by neighborhood changes were consistent with respondents' valuing of positive social relations in any neighborhood and the high marks most gave Port Hill for the positive contacts they found there.

The residents most likely to report positive feelings about the neighborhood related to recent changes were more recent arrivals to Port Hill, people who had lived in Port Hill for a smaller percentage of their lives, and residents paying higher housing costs. The source of this positive light is not clear. Several explanations are plausible. It is most likely that, rather than a single explanation, a combination of factors operating among Port Hill's residents explain these findings.

Gentrifiers and other recent arrivals may be generally more positive or hopeful in their views of neighborhoods than are more established residents. Newer residents may have had a more meager basis for comparison than residents with longer histories in Port Hill, and so, were less aware of local disadvantages. Recent arrivals have recently gone through a decisional process (i.e., evaluating and choosing Port Hill, its positive and negative features, in its current condition) and made their choices based on this appraisal. Cognitive dissonance may be operating--with some people who recently invested themselves in the neighborhood unable or less willing to acknowledge little other than

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"good news" about the area.

Other Evidence of Perceptions of Neighborhood Change

In addition to looking for comments related to neighborhood change in responses to questions explicitly addressing change, I found revealing comments throughout the interview. These presented detailed and complex pictures of neighborhood change and showed the variety of sources of information residents drew upon in constructing their views of change. The response complexity may be taken to reflect the complexity of neighborhood conditions, residents' awareness of these conditions, their active efforts to successfully pursue desired activities within Port Hill, and the careful deliberation residents had given to these issues.

Respondents presented intricate and well-integrated portraits of life in a dynamic neighborhood. They spoke of reciprocal relationships between elements of neighborhood life. For example, a 48-year-old bank teller, a widow, who had lived in Port Hill for 25 years, in a four-room rented apartment, initially responded to the interview's first open-ended question with a comment about recent local crime. Her responses to later questions described increased mobility (frequent moving in and out of homes), links between elevated housing costs and overcrowding, and the implications of immigration, higher housing costs and concomitant overcrowding on loosened relations among neighborhood residents, local organizations, and the broader

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social fabric.

She explained how crime had become an issue in Port Hill and what it and gaps in social life had meant for life in the neighborhood. She gave detailed examples of the meaning of neighborhood conditions and changes in family life. Crime was not a statistic. Instead, specific incidents on local shopping streets had changed the places she and her neighbors could comfortably shop and the forms of recreation and informal socializing available to them:

> When my kids were small, we used to walk on [major shopping street] all the time, a lot of the mothers did, and that would be a big way to spend your day, to socialize. But today, you can't walk [there] and you can't really shop because you have to have your eyes all over--or who is going to come up behind you and grab your pocketbook? ... I've been down there a few times with my grandchildren where gang fights broke out in the middle of the afternoon, that we had to hide inside stores because there were gunshots being fired and knives being thrown around and bats and everything else. That's a hell of a price to pay to go out shopping. (Yeah, even for a buy.) [laughter] Forget about it! No. I take my car and go to [main shopping strip in Waterhill]. (When were these incidents?). Last summer, even this past summer [the interview was conducted in October]. It happened a few times. The woman across the street and another woman over here on the fourth floor were caught in the middle of it. They had been out there with their kids, and all of a sudden, they noticed a big conglomeration of young guys and who was carrying a bat and who was carrying a knife and ... shotgun ... It was 2 p.m. on Saturday ... shots being fired and everything else ... [Now] I get in my car and go up to [Waterhill] or over to [shopping street in another neighboring community]. [The second street mentioned] is getting bad now, too.

It was the limited determination by police to enforce regulations regarding civil behavior:

> There are a lot of drugs there too, which I think a lot more could be done about it than is. But it seems to be that if they close up one store, another store opens up the next night. I fail to

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> understand how they cannot have any control over it.

Taken together, her responses presented a well-conceived analysis of the essential elements of neighborhood life, their interconnectedness, the implications of alterations in this system, and the degree to which the connections and the impact on neighborhood life make sense to residents. She also offered recommendations for neighborhood improvement.

The respondents I met had deliberated on neighborhood change events and processes. During the interview, residents raised issues such as social life, local shopping, housing quality, noise, crime, moved on to other topics, and returned to their initial topics later in the interview. Experienced interviewers probed for clarification and elaboration of respondents' comments. The length of the interview allowed this elaboration and clarification, well beyond that likely afforded by a survey methodology. The use of an in-depth interview provided a breadth and depth of information approximating the benefits of a case study.

## A Shared Image of the Neighborhood

The review of interview data revealed more commonality than division in residents' views of neighborhood change. To appreciate the commonality in responses to the open-ended questions, I examined responses to the first and most open-ended question posed to residents ("Overall, how do you feel about living in this neighborhood?"). Respondents most often cited social conditions (mentioned by 64 percent of the respondents), unspecified conditions in the neighborhood

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(38%), safety-related concerns (34%), physical conditions in the neighborhood (25%), public service delivery (22%), changes in neighborhood conditions (19%), housing conditions (17%) and characteristics of the area's commercial district (17%).

To identify any differences or commonalities in residents' concern for these issues, I used chi-square analyses to compare the likelihood of residents' references to five of the most commonly cited specific topics--in terms of characteristics of the residents mentioning these issues in response[95] to this question. There were no significant respondent-related differences in the likelihood of residents citing social conditions, housing conditions, or overall change related to the principal predictor variables[96].

The only significant difference in residents' discussions of public service delivery was related to the area resource level of the area immediately surrounding residents' homes. Respondents living in areas with fewer resources than the neighborhood's average cited public service issues significantly more often (30%, n = 13) than did residents of areas with resource levels equal to or

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[95]Up to five responses to this question were coded for each respondent. This analysis represents the number and percentage of respondents who cited these issues in any of their responses to question ten.

[96]The predictor variables examined were the area resource level, home rental or ownership, race, racial majority or minority status, gender, having school-age children in the household, community involvement, and crime victim status.

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greater than the neighborhood average (13%, n = 6) ($\chi^2$ (1) = 3.71, $p < .05$). There also was a significant difference in the likelihood of residents mentioning safety-related issues, and this was related to the race of the respondent. Hispanic residents were significantly more likely to have mentioned safety-related concerns (47%, n = 21) in their responses to the first open-ended question than were white residents (21%, n = 9) ($\chi^2$ (1) = 6.48, $p < .01$). It is understandable that public service delivery would be more salient to residents of the lower resource section of the neighborhood and that safety concerns would be more critical to Hispanics than they were to white residents. It is fair to assume that service delivery was less adequate in the lower resource area of the neighborhood than in the higher resource area. Hispanics were more likely to have reported being victims of violent crime than were white residents.

I also attempted similar examinations of the principal response categories for two of the other major open-ended questions (viz., question 12--"inside information" regarding the neighborhood which one might offer to a friend, and question 20--"things valued most in any neighborhood"). Here, no significant differences were found. There was marked commonality in the topics respondents addressed. The few instances in which there were notable differences were cases with at least one cell so small as to automatically stop the SPSS analytic run on those variables.

I do not want to minimize the distinct experiences

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residents bring to, develop in, and take from the neighborhood, or the ways in which these may shape neighborhood perceptions. Still, I consider it important to recognize the perceptions that residents from different backgrounds and with different neighborhood experiences share. Although possibly due to the deliberate selection of residents for the interview sample from blocks in Port Hill's middle ground (vs. those from either outlier of markedly high or low resource levels), it needs to be noted that between-group differences based on the primary predictors were not particularly prominent.

Limited Explanatory Utility

The multivariate exploration of response variability revealed that the predictors examined had less explanatory utility than had been anticipated. In the last series of regression equations, I examined the contribution of all the primary predictors, both discrete and experiential, to outcomes in four categories of neighborhood perception. The four areas were broad neighborhood life, social life, local housing, and neighborhood change. The combination of predictors explained no more than 36 percent of the variance in broad neighborhood life outcomes, no more than 38 percent of the variance in social life outcomes, no more than 27 percent of the variance in housing-related responses, and no more than 37 percent of the variance in neighborhood change-related outcomes. For many outcomes, the discrete or the experiential predictors entered separately explained less

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variance.

Although for most specific outcomes, the amount of variance explained was not insignificant, the amount of unexplained variance was substantial and warrants further consideration. As noted in Chapter Three, this finding likely reflects the original sampling specification, which compressed response variability by focusing on the neighborhood's middle ground, rather than examining outliers of resource extremes. It also suggests that the outcomes explored are complex and may be explained by a synthesis of many variables, some beyond those identified here.

The predictors used were those which emerged as meaningful from the literature available at the time of the research design, as well as from suggestions offered during preliminary fieldwork by community advocates and leaders. Other factors may have contributed more heavily to the outcomes. Although not formally posing these as predictors of neighborhood perception, more recent research examined in light of the Port Hill findings has suggested the contribution of other predictors to related processes. Recent investigations have suggested more intricate factors contributing to perception and broader experience.

The extent of a respondent's historical and current use of local public space (Carr et al., 1992) and the difference between a respondent's preferred and actual use of public space are likely to influence a resident's perceptions of a neighborhood overall. In her examination of cultural change,

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Hurtado (1997) described the importance of the degree of "social engagement" (vs. marginality) experienced by groups as they come in contact with other groups. She posited that social engagement is often tied to the recency of a person's immigration (i.e., immigrant, first-generation, second generation), and may be compounded by that individual's other "significant social identities ... class and sexuality" (p. 299). Similarly, Wink (1997) noted the importance of "distance in descent from the point of immigration" in social perception (p. 332). Hurtado (1997) also suggested the importance and complexity of people's "multiple group identifications and their role in cultural transformations" (p. 300). As many Port Hill respondents identified themselves by multiple ethnic groups, this is likely to have been a factor in their neighborhood perceptions. Murray, Kaiser, & Taylor (1997) also recognized the importance in critical perceptions of the extent of a person's interaction with people from (e.g., ethnic) backgrounds different from one's own.

Researchers have proposed the salience of social identity (Kuhl, 1997), as well as of factors related to personal identity (e.g., whether an individual primarily defines her/himself in terms of gender, ethnicity, as an urbanite/suburbanite) (Murray, Kaiser, & Taylor, 1997; Newman, Duff, Schnopp-Wyatt, Brock, & Hoffman, 1997) in judgments. Wink (1997) explored the relationship between individualism and collectivism and ethnicity in self- and

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social perceptions.

Another factor which may have contributed to the limited explanatory utility found in the Port Hill study is the limitation of a dichotomous view of neighborhood life. Although many predictors used in the Port Hill study were continuous, for analytic manageability, several primary predictors were dichotomous. Hurtado (1997) cited several investigations from the early 1990s which found greater within-group ethnic/racial group differences than those found between-groups. In her analysis of gender, Epstein (1997) examined an alternative to dichotomy models.

Kuhl (1997) also noted the limited utility of viewing social interaction as a function of either exclusively interpersonal or intergroup factors. It appears that Port Hill's historic and persistent cultural diversity, and the high level of at least visual and auditory interaction among residents from different backgrounds, has contributed to the greater relative influence of interpersonal factors over intergroup factors in shaping perceptions. As the U. S. becomes increasingly culturally diverse, dichotomous explanations are likely to become less meaningful.

Many of the factors identified in recent research are consistent with the Port Hill findings. It is particularly striking to find repeated implicit references to experiences (e.g., social engagement vs. marginality), that is, something <u>beyond</u> discrete characteristics. The Port Hill findings, along with those of more recent research related

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to explanatory utility, present fruitful areas for future research.

## Developments in the Community Studied

Since the data were collected, predictably, some changes have occurred in Port Hill. Residents anticipated some of these changes. Among their expectations for the neighborhood's future, nearly half of the residents cited changes they expected to find in the area's social composition. Most often, the elements of this social change were increasing numbers of middle class residents, gentrification, more residents caring for the neighborhood and property, the displacement of lower income residents and related tensions, and the arrival of new immigrants. One-third expected changes in the area's housing stock, and this almost always was of an expected improvement. One-quarter referred to the status of service delivery in the community --most often in terms of a modest improvement in services.

The processes that historically altered Port Hill continue to shape life there. Many local phenomena reflect the larger society's transition into a post-industrial society. In requiring a smaller and more highly skilled work force, technological changes have altered dramatically the nature of work and the employment opportunities available to Port Hill's residents. Political, social, and technological changes world-wide have encouraged large-scale immigration into Brooklyn from Asia, Europe, and Latin America. The challenge of absorbing residents from different cultures

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often has been compounded by intergenerational differences--within any of the immigrant groups, as well as between the immigrants and the longer-term residents.

In the mid-1980s, housing prices increased markedly, as occurred in surrounding neighborhoods, in the larger metropolitan area, and nationwide. There has been considerable commercial investment, with new businesses opening in a number of areas within Port Hill.

A comparison of 1980 and 1990 Census data revealed a four percent increase in population over the entire community district--from a total population of 98,567 in 1980 to 102,553 in 1990 (Schaffer, 1992). The growth occurred in the area's minority communities. The population of residents of Hispanic origin or descent increased 15%, from 45,868 to 52,574. The Asian and Pacific Islander community increased 197%, from 3,603 to 10,691. The non-Hispanic Black population increased 72% from 2,376 to 4,082. Between 1980 and 1990, the area's non-Hispanic white population decreased by 26%, from 46,220 to 34,416. In 1980, the overall population composition was as follows: 47% non-Hispanic white, 47% Hispanic, 4% Asian, and 2% non-Hispanic black. In 1990, the breakdown was 51% Hispanic, 34% non-Hispanic white, 10% Asian, and 4% non-Hispanic Blacks.

Although the changes residents noticed in the years immediately preceding the interviews included increasing numbers of children, the population gains between 1980 and 1990 were among residents aged 20 to 49 years. There were

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14% fewer residents aged 10 through 19 years in 1990 than there were in 1980. In 1990, there were 15% fewer residents aged 50 through 79 years than there were in the area in 1980. The median age of Port Hill's residents increased from 29.4 years to 30.5 years. This increase is comparable to the citywide median age increase from 32.8 years to 33.7 years.

During this period, the area's average household size increased slightly--from 3.4 persons per family to 3.5, and from 2.8 persons per household to 2.9 persons per household. The citywide figures were comparable. Between 1980 and 1990, the citywide average number of persons per family increased from 3.2 to 3.3, and the citywide average number of persons per household remained at 2.5. The figure for increased household density in Port Hill, coupled with ethnic changes support residents' observations that recently arrived immigrants may be "doubling up" in Port Hill's increasingly expensive housing.

At the same time, the area lost three percent of its renter-occupied housing units. In 1980, the district had 25,457 renter-occupied housing units. In 1990, the figure was 24,679. Predictably, housing costs increased considerably during this period. In 1990 constant dollars, the median contract rent increased 33% from $292 to $483 per month. The median housing value (for a one family house) increased 324% from $55,469 to $179,950. In some ways, these data parallel those for the entire city. Citywide, six percent of renter-occupied housing units were lost between

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1980 and 1990. In 1980, the city boasted 2,098,190 renter-occupied housing units. In 1990, the figure was 1,978,118. The median contract rent change across the city virtually mirrored the Port Hill figure--a 32% increase from $340 to $448 per month. Citywide, the median housing value for a one-family house increased 129% from $82,894 to $189,600. It seems fair to say that real estate activity in owner-occupied housing in Port Hill was particularly robust during the 1980s. Unfortunately, it cost the community rental housing, though a smaller percentage than that lost citywide during the same period.

In this comparison of 1980 and 1990 Census data, I have omitted those for Brooklyn. The borough is remarkably varied in the ethnicity, socio-economic status, and housing stock of its neighborhoods. The figures for Brooklyn incorporate some wealthy, solidly middle class neighborhoods, working class neighborhoods, as well as areas of abject poverty and some of the most desolate urban landscape in the country. The figures for the impoverished areas sufficiently skew borough data as to undermine its usefulness as a point of comparison. The differences across Brooklyn neighborhoods are more dramatic than those for the city as a whole.

As the 1990 Census figures indicate, Port Hill continues to attract newcomers. Political, social, and economic turmoil in other countries continue to project their emigrants into the metropolitan region. In Port Hill, immigrants find relatively affordable housing, solid

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commercial strips capable of meeting the needs of a diverse population, established communities rooted in their homelands, and often, support services developed by fraternal organizations for newcomers from a particular region in the world.

An example of extremely rapid neighborhood change related to immigration can be found in the southeastern section of Port Hill. A growing Asian community has developed a thriving commercial strip--the most apparent growth has been in restaurants, retail food, clothing, and novelty stores. Since approximately 1987, new merchants have provided well-regarded services. Residents from neighboring communities patronize this commercial strip and enjoy Port Hill's annual Chinese New Year celebration. This is one of two new, burgeoning Chinese communities to develop in the city since the mid-1980s. Each of these settlements now surpasses the city's original "Chinatown" in size. Asian immigration into the area was already underway when the interviews were conducted. Respondents commented about Chinese, Korean, and some East Indian immigration. The Asian community was cited favorably as respondents cataloged Port Hill's ethnic diversity. Since this time, immigration seemingly has accelerated and has come to the attention of the media. In the spring of 1993, good news about the community was overshadowed by publicity about Asian gang victimization of impoverished Asian immigrants in Port Hill. The media also examined conditions in area garment-industry

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sweatshops.

In the northern part of Port Hill, the established Polish community has been steadily growing, and since the mid-1980s, has welcomed a new wave of Polish immigrants. In the western area, there has been an influx of Middle Eastern families. In the area just to the east of Hill Park, a small Mexican community has been growing since 1990-1991. Recently, Port Hill has been described as home to hard-working, low income immigrants, including Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, and Asians (Mittelbach, 1992). Some Port Hill residents soon may be challenged by reductions in benefits available to legal immigrants and non-citizens that are part of recent welfare and immigration reform.

In these and other areas of Port Hill, there have been ongoing openings of new businesses and refurbishing of existing storefronts, just as other businesses have closed. Other than a few new stores, restaurants, and warehouses, the quality of merchandise and services found in the recently opened commercial properties has not changed in the core of Port Hill.

Residents have reported ease in selling homes, even during periods of home sale decline in the metropolitan region and slowdown in neighboring communities. A major factor in the vitality of Port Hill home sales has been the growing Asian community in the area. Local home sales have remained brisk.

Port Hill continues to be an area the general public

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perceives as a high crime area. Other than brownstone revitalization pieces, through 1991, publicity related to Port Hill in local and municipal newspapers most frequently focused on criminal activity in the area. Yet, in an article listing the most dangerous police precincts in the city, Port Hill's two precincts ranked 44th and 67th[97] out of 71 precincts[98]. The neighboring communities of Hamilton, Westpark[99] and Waterhill ranked 68th, 46th, and 67th, respectively (Greenberg, 1990). All of these communities were considered below the city's weighted average for major crimes against people (i.e., homicide, rape, robbery, assault). By the early 1990's, local media were reporting a growing drug problem in a higher-income community nearby (McCann, 1992), as well a growing nationwide drug epidemic. Since this investigation, many other neighborhoods across the city, including those with historically greater resources and wealthier populations than Port Hill, have come to suffer the same "quality of life" problems. Considerable publicity has been devoted to those problems, making it clear that these were not unique to Port Hill.

Alongside unfavorable coverage, though, has come attention to area revitalization efforts. Examples included fundraising by a local music school to permanently house the

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[97]This precinct covers parts of Port Hill and Waterhill.

[98]Ranking is from most to least dangerous.

[99]This community includes parts of two precincts, ranked 46th and 44th, out of 71 precincts.

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school, parent involvement in local early childhood programs, and reforms in area schools linked to improved student performance. In 1988, the local restoration group succeeded in having 3,237 buildings in Port Hill's core designated as an historic district by the U.S. National Register of Historic Places. By the summer of 1990, the restoration group began working with an urban archeologist to unearth American Revolutionary era artifacts in the area.

In addition to the positive developments in Port Hill, predictably, in the years since the primary data collection, there have been a number of major projects which were perceived as threatening the preferred ways of living in Port Hill. These "threats" have included the long-term mooring of a prison barge at a Port Hill pier, the siting of large-scale shelters for the homeless, and the development of a nearby port for a U.S. Navy battle group carrying nuclear weapons. While many residents and activists recognized the need, at least for the first two projects, local community groups successfully mobilized to fight each proposal. In the last instance, local activists coalesced with groups from other neighborhoods to fight the proposal. Most recently, Port Hill is dealing with another project which could substantially compromise life in the area for many years.

Local life may again be disrupted by work on the highway that bisects Port Hill (Mittelbach, 1992). As mentioned earlier, the construction of this highway, which

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opened in 1941, cost Port Hill 100 stores and housing for 1300 families. Its reconstruction is seen as threatening the tenuous quality of life in Port Hill, as well as that in the more prosperous neighborhoods bordering it on the north and south. While not disputing the need to replace the roadway, local residents and merchants want to minimize the disruption the communities cut by the highway will suffer during reconstruction. Port Hill's community groups have coalesced with some from three other communities bifurcated by the highway--to secure a greater role in the replacement planning than the inconsequential role afforded these communities during the original construction. In 1996, roadway replacement options came to include a tunnel.

There is evidence that disinvestment by private lenders continues, though somewhat abated by the determined efforts of community activists and watchdog not-for-profit organizations nationwide (Hansell, 1994). The popular media cite efforts by New York City's major commercial lenders to serve this and other historically underserved communities (e.g., offering mortgages and small business loans).

A major effort by public investors in Port Hill has also caught the attention of the metropolitan media. The city's economic development corporation is boasting an 85 percent occupancy rate for its redeveloped military terminal. Described as a "vertical industrial park", the terminal is being advertised as an "incubator" for small manufacturers. Operators cite an imposing security system, a

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"large pool of relatively skilled, low-wage labor, and ample parking (Deutsch, 1993)." Their recent successes have been leasing space for Wall Street back-office operations. There also have been attempts to institute ferry service between this terminal and two of the city's major business districts. Recently, public funding has been provided to develop an "incubator" at Port Hill's civilian terminal to modernize Brooklyn's garment industry.

Respondents anticipated a gentrifying Port Hill with larger numbers of middle class residents displacing lower income residents, as well as tensions related to this displacement. They predicted that Port Hill would see further improvements in its housing stock and service delivery. Residents also envisioned the arrival of new immigrants. The changes that occurred largely have borne out residents' predictions. Once again, as is the rest of New York City and the nation, Port Hill is experiencing a wave of immigration. The community's population is increasingly minority. The population also is aging, with most of last decade's growth among its young and middle-aged adults. There has been evidence of gentrification (i.e., lost housing units and increased housing costs). Still, the increased average household size and increased minority and immigrant populations suggest that gentrification did not play as large a role in Port Hill as residents had anticipated.

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While Port Hill continues to face challenges, it is facing them with increasing resources. The community continues to attract newcomers, and fortunately, once again seems to be attracting new businesses and industry. Its population is more diverse than ever, and still can boast a large numbers of families with school-age children. Its community-based and grassroots organizations are active. The neighborhood is getting more positive media coverage. Many homes are in sound condition. Recent immigration has helped to stabilize local real estate activity, without the stagnation occurring in other areas of the region. Sustained interest in the community among in-movers has encouraged other residents to refurbish their homes.

## More Recent Research

Subsequent to this study, additional research has been done in related areas. Many issues that spurred this project continue to operate in U.S. cities, and the information sought continues to interest researchers and policy makers. Many challenges Port Hill residents faced have since become manifest in other cities in the U.S., as well as in Europe and the Pacific Rim. Although there has been relatively little more recent work directly addressing the topics explored in this project, research completed after the data collection has informed and supported the findings of the investigation, and more broadly, has enriched the field of inquiry.

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## Processes of Concern

Along with the popular press, the social science literatures have continued to describe and analyze many of the processes which generated this research and which continue to shape urban communities. Researchers have explored the interdependence of the political economy of cities and neighborhoods (Bartelt, Elesh, Goldstein, Leon, and Yancey, 1987). Some explored the implications for urban neighborhoods of investment and disinvestment (Adams, Bartelt, Elesh, Goldstein, Kleniewski, and Yancey, 1991). Others have continued to describe current manifestations of decades of redlining, such real estate practices as racial steering and block busting, and the Federal Housing Authority scandals (Oppenheim & Sierra, 1994; Squires, 1992).

### Investment Decisions

Throughout Port Hill's history, public and private investment has shaped the community--the jobs and housing available, as well as its commercial district. Interview respondents recognized the role of investment and recent investment changes. In his compilation of reports of successful community reinvestment campaigns, Squires (1992) presented data on mortgage and insurance redlining--the existence, scale, and manifestations in different cities. Beauregard (1990) described inequities in Philadelphia's loss of jobs and businesses since 1950 and the difficulties faced by inner city governments trying to redistribute

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resources in an era of scarcity.

Port Hill residents were concerned about the area's lack of jobs, particularly for young people also contending with increasing housing and other living costs. Adams et al. (1991) examined the implications for Philadelphia's residential neighborhoods of the city's evolution from a nineteenth century industrial city to a post-industrial city. They focused on the post-World War II economic changes as reflected in the city's employment, housing, and public policy patterns. Adams et al. (1991) documented the ways in which economic changes were accompanied by heightened racial, class, and neighborhood conflict. Starting in the early 1950s, investment in the city's residential neighborhoods was sacrificed in favor of downtown redevelopment. The city's historic segregation fueled a redlining phenomenon, which encouraged further segregation and abandonment. A comparable examination was made of the interplay of race, class, and urban decline in Chicago (Squires, Bennett, McCourt, & Nyden, 1987).

Gentrification. Many Port Hill residents predicted that its short-term future would include gentrification. Many welcomed the arrival of more people of means and what they assumed would be a related physical and commercial upgrading of the neighborhood. Much of the recent research examined reinvestment in urban neighborhoods, particularly the gentrification process. Palen and London (1984) edited a collection of empirical works describing gentrification-

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related processes in U.S. cities, Canada, Europe, and Australia. Draper (1991) explored gentrification underway in Park Slope, Brooklyn between 1960 and 1985 as a set of three processes--pioneering, consolidating, and cosmopolitanizing. Perhaps later in Port Hill's gentrification, discussion with local residents would tap such distinctions in the views of residents. Kerstein (1990) reviewed stage models of gentrification, a process that, by 1982, had been ongoing for over twenty years in a Tampa, Florida community. Homeowners interviewed defined gentrification in terms of physical renovation and social class upgrading, as did many Port Hill residents. Kerstein found gentrification to involve different processes in different contexts, leading to his characterization of gentrification as a complex and "chaotic" phenomenon (p. 635). An example of the complexity was offered in the different priorities characteristic of in-movers at different stages in the gentrification process --with earlier in-movers notably less sensitive to risk than in-movers who arrived years later. Later arrivals were more likely to have children and to have different reasons for moving into the area than did their predecessors. In Port Hill, more recent arrivals seemed to have chosen current day Port Hill, and so, were less troubled by local conditions and changes underway than were neighbors who had moved into a different neighborhood years earlier. Alternatively, recent arrivals also may have had a greater need to view Port Hill in a positive light--to justify their decision to

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move there.

Port Hill seemed to be experiencing investment and disinvestment at the same time, with the loss of interest in Port Hill among some investors providing welcome opportunities for other investors. Similarly, Covington and Taylor (1989) identified multiple, rather than single indicators of gentrification (e.g., changes in the area's relative housing value and low-income areas with worn-out housing stock, rather than areas experiencing incumbent upgrading). They saw gentrification as a process that was temporally and spatially uneven, and found disinvestment and reinvestment occurring simultaneously in gentrifying neighborhoods. In his ten-year ethnographic study, Anderson (1990) traced the simultaneous operation of deterioration and gentrification processes affecting two neighboring communities in Eastern City and the various manifestations of investment shifts. As the Village neighborhood, with its deteriorated Victorian era housing stock located near the city's core and high technology corridor gentrified, the neighboring Northton community suffered considerable deterioration. He described the loss of Northton's working and middle class African-American residents, as they aged and/or sought more attractive housing and employment opportunities elsewhere. Anderson (1990) placed the changes in these two communities within the context of broader transformations occurring over the last few decades, viz., the shift to a service economy, compounded inflation, housing price inflation, the

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development of local drug-related and underground economies, and the breakdown of public and private service delivery. Many of these issues also were catalogued by Port Hill residents.

Identification of investment agents. Port Hill residents recognized the contribution of a variety of actors (e.g., elected officials, public agencies, local merchants, residents, banks) to neighborhood conditions. They also noted constancies and changes in the actions of these players over time. Residents identified areas of public service delivery which needed improvement. Any improvements were applauded, although most frequently these were described as minor in scale. The publicly subsidized housing rehabilitation was recognized as substantial. Much-publicized, though substantively minor banking changes were noted as such.

There also have been more recent examinations of the "agents" within the investment processes shaping urban neighborhoods. In tracing the historic role of real estate investment in the development of metropolitan areas, Feagin (1986, 1990) described a collection of agents whose actions shaped modern U.S. cities. The agents included immigrants, urban reformers, planners, entrepreneurs, speculators, major land holders, and builders. He wrote about the role of capital and investors in building cities as conscious actors using scarce land, defining housing as a commodity, and manipulating poverty and ethnicity to build high density

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housing as ghettos and slums.

In his introduction to a collection of reports on successful community reinvestment strategies, Squires (1992) also characterized disinvestment as the result of conscious choices by private industry and government representatives. Anderson's (1990) ethnography of the neighboring communities in Eastern City highlighted deindustrialization and related urban deterioration--as manifest in struggles over real estate among residents of different races and socio-economic groups. Sleeper (1990) described the all-important role of the real estate industry in shaping the perceptions and fortunes of New York City's neighborhoods. He cited the roles of community activists and the municipal government (e.g., in the application of building codes, taxation and zoning policies, and collaborations with the real estate and banking industries). Sleeper analyzed the self-fulfilling prophecies that operate every day to shape urban neighborhoods. This followed Newfield and DuBrul's (1977) earlier examination of the role of the "golden triangle" of real estate, banking, and political agents in shaping the public policies and possibilities of U.S. cities.

Community Organizing

An impetus for studying Port Hill was the introduction of a city-funded community organizing program into the neighborhood. In their appreciation of local opportunities for formal and informal socializing, many residents seemed to validate this approach to community development.

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Investigators have continued to explore the roles of local organizations within communities undergoing investment-related changes.

Oppenheim and Sierra (1994) profiled the strategies four New York City community-based organizations (CBOs) used to counter housing disinvestment and abandonment and characterized disinvestment as it became manifest in four low-income neighborhoods. They described the progression of the disinvestment that shaped these African-American and Hispanic neighborhoods (e.g., racial steering and block-busting by the real estate industry, redlining, the Federal Housing Authority scandals). The communities now struggle with drugs and unemployment on top of disinvestment and apparently disinterested lenders and service providers. These communities faced problems comparable to those faced by Port Hill. Oppenheim and Sierra (1994) described ways in which CBOs attempted to fill the vacuum left by conventional investors and service providers. They presented the problems each of these organizations face, problems which transcend specific neighborhoods (e.g., drugs and unemployment) and which have "impeded organizers' efforts to bring stability to communities" (p. 10). Cater (1991) reviewed the effectiveness of two community groups in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Although the funding sources for the groups differed and may have influenced the groups' differing levels of effectiveness, he assessed such groups as successful in promoting neighborhood stability and

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improvement.

In examining neighborhood associations, Logan and Rabrenovic (1990) described differences in the values developers (i.e., exchange values) and residents (i.e., use values) apply in assessing local land and buildings. Consistent with the views of many Port Hill residents, these researchers recognized that the key issues for residents include the people who live in a neighborhood, the access provided to daily necessities, and personal safety.

Race Relations

Race appeared to be less of an issue in Port Hill residents' perceptions of neighborhood change than suggested by earlier research. Still, there has been considerable recent research on race relations in urban areas, and contributors to current race relations and tensions. Adams et al. described the processes by which "housing patterns essentially reflect and help reinforce the larger system of inequality" (1991, p. 67). They saw Philadelphia's 300 interracial incidents in 1986 as related to competition over scarce resources (e.g., housing, jobs) among that city's lower and working class African-American and white communities. These researchers cited the results of a 1976 survey of racial attitudes among 1492 Philadelphians from different neighborhoods. Residents displaying the most prejudiced attitudes were inner city white residents with less than a high school education, living in predominantly white neighborhoods near predominantly African-American

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neighborhoods. Residents with the most liberal attitudes were white residents with higher levels of formal education and higher occupational levels, living in racially integrated neighborhoods. The investigators assumed that white residents with less education and poorer occupational prospects were in more intense competition with African-Americans. Beauregard (1990), in his study of Mayor Wilson Goode's unsuccessful innovative redistributive policies in Philadelphia during the 1980s, noted ways in which class divisions and race served to fragment residents. As played out in differential political access, employment opportunities, and neighborhood segregation, these issues slowed the formation of political alliances and led to increasing alienation among residents.

At first glance, these more recent findings counter those of the Port Hill study. Yet, at least three major characteristics distinguish the Port Hill sample from Anderson's Eastern City neighborhoods (1990) and others of subsequent studies. These may explain the differences in residents' perceptions reported in the different studies. Port Hill is highly integrated (vs. racially segregated Eastern City communities), and seemed to offer greater relative employment opportunities than those available in Eastern City. In fact, 42 percent of the Port Hill sample worked in Brooklyn. The Port Hill sample was comprised primarily of high school graduates. These sample characteristics were consistent with sample characteristics

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in recent studies reporting a lesser influence of race than research tapping more poorly educated samples with lower occupational levels living in more segregated neighborhoods.

Another striking finding from the race-related research was the complexity of the phenomena operating to create the 'racial' issues in urban areas. Terkel (1992) spoke with nearly 100 African-American and white Americans about their attitudes toward and experience of race. Many of his respondents described how those attitudes had evolved over thirty years and continue to evolve. He found a good deal of ambiguity--understanding alongside resentment and division among neighbors. In a description of New York City's unique ethnic and political history, Sleeper (1990) wrote about the city's race relations within the contexts of economic dislocation, crime, and real estate speculation. In a laboratory study, Katz and Hass (1988) found that racial attitude change strategies were effective only in situations providing all parties with equal opportunities. Anderson (1990) described the "uneasy tension" in adjacent Eastern City neighborhoods where African-American and white neighbors struggled over prime real estate in the midst of urban deterioration. In a predominantly white middle- to upper-income area and an adjacent low-income African-American ghetto, prejudice was apparent as gentrification got underway--in spite of the area's historic reputation for "order and tolerance" and overall "goodwill" (p. 30).

Anderson (1990) also suggested that, counter to the

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mobility decisions made in the 1950s and 1960s, currently, "occupation and class compete with race" as the preeminent criteria in residential choice decisions in the Village/ Northton area. In these communities, race was less of an issue than the area's capacity to attract "better" people to displace current, lower-income residents. For many Port Hill respondents (residents of a racially integrated neighborhood overall), social class similarity seemed to be a more important element of neighborhood satisfaction than was racial/ethnic similarity with other local residents. It is possible that residents' references to social class preferences were surrogates for racial/ethnicity preferences. Still, the social class homogeneity preferences were expressed by Hispanic and white residents and the references identified very specific behavior which observers found troublesome.

## Perceptions of Neighborhood Change

While there has been relatively little written directly relevant to this investigation, much of the work done more recently has supported and clarified the findings of the Port Hill study. In the following, I present related works addressing the principal topics which arose in this project.

### Important Change Manifestations or Most Critical Neighborhood Elements

The literature in this area noted the importance of physical and social elements of neighborhood life, and to a lesser degree, the provision of public services. There were

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also works addressing what I have labelled "experiential" needs (e.g., communion among residents, safety, control of public spaces). In some cases, there has not been a clear distinction between the importance of the physical neighborhood element and the less tangible impression which that neighborhood element leaves with the person perceiving it. There are several instances in which the "neighborhood element" alone seems to be less salient than the perception or judgement of that element. It should be noted that in most cases, the neighborhood elements have not been examined explicitly in light of changing neighborhood conditions.

Unger and Wandersman (1985) cited Albrandt's (1984) earlier work which distinguished between neighborhood attachment and satisfaction. The first was conceived as psychological investment, social ties, and the use of neighborhood facilities, and the second was seen as a critical review of physical aspects and public services. Port Hill residents voiced sentiments reflecting both neighborhood attachment and satisfaction. The design of the Port Hill study presumed that attachment and satisfaction intertwine. If considering the distinction, many residents overall were less satisfied with current community conditions and services than they were attached to elements of local life. I question how long residents will be able to sustain this attachment if dissatisfaction with local services continues to force residents out of Port Hill to meet routine household needs.

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Unger and Wandersman characterized neighborhood cognition as:

> ideas about the neighborhood's social and physical environment which can be used to develop a predictive system to understand the neighborhood and to develop ways to deal effectively with neighborhood issues (1985, p. 149).

They referred to residents' perceptions of the built and physical neighborhood elements, and how these symbolically communicate meaning. Although Port Hill residents were able to articulate predictions about the neighborhood in the future, some of the problems or disappointments they identified seemed based on the unpredictable nature of recent neighborhood conditions and changes. The meanings communicated by changes or conditions were unsatisfactory, given the messages residents wanted to receive about the their home area (e.g., a mutual and reciprocal respect and care for private property and public space from other residents and users of local public space).

Physical elements. In their assessment of local conditions and their appreciation of life in Port Hill, most respondents cited the importance of the overall physical condition of the neighborhood, as well as that of specific neighborhood elements (e.g., specific housing rehabilitation in parts of the neighborhood). Several physical neighborhood elements were cited as important--in more recent studies of neighborhood attractiveness or satisfaction, or were the focus of community organizing efforts. The more recent works were long-overdue, given Rivlin's (1987) critique of earlier

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research which had neglected to consider specific environmental qualities of settings and the ways in which these qualities affect people's relationships to their neighbors and neighborhoods.

Not surprisingly, in works on neighborhood change and gentrification, conflict over mutually valued land and housing was seen as catalyzing many of the other changes (e.g., social) unfolding in transitional neighborhoods (Anderson, 1990). In addition to recognizing the importance of housing maintenance for neighborhood satisfaction (Schiavo, 1988), the maintenance of streets and sidewalks (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990), traffic congestion, residential land use changes (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990), and overall neighborhood cleanliness (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990), investigators noted the importance of natural areas (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990; Nasar, 1989; Schiavo, 1988; Sheets & Manzer, 1991).

Neighborhood appearance, in fact, has been recognized as important in residents' perceptions of safety in a neighborhood (Baba & Austin, 1989; Perkins, Wandersman, Rich, & Taylor, 1993). Van Andel (1990) noted that with increasing neighborhood attractiveness came more possibilities for residents' active use of their neighborhoods. In that study, neighborhoods deemed attractive were those that supported active use.

Several Port Hill residents appreciated the area's relatively quiet ambience--in contrast to the noisier,

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busier atmosphere of Manhattan. Another more recent researcher reported that, unlike heavily trafficked streets, "calm streets" promote the coping mechanism of space appropriation and so, generate a sense of belonging (Pinet, 1988). Schiavo (1988) also cited the importance of quiet streets, although based upon the findings of a study of suburban children and adolescents. Not surprisingly, Appleyard's research on livable streets (in Cherulnik, 1993) found different patterns of social interaction on streets with different traffic levels. Relatively quiet, lightly trafficked streets were linked with greater socializing among neighbors, greater use of the streets by children and the elderly, as well as greater rates of home ownership than that manifest on streets with heavy traffic. Where design changes reduced formerly heavy vehicular and pedestrian traffic, Newman (in Cherulnik, 1993) found shared responsibility to counteract crime, a heightened capacity among residents to question strangers on streets, and ultimately, lessened fear of crime. In a study of New York State's Capital District (Albany, Schenectady, Troy, and surrounding suburbs), Logan and Rabrenovic (1990) noted distinct differences in the topics holding the attention of urban and suburban neighborhood associations. Both groups frequently discussed traffic congestion and parking and residential land use changes or housing developments. Suburbanites with next greatest frequency focused on any encroachments on residential land uses. Urban neighborhood

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associations attended to streets and sidewalks, the area's cleanliness, parking and playgrounds, housing conditions, police protection, and the area's reputation. The authors attributed the differences to the higher crime rates in urban areas and the greater shared responsibility for one's immediate environment expressed by urbanites. Other investigators noted that, if planned properly, cooperative maintenance of shared space could promote community cohesion (Valadez & Bellalta, 1993).

More recent research also examined perceptions of noise in urban residential areas. Loud and unusual noises at night which Parisian listeners felt were within the control of the revelers were considered particularly annoying (Levy-Leboyer & Naturel, 1991). The attribution of intention also may have been critical to Port Hill residents' definitions of unwanted noise from newcomers' radios. Still, long-term residents did not mind some "reasonable," predictable noise (e.g., that related to an occasional party). In declaring a noise an annoyance, residents assessed the degree to which it disrupted their own activities at the time.

Public space. An unexpected finding of the current investigation was that of the importance of public space in Port Hill. While public space was not among the neighborhood conditions originally specified for study, the findings suggested that it was an important element of neighborhood life for Port Hill residents. Local public space was described as a resource in its own right, as well as an

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arena for both desirable and undesirable behavior. It served as a bridge or watershed between physical and social elements of neighborhood life. Beyond the significance of the physical characteristics of specific open spaces in Port Hill, was the importance residents associated with behavior in public spaces--on streets, in parks, or in homes as it spilled into public spaces. Most residents wanted to enjoy local public spaces and few were satisfied with the access they had at the time of the interviews.

Historically, Port Hill's public spaces had been valued local assets. Many residents still consider at least Hill Park to be so. They lamented the loss of the park's former beauty and the enjoyment they found in the park. In addition, many residents complained about lowered standards for conduct in public spaces, particularly that on area streets, poorer maintenance of public space in Port Hill, the lack of enforcement of rules of civil conduct in public space, and the deterioration of local retail establishments. Long-term residents recalled with nostalgia very happy times spent with friends, family, and neighbors in Hill Park, strolling neighborhood streets (e.g., shopping, window-shopping, child care), and visiting with neighbors while stoop-sitting after dinner. They valued the opportunities public spaces provided for informal neighboring.

The public spaces that existed in Port Hill during the period of the data collection were limited--in quality, variety, maintenance, the goods and services available

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within or near them, in the activities the spaces supported, and in the mix of residents the spaces attracted. Fortunately, local economic development has been underway since the period of data collection. Many respondents noted that local stores satisfied only their basic retail needs (i.e., very basic groceries, housewares, dining). This level of retail service and merchandise may be sufficiently responsive to some residents' needs. As more commercial enterprises open (e.g., restaurants, ethnic groceries, a bookstore), hopefully, Port Hill enterprises will satisfy more residents' basic and higher level needs.

Unlike the prescription Carr, Francis, Rivlin, and Stone offered for successful public spaces, those in Port Hill seemed to be far from "conducive to relaxed exchange" (1992, p. 10). In operation and design, these spaces were not "successful multicultural spaces ... [fostering] cultural integration or ... understanding" (1992, p. 10). As currently operated, Port Hill's public spaces seemed to reinforce the lives of people in some groups (Carr et al., 1992, p. 12), but did little to reinforce the communal life of the broader populace. Although Port Hill public spaces had the potential to "open people to new worlds" (1992, p. 12), due to poor operating policies, these encouraged residents to remain separate.

Respondents provided empirical support for the premises of Carr et al.'s Public Space (1992). In their work, as well as in Port Hill, public space served as a "stage" for

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communal life and exchange (1992, p. 3). As Carr et al. (1992) recognized in research in other communities, for many Port Hill residents, communal life was thriving--in religious and grassroots community organizations, in children's baseball leagues. Many residents enjoyed active formal community lives (e.g., participation in religious and other community organizations), while missing informal community engagement. This circumstance may reflect broader societal changes (e.g., in work life and hours, increasing mobility, the development of new forms of association based on shared interests rather than residential proximity, changing retail trends from small local establishments to large malls). Whatever the cause, there seemed to be decreasing support for regular and felicitous informal local contact (e.g., from bumping into neighbors while shopping or in recreation). Admittedly, demographic changes alone have changed the opportunities for contact. For example, greater religious diversity has made it less likely that neighbors of different faiths will encounter one another informally in religious observances than was the case in earlier eras characterized by greater religious homogeneity among community residents. Carr et al. (1992) recognized the difficulty found in diverse communities in "making contacts in the public realm ... [in identifying other residents] with similar interests or backgrounds. Heterogeneity [and areas with large, dense populations] lead to withdrawal to a private realm" (1992, p. 31). They noted that "public life

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has not disappeared, although it has changed" (1992, p. 33).

There are safety-related implications of limited local public space. Security concerns were as important to Port Hill's residents as they were to the people Carr et al. (1992) described. Fearful residents and those unable to meet household needs in local shops or facilities are less likely to spend much time in local public spaces than are residents who can find their needs met locally. The former group of residents are less likely to bump into neighbors with any frequency than are residents who spend more time in a community. As a result, fewer residents spend much time on streets or get to know their neighbors.

However much residents appreciated public space improvements (i.e., Hill Park renovations), they urged that attention be given first to reducing crime, lowering housing costs and related housing overcrowding, and unemployment. Residents who offered such comments considered these issues more essential to having happy, constructive neighbors and to building a healthy community than would be the redevelopment of local public space.

Social elements. Port Hill residents considered social life to be among the most critical current conditions of and changes within neighborhood life. Predictably, more recent neighborhood research addressed social life issues. These works described the contribution of social interaction and networks in making neighborhood life generally more pleasant, satisfying, and safer. Residents with social

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connections to their neighborhoods were more likely to feel that they "belonged" in and attached to those neighborhoods. There also was evidence of the value of social interaction, particularly intergenerational interaction. It was found to serve critical leadership development and socialization functions, seen as preparing younger neighborhood residents to constructively participate in the life of the neighborhood and of the larger society.

Recent research cited the psychological importance of sharing and socializing among neighbors (Schiavo, 1988; Van Andel, 1990), and the contribution of familial and extra-familial (e.g., friend, neighbor, church) support relationships (Anderson, 1990; Taylor & Chatters, 1989). Residents were found to be more satisfied with neighborhoods when they were more closely acquainted with their neighbors (Baba & Austin, 1989). Ringel and Finkelstein (1991) found a significant relationship between neighborhood satisfaction and attachment.

This link was not as obvious in the current study. Port Hill residents' self-reports of having friends in the neighborhood did not significantly distinguish among their responses to most of the readily quantifiable questions. Self-reported local activism did so to a greater extent. This finding must be considered in light of the fact that only ten percent of the Port Hill respondents did <u>not</u> report having friends currently living in the area. Respondents who reported currently having friends in the neighborhood

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recognized significantly more neighborhood changes and rated their concerns as significantly more similar to those of other local residents than did the few respondents who reported not having local friends. Those with local friends rated neighborhood housing costs as more expensive than did respondents without friends nearby. Residents with local friends were over twice as likely to report that they had alternatives to living in Port Hill than did residents without such local support.

For the Port Hill sample, having local friends was not significantly related to their responses to several rating scales and forced-choice questions representing current satisfaction with the neighborhood and that throughout their tenure in Port Hill, their ratings of the direction of recent changes and their sense of whether or not they considered neighborhood changes to have influenced several areas of their affect and behavior related to the neighborhood.

Other investigators found residents more satisfied with, confident about, and feeling safer within their neighborhoods the more they knew their neighbors (Baba & Austin, 1989; Bursik, 1986). Baba and Austin (1989) discussed the capacities of communities to assert strong normative standards and as such, to help residents to feel secure. Other investigators recognized the importance of local networks (Bursik, 1986; Jeffres & Dobos, 1984) and social cohesiveness (Baba & Austin, 1989; Skogan, 1986) in

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neighborhood confidence and security. Residents were less fearful (of crime) in areas of greater social integration (i.e., where they knew the people and places to avoid) (Baba & Austin, 1989; Perkins et al., 1993). Unlike communities in continual states of flux, those characterized by social organization and local networks were less likely to suffer delinquency (Bursik, 1986). Community self-regulation, considered a function of a community's capacity to assert strong normative standards and to govern local activities, was seen as an antidote to fear (Baba & Austin, 1989; Skogan, 1986). In his ten-year ethnography of the Village/ Northton neighborhoods in Eastern City, Anderson (1990) described the importance of a shared moral community, with older, more established residents serving as caring, engaged role models for their younger neighbors and neighbors generally sharing common values. In fact, one resident dated the changes in the Northton neighborhood at "1972, when the 'old heads' stopped [disengaged]" and with that, the area lost its leadership. Port Hill residents anticipated the issues raised in more recent studies--in their concerns about chronic unemployment of the area's young people, lack of consistent and fair civil and criminal law enforcement, disparity in standards for civil conduct in public spaces, and limited recreational and organized social outlets for the area's youth.

As noted earlier in this literature update, investigators have continued to explore the role of race in community

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life (Adams et al., 1991; Anderson, 1990; Beauregard, 1990; Sleeper, 1990; Squires et al., 1987). Lee, Campbell, & Miller (1991) explored racial differences in neighboring behavior in Nashville, Tennessee. They found that neighboring was positively related to community affect. They also found that Blacks interacted with neighbors more often and in more varied ways than did white residents. White residents were more casual in their neighborly relations, whereas for African-American residents, these relationships more often were instrumental. Lee et al.'s (1991) work complemented Warren's (1977) 1969 study in Detroit which suggested that reliance on neighborhood may vary by socio-economic status. Low income residents, because of their limited mobility, seemed to rely more on the neighborhood than did more affluent residents. In his taxonomy of six neighborhood functions, Warren (1977) found greater variability in those functions served by predominantly African-American neighborhoods than in those served by predominantly white neighborhoods. For example, in African-American communities, the neighborhood's role as a power base seemed to be more specialized and complex than it was in white communities.

I gathered some data on neighboring behavior and perceptions, although neighboring per se, was not a focus of the Port Hill study. Among Port Hill residents, race was not significantly related to the frequency of socializing with neighbors. Nor did race affect residents' ratings of the

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degree to which residents take care of one another in the neighborhood or their ratings of the similarity of their concerns with those of their neighbors. It did not influence residents' statements of whether or not neighborhood changes had affected their feelings about or their behavior toward local residents. The differences between the findings of this study and those of more recent investigations may be related to Port Hill's relatively high level of residential integration, the relatively high education and employment levels, and the common religious background of many in the Port Hill sample. Other samples in which race/ethnicity played a more substantial role were more segregated, typically had populations with lower educational and employment levels, and less commonality in religious observance. These factors could be expected to foster a greater sense of differences between population groups, as well as insecurity and perceived threat among residents than that apparent in Port Hill.

Recently, research has begun to directly consider the role of population diversity as related to design issues. This clearly is relevant to communities such as Port Hill. Some challenges facing multi-ethnic communities with levels of diversity approaching that of Port Hill parallel those recognized in earlier design-related research. For example, researchers in post-war Britain found design elements intended to promote social cohesion troublesome to socially reserved residents (Kuper, 1953, as cited in Valadez &

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Bellalta, 1993). Kuper (1970) described awkward social interactions among neighbors in post-war Britain related to design and construction decisions which fostered involuntary visual and auditory contact among neighbors.

As was noted in the Port Hill study, issues more closely suggesting a preference for class homogeneity, rather than one based on race or ethnicity, have begun to emerge from neighborhood studies. Other researchers have recognized the important role of class-related variables (rather than race alone) in neighborhood change projects, along with the interaction of class and race variables. Anderson (1990) described subgroups within the African-American and white Village/Northton communities. For example, he characterized the area's yuppies as fearful, indifferent, and hostile toward area Blacks, preferring class homogeneity, not particularly interested in cultural diversity, and generally, feeling under siege. Others among the area's white residents, the counter-culturalists or "old-time villagers," either worked to promote racial diversity or had decided to otherwise adjust to changing conditions. The area's Black middle class were most concerned, in fact, fearful for their own safety with police. This was consistent with Port Hill findings that many of the behaviors sought and those deemed unwelcome (e.g., car repairs in the street or near parks) were class/income-related. Some residents appreciated the lack of social comparison in Port Hill, in contrast to the social

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demands they anticipated in life in the nearby suburbs.

Unger and Wandersman (1985) found neighboring more complex and important than much of the earlier literature had suggested. They suggested that there are three affective bonds in neighboring--a sense of mutual aid, a sense of community, and a sense of place. Unger and Wandersman (1985) conceptualized neighboring as having three types of components: social (interaction), cognitive (symbolic interaction), and affective (attachments). In a study of eight Dutch neighborhoods related to an energy conservation information campaign, Weenig, Schmidt, & Midden (1990) identified two dimensions of neighborhood cohesion. The quantitative dimension reflected neighboring habits, and the qualitative dimension tapped residents' senses of community or feelings that neighbors are important to each other. In that I did not systematically explore neighboring in depth, the Port Hill findings add little to those of more recent studies. Still, in the content and structure of responses to the open-ended questions related to Port Hill, these distinct characteristics are apparent. Social life and interaction were described as important in responses to virtually all open-ended questions. Most responses also included affective, cognitive and behavioral elements. In the Port Hill study, quantitative and qualitative dimensions of neighboring could be considered as demanded by the interview questions. For example, some items solicited quantitative data on the frequency of socializing, while

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qualitative data could be expected to emerge from responses to the open-ended questions. The overall impression of neighboring given by many Port Hill respondents is of an experience appreciated when found and mourned when lost. Most residents sought to have such experiences rebuilt.

Service providers. Port Hill residents saw local service delivery as important in shaping neighborhood life, as well as their views of the neighborhood over time. Residents criticized the lack of cleanliness of local streets, the poor responsiveness of local police, the poor performance of students in public schools, the poor quality of merchandise available in local stores and their limited hours of service, and the limited services available in local banks. Some respondents described a deterioration in service delivery over time. Many sought out desired goods and services in other neighborhoods. This area of local life reveals the cyclic nature of neighborhood operations. I found evidence that service delivery deterioration or limitation contributed to a lessening of the casual, informal street acquaintance and socializing likely to foster local investment and a sense of safety. Some respondents acknowledged that service delivery deterioration was not unique to Port Hill.

Other researchers also recognized the importance of service delivery in neighborhood perceptions. Many of the issues recently examined were consistent with those raised by Port Hill respondents. Anthony, Weidemann, & Chin (1990)

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found building management critical to the residential satisfaction of single parents living in three low-income housing developments in Peoria. Unlike their suburban counterparts, urban neighborhood associations attended to issues of street and sidewalk maintenance and police protection (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990). Anderson (1990) described the deterioration of public and private service delivery in the Village/Northton communities, its impact for local residents, and its relationship to the changing national and local economies. Given its importance and ultimate impact on the local area, local residents have to pursue strategies to interrupt or reverse service delivery deterioration. Possible strategies could include community organizing.

Experiential elements. Port Hill residents described experiences as well as physical, social, and service-related elements they sought and appreciated in neighborhood life. For example, they valued felicitous relations with neighbors, comfort and pride and affordability in their homes and surrounding areas, privacy, safety, with a relatively easy commute to work and to recreation. Many wanted a good, healthy environment in which to raise families. In addition to exploring the nature and content of residents' characterizations of neighborhood conditions and changes, recent investigations also referred to key experiences which residents seek in their neighborhood lives. While rarely addressing explicitly the issue of

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"experience" (rather than discrete stimuli or outcomes), several recent investigations suggested experiences residents or users seem to seek. The desired experiences recognized in other studies have included safety, control, communion among residents, and psychic comfort. There also has been some consideration of the neighborhood's role in the development of a person's identity.

Perhaps the experience that has received the most attention has been safety. It was one of the four principal issues tackled by urban neighborhood associations in Albany, New York (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990). In a 1982 study of Baltimore neighborhoods, Taylor and Covington (1993) examined the links between community structural change and fear of crime. They saw changes in communities' youth and elderly populations and racial composition all linked with disinvestment and deterioration, but found that rapid neighborhood change did not act directly on fear. They tested a contextual social disorganization model of fear of crime and found increased feelings of insecurity at night linked to changes in the neighborhood's economic status and to an increased proportion of African-Americans among local residents. Unsupervised groups of teens made residents insecure at any time.

Port Hill respondents' concerns about safety emerged in response to most of the interview's major open-ended questions. Safety concerns were secondary only to their desires for healthy social relationships and the sound

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physical condition of the neighborhood. Residents listed safety as the most valuable element in any neighborhood in which they would want to live. Not surprisingly, more recent research has found perceived safety to be associated with higher levels of neighborhood satisfaction (Baba & Austin, 1989). Research related to the experience of safety has included studies profiling characteristics of unsafe places (Perkins et al., 1993; Vrij & Winkel, 1991) and links between communities' declining capacities to self-regulate and increasing levels of fear (Baba & Austin, 1989; Skogan, 1986). These findings were consistent with those of the Port Hill study. Without using these terms, many Port Hill residents referred to a perceived social disorganization and the community's deteriorating capacity to self-regulate. The most important local change in Port Hill over a five year period had been the rehabilitation of formerly abandoned buildings, sometimes home to the trade and use of illegal drugs. Much of the urgency Port Hill residents expressed regarding jobs and recreation for local youth was linked to the prevention of further social disorganization. Longer-term residents, most eloquently, mothers, recognized the importance of the supportive interactions that mature residents could offer to younger residents (e.g., verbal encouragement when they encounter young people going to work or to school).

Baba and Austin (1989) found perceived neighborhood safety to be related to environmental satisfaction and

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property victimization, and not to personal victimization, a resident's level of social participation, or the perceiver's class, race, length of residence, or home ownership. These investigators cited other research which identified environmental correlates of safety-related concerns--increasing vandalism, building abandonment, teens "hanging around," and illegal drug use. Fear was suspected to be induced not only by crime, but also by signs of social disorganization (Lewis & Salem, 1981). These indicators were more salient in generating residents' safety concerns than were official crime statistics. Skogan (1986) suggested that a feedback process may be operating, in which, along with other factors, fear can stimulate an accelerated neighborhood decline. It also can weaken formal social control and encourage withdrawal from community life. Each of these outcomes can contribute to a further increased crime rate. Recently, researchers described the impact on neighborhood life of drug-related crime (Anderson, 1990; Oppenheim & Sierra, 1994). Other researchers also acknowledged precautionary strategies women use against crime--isolation/avoidance and street savvy (Franck & Paxson, 1989). Port Hill residents also described how neighborhood life (re: social and civic participation) and their lives as individuals had been altered due to their security concerns (e.g., never wearing jewelry, not going to community meetings or to other local events at night).

More recent research also explored another experience

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repeatedly cited by the Port Hill respondents--control of public spaces. Such control has been defined as the "ability of an individual or a group to gain access to, utilize, influence, gain ownership over, and to attach meaning to a public place (Francis, 1989, p. 159)." As was the case for some respondents in research cited by Carr et al. (1992), a broader group of Port Hill's Latin and white residents sought to regain control of some public spaces from certain menacing residents, most often males.

Researchers presented evidence of the importance of control or at least predictability in community life (Anderson, 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Perkins et al., 1993). In their study of street crime within the context of the physical environment, Perkins et al. (1993) suggested that territoriality, through enhanced social cohesion in a community, could lessen fear of crime and deter property violations. Those investigators identified two key components of territorial functioning--place attachment and informal social control. Evidence from other recent urban crime literature has suggested the importance of community self-regulation in sustaining a desired quality of life, and its relationship to rapid neighborhood changes (Baba & Austin, 1989; Bursik, 1986; Covington & Taylor, 1989).

Again, without using these terms, some Port Hill respondents cited similar concerns. A concern for many residents was a sense that local social regulation (as evidenced by, e.g., observance of established standards for

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behavior in public space, acceptable noise limits) was fast eroding. Many residents indicated that local police and public agencies were not reliably enforcing civil and criminal regulations. As a result, local quality of life was deteriorating. In addition, the force of social oversight locally was very limited. Whereas, in earlier eras, young people were wary of the comments of neighbors (and any disparaging reports to parents), that kind of input has nearly disappeared. The net result of these circumstances and the limited understanding among neighbors has been that residents could not reliably predict the outcome of certain incidents.

Using a repertory grid methodology, Aitken (1992) recognized the importance of control in residents' perceptions of neighborhood change in inner city San Diego. In work exploring the gross nature of neighborhood changes (i.e., commercial or residential changes), Aitken found that "order, or at least control of changes at some level [was] required for a satisfactory quality of life." (1992, p. 343) He cited Brower et al.'s 1987 work on a model for understanding territorial behavior in neighborhoods in which the salience of control was believed to decrease as the distance from the person's home increased (1992, p. 345).

Port Hill residents valued the area's public spaces, particularly Hill Park. Their discussions of the park, however, included disappointment that however much money had been spent to renovate it, many residents felt that the park

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remained in control of young males unconcerned about others' enjoyment of it. Other investigators described the contribution of user control to the design, perceived quality, and enjoyment of public spaces (Francis, 1987, 1989). Francis also recalled Lynch's (1981) suggestion that the "environmental fit" between a person and an environment is supported by the person's ability to directly control her or his environment. Francis (1989) contrasted viewers' perceptions of public parks and (locally controlled) community gardens and found that community gardens communicated a sense of caring for the place. He spoke of the advantages (e.g., fostering the care of that place) and disadvantages (e.g., limiting access to a place) of control.

Another neighborhood experience valued by the participants in this study, as well as those of more recent works was a sense of community or cohesion among residents (Altman, Werner, Oxley, & Haggard, 1987; Anderson, 1990; Brill, 1989; Buckner, 1988; Rivlin, 1987). Not surprisingly, the examination of this experience often has been based upon ethnographic research.

Rivlin contrasted the isolating experience of homelessness with the communal experience of the Lubavitcher community (1987). In his work in the Village/Northton communities, Anderson (1990) characterized some of the loss felt by residents in the midst of recent neighborhood changes as a loss of a valued trust and cohesion among neighbors. He contrasted the feelings of community valued by

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some residents with a preference among others for keeping to themselves. Some Port Hill residents explicitly valued a balance of social communion and privacy (or at least, lack of social comparison or competition). As did Rivlin (1987), Anderson (1990) described the importance of the experience of a shared moral community. One of the neighborhood changes Anderson (1990) found most alarming was the replacement of Northton's employed, middle-aged African-American men as the community's legitimate leadership and role models by the "new heads" of the area's burgeoning drug industry.

Brill (1989) examined literature on a perceived loss of public life in terms of two distinct forms of social relations (viz., public and private life). He saw the perceived loss largely as a loss of a familiar, local, social life, beyond the family, yet modelled on family life. Brill contrasted this longing for small scale neighborhood social life among known people and largely based upon verbal interaction with public life largely among strangers and more often involving visual observation. The most notable distinction in Port Hill's public life was described in the earlier discussion related to public space. Port Hill seems to offer adequate opportunities for positive formal interaction found in local organizations, though more limited opportunities for the positive informal interaction found in public space. The former was available to residents seeking it, but the latter was increasingly difficult to find in Port Hill.

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Buckner (1988) moved beyond explorations of the experience of a psychological sense of community which presupposed an existing community. He explored the degree to which any community experience, in fact, is shared by a collective of people. Whereas earlier investigators worked toward an individual-level description of the experience of community, Buckner believed that a measure of a collective-level attribute was needed. He worked to develop a formal measure of neighborhood cohesion, with which he proposed to assess social environments and ultimately, to help make settings more cohesive. Mailed to residents of three predominantly white, suburban Washington, D.C. middle-class neighborhoods, his questionnaire included 40 Likert items within scales measuring attraction-to-neighborhood, neighboring, and psychological sense of community. Buckner found that years lived in a neighborhood, respondents' levels of education, and the specific neighborhood examined significantly predicted the individual-level variable "sense of community/cohesion." Years in the neighborhood was positively correlated and level of education was negatively correlated with the outcome. Buckner found dimensions of neighboring and attraction-to-neighborhood dimensions highly intercorrelated and noted that these variables could be appropriately synthesized into a sense of community/ cohesion. He had not discovered the degree to which perceived neighborhood cohesion was determined by neighborhood-level variables and/or individual characteris-

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tics. This type of approach could serve as the next stage of research in this area of community studies. It also could serve as an organizing tool, to be used with community residents and groups with different backgrounds or neighborhood experiences trying to identify their common and distinct concerns.

In their exploration of public space, Carr et al. (1992) described the community-building function of public space. They found it a place of mutual enjoyment, an arena for the socialization of the young and other newcomers to the behavioral standards operating in a locale. In areas with diverse populations, public space provides opportunities for people from different backgrounds to learn about and from each other. It can offer chances for limited, and possibly non-threatening exchange. This was consistent with the views expressed by Port Hill residents. They enjoyed using public space with their families, impromptu encounters with their neighbors in the course of household shopping, etc., and watching their children and neighborhood children playing in public space. They lamented the erosion of such opportunities--whether due to generational and ethnic changes in the local population, related changes in the use of public space, deterioration in the quality of local public spaces and that of the local shopping district, unenforced standards for public behavior or some combination of these factors.

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The essential nature of a sense of community and of the social nature of any physical setting was suggested by Proshansky and his colleagues in their writings on place-identity (1983, 1990). They described the important contribution of place to one's self-knowledge, of "satisfy[ing] and support[ing] [one's] existence." While this construct was not explored explicitly in Port Hill, residents' responses supported its premises. Residents clearly wanted local services which would satisfy their household needs. They sought physical, social, and service-related elements which conveyed a sense of mutual respect and care for the neighborhood and its residents. It could be construed that this type of home environment was consistent with a positive self-view. Perhaps the most common example offered was wanting a good place to raise children. Predictably, parents wanted the best for their children. They became concerned and less likely to want to remain in the neighborhood if, for example, they found that their children's friends were not local residents or unlikely to socialize with their children in Port Hill. Most described themselves as parents who wanted to educate their children well--something many thought they could not do in Port Hill public schools.

In theoretical work on place-identity, Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) cited the "almost complete neglect of the role of places and spaces" in studies of the development of self-identity. Rivlin (1987) examined the

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role of the neighborhood in personal identity and group affiliations. She speculated on the importance of one's relationship to a place in terms of the development of self-identity. Proshansky et al. (1983) anticipated changes in personal and household needs and suspected that place-identity "changes and endures" in the course of one's life. They also presumed residents to be active agents in their environments. Proshansky et al. (1983) cited Smith's (1968) recognition of our "adaptive" and "malleable" selves, which we develop through "regular transactions with the environment"--including our social interactions (p. 59).

Proshansky et al. (1983) proposed that experience of the (physical and social) environment and the challenges which this presents to a person's equilibrium encourage personal growth. The Port Hill study offered an example of such development. In cases in which established residents knew enough about the background of welfare mothers and their families, for example, respondents were more understanding and supportive of these residents and their behavior than they were without such background information. Another example could be found in the case of the family-valuing Italian young man who savored opportunities to regularly visit with his aging relatives and neighbors. He cherished established relationships and was disturbed by perceived threats to these and other dimensions of neighborhood life related to, for example, a growing lawlessness in Port Hill.

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Some researchers have described a still broader valued experience--the development of a poise, grace, or wisdom--effectively, comfort with neighborhood life and its challenges (Anderson, 1990; Rivlin, 1987; Sennett, 1990). In her 1982 work on place meanings, Rivlin reported that "attachment to place involves the development of roots, connections to stabilize and create a feeling of comfort and security" (1987, p. 13). I did not seek information related to this experience, but serendipitously encountered this notion in works describing life in complex, heterogeneous urban neighborhoods similar to the site of this investigation. These works suggested that urbanites consciously strive against the broader societal norm of the increasing privatization of life. Other researchers recognized the work required for people seeking to develop such wisdom or grace--apparently through active, conscious effort. Although there has been relatively little research directly relating environmental conditions and people's psychic comfort, those investigations warrant attention.

These works reminded me of a discovery made during pilot work for the Port Hill study. It served as the catalyst for one of the experiential variables. Among the predictors examined was the experiential correlate of length of residence in Port Hill, the percentage of life lived in this neighborhood. Some of the pilot interviews revealed a patient, longer-term view of neighborhood change among older and young-adult residents who had spent much of their lives

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in Port Hill than that voiced by other residents. This view was understanding and non-judgmental, something of a wisdom. The evidence from interviews with the final sample of Port Hill residents, however, was conflicting. This variable did distinguish residents' views on a few outcomes, in ways that linked greater experience in Port Hill with lesser appreciation of recent neighborhood changes. These outcomes most often were those tapped by simple questions.

The experiential variable, percentage of life lived in this neighborhood was significantly related to a few perceptions of neighborhood conditions and changes. The greater the percentage of one's life lived in Port Hill, the less likely the resident was to have named the neighborhood Port Hill (vs. Waterhill) or to report being willing to recommend Port Hill to prospective residents. Among the 53 respondents who reported that recent local changes had affected their feelings about the neighborhood, those who were Port Hill residents for greater percentages of their lives were more likely to report now having negative rather than positive feelings about Port Hill. The longer their experience in Port Hill, the more likely residents were to report that recent neighborhood changes had affected their behavior in the neighborhood and their behavior toward other local people. As the percentage of residents' lives lived in Port Hill increased, their rating of the quality of local housing improved and the number of recent neighborhood changes they identified increased.

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The situations in which something akin to "wisdom" surfaced were in response to open-ended questions which gave respondents time to think and encouraged them to reflect on their neighborhood experiences. For example, the woman who, in the first line of a response was less than appreciative of neighbors' behavior, in the next few lines offered a sympathetic, at times, empathetic rationale for what initially was a less-than-desirable behavior. A 57-year-old white woman lamented the influx of "a little sleazier element ... a lot of welfare [recipients]," then went on to make it clear that she appreciated their plight:

> They're not all bad. Some people, God forbid, their husbands leave them, they're left with loads of kids. What are you going to do? I mean, you're stuck. What are you going to do until you go to work? What are you going to do with the kids? Takes off to a different state--you can't get child support, you can't do anything. I mean I'm not saying they're all bad.

The concept of a social or community poise and grace was not well-defined early in this study. Yet, balanced judgments were apparent in respondents' comments, as were capacities to weigh complex bodies of information regarding community life in assessing current conditions.

Anderson (1990) described "street wisdom" as an awareness and a respect for people encountered in daily urban life who might be quite different from oneself. He suggested that this was a mature sensibility and conduct found among people who successfully negotiated urban life. It was developed over time. Such wisdom could be seen as a means to establish a stronger, more coherent community.

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Similarly, in his book on the design and social life of cities, Sennett (1990) described a grace, poise, balance or centeredness characteristic of people who were comfortably engaged "living out in the [urban] world" in the midst of people very different from themselves (p. 240). He urged planners and designers to create public spaces which support this kind of urban experience. Carr et al. (1992) proposed and celebrated public spaces which fostered the building and enjoyment of communities of diverse peoples.

The research related to this last experience was some of the most exciting I encountered, in that it seemed to integrate concepts and findings from other areas of inquiry. Anderson (1990), Rivlin (1987) and Sennett (1990) all studied behavior in complex, demanding, heterogeneous, urban settings over time. They considered settings in physical and social terms, as well as the interests and behaviors of residents living with many converging and diverging concerns and capacities. As did the Port Hill respondents, the urbanites described by each of these investigators sought some level of community with neighbors, permitting them a safe and pleasant public life among their neighbors and allowing them to accomplish activities important for their broader lives. These people developed and grew in the course of their experiences in neighborhoods, as did Port Hill residents. They brought to their lives in neighborhoods interests, motivations, and priorities, some distinct from and some shared with other people encountered in urban life.

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They actively sought out at least some experiences they found in urban areas and seemed to work to develop other sensibilities or skills required for life within their communities.

## Issues Common to This Study and More Recent Investigations

Many issues and experiences Port Hill residents identified as crucial to their lives also were deemed important in more recent research. There was notable agreement between the Port Hill study and more recent investigations--in terms of the processes identified as shaping neighborhoods, the physical and social characteristics of neighborhoods and the experiences identified as salient or valuable to residents. Some methods used in recent research were comparable to those used in the Port Hill study, while others moved beyond the approaches used in this study. Some more recent work clarified certain difficulties encountered in the conduct of the Port Hill study.

Both the Port Hill project and more recent research acknowledged the complexity of the change processes underway in urban neighborhoods. The investment decisions which have and are shaping Port Hill (e.g., changes in housing and land valuation, changes in population composition) were described in investigations exploring change in other cities (Adams et al., 1991; Anderson, 1990). Other researchers described the unevenness of change within the same neighborhoods. In the

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case of gentrification, investment and disinvestment can occur simultaneously (Anderson, 1990; Covington & Taylor, 1989). Still others described different levels of investment decisions which have shaped urban neighborhoods--international (Hanson, 1985), national (Adams et al., 1991; Hanson, 1985), municipal and regional (Beauregard, 1990), and those made by residents of particular socio-economic groups (Draper, 1991; Kerstein, 1990).

Whereas the Port Hill study identified between-group commonalities in neighborhood priorities, more recent research often highlighted differences in neighborhood values. For example, Logan and Rabrenovic (1990) examined differences in the values that developers (i.e., exchange values) and residents (i.e., use values) applied in assessing local land and buildings. Port Hill residents largely had comparable interests. The most commonly cited issues in Port Hill were social conditions, physical conditions, safety, and limited shopping. There was considerable similarity in the neighborhood elements and experiences identified as most salient to Port Hill residents and in those cited in recent investigations. For example, in the Logan and Rabrenovic (1990) study, the key issues for residents included the people who lived in a neighborhood, the access provided to daily necessities, and personal safety.

Living in an ethnically diverse community appeared to be a complicated issue for Port Hill's Hispanic and white

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residents in the mid-1980s--although a less pressing concern than might have been anticipated. More recent research continued to examine race-related issues, particularly their complexity (Anderson, 1990; Katz & Hass, 1988; Sleeper, 1990; Terkel, 1992). These studies explained, for example, the ambiguity of sentiment, the evolution of people's attitudes, and ways in which race-related concerns transpire within the context of broader phenomena such as economic dislocation, crime, and real estate speculation. In his ten-year case study of the Village/Northton communities, Anderson (1990) speculated on the increasing significance of class (vs. race) as a criterion for assessing residential value. It is interesting to note that this speculation arose from an ethnography of two communities, rather than from research less thoroughly immersed in community life. It should be noted that whereas Port Hill's ethnic differences were between white and Hispanic residents, the more recent studies cited referred largely to community relations between African-American and white residents. It is possible that the limited findings related to ethnic differences in Port Hill could be attributed to a lesser division between non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics than that between white and black neighbors. Although it may be a circular argument, it also should be noted that more recent research suggested that race plays a more critical role in instances of housing and job-related segregation (Baldassare, 1994). For example, in contrast to the relative integration characteristic of

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Port Hill, Baldassare (1994) described extreme housing and employment segregation and related community tensions predating the 1992 Los Angeles riots. Overall, it is not clear whether the relatively minor role Port Hill residents assigned to ethnicity was based on their authentic embrace of a multi-ethnic community, whether the demand characteristics of the interview precluded any candid expression of bigotry, whether ethnicity was less of an issue than race, or whether ethnicity and/or race was less of an issue than was class. It also is possible that the meager race-related findings in Port Hill were tied to the largely female sample, to a sample predominantly comprised of employed high school graduates, of one faith (i.e., Catholic). Female, employed, high school graduates who share their neighbors' religious background may be less likely to perceive these neighbors as threatening than would unemployed males with less formal education and religious backgrounds different from that of their new neighbors.

The research methods used in more recent investigations were varied and included theoretical works, quantitative studies, ethnographies, and some mixed-method projects. The nature of the research methods, the scope of the issues addressed, and often, the types of settings explored differed from that examined in this project. As such, it was interesting to find that many of the difficulties the current investigation encountered as it began the interviews with Hispanic residents also were faced by recent studies

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with Asian and Hispanic populations (Baldassare, 1994; Marin & VanOss Marin, 1991).

As might have been anticipated, the recent ethnographic and qualitative research examined communities over time and achieved deeper, richer understandings of the communities studied (Anderson, 1990; Rivlin, 1987; Sennett, 1990) than did other research which explored life in settings with less intimacy. In addition to these qualitative projects, I encountered two studies which applied a largely quantitative approach to neighborhood change issues (Aitken, 1992; Buckner, 1988). Both studies selected specific elements of neighborhood life and perception and examined them with considerable precision.

The first examined perceptions of neighborhood change, although in a substantially different light than did the Port Hill study. Aitken's (1992) study of perceptions of neighborhood change strove to provide planning-relevant data and focused on specific characteristics of neighborhood change (e.g., proximity or distance of either a residential or commercial land-use change from residents' homes). He suggested the merit of a multi-staged analytic process. After examining aggregate data for a larger dataset, Aitken conducted more detailed analyses on the perceptual data from four participants. In developing a measure of neighborhood cohesion, Buckner (1988) examined the degree to which neighborhoods generated a collective sense of community among residents--in three relatively homogeneous Washington,

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D.C. middle-income suburbs. The Neighborhood Cohesion Instrument may be a way to understand neighborhoods by exploring the behavior of collectives rather than the earlier focus on the behavior of individuals and the psychological sense of community held by individuals (1988, p. 789). Buckner, however, questioned the applicability of this measure to ethnically mixed, urban communities.

The Port Hill data suggest the importance of examining residents' valued experiences, as well as focusing on salient discrete elements of the neighborhood. These data may help to operationalize the essence of the urban neighborhood for residents. For many, it seems to be a place of mutual benefit or enjoyment, rather than a fortress around one's home. Even given the constraints on the neighborhood involvement of many residents, it is a place where they want to raise children well (and for many, with the traditions of their homeland), to recreate, to care about others less fortunate than themselves, to feel they are growing or becoming more competent (e.g., a new homeowner delighted in becoming a competent craftsperson as much as in his newfound property ownership). Understandably, raising children well meant a lot to residents--educating them well, having their friends nearby, being assured that they were safe from harm, having ready access to health care (physicians, hospitals, pharmacies) and recreational facilities (e.g., ball fields, ice cream stores, music lessons, movie theaters), participating in recreational

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activities with children, and balancing between supervising children's activities and giving them freedom to explore and move toward independence.

While rarely addressing the issue of "experience" explicitly (rather than discrete stimuli or outcomes), several more recent investigations (Aitken, 1992; Altman et al., 1987; Anderson, 1990; Baba & Austin, 1989; Brill, 1989; Buckner, 1988; Carr et al., 1992; Francis, 1989; Jeffres & Dobos, 1984; Lewis & Salem, 1981; Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990; Perkins et al., 1993; Rivlin, 1987; Proshansky et al., 1983; Proshansky, 1990; Sennett, 1990; Taylor & Covington, 1993; Vrij & Winkel, 1991) have suggested or identified experiences residents or space users seemed to seek. Examples of such experiences included: being part of a community; feeling safe; feeling in control of one's home life; feeling as positive about one's self and one's choice of home area as possible; and living in an environment, which by its physical appearance, reflected the care of its residents or users.

Consistent with other investigators' recent findings of the importance of control in residents' neighborhood experiences (Aitken, 1992; Anderson, 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Francis, 1989, Perkins et al., 1993), one of the experiences about which this study provided noteworthy data was control. Other researchers (Baba & Austin, 1989; Bursik, 1986; Covington & Taylor, 1989; Perkins et al., 1993) linked it with enhanced social cohesion and self-regulation, and

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saw it as a deterrent to fear of crime and property-related crime. It was required for a satisfactory quality of life. User control was key in the enjoyment of public spaces.

The issue of residents' experience of control was not initially of specific concern to the investigation, and it was not posed directly to respondents. As such, it infrequently emerged explicitly in their discourse. Perhaps the evidence most relevant to the issue of control was findings of significant relationships between residents' neighborhood perceptions and their perceived residential options (i.e., ability to relocate out of Port Hill, should the need arise). Residents who saw themselves without residential options rated the neighborhood significantly lower as "a good place to live", rated the overall direction of neighborhood change as significantly more negative, rated support among local residents significantly lower, and reported that they had less in common with their neighbors than did residents with perceived options to living in this neighborhood. In addition, the geographical area they defined as their neighborhood was half the size of the neighborhood area specified by residents who saw themselves as having residential alternatives to Port Hill. Yet, perceived residential options were not significantly related to residents' overall ratings of the neighborhood or of the importance of the neighborhood in their lives, to their reports that neighborhood changes had affected their feelings about or behavior toward the neighborhood or other

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residents, or their plans for their future in the area.

An additional link between the Port Hill study and more recent works was a suggestion of the importance of time and some opportunity for neighborhood stability--to allow time for building relationships--among neighbors, between residents and service providers (Anderson, 1990; Oppenheim & Sierra, 1994). It seems that the longer residents are in one place, the more they know and care about the place, and more importantly, about one another. Other investigators noted the value of time in supporting residents as they worked to develop capacities to deal with neighborhood changes.

Using Census data from 277 Baltimore neighborhoods, Covington and Taylor (1989) recorded a link between rapid change processes, social disorganization, and increasing disorder (e.g., delinquency). They speculated about the coincidence of increased population heterogeneity and increased crime rates. They considered the work of human ecologists regarding the role of the rate of change rather than the nature of the change. Does rapid turnover lessen an area's chance for shared norms, giving way to anonymity and conflict? Could this be the source of the oft-cited greater crime in heterogeneous neighborhoods than that found in more typically homogeneous neighborhoods? They referred to the National Crime Survey speculation than an area's high crime rate could encourage more mobility, which would engender still more crime.

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Anderson (1990) noted that, at the same time as Northton's working and middle class African-American residents aged and/or sought more attractive housing and employment opportunities elsewhere, a drug economy began to flourish in their former neighborhood. This combination of changes in the area's social fabric contributed to social deterioration, "spillover" crime, and public incivility. The physical and socio-economic changes largely were accompanied by changes in the area's racial composition (i.e., from largely low-income African-American to largely middle-income white residents). Anderson (1990) also noted generational and social class changes which accompanied the other neighborhood changes. He felt that the low income community was particularly bereft by the loss of relationships between legitimate "old heads" and the community's young people. The community suffered as male and female role models and caretakers who provided long-term guidance and sustenance, were replaced by drug dealers and others representing the area's underground economy.

Anderson (1990) considered the differences between people who left the neighborhood unable to deal with local changes and other residents who chose to remain in the Village/Northton area. The latter group seemed, over time, in the course of daily encounters and exchanges, to have developed a street "wisdom." He characterized this development as a lengthy process, during which residents moved from nervousness and a fear of unknown neighbors and

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behavior to selective and individualized responses based in personal knowledge, acquaintance or recognition. This is far more difficult to develop in interactions with strangers. Most responses to the open-ended questions in the Port Hill study would support the notion of moving from a broader to a more complex and specific response to community changes related to the length and extent of a resident's community involvement.

## Implications for Policy and Practice

The Port Hill research and recent environment-behavior studies suggest policy, operational, and design changes that would enhance life in urban neighborhoods similar to Port Hill. The major implications of the Port Hill study include the importance of actively supporting physical rehabilitation in older neighborhoods, the need for tangible support for diverse communities sustained over time, and the need to actively engage residents in planning for local development. Healthy neighborhoods will not survive without strenuous and concerted efforts to maintain public and private investment, service delivery, and law enforcement (including of building and property maintenance codes) (Covington & Taylor, 1989; Oppenheim & Sierra, 1994). Admittedly, the urban challenges cited in the Port Hill study and more recent investigations have been made more urgent in an era of scarcity.

Along with those from more recent research, the findings of this study offer evidence that physical rehabilitation works to sustain neighborhoods and seems to

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work on different levels at the same time. For example, the obvious short-term housing gain of rehabilitation efforts also can benefit neighborhoods in the longer-term--by promoting residents' more positive views of the community and its future prospects and encouraging reinvestment by private and public lenders.

Port Hill can be taken as an example of urban neighborhoods in older U.S. cities, home to modest-income people from diverse backgrounds. These neighborhoods are being operated and developed in ways that needlessly threaten to curtail personal, household, and community life. Forging a society from the disparate peoples sharing cities and neighborhoods requires a strengthening of communities already working to integrate diverse groups of people. Communities would be better served by policies and practices (e.g., of operations and design) which support connections between people, rather than divisions, the enhancement of communication, rather than the diminution of it. Particularly at a time when many U.S. cities are trying to absorb one of the greatest waves of immigration in the nation's history, any contribution to the deliberate erosion of community life is foolhardy.

The crime-related literature suggested the need to enhance social cohesion, to moderate rapid neighborhood change, and to ease tensions in the midst of increasing diversity (Covington & Taylor, 1989). Other investigators also presented evidence of the value of time in supporting

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residents trying to deal with neighborhood change. Anderson (1990) may have brought this notion to life with his description of the development of a street "wisdom" by longer-term residents, in the course of daily encounters and exchanges. He characterized this as a lengthy process, during which residents moved from nervousness and fear of unknown neighbors and their behavior to selective and individualized responses.

Policy makers need to encourage, in tangible ways, greater residential stability. The longer residents are in one place, the more they know and care about the place, and more importantly, about one another. Areas with less than optimal stability can benefit from community organizing efforts, rent controls, and the development of local leadership (Anderson, 1990; Covington & Taylor, 1989). Another important way to support residential stability is to maintain public service delivery, including law enforcement.

This study and more recent works (Oppenheim & Sierra, 1994) recognized the need for sustained provision of public services and fair enforcement of criminal and civil regulations (e.g., building codes). Neighborhoods in both the Port Hill and recent investigations faced community life compromised by drugs and unemployment. Just as I found evidence of the need for an ongoing, concerted effort by residents, public and private lenders, merchants, and public service providers, if healthy communities are to be nurtured, more recent investigators also recognized such a

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shared responsibility (Oppenheim & Sierra, 1994). Their recommendations included giving such "early warnings of building decline and owner default" as a requirement that lenders provide tenants with information about deferred maintenance and arrears (1994, p. viii), and that there be more adequate funding of code enforcement.

Many Port Hill residents lamented the erosion of routine, informal felicitous social contact. Recently, practitioners and researchers have offered a variety of design strategies to promote social interaction and cohesion (Cherulnik, 1993, p. 223). Examples include Carr et al.'s (1992) advice to use public space design and operation to foster interaction and appreciation among diverse populations. They urged planners specifically to develop establishments that serve ethnically and generationally diverse populations. Their work also revealed the value of designing and operating public spaces to encourage passive contacts by, for example, diversifying local commerce. Contrary to this advice, Port Hill's limited quality and variety of merchandise divided groups of residents. Without such explicit encouragement to come together in meeting routine household needs afforded by diverse local commerce, some residents are forced to leave Port Hill to shop, while others meet household needs locally. This process is likely to be self-perpetuating. The fewer patrons in Port Hill's stores and on its commercial streets, the less likely patrons are to feel as safe there as they would on a

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bustling street and the less likely many are to continue to support local stores.

Other practitioners offered design solutions to bring residents together. Newman (1993) recommended the adoption of defensible space strategies to promote social cohesion among residents of different ethnic groups and generations. For example, decorative plantings define space as distinct from other public space, signify to strangers that residents claim a special right to it and so, will enforce behavior standards. In Cuidad Modela De La Universidad Catolica, planners found that leaving a plaza unfinished encouraged cooperative, goal-directed efforts among new residents of homes surrounding the plaza (Valadez & Bellalta, 1993). A comparison of plaza designs in Cuidad Modela De La Universidad Catolica revealed that the most private plaza design, one with a single plaza entrance, appeared to facilitate required cooperative work among co-owners of homes surrounding the plaza (Valadez & Bellalta, 1993).

Researchers found that reducing pedestrian and vehicular traffic fostered increased interaction among neighbors (Appleyard, 1993; Newman, 1993). Newman reported that the installation of defensible space features (e.g., fences, decorative planting) decreased crime directly, and encouraged social cohesion. His research in Hartford's Asylum Hill found the restriction of vehicular traffic, the closing or narrowing of street entrances, and the assignment of a permanent police team beneficial. Port Hill is a

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neighborhood with heavy vehicular traffic, part of its historically industrial and commercial character. Probably because this has been part of the neighborhood's historical character, vehicular traffic rarely surfaced in residents' comments. Port Hill residents were relatively inattentive to these issues, other than occasionally referring to speeding cars and unheeded citizen pleas for traffic lights at accident sites. In more recent visits with local school administrators, they have decried the safety threats and noise related to the area's heavy vehicular traffic. Reconfiguring local traffic patterns could lessen local thru-traffic. Other design changes could include those intended to promote the perception of local ownership, responsibility, and cooperative use of public space. Many Port Hill residents were disappointed by the disregard for private and public property shown by some users of public space.

It seems to be particularly important that design and policy modifications be made after consultation with users. There has been repeated reference to the benefit of actively and routinely engaging varied groups of residents in planning for local development. In addition to generally broadening political participation of residents, the active engagement of residents is becoming essential as the overall population and communities become ethnically more heterogeneous. In communities as diverse as Port Hill, this recommendation is crucial.

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The largely female sample of the Port Hill study clearly was engaged in consideration of neighborhood conditions and changes. More recent writers recommended the active engagement of residents, especially women, in regional planning, municipal master and detail planning (Horelli & Vepsa, 1994, p. 202). Horelli and Vepsa (1994) described strategies used in a Scandinavian women's planning initiative. In addition, they urged that new housing or housing rehabilitation projects consider co-housing arrangements--so children have more adults to break the isolation of nuclear families, singles and children (p. 211). Horelli and Vepsa (1994) recommended support for neighborhood clubs. Similarly, Feldman and Stall (1994) documented the development and positive outcomes of a women's planning and operating group in a low-income Chicago housing project. The outcomes were personal and social, as well as tangible improvements in the conditions and operation of the housing project. Any of these strategies would serve to bring residents from disparate backgrounds together for common purposes.

In citing historical and recent examples of the need to attend to cultural differences and preferences related to neighborhood design, researchers have suggested the challenges communities with Port Hill's diversity present to planners. Leo Kuper's 1953 research in post-war Britain found socially reserved families (compared with those who preferred social relationships) uncomfortable with

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architectural efforts which forced passive social contacts among neighbors (e.g., side entrances) (cited in Valadez and Bellalta, 1993). Valadez and Bellalta (1993) also reminded planners of the distinction in public space preferences--with people of Hispanic cultures valuing interaction among groups, while those of other cultures (e.g., Northern European) more often seeking greater privacy.

Along with those of more recent investigations, the findings of this study suggested several operations changes to improve life in neighborhoods comparable to Port Hill. Consistent with the recommendations of Port Hill residents, researchers cited such changes as extending store hours and developing variety in the goods and services available locally to enhance residents' lives in communities (Carr et al., 1992; Michelson, 1994). Port Hill residents were dissatisfied with service provided by local police. Some recommendations for making service delivery more effective and responsive to local needs came from the crime-prevention literature. Newman (1993) recommended decentralizing police service and assigning permanent police teams to given neighborhoods.

Varied and changing norms of public behavior seemed to trouble some Port Hill residents, particularly longer-term residents. Public education and community organizing efforts could address variations and commonalities in customs and standards for public behavior among different cultural and age groups. This would seem to be particularly important in

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communities as diverse as Port Hill. In situations where differences in public behavior generate difficulties, residents seem eager for help in agreeing upon and enforcing norms of public behavior.

Finally, many Port Hill respondents worried about the lack of employment, recreational, and overall socialization opportunities available to the community's youth. Although there has not been civil unrest in Port Hill, residents' concerns about the disengagement of large numbers of unemployed young males with few prospects for future employment anticipated Baldassare's (1994) catalog of the ingredients of the 1992 Los Angeles riots. Anderson (1990) also emphasized the importance of local resources in the socialization of Village/Northton young men.

## Conclusions

This examination of the salience of neighborhood change in residents' daily lives provided evidence that both long- and short-term residents lived in this community by careful deliberation and conscious choice, rather than by default. Change did not surface as monolithically disruptive to residents' lives. Respondents recognized whether or not and how neighborhood changes had affected their lives. Port Hill's residents could describe adjustments they had made to live as they wanted to live, given existing neighborhood constraints and opportunities.

Residents were responsive to investments in the neighborhood--whether large (e.g., large-scale housing

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rehabilitation) or small (e.g., tree planting). While recognizing desirable and undesirable changes, residents were most often positive in their evaluation of the neighborhood. They appreciated the complexity of neighborhood conditions, and distinguished between different components of a phenomenon. Many residents looked for underlying causes of behavior they considered negative--understanding the behavior seemed to make it more palatable.

The recent neighborhood changes deemed most important in terms of daily life were those related to housing rehabilitation and social conditions. In the latter case, residents often referred to the area's growing ethnic diversity linked to recent immigration.

In operationalizing any effects of neighborhood change in their lives, residents more often reported that their feelings had been influenced than had their behavior. The aspects of personal experience most readily affected by neighborhood changes were residents' feelings about the neighborhood and their feelings about their future in this neighborhood. Given the paramount importance of social relationships to the Port Hill respondents and those in more recent studies, it is not surprising that the more social outcomes (affective and behavioral) were not readily influenced by neighborhood changes. It is not clear whether this finding will have implications for residents' long-term enjoyment of and participation in neighborhood life. It could serve as a resource or a foundation on which to build,

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for example, in community organizing efforts.

It was not surprising to find the three changes residents cited most frequently as exerting an impact on their lives to be increased crime, the growth in community groups, and the rehabilitation of apartment buildings. These concerns parallel those offered by respondents in more recent investigations. Although markedly lower than that in some nearby communities, crime had been an element of Port Hill life for some time. The most notorious type was youth gang activity. Just as happened in modest-income neighborhoods experiencing disinvestment across the nation, community organizations had developed and expanded to strengthen Port Hill in the midst of deterioration. The deterioration of multi-family housing had been a local blight and its rehabilitation a focus of local redevelopment efforts for several years.

There was notable internal consistency in residents' responses. For example, the greater the number of adjustments in household routine that residents mentioned, the more likely that they were to explicitly report that neighborhood changes had affected their activity in the neighborhood and their feelings and behavior toward people in the neighborhood. The more adjustments residents have had to make in their lives in Port Hill, the poorer their evaluations of the neighborhood as a place to live and the more negative their assessments of any changes in the neighborhood.

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The distinct experiences residents bring to and develop in neighborhoods contribute to their perceptions of neighborhood life. The findings overall provided considerable evidence of common values and goals for neighborhood life held by local residents. The outcome measures systematically varied with both the discrete and the experiential variables. The exploration of experiential variables, in some ways, was validated. In some instances, these variables were found to be more closely related to outcomes than were the "discrete" variables more traditionally the focus of social science investigations.

Ethnicity was not generally found to shape residents' perceptions. The sum of residents' comments indicated that although many residents of this diverse neighborhood were not actively seeking an ethnically diverse community, nor were they seeking a homogeneous one. Ethnic differences among neighbors were clearly meaningful to residents, and at times challenging, but were far from universally disagreeable. For some residents, a preference for class or socio-economic homogeneity was strong. Rather than exclusively focusing on the ethnicity of newcomers, it seems that when people arrive in a neighborhood, many established residents assess their potential contribution to local life. Are their standards for property maintenance, childrearing, and public behavior compatible with those of the established residents? What do they bring to the neighborhood? New residents are welcomed if they bring with them or support (or are

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perceived to do so) stores with good quality merchandise, a spirit of enterprise, property maintenance practices, and participation in local activities.

The residents who spoke with us seemed to take for granted a neighborhood life that was far more than affordable and comfortable housing. It would be fair to characterize some of the needs residents identified as the means for household sustenance--food, clothing, home repair and maintenance goods and services, personal repair and maintenance (e.g., dry cleaning, laundry, health care, entertainment, recreation). In addition, their comments indicated that they valued interchange with neighbors, walking to stores and recreational opportunities, and good public services. Other than a few workaholics who did seem largely to sleep in their homes, most men and women were describing a preference for an active life around their homes.

People expect change. I found support for efforts to forge and strengthen links among residents, to support individuals and communities in refurbishing the housing and broader physical quality of their neighborhoods, to improve and sustain quality public service delivery, to strengthen local commercial establishments, and to make communities safer places. People want to live in and to continue living in neighborhoods such as this one. Yet, as their quality of life deteriorates, reluctantly, many look elsewhere to meet the needs they articulated here.

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Many residents presented an image of Port Hill as an area in which the city has broken a social contract. Although Port Hill provides ample opportunities for formal public life, many residents seemed to describe the erosion of enjoyable, informal public life. While most do not want "to be in one another's business," they do savor the caring and companionship of neighbors. The story resonates with the sense that people want a community, a social covenant--with reciprocal responsibility and enjoyment--reflected in the physical place that is the territory around their homes. With some forethought and commitment, public and private service providers might (re)institute policies and practices which encourage community pride and development, just as easily as they might effectively undermine the community and its residents.

Most residents were happy to learn about their neighbors, their histories and traditions. Residents were touched by their neighbors' losses and their kindnesses. If the behavior of some neighbors was displeasing, many residents tried to understand the roots of that behavior. A mother in late middle-age, with adult children, who despised the damage drugs and unemployment have done to her neighborhood, still felt for and reached out to young drug-using neighbors ("You can tell when they have jobs, they're all cleaned up, go down the street in suits. They walk past you and nod. I'll say, 'You're working?' and they'll say 'yes.'").

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Residents did not seem unequivocally to fear or even to avoid change. Instead, there is evidence that they considered, reflected upon, evaluated or weighed actual or anticipated changes. They embraced some changes, those which promised to enrich their lives. Those neighborhood changes which they feared or sought to avoid seemed related to loss, whether a perceived or an actual loss of a social life, feelings of security, beauty, joy, pride, or community.

The public and private disinvestment examined for so long in the academic and public policy literatures does seem to be experienced by neighborhood residents in their daily lives. Often, it is experienced as a loss, or at least a diminution--of public and private services, of options for family life, and of respect for their choice of neighborhood, of their neighbors, of some of their priorities. At the risk of oversimplifying the phenomenon, disinvestment, as it is operationalized in the daily life of urban neighborhoods, detracts from the options available to local residents. Instead of making lives in communities richer, some public and private investment decisions are making life more demanding for individual residents and their households and ultimately, eroding community life. If residents have to leave the neighborhood to shop, recreate, educate their children, and find their routine health care, presumably, it becomes more difficult to think about their home area as their community or to build a community with their neighbors.

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# TABLES

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Table 5

Has the Respondent or a Loved One Been the Victim of a Crime During the Last Five Years, As Related to the Primary Independent Variables? (Question 61)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 13 | 30.2 | 30 | 69.8 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 12 | 27.3 | 32 | 72.7 | $\chi^2$ (1) = .09 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | |
| Renters | 12 | 30.8 | 27 | 69.2 | |
| Owners | 13 | 27.1 | 15 | 72.9 | $\chi^2$ (1) = .14 |
| Race | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 19 | 43.2 | 25 | 56.8 | |
| White | 6 | 14.0 | 37 | 86.0 | $\chi^2(1)=9.07$**[b] |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | |
| Majority | 14 | 33.3 | 28 | 66.7 | |
| Minority | 11 | 24.4 | 34 | 75.6 | $\chi^2$ (1) = .84 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 12 | 25.0 | 36 | 75.0 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 13 | 33.3 | 26 | 66.7 | $\chi^2$ (1) = .73 |
| Gender | | | | | |
| Females | 21 | 36.8 | 36 | 63.2 | |
| Males | 4 | 13.3 | 26 | 86.7 | $\chi^2(1)= 5.30$* |
| Children living at home | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 23.3 | 33 | 76.7 | |
| Yes | 14 | 32.6 | 29 | 67.4 | $\chi^2$ (1) = .92 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | |
| No | 9 | 39.1 | 14 | 60.9 | |
| Yes | 16 | 25.0 | 48 | 75.0 | $\chi^2$ (1) = 1.65 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 22.2 | 7 | 77.8 | |
| Yes | 23 | 29.5 | 55 | 70.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .21 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: no -- n = 25 (28.7%), yes -- n = 62 (71.3%). The remaining respondent offered another remark, which was considered as missing data.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 5--continued

Has the Respondent or a Loved One Been the Victim of a Crime During the Last Five Years, As Related to the Primary Independent Variables? (Question 61)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | |
| No | 8 | 24.2 | 25 | 75.8 | |
| Yes | 17 | 31.5 | 37 | 68.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .54 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | | |
| No | 15 | 29.4 | 36 | 70.6 | |
| Yes | 9 | 25.7 | 26 | 74.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .14 |
| (Interval) | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | |
| N | 25 | | 62 | | |
| M | 15.6 | | 13.6 | | |
| SD | 16.3 | | 14.0 | | t (85) = .59 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | |
| N | 25 | | 62 | | |
| M | 34% | | 32% | | |
| SD | .29 | | .30 | | t (85) = .27 |
| Income2[c] | | | | | |
| N | 22 | | 53 | | |
| M | $31,636 | | $26,509 | | |
| SD | 22,331 | | 17,486 | | t (73) = 1.06 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | |
| N | 21 | | 51 | | |
| M | $8179 | | $8158 | | |
| SD | 6376 | | 8450 | | t (70) = .01 |
| Housing Costs | | | | | |
| N | 23 | | 57 | | |
| M | $521 | | $602 | | |
| SD | 286 | | 310 | | t (78) =-1.09 |
| Resource Set | | | | | |
| N | 19 | | 49 | | |
| M | 10.2 | | 10.0 | | |
| SD | 1.8 | | 1.6 | | t (66) = .27 |
| Number of household responsibilities | | | | | |
| N | 25 | | 62 | | |
| M | 3.0 | | 3.0 | | |
| SD | .89 | | 1.2 | | t (85) = -.03 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 6

The Severity of the Most Serious of Any Crimes Reported by Residents, As Related to the Primary Independent Variables (Question 61)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | No Crime Reported N | Percent | Property Crime N | Percent | Personal Crime N | Percent | Violent Crime N | Percent | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 14 | 32.6 | 16 | 37.2 | 7 | 16.3 | 6 | 14.0 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 13 | 28.9 | 15 | 33.3 | 11 | 24.4 | 6 | 13.3 | $\chi^2$ (3) = .91 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 13 | 32.5 | 12 | 30.0 | 9 | 22.5 | 6 | 15.0 | |
| Owners | 14 | 29.2 | 19 | 39.6 | 9 | 18.8 | 6 | 12.5 | $\chi^2$ (3) = .90 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 20 | 44.4 | 9 | 20.0 | 8 | 17.8 | 8 | 17.8 | |
| White | 7 | 16.3 | 22 | 51.2 | 10 | 23.3 | 4 | 9.3 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 13.2**[b] |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 15 | 34.9 | 14 | 32.6 | 8 | 18.6 | 6 | 14.0 | |
| Minority | 12 | 26.7 | 17 | 37.8 | 10 | 22.2 | 6 | 13.3 | $\chi^2$ (3) = .80 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: residents not reporting any crimes (n = 27, 30.7%); residents reporting crimes against property (n = 31, 35.2%); residents reporting crimes against people (n = 18, 20.5%); and residents reporting violent crime (n = 12, 13.6%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 6--continued

The Severity of the Most Serious of Any Crimes Reported by Residents, As Related to the Primary Independent Variables (Question 61)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | No Crime Reported N | Percent | Property Crime N | Percent | Personal Crime N | Percent | Violent Crime N | Percent | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 12 | 25.0 | 19 | 39.6 | 12 | 25.0 | 5 | 10.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 15 | 37.5 | 12 | 30.0 | 6 | 15.0 | 7 | 17.5 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 3.55 |
| Gender | | | | | | | | | |
| Females | 23 | 39.7 | 14 | 24.1 | 15 | 25.9 | 6 | 10.3 | |
| Males | 4 | 13.3 | 17 | 56.7 | 3 | 10.0 | 6 | 20.0 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 14.2** |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 23.3 | 15 | 34.9 | 10 | 23.3 | 8 | 18.6 | |
| Yes | 16 | 36.4 | 16 | 36.4 | 8 | 18.2 | 4 | 9.1 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 2.96 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 43.5 | 8 | 34.8 | 5 | 21.7 | | | |
| Yes | 17 | 26.2 | 23 | 35.4 | 13 | 20.0 | 12 | 18.5 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 5.93 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 22.2 | 5 | 55.6 | 1 | 11.1 | 1 | 11.1 | |
| Yes | 25 | 31.6 | 26 | 32.9 | 17 | 21.5 | 11 | 13.9 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 1.88 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 8 | 24.2 | 15 | 45.5 | 7 | 21.2 | 3 | 9.1 | |
| Yes | 19 | 34.5 | 16 | 29.1 | 11 | 20.0 | 9 | 16.4 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 3.10 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 17 | 32.7 | 19 | 36.5 | 9 | 17.3 | 7 | 13.5 | |
| Yes | 9 | 25.7 | 12 | 34.3 | 9 | 25.7 | 5 | 14.3 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 1.10 |

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Table 6--continued

The Severity of the Most Serious of Any Crimes Reported by Residents, As Related to the Primary Independent Variables (Question 61)

| Independent Variable (Interval) | No Crime Reported N | Percent | Property Crime N | Percent | Personal Crime N | Percent | Violent Crime N | Percent | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 27 | | 31 | | 18 | | 12 | | |
| M | 16.0 | | 12.3 | | 12.2 | | 18.0 | | |
| SD | 15.8 | | 13.5 | | 14.0 | | 15.9 | | F (87) = .67 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 27 | | 31 | | 18 | | 12 | | |
| M | 36% | | 31% | | 27% | | 42% | | |
| SD | .29 | | .32 | | .28 | | .31 | | F (87) = .72 |
| Income2[c] | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 23 | | 26 | | 16 | | 11 | | |
| M | $31,130 | | $30,173 | | $24,938 | | $20,136 | | |
| SD | 21,952 | | 18,708 | | 17,159 | | 13,775 | | F (75) = 1.10 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 22 | | 25 | | 15 | | 11 | | |
| M | $7971 | | $9771 | | $7430 | | $5488 | | |
| SD | 6299 | | 9751 | | 8042 | | 4811 | | F (72) = .82 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 6--continued

The Severity of the Most Serious of Any Crimes Reported by Residents, As Related to the Primary Independent Variables (Question 61)

| Independent Variable (Interval) | No Crime Reported N | Percent | Property Crime N | Percent | Personal Crime N | Percent | Violent Crime N | Percent | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Housing Costs | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 24 | | 29 | | 16 | | 12 | | |
| M | $506 | | $595 | | $658 | | $545 | | |
| SD | 289 | | 295 | | 319 | | 348 | | F (80) = .88 |
| Resource Set | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 20 | | 23 | | 15 | | 11 | | |
| M | 10.1 | | 10.0 | | 10.1 | | 10.0 | | |
| SD | 1.8 | | 1.6 | | 1.4 | | 1.7 | | F (68) = .01 |
| Number of responsibilities to one's household | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 27 | | 31 | | 18 | | 12 | | |
| M | 3.0 | | 3.0 | | 2.9 | | 3.4 | | |
| SD | .85 | | 1.2 | | 1.3 | | 1.0 | | F (87) = .58 |

Table 9

Neighborhood Characteristics in Residents' Overall Descriptions of Life in This Neighborhood (Question 10)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Social conditions[c] (good relationships with neighbors; variety of very specific comments on the area's social makeup; an ethnically diverse community; good place to raise kids; large Hispanic population; people with some negative behavior--e.g., noisy, they litter; people look out for one another; high population density; I'm not close to people here/a lot are strangers) | 56 | 63.6 |
| 2. | Unspecified conditions in the neighborhood | 33 | 37.5 |
| 3. | Safety concerns (fears about personal and family safety; drug-related crime; gangs; burglaries/robberies) | 30 | 34.1 |
| 4. | Physical conditions (a lot of dirt/ garbage; peaceful area; noisy) | 22 | 25.0 |

[a]The table presents the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the five response opportunities coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b]There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, the response categories were collapsed to those shown here.

[c] These figures include responses related to the area's ethnic mix from 14 residents (15.9% of the sample). Fifty residents (56.8%) remarked upon social conditions in the community without addressing the area's ethnic mix in any of their responses to this question.

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Table 9--continued

Neighborhood Characteristics in Residents' Overall Descriptions of Life in This Neighborhood (Question 10)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Public services (good/available transportation--though subways are dangerous; poor police service; decent sanitation service) | 19 | 21.6 |
| 6. | Change in conditions (e.g., a growing Chinese population) | 17 | 19.3 |
| 7. | Commercial district (varied comments: limited kinds of merchandise, limited hours of operation, no delivery, merchants do not keep their sidewalks clean, no restaurants) | 15 | 17.0 |
| 8. | Housing conditions (appreciate my own housing; appreciate the area's architecture/style of housing; appreciate government programs for rehabilitating apartment buildings) | 15 | 17.0 |
| 9. | Other miscellaneous comments | 11 | 12.5 |
| 10. | Economic conditions (affordable housing; a lot of people without substantial resources live here; people with financial resources are moving into the neighborhood) | 10 | 11.4 |
| 11. | Unspecified conditions on one's home block (e.g., "I love it here") | 7 | 8.0 |
| 12. | No problems | 6 | 6.8 |
| 13. | Location[d] (short distance to work; general reference to convenient location) | 4 | 4.5 |

[d]In this case, and in the others that follow, the most frequently given responses within this category are listed in order of descending frequency.

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Table 9--continued

Neighborhood Characteristics in Residents' Overall Descriptions of Life in This Neighborhood (Question 10)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14. | Opportunities for community involvement | 4 | 4.5 |

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Table 10

What 'Inside Information' About the Neighborhood Would Residents Give to Loved Ones? (Question 12)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Crime[c] (advice about particularly safe or crime-ridden areas; gangs; area's high crime rate; advice to be careful/be street smart; drugs) | 42 | 48.8 |
| 2. | Other comments | 35 | 40.7 |
| 3. | Physical conditions (specific areas vary considerably, so carefully choose your location; avoid areas near large apartment buildings; it's noisy here) | 33 | 38.4 |
| 4. | Social conditions (miscellaneous references -- nice community of people, young people, it helps if you learn Spanish; people hanging out; ethnically diverse; large Hispanic population) | 31 | 36.0 |

[a]The table presents the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the five response opportunities coded for this question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 86, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 86 and the percentage total will exceed 100%.

[b]There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, the response categories were collapsed to those shown here.

[c]In this case, and in the others that follow, the most frequently given responses within this category are listed in order of descending frequency.

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Table 10--continued

What 'Inside Information' About the Neighborhood Would Residents Give to Loved Ones? (Question 12)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Broad neighborhood description (general nonspecific neighborhood conditions; "just like any other neighborhood in Huguenton"; the neighborhood changes a lot) | 22 | 25.6 |
| 6. | Stores (broad shopping evaluation -- limited selection, poorer quality goods; reference to particular shopping locations) | 18 | 20.9 |
| 7. | Economic conditions (good housing value/bargain/ affordable; neighborhood as investment/"pioneer stage") | 17 | 19.8 |
| 8. | Services (schools -- poor; health care -- available) | 13 | 15.1 |
| 9. | Public transportation | 11 | 12.8 |
| 10. | Housing (private homes are in good shape; broad housing reference; apartment buildings are not in good shape) | 10 | 11.6 |
| 11. | Public facilities (park) | 8 | 9.3 |
| 12. | Convenient location (proximity to the city) | 6 | 7.0 |
| 13. | Positive attitudes (people look out for each other) | 4 | 4.7 |
| 14. | Community participation | 3 | 3.5 |

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Table 11

Did Residents Get What They Wanted to Get From Living Here? (Responses to Question 18A)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Social conditions[c] (good relationships with specific people; people we're comfortable with, have something in common with; have built friendships here) | 31 | 35.2 |
| 2. | Economic conditions (low housing costs; nonspecific reference to economic conditions; affordable housing -- we don't need two incomes; tax shelter) | 23 | 26.1 |
| 3. | Characteristics of one's home (specific characteristics of respondent's home -- brownstone, a house with detail, garage, co-op, backyard, spacious, an old house, dispute with landlord) | 21 | 23.9 |
| 4. | Safety concerns (robberies; nonspecific reference to crime; impact on personal life) | 15 | 17.0 |
| 5. | Other matters | 15 | 17.0 |

[a]We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the four response opportunities we coded for this question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 11--continued

Did Residents Get What They Wanted to Get From Living Here? (Responses to Question 18A)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | Physical conditions (peaceful neighborhood, quiet, noisy) | 14 | 15.9 |
| 7. | Raised children here | 10 | 11.4 |
| 8. | Personal comfort (live comfortably, I've had no problems) | 9 | 10.2 |
| 9. | Public services (sanitation; transportation; nonspecific reference to services) | 9 | 10.2 |
| 10. | Schools | 7 | 8.0 |
| 11. | Experience of home ownership | 6 | 6.8 |
| 12. | Community participation | 5 | 5.7 |
| 13. | Convenient location | 5 | 5.7 |
| 14. | Personal matters | 5 | 5.7 |
| 15. | Employment | 4 | 4.5 |
| 16. | Church/Temple | 3 | 3.4 |
| 17. | General reference to housing | 3 | 3.4 |
| 18. | Shopping | 2 | 2.3 |

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Table 12

Most Valuable Characteristics of Any Neighborhood (Responses to Question 20)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Safety[c] (nonspecific reference to safety/security; physical or personal safety; with far less frequency -- security for property, good police service) | 54 | 61.4 |
| 2. | Social conditions (sense of community -- knowing that neighbors will help each other; having good neighbors -- respecting one another, make you feel at home; having friends in the neighborhood; having no problems with neighbors; people who take care of property) | 52 | 59.1 |
| 3. | Quiet (quiet; peace & comfort, meaning no one bothering people on the street) | 28 | 31.8 |
| 4. | Commercial district (stores nearby; nonspecific reference to a thriving commercial district) | 15 | 17.0 |

[a] We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the four response opportunities we coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 12--continued
Most Valuable Characteristics of Any Neighborhood (Responses to Question 20)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Service delivery (nonspecific reference to services; hospital; other health services -- physician, pharmacist, dentist) | 13 | 14.8 |
| 6. | Good physical condition (clean; appearance and condition of housing & landscaping -- reflecting care for property) | 12 | 13.6 |
| 7. | Schools | 12 | 13.6 |
| 8. | Public transportation | 10 | 11.4 |
| 9. | Other | 10 | 11.4 |
| 10. | Housing (without housing code violations; resident's house or apartment; availability of good housing; affordable housing) | 9 | 10.2 |
| 11. | Church/Temple | 5 | 5.7 |
| 12. | Privacy (nonspecific reference to privacy; not involving oneself in other people's problems) | 5 | 5.7 |
| 13. | Community participation | 4 | 4.5 |
| 14. | Location (accessibility to work; nonspecific reference to location) | 4 | 4.5 |
| 15. | Surrounding areas look as if people take care of the place; the area is not rundown. | 4 | 4.5 |
| 16. | Matter of personal importance (an area that offers some stability, important if you're raising children) | 1 | 1.1 |
| 17. | Near relatives | 1 | 1.1 |
| 18. | Work | 1 | 1.1 |

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Table 13

Neighborhood Characteristics That Make It Easier To Live As Residents Would Like (Responses to Question 21A)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Irrelevant, resident only described difficulties related to the neighborhood | 29 | 32.9 |
| 2. | Public services[c] (public transportation; with one-third that frequency, schools) | 21 | 23.9 |
| 3. | Social conditions (friends here; nice people; relatives here; people don't get into each others' lives; ethnic diversity) | 18 | 20.5 |
| 4. | Location (convenient access to services; convenient access to work; can walk to everything) | 15 | 17.0 |
| 5. | Miscellaneous other comments | 15 | 17.0 |
| 6. | Commercial district (available shopping -- proximity to stores) | 12 | 13.6 |

[a] We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the five response opportunities we coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 13--continued

Neighborhood Characteristics That Make It Easier To Live As Residents Would Like (Responses to Question 21A)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Housing (affordable rent; affordable housing costs; low housing costs leave more money to do other things) | 9 | 10.2 |
| 8. | Safety | 4 | 4.5 |
| 9. | Employment | 3 | 3.4 |
| 10. | Private services (churches; hospital; pharmacy) | 3 | 3.4 |

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Table 14

Neighborhood Characteristics That Make It More Difficult To Live As Residents Would Like To Live (Responses to Question 21A)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Safety[c] (fear for one's safety; muggings; can't go out at night or come home late at night; burglaries; people hanging out and making remarks to passers-by -- a nuisance) | 27 | 30.7 |
| 2. | Irrelevant, resident only described the ease of local life | 26 | 29.5 |
| 3. | Miscellaneous other comments | 18 | 20.5 |
| 4. | Social conditions (people don't care about each other or the neighborhood, they won't work together; community involvement takes a lot of time; the other comments were each made by individual residents -- too many people here, I have no friends in the area, it's not a place to raise kids, it's family-oriented) | 13 | 14.8 |

[a] We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the five response opportunities we coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 14--continued

Neighborhood Characteristics That Make It More Difficult To Live As Residents Would Like To Live

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Commercial district(limitations of available shopping near home; poorer quality merchandise; limited type of establishments -- e.g., no health food stores or outdoor cafes) | 10 | 11.4 |
| 6. | Public services (poor police service; public transportation; no youth activities; no recreation space for any age) | 10 | 11.4 |
| 7. | Esthetics (it's dirty here; it's noisy here) | 7 | 8.0 |
| 8. | Private services (no entertainment available locally; no restaurants) | 5 | 5.7 |
| 9. | Housing (apartment buildings/ tenements on the avenues; high rent; poor quality) | 4 | 4.5 |
| 10. | Limited availability of work | 3 | 3.4 |
| 11. | Location (inconvenient to get to central city -- time and distance) | 2 | 2.3 |

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Table 15

Characteristics of the Neighborhood That Fit As A Resident's Idea Of A Good (Or Not Such A Good) Place To Live (Responses to Question 22A/Probe)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Social conditions[c] (broad social description -- "no 'keeping up with the Joneses'"; good people /neighbors; friends nearby; heterogenous population) | 29 | 33.0 |
| 2. | Safety issues (general reference to concern about safety; not safe enough to raise kids here -- can't leave them out alone; feel threatened; gangs) | 25 | 28.4 |
| 3. | Personal matters (impact on personal life; related to a major personal transition; characteristics of personal background -- "I had nothing as a child", "My father never let me out alone. He said there was danger.") | 22 | 25.0 |
| 4. | General neighborhood conditions | 18 | 20.5 |

[a] We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the four response opportunities we coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 15--continued

Characteristics of the Neighborhood That Fit As A Resident's Idea Of A Good (Or Not Such A Good) Place To Live (Responses to Question 22A/Probe)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Physical conditions (noisy; quiet streets; sidewalk maintenance; streets clean; sidewalks dirty; physical rehabilitation and renovation efforts) | 16 | 18.2 |
| 6. | Other comments | 15 | 17.0 |
| 7. | Resident's house or apartment | 12 | 13.6 |
| 8. | Housing costs | 11 | 12.5 |
| 9. | Commercial district | 10 | 11.4 |
| 10. | Convenient commute to work | 7 | 8.0 |
| 11. | Public transportation | 7 | 8.0 |
| 12. | Family issues (not a great place to raise kids; kids do everything here) | 6 | 6.8 |
| 13. | Schools | 5 | 5.7 |
| 14. | Park nearby | 5 | 5.7 |
| 15. | Church/Temple | 2 | 2.3 |
| 16. | Readily accessible to everything I need/Can walk to get anything | 2 | 2.3 |
| 17. | Service delivery | 2 | 2.3 |
| 18. | Unemployment | 2 | 2.3 |

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Table 16

Specific Perceived Impacts of Neighborhood Change[a] [b]

| Impact Reported[c] | Yes | | No | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Respondents | Percentage | Number of Respondents | Percentage |
| Affected resident's feelings about the neighborhood (question 29) | 51 | 58% | 29 | 33% |
| Affected resident's behavior in the neighborhood (question 30) | 35 | 40% | 49 | 56% |
| Affected resident's feelings about the people around here (question 31) | 23 | 26% | 55 | 63% |
| Affected resident's behavior toward people around here (question 32) | 19 | 22% | 63 | 72% |
| Affected resident's feelings about her/his future in this neighborhood (question 33) | 42 | 48% | 31 | 35% |

[a]These figures were compiled from responses to a series of forced-choice questions posed after a more open-ended discussion of neighborhood conditions and changes, and after residents were asked to review a list of neighborhood changes and to identify any that they saw occurring in this community.

[b]Residents were asked about particular ways in which neighborhood changes may or may not have influenced their lives in the community. An earlier question more generally asked residents, for each of the changes they recognized as occurring in this neighborhood, whether they saw that change as being good, bad, or indifferent for their life in the community.

[c]In some cases, residents gave a response other than a clear "yes" or "no" answer. Those responses were coded as something "other" than the "yes" or "no" answers listed here, and account for the difference between these total number of responses listed in this table and the overall sample size (n = 88).

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Table 16--continued

Specific Perceived Impacts of Neighborhood Change

| Impact Reported | Yes | | No | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Respondents | Percentage | Number of Respondents | Percentage |
| Affected the plans the resident has made for her/his future in this neighborhood (question 34) | 23 | 26% | 57 | 65% |
| Affected resident's life in any other ways (question 36) | 19 | 22% | 62 | 71% |

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Table 17

The Neighborhood As Residents Want It To Be In Five Years (Responses to Question 38)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Service delivery[c] (improved schools; offer activities for youth; offer services for the elderly; improve public transportation; improve sanitation services; curtail vandalism) | 40 | 45.5 |
| 2. | Housing conditions (rehabilitate housing, so more housing is available; more affordable housing; improve the condition of apartment buildings; rehabilitate brownstones) | 30 | 34.1 |
| 3. | Attitudes (better communication among people -- greet one another on the street, care about one another; greater sense of community identity -- pride and interest in the community; climate supportive of youth' spiritual and material development; people helping one another spontaneously, as a matter of course) | 27 | 30.7 |

[a] We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the five response opportunities we coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 17--continued
The Neighborhood As Residents Want It To Be In Five Years (Responses to Question 38)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Commercial district (more stores; better quality merchandise; open restaurants & entertainment; offer merchandise to appeal to a more affluent clientele -- e.g., art gallery) | 27 | 30.7 |
| 5. | Crime (improved police service; reduce crime -- includes the judicial system; control drugs) | 27 | 30.7 |
| 6. | Physical conditions (cleaner; more beautification efforts -- tree plantings, benches, trash receptacles; fix up property, including empty buildings; less noise) | 27 | 30.7 |
| 7. | Social conditions (no people hanging out -- cursing, drinking, working on cars in the street; no gangs; more working people; greater population mix; more middle income people; more families) | 20 | 22.7 |
| 8. | Facilities (clean & accessible open space; recreational space for youth) | 19 | 21.5 |
| 9. | Greater feeling of security/ less fearful | 17 | 19.3 |
| 10. | Economic conditions (more employment; economic development -- light industry, bank loans for people of modest means) | 12 | 13.7 |
| 11. | Community organizations (increase the community involvement of residents; more block associations; more community organizations) | 9 | 10.2 |
| 12. | The same as it is now | 9 | 10.2 |
| 13. | Miscellaneous other comments | 8 | 9.1 |

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Table 18

Most Important Things Over the Last Five Years (Question 24)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Housing[c] (rehabilitated apartment buildings on 4 and 6 Avenues; nonspecific housing rehabilitation efforts; housing restoration; arson) | 39 | 44.3 |
| 2. | Social conditions (middle income professionals moving in; other social conditions -- people watch out for one another, old friends die; overall, there's a younger population; more Hispanics) | 29 | 33.0 |
| 3. | Crime (gangs; general crime reference; drugs; robberies) | 26 | 29.5 |
| 4. | Community organizing (people are becoming involved; block organizing; local redevelopment group; other grassroots efforts -- food co-op, parade, children's sports, cultural organizations) | 22 | 25.0 |

[a]The table presents the number and percentages of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the four response opportunities coded for this question for each respondent. The percentages are calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who were asked this question and who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100%.

[b]There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. The response categories were collapsed to those shown here.

[c]In this case, and in the others that follow, the most frequently given responses within this category are listed--in order of descending frequency.

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Table 18--continued

Most Important Things Over the Last Five Years (Question 24)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Public services (police; schools; parks; sanitation; family services) | 19 | 21.6 |
| 6. | Economic conditions (increasing value of homes, increasing rents) | 15 | 17.0 |
| 7. | Commercial area/stores (new stores; supermarkets; 5 Avenue; poor quality of goods) | 14 | 15.9 |
| 8. | Other physical conditions (trees planted; quiet/noisy; general cleanliness) | 12 | 13.6 |
| 9. | Public facilities (restoration of Hill Park beyond the pool; restoration of other open spaces) | 11 | 12.5 |
| 10. | Other comments | 10 | 11.4 |
| 11. | Political issues (state senator lives in the neighborhood; more politically interested and active people; growing Hispanic consciousness -- "they unite and fight more") | 9 | 10.2 |
| 12. | Nothing important has happened here | 5 | 5.7 |
| 13. | Attitudinal changes (people's personal pride or lack of it -- throw trash in the street right by a can; people's pride in the neighborhood, fear of new people who are moving in) | 3 | 3.4 |
| 14. | Industry (prison plan -- defeated by a coalition of Port Hill and Waterhill community groups) | 2 | 2.3 |
| 15. | Institutions (local medical center) | 2 | 2.3 |

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Table 19

Most Important Changes Over the Last Five Years (Question 25)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Housing[c] (rehabilitated housing -- at specific locations: _ and _ Avenues; nonspecific housing rehabilitation efforts) | 27 | 30.7 |
| 2. | Same as my response to question 24--'most important things' | 22 | 25.0 |
| 3. | Social conditions (more ethnic diversity/more varied population; recent immigrants--getting settled in the neighborhood, at work, and with their families, no one speaks English; more Hispanics) | 19 | 21.6 |
| 4. | Community organizations (specific grassroots organizing efforts--food co-op, children's sports and cultural events) | 10 | 11.4 |
| 5. | Public facilities (Hill Park restoration beyond the pool; new public school) | 10 | 11.4 |

[a]The table presents the number and percentages of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the four response opportunities coded for this question for each respondent. The percentages are calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who were asked this question, and who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100%.

[b]There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. The response categories were collapsed to those shown here.

[c]In this case, and in the others that follow, the most frequently given responses within this category are listed--in order of descending frequency.

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Table 19--continued: Most Important Changes Over Five Years

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | Public services (police--coterminality/now 1 precinct; street repaving) | 10 | 11.4 |
| 7. | Economic conditions (increasing value of homes in the area) | 8 | 9.1 |
| 8. | Other physical conditions (more traffic from a new Burger King; specific empty building; it's quieter since the closing of a bar on the corner; sidewalks have been repaired) | 8 | 9.1 |
| 9. | Commercial area/stores (new stores) | 7 | 8.0 |
| 10. | Basically the same as my response to question 24, with some other changes identified below | 5 | 5.7 |
| 11. | Attitudinal changes (people's pride in the neighborhood -- maintaining it rather than fleeing it, "neighborhood responsibility') | 5 | 5.7 |
| 12. | Crime (nonspecific response about crime; gangs) | 5 | 5.7 |
| 13. | Other changes | 5 | 5.7 |
| 14. | Institutions (local medical center) | 4 | 4.5 |
| 15. | Political issues (nonspecific response about political issues; state senator elected from the neighborhood) | 4 | 4.5 |
| 16. | There have been no important changes/nothing of importance to my life | 4 | 4.5 |
| 17. | Industry (factory opened, Army Terminal) | 2 | 2.3 |

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Table 20

Evaluation of Neighborhood Changes in Respondents' Lives[a] [b]

| | Change | Negative n / % | Positive n / % | Neither n / % | Both n /% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | New city programs | 1/ 2.9 | 26/76.5 | 3/ 8.8 | 1/2.9 |
| 2. | Deterioration of large apartment buildings | 41/75.9 | 8/14.8 | 4/ 7.4 | 1/1.9 |
| 3. | Small home rehab -ilitation loans | 2/ 4.8 | 37/88.1 | 3/ 7.1 | ____ |
| 4. | Increase in crime | 44/100.0 | _____ | _____ | ____ |
| 5. | Rehabilitation of apartment buildings | 5/ 6.2 | 68/84.0 | 6/ 7.4 | 1/1.2 |
| 6. | Loss of jobs | 28/84.8 | 1/ 3.0 | 1/ 3.0 | ____ |
| 7. | Growth of community groups | 4/ 7.8 | 42/82.4 | 3/ 5.9 | ____ |
| 8. | Residents displaced from housing by deterioration | 29/76.3 | 4/10.5 | 3/ 7.9 | 1/2.6 |
| 9. | Stores being fixed up | 3/ 5.2 | 50/86.2 | 4/ 6.9 | ____ |
| 10. | Population changes | 10/18.5 | 19/35.2 | 19/35.2 | 3/5.6 |
| 11. | Increasing political involvement of some residents | _____ | 39/92.9 | 3/ 7.1 | ____ |
| 12. | Deterioration of some city services | 28/77.8 | 2/ 5.6 | 5/13.9 | 1/2.8 |
| 13. | Residents displaced from housing by gentrification | 11/47.8 | 9/39.1 | 1/ 4.3 | 1/4.3 |

[a] This summarizes responses to questions 25, 26, and 27. Percentages are calculated from the number of respondents citing this change.

[b] Data presented are the number and percentage of sample respondents who gave this response. Figures are based on the number of respondents who originally recognized this change.

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Table 20--continued

Evaluation of Neighborhood Changes in Respondents' Lives

| | Change | Negative n / % | Positive n / % | Neither n / % | Both n /% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. | Availability of bank loans, mortgages | 4/11.1 | 26/72.2 | 4/11.1 | ____ |
| 15. | Improved "image" of community among residents | 3/ 6.1 | 44/89.8 | 2/ 4.1 | ____ |
| 16. | More middle-class people in the neighborhood | 2/ 4.1 | 34/69.4 | 9/18.4 | 3/6.1 |
| 17. | Improved "image" of community among outsiders | 6/17.6 | 23/67.6 | 4/11.8 | ____ |
| 18. | Tensions among residents | 25/80.6 | 2/ 6.5 | 3/ 9.7 | ____ |
| 19. | Young people buying homes | 1/ 2.0 | 44/89.8 | 3/ 6.1 | ____ |
| 20. | Fewer recreational activities | 24/82.8 | _____ | 2/ 6.9 | ____ |
| 21. | Containerport development | 3/30.0 | 5/50.0 | 1/10.0 | 1/10.0 |
| 22. | Poor upkeep of 1 and 2-family homes | 15/75.0 | 4/20.0 | 1/ 5.0 | ____ |
| 23. | Thriving housing market in surrounding neighborhood | 6/14.3 | 27/64.3 | 9/21.4 | ____ |
| 24. | Deterioration of shopping areas | 32/91.4 | 1/ 2.9 | ____ | ____ |
| 25. | More young children | 9/16.7 | 29/53.7 | 11/20.4 | 1/1.9 |
| 26. | Loss of people with resources | 17/68.0 | 3/12.0 | 3/12.0 | ____ |
| 27. | Change in condition of housing stock | 7/18.4 | 24/63.2 | 5/13.2 | 2/5.3 |
| 28. | Revitalization of industry | 2/ 9.1 | 17/77.3 | 2/ 9.1 | 1/4.5 |

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Table 20--continued

Evaluation of Neighborhood Changes in Respondents' Lives

| | Change | Negative n / % | Positive n / % | Neither n / % | Both n /% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29. | Changes in schools | 10/27.8 | 17/47.2 | 4/11.1 | 2/5.6 |
| 30. | Hill Park redevelopment | ____ | 4/80.0 | 1/20.0 | ____ |
| 31. | Increases in housing costs | 4/66.7 | 2/33.3 | ____ | ____ |
| 32. | Characteristics of neighbors | 2/33.3 | 4/66.7 | ____ | ____ |

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Table 21

Impact of Neighborhood Changes on Life in the Community[a]

| | Neighborhood Change | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | New city programs | ____ | ____ |
| 2. | Deterioration of large apartment buildings | 7 | 8.0 |
| 3. | Small home rehabilitation loans | 4 | 4.5 |
| 4. | Increase in crime | 29 | 33.0 |
| 5. | Rehabilitation of apartment buildings | 14 | 15.9 |
| 6. | Loss of jobs | 2 | 2.3 |
| 7. | Growth of community groups | 15 | 17.0 |
| 8. | Residents displaced from housing by deterioration | 1 | 1.1 |
| 9. | Stores being fixed up | 6 | 6.8 |
| 10. | Population changes | 13 | 14.8 |
| 11. | Increasing political involvement of some residents | ____ | ____ |
| 12. | Deterioration of some city services | 3 | 3.4 |
| 13. | Residents displaced from housing by gentrification | 2 | 2.3 |
| 14. | Availability of bank loans, mortgages | 2 | 2.3 |
| 15. | Improved "image" of community among residents | 2 | 2.3 |

[a] These data are drawn from responses to questions 29-34, 36, 48. The numbers represent the number of respondents who cited these "impacts". The percentages are calculated from sample n = 88.

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Table 21--continued

Impact of Neighborhood Changes on Life in the Community

| | Neighborhood Change | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16. | More middle-class people in the neighborhood | 5 | 5.7 |
| 17. | Improved "image" of community among outsiders | 2 | 2.3 |
| 18. | Tensions among residents | 6 | 6.8 |
| 19. | Young people buying homes | 6 | 6.8 |
| 20. | Fewer recreational activities | 9 | 10.2 |
| 21. | Containerport development | ____ | ____ |
| 22. | Poor upkeep of 1 and 2-family homes | 3 | 3.4 |
| 23. | Thriving housing market in surrounding neighborhoods | 2 | 2.3 |
| 24. | Deterioration of shopping areas | 4 | 4.5 |
| 25. | More young children | 2 | 2.3 |
| 26. | Loss of people with resources | 2 | 2.3 |
| 27. | Change in condition of housing stock | 11 | 12.5 |
| 28. | Revitalization of industry | 1 | 1.1 |
| 29. | Changes in schools | 5 | 5.7 |
| 30. | Hill Park redevelopment | 5 | 5.7 |
| 31. | Increases in housing costs | 11 | 12.5 |
| 32. | Characteristics of neighbors | 9 | 10.2 |

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Table 22
The Neighborhood As Residents Expect It To Be In Five Years (Responses to Question 37)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Social conditions[c] (more middle class people; gentrification; nonspecific reference to improving social conditions; people who take care of the neighborhood; people taking care of property; responsible people -- e.g., who take care of their kids; displacement of lower income people and related tension/ resentment; more newcomers; more immigrants; more young people; more families; heavily Spanish) | 42 | 47.7 |
| 2. | Housing conditions (nonspecific reference to improved housing conditions; increasing homeownership; rehabilitation of the apartment buildings; improvements related to the sweat equity housing rehabilitation) | 29 | 33.0 |
| 3. | Service delivery (modest government assistance, e.g., for small businesses, low income residents; poorer education related to cuts in education funding; slightly better police service related to | | |

[a] We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the five response opportunities we coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 22--continued
The Neighborhood As Residents Expect It To Be In Five Years
(Responses to Question 37)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | coterminality; more recreation facilities -- with park renovation; improved transportation and sanitation services, improved service from politicians) | 23 | 26.1 |
| 4. | Economic conditions (increasing property values, housing prices; with one-quarter that frequency, employment) | 19 | 21.6 |
| 5. | Community participation (increasing political involvement; more community participation; more block associations; better attitude toward the neighborhood; people demanding better service delivery; people who respect others and so, can unite) | 18 | 20.5 |
| 6. | Nonspecific comment on neighborhood conditions (e.g., slow, gradual change) | 18 | 20.5 |
| 7. | Safety conditions (nonspecific safety concerns; gangs; drugs) | 17 | 19.3 |
| 8. | Commercial district (thriving stores; more stores; better quality merchandise) | 15 | 17.0 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous comments | 11 | 12.5 |
| 10. | The same as it is now, no change | 10 | 11.4 |
| 11. | Development (specific locations where redevelopment is underway or planned -- waterfront, railroad, vacant lot, multi-family housing, commercial strip) | 9 | 10.2 |
| 12. | Physical conditions (continuing garbage, litter problem; nonspecific reference to the poor physical condition of the area; preservation of landmark areas) | 8 | 9.1 |

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Table 23

What Do Residents Call Their Neighborhood? (Question 9)[a] [b]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Waterhill N | Waterhill Percentage | Port Hill N | Port Hill Percentage | Another Neighborhood Name N | Another Neighborhood Name Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 3 | 7.0 | 29 | 67.4 | 11 | 25.6 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 6 | 13.3 | 32 | 71.1 | 7 | 15.62 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.99 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 4 | 10.0 | 24 | 60.0 | 12 | 30.0 | |
| Owners | 5 | 10.4 | 37 | 77.1 | 6 | 12.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.19 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 3 | 6.7 | 29 | 64.4 | 13 | 28.9 | |
| White | 6 | 14.0 | 32 | 74.4 | 5 | 11.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.66 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 5 | 11.6 | 27 | 62.8 | 11 | 25.6 | |
| Minority | 4 | 8.9 | 34 | 75.6 | 7 | 15.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.76 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: [Waterhill] said by 9 (10.2%); [Port Hill] said by 61 (69.3%); or some other neighborhood name, cited by 18 (20.5%). Among the residents grouped in the last category, six (6.8% of the sample) considered their neighborhood [Westpark] or [South Westpark]. The remained of the respondents characterized their neighborhood in other terms (e.g., ____ Street, "the area where I walk", [Hamilton], "limbo--not [Westpark] and not [Port Hill]").

[b] Summary data for this variable (n = 53) are: "in a negative direction" said by 25 (47.2%); "in a positive direction" said by 23 (43.4%); or either both positively and negatively or neither positively nor negatively said by 5 (9.4%).

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Table 23--continued

What Do Residents Call Their Neighborhood? (Question 9)

| Independent Variable | Waterhill | | Port Hill | | Another Neighborhood Name | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 2 | 4.2 | 34 | 70.8 | 12 | 25.0 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 7 | 17.5 | 27 | 67.5 | 6 | 15.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.89 |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 6 | 10.3 | 40 | 69.0 | 12 | 20.7 | |
| Males | 3 | 10.0 | 21 | 70.0 | 6 | 20.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .01 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 9 | 20.9 | 28 | 65.1 | 6 | 14.0 | |
| Yes | — | — | 33 | 75.0 | 11 | 25.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 10.87**[c] |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 8.7 | 18 | 78.3 | 3 | 13.0 | |
| Yes | 7 | 10.8 | 43 | 66.2 | 15 | 23.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.27 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 1 | 11.1 | 6 | 66.7 | 2 | 22.2 | |
| Yes | 8 | 10.1 | 55 | 69.6 | 16 | 20.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .03 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 6.1 | 24 | 72.7 | 7 | 21.2 | |
| Yes | 7 | 12.7 | 37 | 67.3 | 11 | 20.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.00 |
| Active in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 7 | 13.5 | 31 | 59.6 | 14 | 26.9 | |
| Yes | 2 | 5.7 | 29 | 82.9 | 4 | 11.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 5.28 |

[c] *** = $p \leq .001$; ** = $p \leq .01$; * = $p \leq .05$.

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Table 23--continued

What Do Residents Call Their Neighborhood? (Question 9)

| Independent Variable (Interval) | Waterhill | Port Hill | Another Neighborhood Name | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | | | | |
| N | 9 | 61 | 18 | |
| M | 29.2 | 13.3 | 9.9 | |
| SD | 21.6 | 12.8 | 12.0 | F (87) = 6.41** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 9 | 61 | 18 | |
| M | 59.5% | 32.1% | 23.4% | |
| SD | .38 | .29 | .23 | F (87) = 4.89** |
| Income2[d] | | | | |
| N | 9 | 54 | 13 | |
| M | $26,556 | $30,611 | $17,615 | |
| SD | 22,416 | 19,524 | 8,330 | F (75) = 2.61 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 9 | 51 | 13 | |
| M | $7339 | $9275 | $4,026 | |
| SD | 6110 | 8467 | 4371 | F (72) = 2.48 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 9 | 56 | 16 | |
| M | $456 | $626 | $459 | |
| SD | 268 | 316 | 243 | F (80) = 2.72 |

[d] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

Table 23--continued

What Do Residents Call Their Neighborhood? (Question 9)

| Independent Variable | Waterhill | Port Hill | Another Neighborhood Name | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 8 | 48 | 13 | |
| M | 9.9 | 10.3 | 9.3 | |
| SD | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.5 | F (68) = 2.04 |
| Total number of current responsibilities to one's household | | | | |
| N | 9 | 61 | 18 | |
| M | 2.9 | 3.0 | 3.3 | |
| SD | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.0 | F (87) = .57 |



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Table 24

Relationships Between the Size of the Neighborhood and [a] [b] the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables (Question 8)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | |
| Lower than average | 33 | 170.9 | 151.9 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 31 | 126.5 | 129.3 | t (62) = 1.26 |
| Home ownership status | | | | |
| Renters | 29 | 114.1 | 110.0 | |
| Owners | 35 | 178.6 | 159.6 | t (60) = -1.90 |
| Race | | | | |
| Hispanic | 28 | 115.3 | 115.0 | |
| White | 36 | 175.9 | 156.4 | t (62) = -1.72 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | |
| Majority | 30 | 158.9 | 154.6 | |
| Minority | 34 | 141.0 | 131.7 | t (62) = .50 |
| Length of residence | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 35 | 136.8 | 118.9 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 29 | 164.6 | 166.8 | t (62) = - .77 |
| Gender | | | | |
| Females | 39 | 136.2 | 155.6 | |
| Males | 25 | 170.0 | 117.8 | t (62) = - .93 |
| Working outside the home | | | | |
| No | 15 | 141.7 | 140.9 | |
| Yes | 49 | 151.7 | 143.8 | t (62) = - .24 |
| Children living at home | | | | |
| No | 34 | 163.8 | 163.1 | |
| Yes | 30 | 133.1 | 114.3 | t (62) = .86 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 36 | 156.4 | 157.2 | |
| Yes | 27 | 144.5 | 122.4 | t (61) = .33 |

[a] Where residents' responses allowed, this figure was calculated in square blocks.

[b] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 64; range from 1 through 748 blocks; mean = 149.4 blocks; median = 102.5; mode = 1.0; standard deviation = 142.

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Table 24--continued

Relationships Between the Size of the Neighborhood and the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 8 | 127.3 | 114.1 | |
| Yes | 56 | 152.6 | 146.2 | t (62) = - .47 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 28 | 134.4 | 115.7 | |
| Yes | 36 | 161.1 | 160.2 | t (62) = - .74 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 64 | .18 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 64 | .19 |
| Age | 64 | -.01 |
| Income2[c] | 56 | .11 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 54 | .08 |
| Housing costs | 60 | .14 |
| Resource Set | 51 | -.01 |

[c] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 25
Do Residents Feel They Have Gotten What They Wanted to Get From Living Here? (Question 18)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 5 | 12.2 | 20 | 70.7 | 7 | 17.1 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 6 | 13.3 | 28 | 62.2 | 11 | 24.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .81 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 7 | 17.5 | 22 | 55.0 | 11 | 27.5 | |
| Owners | 4 | 8.7 | 35 | 76.1 | 7 | 15.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.27 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 5 | 11.4 | 27 | 61.4 | 12 | 27.3 | |
| White | 6 | 14.3 | 30 | 71.4 | 6 | 14.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.2 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 5 | 11.9 | 26 | 61.9 | 11 | 26.2 | |
| Minority | 6 | 13.6 | 31 | 70.5 | 7 | 15.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.37 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 5 | 10.6 | 32 | 68.1 | 10 | 21.3 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 6 | 15.4 | 25 | 64.1 | 8 | 20.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .43 |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 7 | 12.3 | 36 | 63.2 | 14 | 24.6 | |
| Males | 4 | 13.8 | 21 | 72.4 | 4 | 13.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.35 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 86) are: "no" said by 11 (12.8%); "yes" said by 57 (66.3%); and something "other" said by 18 (20.9%).

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Table 25--continued
Do Residents Feel They Have Gotten What They Wanted to Get From Living Here?

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | | Said "Yes" | | Said Something Else | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 5 | 11.6 | 28 | 65.1 | 10 | 23.3 | |
| Yes | 6 | 14.3 | 28 | 66.7 | 8 | 19.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .30 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 8.7 | 14 | 60.9 | 7 | 30.4 | |
| Yes | 9 | 13.8 | 43 | 66.2 | 13 | 20.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.25 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 1 | 11.1 | 6 | 66.7 | 2 | 22.2 | |
| Yes | 10 | 12.7 | 51 | 64.6 | 18 | 22.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .02 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 5 | 15.2 | 23 | 69.7 | 5 | 15.2 | |
| Yes | 6 | 10.9 | 34 | 61.8 | 15 | 27.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.83 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 7 | 14.0 | 33 | 66.0 | 10 | 20.0 | |
| Yes | 4 | 11.4 | 23 | 65.7 | 8 | 22.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .18 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 11 | | 57 | | 18 | | |
| M | 18.0 | | 13.7 | | 13.2 | | |
| SD | 15.8 | | 15.6 | | 11.2 | | F (85) = .43 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 11 | | 57 | | 20 | | |
| M | 42.5% | | 31% | | 34% | | |
| SD | .32 | | .30 | | .28 | | F (87) = .69 |

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Table 25--continued

Do Residents Feel They Have Gotten What They Wanted to Get From Living Here?

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | | Said "Yes" | | Said Something Else | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | |
| Income2[b] | | | | | | | |
| N | 9 | | 52 | | 15 | | |
| M | $20,111 | | $30,461 | | $23,333 | | |
| SD | 19,777 | | 18,958 | | 17,891 | | F (75) = 1.69 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 9 | | 49 | | 14 | | |
| M | $6391 | | $8566 | | $8042 | | |
| SD | 8329 | | 7437 | | 9261 | | F (71) = .29 |
| Housing Costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 10 | | 53 | | 17 | | |
| M | $453 | | $605 | | $527 | | |
| SD | 323 | | 300 | | 306 | | F (79) = 1.27 |
| Resource Set | | | | | | | |
| N | 93 | | 49 | | 15 | | |
| M | 9.4 | | 10.4 | | 10.0 | | |
| SD | 1.9 | | 1.9 | | 1.1 | | F (72) = 1.24 |

[b] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 26

Would Residents Recommend That Friends Move Into the Neighborhood? (Question 13) [a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 3 | 7.0 | 27 | 62.8 | 13 | 30.2 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 9 | 20.0 | 27 | 60.0 | 9 | 20.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.68 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 6 | 15.0 | 25 | 62.5 | 9 | 22.5 | |
| Owners | 6 | 12.5 | 29 | 60.4 | 13 | 27.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .30 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 2 | 4.4 | 33 | 73.3 | 10 | 22.2 | |
| White | 10 | 23.3 | 21 | 48.8 | 12 | 27.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 8.14*[b] |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 5 | 11.6 | 25 | 58.1 | 13 | 30.2 | |
| Minority | 7 | 15.6 | 29 | 64.4 | 9 | 20.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.31 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 3 | 6.3 | 28 | 58.3 | 17 | 35.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 9 | 22.5 | 26 | 65.0 | 5 | 12.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 8.97* |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 12 (13.6%); "yes" said by 54 (61.4%); and something "other" said by 22 (25.0%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p \leq .01$; * = $p \leq .05$.

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Table 26--continued

Would Residents Recommend That Friends Move Into the Neighborhood? (Question 13)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 8 | 13.8 | 39 | 67.2 | 11 | 19.0 | |
| Males | 4 | 13.3 | 15 | 50.0 | 11 | 36.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.44 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 7 | 16.3 | 25 | 58.1 | 11 | 25.6 | |
| Yes | 5 | 11.4 | 28 | 63.6 | 11 | 25.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .49 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 4 | 17.4 | 13 | 56.5 | 6 | 26.1 | |
| Yes | 8 | 12.3 | 41 | 63.1 | 16 | 24.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .46 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 1 | 11.1 | 6 | 66.7 | 2 | 22.2 | |
| Yes | 11 | 13.9 | 48 | 60.8 | 20 | 25.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .12 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 3 | 9.1 | 21 | 63.6 | 9 | 27.3 | |
| Yes | 9 | 16.4 | 33 | 60.0 | 13 | 23.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .95 |
| Active in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 19.2 | 29 | 55.8 | 13 | 25.0 | |
| Yes | 2 | 5.7 | 24 | 68.6 | 9 | 25.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.34 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 12 | | 54 | | 22 | | |
| M | 28.1 | | 13.1 | | 12.3 | | |
| SD | 18.4 | | 12.3 | | 13.4 | | F (87) = 7.91*** |

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Table 26--continued

Would Residents Recommend That Friends Move Into the Neighborhood? (Question 13)

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | Said "Yes" | Said Something Else | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 12 | 54 | 22 | |
| M | 56% | 32% | 22% | |
| SD | .31 | .28 | .29 | F (87) = 5.56** |
| Income2[c] | | | | |
| N | 9 | 49 | 18 | |
| M | $28,333 | $27,551 | $28,333 | |
| SD | 20,994 | 18,711 | 19,997 | F (75) = .01 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 8 | 47 | 18 | |
| M | $7366 | $7910 | $8930 | |
| SD | 5619 | 7743 | 9097 | F (72) = .15 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 9 | 51 | 21 | |
| M | $455 | $590 | $586 | |
| SD | 310 | 250 | 317 | F (80) = .76 |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 8 | 47 | 18 | |
| M | 10.8 | 10.2 | 10.0 | |
| SD | 2.5 | 1.7 | 1.6 | F (72) = .52 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

Table 27

Relationships Between Rating of the Ease of Living As You Want Here[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 21)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 37 | 4.6 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 42 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.84 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 33 | 4.6 | |
| Owners | 46 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.47 |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 39 | 4.9 | |
| White | 40 | 4.1 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.45*[c] |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 39 | 4.6 | |
| Minority | 40 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.97 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 45 | 4.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 34 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.19 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 53 | 4.4 | |
| Males | 26 | 4.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.64 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 19 | 4.3 | |
| Yes | 60 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.67 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 79; mean = 4.46; median = 4.00; mode = 4.00; SD = 1.58; range = 1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 27--continued

Relationships Between Rating of the Ease of Living As You Want Here and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 39 | 4.2 | |
| Yes | 39 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.58 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 45 | 4.5 | |
| Yes | 33 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.68 |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 6 | 4.7 | |
| Yes | 73 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.39 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 30 | 4.2 | |
| Yes | 49 | 4.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.10 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 79 | -.17 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 79 | -.07 |
| Age | 79 | -.07 |
| Income2[d] | 68 | -.17 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 66 | -.15 |
| Housing costs | 73 | -.13 |
| Resource Set | 66 | -.18 |
| Total household responsibilities | 79 | .22* |

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 28

Relationships Between Rating of the Neighborhood As a Good Place to Live[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 22)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 38 | 4.5 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 44 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z =-.81 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 35 | 4.37 | |
| Owners | 47 | 4.43 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.04 |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 41 | 4.4 | |
| White | 41 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.07 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 41 | 4.3 | |
| Minority | 41 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.43 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 45 | 4.5 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 37 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.91 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 56 | 4.3 | |
| Males | 26 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.44 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 21 | 4.1 | |
| Yes | 61 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.96 |
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 39 | 4.5 | |
| Yes | 42 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.59 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 82; mean = 4.40; median = 5.50; mode = 5.00; SD = 1.40.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

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Table 28--continued

Relationships Between Rating of the Neighborhood As a Good Place to Live and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 47 | 4.4 | |
| Yes | 34 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.04 |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 6 | 4.8 | |
| Yes | 76 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.54 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 30 | 4.5 | |
| Yes | 52 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.09 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 82 | -.24*[c] |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 82 | -.20 |
| Age | 82 | -.12 |
| Income2[d] | 71 | -.05 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 68 | -.09 |
| Housing costs | 75 | .05 |
| Resource Set | 68 | .01 |
| Total household responsibilities | 82 | .03 |

[c] *** = p < .001; ** = p < .01; * = p < .05.

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 29

What Would Make This a Better Place to Live? (Responses to Question 22B)[a]

| | Response Category[b] | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Public services[c] (improve police protection; reduce crime -- this category includes the judicial system; activities for youth; better sanitation services; get rid of gang hangouts; control drugs; improve schools; improve public transportation; improve street lighting) | 54 | 61.4 |
| 2. | Physical condition (cleaner; fix up housing, so there is more housing available; improve specific [currently physically deteriorated] locations; fix up property) | 31 | 35.2 |
| 3. | Miscellaneous other matters | 27 | 30.7 |
| 4. | Social conditions (lower population density; change some of the people -- the vandals & crooks; more of a population mix -- better integrated; no gangs; fewer people hanging out) | 17 | 19.3 |

[a] We present the number and percentage of respondents who cited each of the following responses at any point in the five response opportunities we coded for the question for each respondent. The percentages were calculated on a base of 88, the number of residents in the working sample who might have offered any of these responses. As any resident might have offered any or all of these responses, the frequency total will exceed 88 and the percentage total will exceed 100 percent.

[b] There were originally many more and far more detailed response categories. To aid in the analysis, we collapsed the response categories to those shown here.

[c] In this case, and in the others that follow, we list the most frequently given responses within this category, in order of descending frequency.

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Table 29--continued

What Would Make This a Better Place to Live? (Responses to Question 22B)

| | Response Category | Number of Respondents | Percentage of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Attitudes (greater sense of community identity, community pride, interest in the community; people concerned about the neighborhood; people caring about property values; personal pride and self-esteem) | 13 | 14.8 |
| 6. | Commercial district (better quality of merchandise; restaurants, entertainment) | 12 | 13.6 |
| 7. | Facilities (for recreation -- includes parks, cultural centers; places for youth activities; day care centers) | 8 | 9.1 |
| 8. | Greater feeling of security/ so people are less fearful | 8 | 9.1 |
| 9. | Community organizations (more block associations) | 5 | 5.7 |
| 10. | There are no problems with the area now | 2 | 2.3 |

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Table 30

Relationships Between Rating of the Cost of Housing in the Neighborhood[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 14)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 41 | 3.9 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 41 | 3.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.02 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 35 | 3.6 | |
| Owners | 47 | 4.0 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.46 |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 44 | 3.6 | |
| White | 38 | 4.1 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.44 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 40 | 3.9 | |
| Minority | 42 | 3.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.51 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 47 | 4.0 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 35 | 3.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.2 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 55 | 3.6 | |
| Males | 27 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.17*[c] |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 22 | 3.3 | |
| Yes | 60 | 4.1 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.12* |
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 39 | 4.1 | |
| Yes | 42 | 3.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.89 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 82; mean = 3.84; median = 4.00; mode = 4.00; SD = 1.37; range = 1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. Means are listed solely for the reader's edification.

[c]*** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 30--continued

Relationships Between Rating of the Cost of-Housing in the Neighborhood and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 47 | 3.8 | |
| Yes | 34 | 3.9 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.18 |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 7 | 4.9 | |
| Yes | 75 | 3.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.35* |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 30 | 3.9 | |
| Yes | 52 | 3.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.39 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 82 | -.00 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 82 | -.03 |
| Age | 82 | -.05 |
| Income2[d] | 73 | .26* |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 70 | .33** |
| Housing costs | 76 | .14 |
| Resource Set | 70 | .18 |
| Total household responsibilities | 82 | -.10 |

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 31
Relationships Between Rating of the Quality of Respondents' Housing[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 15)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 41 | 5.0 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 44 | 5.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.61 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 37 | 4.7 | |
| Owners | 48 | 5.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.59**[c] |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 4.8 | |
| White | 40 | 5.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.57** |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 42 | 4.9 | |
| Minority | 43 | 5.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.7 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 47 | 4.9 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 38 | 5.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.06* |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 58 | 5.2 | |
| Males | 27 | 5.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.29 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 23 | 4.9 | |
| Yes | 62 | 5.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.48 |
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 40 | 5.4 | |
| Yes | 44 | 5.2 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.05 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 85; mean = 5.24; median = 5.00; mode = 6.00; SD = 1.49; range = 1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

[c]*** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 31--continued

Relationships Between Rating of the Quality-of Respondents' Housing and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 49 | 5.2 | |
| Yes | 35 | 5.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.19 |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 7 | 5.1 | |
| Yes | 78 | 5.2 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.84 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 30 | 5.2 | |
| Yes | 55 | 5.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.89 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 85 | .21 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 85 | .22* |
| Age | 85 | .14 |
| Income2[d] | 75 | .38*** |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 72 | .36** |
| Housing costs | 79 | .26* |
| Resource Set | 72 | .40*** |
| Total household responsibilities | 85 | .15 |

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 32

Relationships Between Overall Rating of the Neighborhood[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 11)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 42 | 4.6 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 45 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.10 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 39 | 4.6 | |
| Owners | 48 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.04 |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 4.8 | |
| White | 42 | 4.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.13*[c] |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 43 | 4.6 | |
| Minority | 44 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.67 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 48 | 4.5 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 39 | 4.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.40 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 58 | 4.6 | |
| Males | 29 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.31 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 23 | 4.5 | |
| Yes | 64 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.50 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 87; mean = 4.52; median = 4.00; mode = 4.00; SD = 1.05; range=3-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. Means are listed solely for the reader's edification.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 32--continued

Relationships Between Overall Rating of the Neighborhood and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 42 | 4.2 | |
| Yes | 44 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.61** |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 51 | 4.5 | |
| Yes | 35 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.17 |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 8 | 4.3 | |
| Yes | 79 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.06 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 32 | 4.3 | |
| Yes | 55 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.64 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 87 | -.02 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 87 | -.00 |
| Age | 87 | .05 |
| Income2[d] | 75 | -.06 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 72 | -.17 |
| Housing costs | 80 | -.12 |
| Resource Set | 72 | -.01 |
| Total household responsibilities | 87 | .13 |

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 33

Relationships Between Rating of the Importance of the Neighborhood Within My Life[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 23)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 40 | 5.4 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 44 | 4.9 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.39 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 36 | 4.6 | |
| Owners | 48 | 5.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.19*[c] |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 42 | 5.5 | |
| White | 42 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.13* |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 41 | 5.3 | |
| Minority | 43 | 5.0 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.84 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 47 | 4.9 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 37 | 5.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.6 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 56 | 5.4 | |
| Males | 28 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.40 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 23 | 5.4 | |
| Yes | 61 | 2.9 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.92 |

[a]The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 84; mean = 5.14; median = 5.50; mode = 7.00; SD = 1.77; range=1-7.

[b]The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. Means are listed solely for the reader's edification.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 33--continued

Relationships Between Rating of the Importance of the Neighborhood Within My Life and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 42 | 4.9 | |
| Yes | 41 | 5.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.07 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 50 | 4.7 | |
| Yes | 33 | 5.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.78** |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 8 | 4.1 | |
| Yes | 76 | 5.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.47 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 32 | 4.9 | |
| Yes | 52 | 5.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.98 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 84 | .06 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 84 | .05 |
| Age | 84 | .16 |
| Income2[d] | 72 | -.14 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 69 | -.18 |
| Housing costs | 77 | .15 |
| Resource Set | 69 | -.10 |
| Total household responsibilities | 84 | .13 |

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 34

Relationships Between the Overall Assessment of Change in the Neighborhood[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 28)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 40 | 4.7 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 43 | 4.2 | Mann-Whitney U: Z =-1.63 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 36 | 4.2 | |
| Owners | 47 | 4.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.9 |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 40 | 4.5 | |
| White | 43 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.17 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 39 | 4.3 | |
| Minority | 44 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.41 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 45 | 4.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 38 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.71 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 55 | 4.3 | |
| Males | 28 | 4.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.18 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 22 | 4.4 | |
| Yes | 61 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.24 |
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 43 | 4.4 | |
| Yes | 39 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.05 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 83; mean = 4.43; median = 4.00; mode = 4.00; SD = 1.05; range=1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

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Table 34--continued

Relationships Between the Overall Assessment of Change in the Neighborhood and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 48 | 4.3 | |
| Yes | 34 | 4.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.32 |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 9 | 4.3 | |
| Yes | 74 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.48 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 33 | 4.4 | |
| Yes | 50 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.22 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 83 | .01 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 83 | .06 |
| Age | 83 | -.11 |
| Income2[c] | 72 | -.06 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 69 | -.06 |
| Housing costs | 76 | .31**[d] |
| Resource Set | 69 | -.01 |
| Total household responsibilities | 83 | -.06 |

[c] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

[d] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 35

Relationships Between the Number of Neighborhood Changes Noticed[a] and the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables (Questions 26 and 27)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | |
| Lower than average | 43 | 14.5 | 6.0 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 45 | 12.9 | 6.3 | t (86) = 1.20 |
| Home ownership status | | | | |
| Renters | 40 | 11.6 | 6.4 | |
| Owners | 48 | 15.4 | 5.4 | t(86)=-2.99**[b] |
| Race | | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 13.4 | 6.7 | |
| White | 43 | 13.9 | 5.6 | t (86) = - .37 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | |
| Majority | 43 | 13.7 | 6.0 | |
| Minority | 45 | 13.6 | 6.4 | t (86) = .09 |
| Length of residence | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 48 | 12.2 | 5.9 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 40 | 15.4 | 6.0 | t(86) = -2.53* |
| Gender | | | | |
| Females | 58 | 13.7 | 6.5 | |
| Males | 30 | 13.6 | 5.6 | t (86) = .10 |
| Working outside the home | | | | |
| No | 23 | 14.2 | 5.8 | |
| Yes | 65 | 13.5 | 6.3 | t (86) = .46 |
| Children living at home | | | | |
| No | 43 | 12.8 | 6.4 | |
| Yes | 44 | 14.5 | 6.0 | t (85) = -1.26 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 52 | 11.5 | 5.7 | |
| Yes | 35 | 16.9 | 5.5 | t(85) =-4.41*** |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 88; range from 0 through 27; mean = 13.7; median = 13.5; mode = 16.0; standard deviation = 6.2.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 35--continued

Relationships Between the Number of Neighborhood Changes Noticed and the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 9 | 6.9 | 3.9 | |
| Yes | 79 | 14.4 | 5.9 | t(86)= -3.73*** |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 33 | 11.7 | 5.4 | |
| Yes | 55 | 14.9 | 6.3 | t (86)= -2.41* |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 88 | .31** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 88 | .29** |
| Age | 88 | .13 |
| Income2[c] | 76 | .07 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 73 | -.16 |
| Housing costs | 81 | .21 |
| Resource Set | 73 | .30** |

[c] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 36

Relationships Between the Ratio of Positive-to Negative Changes Cited and the Primary Independent Variables[a]

| Independent Variable | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 40 | 2.9 | 3.0 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 35 | 1.9 | 1.9 | t (67) = 1.74 |
| Home ownership status | | | | |
| Renters | 33 | 1.5 | 1.4 | |
| Owners | 42 | 3.1 | 3.1 | t(59)=-3.16**[b] |
| Race | | | | |
| Hispanic | 41 | 2.1 | 1.9 | |
| White | 34 | 2.8 | 3.2 | t (51) = -1.02 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | |
| Majority | 40 | 1.9 | 1.8 | |
| Minority | 35 | 2.9 | 3.2 | t (53) = -1.63 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 37 | 2.9 | 3.2 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 38 | 1.9 | 1.8 | t (56) = 1.58 |
| Gender | | | | |
| Females | 50 | 2.4 | 2.8 | |
| Males | 25 | 2.5 | 2.2 | t (73) = -.13 |
| Children living at home | | | | |
| No | 33 | 2.1 | 2.1 | |
| Yes | 41 | 2.7 | 2.9 | t (72) = -1.00 |
| Work outside the home | | | | |
| No | 22 | 1.7 | 1.4 | |
| Yes | 53 | 2.7 | 2.9 | t (72) = -2.04* |

[a]This ratio was calculated on the basis of responses to questions 26 and 27--the number of neighborhood changes residents noticed and evaluated as positive for their life in the community divided by the number of neighborhood changes residents noticed and evaluated as negative for their lives in the community. The basic descriptive data for this variable include: n = 75; range = .09 through 16.00; M = 2.41; median = 1.7; mode = .50; SD = 2.58.

[b]*** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 36--continued

Relationships Between the Ratio of Positive-to Negative Changes Cited and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 5 | 3.1 | 2.4 | |
| Yes | 70 | 2.4 | 2.6 | t (73) = .60 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 23 | 2.9 | 3.4 | |
| Yes | 52 | 2.2 | 2.2 | t (30) = .92 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 46 | 2.0 | 2.0 | |
| Yes | 28 | 3.0 | 3.3 | t (40) = -1.38 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | 75 | -.18 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | 75 | -.15 |
| Income2[c] | 64 | .37** |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 61 | .31* |
| Housing Costs | 68 | .30* |
| Resource Set | 58 | .34*** |
| Number of current responsibilities to one's household | 75 | .16 |

[c]This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 37

Relationships Between the Number of Neighborhood Changes Exerting an Impact and the Primary Independent Variables[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 43 | 2.4 | 2.0 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 45 | 2.9 | 2.3 | t (86) = -1.07 |
| Home ownership status | | | | |
| Renters | 40 | 2.4 | 2.2 | |
| Owners | 48 | 2.8 | 2.2 | t (86) = -.79 |
| Race | | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 2.1 | 2.0 | |
| White | 43 | 3.2 | 2.2 | t (86)=-2.56*[b] |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | |
| Majority | 43 | 2.7 | 2.3 | |
| Minority | 45 | 2.5 | 2.1 | t (86) = .40 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 48 | 2.5 | 2.1 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 40 | 2.8 | 2.3 | t (86) = -.59 |
| Gender | | | | |
| Females | 58 | 2.6 | 2.1 | |
| Males | 30 | 2.6 | 2.2 | t (86) = -.03 |
| Children living at home | | | | |
| No | 43 | 2.8 | 2.3 | |
| Yes | 44 | 2.4 | 2.1 | t (85) = .85 |
| Work outside the home | | | | |
| No | 23 | 2.6 | 2.6 | |
| Yes | 65 | 2.6 | 2.0 | t (86) = -.04 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 9 | 1.9 | 2.1 | |
| Yes | 79 | 2.7 | 2.2 | t (86) = -1.08 |

[a] This measure represents the number of neighborhood changes which residents spontaneously mentioned as having an impact on their lives in the community -- in the series of questions (questions 29-34, 36, 48) which followed the change list. The basic descriptive data for this variable include: n = 88; range = 0-9; mean = 2.6; median = 3.0; mode = 0; SD = 2.16.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 37--continued

Relationships Between the Number of Neighborhood Changes Exerting an Impact and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 33 | 2.4 | 1.8 | |
| Yes | 55 | 2.8 | 2.3 | t (86) = -.88 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 52 | 2.3 | 1.8 | |
| Yes | 35 | 3.1 | 2.1 | t (85) = -1.61 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence in the area | 88 | .24* |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | 88 | .19 |
| Income2[c] | 76 | .22 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 73 | .12 |
| Housing Costs | 81 | .17 |
| Resource Set | 69 | .31*** |
| Number of current responsibilities to one's household | 88 | .10 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 38

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About the Neighborhood? (Question 29)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 13 | 30.2 | 26 | 60.5 | 4 | 9.3 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 16 | 35.6 | 25 | 55.6 | 4 | 8.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .28 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 14 | 35.0 | 20 | 50.0 | 6 | 15.0 | |
| Owners | 15 | 31.3 | 31 | 64.6 | 2 | 4.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.71 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 17 | 37.8 | 21 | 46.7 | 7 | 15.6 | |
| White | 12 | 27.9 | 30 | 69.8 | 1 | 2.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 6.9*[b] |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 12 | 27.9 | 26 | 60.5 | 5 | 11.6 | |
| Minority | 17 | 37.8 | 25 | 55.6 | 3 | 6.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.34 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 18 | 37.5 | 28 | 58.3 | 2 | 4.2 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 11 | 27.5 | 23 | 57.5 | 6 | 15.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.48 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 29 (33%); "yes" said by 51 (58%); and something "other" said by 8 (9.1%).

[b] *** = $p \leq .001$; ** = $p \leq .01$; * = $p \leq .05$.

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Table 38--continued
Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 21 | 36.2 | 29 | 50.0 | 8 | 13.8 | |
| Males | 8 | 26.7 | 22 | 73.3 | _ | ____ | $\chi^2$ (2) = 6.54* |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 15 | 34.9 | 27 | 62.8 | 1 | 2.3 | |
| Yes | 14 | 31.8 | 23 | 52.3 | 7 | 15.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.84 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 43.5 | 10 | 43.5 | 3 | 13.0 | |
| Yes | 19 | 29.2 | 41 | 63.1 | 5 | 7.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.71 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 6 | 66.7 | 3 | 33.3 | | | |
| Yes | 23 | 29.1 | 48 | 60.8 | 8 | 10.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 5.42 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 13 | 39.4 | 20 | 60.6 | | | |
| Yes | 16 | 29.1 | 31 | 56.4 | 8 | 14.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 5.53 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 24 | 46.2 | 25 | 48.1 | 3 | 5.8 | |
| Yes | 5 | 14.3 | 25 | 71.4 | 5 | 14.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 10.0** |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 29 | | 51 | | 8 | | |
| M | 10.8 | | 15.6 | | 17.4 | | |
| SD | 12.0 | | 16.1 | | 11.7 | | F (87) = 1.23 |

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Table 38--continued
Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | Said "Yes" | Said Something Else | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 29 | 51 | 8 | |
| M | 25% | 36% | 42% | |
| SD | .24 | .33 | .25 | F (87) = 1.9 |
| Income2[c] | | | | |
| N | 25 | 44 | 7 | |
| M | $25,000 | $30,114 | $23,571 | |
| SD | 18,228 | 19,438 | 19,840 | F (75) = .76 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 23 | 43 | 7 | |
| M | $7880 | $8739 | $4913 | |
| SD | 8670 | 7612 | 6148 | F (72) = .73 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 26 | 47 | 8 | |
| M | $526 | $617 | $474 | |
| SD | 297 | 305 | 319 | F (80) = 1.23 |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 23 | 43 | 7 | |
| M | 9.4 | 10.6 | 10.3 | |
| SD | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.5 | F (72) = 3.97* |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 39

How Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Feelings About the Neighborhood? (Question 29 probe)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Negative View N | Negative View Percentage | Positive View N | Positive View Percentage | Neither/Both Directions N | Neither/Both Directions Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 12 | 44.4 | 12 | 44.4 | 3 | 11.1 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 13 | 50.0 | 11 | 42.3 | 2 | 7.72 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .26 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 12 | 54.5 | 7 | 31.8 | 3 | 13.6 | |
| Owners | 13 | 41.9 | 16 | 51.6 | 2 | 6.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.30 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 15 | 62.5 | 8 | 33.3 | 1 | 4.2 | |
| White | 10 | 34.5 | 15 | 51.7 | 4 | 13.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.5 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 14 | 53.8 | 10 | 38.5 | 2 | 7.7 | |
| Minority | 11 | 40.7 | 13 | 48.1 | 3 | 11.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .93 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 7 | 26.9 | 16 | 61.5 | 3 | 11.5 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 18 | 66.7 | 7 | 25.9 | 2 | 7.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 8.45*[b] |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 53) are: "in a negative direction" said by 25 (47.2%); "in a positive direction" said by 23 (43.4%); or either both positively and negatively or neither positively nor negatively said by 5 (9.4%).

[b] *** = $p \leq .001$; ** = $p \leq .01$; * = $p \leq .05$.

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Table 39--continued
How Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Feelings About the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable | Negative View | | Positive View | | Neither/Both Directions | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Categorical) | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 18 | 56.3 | 12 | 37.5 | 2 | 6.3 | |
| Males | 7 | 33.3 | 11 | 52.4 | 3 | 14.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.93 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 12 | 41.4 | 14 | 48.3 | 3 | 10.3 | |
| Yes | 12 | 52.2 | 9 | 39.1 | 2 | 8.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .60 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 5 | 55.6 | 3 | 33.3 | 1 | 11.1 | |
| Yes | 20 | 45.5 | 20 | 45.5 | 4 | 9.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .45 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 1 | 33.3 | 2 | 66.7 | | | |
| Yes | 24 | 48.0 | 21 | 42.0 | 5 | 10.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .83 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 5 | 26.3 | 12 | 63.2 | 2 | 10.5 | |
| Yes | 20 | 58.8 | 11 | 32.4 | 3 | 8.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 5.43 |
| Active in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 45.5 | 8 | 36.4 | 4 | 18.2 | |
| Yes | 14 | 46.7 | 15 | 50.0 | 1 | 3.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.45 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 25 | | 23 | | 5 | | |
| M | 24.1 | | 8.9 | | 9.8 | | |
| SD | 17.2 | | 10.9 | | 10.8 | | F (52) = 7.34*** |

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Table 39--continued
How Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Feelings About the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable | Negative View | Positive View | Neither/Both Directions | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 25 | 23 | 5 | |
| M | 53.3% | 23.7% | 32.4% | |
| SD | .31 | .27 | .39 | F (52) = 5.93** |
| Income2[c] | | | | |
| N | 21 | 22 | 4 | |
| M | $28,714 | $33,318 | $32,500 | |
| SD | 19,870 | 20,970 | 18,930 | F (46) = .28 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 20 | 22 | 4 | |
| M | $7798 | $9841 | $12,624 | |
| SD | 5852 | 9196 | 9063 | F (45) = .77 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 23 | 22 | 5 | |
| M | $489 | $756 | $509 | |
| SD | 243 | 312 | 300 | F (49) = 5.43** |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 20 | 22 | 4 | |
| M | 10.8 | 10.6 | 10.5 | |
| SD | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.3 | F (45) = .06 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 40

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Behavior in the Neighborhood? (Question 30)[ab]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 25 | 58.1 | 15 | 34.9 | 3 | 7.0 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 24 | 53.3 | 20 | 44.4 | 1 | 2.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.69 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 22 | 55.0 | 16 | 40.0 | 2 | 5.0 | |
| Owners | 27 | 56.3 | 19 | 39.6 | 2 | 4.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .04 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 28 | 62.2 | 14 | 31.1 | 3 | 6.7 | |
| White | 21 | 48.8 | 21 | 48.8 | 1 | 2.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.36 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 26 | 60.5 | 15 | 34.9 | 2 | 4.7 | |
| Minority | 23 | 51.1 | 20 | 44.4 | 2 | 4.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .85 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 32 | 66.7 | 12 | 25.0 | 4 | 8.3 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 17 | 42.5 | 23 | 57.5 | _ | ____ | $\chi^2$ (2) = 11.42** |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 49 (55.7%); "yes" said by 35 (39.8%); and something "other" said by 4 (4.5%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p \leq .01$; * = $p \leq .05$.

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Table 40--continued

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Behavior in the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 27 | 46.6 | 28 | 48.3 | 3 | 5.2 | |
| Males | 22 | 73.3 | 7 | 23.3 | 1 | 3.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 5.79 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 25 | 58.1 | 17 | 39.5 | 1 | 2.3 | |
| Yes | 23 | 52.3 | 18 | 40.9 | 3 | 6.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.10 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 13 | 56.5 | 8 | 34.8 | 2 | 8.7 | |
| Yes | 36 | 55.4 | 27 | 41.5 | 2 | 3.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.38 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 7 | 77.8 | 2 | 22.2 | | | |
| Yes | 42 | 53.2 | 33 | 41.8 | 4 | 5.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.11 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 22 | 66.7 | 11 | 33.3 | | | |
| Yes | 27 | 49.1 | 24 | 43.6 | 4 | 7.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.09 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 36 | 69.2 | 15 | 28.8 | 1 | 1.9 | |
| Yes | 13 | 37.1 | 19 | 54.3 | 3 | 8.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 9.30** |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 49 | | 35 | | 4 | | |
| M | 9.8 | | 21.4 | | 4.3 | | |
| SD | 10.2 | | 17.4 | | 3.0 | | F (87) = 8.73*** |

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Table 40--continued

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Behavior in the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | Said "Yes" | Said Something Else | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 49 | 35 | 4 | |
| M | 25% | 47% | 12% | |
| SD | .25 | .33 | .08 | F (87) = 7.19*** |
| Income2[c] | | | | |
| N | 44 | 30 | 2 | |
| M | $26,909 | $28,367 | $40,000 | |
| SD | 20,806 | 16,798 | 000 | F (75) = .47 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 43 | 28 | 2 | |
| M | $7917 | $8500 | $6515 | |
| SD | 8822 | 6447 | 1627 | F (72) = .09 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 47 | 30 | 4 | |
| M | $606 | $513 | $648 | |
| SD | 333 | 247 | 361 | F (80) = .97 |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 43 | 28 | 2 | |
| M | 9.8 | 10.7 | 11.5 | |
| SD | 1.6 | 1.8 | .7 | F (72) = 2.82 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 41

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About the People Around Here? (Question 31)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 30 | 69.8 | 6 | 14.0 | 7 | 16.3 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 25 | 55.6 | 17 | 37.8 | 3 | 6.72 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 7.27*[b] |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 26 | 65.0 | 11 | 27.5 | 3 | 7.5 | |
| Owners | 29 | 60.4 | 12 | 25.0 | 7 | 14.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.09 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 30 | 66.7 | 10 | 22.2 | 5 | 11.1 | |
| White | 25 | 58.1 | 13 | 30.2 | 5 | 11.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .80 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 31 | 72.1 | 7 | 16.3 | 5 | 11.6 | |
| Minority | 24 | 53.3 | 16 | 35.6 | 5 | 11.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.37 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 30 | 62.5 | 11 | 22.9 | 7 | 14.6 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 25 | 62.5 | 12 | 30.0 | 3 | 7.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.38 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 55 (62.5%); "yes" said by 23 (26.1%); and something "other" said by 10 (11.4%).

[b] *** = $p \leq .001$; ** = $p \leq .01$; * = $p \leq .05$.

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Table 41--continued

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About the People Around Here?

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 36 | 62.1 | 15 | 25.9 | 7 | 12.1 | |
| Males | 19 | 63.3 | 8 | 26.7 | 3 | 10.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .08 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 26 | 60.5 | 11 | 25.6 | 6 | 14.0 | |
| Yes | 29 | 65.9 | 11 | 25.0 | 4 | 9.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .55 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 14 | 60.9 | 7 | 30.4 | 2 | 8.7 | |
| Yes | 41 | 63.1 | 16 | 24.6 | 8 | 12.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .43 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 8 | 88.9 | 1 | 11.1 | | | |
| Yes | 47 | 59.5 | 22 | 27.8 | 10 | 12.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.12 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 21 | 63.6 | 7 | 21.2 | 5 | 15.2 | |
| Yes | 34 | 61.8 | 16 | 29.1 | 5 | 9.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.17 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 34 | 65.4 | 13 | 25.0 | 5 | 9.6 | |
| Yes | 20 | 57.1 | 10 | 28.6 | 5 | 14.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .73 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 55 | | 23 | | 10 | | |
| M | 13.8 | | 17.3 | | 9.1 | | |
| SD | 14.5 | | 16.2 | | 10.1 | | F (87) = 1.15 |

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Table 41--continued

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About the People Around Here?

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | Said "Yes" | Said Something Else | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 55 | 23 | 10 | |
| M | 32.6% | 40% | 21% | |
| SD | .30 | .33 | .18 | F (87) = 1.47 |
| Income2[c] | | | | |
| N | 48 | 18 | 10 | |
| M | $26,708 | $28,222 | $32,500 | |
| SD | 19,486 | 16,312 | 22,332 | F (75) = .38 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 46 | 17 | 10 | |
| M | $7438 | $8748 | $10,056 | |
| SD | 7790 | 7226 | 9264 | F (72) = .53 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 51 | 20 | 10 | |
| M | $528 | $624 | $706 | |
| SD | 307 | 318 | 231 | F (80) = 1.81 |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 46 | 17 | 10 | |
| M | 10.0 | 10.6 | 10.3 | |
| SD | 1.7 | 1.8 | 1.6 | F (72) = .88 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 42

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Act Toward the People Around Here? (Question 32)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 31 | 72.1 | 7 | 16.3 | 5 | 11.6 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 32 | 71.1 | 12 | 26.7 | 1 | 2.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.95 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 28 | 70.0 | 8 | 20.0 | 4 | 10.0 | |
| Owners | 35 | 72.9 | 11 | 22.9 | 2 | 4.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.2 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 36 | 80.0 | 8 | 17.8 | 1 | 2.2 | |
| White | 27 | 62.8 | 11 | 25.6 | 5 | 11.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.38 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 31 | 72.1 | 9 | 20.9 | 3 | 7.0 | |
| Minority | 32 | 71.1 | 10 | 22.2 | 3 | 6.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .02 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 36 | 75.0 | 9 | 18.8 | 3 | 6.3 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 27 | 67.5 | 10 | 25.0 | 3 | 7.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .62 |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 41 | 70.7 | 15 | 25.9 | 2 | 3.4 | |
| Males | 22 | 73.3 | 4 | 13.3 | 4 | 13.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.29 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 63 (71.6%); "yes" said by 19 (21.6%); and something "other" said by 6 (6.8%).

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Table 42--continued

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Act Toward the People Around Here?

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 28 | 65.1 | 11 | 25.6 | 4 | 9.3 | |
| Yes | 34 | 77.3 | 8 | 18.2 | 2 | 4.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.71 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 17 | 73.9 | 5 | 21.7 | 1 | 4.3 | |
| Yes | 46 | 70.8 | 14 | 21.5 | 5 | 7.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .30 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 9 | 100.0 | | | | | |
| Yes | 54 | 68.4 | 19 | 24.1 | 6 | 7.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.98 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 27 | 81.8 | 3 | 9.1 | 3 | 9.1 | |
| Yes | 36 | 65.5 | 16 | 29.1 | 3 | 5.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.99 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 40 | 76.9 | 7 | 13.5 | 5 | 9.6 | |
| Yes | 22 | 62.9 | 12 | 34.3 | 1 | 2.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 6.12*[b] |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 63 | | 19 | | 6 | | |
| M | 12.0 | | 20.7 | | 16.5 | | |
| SD | 12.3 | | 18.5 | | 18.9 | | F (87) = 2.77 |

[b] *** = $p \leq .001$; ** = $p \leq .01$; * = $p \leq .05$.

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Table 42--continued
Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Act Toward the People Around Here?

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | Said "Yes" | Said Something Else | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 63 | 19 | 6 | |
| M | 28% | 47% | 43% | |
| SD | .25 | .35 | .44 | F (87) = 3.29*[c] |
| Income2[d] | | | | |
| N | 54 | 18 | 4 | |
| M | $27,852 | $28,944 | $22,500 | |
| SD | 19,734 | 19,234 | 5,000 | F (75) = .18 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 53 | 17 | 3 | |
| M | $8127 | $7943 | $8556 | |
| SD | 8359 | 6588 | 6127 | F (72) = .01 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 59 | 18 | 4 | |
| M | $584 | $564 | $460 | |
| SD | 324 | 275 | 94 | F (80) = .31 |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 53 | 17 | 3 | |
| M | 10 | 10.8 | 9.7 | |
| SD | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | F (72) = 1.55 |

[c] No two groups are significantly different at the .050 level.

[d] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 43

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About Their Future Here? (Question 33)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 18 | 41.9 | 16 | 37.2 | 9 | 20.9 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 13 | 28.9 | 26 | 57.8 | 6 | 13.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.74 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 14 | 35.0 | 18 | 45.0 | 8 | 20.0 | |
| Owners | 17 | 35.4 | 24 | 50.0 | 7 | 14.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .49 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 15 | 33.3 | 21 | 46.7 | 9 | 20.0 | |
| White | 16 | 37.2 | 21 | 48.8 | 6 | 14.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .59 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 14 | 32.6 | 20 | 46.5 | 9 | 20.9 | |
| Minority | 17 | 37.8 | 22 | 48.9 | 6 | 13.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .94 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 16 | 33.3 | 22 | 45.8 | 10 | 20.8 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 15 | 37.5 | 20 | 50.0 | 5 | 12.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.06 |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 21 | 36.2 | 30 | 51.7 | 7 | 12.1 | |
| Males | 10 | 33.3 | 12 | 40.0 | 8 | 26.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.09 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 31 (35.2%); "yes" said by 42 (47.7%); and something "other" said by 15 (17.0%).

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Table 43--continued
Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About Their Future Here?

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 18 | 41.9 | 19 | 44.2 | 6 | 14.0 | |
| Yes | 13 | 29.5 | 22 | 50.0 | 9 | 20.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.61 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 8 | 34.8 | 10 | 43.5 | 5 | 21.7 | |
| Yes | 23 | 35.4 | 32 | 49.2 | 10 | 15.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .52 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 4 | 44.4 | 2 | 22.2 | 3 | 33.3 | |
| Yes | 27 | 34.2 | 40 | 50.6 | 12 | 15.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.17 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 9 | 27.3 | 17 | 51.5 | 7 | 21.2 | |
| Yes | 22 | 40.0 | 25 | 45.5 | 8 | 14.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.64 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 21 | 40.4 | 20 | 38.5 | 11 | 21.2 | |
| Yes | 10 | 28.6 | 21 | 60.0 | 4 | 11.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 4.03 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 31 | | 42 | | 15 | | |
| M | 14.7 | | 14.9 | | 11.2 | | |
| SD | 15.0 | | 15.3 | | 12.0 | | F (87) = .37 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 31 | | 42 | | 15 | | |
| M | 33.5% | | 35% | | 27.3% | | |
| SD | .31 | | .31 | | .26 | | F (87) = .35 |

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Table 43--continued
Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About Their Future Here?

| Independent Variable | Said "No" | Said "Yes" | Said Something Else | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Income2[b] | | | | |
| N | 28 | 35 | 13 | |
| M | $23,357 | $32,686 | $24,385 | |
| SD | 18,002 | 19,392 | 18,401 | F (75) = 2.20 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 26 | 34 | 13 | |
| M | $6521 | $9152 | $8517 | |
| SD | 6702 | 7553 | 10,383 | F (72) = .85 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 28 | 39 | 14 | |
| M | $522 | $655 | $452 | |
| SD | 266 | 331 | 253 | F (80) = 3.03 |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 26 | 34 | 13 | |
| M | 10.0 | 10.7 | 9.2 | |
| SD | 1.8 | 1.7 | 1.4 | F (72) = 3.93*[c] |

[b] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 44

How Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About Their Future Here? (Question 33)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Unsure N | Unsure Percent | Negative N | Negative Percent | Both N | Both Percent | Positive N | Positive Percent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 3 | 11.5 | 14 | 53.8 | 2 | 7.7 | 7 | 26.9 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 2 | 6.3 | 16 | 50.0 | 5 | 15.6 | 9 | 28.1 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 1.26 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 4 | 14.8 | 15 | 55.6 | 1 | 3.7 | 7 | 25.9 | |
| Owners | 1 | 3.2 | 15 | 48.4 | 6 | 19.4 | 9 | 29.0 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 5.37 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 4 | 13.3 | 15 | 50.0 | 5 | 16.7 | 6 | 20.0 | |
| White | 1 | 3.6 | 15 | 53.6 | 2 | 7.1 | 10 | 35.7 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 4.00 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 4 | 13.3 | 17 | 56.7 | 3 | 10.0 | 6 | 20.0 | |
| Minority | 1 | 3.6 | 13 | 46.4 | 4 | 14.3 | 10 | 35.7 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 3.41 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 3 | 9.4 | 13 | 40.6 | 6 | 18.8 | 10 | 31.3 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 2 | 7.7 | 17 | 65.4 | 1 | 3.8 | 6 | 23.1 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 4.73 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 58) are: residents unsure or unable to describe a direction of influence -- 5 (8.6%); residents felt more negative -- 30 (51.7%); residents felt some changes would have either both positive and negative effects or neither type of effect (7, 12.1%); residents reported that the changes made them feel more positively about their future in the neighborhood (16, 27.6%).

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Table 44--continued
How Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About Their Future Here?

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Unsure N | Unsure Percent | Negative N | Negative Percent | Both N | Both Percent | Positive N | Positive Percent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | | | |
| Females | 3 | 8.1 | 22 | 59.5 | 4 | 10.8 | 8 | 21.6 | |
| Males | 2 | 9.5 | 8 | 38.1 | 3 | 14.3 | 8 | 38.1 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 2.67 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 7.7 | 13 | 50.0 | 2 | 7.7 | 9 | 34.6 | |
| Yes | 3 | 9.7 | 16 | 51.6 | 5 | 16.1 | 7 | 22.6 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 1.62 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 3 | 20.0 | 8 | 53.3 | 2 | 13.3 | 2 | 13.3 | |
| Yes | 2 | 4.7 | 22 | 51.2 | 5 | 11.6 | 14 | 32.6 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 4.57 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 2 | 20.0 | |
| Yes | 4 | 7.5 | 29 | 54.7 | 6 | 11.3 | 14 | 26.4 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 2.48 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 8.3 | 12 | 50.0 | 3 | 12.5 | 7 | 29.2 | |
| Yes | 3 | 8.8 | 18 | 52.9 | 4 | 11.8 | 9 | 26.5 | $\chi^2$ (3) = .07 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 3 | 9.7 | 17 | 54.8 | 4 | 12.9 | 7 | 22.6 | |
| Yes | 2 | 7.7 | 12 | 46.2 | 3 | 11.5 | 9 | 34.6 | $\chi^2$ (3) = 1.02 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 5 | | 30 | | 7 | | 16 | | |
| M | 12.9 | | 18.2 | | 7.2 | | 10.0 | | |
| SD | 10.4 | | 16.6 | | 9.9 | | 10.9 | | F (57) = 1.87 |

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Table 44--continued
How Have Neighborhood Changes Affected the Way Residents Feel About Their Future Here?

| Independent Variable | Unsure | Negative | Both | Positive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | |
| N | 5 | 30 | 7 | 16 | |
| M | 31.7% | 41.1% | 23.3% | 25% | |
| SD | .24 | .30 | .34 | .26 | F (57) = 1.39 |
| Income2[b] | | | | | |
| N | 5 | 25 | 6 | 13 | |
| M | $13,000 | $29,800 | $30,167 | $36,385 | |
| SD | 7176 | 21,601 | 16,497 | 17,076 | F (48) = 1.82 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | |
| N | 5 | 25 | 6 | 12 | |
| M | $2467 | $9482 | $10,083 | $9,358 | |
| SD | 2016 | 8827 | 11,263 | 6793 | F (47) = 1.09 |
| Housing Costs | | | | | |
| N | 5 | 27 | 7 | 15 | |
| M | $467 | $499 | $799 | $714 | |
| SD | 300 | 293 | 152 | 376 | F (53) = 2.95*[c] |
| Resource Set | | | | | |
| N | 5 | 25 | 6 | 12 | |
| M | 8.8 | 10.4 | 9.8 | 10.8 | |
| SD | 1.1 | 1.9 | 1.7 | 1.1 | F (47) = 1.96 |

[b] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 45

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Plans for Their Future in the Neighborhood? (Question 34)[a] [b]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 27 | 62.8 | 11 | 25.6 | 5 | 11.6 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 30 | 66.7 | 12 | 26.7 | 3 | 6.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .66 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 25 | 62.5 | 11 | 27.5 | 4 | 10.0 | |
| Owners | 32 | 66.7 | 12 | 30.0 | 4 | 8.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .18 |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 27 | 60.0 | 12 | 26.7 | 6 | 13.3 | |
| White | 30 | 69.8 | 11 | 25.6 | 2 | 4.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.16 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 27 | 62.8 | 10 | 23.3 | 6 | 14.0 | |
| Minority | 30 | 66.7 | 13 | 28.9 | 2 | 4.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.50 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 32 | 66.7 | 11 | 22.9 | 5 | 10.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 25 | 62.5 | 12 | 30.0 | 3 | 7.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .68 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 88) are: "no" said by 57 (64.8%); "yes" said by 23 (26.1%); and something "other" said by 8 (9.1%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 45--continued

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Plans for Their Future in the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 35 | 60.3 | 16 | 27.6 | 7 | 12.1 | |
| Males | 22 | 73.3 | 7 | 23.3 | 1 | 3.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.31 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 29 | 67.4 | 11 | 25.6 | 3 | 7.0 | |
| Yes | 27 | 61.4 | 12 | 27.3 | 5 | 11.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .60 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 15 | 65.2 | 6 | 26.1 | 2 | 8.7 | |
| Yes | 42 | 64.6 | 17 | 26.2 | 6 | 9.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .006 |
| Have friends in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 6 | 66.7 | 2 | 22.2 | 1 | 11.1 | |
| Yes | 51 | 64.6 | 21 | 26.6 | 7 | 8.9 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .11 |
| Have relatives in the neighborhood | | | | | | | |
| No | 21 | 63.6 | 8 | 24.2 | 4 | 12.1 | |
| Yes | 36 | 65.5 | 15 | 27.3 | 4 | 7.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .62 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 37 | 71.2 | 11 | 21.2 | 4 | 7.7 | |
| Yes | 19 | 54.3 | 12 | 34.3 | 4 | 11.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.61 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 57 | | 23 | | 8 | | |
| M | 13.0 | | 18.6 | | 9.9 | | |
| SD | 13.0 | | 18.6 | | 9.7 | | F (87) = 1.62 |

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Table 45--continued

Have Neighborhood Changes Affected Residents' Plans for Their Future in the Neighborhood?

| Independent Variable (Interval) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 57 | | 23 | | 8 | | |
| M | 31% | | 42% | | 25% | | |
| SD | .28 | | .35 | | .21 | | F (87) = 1.38 |
| Income2[c] | | | | | | | |
| N | 48 | | 20 | | 8 | | |
| M | $27,625 | | $28,100 | | $28,375 | | |
| SD | 17,827 | | 21,024 | | 23,293 | | F (75) = .008 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 45 | | 20 | | 8 | | |
| M | $7765 | | $8426 | | $9189 | | |
| SD | 7510 | | 8013 | | 9901 | | F (72) = .13 |
| Housing Costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 50 | | 23 | | 8 | | |
| M | $584 | | $560 | | $546 | | |
| SD | 316 | | 268 | | 370 | | F (80) = .08 |
| Resource Set | | | | | | | |
| N | 45 | | 20 | | 8 | | |
| M | 10.1 | | 10.4 | | 10.0 | | |
| SD | 1.6 | | 2.0 | | 1.6 | | F (72) = .21 |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

Table 46

Relationships Between the Rating of the Degree to Which Residents Take Care of One Another Here[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 41)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 40 | 4.7 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 40 | 5.0 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.55 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 34 | 4.9 | |
| Owners | 46 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.25 |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 38 | 4.7 | |
| White | 42 | 5.0 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.70 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 37 | 4.6 | |
| Minority | 43 | 5.0 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.90 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 43 | 4.8 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 37 | 4.9 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.22 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 51 | 4.7 | |
| Males | 29 | 5.1 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.60 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 19 | 4.4 | |
| Yes | 61 | 5.0 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.24 |
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 38 | 5.0 | |
| Yes | 41 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.98 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 80; mean = 4.84; median = 5.00; mode = 6.00; SD = 1.70; range=1-6.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

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Table 46--continued

Relationships Between the Rating of the Degree to Which Residents Take Care of One Another Here and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 47 | 4.6 | |
| Yes | 33 | 5.2 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.01*[c] |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 8 | 5.9 | |
| Yes | 72 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.87 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 30 | 5.1 | |
| Yes | 50 | 4.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.23 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 80 | -.04 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 80 | -.07 |
| Age | 80 | .11 |
| Income2[d] | 70 | .10 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 67 | .08 |
| Housing costs | 74 | .06 |
| Resource Set | 67 | .09 |
| Total household responsibilities | 80 | .18 |

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 47

Relationships Between Rating of the Similarity of One's Concerns With Those of One's Neighbors[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 43)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 39 | 4.3 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 40 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.07 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 33 | 3.5 | |
| Owners | 46 | 4.9 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.91**[c] |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 37 | 4.5 | |
| White | 42 | 4.2 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.60 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 38 | 4.5 | |
| Minority | 41 | 4.2 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.59 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 41 | 4.0 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 38 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.9 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 51 | 4.5 | |
| Males | 28 | 4.1 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.86 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 20 | 4.2 | |
| Yes | 59 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.37 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 79; mean = 4.35; median = 4.00; mode = 6.00; SD = 2.01; range = 1-7.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

[c] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 47--continued

Relationships Between Rating of the Similarity of One's Concerns With Those of One's Neighbors and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 40 | 4.1 | |
| Yes | 38 | 4.6 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.1 |
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 44 | 4.0 | |
| Yes | 34 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.01* |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 8 | 2.8 | |
| Yes | 71 | 4.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.13* |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 31 | 3.7 | |
| Yes | 48 | 4.8 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -2.39* |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 79 | .19 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 79 | .21 |
| Age | 79 | .09 |
| Income2[d] | 69 | .23 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 66 | .09 |
| Housing costs | 73 | .19 |
| Resource Set | 66 | .27* |
| Total household responsibilities | 79 | .15 |

[d] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 48

Relationships Between the Frequency of Socializing With One's Neighbors[a] and the Primary Independent Variables (Question 44)

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[b] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | |
| Lower than average | 43 | 3.4 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 45 | 3.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.15 |
| Home ownership status | | | |
| Renters | 40 | 3.0 | |
| Owners | 48 | 3.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.48 |
| Race | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 3.0 | |
| White | 43 | 3.7 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.72 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | |
| Majority | 43 | 3.3 | |
| Minority | 45 | 3.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.29 |
| Length of residence | | | |
| 8 years or less | 48 | 3.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 40 | 3.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.09 |
| Gender | | | |
| Females | 58 | 3.3 | |
| Males | 30 | 3.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.34 |
| Working outside the home | | | |
| No | 23 | 3.2 | |
| Yes | 65 | 3.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.38 |
| Children living at home | | | |
| No | 43 | 3.5 | |
| Yes | 44 | 3.2 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.75 |

[a] The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 88; mean = 3.35; median = 4.00; mode = 1.00, 5.00; SD = 1.89; range = 1-6.

[b] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

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Table 48--continued

Relationships Between the Frequency of Socializing With One's Neighbors and the Primary Independent Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M[c] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 52 | 2.7 | |
| Yes | 35 | 4.4 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -4.24***[d] |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 9 | 2.4 | |
| Yes | 79 | 3.5 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -1.41 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | |
| No | 33 | 3.4 | |
| Yes | 55 | 3.3 | Mann-Whitney U: Z = -.38 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/ significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 88 | .03 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 88 | .02 |
| Age | 88 | .04 |
| Income2[e] | 76 | .21 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 73 | .14 |
| Housing costs | 81 | .23* |
| Resource Set | | |
| Total household responsibilities | 88 | .12 |

[c] The appropriate statistic is the Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric analog of the t test. It is intended to compare two groups of people in cases where you have at least ordinal data. We list the means solely for the edification of the reader.

[d] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[e] This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 49

How Long Do Residents Plan to Continue Living in the Neighborhood (Question 35)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | No plans N | No plans Percentage | Up to 5 years N | Up to 5 years Percentage | Longer than 5 N | Longer than 5 Percentage | Stay forever N | Stay forever Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 18 | 43.9 | 6 | 14.6 | 8 | 19.5 | 9 | 22.0 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 15 | 33.3 | 15 | 33.3 | 9 | 20.0 | 6 | 13.3 | $\chi^2(3) = 4.61$ |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 20 | 50.0 | 12 | 30.0 | 3 | 7.5 | 5 | 12.5 | |
| Owners | 13 | 28.3 | 9 | 19.6 | 14 | 30.4 | 10 | 21.7 | $\chi^2(3)=10.33$*[b] |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 24 | 55.8 | 7 | 16.3 | 4 | 9.3 | 8 | 18.6 | |
| White | 9 | 20.9 | 14 | 32.6 | 13 | 30.2 | 7 | 16.3 | $\chi^2(3)=13.98$** |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 20 | 47.6 | 7 | 16.7 | 7 | 16.7 | 8 | 19.0 | |
| Minority | 13 | 29.5 | 14 | 31.8 | 10 | 22.7 | 7 | 15.9 | $\chi^2(3) = 4.37$ |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 18 | 39.1 | 15 | 32.6 | 8 | 17.4 | 5 | 10.9 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 15 | 37.5 | 6 | 15.0 | 9 | 22.5 | 10 | 25.0 | $\chi^2(3) = 5.46$ |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 86) are: no plans or planning to move, but at no specific time said by 33 residents (38.4%); moving within 5 years said by 21 (24.4%); moving at some specific time beyond 5 years said by 17 (19.8%); or staying forever (n = 15, 17.4%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 49--continued
How Long Do Residents Plan to Continue Living in the Neighborhood

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | No plans N | No plans Percentage | Up to 5 years N | Up to 5 years Percentage | Longer than 5 N | Longer than 5 Percentage | Stay forever N | Stay forever Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | | | |
| Females | 22 | 37.9 | 13 | 22.4 | 13 | 22.4 | 10 | 17.2 | |
| Males | 11 | 39.3 | 8 | 28.6 | 4 | 14.3 | 5 | 17.9 | $\chi^2(3) = .94$ |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 14 | 32.6 | 12 | 27.9 | 10 | 23.3 | 7 | 16.3 | |
| Yes | 18 | 42.9 | 9 | 21.4 | 7 | 16.7 | 8 | 19.0 | $\chi^2(3) = 1.51$ |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 43.5 | 5 | 21.7 | 4 | 17.4 | 4 | 17.4 | |
| Yes | 23 | 36.5 | 16 | 25.4 | 13 | 20.6 | 11 | 17.5 | $\chi^2(3) = .40$ |
| Have friends in the community | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 4 | 44.4 | 3 | 33.3 | 1 | 11.1 | 1 | 11.1 | |
| Yes | 29 | 37.7 | 18 | 23.4 | 16 | 20.8 | 14 | 18.2 | $\chi^2(3) = 1.04$ |
| Have relatives in the community | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 12 | 36.4 | 12 | 36.4 | 5 | 15.2 | 4 | 12.1 | |
| Yes | 21 | 39.6 | 9 | 17.0 | 12 | 22.6 | 11 | 20.8 | $\chi^2(3) = 4.63$ |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 24 | 48.0 | 10 | 20.0 | 10 | 20.0 | 6 | 12.0 | |
| Yes | 8 | 22.9 | 11 | 31.4 | 7 | 20.0 | 9 | 25.7 | $\chi^2(3) = 6.74$ |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | | | |
| N | | 33 | | 21 | | 17 | | 15 | |
| M | | 12.1 | | 12.0 | | 18.4 | | 18.4 | |
| SD | | 10.9 | | 16.0 | | 18.5 | | 14.8 | $F(85) = 1.27$ |

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Table 49--continued How Long Do Residents Plan to Continue Living in the Neighborhood

| Independent Variable | No plans | Up to 5 years | Longer than 5 | Stay forever | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | |
| N | 33 | 21 | 17 | 15 | |
| M | 29% | 26% | 45% | 41% | |
| SD | .22 | .29 | .41 | .30 | F(85) = 1.91 |
| Income2[c] | | | | | |
| N | 28 | 19 | 14 | 13 | |
| M | $20,571 | $31,895 | $37,929 | $29,000 | |
| SD | 15,431 | 22,684 | 18,357 | 16,308 | F(73) = 3.2* |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | |
| N | 26 | 19 | 14 | 12 | |
| M | $5577 | $11,359 | $10,859 | $6,417 | |
| SD | 6,260 | 9,759 | 7,850 | 5,161 | F(70)=2.98*[d] |
| Housing Costs | | | | | |
| N | 29 | 20 | 16 | 14 | |
| M | $487 | $576 | $640 | $629 | |
| SD | 325 | 299 | 270 | 297 | F(78) = 1.18 |
| Resource Set | | | | | |
| N | 25 | 17 | 13 | 12 | |
| M | 9.3 | 10.2 | 10.7 | 10.8 | |
| SD | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.3 | F(66)=3.53*[e] |

[c] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

[d] No two groups are significantly different at the .050 level.

[e] No two groups are significantly different at the .050 level.

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Table 50

Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)[a]

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 4 | 9.5 | 34 | 81.0 | 4 | 9.5 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 9 | 20.0 | 29 | 64.4 | 7 | 15.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.04 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 12 | 30.8 | 22 | 56.4 | 5 | 12.8 | |
| Owners | 1 | 2.1 | 41 | 85.4 | 6 | 12.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 14.4***[b] |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 7 | 15.9 | 31 | 70.5 | 6 | 13.6 | |
| White | 6 | 14.0 | 32 | 74.4 | 5 | 11.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .17 |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 7 | 16.7 | 32 | 76.2 | 3 | 7.1 | |
| Minority | 6 | 13.3 | 31 | 68.9 | 8 | 17.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.26 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 5 | 10.6 | 34 | 72.3 | 8 | 17.0 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 8 | 20.0 | 29 | 72.5 | 3 | 7.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.82 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 87) are: "no" said by 13 (14.9%); "yes" said by 63 (72.4%); and something "other" said by 11 (12.6%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 50--continued Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 9 | 15.5 | 43 | 74.1 | 6 | 10.3 | |
| Males | 4 | 13.8 | 20 | 69.0 | 5 | 17.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .84 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 7 | 16.3 | 29 | 67.4 | 7 | 16.3 | |
| Yes | 6 | 14.0 | 33 | 76.7 | 4 | 9.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.15 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 4 | 17.4 | 17 | 73.9 | 2 | 8.7 | |
| Yes | 9 | 14.1 | 46 | 71.9 | 9 | 14.1 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .52 |
| Have friends in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 3 | 33.3 | 3 | 33.3 | 3 | 33.3 | |
| Yes | 10 | 12.8 | 60 | 76.9 | 8 | 10.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 7.79*[c] |
| Have relatives in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 7 | 21.2 | 20 | 60.6 | 6 | 18.2 | |
| Yes | 6 | 11.1 | 43 | 79.6 | 5 | 9.3 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 3.71 |
| Active in the Community | | | | | | | |
| No | 10 | 19.6 | 35 | 68.6 | 6 | 11.8 | |
| Yes | 3 | 8.6 | 28 | 80.0 | 4 | 11.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.04 |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 13 | | 63 | | 11 | | |
| M | 14.0 | | 14.3 | | 14.4 | | |
| SD | 9.1 | | 14.7 | | 20.1 | | F (86) = .003 |

[c] Two of six cells with expected frequencies less than 5.

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Table 50--continued
Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary

| Independent Variable (Interval) | Said "No" | Said "Yes" | Said Something Else | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | |
| N | 13 | 63 | 11 | |
| M | 36% | 33% | 30% | |
| SD | 23 | 30 | 38 | F (86) = .14 |
| Income2[d] | | | | |
| N | 11 | 57 | 7 | |
| M | $18,182 | $30,860 | $19,429 | |
| SD | 12,110 | 19,899 | 13,623 | F (74) = 2.93 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | |
| N | 10 | 55 | 7 | |
| M | $5890 | $8956 | $4923 | |
| SD | 7562 | 8102 | 5450 | F (71) = 1.3 |
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 11 | 58 | 11 | |
| M | $361 | $629 | $520 | |
| SD | 258 | 303 | 278 | F (79) = 4.08* |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 10 | 55 | 7 | |
| M | 8.6 | 10.6 | 9.1 | |
| SD | 1.3 | 1.6 | 1.8 | F (71) = 8.80*** |

[d] This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 51

Relationships Between Responses to the Major Outcome Measures and the Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)[a]

| Outcome Measures (Categorical) | N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Would residents recommend that friends move into the neighborhood? (question 13) | | | | | | | |
| no | 5 | 41.7 | 7 | 58.3 | | | |
| yes | 6 | 11.1 | 42 | 77.8 | 6 | 11.1 | |
| other | 2 | 9.5 | 14 | 66.7 | 5 | 23.8 | $\chi^2$ (4)= 11.0*[bc] |
| Have residents gotten what they wanted to get from living here? (question 18) | | | | | | | |
| no | 5 | 45.5 | 4 | 36.4 | 2 | 18.2 | |
| yes | 5 | 8.8 | 45 | 78.9 | 7 | 12.3 | |
| other | 3 | 17.6 | 12 | 70.6 | 2 | 11.8 | $\chi^2$ (4) =10.8*[d] |
| Have neighborhood changes affected residents' feelings about the neighborhood? (question 29) | | | | | | | |
| no | 3 | 10.7 | 20 | 71.4 | 5 | 17.9 | |
| yes | 9 | 17.6 | 36 | 70.6 | 6 | 11.8 | |
| other | 1 | 12.5 | 7 | 87.5 | | | $\chi^2$ (4) = 2.54 |

[a] Summary data for this variable (n = 87) include: "no" said by 13 residents (14.9%); "yes" said by 63 (72.4%); and something "other" said by 11 (12.6%).

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

[c] Four of nine cells have expected frequencies lower than five.

[d] Four of nine cells have an expected frequency lower than five.

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Table 51--continued

Relationships Between Responses to the Major Outcome Measures and the Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)

| Outcome Measures (Categorical) | N | Said "No" Percentage | N | Said "Yes" Percentage | N | Said Something Else Percentage | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| How have neighborhood changes affected residents' feelings about the neighborhood? (question 29) | | | | | | | |
| negatively | 6 | 24.0 | 15 | 60.0 | 4 | 16.0 | |
| neither/both | 1 | 20.0 | 3 | 60.0 | 1 | 20.0 | |
| positively | 2 | 8.7 | 20 | 87.0 | 1 | 4.3 | $\chi^2$ (4) = 4.81 |
| Have neighborhood changes affected residents' behavior in the neighborhood? (question 30) | | | | | | | |
| no | 5 | 10.4 | 37 | 77.1 | 6 | 12.5 | |
| yes | 8 | 22.9 | 24 | 68.6 | 3 | 8.6 | |
| other | _ | ____ | 2 | 50.0 | 2 | 50.0 | $\chi^2$ (4) = 8.1 |
| Have neighborhood changes affected residents' feelings about the people around here? (question 31) | | | | | | | |
| no | 6 | 11.1 | 43 | 79.6 | 5 | 9.3 | |
| yes | 6 | 26.1 | 12 | 52.2 | 5 | 21.7 | |
| other | 1 | 10.0 | 8 | 80.0 | 1 | 10.0 | $\chi^2$ (4) = 6.42 |
| Have neighborhood changes affected the way residents act toward the people around here? (question 32) | | | | | | | |
| no | 6 | 9.7 | 49 | 79.0 | 7 | 11.3 | |
| yes | 5 | 26.3 | 11 | 57.9 | 3 | 15.8 | |
| other | 2 | 33.3 | 3 | 50.0 | 1 | 16.7 | $\chi^2$ (4) = 5.81 |
| Have neighborhood changes affected residents' feelings about their future here? (question 33) | | | | | | | |
| no | 3 | 9.7 | 24 | 77.4 | 4 | 12.9 | |
| yes | 7 | 16.7 | 31 | 73.8 | 4 | 9.5 | |
| other | 3 | 21.4 | 8 | 57.1 | 3 | 21.4 | $\chi^2$ (4) = 2.80 |

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Table 51--continued

Relationships Between Responses to the Major Outcome Measures and the Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)

| Outcome Measures (Categorical) | N | Said "No" Percentage | N | Said "Yes" Percentage | N | Said Something Else Percentage | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| How have neighborhood changes affected residents' feelings about their future here? (question 33) | | | | | | | |
| no direction | _ | _____ | 3 | 75.0 | 1 | 25.0 | |
| negatively | 7 | 23.3 | 21 | 70.0 | 2 | 6.7 | |
| both directions | 1 | 14.3 | 5 | 71.4 | 1 | 14.3 | |
| positively | 2 | 12.5 | 11 | 68.8 | 3 | 18.8 | $\chi^2$ (6) = 3.43 |
| Have neighborhood changes affected residents' plans for their future in the area? (question 34) | | | | | | | |
| no | 7 | 12.5 | 40 | 71.4 | 9 | 16.1 | |
| yes | 4 | 17.4 | 17 | 73.9 | 2 | 8.7 | |
| other | 2 | 25.0 | 6 | 75.0 | _ | _____ | $\chi^2$ (4) = 2.69 |
| How have changes affected residents' plans for their future here? (question 34) | | | | | | | |
| no direction | _ | _____ | 5 | 83.3 | 1 | 16.7 | |
| negatively | 5 | 25.0 | 14 | 70.0 | 1 | 5.0 | |
| both directions | 1 | 33.3 | 2 | 66.7 | _ | _____ | |
| positively | _ | _____ | 3 | 100.0 | _ | _____ | $\chi^2$ (6) = 4.31 |
| Length of time resident plans to remain in the neighborhood (question 35) | | | | | | | |
| no specific plans | 5 | 15.6 | 23 | 71.9 | 4 | 12.5 | |
| less than 5 years | 4 | 19.0 | 16 | 76.2 | 1 | 4.8 | |
| longer than 5 years | 2 | 11.8 | 12 | 70.6 | 3 | 17.6 | |
| staying forever | 2 | 13.3 | 11 | 73.3 | 2 | 13.3 | $\chi^2$ (6) = 1.84 |

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Table 51--continued

Relationships Between Responses to the Major Outcome Measures and the Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)

| Outcome Measures (Likert scales (1-7)) | Said "No" | | Said "Yes" | | Said Something Else | | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Mean | N | Mean | N | Mean | Significance[e] |
| Overall rating of the neighborhood (question 11) | 12 | 4.4 | 63 | 4.5 | 11 | 4.5 | $\chi^2$ (86) = .84 |
| How much easier or more difficult does this neighborhood make life for the resident? (question 21) | 10 | 4.0 | 59 | 4.6 | 10 | 4.1 | $\chi^2$ (79) = 2.2 |
| How well or poorly does this neighborhood fit as your idea of a good place to live? (question 22) | 11 | 3.5 | 62 | 4.5 | 9 | 5.2 | $\chi^2$ (82) = 6.53* |
| Importance of neighborhood in life (question 23) | 12 | 4.7 | 61 | 5.2 | 11 | 5.4 | $\chi^2$ (84) = .88 |
| Overall evaluation of neighborhood change (question 28) | 12 | 3.3 | 60 | 4.7 | 11 | 4.3 | $\chi^2$(83)=15.6*** |
| How well do people take care of each other here? (question 41) | 11 | 3.9 | 59 | 4.8 | 9 | 6.0 | $\chi^2$ (79) = 8.1* |
| How similar are your concerns to those of the people around here? (question 43) | 13 | 2.8 | 58 | 4.7 | 8 | 4.8 | $\chi^2$ (79) =9.11** |

[e] Because we have more than two values for the independent variable, we have used the Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA. We present the means solely for the edification of the reader.

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Table 51--continued

Relationships Between Responses to the Major Outcome Measures and the Resident's Ability to Move From the Neighborhood, If Necessary (Question 40)

| Outcome Measures (Interval) | Said "No" N | Said "No" Percentage | Said "Yes" N | Said "Yes" Percentage | Said Something Else N | Said Something Else Percentage | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of adjustments in household routine | 13 | 4.8 | 63 | 3.7 | 11 | 4.6 | F (86) = .66 |
| Number of square blocks in resident's neighborhood (question 8) | 11 | 78.1 | 43 | 181.1 | 9 | 96.4 | F (62) =3.28*[f] |
| Number of changes noticed (questions 26, 27) | 13 | 13.0 | 63 | 14.3 | 11 | 11.6 | F (86) = .99 |
| Ratio of positive to negative neighborhood changes cited (questions 26 and 27) | 13 | 1.5 | 53 | 2.7 | 8 | 1.8 | F (73) = 1.40 |
| Number of impacts [of neighborhood changes] cited (questions 29-24, 36) | 13 | 3.3 | 63 | 2.6 | 11 | 2.4 | F (86) = .74 |

[f] No two groups significantly differed at the .050 level.

Table 61

Relationships Between Adjustments in Household Routine[a] [b] and the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area Resource Level | | | | |
| Lower than average | 43 | 2.7 | 2.4 | |
| Equal or greater than average | 45 | 5.1 | 4.5 | t(68)=-3.05**[c] |
| Home ownership status | | | | |
| Renters | 40 | 4.0 | 4.1 | |
| Owners | 48 | 3.9 | 3.6 | t (86) = .18 |
| Race | | | | |
| Hispanic | 45 | 2.6 | 2.1 | |
| White | 43 | 5.3 | 4.6 | t(58)=-3.55*** |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | |
| Majority | 43 | 3.7 | 4.3 | |
| Minority | 45 | 4.1 | 3.3 | t (86) = -.48 |
| Length of residence | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 48 | 3.3 | 2.2 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 40 | 4.7 | 5.0 | t (51) = -1.61 |
| Gender | | | | |
| Females | 58 | 4.6 | 4.3 | |
| Males | 30 | 2.6 | 2.0 | t (85) = 2.94** |
| Working outside the home | | | | |
| No | 23 | 4.3 | 5.2 | |
| Yes | 65 | 3.8 | 3.2 | t (28) = .37 |

[a]This variable, labelled "changes in household routine," was constructed by counting the number of different alterations or adjustments in household routine the resident explicitly and spontaneously cited in her/his answers to the open-ended questions related to neighborhood conditions and changes. Those questions were questions 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21A, 22A/B, 24, 25, 29-36, 38.

[b]The basic descriptive data for this variable are: n = 88; range from 0 through 23; mean = 3.9; median = 3.0; mode = 4.0; standard deviation = 3.8.

[c]*** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 61--continued

Relationships Between Adjustments in Household Routine and the Primary Discrete and Experiential Variables

| Independent Variable (Categorical) | N | M | SD | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children living at home | | | | |
| No | 43 | 4.6 | 3.8 | |
| Yes | 44 | 3.4 | 3.8 | t (85) = 1.49 |
| Active in the community | | | | |
| No | 52 | 3.6 | 4.0 | |
| Yes | 35 | 4.4 | 3.6 | t (85) = - .90 |
| Having friends in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 9 | 2.8 | 2.2 | |
| Yes | 79 | 4.1 | 3.9 | t (86) = -.97 |
| Having relatives in the neighborhood | | | | |
| No | 33 | 4.2 | 4.2 | |
| Yes | 55 | 3.8 | 3.6 | t (86) = .39 |

| (Interval) | N | Correlation/significance |
|---|---|---|
| Length of residence | 88 | .30** |
| Percentage of one's life lived in this neighborhood | 88 | .21* |
| Age | 88 | .25* |
| Income2[d] | 76 | .22* |
| Per capita income after housing costs | 73 | .26* |
| Resource Set | 73 | .31** |

[d]This measure represents the midpoints of the ranges offered to respondents in question 62.

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Table 66

Residents' Recognition and Evaluation of Population Changes Among Changes in the Neighborhood in Recent Years (Questions 26 and 27)[a]

| Independent Variable | Negative | | Neither | | Positive | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | |
| Area Resource Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower than Average | 3 | 13.0 | 10 | 43.5 | 10 | 43.5 | |
| Equal or Greater than Average | 7 | 28.0 | 9 | 36.0 | 9 | 36.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.62 |
| Home ownership status | | | | | | | |
| Renters | 5 | 27.8 | 11 | 61.1 | 2 | 11.1 | |
| Owners | 5 | 16.7 | 8 | 26.7 | 17 | 56.7 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 9.9**[b] |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 4 | 18.2 | 8 | 36.4 | 10 | 45.5 | |
| White | 6 | 23.1 | 11 | 42.3 | 9 | 34.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .60 |

[a] These figures represent the number and percentage of residents who, when presented with the list of neighborhood changes suggested by community leaders (question 26), recognized change #10, "changes in population." The change was recognized by 54 residents. 51 of whom offered an evaluation of the change in their response to question 27. In this table, we present the three most frequently given evaluations--residents indicating that the change was "bad or negative for [their] life in the community (n = 10, 18.5%)," "good or positive for [their lives] in the community (n = 19, 35.2%)," and residents who saw the change as "neither good nor bad for [their lives] in the community (n = 19, 35.2%)." Three other residents (5.6%) saw both positive and negative aspects of this change. The remaining three residents (5.6%) recognized the change, but were not sure how they would evaluate it.

[b] *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$.

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Table 66--continued

Residents' Recognition and Evaluation of Population Changes Among Changes in the Neighborhood in Recent Years (Questions 26 and 27)

| Independent Variable | Negative | | Neither | | Positive | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | N | Percentage | |
| In the racial majority or minority (in the area immediately surrounding one's home) | | | | | | | |
| Majority | 5 | 22.7 | 8 | 36.4 | 9 | 40.9 | |
| Minority | 5 | 19.2 | 11 | 42.3 | 10 | 38.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = .19 |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 4 | 19.0 | 6 | 28.6 | 11 | 52.4 | |
| Longer than 8 years | 6 | 22.2 | 13 | 48.1 | 8 | 29.6 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.75 |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Females | 5 | 16.7 | 11 | 36.7 | 14 | 46.7 | |
| Males | 5 | 27.8 | 8 | 44.4 | 5 | 27.8 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.85 |
| Children living at home | | | | | | | |
| No | 7 | 30.4 | 9 | 39.1 | 7 | 30.4 | |
| Yes | 3 | 12.0 | 10 | 40.0 | 12 | 48.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.89 |
| Work outside the home | | | | | | | |
| No | 1 | 10.0 | 3 | 30.0 | 6 | 60.0 | |
| Yes | 9 | 23.7 | 16 | 42.1 | 13 | 34.2 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 2.33 |
| Have friends in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | | | 3 | 60.0 | 2 | 40.0 | |
| Yes | 10 | 23.3 | 16 | 37.2 | 17 | 39.5 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.75 |
| Have relatives in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 12.5 | 6 | 37.5 | 8 | 50.0 | |
| Yes | 8 | 25.0 | 13 | 40.6 | 11 | 34.4 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 1.48 |

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Table 66--continued

Residents' Recognition and Evaluation of Population Changes Among Changes in the Neighborhood in Recent Years (Questions 26 and 27)

| Independent Variable | Negative | | Neither | | Positive | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Active in the community | | | | | | | |
| No | 6 | 26.1 | 12 | 52.2 | 5 | 21.7 | |
| Yes | 4 | 16.0 | 7 | 28.0 | 14 | 56.0 | $\chi^2$ (2) = 5.91* |
| (Interval) | | | | | | | |
| Length of residence in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 10 | | 19 | | 19 | | |
| M | 23.9 | | 21.2 | | 13.1 | | |
| SD | 19.2 | | 16.1 | | 14.1 | | F (47) = 1.89 |
| Percentage of one's life lived in the area | | | | | | | |
| N | 10 | | 19 | | 19 | | |
| M | 53% | | 47% | | 35% | | |
| SD | .33 | | .31 | | .35 | | F (47) = 1.14 |
| Income2[c] | | | | | | | |
| N | 6 | | 18 | | 19 | | |
| M | $26,167 | | $24,694 | | $37,553 | | |
| SD | 21,983 | | 19,470 | | 16,530 | | F (42) = 2.42 |
| Per capita income after housing costs | | | | | | | |
| N | 6 | | 18 | | 19 | | |
| M | $6,600 | | $6,418 | | $11,005 | | |
| SD | 5944 | | 6179 | | 9012 | | F (42) = 1.91 |

[c]This indicator represents the midpoint of each of the original ranges presented to respondents in question 63.

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Table 66--continued

Residents' Recognition and Evaluation of Population Changes Among Changes in the Neighborhood in Recent Years (Questions 26 and 27)

| Independent Variable | Negative | Neither | Positive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Housing Costs | | | | |
| N | 9 | 19 | 19 | |
| M | $423 | $493 | $766 | |
| SD | 186 | 307 | 245 | F (46) = 7.34** |
| Resource Set | | | | |
| N | 5 | 17 | 19 | |
| M | 9.6 | 9.9 | 10.8 | |
| SD | 2.1 | 1.9 | 1.4 | F (40) = 1.79 |
| Number of household responsibilities | | | | |
| N | 10 | 19 | 19 | |
| M | 3.1 | 3.1 | 3.5 | |
| SD | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.1 | F (47) = .68 |

# APPENDIX A

## CONSENT FORMS--ENGLISH AND SPANISH VERSIONS

_____ has informed me of the research project on people's lives in this community. I have agreed to participate in this part of the research, which involves an interview on my experience in, and my expectations for the future of this neighborhood. S/he has informed me that the interview will be conducted at my convenience, that all information will be anonymous and confidential, and that I may withdraw from the project at any time.

Signature_____

_____

Date_____

---

El/La señor(a) _____me ha informado del estudio que se llevará a cabo sobre la vida de las personas en esta comunidad. Yo he aceptado ser entrevistada (o) en y para la actual fase del estudio, la cual se relaciona con mis experiencias en este vecindario y con mis expectativas en torno al futuro de este vecindario.

El/La señor(a) me ha informado que las entrevista se llevará a cabo a mi conveniencia, que la información que yo provea sera anónima y confidencial, y que yo puedo cancelar mi participación en el estudio cuando yo así lo determine.

Firma_____

_____

Fecha_____

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# APPENDIX B

## COMMUNITY RESIDENT INTERVIEW--ENGLISH VERSION

---

I. INTRODUCTION

Thanks very much for agreeing to speak with me today. As I mentioned (earlier/over the phone), we are doing this study to understand better how residents feel about this area as a place to live, and what they expect for themselves and this neighborhood in the future.

I am working with the Research and Evaluation Unit of the _____ Program (IF RESPONDENT ISN'T FAMILIAR WITH THE PROGRAM, DESCRIBE ITS WORK, OFFER RESPONDENT A FLYER). The information we obtain in these interviews will help us evaluate their work in this neighborhood.

In this interview, we're interested in your opinions, how you feel about living here. There aren't any right or wrong answers to these questions. All of the information from this interview is strictly confidential. Your name will never be used in any way. We'd like you to answer as openly as possible, but if we come to a question you'd rather not answer, just tell me and we'll skip it. Also, if any of the questions aren't clear, please let me know.

Before we begin the interview itself, please look over this 'consent form'. Its purpose is to protect the people we're interviewing, to confirm that we've given you enough information about the project (PRESENT CONSENT FORM AND SIGN YOUR NAME AT TOP AND DATE IT). (IF THE RESPONDENT ASKS: It is kept separately from your interview form.)

Also, we would prefer to tape record the interview, if that's all right with you. I'll be taking notes, but we really could move faster if I could use the tape to be sure I get everything you want to tell me. Again, your name will not be on the tape, only an identification number will be recorded. (IF THE RESPONDENT ASKS: After my supervisor and I have made sure that I've written your comments exactly as you've said them, we'll reuse the tape to record another interview.)

(IF THE RESPONDENT SAYS 'NO' AT ANY POINT IN YOUR REQUEST, SAY "Fine" and DON'T USE THE TAPE RECORDER).

Do you have any questions before we begin? (NOTE QUESTIONS AND YOUR RESPONSE)

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II. PERSONAL NEIGHBORHOOD HISTORY AND DEFINITION

1. First, could you tell me how long you've lived in the area? (NOTE COMMENTS SUCH AS "IN THE AREA ALL MY LIFE, IN THIS HOUSE TWO YEARS," ETC.)

2. Where did you live just before you moved to this area? (NOTE NEIGHBORHOOD, CITY, BOROUGH--AS DETAILED AS POSSIBLE)

3. (IF NOT ANSWERED IN QUESTION 1, FILL IN ANSWER HERE; BUT IF NOT ALREADY CLEAR, ASK)
When did you move into this home?

4. Do you rent or own your home?

5. (IF ANSWERED IN QUESTIONS 1 OR 3, FILL IN HERE; BUT IF NOT ALREADY CLEAR, ASK)
Have you (rented/owned) a home for the entire time you've lived in the area?

(IF NO)
5A. During the time you've lived in this neighborhood, for what years did you rent your home?

5B. For what years did you own your home?

6. At the time when you decided to settle in the area,

6A. Did you have any family living in the area?

6B. Did you have any friends in the area?

7. How about now?

7A. Do you have any family living in the area?

7B. Do you have any friends living in the area?

8. Often, even people who live near each other mean different things when they talk about their neighborhood. What are the boundaries of the area you consider your neighborhood? (PROBE: To what streets?)

9. What do you call your neighborhood?
(CHECK NEIGHBORHOOD NAME MENTIONED; DO NOT READ THE LIST TO THE RESPONDENT. IF NECESSARY, PROBE: What is the name of the neighborhood?)

III. NEIGHBORHOOD OPINIONS AND PERCEPTIONS

10. Overall, how do you feel about living in this neighborhood?

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11. Now, for some questions in this interview, I will be asking you to choose a number on a scale from 1 to 7 as your answer.

For example, if a rating of 1 meant that a neighborhood was the worst possible place to live, and a rating of 7 meant that a neighborhood was the best possible place to live, how would you rate this neighborhood overall?

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WORST POSSIBLE PLACE TO LIVE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | BEST POSSIBLE PLACE TO LIVE |

(INTERVIEWER: SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT IF IT CLARIFIES THE QUESTION. CIRCLE NUMBER RESPONDENT GIVES. NOTE ANY SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS.)

12. If a good friend of yours were moving into this neighborhood, what kind of "inside information" would you give them about the neighborhood before they moved in?
(IF NECESSARY, EXPLAIN: Say they're moving in and don't know anything about this neighborhood.)
(IF NOT CLEAR, PROBE IN DETAIL--e.g., Could you tell me a little bit more about that? Why might that be important?)

13. Would you recommend that a good friend or relative move into this neighborhood in the first place?

13A. Could you tell me (why/why not)?

14. How would you rate the cost of housing in this neighborhood on a scale from 1 to 7, if 7 means the cost of housing is very cheap, and 1 means housing is very expensive?

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VERY EXPENSIVE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY CHEAP |

15. How would you rate the quality of your current housing, using a scale from 1 to 7? What shape would you say your current housing is in, if 1 means "It is in terrible condition, needs a lot of work" and 7 means "It's in great condition, doesn't need any work at all?"

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IN TERRIBLE CONDITION, NEEDS A LOT OF WORK | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | IN GREAT CONDITION, DOESN'T NEED ANY WORK AT ALL |

IV. NEIGHBORHOOD PRIORITIES: THEN AND NOW

I'm interested in the ways in which this neighborhood has allowed you and the people in your household to live the way

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you've wanted to live and to do the things you've wanted to do, and the ways in which the neighborhood may have interfered with way you've wanted to live and the things you've wanted to do.

16. I'm going to read a list of responsibilities or roles different people take on in their lives, and I'd like you to tell me whether each one applied to you when you were deciding to settle here. Were you:

    1. working outside your home full time?
    2. working outside your home part time?
    3. a parent? (IF YES: How many children?)
    4. a spouse or partner?
    5. taking care of elderly parents?
    6. a homemaker?
    7. a student?
    8. an active member of a church or temple?
    9. active in the community?
    10. active in any groups or organizations outside the community?
    11. Did you have any other major responsibilities as a member of your household? (CHECK IF ANSWER IS 'YES', AND SPECIFY WHAT OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES WERE)

17. At the time you moved in, did you have any specific plans for how long you'd be living in this neighborhood?

    (IF YES) What were your plans?

    (IF NOT CLEAR) How long did you plan to live here?

18. When you think back on your plans for living in this neighborhood when you decided to settle here, do you feel you have gotten what you wanted to get from living here?

    18A. Could you tell me a little bit about that?

19. You've just told me about the responsibilities you had when you settled in this neighborhood. Are they the same things you have to do now? Are you now:

    1. working outside your home full time?
    2. working outside your home part time?
    3. a parent? (IF YES: How many children?)
    4. a spouse or partner?
    5. taking care of elderly parents?
    6. a homemaker?
    7. a student?
    8. an active member of a church or temple?
    9. active in the community?

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10. active in any groups or organizations outside the community?
11. (MENTION ANY 'OTHER' RESPONSIBILITIES THEY MENTIONED IN Q. 16, ASK "Are you still (WHATEVER THEY LISTED AS 'OTHER')"?

12. Are there any other major responsibilities you have at this time?

    (IF YES) Could you tell me what they are?

20. At this stage in your life, what are the three things you would value most in any neighborhood you might want to live in? (PROBE FOR PHYSICAL, SOCIAL, PERSONAL AND FAMILY THINGS)

I've got another scale question for you.

21. At this stage in your life in this community, when you think about the way you want to live and the things you want to do in life, how much easier or more difficult does this neighborhood make life for you?

    (IF NECESSARY, REFER BACK TO ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES LISTED IN RESPONSE TO Q. 19)

    If 7 is 'The neighborhood makes it much easier to live the way we want to live and to do the things we want to do' and 1 means 'The neighborhood makes it much more difficult to live the way we want to live and to do the things we want to do', how would you describe this neighborhood?

| NEIGHBORHOOD MAKES IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO LIVE THE WAY WE WANT TO LIVE AND TO DO THE THINGS WE WANT TO DO | | | | | | NEIGHBORHOOD MAKES IT MUCH EASIER TO LIVE THE WAY WE WANT TO LIVE AND TO DO THE THINGS WE WANT TO DO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

21A. What is it about this neighborhood that makes it (more difficult/easier)?

    (IF RATING 1-3, SAY more difficult; IF 5-7, SAY easier: IF 4, ASK BOTH more difficult and easier)

22. At this point in your life and your household's life, how well or poorly does this neighborhood fit as your idea of a good place for you to be living? One means 'very poorly' and seven means 'very well'.

VERY POORLY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 VERY WELL

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22A. (IF NOT CLEAR) Could you tell me about that?

22B. Now, what would make this neighborhood a better place for you to be living?

23. I understand that the neighborhood where they live may be very important to some people, compared to other things in their life, and not so important to other people. Using this scale, where 7 means 'My neighborhood is much more important' and 1 means 'My neighborhood is not nearly as important', how important is your neighborhood and what happens here as a part of your life as a whole?

| MY NEIGHBORHOOD IS NOT NEARLY AS IMPORTANT AS OTHER PARTS OF MY LIFE | MY NEIGHBORHOOD IS EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT AS OTHER PARTS OF MY LIFE | MY NEIGHBORHOOD IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN OTHER PARTS OF MY LIFE |
|---|---|---|

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

V. NEIGHBORHOOD HISTORY AND CHANGES

To help us understand your feelings about the neighborhood now and your expectations for the future, I'd like to get a sense of the things that've happened here since you've lived here.

24. What do you see as the three most important things that have happened in this neighborhood over the last five years?

(IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT WE MEAN BY "IMPORTANT", WE'RE INTERESTED IN WHATEVER THE RESPONDENT SEES AS IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF HER/HIS LIFE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD.)

25. What do you see as the three most important changes that have occurred in this neighborhood over the last five years?

(IF NOT CLEAR) What is it about these changes that makes them so important?

(IF RESPONDENT ASKS ABOUT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN Q. 24 AND Q. 25; SAY Some people see 'important things and changes' as different and some people don't. We want to know how you see them.)

(IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED ADDITIONAL CHANGES IN Q. 25, LIST THEM IN THE BLANK SPACES AT THE END OF THE PREPARED LIST in Q. 26)

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In meetings with a number of people, we've identified the things in this list (HAND RESPONDENT THE LIST) as some of the changes that they've seen in recent years.

26. Please look at this list and check the changes you have noticed in this neighborhood in recent years.

1. Arrival of new city service programs in the community
2. Deterioration of large apartment buildings
3. Housing rehabilitation loans for small homeowners
4. Increase in crime
5. Rehabilitation of apartment buildings
6. Loss of jobs
7. Growth of community groups (e.g., block associations)
8. Residents displaced from housing by deterioration
9. Stores being fixed up
10. Changes in population
11. Increasing political involvement of some residents
12. Deterioration of some city services
13. Residents displaced from housing by gentrification
14. Availability of bank loans, mortgages
15. Improved "image" of community among residents
16. More middle-class people in neighborhood
17. Improved "image" of community among outsiders
18. Tensions among residents
19. Young people buying homes
20. Fewer recreational activities
21. Containerport development
22. Poor upkeep of one and two-family homes
23. Thriving housing market in surrounding neighborhoods
24. Deterioration of shopping areas
25. More young children
26. Loss of people with resources
27. Change in condition of housing stock
28. Revitalization of industry
29. Changes in schools
30. _____
31. _____

26A. (IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED ADDITIONAL CHANGES IN Q. 25; You've mentioned _____, _____, _____ (NAMING CHANGES LISTED IN Q. 25)), have there been any other changes we haven't mentioned on this list? (IF YES, ADD THEM TO BOTTOM OF LIST)

27. Of the changes you've noticed, I'd like to know which you see as being good or positive for your life in the community, which you see as bad or negative for your life in the community, and which you see as neither good nor bad for your life in the community. (THEN ASK ABOUT EACH OF THE CHANGES THEY NOTICED IN Q. 26)

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(INTERVIEWER: THEY ARE FREE TO SAY THAT ANY CHANGE HAS BEEN BOTH NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE)

28. Now, I have a scale question about the extent to which things overall in this neighborhood are getting better, remaining the same, or getting worse. If 1 is getting much worse and 7 is getting much better, how would you rate what's happening here?

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OVERALL, THINGS AROUND HERE ARE GETTING MUCH WORSE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 OVERALL, THINGS AROUND HERE ARE GETTING MUCH BETTER |

29. Have any changes in the neighborhood affected the way you feel about the neighborhood?

(IF YES) What is it that's affected the way you feel about the neighborhood?

(IF NOT CLEAR) In what way has this affected the way you feel about the neighborhood? Has this made you feel better or worse about the neighborhood?

30. Have any changes in the neighborhood affected what you do in the neighborhood? That is, do you do any things differently now than you did them before these changes happened?

(IF YES) What is it that's affected what you do in the neighborhood?

(IF NOT CLEAR) In what way has this affected what you do in the neighborhood? Has this made you do more or less in the neighborhood?

31. Have any of the changes in the neighborhood affected the way you feel about the people around here?

(IF YES) What is it that's affected the way you feel about the people around here?

(IF NOT CLEAR) In what way has this affected the way you feel about the people around here? Has this made you feel better or worse about the people around here?

32. Have any of the changes in the neighborhood affected the way you act toward people around here?

(IF YES) What is it that's affected the way you act toward people around here?

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(IF NOT CLEAR) In what way has this affected the way you act toward people around here? Has this had a good or a bad effect on the way you act toward people around here?

33. Have any changes in the neighborhood affected the way you <u>feel about your future in this neighborhood</u>?

(IF YES) What is it that's affected the way you feel about your future in this neighborhood?

(IF NOT CLEAR) In what way has this affected the way you feel about your future in this neighborhood? Has this made you feel better or worse about your future in this neighborhood?

34. Have any changes in the neighborhood affected the <u>plans you've made for your future in this neighborhood</u>?

(IF YES) What is it that's affected the plans you've made for your future in this neighborhood?

(IF NOT CLEAR) In what way has this affected the plans you've made for your future in this neighborhood? Has this affected the plans you've made for your future in this neighborhood in a good or a bad way?

35. For how long do you plan to continue living in this neighborhood?

36. Have any changes in this neighborhood affected your life and the lives of the people you live with in any <u>other</u> ways?

(IF YES) What is it that's affected your life in this way?

(IF NOT CLEAR) In what way has this affected your life? Has this had a good or a bad effect on your life?

VI. <u>FUTURE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD</u> (IF APPLICABLE, REFER BACK TO RESPONDENT'S ANSWERS TO EARLIER QUESTIONS)

37. The people we've spoken with so far have talked a lot about the future of this neighborhood, and I'd like to know how you see the future of this area. Could you give me some idea of what you <u>expect this neighborhood to be like in five years</u>?

38. Now, if you could have the neighborhood the way you <u>wanted it</u> in five years, what would it be like?

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(IF NEEDED) Could you be a little more specific?

39. If things go as you expect they will, where do you think you will be living five years from now?

40. Practically speaking, if you found you had to move, could you?

40A. (IF YES) Where would you go?

VII. NEIGHBORING

Let me ask you a few questions about your contacts with people in your neighborhood (NOT INCLUDING OTHER HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS).

41. How well or poorly would you say people take care of each other in this neighborhood (e.g., watching out for little children in the street, doing errands and looking out for older people), if 7 is very well and 1 is very poorly?

VERY POORLY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 VERY WELL

42. Are there people in your neighborhood you could count on in an emergency (e.g., leave your children with them in a family emergency, ask a neighbor to drive you to the hospital)?

(IF YES OR OTHER) Are these people relatives, or are they neighbors, or both?

43. On a scale from 1 to 7, how much do you feel you have in common with the people around here? On the whole, would you say their concerns are very similar or very different from yours, or somewhere in between? A rating of 1 means ... and 7 means ...:

| | |
|---|---|
| THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE AROUND HERE HAVE CONCERNS THAT ARE VERY DIFFERENT FROM MINE | THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE AROUND HERE HAVE CONCERNS THAT ARE VERY SIMILAR TO MINE |

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(IF RESPONDENT GIVES A RATING OF 3 OR GREATER) Could you tell me what some of the things are that you have in common with the other people around here?

44. How often do you get together socially with any of your neighbors? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY) (BY "SOCIALLY" I MEAN 'IN SOMEONE'S HOME OR GOING OUT TOGETHER')

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___never
___about once a year
___about once every 6 months
___about once a month
___about once a week
___about every day

VIII. INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

45. Since you've lived in this neighborhood, have you joined any clubs, organizations, or groups (including church groups, parents' associations, social clubs, etc.)?

(IF YES) Which have you joined?

46. Do you currently belong to any clubs, organizations, or groups outside this neighborhood, for example,

___alumni association
___art group
___chorus
___citywide church group
___crafts organization
___fraternal organization
___musical group
___political organization
___professional organization
___service organization
___union
___veterans' association
___women's organization
___other (PLEASE SPECIFY THE KIND OF GROUP)?

47. It seems that some people in this area are involved with groups working to help their neighbors and the neighborhood in general. When you think of groups working in this area (IF RESPONDENT IS INVOLVED WITH GROUPS, including the groups you're working with), can you think of a group or groups that have done a lot for the neighborhood?

(IF YES OR OTHER) Which groups are these?

IX. SUMMARY

I'm going to ask you a few questions that I'd like you to answer in light of everything we've spoken about so far.

48. I know we've mentioned a number of your concerns, but when you think of all the things that are going on in the neighborhood at this time, what concerns you most about what's happening in the neighborhood?

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(IF NOT OBVIOUS FROM ANSWER: What do you feel is the impact of (NAME THEIR MAIN CONCERN) on your life in this community?

49. When you think of all the things that are going on in the city at this time, what concerns you most about what's happening in this city?

(IF NOT OBVIOUS FROM ANSWER: What do you feel is the impact of (NAME THEIR MAIN CONCERN) on your life in this community?

X. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

We have a few additional questions about you and your household. As you may know, it is the general practice in polls and surveys to ask for this type of information. It will help us determine whether the problems and concerns we identify are unique to one group--say to families with children of certain ages, or to people in a particular income level, or to families of different racial or ethnic backgrounds--or whether they cut across several groups.

Some of these questions may seem fairly personal. Again, all of your answers are completely confidential. But if you'd rather not answer any question, just say so.

50. First, would you please fill in the chart, showing the age and sex of the people currently in the household, and check whether they go to public, parochial, or other private schools, and indicate whether the schools are located in the neighborhood or outside of it.

51. Could you tell me how many rooms there are in your home? (EXCLUDING BATHROOMS; AND WE DON'T WANT ALL THE ROOMS IN A TWO-FAMILY HOUSE)

52. Next, we want to get an idea of what it costs people to house their families. This may make a difference in the way people feel about the neighborhood.

This question may take a little calculation. We need to know, approximately, your total housing costs per month (FOR ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD IF, E.G., YOU ARE ONE OF TWO ROOMMATES).

(FOR HOMEOWNERS) This includes mortgage payments, insurance, water and sewage, fuel, property taxes, utilities (excluding telephone), maintenance and repairs, and other costs.

(FOR TENANTS) This includes rent, utilities (excluding telephone), and other costs, such a realtors or management fees, "key" money, etc..

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(THEN, FOR EVERYONE) If it's easier to itemize these things and add them up, you can use this chart.

WE CAN TOTAL THE EXPENSES LATER, SO YOU DON'T NEED TO TAKE THE TIME FOR CALCULATIONS NOW, UNLESS YOU WANT TO.

IF YOU ONLY KNOW THESE COSTS FOR A YEAR OR A 6-MONTH PERIOD, JUST INDICATE THE AMOUNT AND PERIOD COVERED BY THAT AMOUNT--WE'LL CALCULATE THE MONTHLY FIGURE LATER.)

53. Now, would you please fill in the next chart to indicate your racial, ethnic, and/or religious identification? What do you consider to be your background? (IF YOU WISH, YOU MAY CHECK MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE IN EACH CATEGORY)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Buddhist | 1. | Asian |
| 2. | Catholic | 2. | Black |
| 3. | Jewish | 3. | Hispanic |
| 4. | Muslim | 4. | White |
| 5. | Protestant | | |
| 6. | Other (SPECIFY) | | |
| 7. | None | | |

54. Nationality, or further ethnic identification (PLEASE SPECIFY):

The next group of questions concerns people's work. We want to get an idea of whether this neighborhood offers opportunities for people to work here, and convenience in getting to work for those who work in and outside of the neighborhood. We are not interested in specifically where you work.

55. Are you (and any other members of your household who normally contribute a major portion of the household support) presently:

| | SELF | OTHER HOUSEHOLDER | PERSON #3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employed | | | |
| Seeking employment | | | |
| Retired | | | |
| Homemaker | | | |
| Other (SPECIFY) | | | |

56. What type of work do you (or other household members) usually do?

| | SELF | OTHER HOUSEHOLDER | PERSON #3 |
|---|---|---|---|

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57. Is the place where you (and other household members) work located <u>in</u> the neighborhood?

| | SELF | OTHER HOUSEHOLDER | PERSON #3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| No | | | |
| Yes | | | |
| Other | | | |

If your workplace is located <u>outside</u> the neighborhood, is it in:

| | SELF | OTHER HOUSEHOLDER | PERSON #3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brooklyn? | | | |
| Bronx? | | | |
| Manhattan? | | | |
| Queens? | | | |
| Long Island? | | | |
| Staten Island? | | | |
| New Jersey? | | | |
| Other? | | | |

58. For each person in your household who normally contributes a major portion of the household support, approximately <u>how long</u> do you have to <u>travel</u> to get to work?

| | SELF | OTHER HOUSEHOLDER | PERSON #3 |
|---|---|---|---|

59. <u>How</u> does each of you get to work? Do you:

| | SELF | OTHER HOUSEHOLDER | PERSON #3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Walk? | | | |
| Bike? | | | |
| Bus? | | | |
| Subway? | | | |
| Car service? | | | |
| Own car? | | | |
| Taxi? | | | |
| Other? | | | |

60. If you had the opportunity, where would each of you prefer to work?

| | SELF | OTHER HOUSEHOLDER | PERSON #3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| In the neighborhood? | | | |
| Outside the neighborhood? | | | |
| It doesn't matter? | | | |

61. In the last five years, have you, or someone you're close to, been the victim of any sort of a crime? (EXAMPLES: WALLET SNATCHED OUT OF PURSE, PACKAGE STOLEN FROM STOOP, ETC.)

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62. (IF YES TO Q. 61) Please tell me what crime(s) (this was/these were) and, for each one, whether it occurred in this neighborhood or elsewhere.

63. On this last chart, would you please check the line that shows your household's approximate total income from all sources for 1982? (TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME BEFORE TAXES, ALL SOURCES)

1. $3,000 or less
2. $3,000 to $4,999
3. $5,000 to $6,999
4. $7,000 to $9,999
5. $10,000 to $14,999
6. $15,000 to $19,999
7. $20,000 to $24,999
8. $25,000 to $29,999
9. $30,000 to $34,999
10. $35,000 to $39,999
11. $40,000 to $44,999
12. $45,000 or over

64. What was the last grade you completed in your formal education? (NOTE IF YOU BEGAN COURSEWORK AT NEXT LEVEL OR HAD OTHER COURSEWORK OR TRAINING THAN IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS)

65. We would like to interview about 10 people living on this block, in order to understand what it's like to live here. We're interested in talking with people who are and with people who are not involved in community groups. Can you suggest some other people on this block who might be willing to speak with us about the neighborhood? (FOR EACH PERSON, WE NEED AS MUCH INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE TO HELP US LOCATE HIM OR HER. PLEASE FILL IN CHART WITH NAME, ADDRESS, PHONE NUMBER IF KNOWN. ALSO, May we use your name as a reference when we call (her/him)?) (INCLUDE NAMES OF PEOPLE ON OTHER BLOCKS IF YOU'D LIKE)

66. Well, after all this talking, do you think we have a good sense of what it's like for you living in this neighborhood?

67. Is there anything else we should know?

Those are all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions for me? (E.G., ABOUT THE INTERVIEW, ABOUT THE THINGS WE'VE DISCUSSED: INTERVIEWER NOTE ANY QUESTIONS AND YOUR RESPONSES)

Thank you very much for taking the time to speak with me. I've really enjoyed meeting you, and your answers have been very helpful.

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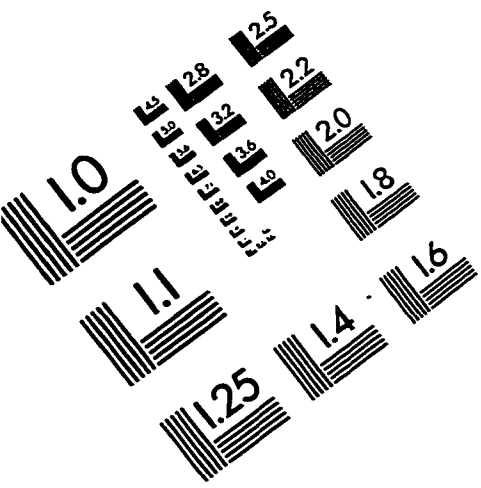
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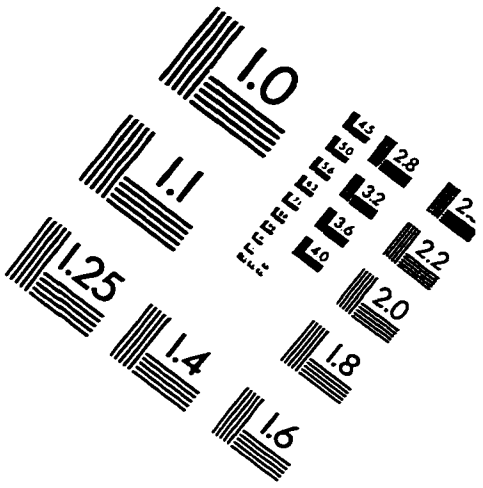
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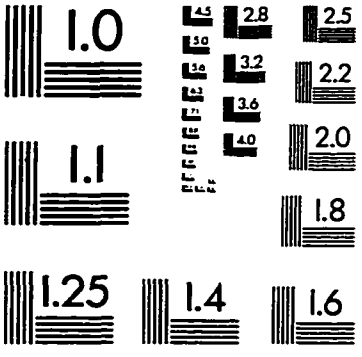
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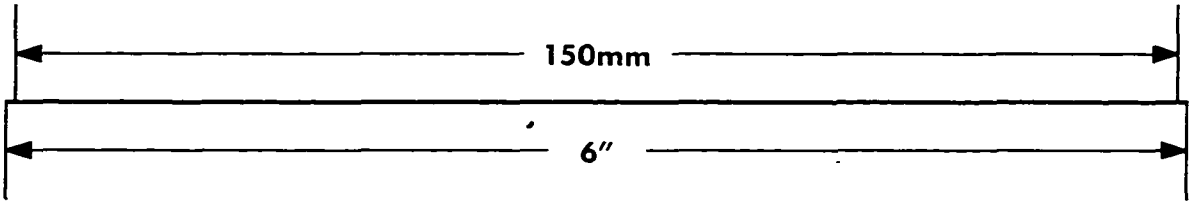
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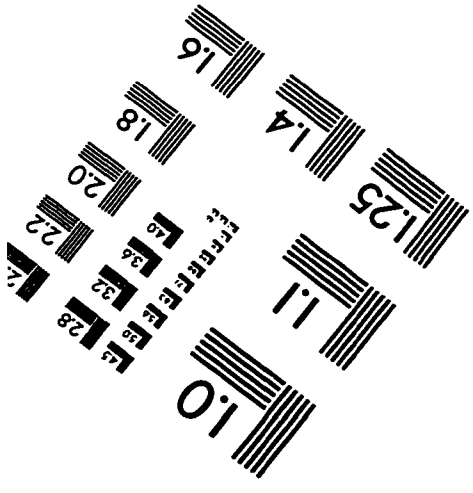
# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

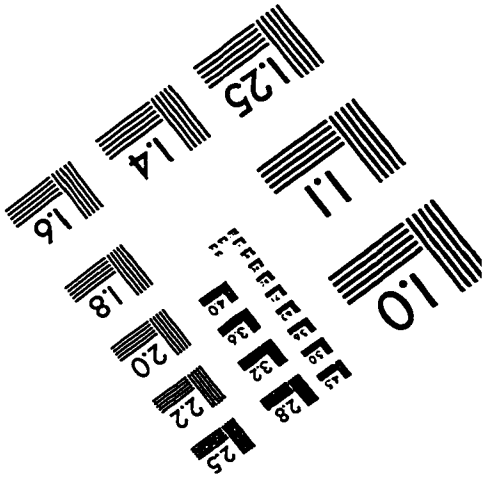



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