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Some effects of urbanism on interpersonal relationships

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by

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ABSTRACT

SOME EFFECTS OF URBANISM ON INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

by

Dorothy M. Carpenter

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Library-going subjects (N=416;m191,f265) in four locales of differing population size were given questionnaires for the purpose of discovering effects of urbanism (population size and density) on interpersonal relationships.

It is hypothesized that closeness and duration of relationships are negatively affected by factors of increased urbanism. Further, it is hypothesized that, in accordance with Milgram's theory of Urban Anomie(1973) and the determinist view in general, subjects in highly populated locales perceive themselves as having less control regarding the maintenance of interpersonal relationships.

The results of the investigation do not reveal any significant effect of urbanism on the dimension of closeness. Findings do, however, support the hypotheses of a negative effect on duration ($F(3,88)=3.97$; $p=.01$) and an increase in Anomie associated with urbanism ($X(12,N68)=43.5$; $p<.00002$) consistent with the determinist view.

These effects of urbanism are shown to be mediated by variables such as group size and frequency of accidental meetings with known others. Collectivelytermed "social redundancy," these variables serve the common function of facilitating repeated dyadic interaction. It is suggested that increasing social redundancy can obviate some of the anomic effects of urbanism.

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Although he will never read it, I wish also to express, in this acknowledgment, my gratitude to Stanley Milgram for the encouragement he gave me in the pursuit of my first dissertation topic, The Structure of Illusion. I hope that his value for sometimes contrary questioning, his willingness to work for knowledge, his open-mindedness; his appreciation and encouragement of original thought (of which he was, himself, so brilliantly capable) will remain an example to me throughout my life.

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Some Effects of Urbanism on Interpersonal Relationships

People often believe they observe differences between small town and big city life. Theories of urban thought explain these observations differently, some saying that settlements of a given size attract particular populations. Others maintain that the settlement itself, its size and other aspects, cause the observed differences, including psychological ones such as alienation and personal estrangement.

This dissertation addresses the research question: Do differences in interpersonal relationships occur as a function of urbanism (i.e., population size and density). That is, are differences in values and behaviors pertaining to relationships found among places of varied population size and, if so, are these differences associated with particular mediating variables that are direct effects of urbanism?

In a pilot study already conducted, the findings offer evidence that urbanism is correlated with shorter duration of relationships as well as with fewer chance encounters with known people. Moreover, the course of

events, particularly in the loss of relationships, is more often a value-dissonant experience in New York, the largest city sampled, than in the less populated comparison locales. That is, there are more New Yorkers who reported that, despite a high value for maintaining relationships, because of circumstances outside of their control they are often unable to maintain them.

While the primary endeavor of the study is to discover effects of population size or "urbanism" (Wirth, 1956) on the maintenance of interpersonal relationships, another is to understand these effects in the context of one or more of the three major theoretical frameworks of urban thought.

As they are outlined by Claude Fischer (1984), the first of these frameworks is Determinist theory. It is represented in the works of Wirth (1956) and Simmel (1905), as well as in Milgram's (1970) model of psychic overload . Also called the theory of Urban Anomie, it argues that urbanism, through factors such as overspecialization, formal integration, and overstimulation, increases social and personality

disorders above the incidence found in rural places. Urbanism, in the Determinist view, has a negative influence on interpersonal relationships.

The second, the Compositional theory, denies such effects of urbanism, attributing the differences between urban and rural conditions to the compositions of the different populations. This theory is represented in the works of Herbert Gans (1962) and Oscar Lewis (1965) and maintains that personal social worlds are created through kinship, ethnicity, occupation, lifestyle, or personal attributes, and are relatively impervious to direct influences from ecological factors such as population size. The city may be said to attract certain populations but it does not form them in any direct way. Urbanism, then, in the compositionalist view, does not directly influence interpersonal relationships, and any variance found among locales would be ultimately attributable to differences in personal qualities, styles and preferences rather than to population size.

The third approach is Fischer's Subcultural theory

(1984) which contends that urbanism does affect social and personal life, not by destroying social groups as the determinists suggest, but by promoting diverse subcultures. It argues that large populations support the emergence and vitality of special interest organizations and that they promote strong and diverse neighborhoods and institutions -- what Park (1916) calls the "mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate" . The Subcultural approach maintains, with the compositionalists, that urbanism is not responsible for producing anomie or personal estrangement but, with the determinists, it contends that urbanism does exert a formative influence on the psycho-social condition of individuals. In the Subculturalist view, however, Urbanism's effect on interpersonal relationships is generally positive and is mediated through subculture membership.

While the findings of the pilot study support determinist urban theories, the purpose of this study is less the verification of a specific body of theory than the description of processes by which relationships may form and dissolve as a consequence of

factors that are usually considered beyond personal control, that are part and parcel of urbanism. The importance of identifying these factors is in the illumination of possibilities for modifying such effects of urbanism where they are found to exist.

The term urbanism refers to the population size and density of a place of settlement (Wirth, 1956). It is a continuum and therefore suggests that a condition to be explained by its "urban" nature might be systematically compared with similar conditions in places that are less urban or more urban. This is the rationale for drawing samples from four locales that fall at different points along this continuum: A large city, a medium-sized city, a small town and a village. It must be noted, however, that the method of inter-urban comparison on the basis of population size and density has recently been all but abandoned in favor of network analysis in urban studies. Reasons for this trend are readily seen in any review of urban literature.

LITERATURE REVIEW

With the rapid urbanization of American society in this century, social scientists inevitably came to question its effects on the psycho-social wellbeing of individuals. Observations of myriad and marked differences between rural and urban populations spawned fifty years of research seeking to establish a causal link between population density and the higher rates of pathology noted in more populated settings.

On the face of it, the research has produced contradictory and inconclusive results. It seems on closer reading that this certainly must be owing in part to comparisons of findings based on widely differing definitions of the constructs of density and pathology. Throughout the research, density, for example, is defined variously as, or as any combination of, population per land area, dwelling units per area and building size, crowding, persons per housing unit, persons per room, family size and, most recently, network interconnectedness (Fischer, 1973;

Saegert,1981; Fischer et al.1975; Dye,1975; Kirmeyer,1978; Eoyang,1974; Wellman,1979). This diversely defined term, "density," is often correlated with a "pathology" construct which may or may not include elements as different (and perhaps as irrelevant) as hospital admissions, crime rate, fertility, malaise and female heads of households (Dye, 1975; Fischer, 1975; Kirmeyer, 1978).

Additionally, regardless of which definition of density is used, the research is typically flawed by high correlations of density with other explanatory variables such as income, age, race, and social class. As Fischer (1975) points out in one example of this problem, "when all the low income census tracts are...the same ones as the high density tracts and in turn the same as the 'pathological' ones, then attempting to statistically determine which, income or density, is the 'cause' becomes an exercise in exaggerating errors and trivial differences" (Fischer et al.,1975,p.410).

Lastly there is the problem that these studies

largely correlate central tendencies with each other and draw implications for the elements and individuals that compose the averages. These and similar leaps of logic have been previously described by Robinson (1950) as "ecological fallacy."

THE PROBLEM OF DENSITY

In a search for effects of urbanism (population size and density), the discernment of a clear definition of density, one which seems the most valid and appropriate to this investigation, is fundamental. This requires a closer look at findings reported in the urban literature and a closer examination of the various definitions of density with which they are associated.

Schmitt (1966), for example, found that persons-per-area density, not persons-per-room, was significantly related to "disorganization," a measure of pathology. Levy and Herzog (1974) similarly concluded that it was areal density and not room density that was related to their general measures of pathology. Claiming a less direct effect of areal

density on the individual's well-being, Burt and others describe influences on the individual from two types of social networks, saying that, while they are not exclusively found in environments of the expected density levels, these two network types are nevertheless generally associated with city size and areal density. Baldassare (1975) observed that high areal density in residential areas, while not related to socializing outside one's neighborhood, was positively correlated with being less well acquainted with neighbors. All of these findings may become more cohesive than they first appear to be by considering dyadic relationships both as social networks and as mediators of areal density.

When broadly defined, -- that is, when the density construct comprises different combinations of any number of diverse measures (as it does in much of the research) -- population density accounts generally for less of the variance in most of the studies than several other social and economic factors with which it covaries, e.g., income and social class in particular, and yet most reviewers report some effect in spite of

this (Fischer, 1973; Kadushin, 1983; Kirmeyer, 1978; Freeman, 1984; and Quinton, 1988). When more narrowly defined, findings regarding density are more informative. For example, Kirmeyer (1978) concludes that for dense urban centers, family income is more strongly correlated with in-dwelling density (per room) than with areal density; her assumption is supported by the pattern of correlations reported by Freedman et al. (1975).

If overall density is confounded with other variables and thereby flawed as an explanation of higher rates of pathology in urban areas, in-dwelling density would seem particularly inadequate by that standard. In addition, the persons-per-room measure was not found to be higher for metropolitan areas than for the nation as a whole (Carnahan et al., 1974). The overall percentage of overcrowded dwelling units declined since 1940 and, in fact, it is now rural areas which maintain the highest incidence of overcrowding. As might be surmised from these findings, persons-per-room density is not even correlated with areal density (Galle et al., 1972). It becomes obvious that the two

should not be combined for statistical analyses and that results of studies which do combine these measures demand some reevaluation.

Another reason to distrust the use of in-dwelling density, in combination or alone, as a useful measure in this study is that correlations of in-dwelling density with some measures of pathology have been shown to be negative: households with more persons per room had lower rates of suicide, admissions to hospitals, delinquency and illegitimate births (Levy & Herzog, 1974), one interpretation being that in-dwelling density facilitates socially acceptable dyadic interaction. Conversely, correlations have been consistently found between poor mental health and living alone (associated with higher rates of suicide, more admissions to mental hospitals and greater use of stress-alleviating drugs, Levy & Herzog, 1974; Webb & Collette, 1975; Galle et al., 1972) . It is plain that, compared to findings pertaining to areal density, in-room density has been found to be the less pathogenic living situation despite correlations between in-room density and poverty.

Researchers may have expected to find more negative consequences of in-room density from extrapolations of animal crowding studies and from some human crowding experiments. In one, for example,Saegert (1981) found that habits formed through adaptation to crowded environments in childhood (possibly responses to overstimulation such as distractibility, hostility, narrowed senses of identity with, and responsibility for, one's environment) are likely to become generalized personality responses. Kirmeyer, however, asserts that the experience of crowding in the home can be better and more broadly conceptualized as spatial restriction, the perception of which is often mediated by cultural and other variables (Kirmeyer, 1975, p. 265). Thus, people in Tokyo, having a different concept of personal space than most Westerners, might experience the same in-room density some New Yorkers would call crowding as non-restrictive. Nevertheless, spatial restrictions, from these studies, may be understood as an impediment to positive dyadic interaction and appropriate social responsiveness.

Possibly the most negative effects associated with in-dwelling density occur when persons living in one dwelling place include those who are not part of the same intimate network (Eoyang, 1974). They also are found to occur where the density results in decreased surveillance of children and less entertaining in the home (Mitchell, 1971). Findings associated with such apparently extraneous factors as amount of entertaining in the home may at first seem irrelevant. These, however, as well as the previously mentioned problems of overstimulation and spatial restriction, may be seen as creating limitations on opportunity for positive interactions between intimates, serving to inhibit healthy dyadic interaction. It is the occasional occurrence of these accompanying conditions which may account for the contradictory findings for in-dwelling density with regard to its pathogenic influence.

In his analysis of intimate networks and their healthy functioning in terms of providing assistance, Wellman finds a strong interactional set of paths that go from the "spatially propinquitous facilitation of interactions ..." to frequency of interactions, and

from there, to availability of assistance (Wellman, 1979, p. 1223). This and another path through parent-child ties and strength of closeness to availability of assistance, shows, he believes, processes more closely associated with two-person intimate bonds than with the structure of overall intimate networks. Because maintenance of such dyadic relationships is to be the focus of this study, spatial restriction and the ability to entertain in the home become important considerations in terms of facilitation or inhibition of interactions.

In terms of the maintenance of close dyads, the comparison of areal and in-room density studies invites the speculation that in-room density, far from being an element that should be combined with areal density in any single variable, may, under some sets of conditions, represent a network buffer against those influences associated with areal density. In any case, for purposes of this study, it is population per area which emerges as the most appropriate definition of density in an examination of effects of urbanism.

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

In large part it may be because of the methodological problems discussed thus far that so much of the research in urban studies has proved inconclusive. It is perhaps in consequence of this frustrating inconclusiveness that the focus of research has gradually shifted from variables of population size and density to the social groupings --occupational, familial,religious, neighborhood, ethnic, etc.-- originally thought to mediate the larger environmental factors.

Indeed, separately from their function as mediating variables, these groups or networks, their organization and structure are now more commonly considered the primary determinants of the state of community in urban areas than population size . Questions address whether and how interpersonal community may be lost in cities, retained in the same or different ways as in rural places or whether community is structurally transformed ,that is, lost or retained in ways that are particularly related to the structure of networks ("Community-liberated", in

Wellman's positively weighted term).

In advocacy of a network level of analysis, Kadushin (1983, p.197) suggests that the difficulty of relating mental disorder to larger social structures is that the individual is surrounded by several kinds of mediating interpersonal environments which may either compensate for, or exacerbate deficiencies of the total urban system. He states "Most consequences of interpersonal environments for individuals are conditional rather than direct. [They] include "buffered" effects in which the interpersonal environment impinges mainly on those 'at risk'" (1983, p. 196).

Some current thought maintains that units even smaller than typical networks of intimates, dyads, should be the primary focus of study when considering the impact of the wider social environment on individuals (Quinton, 1988; Wellman, 1979). In any case, the "at risk" designation may in fact serve a threshold function (Fischer, 1973, p.233) that proves useful in reinterpreting some of the apparent contradictions and weaknesses in past research

pertaining not just to individuals, dyads and networks but to other levels of interpersonal environment as well.

Large social structures have long ago been found to vary with urbanism. Specialization and large scale divisions of labor, for instance, are known to occur with greater frequency in bigger cities, and are reflected in increased single-role relationships between people ,i.e., relationships in which people know each other only as the function each performs in a particular role (Wirth, 1938). For example, to his/her customer, a storekeeper is only that, and the customer to the storekeeper is only a customer. The complexity of roles by which the whole person becomes "known" to others is, for the most part, unseen. Sadalla (1978) reports that this structural differentiation combined with city size is related to variables of anonimity, deindividuation, deviance, personality development and competative-cooperative social interaction strategies.

Intimate networks have also been found generally to vary with size of city . The interpersonal network

typically found in the city is a ramified, loosely bounded web of primary ties or partially overlapping circles; not the aggregation of densely knit, tightly bounded, solidary communities typically (though not exclusively) found in less populous areas (Wellman,1979, p.1216).

Social networks, as described by Burt and others, generally serve one of two major functions, an expansive brokerage function on one hand and a protective normative one on the other (Burt,1984,p.304). The structure of a network influences its function such that homogeneity and interconnectedness within a given network decrease brokerage opportunities while they increase normative pressures. That is, the "city-type" network, being less interconnected and homogeneous, is more conducive to the brokerage function; the more tightly-knit, homogeneous, traditional network (associated with less populous areas) is more conducive to the normative, protective function.

Wellman contrasts the two, saying, "Obtaining

resources through a sparsely knit (city-type or brokerage) network is not a matter of obligation due a member of a solidarity as it is in the traditional type. Instead it is a matter of...the ease of maintaining contact, the ability of network members to provide indirect connections to additional resources, the extent to which a different member of a network can be mobilized to provide assistance and the connectivity between networks," (Wellman,1979 p.1207). He adds however that the sparseness of interconnection means that "no one solidarity can readily make or enforce general claims on a member.

While this may be liberating in providing structural room to maneuver, it may also create a disorienting loss of identity..." and a loss of security in that one can no longer depend on the protection of accepted norms for aid in times of need (Wellman, 1979 p.1227). As Kadushin expressed it, "Such a system may make for 'interesting' dinner parties but not result in a community of friends whom one can count on or who transmit consistent messages," (Kadushin, 1983, p. 191). Consistency, dependable norms

and accountability are not the defining characteristics of a city-type network.

It has been argued in further comparisons that the brokerage, city-type network tends to produce more stress for the individuals in it. However, it's also possible that for someone unable to conform easily to normative pressures, -- for example, a homosexual boy growing up in a small town,-- the stress of the dense, normative network is probably greater. On closer look the difference becomes a matter, not of the amount, but of the kind of stress and of what kind of person is required to bear that stress. In other words, the difference between the two network types in terms of stress on the individual can be better understood as a matter of "fit."

In addition to those unable to conform to prevalent norms, those who have reason feel self-reliant, energetic and adventuresome also feel more constrained by normative pressures and more willing to tolerate stresses of the "do-it-yourself kit of primary-like relations" that the city-type network

presents (Kadushin, 1983, p. 191). People more willing to tolerate normative stresses for the protection and security afforded are often those with reason to feel less self-reliant, those who are in some way strained or "at risk." To illustrate, Wellman cites the example of immigrants maintaining a traditional network in the midst of a large city environment.

Consistent with this interpretation is the way in which the level of network density (interconnectedness) has been found to correlate with the general sense of well-being for individuals in different networks. Specifically, within dense, normative networks, people of lower income and class tend to report "feeling good" more often than those of higher income and class. The latter report "feeling good" less often in this normative type of network. Within the brokerage, city-type network, the opposite pattern is usually seen (Fischer, 1982).

Inter-urban comparison studies showing different outcomes of density effects on pathology after controlling for income, race, education and other

variables, may need reanalysis if one wishes to take into account differential "buffer" effects of network structures on groups prone to different sorts of stress, particularly those who fall beneath a certain threshold into the category of risk.

The impact of the two types of network structures treated as a matter of "fit" (that is, neither as intrinsically negative nor positive,) is a feature of a study conducted by Franck, Unseld and Wentworth (1988). For the newcomers to the city that are the subjects of their study, the experience of the urban environment is characterized as one of heightened, overall "demandingness." That is, many aspects of life seem more difficult. The newcomers to the city reported no diminution in the number or quality of their intimate relationships as compared with their previous lives in smaller towns, but they reported a greater degree of difficulty in developing and maintaining these relationships.

The authors were quick to point out that these difficulties often had the effect of enhancing

closeness between people through the shared accomplishments of maintaining their relationships against difficult odds, much as other challenges of urban life are able to contribute to an individual's sense of personal accomplishment, opportunity and mastery. The urban setting requires a more deliberate effortfulness that has the potential for making life more rewarding in many situations (Langer, 1989).

On the other hand, such a benefit of urban demandingness is dependent on the circumstances and conditions of the individual. After a time, for example, one may tire of once enjoyed challenges (eg., relearning changed transportation systems) that must be mastered repeatedly. People may eventually wish to exercise more choice and have more variety in the challenges that demand large expenditures of their energy and time. The same complaint, a lack of choice and variety, is made against the city-associated phenomena of work specialization and single-role relationships. These limit opportunities for self-actualization and seem particularly ironic given that variety is often considered a chief benefit of city

living.

Regardless of city size one might expect people to seek the network structure that maximizes their comfort and corresponds to their needs. A case in point is that of new immigrants, not yet proficient in the language or financially established, who are often observed to maintain the strong ethnic, normative ties of a non-city network even while residing in a large city. It also appears, however, that as outside circumstances dictate, or as needs change, people may not always have access to the kind of network that would serve them best at a given time.

An important consideration is that there are not only differences among people, but also among the various times in their lives, such that at some times they can be less well equipped to confront and benefit from the demandingness of challenges; less willing or able to expend the more deliberate effort required. As a feature of urban life, demandingness, in its influence on relationships, could be expected to have a threshold of robustness that divides the experience of

it, negative from positive. While city life with its typical brokerage-type network may make some friendships closer, when relationships are strained, the deliberate effort required by the condition of demandingness may be less forthcoming. Strained relationships in less demanding (less urban) environments would be more likely to survive simply because their maintenance requires less effort.

Networks of intimates have become the preferred focus of study to great methodological advantage (Burt, 1984; Wellman, 1979; Kadushin, 1983). However, while the network approach offers a gain in methodological clarity, it also represents some loss in the capacity to explain those casually observed differences between cities of different sizes that spurred much of urban research in the first place. A narrow focus at the network level of analysis begs some of the original questions of urban researchers. Urban malaise or anomie, for example, may rest ultimately on the type of network or the quality of dyadic relationships, but questions still remain as to what elements of the wider social environment influence these relationships and

which conditions render them susceptible to those influences.

In his review of urbanism and child mental health, Quinton (1988) concludes that, in terms of psycho-social effects, it is "probably inappropriate to generalize from one urban area to another ... evidence suggests that for families a lack of available social contacts is not the principle problem, rather it is the quality of relationships with kin, friends and neighbors that differentiates those with psycho-social difficulties from those without" (Quinton, 1988, p.19). This is consistent with the conclusions of Schaffer & Schaffer (1968), Wilson and Herbert (1978), and also those of Kadushin (1983). As Wellman expressed it, the processes he found most relevant in network analysis were "more closely associated with the nature of two-person intimate bonds than with the overall structure (the density or interconnectedness) of intimate networks." (Wellman, 1979 p.1223).

From these conclusions one might deduce that, in terms of individual psycho-social wellbeing, the size

of the city in which one lives is not relevant when compared with the nature of one's social network , and further, that the quality of the social network is less dependent on its structure and size than on the quality of the separate dyadic relationships within it.

The preferred level of analysis in urban research has shifted steadily downward in size from general population to subcultures, from organized groupings to networks of intimates and finally to the dyadic connections within those networks. Nevertheless, it remains unelucidated as to whether and how these dyads are influenced by the wider social structures in which they are embedded. One still wonders what influence in particular may be derived from aspects of the place of residence, including its population size and density.

In addition to these basic questions left unaddressed, there is an element in the nature of dyadic relationships that often has been overlooked even in the latest research in which the network approach is employed. References to "ties" and "linkages" in this recent literature evoke images of

soldered connections that may illustrate the intricacy and ramified complexity of social networks but are nonetheless static models.

In fact, we know that wherever interpersonal dyads exist, the opposite, a dynamic model,is probably more applicable. Relationships change: they go through periods of greater and lesser strength, they may be strained or lost; they may be transformed or revived after a time. They are, at any rate, in constant flux. It is at times when they are weak or strained that we might expect wider interpersonal environments to have a more important effect on their maintenance.

A dyadic relationship can be considered to be at risk when it is threatened or strained and at such times, according to Kadushin's "at risk" designation, it would be most susceptible to influences from the wider social structures in which it is embedded. In order to identify differences in the psycho-social effects of these wider structures, therefore, the most useful focus would seem to be that of the strained relationship, the dyad at risk.

If the quality of two-person intimate bonds is, as Quinton (1988) suggests, what distinguishes those with psycho-social difficulties in cities from those without, then determinants of quality must be established for analysis of dyads. Dimensions of intimate networks measured in this study are size, interconnectedness, composition (percentages of Males, Females, relatives, friends, etc.), closeness and duration. These dimensions indicate, among other things, the quality of a network in terms of its function as a normative or brokerage network.

One may view a dyadic relationship as a kind of "mini-network" through which these same normative or brokerage functions are served. However, only two of the dimensions measured for networks apply also to dyads: strength of closeness, and duration. Old, close relationships, more than new ones, serve a normative function: they provide a backdrop of time, norms and consistency against which any current condition must be seen in a larger context. As a consequence, they offer a feeling of dependability and a sense of security that the normative network, in general, has been found to

provide. Both closeness and duration are measured in this study to represent qualitative dimensions of dyadic relationships.

In conclusion, there is one level of analysis which stands out as best for this study. From the literature it can be inferred that a search for psycho-social effects might productively focus on the qualities of interpersonal dyads (closeness and duration), and further, that for determining differential urban effects, the focus might advantageously be narrowed to dyads at risk, to the maintenance of strained rather than robust relationships.

URBAN ANOMIE

Psycho-social effects of urbanism are observed and discussed in Milgram's (1973) article, The Experience of Living in Cities. Placed squarely within determinist theory, this work defines differences in behaviors and attitudes as adaptations to features of city life, especially to that which he terms "psychic overload."

Milgram explains Wirth's (1938) observation of "the superficiality, the anonymity and transitory character of urban social relations" as a consequence of strategies for conserving psychic energy. These adaptive mechanisms include the allocation of less time to each input, the disregard of low priority inputs, the shift of responsibility for interaction to the source of input or to institutions, the blocking of accessibility to potential inputs and the filtering out of all but delimited, specialized involvements.

Of these, the allocation of less time to each input and the shifting of responsibility for interaction to others can be imagined to exert a direct detrimental effect on the quality of primary relationships. The others, however can be seen mainly to affect the boundaries of the intimate network of primary ties, making those boundaries more rigid and less permeable, reducing the potential for persons existing outside the primary network ever to enter it.

It is this potential for entering the primary network that may make mere acquaintanceship more

valuable (more worthy of investments of time and energy) in places where there is less psychic overload. Milgram sees the above-listed adaptive strategies in the apparent urban unwillingness to trust and assist strangers or to dependably extend many "common" courtesies to them.

In centuries past, the picture painted of the isolated rural dweller was one of rude uncivility. As the etymology of that word implies, living within large social groups was thought at one time to demand a more responsive, mannerly and "urbane" standard of behavior towards others. In our time, the psychic overload of ever larger concentrations of people and the strategies evolved to cope with it have resulted in a decline in basic civility. It is an ironic observation of Milgram's that lack of "civility" is now a defining characteristic of the city which distinguishes it from more rural places of residence.

More important than the social unpleasantness created by such adaptations is the erosion of another quality originally thought to be determined by city

life and now seen to be vanishing from it. This is the concept of citizenship embedded in an awareness of social contract. The habitual strategies of shifting social responsibility to institutions (or to others in general), of narrowing the span of one's personal involvement through specialization and filtering, together with the knowledge that others are also employing these strategies, all may serve to weaken effective participation in civic life.

The use of these strategies, according to Milgram, is not without its cost to the psychological wellbeing of the individual as well as to the community. Shifting responsibility away from oneself, investing less time and energy into each social input and blocking out opportunities for interaction can sound like a prescription for detachment, alienation and for feelings of ineffectiveness. What predominates in this syndrome of urban anomie is the feeling that one is helpless to influence substantially the events in one's own life; that one's choices are made by circumstances beyond one's control. According to some models, this is a condition bearing strong resemblance to clinical

depression and yet, it is also the result of normal adaptation to aspects of a very large population size.

It would seem, from this consideration of Milgram's work, that many cities of today have grown past some optimal population size large enough to provide stimulation and to elicit productive cooperation but small enough not to produce psychic overload. Nevertheless, there are still great numbers of people in larger cities who, although employing some of the same strategies against psychic overload, apparently do not suffer the ill effects of urban anomie.

For some reason, they can perceive themselves as able participants in determining events in their lives. Perhaps, for some, it is that the behaviors necessitated by city life are felt to be consistent with their personal values and therefore there is no perceived loss of control in doing what is required by external circumstances. Perhaps it is because some have forms of power, less dependent on social cooperation, that can contribute to a compensatory or more important

sense of effectiveness and control in their lives. Or perhaps it is some other circumstance in the lives of some city dwellers that modifies their experience of psychic overload by providing some buffer or counterbalance.

In the study at hand, subjects are asked to choose a description fitting the most frequent course of events in their own lives when close relationships are strained. Each choice of a pattern of events (in which the relationship is lost or maintained) is coupled with a statement of personal philosophy regarding the maintenance of strained relationships. This is meant to determine the extent to which a course of events may be considered consistent or inconsistent with a person's wishes and values.

Only one of the maintenance choices, which I will call "Drift," describes an obvious dissonance between the stated values and the usual course of events in such "at risk" relationships, and it is this category of Drift, representing the perceived inability to effect personal choice, which provides a measure of

urban anomie at the level of dyadic, interpersonal relationship. Patterns of variables correlated with the choice of this maintenance category may shed light on factors that differentiate the experience of psychic overload as resulting in anomic consequences for some and not for others within the urban environment.

SUMMARY

In summary, the Urban literature has sought to explain psycho-social effects of the urban environment on the individual. Generally it has done this by attempting to correlate numerous different variables of population density with equally diverse constructs of pathology. In reviewing the literature, we have settled on a definition of density (areal density) which has shown the most construct validity and relevance. For a level of analysis we have chosen the mediating variable thought to impinge most directly on individual psycho-social wellbeing, the close interpersonal dyad.

This study will search for psycho-social effects of urbanism in the quality of dyads and in the maintenance of dyads at risk, relative to the

individual's values regarding the maintenance of such relationships. By this approach, noting any discrepancy between those values and what actually occurs with regard to maintenance, we will obtain a measure of urban anomie as it relates to theories of pathology implicating lack of control and the environment. Lastly, by analysis of patterns of correlations between this measure and other variables, methods for modifying some negative effects of urbanism may come to light.

HYPOTHESES

This study was designed to spotlight environmental circumstances that facilitate interactions between people, and to explore possible effects of urbanism on relationships. At the hub of this exploration is a factor I will call "maintenance," (of which the previously described "Drift" is one category) which refers to the preservation or loss of threatened relationships relative to one's preferred style for dealing with divisive issues in relationships. In other words, the maintenance factor includes a component of a subject's personal philosophy regarding maintenance as well as rates of success or failure, in accordance with that philosophy, in the maintenance of interpersonal relationships.

According to their responses in choosing what best describes their own experience most often, subjects fall into one of five major categories of Maintenance:

1) "Confront," comprising those who believe in confronting a divisive issue, whether they save or lose the threatened relationship, 2) "Avoid," comprising those who believe in avoiding the divisive issue whether they save or lose the stressed relationship, 3) "Diminish" made up of those who diminish the issue by focusing on superordinate principles (eg., maintaining contact; remaining civil) in order to save the relationship, 4) "Relinquish," comprising those who relinquish both issue and relationship in accordance with preferred policy. These subjects are also referred to as value-consonant relinquishers. Value-dissonant relinquishers constitute the fifth category, 5) "Drift." In the loss of their strained relationships, "Drifters" perceive themselves to be falling into behaviors and circumstances they do not actively choose, do not believe in, or want.

The array of other questions posed to subjects in the current study measure variables the relevance of which is suggested by one or another of the three major theoretical frameworks discussed or by considerations of network analysis. The first questions apply to

personal variables such as age, gender, occupation and years of residence in the locale where the sample was taken. The other questions, described in more detail later, measure social variables that potentially mediate the effects of urbanism on relationships. These include frequency of meetings with people - unplanned as well as planned, number of people usually met with at one time ("groupsize") and how far in advance social engagements are planned ("plantime"). Questions also ask subjects about neighborhood influences on behavior, the number of organizations belonged to, (and also the number quit,) and whether the majority of one's active friendships tend to be older or newer ("friendship duration"). Added to these, are measures of duration for other types of intimate relationships and questions intended to determine the various parameters of networks of intimates.

The central hypothesis of the study is based on the preliminary findings of a previously conducted pilot study which found, in general, that urbanism does appear to have the direct effect on interpersonal relationships predicted by Determinist theory (See

Appendix 2 : Results of Pilot). Because, according to the data, fewer strained relationships are able to be saved in larger cities, and active friendships tend to be recent ones, it could be supposed that more relationships are lost, or "let go," as urbanism increases. Additional measures of relationship duration have been added in the current study.

Surprisingly, the results suggested that the strongest reason for this finding was that people do not "run into" other people they know in New York, for example, as often as in smaller cities. From the smaller groupsize factor in New York, it was speculated, that --perhaps because of difficulty in obtaining adequate spaces for larger social gatherings-- there is more limited opportunity for many purely social meetings with more than an average of two or three people each of the seven days of the week. Perhaps partially as a consequence, people's social time is very valuable and very deliberately planned. The picture of New York that develops while analyzing these data is that of a city in which one rarely sees people that one doesn't actively intend to see.

Often an uncomfortable social situation which would be impossible to avoid in a smaller town (e.g., running into one's recently estranged spouse at a party or running into the same salesperson or bus driver who was, or to whom one was rude) would not only be easy to avoid in New York but would be difficult to arrange. A small disagreement between friends can lead to a lapse of years before a chance occurrence throws them back into the same sphere -- not because they are trying hard to avoid each other, but because they are not trying hard to meet, and "trying hard" is essential for meeting in New York.

Unless one actively intends a meeting with someone, the opportunity for interacting with that person will probably not arise. That is, one will probably not meet a given friend by chance on the street or at a social gathering as happens frequently in smaller towns. This difference seems to be a clear effect of the sheer numbers of people in an area, that is, of population size.

A lack of such chance meetings reduces opportunities for resolving differences between people. Perhaps because of the urban tendency to shift responsibility to institutions, the process of resolving them may move too quickly to the legal level (as suggested by one of New York's nicknames, "Sue City,") but more often the problems are either just ignored as a matter of policy or given up as impossible to resolve (as with consonant and dissonant relinquishers respectively.)

The "running into" phenomenon experienced in smaller towns may force divisive issues to be resolved to some degree and may thereby contribute to an emotional maturity that comes of living with the consequences of one's social actions. In New York, consistent with the low incidence of chance meetings and the high dissonance ("Drift") observed, there may be less of this type of emotional maturity -- a lack which, when coupled with high degrees of formality and sophistication, creates an odd admixture that seems distinctively "New York" but which conforms to, and may be described as an anomic consequence of urbanism.

For the Pilot Study, it was expected that the data would indicate which of the three major theories, Determinist, Compositional or Subcultural, best explained any effects of urbanism on interpersonal relationships. The theories, as discussed, predicted different responses to the questions, each theory generating its own set of hypotheses, and ,in general, the data were most strongly consistent with Determinist theory.

For the current study, however, the central hypothesis is based on the preliminary findings of the pilot in hopes of bringing the picture it presented into sharper focus. To this end, larger samples, multiple measures and controls, and more questions allowing for alternative explanations have been introduced into the design to test the new hypotheses .

It is hypothesized that:

1) The measure of urban anomie, value-dissonance in the loss of stressed relationships (i.e., the number of "Drifters", Q17), significantly increases with population density,

2) The frequency of accidental meetings, group size, and other functions of density that facilitate dyadic interaction significantly vary with measures of duration (including Maintenance categories) such that they increase as duration of interpersonal relationships increases and decrease with the loss of relationships,

3) Urbanism, population density, varies significantly with the quality of interpersonal dyads such that the quality dimensions of closeness and duration decrease as population increases,

4) The variables traditionally associated with compositional, subcultural and network explanations of urban phenomena (e.g., ethnicity, organization membership, neighborhood, network size and

interconnectedness) show fewer significant correlations with the quality and maintenance of interpersonal,dyadic relationships than do determinist variables as previously described.

METHOD

SUBJECTS

The procedure for subject selection was changed from that used in the pilot study in which subjects were essentially self-selected in choosing to approach the experimenter's sign and volunteering at the table to complete a questionnaire. To increase randomness and to eliminate problems of self-selection, an attempt was made to recruit every third person entering the building at site of questionnaire distribution. (In Lenox where the traffic was minimal, every second person was approached.) If the person declined, the reason given, along with the person's gender and estimated age, were noted.

There were 416 subjects in all, 205 females, 191 males (twenty unanswered), ranging in age from 15 to 81 ($\bar{X}$ = 39.6; median= 37). In each of the four cities,

the numbers of S's were as follows: NYC. 97 (F = 58, M = 39); StL,100 (F = 35, M = 65); Dur, 93 (F=51, M = 42); Len,103 (F = 61, M = 42). Information regarding variables for each locale can be found in table 1. Decliners represented roughly 70% of those asked in each locale and there were no significant differences among them in reasons for declining, gender or estimated age.

The subjects were selected from library-going populations in four locales differing in population size. Libraries were chosen as sites in an effort to obtain more comparable sample groups, particularly in terms of the socioeconomic factors that confound many urban studies. In this study the average income of subjects sampled, in thousands, was X=31, Median= 25, with a standard deviation of 28.3 and a standard error of 1.5.

Throughout urban research, density effects have been most often confounded with factors of socioeconomic status, but there are other sources of variance which also are seen repeatedly. In designing

the pilot study, it was thought that library populations would most likely exhibit a tendency toward the average in income, education and social class. This supposition has recently been borne out by findings of a study conducted by the New York Public library (1990) in which profiles of library patrons were developed.

LOCATIONS

Holding certain factors relatively constant in matched samples of library-going, reading populations from each locale represents the effort to get a clearer picture of density effects where they exist and, at the same time, to minimize other differences that may occur among the chosen locales. This was the rationale for choosing the main entrances of libraries for the collection of data in the currant study as it had been in the pilot.

For example, Durham, N.C. is a university town claiming a disproportionate number of academics. This is a fact that could have relevance for different

levels of literacy among samples, perhaps affecting the initial impression or the subjects' whole approach to the questionnaire. Gathering data at library entrances rather than, for example, in supermarket parking lots carries a better hope of attaining a more uniform level of literacy in all four locales.

Main or central libraries were chosen over branch libraries to control for neighborhood factors within the four locales (except in New York where, because the main library is exclusively a research facility, the nearest book borrowing library was chosen).

The same effort that guided the choice of where samples were drawn also determined that of when they were drawn. Because Lenox is known as a cultural resort, for example, the Lenox sample was taken "out of season," when one could be reasonably assured that the people using the library would really be the residents of a very small town and not just big town residents on a holiday.

In each city, the questionnaires were distributed

at the entrance of a main library between the hours of about 10:00 a.m. and closing time, on days that included one weekend day as well as several weekdays. Again, this was an effort to insure that differences found would be attributable to density in so far as possible.

The four locales were selected to vary along the dimension of population size as follows: New York, NY: 7,071,639;St. Louis, Mo.: 622,236; Durham, N.C.: 104,926;Lenox, Ma: 6,523 (NYC, StL, Dur, Len, respectively)(1980 Census).

Casual observations of differences between places in different parts of the country could arouse some concern about the existence of possible regional effects in the choice of locales in the Northeast, Southeast and Middlewest. It appears, however, that very few studies have investigated regional effects independent of the urban-rural dimensions accounted for in this study. Regional effects independent of urban-rural differences have not been demonstrated when samples have been drawn from locales in different

regions.

Methodological problems, however, have been encountered by researchers when sampling locales of different size in the same region. Fischer (1973) observed what he called an "umbrella" effect, in which features characteristic of larger cities were found to "spill over" to the inhabitants of smaller locales within the same area. The umbrella effect was circumvented by Fischer by assigning to the smaller communities he studied the population value of their nearest central city rather than classifying essentially satellite towns according to their actual population size (Fischer,1973 p.227). In this sense, it seems preferable to sample locales which are not in the same regions and do not fall under some umbrella of shared characteristics.

Originally, the four locales chosen represented roughly equidistant points on the continuum of population size. Since the pilot study was conducted, however, there have been changes (ultimately

serendipitous for this study) in the populations of the two middle locales which have brought to light more persuasive evidence of some of the variables which mediate density. The population of St. Louis has declined and the population of Durham has risen. The arrangement of locales now, with two points representing the extremes of New York and Lenox, and the other two roughly sharing a midpoint, allows not only for observations of main effects of density but also for inferences drawn from comparisons of the two middle values which differ along dimensions other than density.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The design of the pilot study Questionnaire (Appendix 1) included counterbalances and checks against the inaccuracies of self-report. For example, Q.11 , a question on accidental unwanted encounters, was divided by years of residence to check against Question #2 (also on accidental unwanted encounters). Similarly, Questions 1-5 asked for both verbal (e.g.,

very often, often, sometimes . . .) and quantitative (e.g., about how often is that in number of days, weeks, etc.?) estimates of frequency (1. < 1 per 2 days, 2. > 1/3 days; < 1/week, 3. > 1/week; < 1/month, 4.> 1/month; < 1/6 months, 5. > 1/6 months; < 1/year, 6. > 1/year; < 1/5 years, 7. > 5 years). Pearson correlation coefficients between quantitative and verbal categories ranged from .52, P =.0002 to .64, P = .0002. Subjects were in general agreement in their understanding of "very often," etc. Because of this high correlation between verbal and quantitative responses in the pilot findings, the verbal category was eliminated in the final questionnaire.

The questionnaire used in this study can be found in Appendix II. Questions #1, #2, and #4 represent three different kinds of unplanned, accidental meetings and were manipulated separately and in a combination variable measuring the frequency of "accidental meetings," the counterpart to Question #3, which deals with actively "getting together" for intentional or "planned meetings."

Questions #6, #7 and #8 differed from questions #1-5 in that they did not ask for multiple choice but for frequency distributions. This was done because the dimensions were only expected to show subtle differences among Subjects. With "N_Gather," (Q6, S's most usual size of social gathering) for example, it was assumed that a majority of people, regardless of locale, got together with smaller groups most of the time. Therefore, any differences between cities would be seen only in the most minor shifts upwards or downwards along the frequency distribution. The same could be said for "plantime," Question #7, the amount of time a social engagement is planned in advance, and possibly for question #8, "friendship duration." Friendship duration is one of the variables constituting, with Marriage and Network duration (the duration of close relationships in the network of intimates), the broader variable, "Relationship Duration."

Membership in formal organizations is explored in Q.9., both how many organizations the subject belongs to and what types. Q.10 taps the strength of

organizational cohesiveness versus a possible need to avoid an individual within the organization.

Q.12 is one of two measures (with Q18) of the size of the subject's network of intimates. Q.14 inquires as to the geographical proximity of those intimates and has implications for neighborhood and network factors. Originally,Q.13 was intended to be a second measure of loss of intimate relationships but, in retrospect, it is regrettable to note that this question made no distinctions among causes of such loss, particularly for loss through death as distinct from other causes.

Q.15 and Q.16 dealt with physical and normative boundaries of networks, experience of neighborhood,such as being known and recognized in one's neighborhood, and of ethnicity (both neighborhood ethnicity and personal ethnic identification). Together with the last of the introductory questions, these determine whether a person identifies with any ethnic group, which group that may be, whether that is the same or different from the group which predominates in the

person's neighborhood and whether or not the neighborhood is considered ethnic at all.

Question #17 measures the maintenance of threatened relationships and was discussed earlier in terms of its five major categories and maintenance strategies.

To get a broader measure of the duration of close dyadic relationships, the introductory responses regarding length of marital status were used along with Q.8 (friendship duration) and Q.21 (the duration of relationships in the network of intimates). The variables of marriage duration (Mardur), friendship duration (Friendur) and network duration (Netdur) were manipulated separately and in a combined variable (deleting Netdur's spouses and friends) representing overall duration of close relationships (Reldur).

The second measure of network size is Q.18, persons named as intimates. It is averaged with the number requested in Q.12, estimated number of close confidants, to form the variable, N_close. Q.19, 21

and 22 also measure network variables of gender, duration, and the roles of intimates in the life of the subject, respectively.

While Q.20 determines the mean closeness of intimates to the subject, Q.23 measures their closeness to one another, the level of network interconnectedness.
These network variables were included to obtain more dimensions of the quality of interpersonal environment (e.g., the function as normative or expansive). They also have implications for the understanding of larger groupings such as neighborhood, ethnic, and organizational ones.

Q.6 ("N_Gather") refers to the number of people one usually gets together with at one time. Q.24, ("N_Entertain,") the largest number entertained at home in a year, is a second measure of "groupsize", the combined variable of how many people are typically involved in one's various social engagements. Along with Q.1, 2,3,4,6,7,and 11, N_Gather and N_Entertain deal with frequency and circumstances of contact,

facilitation or inhibition of dyadic interaction.

PROCEDURE

In collecting the data in all four locales, questionnaires were distributed from a table in a vestibule or small area near the main entrance of a library. Distribution materials consisted of a table, chairs, clipboards, pencils and a sign which read: "A few minutes of your time, please. . . . I am a student at City University of New York and am conducting this survey as part of my graduate studies. Your anonymous participation by completion of a questionnaire will be greatly appreciated. . ."

Every third person (in Lenox, every second person) entering the library was approached and offered a questionnaire with a gesture introducing the sign and explanations that participation required approximately twenty minutes but that one could spend as much time as desired. Subjects were invited to keep the pencil. If they asked, they were also told that the study was

about relationships in differently sized cities. For those who wished to know the final results of their participation, a copy of the completed study was promised to each of the four libraries and would therefore be available to them.

The statistical method for obtaining optimal information from the data requires conducting a series of Pearson Product Moment correlations, Chi square tests for goodness of fit and two-way analyses of variance. Variables analyzed comprise maintenance categories, locales, and factors in which density, potential mediators of density and variables representing alternative hypotheses are included.

In the pilot study, the division of the sample population (N = 156) into this large number of cells reduced the cell size below the minimum power required for the tests and necessitated compromises. Some categories were combined (e.g., NYC vs. all other cities), or extremes in population size were used (e.g., NYC vs. Len) for comparison, to increase cell size. Median splits (not applicable to occupation or

gender) had to be utilized for all other factors except the frequency distributions (groupsize, plantime and friendship duration) and Maintenance.

In the present study, combinations of variables do not represent compromises dictated by small sample sizes. Instead, statistical manipulations of variables separately and in combination with other variables were performed in order to obtain several measures of the same construct, for the establishment of greater validity and reliability.

Effects of areal density are determined by considering it both as a continuous variable of population number and, in other calculations, as a categorical variable represented by the four different-sized locales. In the course of analyzing population density in the categorical variable of residence, an unexpected problem was revealed in the preliminary figures of the 1990 census. Since the last census(1980), the populations of St. Louis and Durham have drawn closer in size: From a previous population of 104,926, Durham has grown to 115,332; from its old

population figure of 622,236, St. Louis has dropped to 386,431. The data were collected in 1988.

On a population scale the four locales were never exactly equidistant (STL and DUR were always closer) but the present positions of the middle two in comparison to their distance from New York (@ seven million) on one side and Lenox (@ 5000) on the other could justify the use of three rather than the four points on the continuum originally proposed.

From a density standpoint, alone, it would perhaps have been advisable to consider the average of the two middle residences as a single midpoint between New York and Lenox on the population continuum. In all probability, however, effects found for residence reflect some factors other than density and these would be lost by not considering the two middle cities separately. For the purpose of discovering non-density effects that have implications for competing hypotheses it has been useful to have two points of roughly the same population such as St. Louis and Durham recently have become.

In determining effects of residence (probably including factors in addition to density), attempts were made to account for length of time spent living in the current residence (number of years) as well as the size of the locale of previous residence. It is reasonable to assume that if some aspect of residence can affect social behavior, then social habits could be, in part, formed by previous residence as well, and that these could persist, particularly if the Subject had lived a long time there and only a short time in the current residence.

To create a variable representing such a personal composite of possible density influences, the previous residence of each Subject was coded according to which of the four locales its population most closely approximated, NYC, STL, DUR or LEN (4,3,2 or 1). This number was averaged with the code of the current residence that had been weighted according to number of years the Subject lived there. This variable, representing an attempt to account for possible influences of previous residence on a Subject's social outlook and behavior, was labeled, "Composite Res."

All the analyses pertaining to density represented by residence were controlled for number of years in the current residence, and the population size of the previous residence as well as for income and age which are often found to correlate with density.

Part of the statistical analysis was intended to determine what effect, if any, urbanism has on the maintenance of threatened relationships. To that end, a Chi square for goodness of fit was conducted to show the relationship between each differently sized locale (the independent, categorical variable of urbanism) and each of the five maintenance categories.

Because the choice of maintenance category in Q.17 is so central to the hypotheses, it was important to get a more complete understanding of what was represented by these categories. The choices of Confronter, Avoider, Diminisher, Drifter, and Relinquisher were further developed as constructs by determining correlations with respect to all other variables. Thus, the meaning of choosing the drift

category is given more substance by learning that it is associated with high population, small groupsize, shorter duration of relationships and the smallest incidence of accidental meetings, and that the choice of "Diminish" shows a pattern of correlations which is nearly opposite those associated with "Drift." The respective sets of correlations found through a series of Chi squares and analyses of variance served to better differentiate each category from the others and to establish a more complete picture of each category in and of itself.

RESULTS

A summary of significant findings for population density, represented in the categorical variable of locale, can be seen in Table 2B. The highest significance is seen in the correlations with accidental meetings, with groupsize and with number entertained in the home; also with Drifters, Diminishers, feeling recognized in one's neighborhood, and age. Ethnicity and income are less significantly correlated with locale. Age and income are both highest in Lenox, then in New York , St.Louis and Durham.

For several variables not central to any of the major hypotheses, gender differences are significant . Women report feeling more recognized around their neighborhoods than men ($p<.00001$.) Females hold roughly twice as many clerical, administrative and educator's jobs as Males ($p=.003$). Women have more planned meetings with friends than men do ($p=.02$) and have a higher proportion of friends in their networks as compared, for example, to relatives (F,2.31:M,1.85, $p=.003$).

While men have significantly more men than women in their networks, women have nearly twice as many women as men in theirs. ($p<.0001$.) The intimate networks of women are larger (F,4.25:M,4.07,p=.002) but are less interconnected than those of men. (F,2.2 :M,2.4, p=.002)

It is worth noting here that the variables in Table 2B., whether they are positively or negatively correlated with density, in most cases follow an order which corresponds to the order of the four locales along the population density continuum. In several of the variables, however, while New York is always at one end of the spectrum and Lenox is at the other, and even where main effects for density are demonstrated elsewhere as in the case of Duration, the order of the close middle values (for St.Louis and Durham) is the reverse of that expected. These are marked in Table 2B with an asterisk.

Because St.Louis and Durham no longer differ widely in population size, it is doubtful that this reversal poses any challenge to the density main effects with regard to these variables (eg.,Duration x

Density as seen in Table 2A). However, because the order does not exactly conform to that of areal density, the possibilities for other influences will be explored through a comparison of the two locales. The question to be addressed is, what are the differences between St. Louis and Durham, beyond population size, that may be contributing to the variance observed? This question will be taken up again in the section for discussion.

The results as pertaining specifically to the hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1

The maintenance category of "Drift," the measure of urban anomie, was chosen significantly more often in areas of higher population density ($X(12, N68)=43.5, p<.00002$).(See Table 2B.) Thus, the results support the first Hypothesis.

Of the significant findings regarding Maintenance category choices (as seen in Tables 3A and 3B) the most

striking is that Drifters and Diminishers are direct opposites in terms of most of the variables. The higher the population, the more prevalent are Drifters and the less, Diminishers. Drifters have the shortest general relationship duration (p=.03) and Diminishers the longest. Avoiders have the second longest (or may only think they retain relationships while they bide their time in absentia) and relinquishers and confronters, together, have the third longest duration.) In another measure, Drifters report having lost relationships (p=.01) even more frequently than value-consonant Relinquishers (who have an explicit policy of abandoning stressed relationships), followed by Avoiders, Confronters and least frequently, Diminishers.

Hypothesis 2.

The second hypothesis states that facilitators of dyadic interaction, such as Accidental Meetings and Groupsize, will be seen to increase with measures of Relationship Duration. In addition there is an expected

decrease in these facilitating variables with higher incidence of the Maintenance choices of "Drift" and "Relinquish," those representing relationship loss (See Table 3A).

The variables which are significantly correlated with relationship duration (as seen in Table 4)are accidental meetings (.32,p<0001), groupsize (.16,p=.007), the number entertained in the home (.15,p=.03), planned meetings with friends (.18,p=.01), organization membership (.16,p=.02) and income (.31,p<0001). Relationship duration is also positively correlated with network interconnectedness (.2,p=.01,.) Duration is negatively correlated with population density across all locations(-.08,p=.04), the size of the network (-.14, p=.04,) with behaving badly when one is not recognized (-.16,p=.02,) and with deliberate avoidance of individuals (-.08,p=.04 .)

The expected decrease in facilitating variables, associated with Maintenance choices of Drift and Relinquish, is partially borne out by findings

listed in Table 3A. While results for Income and Organization Membership are not significant, the variables of Accidental Meetings, Planned Meetings and Groupsize are lowest for Drift and Relinquish. These are the two categories also associated with the highest reported loss of Relationships (--lost marriages and close confidants).

The correlations described clearly show that the avowed preference of Drifters, to work through differences for the maintenance of relationships, is unrealized. The shorter duration and the higher reported loss of Drifters' close relationships may be explained by negative correlations of "Drift" with variables that facilitate dyadic interaction.

There are significant findings (Table 3A) showing Drifters feeling the least known in their neighborhoods ($p=.01$) and having the smallest groupsize ($p=.002$). (Diminishers have the largest groupsize, followed by Confronters, Relinquishers and Avoiders.) Drifters also have the smallest incidence of unexpected,accidental meetings ($p<.0001$). Again,

Diminishers show the opposite profile, having the highest, followed by Confronters, Relinquishers and Avoiders.

In all, this observed pattern of findings strongly supports the contention of Hypothesis 2, factors that facilitate dyadic interaction are negatively correlated with the loss of relationships and positively correlated with duration.

In addition, given the Drifters' stated wish to work through differences, these findings suggest that the effort required to meet and work through differences in a relationship at risk is often not forthcoming. In the large city context, circumstances that are consequences of density do not allow opportunities for rekindling those relationships without such effort. By contrast, relatively effortless opportunities in smaller towns are provided in the form of accidental meetings of one kind or another. As seen in Table 2B, Accidental Meetings and Groupsize are both higher in locales of smaller population.

Hypothesis 3.

In terms of the two dimensions (closeness and duration) of dyadic relationships by which quality of the relationship is determined, almost none of the variables is significantly correlated with the first dimension, closeness. Only duration of the intimate network is positively correlated with the degree of closeness (.1,p=.01.) Negatively correlated with closeness is the size of the network (-.08,p=.04) and (-.1,p=.002) the number of casual friends listed, showing little beyond the truism that closest relationships are not casual ones.

The second dimension of the quality of interpersonal dyads is duration, which is significantly correlated with closeness, the first dimension (.1, p= .01). Predictably, it is also correlated with age and number of years in the current residence, and negatively correlated with reported loss of relationships. (.77,p<.0001, .30,p<.0001, and -.31,p<.0001, respectively.)

In addition, a series of Pearson Product Moment correlations reveal population density to be negatively correlated with duration of friendships and that of all listed close relationships (Q8,-.25, p<.0001; Q21,-.08,p=.04.) That is, when areal density increases, there is a decrease in the duration of close relationships. There is also a decrease in network interconnectedness, (Q23,-.12,p=.007,) in the number of close confidants (Q12,-.10,p=.02,) and in a Groupsize factor, the size of social gathering typically met with at one time, (NGather:.22,p<.0001.)

The results indicate that the third hypothesis is only partially supported by the data. Urbanism varies significantly with only one of the two dimensions of the quality of interpersonal relationships. That is, it is not correlated with closeness. However, it is strongly, negatively correlated with the duration of relationships.

Hypothesis 4.

Other variables measured were included in this study because of their relevance to Compositional,

Subcultural and Network theoretical frameworks. The fourth hypothesis states that the variables representing these theoretical frameworks will be less significantly correlated to the quality (closeness and duration) and maintenance of relationships than those representing a Determinist view.

Compositional theory states that different locales attract different people and that it is the resulting compositions of populations rather than their size or density which account for differences between cities. Compositional factors in this study include personal variables such as age, income, gender, occupation and the personal patterns represented in value-consonant maintenance categories.

Of these, Age (.77,$p<.0001$) and income (.35, $p<.0001$) are positively correlated with the duration of dyads, as seen in Table 4. The explanation of correlations between age and duration is, of course, self-evident, but the influence of higher income on the duration of relationships is less clear. Its effect may be attributable to easier access to adequate space,

means and time for larger and more frequent social gatherings, which, in turn, occasion more accidental meetings. It may, in other words, allow for the larger groupsize and higher accidental meetings with which it is highly correlated. High income may be a buffer against some effects of urbanism that inhibit dyadic interaction in so far as high density effects are mediated through these two variables of Accidental Meetings and Groupsize.

In terms of Maintenance categories, the compositional prediction of a prevalence of value-consonant relinquishers in large cities and of confronters in smaller locales was not found (See Table 2B). There are differences in gender and occupation among locales but those are not significantly correlated with the maintenance or quality of relationships.

Subcultural theory predicts that closeness, duration and maintenance patterns be strongly influenced by ethnic, neighborhood and organization variables. Subcultural factors represented in the

study include membership in organizations, personal and neighborhood ethnicity, normative constraints of the neighborhood, being known within the neighborhood, and geographical proximity of intimates.

Of these, as can be seen in Table 4, only Organization Membership was significantly correlated with Relationship Duration (.16,p=.02.). With regard to the other dimension of quality, that of closeness, the variables of neighborhood and network and their relationship to each other is interesting to consider.

The geographical proximity of confidants is negatively correlated with network size (-.09,p=.04.) That is, the greater the number living outside a thirty mile radius, the larger the number of intimates listed in the network. A possible interpretation of this is that one may need more people in one's network if a larger proportion of intimates live at a distance. Network size is also negatively correlated with emotional closeness (-.08, p=.04), but geographical proximity (along with the other subcultural variables except Organization Membership,as discussed) has no

direct bearing on the "closeness" or "duration" dimensions of relationship quality.

"Bad Behavior" when the subject is not recognized is a variable meant to measure neighborhood normative constraints by noting an inhibition of some behavior the subject would engage in if he or she were not known by others in the vicinity. This variable would be expected, according to subcultural theory, to positively correlate with feeling known in the neighborhood, with network interconnectedness, with low income and large groupsize.

Instead, findings demonstrate either negative correlations with this variable or none at all "Bad Behavior is correlated negatively with age, income, organization membership and groupsize (-.2,$p<.0001$, -.25,$p<.0001$, -.07,$p=.075$; -11,$p=.01$ respectively). It has significant positive correlations with avoidance (.28, $p<.0001$) and reported loss of relationships (.10,$p=.01$), and also with unplanned and planned meetings (.22,$p<.0001$; .09,$p=.03$. While "Bad behavior" does not seem indicative of a person who is antisocial,

it also does not seem to describe one who could be called socially successful. It appears instead to measure some degree of personal integrity and maturity more than the normative constraints of a person's neighborhood that it was originally intended to measure.

Significant findings regarding network parameters have been addressed for the most part, in the above reported results. Of the network measures in the questionnaire,(Q18 -Q23,) those not yet described include the composition of the network.

Network composition in terms of the role of a person in the subject's life (Q22), was found to make little difference except in the proportion of relatives in the network which was positively correlated with network size, interconnectedness and duration (.24,.29,.43, respectively; all $p<.0001$), but not with closeness (-.07,$p=.06$).

The greater the proportion of males in the network (.13, $p=.004$,) the greater is the network size. In general, however, the smaller the network, the greater

the Mean level of closeness (-.08,p=.04.) and duration (-.09, p=.03.) The larger the network, the more highly correlated it is with organization membership and number entertained in the home.

Network size, however, has not been shown to vary with groupsize which is correlated with organization membership, number entertained, network interconnectedness, duration of relationships, accidental and planned meetings. This may be because Groupsize represents the number of people typically involved in social engagements, parties and large gatherings as well as meetings involving fewer people. The comparison of the variables of groupsize and network size may hold the explanation for the near absence of significant findings for closeness.

That is to say, individuals in the network of intimates are already designated as " very close," by virtue of being listed. Perhaps the possibilities for comparison within the boundaries of this designation are just too narrow to be meaningful. When subjects list only one or two intimates, they define them as

very close, that is, intimate. Listing more intimates may introduce the tendency to differentiate by using the varied grades of closeness suggested by the questionnaire. That there are no other significant findings for closeness suggests that the measure in this study may be flawed and the correlation with small network size, consequently, may be somewhat artifactual.

The network, in any case,is qualitatively very different from the social group represented in the groupsize variable. Interconnectedness of the network is correlated with groupsize (.16,p=.001) which indicates that individuals in the same network who know each other tend to attend the same gatherings. Interconnectedness is also positively correlated with frequency of accidental meetings (.11,p=.01) and with relationship duration (.2,p=.01). Network duration is correlated not only with interconnectedness and number of relatives in the network (.43,p<.0001), but with organization membership (.12,p=.007), advance planning of social engagements (.19,p<0001,) and with accidental meetings(.07,p=.06).

This suggests that a certain amount of formal interrelationship contributes to the stability of a network by insuring repeated contacts in groups larger than the network itself. These findings also support the conclusions of Network theorists as earlier discussed. Network interconnectedness, in particular, influences the health and quality of interpersonal dyads, but the type of network, normative or expansive, interconnected or not, is, in turn, associated with given levels of population density.

Taken together, the Compositional, Subcultural and Network variables represented in this study demonstrate a weaker pattern of correlations with quality and maintenance of relationships than determinist variables. As originally presented, these are Population Density, Groupsize and Accidental Meetings. The fourth hypothesis is thus supported by the data described although, of these variables, it must be stated that Groupsize appears not to be exclusively determined by external factors and therefore cannot be considered a purely determinist variable.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Summarizing the results, with regard to the first Hypothesis, value-dissonance in the loss of strained relationships, a measure of urban anomie represented in the number of "Drifters," significantly increases with population density, or urbanism, as hypothesized.

The second hypothesis is also supported. With a high degree of significance, the frequency of Accidental Meetings and the number of people met with at one time, (Groupsize,) positively correlate with the maintenance of interpersonal relationships. Urbanism, as stated above, is also negatively correlated with Relationship Duration. However, it is apparent from the analysis that, like Groupsize, Accidental Meetings --expected and unexpected-- are not purely functions of density, as assumed.

In partial accordance with the third hypothesis, urbanism does vary significantly with one dimension of the quality of dyads, and in the predicted direction. Relationship Duration decreases with rising population

density. Closeness, however, does not vary with density. In fact, the closeness dimension of the quality of dyads is only correlated positively with the second dimension, duration, and only negatively correlated with network size. The data reveal no other findings for closeness.

The fourth hypothesis was generally supported. Some variables traditionally associated with compositional, subcultural and network explanations of urban phenomena are correlated with relationship duration. These are income, age, number of years in residence, organization membership, and network interconnectedness. For the most part, however, they are less significantly correlated with the maintenance of relationships than density is, and in general, the clustering of significant variables show determinist theory to be the one best supported by the data.

Discussion

What emerges from the results is a pattern by which nearly all the variables (including density) that are correlated with the duration quality of dyads can be seen as associated with circumstances facilitating dyadic interaction through accidental meetings. (--Age being the notable exception.)

As mentioned in the previous section, the fact that the order of the two middle locales on the population continuum is, for some variables, reversed in spite of otherwise robust findings for density, invites a closer look at some of the non-density factors. The question that must be addressed is, what are the differences between St. Louis and Durham that may be contributing to the order observed in those variables? (See Table 2B variables marked with an asterisk).

As can be seen in Table 2B, Durham is lower, in both age and income than St. Louis. (Both Age and Income were controlled for in the analyses of variance

along with number of years in residence and size of previous residence.) Age and Income are both positively correlated with Duration and Accidental Meetings. Also, intimate networks in St. Louis are more interconnected than those in Durham, an unexpected finding because, in general, Network Interconnectedness is correlated with lower population size as well as with Duration. Duration, as can be seen in Table 2B, is also unexpectedly higher in St. Louis than in Durham.

There are significantly more males than females in the St. Louis sample; females slightly outnumber males in the three other locales. This may explain, in part, the higher network Interconnectedness which is associated with males in the network.

The Mean number of years in the current residence is longer in St. Louis. Significant differences in previous residence may be important to consider if numbers of people entertained and commonly met with, (N_Entertain and N_Gather, both correlated with duration,) are understood as matters of social habit,

partly as responses to past circumstances rather than direct responses exclusively to current ones. St.Louis can be considered to have a "smaller population" than Durham in terms of its Mean size of previous residence and the composite density experience of its residents.

Whereas ethnicity of neighborhoods is higher in St. Louis, identification with a particular ethnic group is higher in Durham. Both are correlated with number of organizations belonged to, but not with relationship maintenance or quality. Also, there are significant occupational differences among residences: more independent scholars in Lenox and Durham, more clerical workers in St. Louis and New York, but this seems to have little relevance to any other factor.

Perhaps the most striking element in the comparison of the two cities is that Durham is growing in numbers, while St. Louis' population is drastically declining. Certainly one of the implications of this is that more of Durham's housing is relatively new and conforms to modern concerns of efficiency as opposed to

the "railroad era" architecture that makes up much of St. Louis' housing. Even relatively low-income people in St. Louis are likely to have spacious dwellings if they live in old sections of the city.

It is possible that the larger numbers entertained in the home, and the number commonly included in the typical social engagement are merely functions of larger spaces in which to gather in the home, (i.e. without the cost, planning or production of using a commercial space such as a restaurant.) This is consistent with Wellman's view of the importance of spatially propinquitous opportunities for dyadic interaction (Wellman,1979,p.1223) and also with the previously reported findings of Kirmeyer (1975) and Mitchell (1971).

The typical social gathering of 15-30 people, for example, is conspicuously infrequent in the responses of New Yorkers as compared with Subjects in all other locales. Perhaps there is simply not enough space for people to have this size gathering in New York without much expense or production. In any case, there is

evidence that this may be an important group size in providing opportunities for accidental meetings.

The comparison of St. Louis and Durham sheds light on some other factors that may be involved in increasing the incidence of both accidental and planned meetings. Specifically, the data point to two types of accidental meetings with known persons, the first being completely unexpected, such as running into someone on the street or having someone drop in unexpectedly, and the second type being expected accidental meetings, such as running into someone at a party or at a meeting of some organization. In these cases, it may be known that certain other persons will probably attend, but there is no deliberate effort to meet with them specifically. The frequency of these expected accidental meetings is reflected in the variables of Groupsize (size of typical social gathering and number entertained) and Organization Membership.

Whereas running into someone on the street may be determined by the population number per area, Groupsize

and Organization Membership also reflect non-determinist influences. In the second kind of accidental meeting, density effects appear to be mediated by the frequency and size of social gatherings which, often being larger, may include but are not the same as, the intimate network. Density may influence these variables, but so do factors of income, space, and the values and preferences demonstrated by organization membership. All of these influence Relationship Duration through Accidental Meetings.

The question of why accidental meetings are so highly correlated with the preservation of close relationships remains. It may be best answered by examining circumstances of the processes of relationship, discarding the static models in favor of a dynamic model reflecting the movement and change in relationships. The most basic requirement for maintaining a close relationship through these processes is contact, and the contact which falls within an individual's control often takes the form and effort of planned meetings. When a relationship is stressed, however, it may then depend more on contact

that is unplanned. In areas of larger population, consistent with Franck et al's concept of "demandingness," the maintenance of contact takes even more effort.

When a relationship is threatened with some divisive issue, the amount of effort required to maintain that contact may be at its greatest, and, at the same time, the inclination to expend the effort may be at its least. Accordingly, if people are to have the opportunity to rekindle weakened or lost relationships, the meetings that provide that opportunity must occur often without benefit of effort and planning. This may explain the importance of Accidental Meetings as the factor most highly correlated with the duration of relationships.

Because close networks are maintained through frequency of planned meetings, as well as unplanned ones, high correlations with number of relatives in the network, organization membership, and advanced planning of social engagements lead one to conclude that habit, formality, and, perhaps, social ritual contribute the

most to the stability of the network. They help to insure continued contact, but wherever they fall short in that function and for whatever reason, relationship duration seems more dependent on Accidental Meetings.

Accidental meetings become more operatively important when people fall from within the intimate network, for one reason or another, to some social "space" outside it. The frequency of accidental meetings defines the quality of that social environment which lies just outside the intimate network.Proximity and accidental meeting allow the opportunity for re-entry into the network of intimates. The quality of social environment that is created outside the network is similar in function to interconnectedness within the network but, because it does not necessarily involve closeness or even people's knowing one another well, it might be better described simply as "social redundancy."

Thus, there are more accidental meetings where members of one's organizations may be the same people one sees in one's neighborhood or at the parties one

attends, and where these are also likely to include members of the intimate network. It is by means of assured, continual dyadic interaction, perhaps especially outside the network, that redundancy supplies social opportunity to rekindle threatened or lost relationships. It also enforces a degree of social accountability. Notably, urban anomie is characterized by a perceived lack of just such social opportunity and accountability.

The larger a city is, in general, the fewer accidental meetings there are, although factors other than density also influence the level of redundancy. Whatever variables affect the size of the social group, (that is, the number of known people, outside the network of intimates, with whom one comes into contact,) also influence the level of redundancy.

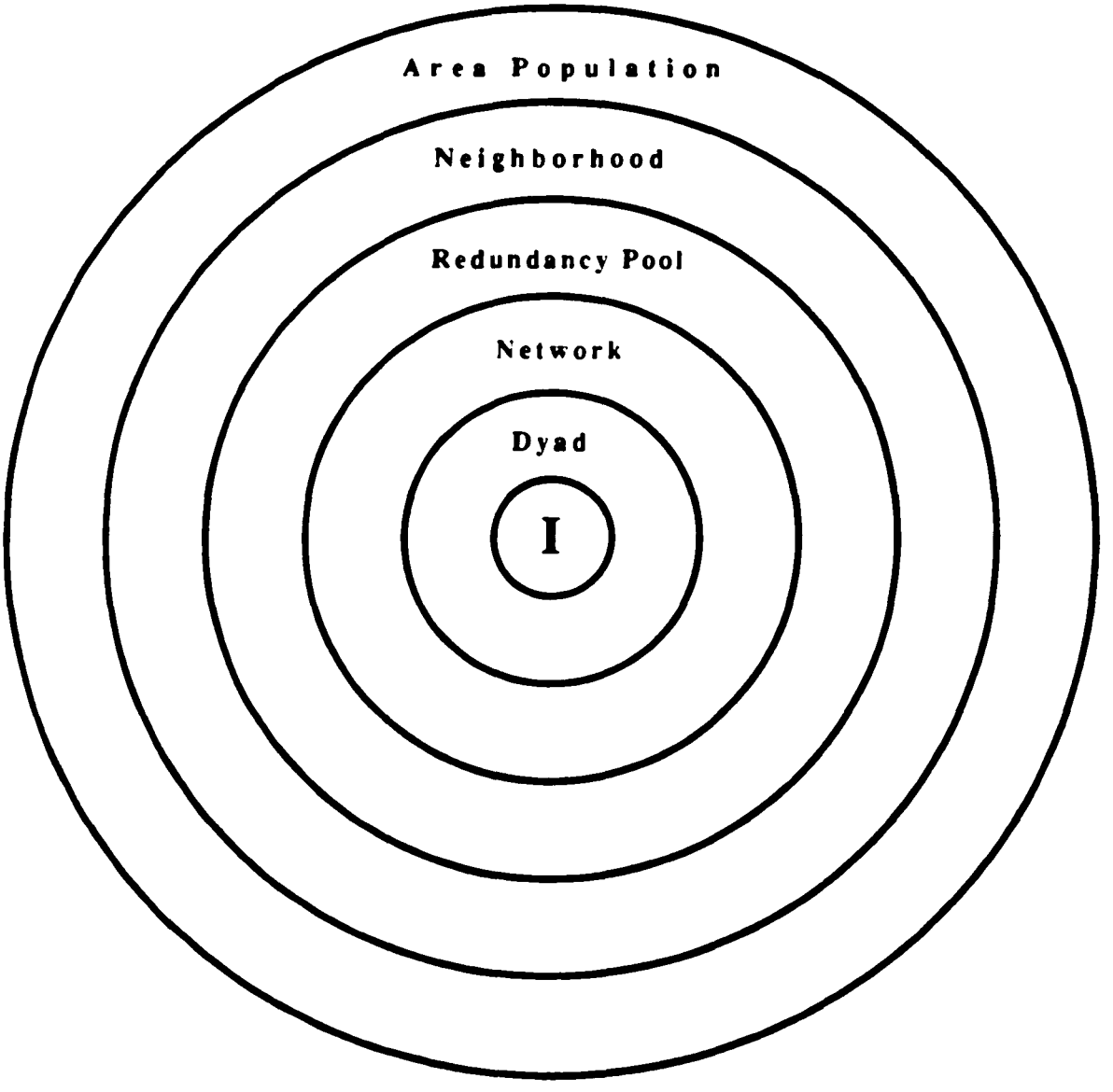
As Wellman suggests, space availability may be high among these variables, allowing for increased groupsize with the least cost, effort or planning. Similarly, higher income in many ways reduces the effort needed for larger groupsize. Ethnicity,

neighborhood and organization membership may also influence social redundancy through the variable of groupsize, and contribute to increased incidence of accidental meetings.

In summarizing the implications of this study's findings, it may be helpful to conceptualize the individual's social environment in a series of concentric circles pictured in Figure 1 (on the following page). With the individual in the center, the outermost circle can be seen as the population density of the city or locale. Directly beneath this is a circle representing neighborhood, the interpersonal experience of which seems most strongly influenced by the size of city in which the neighborhood exists.

Ethnicity, for example, is the factor one might expect to exert a strong influence on neighborhood, and subjects do identify their neighborhoods as ethnic in descending order from New York to Lenox. But feeling known or recognized in one's neighborhood follows exactly the opposite order, with the highest frequency in Lenox, the lowest in New York, that is, negatively

Figure I. **Levels of Social Enviroment**



correlated with density. New Yorkers and St. Louisans do not perceive themselves as members of the ethnic group that defines their neighborhoods which suggests that ethnicity refers more to historic organization of the neighborhood than to their interpersonal experience of it.

Moving, again, to the center of the figure, the circle closest to, and exerting the strongest effect on the psychological well-being of the individual, is the circle representing the interpersonal dyad. The next is that of the network of intimates consisting, on average, of five or six close relationships, perhaps more. The third is a social redundancy pool of roughly fifteen to perhaps fifty people from a variety of sources including extended family, ethnic group members, co-members of organizations, business and social acquaintances. The impact of this circle of social environment depends less on geographical proximity (as provided by neighborhood) than on the frequency and size of social gatherings. The effect of this level of social environment, given sufficient frequency of larger social gatherings, is to provide

the repeated interpersonal contacts and accidental meetings (beyond the intimate network) that are correlated with the preservation and maintenance of dyads.

It is interesting to note that where New York differs most radically from the other locales in this study is in the reported low frequency of social gatherings of large sizes (Q6,N_Gather,"15-30 people"; "31 or more"). Correlations of this variable with income and density seem to implicate spatial opportunity as the operative factor, although organization membership, which is unrelated to density, also correlates positively with frequency of these larger social gatherings, with accidental meetings and with duration of relationships.

With increased population size, it may be generally stated that redundancy decreases, and that successful maintenance of relationships decreases with it. Perhaps even more significant than the greater loss of relationships with increased population is the difference in the subjective experience of that loss.

New Yorkers report feeling, by far, the greatest amount of dissonance between the course of events and their own efforts. Drift, the measure of this dissonance, directly increases with urbanism. Demonstrating exactly the opposite pattern to this are the diminishers, with their superordinate principle of civility, whose numbers decrease as urbanism increases.

There may be, of course, alternative understandings of the discrepancy between the stated values and the actual circumstances of Drifters. One of these rests in the possibility that what they claim, an unfulfilled wish to work through differences, is not really their preferred strategy. Rather than being passive victims of circumstances, they may be simply reluctant to take responsibility for their social actions. Some evidence for this exists in the finding that when given the choice of taking action, more Drifters and Relinquishers than any other category actively choose to leave an organization they belong to in order to avoid someone. (P=.03)

Consistent with this view, is the fact that

Drifters also are the least married but the highest "living-together" group (P=.005) which may suggest a degree of noncommittal passivity. Once married, however, they are not more likely than the other groups to be divorced. The Drifters' intimate networks show a higher proportion (p=.007) of relatives than those of other categories and these are relationships that rest heavily on tradition and formally prescribed behavior for cohesiveness. Only Avoiders report a higher frequency than Drifters of behaving badly where they know they will not be recognized.(P<.009 The second highest in "bad behavior" when unrecognized are Confronters, then Relinquishers; the lowest are Diminishers.)

These findings could also be construed to suggest a kind of emotional immaturity on the part of Drifters (and indeed Drifters are the youngest as a group, although most prevalent in New York, the locale that has second oldest Mean age.) It may be that when Drifters face obstacles to social choices (e.g., having to obtain a legal divorce or having to confront relatives on family occasions,) they are dissuaded or

constrained. Or, it may be that when they do not actively have to commit to, or take the responsibility for, their actions, they avoid doing so. Such avoidance is possible as long as there are fewer of the accidental meetings and social consequences that, in smaller towns, may force social accountability.

Both conceptualizations of Drifters are consistent with viewing Drift as a measure of anomic consequences of urbanism. When responsibility to oneself or others for one's actions is unclaimed or unrecognized, one is robbed of the sense of choice and control as much as when choices are limited in fact. In both cases, there is the reported feeling of not being at the helm of one's own life which is the core of urban anomie. Whether density causes socially limiting circumstances or permits one to be unconscious of somehow causing them oneself, the subjective experience of not being in control is the same. If circumstances resulting from density allow the continued, unconscious avoidance of opportunities to work through divisive differences, the effect of density is still one that produces urban anomie, in this case, the subjective experience of

dissonance in the loss of relationships.

Drifters feel the least known in their neighborhoods and so have a literal sense of being anonymous. They lose more close relationships (already deemed an important determinant of psycho-social wellbeing) and they lose them in ways they feel are inconsistent with their values and beyond their control. Drifters seem to have the least integrity as far as behaving consistently whether they are recognized by others or not, and there is evidence that they may be relatively noncommittal and unwilling to take responsibility for their social actions.

Urban Anomie is a double-edged phenomenon. Being "without a name" symbolically is more than being simply unknown, it is being unrecognized and unable to make "a mark" or a name, that is, to establish identity or reputation by effecting choices. It represents not only a self-perceived limited opportunity for effectiveness but, also, a concomitant non-accountability for what is effected. The belief that one "counts" seems integrally related to the degree of

accountability one feels.

The variable, Drift, is negatively correlated with expected and unexpected accidental meetings and other facilitators of dyadic interaction --that is, with social redundancy which supplies both opportunity and accountability beyond the boundaries of the intimate network. This suggests implications not only for the health of the individual but also for that of the community in which large numbers of its citizens may lack elements inherent in the most basic sense of social contract.

There remains some question as to whether these findings paint a picture of emotional immaturity, depression or inherent personality characteristics. From a compositional viewpoint it could be argued that, wishing to avoid social consequences, drifters are attracted to the environment most suited to their personalities and thus, more drifters are to be found in the city. This argument, however, would be more applicable to value-consonant relinquishers, in that it does not account satisfactorily for the dissonance

drifters report feeling.

An alternative explanation is suggested by the fact that Drifters are, in general, younger than those in the other maintenance categories. If urban anomie is essentially social immaturity and only secondarily a kind of depressive reaction, it might be argued that inhabitants of less populated areas also might have begun as drifters but while high density conditions of low redundancy permit people in large cities to retain these attitudes and behaviors, those in smaller populations eventually learn more socially accountable and value-consonant social strategies because they are coerced by circumstances of redundancy. This view is consistent with Milgram's understanding of urban anomie as adaptation to the exigencies of the environment.

Inhabitants of small towns seem to have the knowledge, above all, that they "have to live with" the other people who inhabit their town, and will probably run into them again and again, even if they are not actually dependent upon them in some way. In small towns, there is a strong press for civility. On the

other hand, of course, there is also a greater pressure for hypocrisy and stifling conformity. Nevertheless, if drift represents impairment of the basic "mindset" for social contract, the belief that one "counts" and is accountable, the finding of its prevalence in large cities is troubling.

The effect of high density on close interpersonal relationships has parallels in business relationships. The commercial equivalent of being personally recognized and accountable is the business reputation. Where the population and market are small, the business strategy is to tailor both product and customer relations to the purpose of drawing repeated business in the future. Under conditions of large population, the emphasis is removed from that objective and placed instead on "image" and the marketing of the product. This is a reflection of the fact that where the market is large enough, there is no need to cultivate repeat customers. A product need be sold only one time, to many people, to produce financial success. Lack of accountability and reputation here,too, erodes the strength of the contract as the bedrock of healthy

productivity and business exchange.

Despite financial success, without consideration for reputation, products eventually suffer. Similarly, Drifters can claim some social success. They have roughly the same number of close people in their networks and findings of this study reveal no differences in level of closeness reported among the categories of maintenance strategies. Nevertheless, the quality of relationships in terms of duration is seen to suffer in conjunction with urban anomie and with urbanism, in general.

The high incidence of Drift, measuring the anomic effects of urbanism, in large cities cannot be expected to improve the experience of city life for the inhabitants of those cities. Given this, and the other predominantly negative effects of urbanism on interpersonal relationships, one might see the findings of this study as tending towards an advocacy of small town life. The reason this is not the case is that the negative effects of urbanism are mediated through the variables that constitute redundancy.

As the data reveal, redundancy is subject to numerous influences other than density, many of which fall under a realm of personal choice even within a context of high population density. These--particularly spatial facilitators of dyadic interaction -- may have more implications for architecture and urban planning in large cities than for any changes in population distribution. For example, cities could advantageously seek to provide more indoor public spaces permitting larger social gatherings, as well as encouraging the creation of private spaces (e.g. parks or clubs) for the same purpose. Builders could be apprised of the need to create more available social space in housing design. Perhaps designing flexibility into the use of space could supply the need of ample room to entertain spontaneously and economically.

Income and organization membership are two of several variables that can minimize effects of density by exerting a counter-influence that increases groupsize and the incidence of accidental meetings. These represent ways in which an individual can exercise some personal control in creating more

opportunities for optimal social redundancy.

One might also counteract the effects of low redundancy, particularly in terms of strengthening the fabric of social contract, by striving to introduce greater accountability. Even in large cities, the experience of social redundancy can be simulated to some extent with the aid of technology, for example, with telephones that display the caller's number and thus make the caller known. Thus, there may be diverse other ways to reduce anonymity and encourage identification, reputation and accountability.

Providing the publicity of air time for organizations, such as the Better Business Bureau, would help to highlight accountability. Laws might also be altered to support social contract more stringently with a bias towards less tolerance for bureaucratic corruption and committee-perpetrated "white collar" crime for which individuals are notoriously unaccountable. Stricter interpretations of personal responsibility in issues such as bankruptcy and child support, for example, might also achieve the same

effect as the normative pressures felt in a small town.

While there may be an optimal population size associated with the desired level of social redundancy, aspects of city living can be altered in many ways to maximize accidental meetings; to increase social opportunity and accountability. High density does not have to result in the higher incidence of Urban Anomie. Obviously, the city also offers many advantages that are beneficial functions of its higher population size. These did not fall specifically within the ken of this study, but were encompassed in the assertion that psycho-social advantage or disadvantage is always at least partially a matter of fit between individual and environment. Many people need advantages that are available only in our largest cities, and many inhabitants thrive in our current urban environments despite the difficulties described.

As the world continues to face a population explosion, and as more of the world's cities absorb unprecedented numbers of people, the option of living in small towns, in any case, may be disappearing for

growing numbers. There is an increasing incentive to explore ways we can approximate the social environment --one ultimately based in a sense of social contract-- that historically defined cities in their first stages of development. In this way, the historical-etymological relationship between the words "city" and "civil" may be made apparent again in fact, and urbanism may be defined less by the effects of density than by the prevalence of urbanity and the achievements of civilization.

Table 1. SUBJECT MEANS (BY LOCALE)

	NYC	STL	DUR	LEN
AGE	39.8	37.5	35.3	45.9
INCOME (in thsnds)	33.4	28.6	25.0	39.8
MALE S.'s	.40	.65	.45	.41
FEMALE S.'s	.60	.35	.55	.59
ETHNIC I.D.*	.67	.45	.54	.29

*Ethnic I.D. is determined from Q.16B

Table 2A. POPULATION DENSITY (continuous)

DENSITY by:

	(Pearson cor.Coef.)
Duration of close Relationships (Netdur,Q18)	-.0887,p=.04
Number of close Confidants (Q12)	-.1073,p=.02
Interconnectedness of the Intimate Network (Q23)	-.12, p=.007
Group size Factor (N_Gathering,Q6)	-.22, p<.0001

Table 2B. Correlations with POPULATION DENSITY (City or locale)

(Locales in order of highest to lowest values of variables at left)

(Highest <----------> Lowest)

	AREAL DENSITY (in Thsnds.)	NewYork 7,212.8	St.L. 386.4	Durham 115.3	Lenox 4.8
	DRIFTERS	NY .28	SL .17	DR .13	LN .08 [SeeTable3B for NY Significance]
	DIMINISHERS	LN .55	DR .48	SL .42	NY .22
	MARRIED Ss	LN .56	DR .51	SL .32	NY X(15,N168)=51.5 .24 P<.00001
	KNOWN IN NEIGHBORHOOD	LN .85	DR .71	SL .56	NY X(3,N273)=27.1 .55 P<.00001
	ACCIDENTAL MEETINGS	LN 2.52	DR 2.26	SL 2.22	NY F(3,251)=9.56 1.74 P<.0001
	GROUPSIZE	LN 3.18	DR 2.65	SL 2.63	NY F(3,239)=18.1 2.03 P<.0001
*	N.GATHERING	LN 2.28	SL 2.04	DR 2.02	NY F(3,245)=4.17 1.54 P=.001
*	N.ENTERTAIN	LN 28.1	SL 16.7	DR 15.1	NY F(3,249)=7.54 9.4 P<.0001
*	ETHNIC I.D.	NY .53	DR .35	SL .31	LN X(3,N136)=27.2 .26 P=.001
*	PREVIOUS RES.	NY .901	DR .485	SL .394	LN X(9,N320)=232 .384 P<.00001
*	DURATION OF RELATIONSHIPS	LN 10.8	SL 6.7	DR 6.1	NY F(3,88)=3.97 5.5 P=.01
	AGE	LN 45.9	NY 39.7	SL 37.4	DR F(3,252)=26. 35.4 P<.0001
	INCOME (in Thsnds.)	LN 39.8	NY 33.4	SL 28.6	DR F(3,252)=7.8 25.1 P=.05

Table 3A. MAINTENANCE CHOICES

BY:	Confront	Avoid	Diminish	Relinquish	Drift	
DURATION OF RELATIONSHIPS	3.36	3.56	3.63	3.36	3.14	F(4,400)= 2.6;p=.03
RELATIONSHIPS LOST	.82	.83	.76	.96	1.00	F(4,411)= 3.06;p=.01
N_CONFIDANTS	6.2	3.8	4.4	3.7	4.4	F(4,404)= 2.1;p=.07
RELATIVES IN NETWORK	.99	1.22	.86	.50	1.01	F(4,411)= 2.2;p=.06
SPOUSE IN NETWORK	.42	.28	.46	.22	.51	F(4,411)= 3.5;p=.007
GROUPSIZE	1.95	1.76	2.11	2.07	1.70	F(4,400)= 2.2;p=.07
PLANNED MEETINGS	3.71	3.30	3.53	3.22	3.46	F(4,411)= 3.2;p=.06
ACCIDENTAL MEETINGS	2.24	2.22	2.28	2.04	1.97	F(4,411)= 3.6;p=.007
KNOWN IN NEIGHBORHOOD	.64	.70	.72	.73	.49	X2(4,N274) =13;p=.01
'BAD'BEHAVIOR	2.29	2.48	1.98	2.20	2.31	F(4,250)= 2.8p=.03
AGE	37.7	40.6	40.3	45.0	35.9	F(4,251)= 2.9;p=.01
INCOME	25.9	34.55	32.87	35.19	29.24	N.S.
ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP	1.54	1.79	1.59	1.28	1.36	N.S.

Table 3B. City by Maintenance Choices:

(Relinquish, Drift, Diminish, Confront; Avoid)

```
      rel. xxxxxxxx .16
      dri. xxxxxxxxxxxxx .28
NYC   dim. xxxxxxxxxx .21
      con. xxxxxxxx .17
      avo. xxxxxxxxx .18


      rel. xxxxx .09
      dri. xxxxxxxx .17
STL   dim. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx .42
      con. xxxxxxxxxx .22
      avo. xxxxx .10


      rel. xxx .06
      dri. xxxxxx .13
DUR   dim. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx .48
      con. xxxxxxxxxxxx .26
      avo. xxxx .08


      rel. xxxxxx .12
      dri. xxxx .04
LEN   dim. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx .55
      con. xxxxxxx .15
      avo. xxxxx .10
```

X2(12,N68)=43.5; p=.00002

Table 4. DURATION OF CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

Significant Correlations of DURATION (across all locales)

With:

POPULATION DENSITY	-.0887; p=.04
RELATIONSHIP LOSS	-.2489; p=.012
CLOSENESS	.1 ; p=.01
ACCIDENTAL MEETINGS	.3225; p<.0001
PLANNED MEETINGS	.1896; p=.012
GROUPSIZE	.1639; p=.026
N_ENTERTAIN	.1504; p=.038
ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP	.1672; p=.023
INCOME	.31 ; p<.0001
AGE	.77 ; p<.0001
NETWORK INTERCONNECTEDNESS	.20 ; p=.01
NETWORK SIZE	-.14 ; p=.04
'BAD' BEHAVIOR	-.16 ; p=.02
AVOIDANCE	-.08 ; p=.04

Appendix I

THE PILOT STUDY (Questionnaire, Hypotheses; Results)

THE QUESTIONNAIRE (Pilot Study)

City or Town of residence:_____

No. of years as resident:_____, age_____
Occupation:_____ Sex: M or F

1. Outside of business relations, I run into people I know without having planned it. (Please check one.)

__Very often __Often __Sometimes __Rarely __Almost never

About how often is that ? (in terms of days, weeks, months or years.)
_____
(Eg. once a month, twice per year, once a week,...etc)

2. I accidentally run into people I would rather not see

__Very often __Often __Sometimes __Rarely__Almost never

About how often is that? (In terms of days, weeks, months or years.)
_____
(Eg., once a month, twice per year, once a week,....)

3. Excluding the work situation, I (we) get together with a friend or friends

__Very often __Often __sometimes __Rarely__Almost never

About how often is that? _____

4. I "drop in" on people unexpectedly

__Very often __Often __sometimes __Rarely __Almost never

About how often is that?_____

5. While outside my neighborhood, when I have been rushed or annoyed, I have behaved in a way I would not have behaved in my regular places of business, or with people I knew I would see again.

___Never ___Rarely ___Sometimes ___Often___Very often

About how often is that?_____

6. When I see people socially, it is most often at a gathering of (Please rank from 1-5 according to frequency with 1 as the most frequent; 5, the least.)

____ just one or two people at a time

____ between 3 and 5 people

____ between 6 - 14 people

____ between 15 - 30 people

____ 31 or more people

7. My typical social engagement is planned (Please rank from 1-5 in frequency)

____ a month or more in advance

____ usually a little over a week before

____ usually a week ahead of time

____ a day or so before

____ within an hour or two before

8. The friends I see most often are people I got to know

(Please rank from 1-6)

____ within the last year

____ in the last two years

____ within the last 5 years

____ from 5-10 years ago

____ from 11-19 years ago

____ from 20 or more years ago

9. I belong to and regularly attend the social meetings of the following:

(Please list organizations such as church, hobby or special interest groups either by name or type of organization. Use the reverse side of this page if you need more room.) _____

10. I have quit at least one such organization in order to avoid someone._____ (Yes or No).

11. I can remember _____(write number) times in this town when I ran into and had to speak to people I would not have sought out or was actively avoiding.

12. When differences that are very unpleasant or seem unresolvable come between people who are close, (check one).

____A) I believe in confronting the issue until one or the other of us gives in and we become friends again, or decide we're just not friends anymore.

____B) I persist until finding some way around the difference and try never to let the relationship go completely. I find a way to be civil in the meantime.

____C) I believe in working through difference but it is often so awkward or bitter, that I have let some relationships drift apart.

____D) I believe in temporarily avoiding people with whom I have such difference in the hope that the issue will be forgotten in time.

____E) I really don't have much time to spend preserving relationships that get into difficulty; I believe people change and there is lots of opportunity to meet new people who will be more closely aligned with my feelings about things.

(Pilot Study,p.6)

...The Hypotheses are generated by each of the three major urban theories:

I. Determinist

If the findings conform to Determinist predictions, one would expect urbanism to have a negative effect on friendships; they would be expected to last longer (be older) in smaller communities. an effect of population size, the likelihood of accidentally running into someone you know (unplanned meetings) would also be greater in less populated places.

In densely populated areas, spacial limitations might be expected to reduce the number of people normally seen at one time (decreased groupsize), and, if groupsize is smaller, one might see compensation by planning engagements either further ahead (increased plantime) or more frequently (increase in number of planned meetings) in order to insure meeting with the people one wants to see.

In terms of the "maintenance" of threatened relationships both confronters and avoiders see preserving a relationship as secondary to behaving in a manner consistent with their principles regarding the handling of issues in relationships. For diminishers, the relationship is paramount and the behavior, saving the relationship regardless of the method of dealing with issues, is consistent with that philosophy. For those who lose or give up the relationship, relinquishers, there are

two subcategories: one for those whose behavior is consonant with their philosophy and another comprising those for whom events and their own behavior are dissonant with their philosophy concerning relationships. This subcategorization is included for obtaining a measure of psychological effects suggested by the theory of Urban Anomie, namely, the perceived influence on personal life events of factors not in accordance with ones choice that are outside of one's control, those contributing to a sense of alienation, dissatisfaction and emotional disharmony.

II. Compositional

If the findings conform to predictions of the Compositional theory, one would expect occupation to vary according to city because people having certain occupational skills would have been drawn to the same cities. (Sampling from library-going populations minimize city-specific occupational differences on the academic dimension, but it is doubtful that other occupational differences were obscured.) According to the Compositional theory, one would not expect relationship behavior to vary with city size but one could expect it to differ outside the personal social world of one's own neighborhood (removed from familiar networks of sanctions and the meaningful con-

sequences of one's social actions).

In terms of the maintenance of threatened relationships, compositional theory would predict no direct effect of Urbanism. One would expect instead that people have been drawn to places where they can best exercise their philosophies. That is, one would expect to find confronters concentrated in small towns where confrontations can occur more easily (by way of the likelihood of chance meetings) and that avoiders would be found in the bigger cities. Diminishers would remain constant across population sizes and among relinquishers, one would expect a preponderance of value-consonants or at least no increase of value dissonants with population size.

III. Subcultural

If the findings conform to predictions of the Subcultural theory, one would expect a high incidence of belonging to special interest organizations in larger cities because Urbanism promotes organizations. According to this theory, subcultures are intensified through population size so one also would expect that fewer people quit such organization in larger cities. Controlling for factors of age and years of residence, friendships would tend to be older in larger cities because of the subcultural cohesiveness in which they're presumed to be embedded. Social group size would tend to be sightly

larger in larger cities because more of one's social engagements would involve special interest groups and organizations. Neighborhood-specific behavior might also be expected to be intensified with population size.

In terms of the maintenance of threatened relationships, the Subcultural expectations would be to see saved relationships more often in larger cities because of diminishment of divisive issues in favor of superordinate subcultural ones. Where threatened relationships exist outside the superordinate subculture, however, one would expect increased frequency of value-consonant relinquishers in larger cities. That is, there would be more value-consonant relinquishers or more diminishers, or both, with increased population size; either one or both would be consistent with Subcultural expectations.

Subjects (Pilot Study,p.9)

There were 156 subjects in all, 69 females, 81 males (six missing cases), ranging in age from 14 to 81 (X = 38). In each of the four cities numbers of S's were as follows" NYC. 37 (F = 14, M = 23); StL, 37 (F = 20, M = 17); Dur, 39 (F=13, M = 26); Len, 37 (F = 22, M = 15). Subjects were, in part, self-selected by their response to the sign, and drawn from the library-going populations of these four locales.

Data Analysis and Results (Pilot Study,p.10)

... Of more serious consequence, the cell sizes proved too small when using all four cities in statistical manipulations so that compromises were necessitated. some categories were combined (e.g., NYC vs. all other cities), or extremes in population size were used (e.g., NYC vs. Len) for comparison, to increase cell size. Median splits (not applicable to occupation or gender) were utilized for all other factors except the frequency distribution (groupsize, plantime and friendship duration) and maintenance. For these, table are presented showing significant differences between cities where determined by Chi square or binomial tests as indicated (Table 1, and Tables 2, 3 and 4)...

A Chi square test reveals the incidence of unplanned meetings (accidentally running into someone you know) in Lenox to be significantly higher than that in New York $x^2(1) = 15.16$, $P = .0002$, Phi = .44 (Questions 1, 2 and 4 combined), while New Yorkers seem to have a higher frequency of planned meetings at $x^2(1) = 3.36$, $P = .06$ (Question #3, not significant). Neither Question #2 by itself not Question #11, both dealing with the avoidance of people, are significantly different in terms of population size ($P = .3$ and .4, respectively).

New Yorkers are not significantly different from Lenox inhabitants in terms of neighborhood-specific behavior towards people ($x^2(1) = .53$, $P = .46$), occupation

($x^2(1) = 2.44$, $P = .2$), or number of organizations belonged to or quit ($x^2(1) = .08$ and $.34$; $P = .77$ and $.55$, respectively). Lenox respondents are significantly older than New Yorkers sampled ($x^2(1) = 7.73$, $P = .005$), but mean years of residence in the towns do not differ significantly ($x^2(1) = .00004$, $P = .99$).

Gender differences exist between city samples but these appeared not to vary significantly with population size. Specifically, between NYC and Lenox $P = .06$ (re: Gender Table 5), chi square tests using categories of those who chose vs. those who did not choose a particular maintenance response, suggest that males more often tend to be avoiders than females, $x^2(a) = 3.18$ (where 3.84 denotes significance), but none of the other differences between maintenance responses in terms of gender, approach significance (re: Gender Table 6).

In the tables (2, 3 and 4) regarding groupsize, plantime, and friendship duration differences, a gradual shift can be observed between cities according to population size. The shift shows that friendships tend to be significantly newer with high population, $x^2(1) = 13.44$, $P = .002$, Phi = 42, and significantly older with low population ($P = .01$, binomial). The direction of shift in groupsize is towards smaller groups with increased population size and the difference is significant when NYC is compared with all other locales at $P = .02$ (bi-

nomial test). The direction of shift in plantime is not apparent and there were no significant differences found in terms of cities.

Maintenance categories in terms of population size can be seen in Table 1. Confronters appear increase with a decrease in population size but there are not significant differences. For avoiders and diminishers there is no direction of shift with population size and there are not significant differences. The "relinquish" category shows a pattern of more relationships lost with increasing population size with the difference between NYC and Lenox being significant at 0001 (binomial test). The subcategorization of relinquishers into value-consonants and value-dissonants reveals no significant differences between cities among consonants and no patterns of shift according to population size. Among value-dissonants, however, there is a significant difference between New York and all other cities with New Yorkers being higher at P <.0001 level of significance (binomial test).

The results indicate that the Determinist theory is the one best supported by the data. The compositional theory hypothesized that there are significantly more confronters in small towns and significantly more avoiders in larger cities. Although the pattern seems to occur among confronters, no significant differences are found and no apparent pattern exists among avoiders. Nor do the cities reflect different population compositions in terms of factors that influence relationships according to the theory (e.g., gender, occupation and neighborhood). Age, which is higher in Lenox than in New York, proves the one exception that could be interpreted to support the Compositional theory, but, by itself, the support it offers is weak.

The Subcultural theory III states that urbanism can affect relationships through the mediating variable of subcultures; that urbanism fosters and strengthens subcultures which in turn can foster and strengthen relationships. The relevant hypothesis is that diminishers or value-consonant relinquishers will be most often found in highly populated cities and this hypothesis is rejected through the findings. Those social factors expected to be mediating variables such as neighborhood, organization membership and cohesiveness, also show no effects of urbanism. Also, possible indicators of

subcultural activities and cohesiveness (larger group size and older friendships) in larger cities are the opposite of what is found in the data.

On the other hand, urbanism does appear to have the direct effect on interpersonal relationships hypothesized by the Determinist theory: because fewer relationships that get into trouble are able to be saved in larger cities, and active friendships tend to be recent ones, it can be said that more relationships are lost, or "let go," as urbanism increases.

The data suggest that one reason for this finding is that people do not "run into" other people they know in New York, for example, as much as in smaller cities. From the smaller groupsize factor, it can be speculated, that with limited space for social gatherings, there is at most opportunity for seeing an average of two or three people (excluding the work situation) seven days a week. As a consequence, people's social time is very valuable and very deliberately planned. One rarely sees people that one doesn't actively intend to see.

PILOT STUDY Results:

Table 1

City X Maintenance: The Preservation or Loss of Relationships (R) That Are Threatened, Relative to One's Personal Philosophy of How to Deal with Divisive Issues

(N)		(12A) Confront Issue (Save or lose R.)	(12D) Avoid Issue (Save or lose R.)	(12B) Diminish Issue (Save R.)	(12C & 12E) Relinquish Issue (Lose R.)
(40)	NYC	9, 22%	5, 13%	13, 33%	13, 33%*
(39)	StL	9, 23%	3, 8%	17, 44%	10, 26%
(39)	Dur	11, 28%	6, 5%	19, 49%	8, 20%
(37)	Len	11, 30%	5, 8%	17, 46%	6, 16%*

(F, 30%, M 21% $X^2(2) = 1.76$)

(F 64%, M 14% $X^2(2) = 3.2$ (3.84- sig.)

*Binomial test shows difference between NYC and Lenox to be Significant at >.0001

1A

Relinquish: lose R.

City	(12E) Consonant	(12C) Dissonant
NYC	3, 8%	10, 25%*
StL	7, 18%	3, 8%
Dur	2, 5%	6, 15%
Len	1, 3%	5, 14%

*Binomial test shows difference between NYC and all other locales to be significant at >.0001

(Smaller numbers = higher frequencies) (Pilot Study p16)

Table 2
City X responses for Question 6, –

Group Size	NYC	StL	Dur	Lenox	All Others (not NYC)
	1.62	1.75	2.02	2.13*.08	1.91 *.1
smaller no. of people	2.02	2.18	2.08	2.10	2.16
	3.12	2.83	2.71	2.83	2.65 **.02
larger no. of people	3.62	3.73	3.56	3.62	3.45
	4.25	4.55	4.00	3.97	3.97

*binomial test of difference between NYC and *, no significance.
**binomial test of difference between NYC and **, significance found

Table 3
City $\bar{X}$ responses for Question 7,

Plan Time					
	3.53	3.95	3.68	3.78	3.55
longer	2.51	2.45	2.57	3.89	2.52
	2.18	2.07	2.45	2.16	2.09
shorter	2.38	2.65	2.17	2.54	3.34
	3.51	3.83	3.24	3.24	3.27

Table 4
City $\bar{X}$ responses for Question 8,

Length of Friendships					
	2.79	4.10	3.28	4.18**.0001	3.62**.01
newer	2.84	3.18	2.71	3.15*.06	2.98
	2.23	2.30	2.56	2.78*.1	2.45
older	2.87	2.85	3.33	2.43	2.68
	3.90	3.83	3.79	3.49	3.47
	4.74	4.75	4.78	3.56**.01	4.05 *.08

*binomial test of difference between NYC and *, no significance
**binomial test of difference between NYC and **, significance found

(Pilot Study p17)

Gender Tables

Table 5
City X Gender

	F	M	
NYC	14, 38%	23, 62%	37, 25%
StL	20, 54%	17, 46%	37, 25%
Dur	13, 33%	26, 66%	39, 26%
Len	22, 59%	15, 41%	37, 25%
	69, 46%	71, 54%	150, 100%

Table 6
Question #12 X Gender

	F	M	
Q12A*	21, 30%	17, 21%	38, 25%
B	30, 43%	33, 41%	63, 42%
C	10, 14%	14, 17%	24, 16%
D**	4, 6%	12, 14%	16, 11%
E	4, 6%	5, 6%	9, 6%
	59, 46%	81, 54%	

* $X^2(2) = 1.76$ (significance = 3.84)
** $X^2(2) = 3.2$ (significance = 3.84)

Appendix II THE CURRENT STUDY: QUESTIONNAIRE

City or Town of residence:_____Age:_____

No. of years as resident:_____ Approximate income:_____

Occupation:_____ Gender : M or F

Marital Status: (Circle one) Single..Divorced..Separated..Married ..Living together as if Married..Other (please specify)_____
How long has the above marital status applied ? _____

Previous residence if different from above:_____

Do you identify yourself with any ethnic group ? _____
If so, which one?
_____

1. Outside of business relations, I run into people I know without having planned it. (Please check one.)

__Very often __Often __Sometimes __Rarely __Almost Never or Never

2. I accidentally run into people I would rather not see

__Very often __Often __Sometimes __Rarely __Almost Never or Never

3. Excluding the work situation, I get together with a friend or friends

__Very often __Often __Sometimes __Rarely__Almost Never or Never

4. I "drop in" on people unexpectedly

__Very often __Often __Sometimes __Rarely__Almost Never or Never

5. In places where I'm not well-known, when I have been rushed or annoyed, I have behaved in a way I would not have behaved in my regular places of business, or with people I knew I would see again.

__Very often __Often __Sometimes __Rarely __Almost Never or Never

6. When I see people socially, it is most often at a gathering of (Please rank from 1-5 according to frequency, with 1 being the most frequent; 5, the least.)

____ just one or two people at a time

____ between 3 and 5 people

____ between 6 - 14 people

____ between 15 - 30 people

____ 31 or more people

7. My typical social engagement is planned

(Please rank from 1-5 in frequency)

____ a month or more in advance

____ from over a week to just less than a month ahead

____ usually a couple of days to a week ahead of time

____ from several hours to a day before

____ within an hour or two before

8. The friends I talk with most often are people I got to know

(Please rank from 1-6 with 1 describing most of your friends ; 6 describing the least.)

____ within the last year

____ in about the last two years

____ from 3 - 6 years ago

____ from 7 - 10 years ago

____ from 11 -19 years ago

____ 20 or more years ago

9. I belong to and regularly attend meetings of

the following organizations.... _____

(Please list --by name or type of organization-- any clubs or groups, such as professional, political, religious, sports, hobby or special interest groups that you belong to. Use the the reverse side of this page if you need more room.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

10. I have left at least one such organization in order to avoid someone._____ (Yes or No).

11. In this town I can remember _____(number) times this year when I ran into and had to speak to people I would not have sought out or was actively avoiding.

12. When I call to mind the people who are closest to me, those I confide in most frequently and those who confide in me, I am thinking of about ____people. (number)

13. I can think of____people(number) that, at one time, I would have included in the above answer but that I no longer include.

14. Of those included in answer #12, about____(number) live within 30 miles of where I live.

15. In my neighborhood, I have a sense of being generally known; of being recognized fairly often. _____(yes or no)

16. I would describe my neighborhood as "ethnic." ____ (yes or no)

....If you answered "yes,"
A) With which ethnic group would you identify it?_____

B) Do you consider yourself a member of that group?_____

(Please number the following statements from 1-5, with #1 designating the one which describes you best ; #5, the least.)

17. When differences that are very unpleasant or seem unresolvable come between people who are close,

____ I believe in confronting the issue and do so until one or the other of us changes and we become friends again, or decide we're just not friends anymore.

____ I believe in persisting until finding some way around the difference and try never to let the relationship go completely. I find a way to be civil in the meantime.

____ I believe in working through differences but it is often so awkward or bitter, that I have let some relationships drift apart.

____ I believe in temporarily avoiding people with whom I have such differences in the hope that the issue will be forgotten in time. I usually take this approach.

____ I really don't have much time to spend preserving relationships that get into difficulty; I believe people change and there is lots of opportunity to meet new people who will be more closely aligned with my feelings about things.

18. From time to time, most people discuss important personal matters with other people. Looking back over the last 6 months, who are the people with whom you discussed an important personal matter ? Please write only first names or initials. (you are not limited to the spaces below; write as many names as necessary to answer correctly.)

	M.or F.	How Close	No.Of Years	Role
#1.				
#2.				
#3.				
#4.				
#5.				

Only for the first 5 people named above, indicate

19. In the box after the name whether the person is Male or Female.
20. How close you feel to this person on a scale of 1-5 .
(When 1 =the least close, and 5 = the closest)
21. In the next column, how many years you've known each person.
22. At the right, the role this person has in your life, eg., Spouse, Friend, Parent, Sibling, Coworker, Neighbor, Advisor, Comember of a group, etc...

23. How would you describe the relationships among these five persons ?
Answer one of the following choices for each pair:

A. Do not know each other, B. Would recognize each other,
C. Know each other well, D. Are very close,

#1 and #2___ #1 and #3___ #2 and #4___ #1 and #5___ #3 and #5__

#2 and #3___ #1 and #4___ #3 and #4___ #2 and #5___ #4 and #5__

24. In the last year, what is the largest number of people you have entertained at one time in your home ? _____

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