This annotated bibliography contains items concerned with the impact of communications on networks of primary relationships and their organization into communities. Part of the bibliography was compiled by a systematic search of key sociological journals of the past decade. The material is organized into numbered sections, with the three main headings being Community, Network, and Communication. There are two other subdivisions under the main headings. After each set of annotations a cross-reference list is provided to other works that are annotated elsewhere in the document. An alphabetical author and title list concludes the bibliography.

(Author/MLF)
COMMUNITY – NETWORK – COMMUNICATION:
An Annotated Bibliography

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AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INTRODUCTION

We have written this bibliography to provide for ourselves and for our readers an assessment of the current state of theoretical and empirical knowledge with regard to "community-network-communication." We are concerned with the intersection of these concepts: What are the networks of primary interaction within the community? How is the nature of interaction and of the community shaped by current modes of communication? What will be the impact of future modes? How do networks of primary interaction function to provide "support systems" for those in need of aid? How are concepts of community -- spatial, institutional, interactional and normative -- related to each other, to network structure, and to interaction? We feel that these and related questions comprise key issues in the study of community. We are currently doing empirical research in this area, and we have found the annotated bibliography we have compiled here to be of much assistance in our thinking.

It should be clear that this bibliography is not an attempt to list and annotate all of the community literature, all of the interaction and network literature, nor all of the communication literature. Such undertakings would be mammoth enterprises, and they would also include much material of less direct interest to us. Thus we are concerned only with the impact of communications on networks of primary relationships and their organization into communities, and not with the technical aspects of communication nor even with its societal-level implications. With respect to the study of community, we have omitted large areas of subject
matter such as community power, norms and attitudes. And we have relatively neglected much literature on the purely mathematical properties of networks and on non-community sociometry.

Part of this bibliography was compiled by a systematic search by Jean Golden of key sociological journals of the past decade. A list of the journals searched, by year, is given in an Appendix in the back. The rest of the entries were obtained from books and journal articles which we knew or about which we had some knowledge; this component is by its nature less systematically compiled. In our compilation, we have limited ourselves to sociological sources, for the most part, although we have incorporated a number of novels which deal with future community and communications. We have concentrated almost entirely on North American research, for that is where our study interests are, but we would like to note here the availability of a large number of other works dealing with non-North American situations. There is, in particular, a large body of literature dealing with African urban networks. A good starting point here is J. Clyde Mitchell, ed., Social Networks in Urban Situations (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969).

Our annotations are often quite extended, presenting specific findings as well as general indications of the subject matter. We have found that we have needed reference to such findings in our work. Often we have incorporated the authors' own words into the annotations. (We have saved space when doing so by deleting the usual ellipses.) Our annotations are primarily descriptive and not evaluative; we leave it to other readers and to future research to provide continuities and validation.
We have not attempted to annotate completely every work, especially large community studies. Rather we have annotated only those parts which were relevant to community-network-communication. This can lead to a distorted picture of the work as a whole.

In compiling this bibliography, we have been able to come to some tentative conclusions, however. First, the task of overthrowing Louis Wirth has been well accomplished, and it is time to get on to other things. The publication of such works in the early sixties as Gans' *The Urban Villagers*, Greer's *The Emerging City*, and Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* consolidated earlier more fragmentary probes into the existence and importance of urban primary relationships and provided the impetus for much further research. Not only has the existence of primary ties been amply documented, but a good deal of knowledge has been accumulated about the nature of such ties: the relationship of intimates and acquaintances to urbanites, the residential distribution of intimates, the frequency of contact between intimates, the SES, ethnic and related characteristics of intimates, and the content of the relationships (e.g. mutual aid, diffuse sociability) between urban intimates and urban acquaintances.

What there is little knowledge of is how these variables relate to each other. There is only fragmentary knowledge, for example, on how the residential distribution of urban intimates is related to the basis of their relationships (whether friend or kin) and to their content. Clearly more work on such interrelationships must be done.

Much more work must also be done on the nature of the formal structure of networks of primary relationships and the impact of variations in this structure. Under what conditions, are dense
networks likely to arise? What will their impact be on the provision of support in terms of everyday and emergency crises? The pioneering work of Bott, Laumann and others must be extended.

There is even less information available on the impact of communications on community and network, as the scant set of entries in this section indicates. How does the advent of the telephone affect the spatial distribution of intimates? What impact will new modes of communication have on networks? Such questions have barely been formulated.

The bibliography is organized into numbered sections, with the three main headings being Community, Network, and Communication. There are numbered sub-sections and sub-sub-sections, as well. After each set of annotations, we provide a cross-reference list to other germane works which are annotated elsewhere in this bibliography. We also have an alphabetical author-title list at the end.

This bibliography is only a beginning. We hope to revise and expand it as our knowledge grows. We would welcome suggestions for the inclusion of works not cited here, as well as substantive criticisms of our annotations themselves.

Financial support for the compilation of this bibliography was provided, in part, by the "Environment Study," sponsored by Bell Canada. This study was also assisted under the Province of Ontario Health Research Grant No. P.R.-196. The bibliography is being used in conjunction with studies of "Community Ties and Support Systems" and "The Future Community" (Barry Wellman, Principal Investigator), being conducted at the Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto. We are grateful to the Centre and to its Acting Director, L. S. Bourne, and its Secretary, A. Cantwell, for their support.
1. COMMUNITY

1.1 COMMUNITY: DEFINITIONS AND THEORY


Arensberg uses spatial rather than network definitions of community. He sees communities as basic units of organization and transmission within a society and culture, with patterned sets of roles and statuses, and an intergenerational continuity.


An attempt is made by the author to demonstrate the advantages for Christianity of the development of the "secular city." Cox claims that one of the major phenomena of modern secularized cities is the liberation of men from old,ascriptive ties so that they can be far more socially mobile in establishing social networks based upon common interests. He says that many of the dangers alleged to be engendered by modern cities, such as alienation, mass society, segmentation, either have not occurred or are actually positive occurrences.


It is a critical review of various concepts of the community. The community has been variously conceived of as a "given area," a "microcosm" of a "total social system," a locale of "common opinion on topics of common interest" and as a place of intensive locality-based social relationships. The microcosm idea has decreasing relevance as differentiation and integration into larger areas has developed. Its position as the seat of a complete set of institutions is gone. It is more useful to see it as the site of "locality social intercourse," as the center of a set of common experiences and as the repository of locality norms and informal social control mechanisms.

Dewey questions the idealization of the rural community. Was it the rural setting or the homogeneity of the population that made effective neighbouring possible? Was it ever the "social paradise" it is often held to be, given the high rate of emigration and tendencies to romanticize the past. In rural areas, along with voluntary primary groups, one is forced more into primary relations with people with whom one often does not want to interact. Is a large primary group necessarily a prerequisite for losing anomie? Is the former identification of residential and economic communities desirable, or was it more of an outgrowth of isolation caused by poor transportation and communication?

Such queries lead one to question the neighborhood--unit principle of modern urban planning, insofar as it is an attempt to recapture the quality of life of the old rural community.


This is a beautifully composed review of the anthropological literature on the origin of the subjective sense of community. Starting with ethnological studies of animal communities, the author follows the development of community throughout human history, ending with present day North American cities. He argues that all communities are characterized by the presence of numbers of biologically similar organisms, and adduces considerable data to support this hypothesis.


The author wishes to discover whether suburbanism as an ecological phenomenon is also accompanied by suburbanism as a social-psychological state, that is, as a distinct way of life. The main hypothesis states that, "high neighbouring is more characteristic of suburbanism than urbanism and is due to the presence in suburbs of selected demographic and socioeconomic groups, siting arrangements and other ecological characteristics; but it is also due to the selective migration to the suburbs of people predisposed to neighbouring." Thus suburban characteristics are contrasted with the traditional conception of anonymity and non-neighbouring of cities, and likened to the integrated primary group neighbourhoods thought to be characteristic of the ideal-typical rural areas.

Freedman says that one cannot use the concept of mobility, per se, as an explanation of the "cause" of social disorganization without raising the question of why the typical (mobile) urbanite is not socially disorganized.

He argues for the fruitfulness of the concept of "mental mobility": the extent to which a population is adapted to mobility and it is an established part of its culture. To people adjusted to a relatively high rate of change and new experience; such mobility is not disorganizing but a basic part of the structure of personal and social organization. It is only disorganizing to those who are as yet unaccustomed to mobility.


On the basis of a survey of suburban residents in the Philadelphia area, Gans challenges many of the allegations proposed by critics of suburbia. He finds that the move from the city to the suburb results in only a few minor changes in life-style, and that most of the changes which do occur are the result of aspirations and belief systems that prompted the move and are not caused by suburbia. Those changes which can be attributed to suburbia, such as ownership and pride in a single-family home, have positive effects, for the most part. While families that are happy in the city may be even happier in the suburbs, the marital problems of suburban families were also evident when they lived in the city. The suburbs are most likely to be unhappy places for adolescents, especially lower and lower-middle class adolescents, and for culturally deviant persons. Gans argues that urban and social planners should devote more attention to improving the social milieu through the provision of ameliorative services for these groups, and less attention to the physical nature of the community. He argues that social reality is based on social and economic factors rather than architectural ones.
This book is a collection of essays which centers around a number of main topics. The first section, "Environment and Behaviour" discusses the futility of planners trying to change people's values and behaviour by modifying the physical environment. Instead of this traditional approach to planning, Gans suggests in Part II, that planners begin with the goals of the community and then develop programs which best achieve these goals. In Part III, "Planning for the Suburbs and New Towns", he questions some of the common ideas of the planning profession, such as, that suburbs are non-urban and bad, and that balanced communities of various classes and ethnic groups are good. The final section of the book is loosely centered around the idea that "people's stereotypes about other people prevent their doing the right thing by their fellow men."


An analysis is made of modern urban life combining spatial and interactional approaches. The effects on urban behaviour of living in various "urban worlds" are discussed. Greer considers the effects of the increasing scale of society to be the widening of the radii of interdependence, which means that, whether men know it or not, they become mutual means to individual ends and as a concomitant to this, the increasing scale which produces an increasing range and content of the communications flow. Consequently, "locality groups" lose autonomy, because more exposed to conflicting norms and develop a more fragmented social order. At the same time that such differentiation is occurring, integration is also occurring to knit the new entities together, on aggregate, network, group and institutional bases.

The consequence for the urbanite is "individuation and social differentiation." There are no fixed, all-encompassing groups to which he is solely oriented. Rather, he is a citizen of many "worlds", each having only part of his allegiance. The community thus becomes one of "limited liability." For many, there is a hierarchy of locality units: neighbourhood, "local residential area," municipality. "Overlapping activities of households result in neighborhoods which exist as a kind of single thread network throughout the familistic population. Neighborhoods overlap, as do households, and the neighborhood structure of a metropolis resembles St. Augustine's definition of God -- an infinite circle whose center is everywhere and whose periphery is nowhere." Larger residential areas with a degree of interdependence constitute "communities of limited liability." They exhibit a flow of communication through the community press and informal interaction, and order behavior through voluntary organizations. In the suburbs, political units are frequently coterminous with one or more social communities. In these cases, there is a political community.

"The neighborhood is very likely to generate inter-household
friendships and visiting patterns, baby-sitting pools and kaffeklatsch circles, and as such it sustains an important flow of communication. Its net product is small scale, mutual aid, and friendship.


The criticisms sociologists have voiced of Wirth's essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life" are examined in this paper. Guterman argues that the evidence to support these criticisms contains several inadequacies. In the first place, the measures employed deal with quantity of interaction whereas Wirth was speaking of the quality. Secondly, these studies are limited to relations between kin, friends, neighbours and the like, which constitute only part of any person's network of social relations. Wirth was interested in the total networks, including secondary types of interaction that play a large role in the day-to-day existence of most urbanites. Lastly, these studies lack a comparative aspect by failing to include residents of large cities, small towns and rural areas.

His data shows a negative relationship between size of locality in which a person lives and the intimacy of his friendship ties. However, there are sampling problems with this data. We need a fresh look at Wirth's theory with more adequate research methods and design.


Starting from an ecological perspective, Hawley defines "community" as "an adaptive mechanism whereby a population utilizes and maintains itself in its habitat." It is "an organization of interdependences which constitutes the population a coherent functional entity."

Hawley's definition is fundamentally different from those which seek to define community with some local area as a referent.

This paper analyses the normative character of the neighbourhood relationship, and its relationship to the non-normative aspects. It also indicates changes in the normative element which might explain why this approach has been unduly ignored in favour of the interaction approach (behavior). The sociological problem is, to what extent and under what circumstances do persons inhabiting an area called a "neighbourhood" interact socially in the specific ways expected of "neighbours" in the institutional sense.

Heberle starts from the observation that the word neighbourhood may mean either an area or a social relationship. Neighbourhoods, in the first sense, may be small in area as well as in the number of people or they may be quite large in both respects. Neighbourhood in the second sense means a small number of people whose dwellings are adjoining and who, by the nature of things, are dependent on each other for mutual aid in emergencies. Custom prescribes what kind of aid may be expected and assigns definite roles to the occupants of the various dwellings involved. Neighbours are also entitled to share certain joyous or festive events in each other's lives. In this sense, neighbourhood is an institution. As the need for mutual aid declines in modern urban and rural communities, the functions of the neighbourhood tend to become less important. In the vacuum, the sociability aspects tend to predominate. As a consequence, association with one's neighbours becomes essentially a matter of choice.

Thus what matters is the distinction between a social order in which occupants of an area, that is "neighbours in space", are related to each other in a specific way by mutual rights and duties attached to their dwelling places (normative approach) and another type of social order in which it is a matter of choice whether, and in what ways, people associate and interact with their spatial neighbours (interaction approach).


It is a seminal book in the history of American urban thought. The author attacks classical notions about the desirability of fully planned cities which ignore the imperatives of urban life. She celebrates the diversity and street life possible in cities and urges measures be taken to further these ends. For example, a high degree of street life will engender a great amount of informal interaction, with consequent gains in sociability, mutual aid, and exposure of residents to a diversity of experiences. She is against big, monumental things, be they parks, buildings, and in favour of small-scale things of mixed ages. Her book is a critique of some planning assumptions, a statement of her ideals, and a compendium of suggestions on how these ideals might be maintained. Its focus is primarily on the block and the neighborhood.

Kaufman presents a collection of definitions taking both physical and sociological points of view, that is, placing emphasis on "place" and "collectivity". He suggests some conceptual guidelines for the study of community from an interactional and process perspective.

Following a short statement on some questions involved in definition, the conception of the community as an interactional field is presented. The tentative notion of the interactional field or arena that Kaufman presents is more an "enumeration of elements of an interactional conception of community than a precise statement of their interrelationships." He defines the community field as "an organization of actions carried on by persons working through various associations or groups. This organization of actions occupies the center of the community arena and is distinguished from other fields of action in a locality by a complex of characteristics or dimensions." He is thus primarily concerned with communities as systems of social relationships rather than as geographical areas.

Basic elements of an interactional field are described and the distinctive features of the community arena are considered. The paper concludes with a consideration of community design and the broad goals and focus of planned change.


The book is a highly competent and critical review and analysis of the relevant research literature which includes full references. Its scope can perhaps best be indicated by its chapter and subheading titles.

1. Neighbors and Neighboring: The neighbor role, evidence on the role of neighbor, the concept of neighboring, neighboring activities, neighboring relationships, generalizations on neighboring, patterns of neighboring, physical design in neighboring, intervening variables.

2. The Neighborhood: physical components, social components, methods for ascertaining the presence of neighborhoods, assessments of functioning neighborhoods, establishing boundaries of neighborhoods, use of neighborhoods, neighborhood attachment and satisfaction, factors associated with liking and disliking neighborhood areas.

3. The Neighborhood Unit Reconsidered: application of the neighborhood unit idea, alternative proposals, the role of the physical plan.
4. Implications for Planning the Human Environment: The neighbor role, neighboring activities and relations, the neighborhood, sociable and reserved neighbors, local versus urban-oriented individuals, respectable and rough residents, groups with special ties.

Some of the conclusions by chapter are: neighbouring is affected by:

1. Traditions of neighboring by place and social class with small town, rural and ethnic or immigrant enclaves in urban areas placing greater reliance on neighbors than the larger, more heterogeneous, more urbanized settlements. As for social class, here too, characteristic patterns emerge according to the life-situation of particular classes and their prevalence in different environments. Working class solidarity has been contrasted with middle class selectivity and two phases of suburban sociability. Other factors which affect neighbouring are: social change, for example, changing values and institutions, increasing physical and social mobility; individual characteristics, such as sex, age, stage in the life cycle and personality; the interaction between physical design and the social composition of the given population.

2. Dimensions of neighboring "include the frequency of neighboring, its priority, intensity, extent, formality, locale, and occasion," as these vary by "setting, group and class affiliations, and personal inclinations." Neighbouring is more fully integrated with social life in small towns or in urban enclaves. Urban neighbouring on the other hand tends to be more of a segmentalized activity than a tightly-knit, diffuse one. It is more accurate to see "clear-cut boundaries, concentrated use of local facilities," and strong local loyalties as "expressions of neighborhood cohesion -- not their causes." Local attachments are greater among long-term residents. For many people, though, the neighbourhood can be better seen as a way-station or a stepping-stone.


Landecker discusses "the different ways in which a group may be integrated." These include "cultural integration" which is the proportion of universal and specialized culture traits (as opposed to alternative traits) of the whole; "normative integration," the extent of "conformity to social standards"; "communicative integration," "the extent to which communicative contact permeates a group"; "functional integration," "the degree to which there is mutual interdependence among the units of a system of division of labor."

This multidimensional approach leads towards a more complex view of the integration of communities.

An attempt is made to define the concept of "neighborhood," in terms of spatial and interactional characteristics. Mann's approach is primarily interactional, although implicit in his discussion is that this is interaction within confined spatial boundaries. He says that "if the neighbourhood is in truth a grouping of people who have primary relationships with each other to such a level that a real social control is exercised over the relationships, then obviously the group must be a small one .... The neighbourhood then is really a small group of people .... which recognizes its bonds and acknowledges the social controls operating over the members." Mann traces out variations in neighboring relationships as individuals pass through the life cycle.


This essay reviews the literature on three main themes which relate to patterns of urban participation in the United States. These three are: the contemporary literature on mass society -- that is associated with macro-sociologists such as Nisbet and Kornhauser; literature on social participation patterns -- that is associated with contemporary urban sociologists such as Axelrod, Bell and Greer; and literature on political participation patterns -- that is associated with political sociologists and political scientists such as Lipset, Lane and Halbrath.

The purpose is to assess the trends in these different literatures and to pull them together into formulation about the possible implications of increasing urbanization for the patterns of individual participation and for the political system.

According to the author, the studies indicate that urban society is characterized by a high degree of participation and organization, but that the patterns are exceedingly diverse and complex. Thus, the conclusion that is drawn is that research must no longer focus on debates about whether or not there is organization, but rather it must attempt to delineate the diverse patterns of participation which do exist, and the complex implications of these patterns.

Essentially this is an analytic synthesis and review of research on the relationship between residential housing and urban social relations. Michelson argues that for housing to successfully meet the needs of urbanites there must be "mental congruence," that is, an individual must think "that particular spatial patterns will successfully accommodate his personal characteristics, values, and style of life" as well as "experiential congruence" which is "how well the environment actually accommodates the characteristics and behavior of people" between man and his spatial environment. The impact of the urban environment is discussed in terms of life style, stage in the life cycle, SES, values, urban "pathologies," and the extent of spatial determinism.

Michelson finds that: "Intense, frequent association with a wide range of relatives thrives in areas in which many people have easy physical access to each other, while the same people find that this style of life diminishes involuntarily in areas of low density."

"An emphasis on the nuclear family and its joint activities is most congruent with the access of people to each other and to various activities now provided by the typical housing, open space, and land use patterns of the suburbs."

"Active, traditionally masculine pastimes are part of home life only when the environment is structured so as to minimize the impingement of neighbors on each other."

"Specialized interests which require co-enthusiasts are difficult to satisfy in low density areas. Adaptive behavior, often expressed in terms of kaffee klatsching or organizational participation, is essential for those whose lives have previously included other people and activity but who are suddenly restricted."

"People with 'cosmopolitan' life styles desire more physical separation from neighbors and place less emphasis on proximity to facilities and services than do people whose interests are 'local'."

"The aged find greatest satisfaction in a concentration of like-aged people, particularly when they have 'local' life styles and previously lived in noncohesive neighborhoods."

"Completely random placement of working class residents among middle class neighbors results in the isolation of the former rather than in any intended, positive result."
"Although current usages and images of the city are restricted by personal resources, no significant differences in the preferred form of homes, neighborhoods, and cities have been shown to be related to social class differences."

"National and cultural values frequently transform the type and the use of urban spaces in any place."

"High neighborhood densities seem more related to social pathologies than crowding within dwelling units, but its effect is mediated by personal and cultural factors."

"Lack of ability to meet people in a place where contact becomes meaningful (such as can now be found in certain types of apartment buildings) is related to an increased incidence of reported medical problems, possibly reflecting induced introversion."

"Spatial proximity, often based on the position and outlook of doors, may determine interaction patterns, but this normally occurs only under conditions of real or perceived homogeneity in the population and where there is a need for mutual aid, which is in many instances caused by population turnover in situations where residents themselves cope with repairs and like problems."


A number of definitions and aspects of community are presented and discussed: "the street or the world," "community as common culture," "community as a defence against external threat," "community of limited liability," "community as common deprivation," and "community as a locality-based social network."

He asserts that "the meaningful social area which people inhabit depends on class, life-cycle characteristics, length of residence, career pattern, type of social network, and many other factors." Because an urbanite's behaviour is related to the reactions of significant others, who live locally, and also interact with him in a number of different, yet significant roles, this overlapping of various social relationships provides the basis for locality social control. Mobile, middle-class people are able to escape from the community of common deprivation or social control. Such people inhabit a non-place community based on their loose-knit social networks, careers and consumption plans. Paradoxically, if community activity is measured by involvement in more formal voluntary associations, the mobile middle-class may, in this sense, be highly locality conscious with specific demands and expectations." Even for the most cosmopolitan and "home-
centered," neighbours are necessary to provide help in the
case of emergencies and difficulties which require the
immediate mobilization of support. However, not all of those
who live nearby may be considered to be neighbours, since high
SES people frequently only take cognizance of those of their
own SES level.

Reiss, Albert J., Jr. "The Community and the Corporate Area."
University of Pennsylvania Law Review, CV, February, 1957,
443-63.

An attempt is made to define concepts related to "community,
using Hawley's definition of the "community" as the starting
point. The community's "basic distinguishing characteristic"
is that it "exists by organizing interdependencies -- by
integrating people and their institutions 'in a common daily
life' -- this is the complementary relationship of terri-
torially integrated specialized activities. Small urban
communities are "composed largely of a primary area of direct,
though not necessarily personal, contact and communication
among persons. Large urban centers have in addition, a
secondary area which is chiefly an area of indirect contact
and communication among persons and the institutions they
represent." Much of this contact takes place on at least a
weekly basis. In the "tertiary community areas," of many
metropolitan areas, there is less contact and the area is
discontinuous with the center of dominance, as in an export
area.

Because "functionally differentiated units" are "territorially
integrated," even though they often have a common center,
there is "an indefinite periphery or boundary to the community."

Reiss, Albert J., Jr. "The Sociological Study of Communities."
Rural Sociology, XXIV, June, 1959, 118-30.

Communities have been conceived and studied as "ecological
systems" and as "social systems." "The social-group approach
rests on the postulate that a community system differs from
other systems in that locality is a datum in the integration
of the system." It includes only those forms of interaction
"which arise within locally defined and implemented value
orientations."

Simpson reviews the empirical literature on communities. This includes studies on communities as wholes which cover ethno- graphic and stratification studies, studies on communities as types and studies on community-specific processes which define communities in terms of interaction, institutions, boundaries, community power structure and decision-making and ecology. He concludes that there is a need for empirical study with clearly defined variables at the level of the community itself and at the level of the population of a community. Concepts should be differentiated since there is no one multi-purpose definition of community.


The variables used as measures of urban social participation in past research are outlined. Teele sees studies of social participation as marked by a failure to conceptualize participation and by the heterogeneity of research design, especially with respect to sampling procedures. This variety of approaches, he asserts, has contributed to the paucity of stable findings in the area.

Teele discusses several dimensions of social participation, such as voluntariness - unvoluntariness, formalism -- unformalism and planned -- unplanned, in which the numerous variables of participation can be placed.


Tilly identifies five separate orientations to the study of populations interacting within a determinate territory. The ecological orientation stresses the relationship of the population to the territory; the normative approach stresses the relationship of the population to its activities; the locational approach examines the distribution of activities within the territory; the interactional approach focuses on the activities that link the population members; and finally, the holistic approach considers the interrelationships of the three variables. Tilly opts for the interactional approach, insofar as his special interest is in social ties and solidarities in different kinds of communities.

Tilly tentatively identifies a community as "a set of contiguous households completely connected with each other through lines of interaction within the set." Using a nonformalized network approach (but see "Translation of Major Variables in Community
Structure into Network Terms") he focusses on community organization in terms of interaction density, differentiation, and external relations. This three-dimensional schema is applied to problems arising from the folk-urban continuum notion, and is shown to clarify many of the uncertainties arising from one-dimensional schemas. Some limits on the independence of the constituent variables are proposed -- for instance, high interaction density is incompatible with high differentiation. Some hypotheses about community structure are generated, as well as some ideal types of community. A city is identified as a community which "combines relatively sparse interaction, extensive external relations, and high differentiation." This definition is proposed as a quantifiable standard which allows us to make statements about the extent of urbanization in a society, or about the degree of "urbanness" in a given community, and so forth. Urbanization is seen as a structural change in the community, involving the proliferation of external relations, differentiation, and thinning of interaction.

These are subsequently considered in the context of rigorous network analysis, and Tilly proposes measures of each of his three variables in terms of network structure. Three additional network variables, namely intensity, dominance and knit, are discussed, and the hypotheses generated earlier are reconsidered as propositions about the interaction of network properties. Tilly concludes by demonstrating that the six network variables he has discussed are adequate to deal with most of the concerns that have been felt by urban sociologists.


Community is defined as "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance: production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation, mutual support." Thus geographical, institutional and interaction factors are incorporated into the definition.

The book discusses the implication for modern communities of the Durkheimian "great change" which he feels has occurred in modern society, namely "division of labor, differentiation of interests and association, increasing systemic relationships to the larger society, bureaucratization and impersonalization, transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government, urbanization and suburbanization, changing values." The community thrives since it has important "vertical patterns" which are the "ties to the larger society and culture" and "horizontal patterns", which are the "relation of local units to each other."

bw

It is argued that urban reform movements devoted primarily to the "saving" of residential neighborhoods contain within them a tendency to overlook the "despatialized" character of many urbanites' networks of intimate relationships. Such networks are often based upon common interests, with their members forming "selective communities."

Nevertheless, neighbourhoods are still seen to form important urban functions of diffuse sociability, mutual aid, and social integration. They are more heterogeneous than the selective communities but because of sorting, they are more homogeneous than the metropolis as a whole.

It is argued that movements for meaningful self-determination must be formed around interest groups as well as neighbourhood groups.


This is a classic attempt to formulate distinguishing sociological properties of urbanism. These are held to be size, density and heterogeneity. Some hypothesized outcomes are the segmentalization of human relationships; predominance of secondary rather than primary relationships; face-to-face contacts that are impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental; higher geographical mobility and minimal neighboring relationships; differentiation and depersonalization in social relationships; the replacement of ineffective actual kinship ties by fictional kinship groups and the replacement of the territorial unit by interest units as a basis of social solidarity.

"The city as a community resolves itself into a series of tenuous segmental relationships superimposed upon a territorial base with a definite center but without a definite periphery and upon a division of labor which far transcends the immediate locality and is worldwide in scope. The larger the number of persons in a state of interaction with one another, the lower is the level of communication and the greater is the tendency for communication to proceed on an elementary level, i.e., on the basis of those things which are assumed to be common or to be of interest to all."

Wirth predicts that emerging trends in communications systems will profoundly affect the future development of urban life.

Although a number of later theoretical and empirical works have challenged many of Wirth's assertions, his paper still remains a baseline in the development of purely urban theory and research.
Cross-References (1.)

Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life." (1.2)
Stein, The Eclipse of Community. (1.2)
Blum, "Social Structure, Social Class, and Participation in Primary Relationships." (2.2.2)
Greer, "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia." (2.3.1)
Milgrim, "The Experience of Living in Cities." (2.3.2)
Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum. (2.3.3)
Webber, "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm." (2.3.3)
Greer and Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure." (2.4)
Wolf, "Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society." (2.4)
Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication. (3.1)
Meier, A Communications Theory of Urban Growth. (3.1)
Seeley, "Communication, Communications and Community." (3.1)
Webber, "Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity." (3.1)
1.2 WHOLE COMMUNITIES


There are four guiding themes throughout this study, essentially consisting of criticisms of suburban and small town studies of the past. He says that: Westchester County, Park Forest and Levittown are neither representative of the American society nor the metropolitan suburb; the mobile, upper class professionals who gave birth to the myth of suburbia are not like the non-mobile, upperworking class factory workers in proletarian suburbs; these workers talk and act more like Warner's lower middle class than his lower class, which is due to stratum mobility rather than individual mobility; and a 'way of life' is more a function of age, income, occupation, education, rural-urban background and so forth, than of mere location in a mass produced tract suburb.

His conclusions show that these men of the working class suburb are family centered, spending much time managing their home and family and watching T.V., and little time with voluntary associations. Casual visiting is frequent but mutual neighbouring of a semi-formal sort among friends and neighbours is rare.

Yet his results do not really destroy the myth of suburbia, for as the workers mix with homeowners of long residence, they begin to assimilate, increase informal contacts, attend more meetings and the women join more voluntary associations. This work shows that the metropolitan ring masks many types of persons, groups, strata and communities as does the central city.


An extensive study of the "ways of life" in a new New Jersey suburb, primarily utilizing the author's participant-observation data, but incorporating some survey data as well. The study started in 1958 and ended in 1962.

Gans reported that individuals primarily moved to Levittown for "house-related reasons" -- especially to obtain a house better suited to their stage of the life cycle -- and much less for reasons related to "suburban ideology," or for desire for more intense interpersonal relationships.

Neighbourly relationships soon developed, consisting of mutual aid, diffuse sociability, and socializing newcomers to the neighbourhood. These were often not intense relationships, though. "A sorting and departure process developed. Those who had become friends set up block cliques, others move into multiblock ones, and yet others looked for friends elsewhere."
Intimate ties, within the community but not overly spatially related, soon developed among those with shared interests and backgrounds, such as ethnicity and SES. Many voluntary organizations developed, some started by outsiders, such as a national church HQ, others started by local residents -- people started and joined these organizations not so much out of an ideological belief but as an arena for finding sociability with those whom they felt they would share interests.

Gans argues that social life in Levittown developed more out of the social backgrounds of the in-migrants -- particularly SES, life style and ethnicity -- than out of the impact of the Levittown context itself.

About half of the Levittowners reported more visiting with neighbours than had taken place in their previous residence but about one-quarter reported less. The increase was primarily due to the homogeneity of the block. However, the block was not an intense unit of interaction, and there were no strong norms of interaction within it. "The block was a social unit only to assure a modicum of home and lawn care, beyond which there was no obligation for neighbors to associate. Neighboring rarely extended more than three or four houses away in each direction, so that the 'functional neighborhood' usually consisted of about ten to twelve houses at the most, although people did say hello to everyone on the block." Propinquity did not provide strong norms for interaction. Children were often the gathering factor in neighbourly contacts.

"Although 40 per cent of the Levittowners reported more couple visiting than in their former residences, the change was not as great as for neighboring, requiring as it does the compatibility of four rather than two and more of a commitment towards friendship as well." This was basically a product of the increased "supply of compatible people." There was little of the "superficiality" and "social hyper-activity" often alleged to occur in suburbia.

Gans recommends block homogeneity as a facilitator of neighbourly interaction, although he believes that neighbourhood heterogeneity is imperative for reasons of larger social egalitarian policy. He argues that the principal impact of the suburban experience is to sort people out according to their social characteristics and provide a somewhat different social arena in which they can interact.

This is a classic participant-observer study of a working-class Italian community in Boston. Gans details how the people he studied are involved in intense, tightly-knit networks of urban primary relationships, and how these networks are used to provide support and to affect behavior and norms. Besides interaction within the family, the "peer group" is held to be a basis for daily life. "Sociability is a routinized gathering of a relatively unchanging peer group of family members and friends that takes place several times a week." They are a vital center of urban life. The core of the group tends to be husbands' and wives' immediate kin, such as brothers, sisters, and cousins and their spouses. It also may include godparents, friends and neighbors (but only if there are intimate ties). Informal requirements for group homogeneity exist in terms of members' social backgrounds, interests and attitudes. It is readily mobilizable for support in times of routine and emergency crisis. However, one consequence of these tightly-knit networks is that there is poor articulation with outsiders, formally and informally.


This analysis of the viability of communal living as a future mode of community life is based upon the author's research.

The general aims of communal groups are "a shared way of life that breaks down barriers between people, ensures feelings of participation, ends exclusive possession in favor of sharing, and bases life on values." Problems in communally implementing these aims include: getting the work done without coercion; decision-making without anomia; building close, fulfilling relationships, but without exclusiveness; choosing and socializing new members; establishing an appropriate level of individuality and autonomy and ensuring shared perception and values.

Frequent consequences are requiring some sacrifices of members "as a test of faith," the emergence of a group identity, ideology, and leaders, and personal identity changes. Groups without provision for effective "commitment-building practices" are generally short-lived and often disappointing to the members. But there are often stable "growth and learning communities," arising out of T-group type movements with better chances of survival. These are built around close-knit groups with intense interaction, including mutual criticism, integrative group rituals, explicit sets of values and often communal living arrangements and division of labour.

Given change, the goal may not be necessarily structure and stability, but temporary fulfilling relationships.

An ethnographic study of two adjacent Tennessee ridge communities. Both are endogamous, unstratified, and egalitarian; the community lower on the ridge is agriculturally based and relatively peaceful, while the higher community is moonshine-oriented and given to frequent sporadic outbursts of violence. Matthews first attempts to explicate the difference between the two communities with a series of hypotheses about stress; when these fail, she demonstrates how a Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft difference between traditionally oriented groups (the So-Sos) and more progressively oriented ones (the Go-Gos) can distinguish between societies in which violence is absent, and those where it is present. The chief interest of this book for students of community is the descriptive information relating to interaction in an egalitarian community.


The city is asserted to affect men in various ways, in particular by "the intensification of nervous stimulation," which differs from the traditional community. In order to cope with the change and contrast of the city, urbanites become more calculating, blase, reserved and intellectual. There is a diminution of emotional responses and relationships, and a transformation of relationships into differentiated, secondary ones. The complexity of the city causes complexity in urbanites' networks of social relationships and heightening of ecological and social interdependence.

Consequently there is a self-protective turning inward from the city. Increasing population size loosens group controls and enhances individual freedom of movement. On the other hand, individuals have a diminished ability to control their fate, and an increased feeling of anomie.


Stein analytically reviews North American community studies. The author maintains that the phenomena of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization has disrupted informal urban social relationships, lessened urban diversity, heightened the loss of individual and group power, alienated urbanites from self and community. In sum, it has led to the development of "mass society."

Whatever one thinks of the author's interpretations, his book provides a rich summary of a number of important studies such as "the Chicago School," Middletown, Yankee City, Street Corner Society, Greenwich Village, the Deep South, World War II military communities, and Suburbia.

The article gives suggestions for informal, but incisive, investigations of communities. Among the suggestions are ones for measuring informal social networks. Tilly suggests that many casual observations about the city can be transformed into useful sociological knowledge by the use of systematic analytic techniques.
28. CFL Exchange Bibliography #282-#283

Cross-References (1.2)

Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish." (2.1)
Caplow, Stryker and Wallace, The Urban Ambiance. (2.1)
Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land. (2.2.1)
Liebow, Tally's Corner. (2.2.1)
Whyte, Street Corner Society. (2.2.2)
Seeley, Sim and Loosley, Crestwood Heights. (2.3.1)
Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum. (2.3.3)
Clark, The Suburban Society. (2.3.4)
1.3. COMMUNITIES OF THE FUTURE


This science-fiction novel is set in a large, dense New York City of the future. True to Wirth, the author indicates that the only way to solve the organizational problems of such a situation, is to have a society highly differentiated according to rigidly prescribed criteria. A caste-like system, based on a set of civil service-type rankings is the outcome.


This book is a popularization of the Wirthian hypothesis, with implications for an "aesthetics of friendship choices" in modern cities. Taking a broad cultural perspective, the authors link what they call the "fragmenting" style of modern artistic productions to the affective consequences of living in the urban milieu. They envision a growing sense of the aesthetic value of short-term, uncommitted friendship ties among the culturally sensitized and sophisticated inhabitants of cities, with this "new renaissance awareness" helping to some extent to offset the more destructive results of urban living.


This is a speculative essay on the impact of planning on the means of livelihood and ways of life. A large component of the book is devoted to the depiction of paradigms of three ideal cities designed for "Efficient Consumption," "Elimination of the Difference between Production and Consumption" and "Planned Security with Minimum Regulation." Not designed to be immediately "realistic," the plans provide a number of novel ideas about the ways in which physical and social planning can affect the development of these three types of communities.


Heinlein's speculative science-fiction novel predicts and promotes the idea of communal living. In essence, the communal groups come together almost as super-individuals. The "group" nature of this entity gives it greater stability and ability to cope than current individuals possess.

A science-fiction novel which is about North America a few generations hence. Physical decay has come to the suburbs, and the authors imply that under such conditions suburbia is particularly prone to extreme forms of social disorganization popularly attributed to the inner city in present time.
Cross-References (1.3)

Kanter, "Communes of the Past and Present." (1.2)
Meier, A Communications Theory of Urban Growth. (3.1)
Tonuma, "The Network City." (3.1)
Webber, "The Post-City Age." (3.1)
Asimov, The Naked Sun. (3.3)
Bellamy, "to whom this may come". (3.3)
Bester, The Demolished Man. (3.3)
Deutsch, "On Social Communication and the Metropolis." (3.3)
Pierce, "Communications Technology and the Future." (3.3)
"The Impact of Technological Change on World Politics." (3.3)
"Need for More Balance in the Flow of Communications." (3.3)
2. NETWORK

2.1. THE "WHAT" OF NETWORKS: FORMAL STRUCTURE


Anderson makes a general statement of the nature of urbanism, focusing on urban social relationships. An important component of urban participation is the personal contact network of relatives, friends, and acquaintances. Often, relations with these are confined to specific situations, such as work or leisure. In "closed" networks, all or most of a person's network mates are known to one another while in "open" networks, there is little acquaintance between people in Ego's network. The city is characterized by a relatively high rate of transiency in social relationships, with individuals often making new contacts, while the firmness of other contacts may diminish or be discontinued. This transiency is deemed to be essential in adjustment to urban living, setting limits on the number of contacts and providing fluidity in the urbanite's changes of situation.


Heider's theory of balance and Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance as well as other related theories describe the means by which the individual achieves satisfying consistency among his opinions or beliefs, his cognitions and sentiments concerning the objects of his environment, and his attitudes toward his behaviour or other aspects of self. A recent variant of such theories is interpersonal congruency theory, which places the locus of stability and change in individual behaviour in the interaction process rather than in intra-individual structures. The present investigation is a study of a living group in order to determine whether or not certain of these principles operate in that setting. A major finding is that liked persons, to a greater extent than disliked persons, are perceived by an individual as attributing to him traits similar to those he attributes to himself. Similar results are obtained for those persons with whom interaction is frequent as compared to those with whom interaction is infrequent.

The author provides a seminal use of the concept of social network.

In a society, "there is a network of social ties between pairs of persons arising from considerations of kinship, friendship and acquaintance. Most, but not all, of these ties are between persons who regard each other as approximate social equals, and these ties of approximate equality we regard as one manifestation of the social class system, and shall call the class network. Although each link in the class network is one of approximate social equality, not everyone in the network regards everyone else as his equal, and there are a few people who are regarded by many others, but not all, as belonging to a higher class. The class network is utilized for carrying out social activities, such as mutual help and home entertaining; class ties and ties between people of recognized unequal status are used by men for a variety of other purposes, for example, to find places for themselves in the fishing industry."

The parish's social network is made up of the ties of friendship and acquaintance which everyone growing up, partly inherits and largely builds up for himself. Some of the ties are between kinsmen. In some societies, kinsmen are not necessarily social equals, and are not status homogenous.

People can be traced through indirect links, as well as direct ties. In the parish, the number of links connecting any two inhabitants was small, never exceeding four. "One of the principal formal differences between simple, primitive, rural or small-scale societies as against modern, civilized, urban or mass societies is that in the former the mesh of the social network is small, in the latter it is large. By mesh I mean simply the distance round a hole in the network." There is a higher probability of two people interacting in a primitive society than in a modern society.


Like Mitchell's article in the same volume, this is a good methodological paper on recent network analysis. Barnes inclines more toward formalization than Mitchell, and some of his specifications of network characteristics differ from Mitchell's (e.g. density), but they cover much of the same material. The "political process" of the title refers to micropolitics; the sort of power and control interests that are familiar in small group sociology, but Barnes indicates how a network approach to these phenomena sheds new light on the subject.
There are no references to current North American work, and the terminology at times is abstruse and hard to handle. Barnes owes more to graph and balance theory than does Mitchell.


Relationships between persons acting in social roles constitute the matrix of social structure. Entering and maintaining interpersonal relationships involves decision-making and choosing between alternatives. When people meet, each one classifies the other, evaluates him and his significance for himself, and decides whether to associate further with him. These decisions involve choices between alternative interpersonal relationships. The overt expression of such interpersonal choices is a complex network of social relationships in a collectivity. Most social research treats social relationships as attributes of individuals and groups. An alternative approach is to treat the interpersonal relationship rather than the individual as the unit of analysis.

The basic questions are how do various similarities and differences between people influence their interpersonal choices, the social relationships in which these choices find expression and what patterns are revealed by the effects of the same attributes on different types of interpersonal choice. Four types of interpersonal choice are examined, namely, respecting a colleague, an instrumental evaluation; consulting a colleague, an instrumental reaction; being attracted to a colleague as a social companion, a social choice; and informally addressing a colleague which is also a social choice. An attribute may be related to a measure of social choice in three ways: (1) the A's (or non-A's) are chosen in disproportionate numbers by both A's and non-A's; there is an equal differentiating effect; (2) if, however, the A's are always chosen by A's and the non-A's by the non-A's, then there is a segregating effect; (3) but if there is no discrimination in the choices between A's and non-A's, then there is no effect.

The results show that items that have a differentiating effect on respect also have a differentiating effect on consultation and attraction but not on informal acceptance. Orientations toward work have a segregating effect on respect, but only orientations with pronounced significance for respect also have segregating effects on other interpersonal choices.

Attributes that differentiate "consultants" from others without producing a corresponding differentiation of respect to legitimate the status of "consultant" create segregating barriers to sociability; means of approach to people have a segregating effect on consultation, but they have a differentiating effect on attraction.
Burgess, Robert L. "Communication Networks and Behavioral Consequences." Human Relations, XXII, April, 1969, 137-59.

This contains two detailed experiments on communicative networks. The experiments were designed with the anticipation that inconsistent and inconclusive findings could be resolved. Four-member groups under two rather extreme networks were studied. One network, the wheel, is a net in which the communication restrictions reduce the difficulty of organizational problems to a minimum. The other net, the circle, makes imperative some sort of relay system within the group.


The book is a portrayal of the neighbouring networks of residents of San Juan, Puerto Rico in local areas of various characteristics. Non-random interviewing was used to obtain the distribution of friendship ties among defined populations of neighbours in each of the areas. Urbanites of low SES generally were found to be less cosmopolitan than others.


This paper takes a special case of the social network -- the egocentric network -- examines its particular nature, and develops the several formal structural properties of range, density, knit and reachability. Using these structural properties, the author then suggests a number of hypotheses regarding the use individuals make of support systems available to them.


Kadushin presents an analysis of the formal structure of a network of interaction which was first discussed by Simmel, namely the "social circle." "Social circles have indirect interaction, a common interest on the part of the members and are instituted to a relatively low degree. Because the members come together on the basis of their interests rather than propinquity or their ascribed statuses, social circles emerge as an important social phenomenon only in large complex societies." A "typology of social circles" is derived from the cross-classification of Density of Interaction, Directness of Interaction, Basis for Interaction, Formality of Institute Relations, and Formality of Leadership. It is asserted that social circles have properties found neither in tightly-knit small groups nor in formal organizations.
A latent structure analysis of a social circle, the "Friends and Supporters of Psychotherapy" is performed (and an illustrative quotation from Paul Goodman, The Empire City; New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959, p. 67) is given. The findings indicate that "the development of social circles tends to destroy traditional kinship and neighborhood forms of organization, or at least fill the vacuum created by their demise from other causes," that interests tend to be the "foci for circle formation," that "the existence of different circles in metropolitan life allows for varying channels of recruitment to the circle," with the most important being the "intersection" of this circle "with more general circles," and that the existence of the circle is important to the continuance of the institutionalized interest around which it is focused, as well as to the personal well-being of circle members.


Addressing himself to the broad social psychological problem of the processes by which small on-going face-to-face groups are formed and maintain themselves, Laumann uses Detroit Area Study data on a cross-sectional sample of approximately 1,000 white men living in the Greater Detroit area in order to study the structural properties of friendship groups. In addition to basic demographic and attitudinal data on the respondents, each respondent was also asked for information about his three closest friends, and whether any of these friends were also good friends of one another. Friendship networks were then classified as radial, when none of the respondents friends knew each other, partially interlocking I when two of the respondent's friends were friends of each other, partially interlocking II when two pairs of R's friends knew each other, and completely interlocking when all the friends were also good friends of one another. The proportions of the sample falling into each of these categories were, respectively, 31%, 2%, 40% and 27%.

Among Laumann's findings are the following: Protestants are much more likely than Catholics or Jews to have radial networks, while Poles, Italians, and Irish (all of whom are predominantly Catholic) are more likely to have interlocking friendship networks. There seems to be little relation between SES and network type, or between age and network type. Occupationally mobile respondents are less likely to have interlocking networks than stable ones. If two or three of R's friends are of the same ethnic group as R, then the network is more likely to be interlocking than if they are of different ethnic groups, although this does not hold when we substitute religious groups for ethnic groups. When the residences of two or three of the friends are in close proximity, the network is likely to be interlocking. Interlocking
networks have higher frequencies of interaction than radial ones. There are complex curvilinear relationships between the type of network and the places where interaction takes place. Also, there are higher levels of intimacy and affective involvement in interlocking than in radial networks. On personality variables, men in interlocking networks seem to have lower intellectual capacity, to manifest more interest in their nationality groups, to prefer bureaucratic occupations, to have more intergenerationally stable political preferences and to be less tolerant toward extremism than men in radial networks.


A very good bibliography on network analysis, especially strong in the areas of graph and balance theory and non-North American work in the field. Recent North American sociological work is almost completely omitted.


This is a good general introduction to the use of networks in urban sociology and anthropology. After a brief but critical review of the network literature, Mitchell proceeds to consider some of the characteristics of the social network. These are the morphological characteristics, which refer to the formal structural properties of the network, and include anchorage, range, reachability, and density; and the interactional characteristics which include content, directedness, durability, and frequency. A discussion of research methods in network analysis follows, and the article ends with a discussion of the sorts of theoretical ends that might be served by network analysis.

The article itself is properly methodological, in the strong sense of that term. There is an absence of any reference to current North American work on social networks. Thus, while the article might serve to introduce the reader to recent European and African sociology in this field, he is forced at times to translate Mitchell's terminology into the language of North American network analysis in order to evaluate the argument.

Simmel focuses on qualitative changes in the nature of the group as a result of quantitative changes in the number of group members. The triad is seen as the smallest possible group, as the dyad depends on personal interdependence. In the triad, there is a social framework that transcends any specific dyadic linkage. Superordinate-subordinate relationships become changed to relations with potential for coalitions, as soon as more than two members are in interaction.


The network property variables which Tilly isolates in "Community: City: Urbanization" are discussed. Following a formal statement of tightness of boundary, degree of intersector, extent of differentiation, density of interaction and knit, Tilly indicates how these variables may be used in studying communities. The reader is warned that Tilly's terminology is not necessarily equivalent to that of other writers in the field.


The network system is defined as a system of relations between pairs of people. On the other hand, the category system is distinguished from this and is defined as a system of classifications into which people do or do not fall. A "catnet" is a more complex system evolved from the superimposition of network and category systems. A "frame" is a Weltanschauung anchored on a given category of relation which is taken as basic. These four concepts are taken to be sufficient to define elementary types of social structure.

Stressing the need for a standard method of recording networks, Wolfe has constructed a taxonomy of network concepts with initial emphasis placed on the interpersonal links that constitute the net. He describes a method for comparing sets of relationships within and between networks, and indicates how some of the simpler network variables discussed by Mitchell and by Barnes can be built into this comparative schema. His inclusion of a fully documented codebook is useful in illustrating the system he describes. However, it is not entirely clear how his taxonomy can be applied to the usual concerns of urban sociologists using egocentric network data in an extensive population. There may be somewhat more application for the social scientist working with closed societies.
Cross-References (2.1)

Tilly, "Community: City: Urbanization." (1.1)

Tilly, "Anthropology on the Town." (1.2)

Blum, "Social Structure, Social Class, and Participation in Primary Relationships." (2.2.2)

Laumann, "Friends of Urban Man." (2.2.2)

Laumann, "The Homogeneity of Friendship Networks." (2.2.2)

Laumann, "The Social Structure of Religious and Ethnoreligious Groups in a Metropolitan Community." (2.2.2)

Bott, Family and Social Network. (2.4)

Fried, "Transitional Functions of Working-Class Communities." (2.4)

Fried and Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum." (2.4)

Wellman, "Community Ties and Mental Health." (2.4)

Meier, A Communications Theory of Urban Growth. (3.1)

Katzman, "Communication Flow and Social Entropy." (3.2)

Riley and Riley, "Mass Communication and the Social System." (3.2)

A study was made of the kin relations of 799 young to middle-aged white residents of Greensboro, North Carolina. Adams studied frequency of contact, provision of mutual aid, and feelings of closeness of his respondents for their parents, their siblings, and for other relatives. He found the relationships between young adults and their kin were dominated by the relationships with their parents. Regardless of the respondents' expressed feelings about their parents, frequent contact was maintained, and mutual aid was provided. While there was fairly frequent contact with siblings, this was largely of a ritual nature, although females often sought to reaffirm affective involvement with their sisters around situations like marriage and childbirth. There was little mutual provision of aid between siblings, and on the whole the relationship to sibs was dominated by rivalry, or comparison of the respondent's achievements with those of his siblings. Relationships with other kin were found to be incidental for the most part, insofar as most respondents felt little obligation to maintain contact on the grounds of kinship alone.

While residential distance was found to have some effect on frequency of interaction with kin, this effect was minimal in the case of close kin; this is especially true in the case of parents. The same was found with regard to status mobility; the upwardly mobile respondents were found to maintain close contact with their parents, if not with their siblings and other kin. Adams suggests that occupational position might be an intervening variable, influencing residential distance, and this might indirectly influence frequency of interaction. Adams argues that the relation between kin relationships and occupational mobility is a highly complex one, involving migratory history, resulting residential distances, economic-occupational success values, the role of parents in their children's success or failure, present occupational similarity between siblings, and the basically incidental nature of relations with other kin.

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This is an analysis of Detroit Area Study of an unspecified date (N=749). Data on informal association indicates that "more people get together with their relatives outside of the immediate family than they do with friends, neighbors, and co-workers" since about one-half see kin at least once a week, while three-quarters see them at least once a month. On the other hand, nearly two-thirds "see their friends at least once a month, and nearly one-half get together with their neighbors at least once a month. About one-third associate with co-workers at least once a month."

Composite measures indicate that nearly two-thirds of the respondents informally get together more than once a week, while about one-sixth get together once a week, and most of the remainder visit, though less frequently. This indicates a "very dense network of informal relationships."

The rank-order of relatives, friends, neighbours and co-workers holds for every sub-group of the respondents as well as for the total sample. The one exception is the small group with very high SES, high income or some college education. For them, friends rank before relatives, but even here, one-half to three-quarters see kin frequently.

There is no confirmation of the supposition that formal association substitutes for informal association. Rather, the data points to the contrary, with a slightly higher rate of informal association among formal group members.


Babchuk found that in the urban middle class, husbands are more likely than wives to initiate primary friendships for the couple at all stages of the family cycle. Couples in their forties and fifties, who have been married for a longer period of time, have the same number of primary friends than recently married individuals. Frequent association with relatives is not related to the pattern of visiting with friends, and similarly, frequent getting together with friends does not appear to bear any relationship to how frequently couples see relatives. Approximately one-half of the husbands and wives claim to have no single primary friends independent of their spouse. Children are not found to play a constraining role nor do they enhance the prospects that their parents will interact more often with primary friends.

An attempt is made "to operationalize and test the assumption that the amount of familial functionality correlates with (and is a casual agent of) the degree of familial influence over members" by using multi-variate analysis of a survey of 307 suburban housewives, focusing especially on "instrumental functions." This test sees "whether instrumental functionality of wife's relatives is associated with the degree to which she admits being influenced by kinfolk." The functionality score was based upon the number of times relatives were named as the sources or recipients of "goods, services, advice and material benefits," or "mutual aid." Data were also obtained about friends and neighbors.

"In sum, we have confirmed our hypotheses that neither membership in a local kin network of luxuriant density nor possession of 'subsistence-complexity' characteristics believed conducive to extended familism would predict whether a given woman reports being influenced by kin. For hypothesis, only the score indicating the instrumental functionality of her kin network correlated appreciably with a wife admitting she was subject to 'the will of the tribe'."

"Structural measures of extended familism" used were "extensity of local kin presence (number of households of wife's relatives in the Chicago area), intensity of local kin presence (degrees of relationship represented), and 'interaction with wife's local kin'."


This is a semi-autobiographical novel of a youth and young man in Harlem, New York City. The novel makes clear the importance of friendship relations for the Harlemites, the great use made of these relations as a resource for providing material and psychological support, and the extent to which such relationships provide social structuring for the area. The combination of the great importance placed upon these relationships with the limited resources available, tend to make them quite fragile and transitory. Life, therefore, becomes a sequence of such relationships.
Past sociological and psychological explanations of friendship choices emphasize such things as the participants' agreement in matters of importance to them, the complementarity of the participants' 'personality needs,' propinquity, and the frequency of contact are discussed. These explanations are held to have failed to withstand the test of empirical investigation. Thus, Chambliss seeks to explain the selection of friends by analyzing the interaction process.

It is suggested that persons prefer as friends those with whom they have experienced encounters which are validating, successful and effective. Validation is defined as the correspondence between the actor's self image and the impression of others. Success is defined as the favourableness of the other's responses, while effectiveness is defined as the correspondence between the self the actor intended to project and the other's impression.

Chambliss tests his theory in the small group setting. The results indicate the empirical validity of his propositions. Chambliss feels that his theory can account for neighbouring patterns in communities as well as friendship in general.


This paper gives a brief review of the literature on American kinship. It contrasts Parson's viewpoint that the nuclear family is the only functional kinship grouping among middle class urban residents to the approach taken by Axelrod, Greer, Key, Litwak and Sussman that kinship ties outside of the nuclear family are extremely important even in urban centers.

The authors criticize the classical Parsonian nuclear family-centered theory of kinship, and suggest a research paradigm as one approach to the ultimate construction of a model of kinship analysis.

Two "orientational hypotheses" are given: (1) that in a highly industrialized mobile society, particularistic orientations remain operative and strong ties exist between kin even after people leave their families of orientation and establish their families of procreation; (2) that "extension of kinship ties through males can never result in the same structural consequences as extension through females, even in so-called bilateral sc. aties, if male and female roles are differentiated."

An analysis of a survey in the working-class Riverdale section of Toronto. The findings show a great involvement in informal relations with kin and friends, which is greatest among workers raised in Toronto. Presumably this is because their kin and friends are more readily available. Although most of the R's report that their "closest informal associates" are a "variety of people," blue-collar workers are somewhat more likely than white-collar workers to report that they are predominantly kin. Very few of the R's report that their intimates are solely friends or neighbours.


Forms of social organization are investigated among lower income groups in an urban area. It is found that the majority of urban working class people do not participate in formally-organized voluntary associations. Instead, family and kinship play an important role in satisfying companionship and recreational needs. Approximately two-thirds of the husbands and wives of the working class sample have no intimate contacts with people outside the family. This is not held to imply social isolation, but simply that activities are restricted to members of the kin group. Thus, within this sample of a thoroughly urbanized, yet comparatively stable population, Dotson finds neither a wholesale displacement of primary by secondary groups, nor a consequent depersonalization of social relationships, contrary to the classical view of city life.


Garigue discusses a survey of 52 adult Montreal French-Canadians (1954-1955) which involved the construction of genealogical tables, in order to assess the "importance and character of kinship."

Respondents were asked about their knowledge of kin. This was found to range from 75 to 484 known kin, with a mean of 215. Women tended to know more kin. Somewhat more than half of the men knew more about their father's line than their mother's, while about 75% of the women know more about their mother's line.

Sibling ties (including in-laws) were the most prevalent important foci of activities. Siblings and parents were seen the most often.
There was a wide geographical scattering of kin, although all had some kin in Montreal, proportions as high as three-quarters were scattered elsewhere in Quebec and North America. Only when distance was great, did location affect frequency of contact.

Sex differentiation in orientation to kin was noted with women more apt to be used by families to maintain kin ties.

Although many kin were known, there tended to be strict obligations to see or to have frequent contact with only a limited number of them. "The highest frequency of contact took place between relatives of the same generation and, apart from sibling contact, were mostly based on personal preference." This is in addition to immediate relatives towards whom one had obligations. Contact with one's own kin is preferred to contact with in-laws. Cultural differences often caused one to stop seeing kin. Thus there are multiple sets of kinship obligations of different intensity.

Garigue also contends that French-Canadian cultural values affect kinship patterns.


Jitodai reports on the results of an investigation of the relationship between migrant status and informal group participation. In particular, the paper analyzes the degree to which the previous background of migrants to an urban area affect their frequency of kinship contact. He hypothesizes that rural migrants participate more with kin than do the urban migrants.

The data show that contact with relatives is the most frequent type of contact among all migrants, irrespective of sex, SES, urban-rural, or regional backgrounds. Weekly contacts with neighbours and friends appear to be the most frequent, and contacts with co-workers appear to be substantially fewer than the others.

These findings seem to emphasize the importance of kinship groups in the modern urban setting. The relationship between migrant backgrounds and kinship contacts, simultaneously controlling for sex, SES, region and length of residence show a striking pattern of urban-rural differences. Among migrants of less than 10 years residence, rural migrants have higher weekly contacts with relatives than urban migrants. However, with each period of longer residence, the proportion of urban migrants having weekly contacts with relatives increases substantially, while the contact rate for rural migrants remains stable, decreases, or increases only slightly.
This is a report on a participant-observation study of black "street corner" men in Washington, D.C. Much of the book is organized about the different networks of primary relationships in which the men are located: "men and jobs; fathers without children; husbands and wives; lovers and exploiters; friends and networks." The formation, maintenance and use of these networks is presented with much sensitive detail. A major theme of the book is that the street corner men place a great deal of reliance on the camaraderie and support available in the networks because they have few other resources available to them.


A critique of Talcott Parsons' view of extended family relations as being inconsistent with geographical mobility. Parsons thinks that those who are strongly attached to their relatives will be reluctant to move, even if better jobs are available elsewhere, that it is unlikely that identification with the extended family can be retained where only one nuclear family moves and the rest stay behind and that it is financially more difficult to move a large family and locate jobs for many individuals simultaneously.

Litwak tries to disprove Parsons' stand. He feels that individuals who are part of a modified extended grouping are in a better position to move because the latter legitimizes such moves and, as a consequence provides economic, social and psychological support. Extended family relations can be maintained over great geographical distances because modern advances in communication techniques have minimized the socially disruptive effects of geographical distance. In addition, financial difficulties of moving families in a bureaucratic industrialized society are minimized because family coalescence takes place when the family is at its peak earning capacity and when it is least likely to disrupt the industrial organization.

Litwak presents data from a survey of 920 wives in the Buffalo area in support of these views.

Litwak questions Parsons' hypothesis that extended family relations are antithetical to democratic industrial societies because of occupationally mobility. Parsons assumes that occupationally mobile individuals are likely to be status oriented and to have little extended family contact or identification. Differential occupational mobility leads to different socialization experiences among members of extended families and these differences can disrupt kin relations since family members have little in common to hold them together.

Litwak suggests that Parsons' hypotheses deals with the 'classical' extended family and industrial families in their emerging state. However, in a mature industrial society a 'modified' extended family evolves, which consists of a series of nuclear families bound together on an egalitarian basis and which does not demand geographical propinquity, occupational involvement, or nepotism.

Contrary to Parsons, Litwak finds that the extended family provides status aid to those who are either downwardly mobile or in the initial stages of their careers, without interfering with their mobility or occupational efficiency. In addition, since class differentials are moderate or shrinking, upward mobility among white Americanized groups does not necessarily involve radical shifts in socialization and therefore does not constitute a real barrier to extended family communication. The extended family also handles individuals in primary relations not affected by bureaucratic structures.

If the extended family has important functions in contemporary society, and bureaucratic pressures tend to stress family interaction, as an end value, there should be a positive relationship between extended family contacts and economic resources. The stationary upper-class will have the greatest number of extended family units, the upwardly mobile the next greatest, and the downwardly mobile and the stationary mobile the least.

Litwak's results support Parsons' discussion of the functional inadequacy of the classical extended family, but do not support Parsons' assertion that the isolated nuclear family is the most functional type for contemporary society.
There are several forms of migration. Impersonally organized migration is movement based on impersonal recruitment and assistance. Chain migration, on the other hand, is "movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants." The authors look specifically at this second form of migration with the aid of historical materials. In particular, they examine the bonds between successive southern Italian migrants to the United States in the period from 1885 to 1914 and some of the consequences of this social structure.

They find that there were three types of chain relationships. In some cases, established immigrants or "padroni" encouraged and assisted prospective male immigrants of working age in order to profit from them. In other instances, there was serial migration of breadwinners in which some breadwinners assisted others to come and get established. Finally, there was delayed family migration in which lone males eventually brought over their wives and children.

There were several consequences of these types of migration. The migrants tended to cluster together and form homogeneous "Little Italies" in the American cities. This was because the padroni tried to keep paesani together and the kinship and friendship ties of the migrants were restricted to their district of origin. In addition, they formed "chain occupations" or niches in the American employment structure since migrants directed their fellows to jobs on the basis of their experience.


The author investigates family and neighbourhood life in two working-class districts. One is an old neighbourhood in the central zone of the city, while the other is a low-cost housing estate. The districts are similar in terms of number of dwellings, community services and occupational composition, but differ in land use, housing, family structure and a number of other objective criteria. Emphasis is placed on subjective aspects of family and neighbourhood life.

Results show a family centered society emerging in the planned housing estate in contrast with the persistence of a neighbourhood centered society in the older settled district. In the former, there is more emphasis placed on immediate kin activities, on spending time with friends and on belonging to more formal
associations. In the old neighbourhood, there is greater dependence on the extended kin, and participation is limited to a minimum of group activities involving family, kindred and neighbourhood friends. In the planned housing estate, individuals have lost their ties to the isolating set of societal customs found in the older neighbourhood, but have gained membership in the wider and freer atmosphere of the associational life of the city.


Pineo analyses a survey of 327 residents of a working-class Hamilton, Ontario census tract in 1962. One-third had kin in the immediate neighborhood while 85% had kin in the metropolitan area. At least once during a week, 68% visited at least one kin. "The proportions reporting at least weekly contact with kin were virtually identical for men and for women." The matrifocality concept found by Young and Willmott, and by Garigue was rejected. In this sample, contact with kin is "roughly bilateral in direction." Much of this contact consists of young couples visiting with either set of parents. "Contact outside the household is more frequently with the husband's parents than the wife's," indicating some patrifocality.


This discusses "kinship recognition", in other words "the network of persons recognized as relatives by 'Ego'." Rioux contends that the French-Canadian kinship system has been changing so as to be less different from the typical North American system than Garigue has maintained. This is a result of urbanization -- since in rural areas more extensive kinship recognition systems have been retained.

Two conditions that promote attraction between members of a dyad are perceived similarity of alter to self and interpersonal congruency, which is the state existing when perceived self and self as ego imagines he is perceived by alter, are congruent. These conditions were studied by having the subject describe themselves and their best friend of the same sex on ten ranking scales of social needs. The analysis of these data, conducted to control for possible artifacts, provides significant support for perceived similarity and interpersonal congruency as correlates of interpersonal attraction.


The author states that "a matrilaterial emphasis in intergenerational relations is characteristic of families in urban industrial societies, despite the bilaterality of kinship norms." He hypothesizes that "there is a behavioral regularity in intergenerational relations which favors the wife's side," with modest but consistent differences appearing between societies and "over various modes of intergenerational ties. A second general hypothesis is that a crucial factor in this matrilaterial emphasis is the separation of men's work from connections with kin." The following specific predictions are made:

"Couples with middle-class background will have closer ties with wife's parents than with husband's parents in activities involving communication and sociability.

"Couples with a middle-class background will have closer ties with wife's parents than with husband's parents in activities involving feminine responsibilities, such as home-making and care for others.

"Couples with a middle-class background will have closer ties with husband's parents than with wife's parents in activities involving masculine responsibilities, such as economic aid.

"Couples with a working-class non-farm background will, in all activities, have relatively stronger ties with husband's parents than will couples with a middle-class background, and couples with a working-class farm background will have the strongest ties of all with husband's parents."

The hypotheses were tested with a refined sample derived from a probability survey of 200 households (both husbands and wives were interviewed) in Helsinki, Finland, in March, 1966. "Proximity of parents to Helsinki was controlled to avoid bias."
"In the middle-class sample, ties with wife's parents" were "found to predominate in activities pertaining to communication and sociability and to home-making and care for others. Even the area of masculine responsibilities, where ties with husband's parents should predominate, if anywhere, showed as much of a tendency toward the wife's parents as toward the husband's parents. The matrilateral emphasis is even stronger than originally envisioned."

"The crucial influence assigned in the theoretical framework to the separation of the husband's occupational and financial role from connections with kin was supported by the successful prediction of a monotonic trend towards increasing strength of ties with husband's parents across class-background categories. On the basis that patrilineal farm family norms would persist in the working class, it was correctly expected that ties with husband's parents would increase, from families of middle-class non-farm background, to those of working-class non-farm background, to those of working-class farm background."

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"The kinship norms of urban industrial societies are well known. Of the simple, bilateral type, the strongest rights and obligations lie within the nuclear family; between adults other than spouses there is only a general obligation to be helpful and keep in touch, and no residential proximity of kin is prescribed. It is with behavioral regularities in sibling interaction and in residential location that this study is concerned. These will be seen to differ from, though they do not contradict, the kinship norms." The study utilizes data collected from a probability sample of 200 husbands and wives interviewed in Helsinki, Finland, in March, 1966.

The chief "laterality hypothesis" tested is that "the separation of men's work from a family setting which is generally characteristic of urban industrial societies gives predominance to female ties with kin; the balance will be found shifted toward male ties when there is a familial economic enterprise."

There is a significant effect of residential location on communication, with higher mean scores for those siblings located in greater Helsinki. Whether the father is a farmer or non-farmer has no significant effect. Sister-sister communication has the (significantly) highest communication mean score.
For children of non-farmers, "the effect of sex of sibling on communication is linear" and significant. "Sisters communicate more than brothers, and the effect is cumulative, so that communication is at a high between sisters, intermediate between sister and brother, and lowest between brothers. Among children of farmers, the communication between brothers is contrastingly high, while the communication of sister and brother, and of sister and sister, resembles that of children of non-farmers. These findings are interpreted as due to a brother-brother tie among children of farmers combined with a sister-dominated communication pattern of the kind typical of sibling relations in urban industrial societies."

Some possible alternative effects are rejected since it was concluded that the findings were unaffected by the marital status of the sibling and by any influence on communication which might conceivably result from the mother serving as a communication relay point for the siblings. "Occupational social distance between R's and siblings "proved to be unrelated to communication."

There is a strong effect of residential proximity of siblings on communication. Many siblings live nearby. This is partially due to heavy migration to the central city. But residential effects are seen with the Helsinki-born as well. Only 29% of the siblings do not have at least one other sibling living in the same local area.

The author concludes by suggesting that fruitful areas for investigation are the extent to which there is "no contact with, or no knowledge about, a type of relative" and "to base a measurement of kin ties on behavior involving important events or crises," and "to ask about communication and exchanges of help on such occasions." Other important factors might be stage in the life-cycle and the number of brothers and sisters available.


Aida Tomeh attempts to determine the degree to which informal participation is influenced by residence in an urban area. She finds that relatives, neighbours, co-workers and friends are seen frequently by a significant proportion of the adult residents of the metropolitan community that was studied. A high frequency of kinship participation for all population groups is followed by participation with friends, neighbours and co-workers, in that order. The work place is less important as a foundation for informal group associations. All four types of informal groups are interrelated and therefore contact with one type of informal group does not serve as a substitute for other informal primary group contacts.

Thus, although secondary contacts are fundamental to urban residents, primary contacts continue to play an important role.

The book looks at the effect of housing estates on kinship relations. It first looks at Bethnal Green, a working class community in East London. The authors find that family relationships are extremely important in this area. A great deal of importance is placed on the mother-daughter relationship, especially the frequent visiting and mutual aid after the daughter marries. A consequence of this strong mother-daughter bond is that extended family relations tend to be matrifocal with the families frequently visiting "Mom." In Bethnal Green, the extended family is important and many kin are recognized. People frequently visit and give mutual aid to other members of their families. The result is that people are very close to many other people and that the community is closely tied together.

The second community is Greenleigh, a housing estate on the outskirts of London. A group of people who moved there from Bethnal Green is studied. These people had been actively involved in extended family relations, but when they moved to Greenleigh, their involvement suddenly declined. This is because the distance is too great to make frequent visiting possible. In Greenleigh, more emphasis is on the nuclear family and 'getting ahead.'

The book ends with a discussion of the implications of these findings on town planning.

The appendix tells how the information was gathered. There was a general sample in Bethnal Green and a sample of married couples with at least two children under fifteen in both Bethnal Green and Greenleigh. They were interviewed several times. In addition, the experiences of one research team member and his family of living in Bethnal Green helped to fill out the results of the interviews.
Cross-References (2.2.1)

Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life." (1.1)
Guterman, "In Defense of Wirth's 'Urbanism as a Way of Life'." (1.1)
Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities. (1.1)
Keller, The Urban Neighborhood. (1.1)
Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment. (1.1)
Wellman, "Who Needs Neighbourhoods?" (1.1)
Gans, The Levittowners. (1.2)
Matthews, Neighbor and Kin. (1.2)
Anderson, "The Urban Way of Life." (2.1)
Baines, "Class and Communities in a Norwegian Island Parish." (2.1)
Kadushin, "The Friends and Supporters of Psychotherapy: On Social Circles in Urban Life." (2.1)
Laumann, "Interlocking and Radial Friendship Networks." (2.1)
Blum, "Social Structure, Social Class, and Participation in Primary Relationships." (2.2.2)
Holge and Treiman, "Social Participation and Social Status." (2.2.2)
Ossenberg, "The Social Integration and Adjustment of Post-War Immigrants." (2.2.2)
Shostak, Blue-Collar Life. (2.2.2)
Wilensky, "Orderly Careers and Social Participation." (2.2.2)
Whyte, Street Corner Society. (2.2.2)
Williams, "Friendship and Social Values." (2.2.2)
Pfeil, "The Pattern of Neighbouring Relations." (2.3.2)
Gans, "Planning and Social Life." (2.3.3)
Michelson, "Space as a Variable in Sociological Inquiry." (2.3.3)
Bell and Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations." (2.3.4)

Bell and Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation." (2.3.4)

Clark, The Suburban Community. (2.3.4)

Fava, "Contrasts in Neighbouring." (2.3.4)

Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered." (2.3.4)

Key, "Rural-Urban Social Participation." (2.3.4)

Nohara, "Social Context and Neighbourliness." (2.3.4)

Smith, Form and Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-Sized City." (2.3.4)

Sutcliffe and Crabbe, "Incidence of Friendship in Urban and Rural Areas." (2.3.4)

Winch and Greer, "Urbanism, Ethnicity, and Extended Familism." (2.3.4)

Bott, Family and Social Networks. (2.4)

Fellin and Litwak, "Neighborhood Cohesion Under Conditions of Mobility." (2.4)

Fried and Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum." (2.4)

Sussman, "The Help Pattern in the Middle Class Family." (2.4)

Tilly and Brown, "On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspices of Migration." (2.4)

Wellman, "Community Ties and Mental Health." (2.4)

Wellman, Hewson and Coates, "Primary Relationships in the City." (2.4)

Katz, "Social Participation and Social Structure." (2.5)

Rimmer, Proposition 31. (2.5)
57. CPL Exchange Bibliography #282-#283

Symonds, "The Utopian Aspects of Sexual Mate Swapping." (2.5)
Fanelli, "Extensiveness of Communication Contacts." (3.1)
Webber, "Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity." (3.1)
Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting. (3.2)

This is an analytic review of the literature. "Class differences in certain areas of primary involvement" include:

1. The working-class married male is subjected to a stronger set of sanctions and normative controls than the middle-class married male, because close-knit social networks exert greater degrees of control over behavior.

2. The greater the degree of control to which a person is subject, the less variability he exhibits in his behavior.

3. Structural undifferentiation is more characteristic of close-knit than of loose-knit networks, and the more undifferentiated a social system, the more effectively it mobilizes the loyalties of members.

4. Individuals who have attachments with undifferentiated groups are more vulnerable to cross-pressuring situations, which can be avoided only through their withdrawal from participation in other types of groups whose normative directives are inconsistent with the directives issued by their highly valued undifferentiated systems.

5. The working classes should be less likely to make new friendships at the primary level than the middle classes, because such friendships must be incorporated into their social networks. In close-knit networks, such incorporation requires the tacit consent of a community of others, thereby reducing the control which the individual exercises in his selection of new friends.

6. The working classes are less likely to become involved in primary relationships with co-workers and others, because such relationships serve as potential sources of normative conflict with their social networks.

7. The working classes are less likely to innovate in terms of occupational or geographic mobility, because such innovations constitute threats to the solidarity of the close-knit network.

8. The working classes are more likely to be isolated from activities, issues, and associations at the level of the community and larger society because their close-knit networks minimize their contact with other different from themselves, and prevent the cultivation of loyalties to other social systems.
9. The working classes are more likely than the middle classes to experience dissatisfaction with their marriages because the close-knit network increasingly becomes their primary source of gratifications.

There is little confirmation of expectations of working-class familism. However there is some indication that this is an "artifact of geographical propinquity and of the effects of social mobility."

"Relationships within close-knit networks are likely to be more personal and intimate than contacts in loose-knit networks," primarily because of their prevailing in-group solidarity.


An analysis was made of a survey of 230 male immigrants in Montreal.

The majority of immigrants have a proportion of ties within their own ethnic group. The exception are those who have been here 13-plus years (42%). The presence of formal organizations and other institutions within an ethnic community has the "effect of keeping the social relations of the immigrants within its boundaries" and minimizing "out-group contacts."

The more institutionally complete an ethnic group, the greater the proportion of people of that ethnic heritage have a majority of relations within the ethnic group's boundaries. "It can be argued that the existence of an informal structure in an ethnic community is a prerequisite for the appearance of formal organizations. But it is also true that once a formal structure has developed it has the effect of reinforcing the cohesiveness of already existing networks and of expanding these networks. This expansion is achieved mostly by attracting within the ethnic community the new immigrants."

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An analysis is made of a survey of 230 Montreal male immigrants, which is especially concerned with Merton's concept of "status homophily" ("observed tendencies for similarity between the group-affiliation of friends or between their positions within a group").

About half of the R's have occupational homophily, with little intra-group variation. The only exceptionally low group were "those engaged in an occupation which was out of line with their educational achievement. Lack of congruence on the rational or 'interest' criterion seems to yield a low degree of homophily."

Ethnicity ("a non-rational criterion") was different since a high degree of ethnic homophily "was found to be associated with an absence of ability to communicate with outside groups," as indicated by "poor education and a poor knowledge of the 'native' languages." Education affected the rate of making contacts outside of one's ethnic group as well as the extent of such contacts.


Social class has usually been used as an explanatory variable for membership in voluntary associations, but the correlation, though statistically significant, is low. This study undertakes to discover variables in addition to class which distinguish those who join voluntary associations from those who do not, and to determine if these additional variables are independent of social class.

The findings show that:

- The use of a number of variables to measure social class fails to increase the power of class as a predictor of membership in voluntary associations;
- mobility and community attitude are both significantly associated with membership in voluntary associations;
- community attitude and mobility are relatively independent of each as well as of class; and
- there appear to be several dimensions of community attitude associated with membership, such as, community satisfaction and optimism versus pessimism.

Freeman suggests that a theoretical framework is needed to amalgamate broad classes of variables which should include measures of personality needs and gratifications.

A reconceptualization of the North American idea of assimilation as a "melting pot" is presented. The authors point out with particular reference to New York City that a number of disparate social groups still exist in North America, despite assimilationist pressures. These ethnic groups are held to have distinctive life styles, to often cluster in particular SES's, and to have a high proportion of interaction with members of their own group. There is a desire to remain among one's "own kind" which is in dynamic tension with universalistic tendencies in North American life.


The relationships between various aspects of social participation in a suburban community such as voluntary organization memberships, church attendance and informal association with friends, and a number of social status and social background factors are examined. In particular, the role of direct intergenerational transmission of participation patterns in determining levels of social participation is investigated by using the technique of path analysis to derive estimates of the effects of parents' participation patterns upon those of their offsprings.

The findings indicate that for both males and females, membership in voluntary associations appears to be at least as strongly influenced by parents' level of participation in such organizations, as by SES. In the case of church attendance, however, a strong direct intergenerational effect is found only for females, and not for males. Church attendance for males appears to be strongly influenced by their spouses' attendance patterns.


This is a paper using Detroit Area Study data. R's are less likely to make errors about objective characteristics of their friends (e.g., age, occupation) than about their attitudes and beliefs. When errors are made, they tend to be in the direction of the R's own attitudes and beliefs. Reciprocity of friendship choice is related to frequency of contact, closeness of the friendship, spatial proximity of residences, and, to some extent, homogeneity of attitudes. In general, R's name as friends people who are similar to them in demographic, and to some extent, in attitudinal, characteristics.

Homogeneity is considered in terms of ethnoreligious membership and occupation. The former is an ascribed and the latter an achieved characteristic. The relative proximities of ethnoreligious and occupational groups are determined as the monotonic function of their differential similarity in the patterns of friendship choices across groups. This is related to a previously reported smallest space analysis.

Homogeneity of friendship group is related to social position, attitudes, intensity of interaction, and various other variables. Laumann concludes that the "homogeneity of friendship networks is differentially distributed in the population on various social and demographic characteristics." In addition, he finds that ethnoreligious homogeneity reflects an ascriptive orientation to the world, while occupational homogeneity reflects an achievement orientation, despite the fact that the individual relationships between homogeneity and each of the other variables are quite small.


A smallest-space analysis is made of friendship choices in 15 religious and 27 ethnoreligious groups in the Detroit Area Study. The best solution for the religious groups is a 2-space solution, with one dimension being the tripartite division Protestant-Catholic-Jew, and the second dimension being relative socioeconomic standing. The best solution for the ethnoreligious groups is a 3-space solution, with one dimension the frequency of church attendance, and the other two the 2-space solution from the religious groups. Laumann cautions that the sample 1 Detroit Area Study are native-born whites, which perhaps accounts for the lack of ethnicity as an independent dimension in the analysis.

Martin examines the characteristics of suburban communities as they relate to the structuring of the social relationships of the resident populations. The author classifies these characteristics into "definitive" and "derivative" types. The former refer to ecological position, community size and density, while the latter include demographic socioeconomic and socio-psychological characteristics, as well as measures of homogeneity.

The conclusions emphasize the important influence of the definitive features on the structuring of social relationships. The positional relationship of the suburb to the larger city and the daily commuting pattern of suburbanites appear to have an important influence on the patterns of social interaction and participation, regardless of the nature of the derivative characteristics. Yet derivative characteristics of homogeneity on particular socio-psychological configurations do facilitate certain types of relationships.


This is a preliminary analysis of a 1961 survey of 156 respondents in Montreal and Toronto.

"The over-all picture of the respondent and spouse network of family relationships clearly shows a higher degree of primary group family involvement among Toronto immigrants" than Montreal immigrants, who seem to be more assimilated. In Toronto, as expected, low SES immigrants are more likely (66%) to have "strong familial systems." The data for Montreal, however, is less clear.


Scott is interested in what kinds of persons join what types of associations in order to better understand the kinds and degrees of participation. He finds over seventy relationships between the social, economic, and political characteristics of individuals, and the kinds and extent of participation. For example, he finds that length of residence in community has no influence upon membership participation, that homeowners are more likely than renters to be members, that more men than women are members of voluntary associations, that married persons have higher rates of participation than non-married, and that parents with one child have fewer memberships than married couples with no children or several children.

An analysis of the life style of white American blue-collar workers is presented in this book.

These workers live in four different types of neighbourhoods: stable city, transitional, stable suburb, and transitional blue-collar suburb.

"A narrow majority" live in stable city neighbourhoods, which are "urban, ethnic, religious, and social class enclaves," with much "primary affiliation," a feeling of in-group safety, and somewhat unique (often ethnically-based) subcultural features. The second largest group live in the stable blue-collar suburbs, which are open to the skilled and semi-skilled workers of higher SES, and which are often very like the older urban neighbourhoods in life style and values. However, there is greater emphasis in the suburban neighbourhoods on home ownership, consumption and creative expression. But there is little of the intense socializing thought to be characteristic of middle-class suburbia. In general, blue-collar life remains the same.

Many seem to retain the family, including the extended family, "as the most significant of all reference groups. The family, like the neighborhood, remains a safe port."


This study which was conducted in Israel among Europeans and non-Europeans, investigates aspects of the individual's relationship to his neighbours.

Shuval is interested in the general predisposition to enter into friendly relationships with neighbours and in the actual patterns of neighbouring. She hypothesizes that casual neighbouring behavior is conditioned both by SES and ethnic origin.

Her results show that casual neighbouring is a function both of SES and ethnic membership. She also finds differences between predisposition and performance of neighbouring, where a lack of means and facilities leads to a lowered chance of realizing the predisposition for interpersonal contact.

This is a sociological classic, first published in 1943. It is a description and analysis of the strong primary ties among young adults (especially male) in the predominantly-Italian North End district of Boston.

Whyte was one of the first to point up the existence and importance of these primary relationships in the modern metropolis. The social relationships of two groups of "corner boys" and "college boys" are depicted. It is seen that much of urban life -- from politics, to racketeering, to athletic participation, to dating, to participation in settlement house and school is organized around such primary relationships. An analysis in terms of these activities' formal properties only would be markedly inaccurate.

A lengthy appendix to the second edition provides much insight into the conduct of Whyte's research.


The author tests the hypothesis that "the vitality of social participation, primary and secondary, and the strength of attachment to community and to the major institutional spheres of society, are in part a function of cumulative experience in the economic system." In other words, participation in the community is a natural extension of participation in the labour market.

Wilensky's results show that men who have predictable careers for at least one-fifth of their work lives, belong to more organizations, attend more meetings, have a stronger attachment to the community than others. In both formal and informal contacts, the men of orderly careers are exposed to a great variety of people because the fellow members they see in clubs and organizations represent many social and economic levels, and since they frequently see relatives and friends who are scattered in both social and geographical space. In addition, the total participation of men with orderly careers is more coherent as close friends tend to form a circle and to overlap work contacts.

Thus, Wilensky finds work history a better predictor of participation than income and age. He also feels that educational background and work history constitute a developmental sequence, since education can lead to an orderly career which in turn leads to participation. Therefore, insofar as job patterns become more orderly, and more and more of the population achieves the position of the young, high income, college educated man of the middle mass, participation in community life is likely to increase.

Certain factors related to preferential interpersonal association or more precisely, to "friendship choices," are examined. The main descriptive aim is to depict the major status characteristics, selected interests and values, patterns of social participation and friendship patterns among persons living in an upper-middle class, suburban community. The central analytical intention is to study the part played by similarity and dissimilarity of values and statuses in the choice of "friends."

Results show the tendency for the interpersonal relationship of friendship to occur among persons of similar SES who hold similar values, but value-homophily makes little difference with regard to weak friendship ties found within a newly formed suburban neighborhood. He also finds that the high mobility of present-day urban middle-class society results in frequent changes in circles of friends and acquaintances and tends to induce expectations of transitoriness in such interpersonal relationships. The presence of impersonal means for coping with threats to health and personal security reduce mutual informal dependence in crisis. In areas of strenuous occupational competition, task-centered, instrumental behavior may crowd out social relationships not occupationally relevant. Thus informal extra-familial relationships may tend to be transitory and to involve relatively slight commitment and obligations. Individuals may have a considerable number of "pleasant relationships" with a changing and elastic circle of "acquaintances" and "associates" but have few "close friends."


This is a secondary analysis of national survey research data in order to reappraise the belief that "Americans are a nation of joiners." The authors feel that recent evidence shows membership in a large number of associations is not characteristic of many Americans and is far from universally distributed throughout the various segments of the population. Those studies which show high rates of membership had sampling limitations which restricted their results, according to the authors.

Of particular relevance for our purposes is their finding that there is no relationship between length of residence and club affiliation. This finding needs to be evaluated in terms of Litwak's (1961) differentiation between bureaucratic and other types of newcomers, and in distinguishing between extreme newcomers and others.

Migration itself appears to limit participation in the urban setting, but the type of previous community experience is a more significant determinant. Migrants as a group have a lower level of participation than natives, but urban migrants are more similar to the natives than farm migrants in this respect. High status tends to transcend the limiting influence of farm background. In addition, any increase in the amount of farm experience is closely related to a decrease of participation in the urban community.


This is a case study of the participation in formal associations of migrants and natives in a single community. It finds that migrants differ from natives in the level of participation, but their behavior becomes increasingly similar to natives the longer they live in the community. In addition, urban migrants tend to enter the activities of the community more rapidly than farm migrants. This adjustment of new migrants to the participation level of natives takes about five years but some types of migrants possessing low status characteristics never attain the same level of participation as natives. The possession of high status personal characteristics facilitates the adjustment.
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2.3.1 CONTENT OF RELATIONSHIPS: MUTUAL AID, SOCIABILITY, ETC.

Chrisman, Noel J. "Situation and Social Network in Cities."

Chrisman addresses the problem of specifying the content of network relationships in a study of Danish-Americans in California. He finds that content can be usefully approached through attention to the institutional framework in which network ties are recruited, to the situations in which these ties are activated, and to the affective nature of the links. In addition, these variables also furnish insight into the relationship between informal networks and the formal institutional areas of the society.


Greer maps out the neighbourhood, local area and municipality as units of community action. Each one is successively larger and encompasses the preceding ones. The neighbourhood is pre-eminently the scene of informal interaction. However, the larger local area is the unit of local organizations. Individuals can vary in their relationships to these different units. On the extremes, they can be "multi-level participants" or "isolates." "Neighborhood actors" participate only in the neighbourhood system, while "community actors" participate only in the area-wide sphere. "Voyeurs," however, keep in touch but do not act. Thus, it is possible to characterize suburbanites by their neighbourhood interaction, local community role, and access to communication flow. Greer concludes by presenting thirty-four hypotheses derived from his analysis.


This is a community study of the Forest Hill section of Toronto.

There are strong elements of "intimacy in clubs and associations" which have become important auxiliaries in creating a solidarity which cannot now be achieved solely within the primary group. It is perhaps inevitable that there should be many such external ties for each individual in a society which stresses independent activity dissociated almost entirely from the kinship system or other habitual primary ties." The club is often "a form of psychological shelter" and it represents "a blend of philanthropic, utilitarian, and aesthetic elements."
It is used as a means to "help others less fortunate since opportunities for mutual aid on a personal and individual basis are extremely limited, even among kin." It is useful as an arena and congregating place in business undertakings and in providing social skills.
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Symonds, "The Utopian Aspects of Sexual Mate-Swapping." (2.5)
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2.3.2 CONTACT PATTERNS: INTENSITY, FREQUENCY


A concern for how the form of a building and a community can affect primary social relationships is expressed in this article.

Alexander asserts that "an individual can be healthy and happy only when his life contains three or four intimate contacts. A society can be a healthy one only if each of its individual members has three or four intimate contacts at every stage of his existence." Urbanization is held to lead either to autonomy, with the consequent scattering of intimates and ultimate psychosocial breakdown or to withdrawal from stress, with consequent dependence on secondary relationships and "trivialisation" of primary relationships and ultimate psychosocial breakdown. This is "the autonomy-withdrawal syndrome."

The concluding portion of the article presents an intriguing set of design factors for avoiding this breakdown, such as transparent communal rooms and accessibility of dwellings to each other.


A summary of ingenious social psychological experiments intended to illuminate "adaptions to urban overload." The study is in part an attempt to test Simmelesque and Wirthian ideas.

Milgrim reports tests "bystander intervention in crises" (whites had "a significantly better chance of obtaining assistance" than blacks), "willingness to trust and assist strangers" (town dwellers were more helpful, friendly and less suspicious than city dwellers), "civilities" (urbanites react to overload by being reluctant to intervene in others' affairs), and "anonymity" (another device to mitigate overload).

He concludes that urbanites experience the size, density and heterogeneity of cities as "overloads at the level of roles, norms, cognitive functions, and facilities. These overloads lead to adaptive mechanisms which create the distinctive tone and behaviors of city life."

Mitchell makes an analysis of a survey of 3,966 adults in 1967 in Hong Kong.

One major finding is that "high density housing discourages interaction and friendship practices among neighbors and friends."


It is preliminary analysis of a survey of neighbouring relationships in Dortmund-Nordstadt, Germany.

A number of neighbouring activities were found to exist, in varying degrees. Lending was the most common form of neighbourly assistance. The ritual of the daily greeting was quite prevalent and served to engender feelings of group belongingness and social solidarity, even if no more intensive form of intimate relationship was present. Only those with actual friends or enemies in the neighbourhood felt deeply related to it. (Whether this is an independent or dependent effect is not discussed.) Chats and gossip facilitated the rapid spread of news, with about 50% considering at least one neighbor to be a "friend." Much neighbourly help was mobilized in times of illness and stress. Most neighbors were aware of others' ritual family events, such as births, weddings, confirmations and deaths.
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Wright and Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults." (2.2.2)

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Fanelli, "Extensiveness of Communication Contacts." (3.1)
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2.3.3. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NETWORK RELATIONSHIPS


This is an analysis (based upon 1947 St. Louis survey data) of the use of urban facilities. The use of local and metropolitan facilities is distinguished by the type of facilities and the type of urbanites.

Foley found that a number of facilities are extensively used at the local level, such as food and certain other stores, elementary schools, playgrounds, churches and small movie theaters. "Our large cities, for all their urbanity, seem to contain an impressive degree of local community life within their metropolitan limits."

Much non-local usage was found, though, with a great dependence on the CBD for employment, shopping and miscellaneous services, such as department stores, large theaters, and specialized doctors. "With adequate transportation, urban residents will and do go far out of their local districts to make use of many types of facilities. It is apparent that most residents accept the longer trip as a counterpart of the specialization that is so intrinsically a part of metropolitan growth."

Foley also found that the distance from home to facility varies directly with the mode of transportation used: walking, automobile, and public transportation (in that order). "Family nonownership of automobiles is associated with a proportionately greater use of local facilities." Those under 12 and over 65 "make relatively the most extensive use of local facilities," while those 18-34 make the least. "The less the user's formal education, the more use he makes of local facilities." "Females use local facilities more than males do." This is affected by their lesser participation in the labor force and greater involvement in local shopping and leisure activities. An apparent direct relation between SES and localism diminishes greatly when automobile ownership is held constant. "Residential density appears to be of greater significance than home-ownership in its association with local-facility use" since the older, more densely built-up section has a greater tendency towards local facility use than the sparser, single-family section with a greater tendency towards home-ownership.

Gans discusses the influence of propinquity and homogeneity on social relations. The author tries to show that architectural and site plans can encourage or discourage social contact between neighbours, but that homogeneity of background, interests or values is necessary for this contact to develop into anything more than a polite exchange of greetings. Without such homogeneity, more intensive social relations are not likely to develop, and excessive heterogeneity can lead to coolness between neighbours, regardless of their propinquity. Homogeneity is even more fundamental in friendship formation, and its presence allows people to find friends nearby, whereas its absence requires them to look further afield for friends.


This is a bibliographic review of the literature on household travel, with important implications for the study of informal urban networks.


This is an extension of Hagerstrand's work on the Mean Information Field (MIF), which is the average spatial extent of an individual's short-term (non-migratory) contacts. The use of surrogate measures to approximate the MIF, such as residences of marital partners, is discussed. Preliminary information from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, data is presented. It is found that $Y = 197.7D^{-3.035}$ where $Y$ is the number of contacts per square mile and $D$ is the distance from the residence in miles.

"An examination of the Cedar Rapids (and other) results clearly reveals that the majority of personal contacts do indeed occur at very short distances, but that apparently the MIF derived from the Cedar Rapids contact data exhibits a much faster rate of decay with increasing distance" than is found in more "urban areas."

Data from a survey of 173 Toronto women who were interviewed in winter and summer, 1968, is analyzed.

Michelson finds that among the "behavioral shifts from winter to summer" people tend to make relatively more visits with friends and outside of their neighbourhoods in the summer. (In the case of kin, this was contrary to the hypothesis.) There is also a greater absolute interaction with neighbors in the summer as well. "More people had the balance of their interpersonal contact changed from inside to outside their neighborhood in the summer than the reverse whether friends or relatives were considered. More people had the number of friends change from greater inside to greater outside in the summer than had the reverse occur." In addition, there was a slight general increase in indicated use of neighborhood areas in summer, as well. "The distance between respondents and those to whom they would turn for assistance in an emergency decreased for slightly more people than it increased" in the change from winter to summer. However, assistance in terms of an emergency gave some indication of turning somewhat more local during the summer -- make more use of "the-proximate neighbor."

"It would appear that the permeability of macro-environment improves to a much greater extent in the warmer seasons than does that of the immediate environment. Although people may come in contact with their immediate neighbors much more easily in summer than in winter, they find by the same token that their ability to visit friends across town is improved to an even greater extent." There are indications that the seasonal effects on the immediate environment are especially important for more home-bound familialistic women.

Riemer, Svend, and John McNamara. "Contact Patterns in the City." Social Forces, XXXVI, December, 1957, 137-41.

The general purpose of the study reported in this paper was "to examine the extent and quality of the city-dweller's participation in his urban environment." This paper focuses on a comparison of the distances travelled for visiting and shopping by a group of 300 housewives in the Los Angeles area.

The mean distance travelled for all contacts was 2.8 miles. This indicates that urbanites travel considerable distances and go far beyond the "walking-distance neighborhood." Only the number of cars in the family and the value of those cars were significantly related to the distance travelled. In addition, the trips for social reasons were more than twice as far as the trips for commercial reasons. This shows that visiting with friends and relatives, in particular, is not a neighborhood phenomenon.

This is a participant-observation study of primary relationships among four ethnic groups in a Chicago slum. Suttles finds an intensive amount of such relationships, with street life forming an important component of social relationships. The ethnic groups co-exist in a pattern of "ordered segmentation" since each has its own area, its own "routine for managing safe social relationships," and its own boundary-maintaining devices. Thus the groups are not well-linked either to each other or to the wider society. Peer groups of the same sex and ethnicity are a particularly important organizing component of social relationships, and the social order tends to emerge out of these small groups. The web of face-to-face relationships are extended by kinship ties and overlapping territorially-based groups.


In answering the question "what is urban space or the spatial aspect of city and regional planning?" Webber attacks the "place-base" of the typical city plan and city-planning outlook. He extends the notion of functional interdependence to plead for a new meaning for community. The relevant communities for Webber are the communities of functional interest, which in our society he believes are increasingly transcending geographic limitations.
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"Need for More Balance in the Flow of Communications." (3.3)
2.3.4. NETWORKS AND CONTEXT


A 1953 survey of 701 "men in four neighborhoods of different social type in San Francisco reveals that informal relationships within the neighborhood are fairly frequent and likely to be personal, close, and intimate. The frequency and the nature of informal participation vary with the economic and family characteristics of the neighborhoods" (as classified by Social Area Analysis). Those from neighborhoods of high family status and high SES tend to have more informal interaction, when the other contextual variable is controlled.

"Compared to neighbors and co-workers, kin are generally more important in each neighborhood by all the measures of informal participation used." The rank order is: relatives, friends, co-workers, and neighbours. "Formal group participation results in friendships for the majority."


The major hypothesis states that "neighborhood populations having different configurations with respect to economic level, ethnicity and family characteristics, will have different patterns of social participation." This hypothesis rests upon two basic assumptions, which are that the major social role an individual occupies (i.e., economic, family, age, sex, ethnic status) regulates the amount and nature of his participation in society, and that the social type of neighborhood in which the individual lives is an efficient indicator of his social participation and may also be a significant factor in shaping his social participation.

Results show that although the four neighborhoods studied are widely divergent with respect to economic level and extent of family life, over three-quarters of the men hold membership in at least one formal group, and a relatively small percentage of these are inactive. Men living in the high economic status neighbourhoods belong to a greater number of associations, attend more frequently and hold office more than men living in low economic status neighbourhoods. Within each neighbourhood, persons of higher economic status have a greater amount of associational participation than do individuals of lower economic status. Individual family characteristics within each neighborhood show no consistent relationship to formal association participation. Lastly, the relationship between age and associational participation depends on income level.
Of particular note is the positive relationship between friendship formation and affiliation in voluntary associations. In addition, close to 90% of the respondents name at least one relative as a close personal friend and 80% say they can count on aid from their relatives if they are sick for a month or more. This is seen to confirm the viability of the extended family.


An analysis of a survey conducted on new housing "estates" near Bristol, England, in 1957 and in a number of new subdivisions near Columbus, Ohio, in 1958 and 1959 is presented. There is a comparison of the adjustment of urban families to life in new rural-urban fringe neighbourhoods in the two localities.

The most noticeable contrast between the two countries is the greater neighbourliness on the American subdivisions and the greater aloofness and chilliness on the English estates. Yet, both groups laid stress on preserving privacy. It was commonly felt that neighbours should be kept at arm's length and only rarely should be made into good friends.

Children and (in America) churches were conducive in the establishment of neighbourly intercourse. Mutual self-help in both countries focused around, in descending order: help with children, both transitory and intensive; bereavement or serious illness of a near relative; lending of money, except in English "council" houses, and "settling in" of in-migrants.


This is a study, based upon extensive interviewing of social relationships in a variety of suburbs near Toronto. It demonstrates the sorting out of suburbs and populations within suburbs by SES, life style and stage in the life cycle. Most people, it was found, chose their home for convenience and not out of any nostalgia for a "suburban myth." Much interaction among suburbanites was fostered by the need to build a new community together. Women, however, felt more trapped in the suburbs, as they did not have other situses of social relationships in which they could interact. Most of the people studied, though, were content with suburbia, and participated in diffuse neighbourly interaction. However, the weakening of ties with old friends and relatives by the move to the suburbs was often not entirely compensated for by the development of new intimate relationships. Networks tended to be local in nature, and there was often a reluctance to identify with the larger suburban community. With time,
social relationships became more differentiated and institutionalized, so that the end product of suburbanization was the reproduction of the city in the countryside.


Based on survey analysis, suburbanites were found to have significantly higher neighbouring interaction scores than New Yorkers (using subsamples matched by sex, age, marital status, education, length of residence, nativity, and size of community of childhood residence). This may be linked to the nature of the suburban area itself, to the differential attraction of suburbia for potential urban migrants, to the more homogeneous suburban areas, and to the scale of the city.


An analysis is made in terms of Eriksonian ego psychology of a survey of 250 female and 316 male residents of the Boston West End, when these lower class respondents were being forcibly relocated to make way for urban renewal. Fried stresses the notion of "the sense of spatial identity" to account for strong feelings of grief and loss his respondents had about leaving their familiar neighbourhood. He finds that the affective reaction of many of the respondents to the loss of the West End "can be quite precisely described as a grief response showing most of the characteristics of grief and mourning for a lost person," and that one of the important components of this grief is the loss of a sense of spatial identity. He argues that particularly for lower class residents, the physical neighbourhood and its resources constitute an important part of the sense of identity, as well as assuring the existence of stable social networks for mutual aid and support. On the basis of case studies of four "ideal types" of West End residents, specifically those who have strong attachments to the area and grieve on leaving it; those who disliked the area and had no grief; those who liked the area but felt no grief; and those who disliked the area but experienced grief; he concludes that the minimization of grief reactions is related to the beginnings of upward mobility, since these respondents were quite ready to leave the area whether or not they had to. The deviant case of those who disliked the West End but grieve nonetheless, he takes to be symptomatic of a lack of inner and outer resources, and of a general failure to adapt to any living situation adequately. In this case, the grief for the West End is a "pseudo-rief" covering up a general inability to cope. Thus the extent of grief is closely related to the extent of social relationships in the vanished community.

An extensive review of Louis Wirth's assertions about "Urbanism as a Way of Life" is presented, in the light of later research. (There is a bibliography at the end.)

Gans identifies five types of inner city residents as the cosmopolites, the unmarried or childless, the ethnic villagers, the deprived, and the trapped and downward mobile. He sees the outer city and the suburb as being the locale of "quasi-primary" ways of life relationships, typically between neighbours, that are more intimate than a secondary contact, but more guarded than a primary one. He argues that residence is less a source of variation in behaviour than an index to other sources of variation, that no single urban or suburban way of life can be identified, and that differences in ways of life between the big city and the suburb can be explained more adequately by the SES and life-cycle variations of their respective inhabitants.


This is an analysis of a survey in two Los Angeles census tracts which are similar in economic status (social rank) and segregation and which differ in urbanization (family status) according to Social Area Analysis. Those in the "low urban tract" have higher neighborhood scores, are more likely to have friends in the local area, to attend cultural events, to participate in formal organizations in the local area, to know the name of a local leader, and are "more apt to have friends in other low-urban areas, while those in the high-urban sample are more apt to visit in other high-urban areas."


An attempt is made in this article to test empirically among rural, village, small urban, medium urban and metropolitan communities Louis Wirth's speculations in "Urbanism as a Way of Life." Frequency of participation in the immediate and extended family, the neighbourhood, and informal, work and formal groups is measured. No clear confirmation of Wirth is found. Indeed, there is an increased frequency of primary group contacts in the largest urban areas. Key speculates that difficulties in making satisfactory primary contacts outside of the family makes the immediate and extended family
more important in rural and urban areas. There is less need for the family to provide primary group support in the village or small urban place. There, the secondary associations are more likely to afford primary satisfactions in themselves. One conclusion that can be drawn from Key's data is that when rural-urban differences do appear, they are not necessarily on a size continuum.


Kriesberg makes an analysis of a survey of the informal social relationships of four low-income public housing projects in Syracuse which differ in racial composition, nature of the surrounding area, and housing type. The amount of interaction between project tenants and surrounding area residents was about the same (although low for all groups), despite variations in the projects' similarities with the surrounding areas. "Apparently the reservoir of possible associations" in all the areas was sufficiently large that interaction could occur at the same low level. Perhaps if the socioeconomic differences were much greater they would have a noticeable effect despite the importance of so many other factors affecting the level of interaction. It seems that the heterogeneity within a project and within the area surrounding a project is often large enough to provide the basis for establishing neighbourly relations and even friendships. Despite SES differences, respondents share similar qualities such as gender, parental, marital, and consumer roles, urbanity and position as renters.


This is a Social Area Analysis of Negro residence in St. Louis. Nohara isolates three social areas. Each area is of low SES. Two of the areas are mixed white and black, although one has high and the other low familism. The third area is all black and low on familism. Greer's hypothesis that the primary differentiator of neighbourhood participation is familism is supported, with the reservation that differing ethnicity may skew the results. Nohara finds that the social contexts of the residential areas have an effect on neighbouring independent of the individual characteristics of the respondents. He ends with the caveat that the methodological problems of isolating the effects of social structure on individual behaviour have not been satisfactorily solved as yet.

Reiss tests the Wirthian notions of differences in interpersonal relations between city and country, using time budget survey data. Inquiries were conducted as to the differences in the spatial extent of contact systems, the degree of face-to-face contact, and the impersonality, and transitoriness of social relationships. In general, such differences are not marked, even when statistically significant. No major significant differences in SES are found.

"While almost all men had some exposure to primary contacts during the workday, the average urban employed male had a significantly greater average time in primary contact." This is situationally-specific variation, though, with no significant rural-urban variation in association with kin and close friends, but with greater urban contact with close work associates. Urban and non-farm men had greater amounts of impersonal contact, usually of the client-role type.

Reiss also finds that a higher proportion of urban married men are exposed to mass media for a longer period of time than rural men and that more urban and rural non-farm males have some exposure to secondary situations.

Thus the situs distinction of farm versus non-farm may be more important than the rural-urban distinction.

By

Smith, Joel; William H. Form; and Gregory P. Stone. "Local Intimacy in a Middle-Sized City." American Journal of Sociology, LX, November, 1954, 276-84.

A survey in Lansing, Michigan in 1952-1953 is analysed. The study "demonstrates that the residents of a middle-sized city generally establish and maintain relationships with other urbanites. These intimate relationships are both locality-centered and spatially diffuse. Even those people who conceive of their neighborhoods as large sub-communities of the city report that almost half the friends they named live outside the neighborhood as defined." Others indicated higher proportions. "Moreover, intimacy, apart from that generated in friendships, may be found in local subareas. This kind of intimacy is more likely to be found among people residing in high economic areas than in low economic areas. However, although residents of lower economic areas do achieve a sufficient degree of local intimacy to be able to form friendships within their areas of residence, their higher rate of spatial mobility results in a greater spatial dispersion of intimate social relationships. On the other hand, longer residential tenure of high-income groups, further qualified by the role limited range of residential alternatives open to them, explains their higher proportion of local intimacy. Thus,
urban social integration is contributed to by the fact that urbanites derive social satisfactions from informal relationships both within and outside of their local areas of residence. Spatial mobility makes for city-wide ties; stability makes for local area ties; and most urban residents have both."


The authors test the monotonic relationship between urbanization and social isolation which has been assumed to be positive in previous studies. Individuals living in inner city, suburban and rural areas (who are otherwise similar in age, sex, education, religion and occupation) are compared with respect to the incidence and degree of intimacy of their friendships. They find that there are no overall significant differences between geographical areas in the incidence of family contacts. This finding does not support the hypothesis of the social isolation of individuals living in inner city areas. When degrees of friendship are distinguished, they find differences in the relative incidence of "best friends" but this does not vary directly with distance from the inner city. They conclude that social isolation is a relative term and that it bears no simple relationship to the degree of urbanization.


Toceh investigates informal group participation as related to settlement patterns in a metropolitan community. She finds that place of residence tends to differentiate the population relative to informal group participation, and that differences in informal contact are a function of population and residence location rather than population alone, as previous studies have suggested. The pattern of such interaction is generally low in the city and high in the suburbs, although exceptions to this generalization do exist. Thus, spatial distributions are expressions of social structure in that residential patterns affect participation. With regard to population characteristics, younger persons participate more than older people, married people more than single persons, well educated more than those with less education, and natives more than migrants.

The authors briefly review previous studies concerned with housing quality and physical and social aberrations as a background to their study. Their own study is a longitudinal study of two samples of black slum families in Baltimore, Maryland. The samples were initially well matched on a number of demographic, health and adjustment characteristics. However, the test group of 300 families was relocated from a slum to a new public housing project while the control group remained in the slum.

The study looks chiefly at the relationship between housing quality and physical morbidity, social psychological adjustment and performance of children at school.

There is a trend for an improvement in social adjustment in the areas of better housing. Women in the test group, for instance, like their new housing and greater personal privacy and report "reductions in friction and psychological discomfort directly related to space." They also have greater mutual supportive interaction with neighbours and have close friends in the immediate area. In addition, they have more pride in their neighbourhood and are more actively involved in keeping it up.


This is an analysis of data from a 1964 Wisconsin-wide probability survey. The dependent variable of "extended familism" is operationalized by four indices: extensity of the presence of kin, intensity of the presence of kin, interaction with kin, and the functionality of the interaction with kin. The primary concern of the analysis is with interaction with kin in the same community as the respondents.

The overwhelming majority of respondents report involvement with kin. Ruralism correlates significantly with extended familism as indexed by functionality and interaction, but there is little rural-urban difference in the number of households of kin or the degree of kinship of these households. The ruralism-familism correlation remains significant when SES is controlled. However, non-migrant urban couples tend to be as familistic as non-migrant rural couples, but migrant urban couples are less familistic than migrant rural couples. Catholics and Lutherans are more familistic than other Protestants with respect to extensity, intensity, and interaction.
The data support the argument that non-migration is associated with the maintenance of extended kin networks, and part of the familism of rural areas is due to the greater stability of the population. In part, it is also associated with the greater familism of migrants in rural areas. The authors speculate that the rural, and to a lesser extent, small-town and suburban areas are more conducive, culturally or ecologically, to using whatever kin system is present. They suspect that ethnic differences are more related to variations in "phatic" (sociability) interactions than to the provision of mutual aid.
Cross-References (2.3.4)

Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life." (1.1)
Gans, "Effects of the Move from City to Suburb." (1.1)
Gans, People and Plans. (1.1)
Guterman, "In Defense of Wirth's 'Urbanism as a Way of Life.'" (1.1)
Keller, The Urban Neighborhood. (1.1)
Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment. (1.1)
Tilly, "Community: City: Urbanization." (1.1)
Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life." (1.1)
Berger, Working Class Suburb. (1.2)
Gans, The Levittowners (1.2)
Goodman and Goodman, Communitas. (1.3)
Pohl and Kornbluth, Gladiator-at-Law. (1.3)
Caplow, Stryker and Wallace, The Urban Ambience. (2.1)
Jitodai, "Migration and Kinship Contact." (2.2.1)
Mogey, Family and Neighbourhood. (2.2.1)
Rioux, "Kinship Recognition and Urbanization in French Canada." (2.2.1)
Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London. (2.2.1)
Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence." (2.2.2)
Shostak, Blue-Collar Life. (2.2.2)
Chrisman, "Situation and Social Network in Cities." (2.3.1)
Greer, "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia." (2.3.1)
Alexander, "The City as a Mechanism for Sustaining Human Contact." (2.3.2)
Mitchell, "Some Social Implications of High Density Housing." (2.3.2)
Foley, "The Use of Local Facilities in a Metropolis." (2.3.3)
Gans, "Planning and Social Life." (2.3.3)
Michelson, "Space as a Variable in Sociological Inquiry." (2.3.3)
Fried, "Transitional Functions of Working-Class Communities." (2.4)
Fried and Gleicher, "Some Structures of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum." (2.4)
Wellman, "Community Ties and Mental Health." (2.4)
Webber, "The Post-City Age." (3.1)
2.4. THE "WHY" OF NETWORKS: OVERT AND COVERT CONSEQUENCES


Individuals ordinarily have considerable information about voluntary associations even before they seriously think about joining a group. In becoming affiliated, members usually rely on personal networks and often several people are consulted. When mass media sources are utilized in the affiliation process, they serve as a stimulus or as a catalyst (no one in the sample joined an organization solely on the basis of mass media sources of information). Those with an extensive network of friends and relatives often become members as a result of ties with informal leaders. Widely-connected individuals tend to be sought out and encouraged to join. Individuals who have fewer primary group resources frequently become members through formal mechanisms, and such people initiate contact themselves, which results in membership. Finally, personal influence networks are more likely to play an important role for those joining expressive rather than instrumental voluntary associations.


The central theme of the book is the association between conjugal role segregation and network-connectedness. Bott analyzes variations in conjugal roles, network-connectedness, behavior towards kin, and concepts of class and norms of conjugal roles. The approach taken is that families, as social wholes, are not contained within organized groups, but rather in networks. Within the networks of the families Bott studied there is considerable variation in their "connectedness." Some are "close-knit," in that "there are many relationships among the component units"; while others are "loose-knit." Bott classifies the organization of familial activities into "complementary," "independent" and "joint" organization. In "complementary" organization the activities of husband and wife are different and separate but fit together to form a whole. In "independent" organization, activities are carried out separately by husband and wife without reference to each other, insofar as this is possible. In "joint" organization, activities are carried out by husband and wife together, or the same activity is carried out by either partner at different times.

The data suggests that the degree of segregation in the role relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network. The more connected the network is, the greater the degree of segregation between the roles of husband and wife. Kinship in an urban
setting provides a field for personal selectivity and choice, and so Bott attempts to analyse the factors affecting their choices, such as economic ties among kin, residence and physical accessibility of kin, type of genealogical relationship, the connectedness of the kinship network, the presence and preference of connecting relatives, perceived similarities and differences in social status among relatives, and likes and dislikes based on an idiosyncratic combination of conscious and unconscious needs and attitudes. In addition the book argues that people rework the ideology, norms and values they have internalized, conceptualize them in a new form, and project them back on to the external situation. Thus the more varied their social experience and the more unconnected the standards they internalize, the more internal rearrangement they must make.

The book is one of the first social science works to introduce network ideas into an empirical urban setting.


In the past, some have argued that relatively stable membership is a condition of group cohesion (see Wirth and Redfield), but more recently others have argued that mobility is consonant with membership-cohesion. The authors suggest that if the group is structured to deal with it, then mobility is not disruptive.

Their data shows that certain individual and group attributes can minimize any disruptive effects. This depends on: the amount of training individuals have for integrating under conditions of change; the attitudes they have towards strangers; the attitudes for discussing problems relating to individuals' personalities; plus the presence of positive group norms toward integrating strangers and the avoidance of competition between significant primary groups of family and neighbours.

Extended family ties are more likely to be competitive with neighbourhood groups than the nuclear family, since they do not share a common residence and may not live in the same neighbourhood. Also, if relatives live within the same city, they are more likely to constitute a competitive factor, than if they live outside of the city.

The negative effects of mobility can be reversed by speeding up the process by which strangers are socialized into the group.

Research carried out in the West End of Boston, shows that adaptation to residential displacement depends upon a variety of psychological and social factors. More specifically, it appears to be dependent on preparedness for change. Pre-relocation evidence of preparedness for change is the most important factor determining post-relocation adjustment-adaptation and even tends to dwarf the importance of post-relocation situations and experiences. The critical mediating factor is the readiness to accept the challenge implicit in displacement experiences. The importance of working class close-knit networks is stressed since many people who are otherwise ready for assimilation and social mobility are restrained from realizing these changes because of the binding power of their close-knit network ties. Fried, in studying working-class social relationships, describes the structure of social affiliations of the working-class community as an overlapping series of close-knit networks studied in a single geographical or residential area.


Analysis of data that comes from the same source and project as Herbert Gans' *The Urban Villagers*, is presented.

Fried and Gleicher find that many residents are quite satisfied with their "slum" neighbourhood. Residential stability gives them a sense of ease and belonging, and facilitates the establishment and maintenance of supportive, tightly-knit primary relationships. "The local area was a focus for strongly positive sentiments and was perceived, probably in its multiple meanings, as home. The critical significance of belonging in or to an area has been one of the most consistent findings in working-class communities both in the United States and in England. It is a localistic sense of a local spatial identity which includes both local social relationships and local places."

The most active kinship ties are with the nuclear relatives, specifically the parents, siblings, and children, of both spouses. Extended-family relationships are less important. "The more extensive these available kinship ties are within the local area, the greater the proportion who show strong positive feeling" toward the neighbourhood. While 50% of R's have a strong preference for ties with kin, a large minority (31%) have a strong preference for friendship ties. Thus, these groups do not differ in their orientation to the area and consequently there are alternative paths to close interpersonalities. The strongest association found is between
feelings about neighbours and about the neighbourhood. In addition, many of the kin are also neighbours.

A majority (60%) of the R's maintain their closest ties with people living in the neighbourhood. "The greater one's interpersonal commitments in the area, in the form of close contacts or strongly positive feelings, the greater the likelihood of highly positive feelings about the area as a whole." Networks are generally diffuse, tightly-knit, stable, locally-oriented, and often composed of both kin and non-kin.


The authors argue against the conception of mass society as "an administrative state, a massified citizenry, and no mediating organizations in between." Using survey data from a Metropolitan St. Louis study, they focus on the "parapolitical structure," that is, voluntary organizations which may at some point become involved in local political issues. They dichotomize city and suburbs on the basis of Social Area Analysis data, characterizing city populations as being higher in urbanism and lower in SES than suburban ones. Intensity of political involvement is measured using Guttman scale techniques, showing that, in the suburbs, the main type of involvement consists of political action mediated by the local parapolitical structure. A second group of individuals, termed "cosmopolites" or "metropolitanites" are unengaged in the local area qua community, but may be involved in the parapolitical structure on the basis of organizations involving occupational, class, and ethnic interests. Finally, there are a few isolates who do not participate in the community or in its parapolitical structure. These are the individuals who fit most closely the mass society model. The authors conclude by warning that their analysis fails to take into account the specific content of political interest and information, and suggest that more research is required before the mass society model can be said to have been adequately tested.

The relationship between voluntary associations and such local primary groups as the neighbourhood is examined. In particular, Litwak tests two opposing hypotheses: that mature industrial bureaucracies put pressure on their members to utilize voluntary associations and to disaffiliate from local community and neighbourhood primary groups, and that mature industrial bureaucracies put pressure on their members to utilize voluntary associations and to affiliate with community and neighbourhood primary groups. Both views stress the importance of voluntary associations, but disagree regarding their function, that is, whether it is integrative or substitutive.

Litwak maintains that the traditional assumptions supporting the first hypothesis cannot be sustained in the light of his data. Instead, he argues that because of the internal and external demands of productivity, as well as the strong theoretical reasons for a combination of primary groups and large organization, management is enthusiastic for local community identification. Also the corporation seeks to accelerate integration of individuals into the community through mechanisms such as voluntary associations in order to facilitate socialization within the organization. Thus a combination of bureaucratic occupational influence and local voluntary associations provides for rapid integration into the neighbourhood.


This is a theoretical examination of two groups of influential people who differ in the way they make use of their communication networks. (It is based upon an empirical study in suburban New Jersey.) Although "both types of influential are effective almost exclusively within the local community," their orientations to that community differ. The locals confine their interests to the local community while the cosmopolitans are significantly more oriented to the outside world. The two also differ in their social networks since the local is concerned with knowing as many people as possible while the cosmopolitans are more concerned with the type rather than the quantity of their contacts. Thus the local's "influence rests on an elaborate network of personal relationships. The influence of local influential rests not so much on what they know but on whom they know." On the other hand, the influence of cosmopolitans stems from what they know, and their social relationships are more the result than the cause of their influence.
In support situations, a local is sought out because he "understands"; a cosmopolitan, for what he "knows." The local's aid tends to be diffuse and supportive of maintaining social relationships while the cosmopolitan's aid may be more technical and more narrowly-defined.


Sussman describes the "help pattern" which exists between elders and their children's family and its effects upon inter-generational family relationships.

The parents and their children in the study are middle class, white protestant. They have a pattern of giving and receiving between them which is related to the continuity of intergenerational family relationships. If a pattern of moderate help is established after marriage, the parents' and children's families are more likely to develop a clear understanding of one another's newly created roles, to learn behavior in relation to these and to establish common frames of references more easily which assist in the solution of problems of mutual concern. Parents aid married children with nursery care, home repairing, vacation planning and summer activities. Even when the children do not observe norms of endogamous marriage, parents continue to assist them.

Thus the middle class family is not as independent or isolated a unit as it is thought to be. Affectional and economic ties still link the generational families and give stability to their relationships.


This is an analysis of a systematic survey of 165 adult white males in Plainfield, New Jersey, in 1949. The questionnaire focussed on their knowledge of the community and political participation.

The proportion of knowledgeable individuals increased with income, occupational status, and educational level. This suggests that: a certain amount of education is essential for the acquisition of community knowledge, but that this level is soon reached (approximately high school); educational level is strongly associated with the level of community knowledge within the context of lower economic status, but not within the context of relatively high economic status; and a tendency exists for the highest educational levels (completed college and beyond) to have a lower level of community knowledge than the educational level immediately below.
The proportion of knowledgeable individuals is positively related to length of residence in the community, geographic mobility within the community, home ownership, reading the local newspaper, location of work situ within the community, having children in school, and political participation.

The author suggests a four-fold typology based on SES and localism. High-status, high-locals have the highest level of community knowledge and tend to be community leaders. They are followed by low SES locals, high SES nonlocals, and low SES non-locals in order of community knowledge. He links his analysis to Merton's paradigm of cosmopolitanism and localism and he hypothesizes that orientations inside and outside of the community are mutually exclusive since those who are oriented outside will have a low level of knowledge about the community.


As part of a larger study of Negroes in the predominantly-black Roxbury district of Boston, Tilly finds that the largest number of respondents found their present dwellings through chance or networks of personal contacts.


Tilly and Brown present some ideas about the role of kin groups in migration to cities and examine them in the light of data gathered about migration in Wilmington, Delaware.

They attack Park's theory of the marginal man and the concept of the city as an impersonal mechanism, particularly the idea that urban society and extended kinship are incompatible.

They first review the literature on the role of kinship during and after migration. Although their hypotheses concerning the auspices of migration emerge "partly untested, partly shaken and partly confirmed," the results from the Wilmington data show elaborate and systematic variations in patterns of migration. Kin groups play a large part in the reception of newcomers. Therefore, Tilly and Brown feel that their data raise questions about the theory of uprooting, marginality and disorganization. They conclude that "the meager evidence so far accumulated does not justify the conclusion that genuine uprooting is widespread in cities, or that its occurrence inevitably brings on individual malaise and social disintegration."
Wellman, Barry. "Community Ties and Mental Health." Toronto: Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, Community Studies Section, August, 1968 (mimeographed).

Instead of following the traditional focus on social positional characteristics such as SES as predictors of mental health, this paper suggests the importance of social network properties in accounting for both the prevalence of mental distress and the process by which one is so identified and treated. In turn, the author indicates that variation in the nature of one's primary ties, the social positions of those with whom one is close, the availability of primary ties for support, the nature of one's neighbourhood, and one's residential mobility all may have implications for the manner in which people experience and handle stress.

Wellman, Barry; Margaret Hewson; and Donald Coates. "Primary Relationships in the City: Some Preliminary Observations." Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Toronto, June, 1969.

Analysis of a 1968 survey of 845 adult residents of the East York section of Toronto. A presentation of basic statistics on the respondent's 6 closest "intimates" (non-household kin, friends, and neighbours): their relationship to their residential location, their frequency of contact face-to-face and indirectly, and their availability for "reliance" in "everyday" and "emergency" matters.

About half of the intimates are kin and 30% are members of the immediate family. The rest are mainly friends, although there are a few neighbours (6%). Thirteen percent live in the same neighbourhood as R, while 24% live beyond the metropolitan area. About half of the intimates are visited at least once per week but a much higher proportion are in phone or letter contact.

Thirty percent "of all intimates were thought" by R's "to be available for help in emergencies"; 22% of the intimates were thought to be available for help in everyday matters. The proportion available for help varies inversely with the closeness of the intimates to the R's.

It is concluded that "urban adults are not isolated and without interpersonal resources; rather, there are strong ties of intimacy functioning. These ties comprise kin, friends and neighbours. The notion of the 'urban community' must be re-examined and modified. Most intimates do not live in the same neighbourhoods as the respondents, although a higher than random proportion of them do." In the metropolis, "the provision of reliance can vary quite markedly even among those to whom respondents feel close. These are not undifferentiated ties of primary relationships."

Wolf discusses the nature of communities in modern societies. As they have become dependent upon and vertically integrated into larger social systems, "whole communities have come to play specialized parts within the larger whole." But people and groups within communities are linked horizontally to others elsewhere since "special functions pertaining to the whole have become the tasks of special groups within communities." Quite often, relations between groups lead to the development of "brokers" who "mediate between different levels of integration of the same society."
Cross-References (2.4)

Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities. (1.1)

Keller, The Urban Neighborhood. (1.1)

Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment. (1.1)

Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life." (1.1)

Matthews, Neighbor and Kin. (1.2)

Heinlein, "Stranger in a Strange Land." (1.3)

Kadushin, The Friends and Supporters of Psychotherapy: On Social Circles in Urban Life." (2.1)

Laumann, "Interlocking and Radial Friendship Networks." (2.1)

Simmel, "Quantitative Aspects of the Group." (2.1)

Blumberg, Winch and Sween, "The Will of the Tribe." (2.2.1)

Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land. (2.2.1)

Coult and Habenstein, "The Study of Extended Kinship." (2.2.1)

Liebow, Tally's Corner. (2.2.1)

Litwak, "Geographical Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion."

(2.2.1)

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Kotler, Neighborhood Government. (2.5)

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Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication. (3.1)
2.5. THE "WHAT NEXT" OF NETWORKS: NETWORKS OF THE FUTURE


The paper is an outline of an approach to social structure based on a consideration of social participation. Katz' asserts that "Ego's social networks indicate the scope of his participation in his society and that existing social networks provide a clue to the strands which actually hold a society together."

The standard primary-secondary dichotomy tends to obscure the extensive contact systems which serve as links among ostensibly dispersed members of the society. There are extensive links among geographically dispersed individuals and also among persons who are separated by economic and status differences. Social links are greatly facilitated by the drastic advances in communication but the social corollates of this technology need to be conceptually and empirically clarified. Not only is it possible to see and move over great distances, it is also possible to conduct intimate and important affairs over great distances. For example, money can be sent by telegraph, jobs can be offered by telephone and consolation and advice can be offered. Thus, the spatially bounded concept of community needs to be modified. Recent research indicates that social interactions do occur among kinsmen, that kinsmen may indeed facilitate occupationally-based social mobility, and that kinship interactions cater to a variety of primary human needs. But it is necessary to realize that many functions served by the extended family are also served by interactions with persons who have no biological kinship. In addition, modern urban man has need of facilities which usually cannot be provided by his biological kinsmen.

Other studies indicate that kinship ties do persist and are likely to be especially important during emergencies. But in addition to these ties there exist a variety of forms of friendship and neighbourliness beyond the kinship based relationships. Some of these are facilitated by membership in formal organizations.

On the basis of the questions raised by such research, Katz makes an effort to set forth an orderly set of network characteristics, to show how they are formed and utilized, and how they may be used for cross-cultural studies.

This is a discussion of the virtues of decentralized neighborhood government, with some examples given from current undertakings. The book assumes that neighborhoods are -- or can be -- viable, coherent and self-conscious communities, and that community and personal self-control can best be served by increasing their powers and responsibilities. The author asserts that not only will better government result, but that people will be less anomie, that is, have a greater sense of control over their own fate.


A novel, set in the present in California, advocating "corporate marriage" with more than one father/husband and mother/wife present in a family, who jointly raise all the children. This is seen as "a solution which may be the only way the individual can make his technologies and his society serve him for complete self-actualization." It is claimed that greater individual expression, more complex and deep intimate relationships, and greater primary group stability would be possible through such a solution. The implications of establishing corporate marriage in modern North America are discussed.


Symonds presents a discussion of "sexual mate swapping" as a new form of primary relationships between intimates. There are two types of "swingers": "recreational" and "utopian." Recreational swingers tend to develop more formal, quasi-bureaucratic communities and to compartmentalize swinging to "one separate activity in an otherwise conforming life style." Utopian swingers develop a stronger sense of informal warm, closely-knit community, and are "interested in man conceived in his wholeness, rather than individual roles taken separately."

Both types of swingers are organized into groups which function secretly. Within the group structure, there are permanent couples -- usually husband and wife -- despite the frequent and normative sexual mate swapping.
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"The Impact of Technological Change on World Politics." (3.3)
"Need for More Balance in the Flow of Communications." (3.3)
3. COMMUNICATION

3.1. IMPACT OF COMMUNICATION ON NETWORKS AND COMMUNITY


In his section on transportation, Blumenfeld talks of the effects of communication on society and the city. About the telephone, he says: "Of far greater importance has been the invention of the telephone. We are apt to forget that within living memory all business was transacted by sending messages. To be able to talk with a person without being face to face was the most revolutionary change in the history of communication, more revolutionary than any changes that have occurred since or are presently envisaged. I have often suggested to my academic friends -- so far without success -- the undertaking of a study concerning the impact of the telephone on the distribution of activities in urban and metropolitan areas. Perhaps the world's wealthiest corporation, International Telephone and Telegraph, can be persuaded to make a million-dollar grant for research in this field."

"What we do know without further research, is what the telephone did not do. It did not eliminate the desire for doing business face to face and the concentration that serves this desire, the central business district. I am therefore somewhat skeptical about predicting the impact of new developments in communication."


Communication is usually thought of in terms of cause and effect, in terms of a message that is sent from its source to its destination and the impression or impact that results from its arrival. This view of the communication process has in the past distorted or nullified a good deal of research on the effects of communication, particularly those effects emphasizing the importance of the recipient's activity, needs, and characteristics. The article examines the effects of communication in terms of the needs of the individuals who are the targets and the way in which communications fit into their efforts to improve their relationships with their environment."

Deutsch looks at nationalism on the societal level. Communication is seen as the key concept in defining and binding together a national group. "A large group of persons linked by such complementary habits and facilities of communication we may call a people." Convergences and divergences in the ability of people to communicate with each other are seen as tests of the emergence and disappearance (or fission) of a national group.


Fanelli feels that there is an absence of a comprehensive theory of communication and little reliable information about the process of communication at the community level. Most of the work which has been done is related to small group or mass society.

This study is concerned with communication behaviour in a social system. It is directed at the general question of who talks to whom about specific community problems and projects. In particular, it is concerned with how persons who report a variety of communication contacts differ from those who report few or no contacts.

The concept of communication extensiveness (range of an individual's communication contacts) is developed to help understand the community and the process by which it has changed. The phenomenon of community itself is dependent on rather extensive communication in the local population. Fanelli finds that extensiveness of community contacts appears to be a function of the individual's relationship to his community, his perception of the community and his place in it, and his actual participation in its affairs. Also, he feels it is desirable to remove these communication barriers which still exist between various groups in the community, as extensiveness of contacts is a prerequisite for objective perceptions of community affairs. This is because it gives a more accurate and differentiated picture of reality by the increase in communication among diverse elements.

The author attempts to relate the development of science and technology in our society to human organization in the urban environment and to man's conscious control over the development of this milieu. The main areas of scientific and technical advancement which are distinguished are: power sources, microprocessing, communication and control and biological control. In particular, the communications aspects of this change involve the wider spread of information and knowledge and the conversion of social interaction from face-to-face contact and the shipment of documents to interaction by wire and radio. The social consequences of these scientific and technological changes on the process of urban planning and on the construction and operation of urban agglomerations is the main area of interest to the author.


The article talks about a conference on "The City as a Communication Center." Edward E. David Jr., Executive Director of Communications Systems Research, Bell Telephone Laboratories, indicated that in highly industrialized countries the communication centers now have virtually no better communications than other locations in those countries. It was pointed out in discussion that, in most countries in the world, the large city still had an important advantage in speed and economy of communication in 1968, even though in the past century this has ceased to be true in the U.S.


This is a monograph to "bring to the attention of urbanists of all kinds the view of the city that a communications approach affords." It is based on "the fundamental insight that of a city as an open system that must, if it is to remain viable, conserve negative entropy (information)."

The book is filled with insightful ideas, and novel suggestions for research. It discusses the nature of "transactions" between individuals which are events involving at least one transfer of information, the nature of such links, and their implications for urban social structure. The book suggests studies of time and space budgets, transaction capabilities of various entities and channels, communications and information overload and load, filtering of mass messages and of the capacity of senders and receivers, in binding a city and society together.
The propositions which are deduced include:

"If a society of mortal individuals is to survive, information must be conserved."

"A sector of society that grows in influence, wealth or power, measured in absolute terms, must experience a growth in information flow that occurred prior to or simultaneously with the other recorded growth."

"If advanced societies are to increase their organization (and capacities for cultural interaction), the interactions between automata in their service must increase even more rapidly."

Thus communications is treated as the heart of urban social structure, and not as an epiphenomena or a derivative outcome. by


Seeley refutes Dewey's statement that "The Community exists in Communication." Seeley looks into definitions and interrelationships between society, community, and communications. He believes, contrary to Dewey, that "When we have communication we have a sure sign that community has been interrupted, and either that its restoration is being sought or a societal arrangement substituted." He argues that society is at least as important as community, and that it is society that "exists in communication."


This article analyses the effects of transportation and communication on the city. Tonuma suggests that the key elements of our dwelling life are settlement, transportation and communication. These elements, when given a spatial context, he calls "sphere of settlement," "sphere of transportation," and "sphere of communication." The "sphere of settlement" is the area used for "productive activities" which includes "the area for dwelling and for second and third industries, and the surrounding area for first industries." The "core of settlement" is the area which is densely inhabited, while the "sphere of transportation" consists of the area which can be covered during a day's trip. Of course this depends upon the means of transportation. The "sphere of communication" is defined as the area which can be covered by some means of communication.

The total of these three spheres forms the "sphere of living." He analyses the changing sphere of living, from the standpoint of changes of mobility in terms of men, traffic and communication. In the last post, the author suggests that Japan, at the beginning of the 21st century, might become a single urban complex, and gives a name to it -- the "Network City."


The growth of the North American city has not yet seen the development of urban man, but this will come with greater metropolitan experience, social mobility, communications flexibility, and geographical mobility. In the future, urbanites will not feel that they "belong" only to an ancestral residential place. Instead, networks based on "interest communities," which are not necessarily spatial concentrations will develop. When this happens, the rural-urban dichotomy will have vanished.

This "community without propinquity" will be aided by possible changes in communication and transportation, providing more personal, multi-use, and lower cost services, uncongested freeways, guideway-type systems, data-processing and transmission and long-distance telephones. As communication and transportation technologies develop, the economies of close-in location will diminish, and activity will become more dispersed. Eventually, the "non-nodal city" may develop. This increasing range of locational choice will mean that such decisions can be made with reference to matters such as natural beauty not well taken into account now.

This new community will have important implications for intergroup relations. All segments of the national population are being woven into an increasingly complex social, political, and economic web, such that no person and no group is entirely independent of all other persons and all other groups. The growing pluralism in American society is more than a growing multiplicity of types of people and institutions. Each person and group bound by a community of interests, is integrally related to every other person and group, such that each is defined by its relations to all others and that a change in one induces a change in all others.

In sum, urban values depend on communication and transportation and not upon spatial structure per se, as many have claimed.

Rising societal scale and improvements in transportation as well as communications systems are held to have "worked to rob cities of their unique urbanizing functions and to make North Americans, as a whole, more cosmopolitan, although this latter process has been uneven." Urban-rural distinctions will become less salient.


This article distinguishes among the spatial behavior and perceptions of various North American groups with respect to the use of communication. The "intellectual elite" is at the end of continua, since "their contacts with friends and colleagues at distance places are maintained through a large number of channels -- the academic journals, books, the mails, the long-distance telephone, the telegraph, and of course the long-haul transportation lines. Although most of their colleagues and associates are physically distant in space, the quality of interaction engendered by shared interests is very intimate even when face-to-face conversation is not possible." They are in closely-knit primary groups with spatially distributed peers, that is groups based on achieved shared interests, and not based on ascriptive kinship, ethnicity, nationality, or place. These are highly role-specific, and not diffuse, groups.

"Working-class locals" are at the opposite end of the continua. Peasant-like "intense localism" and "limited close-knit networks," with "immediately proximate kin and neighbors" based especially on the extended family. Networks of association are based extensively upon residential propinquity, as well. In North America, unlike Britain, there is little generational localism, since the children of working-class families often adopt middle-class patterns and do not stay highly localistic.
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Pierce, "Communications Theory and the Future." (3.3)
Spilhaus, "The Experimental City." (3.3)
"The Impact of Technological Change on World Politics." (3.3)
"Need for More Balance in the Flow of Communications." (3.3)
3.2. MODES OF LINKAGE


This is an essay on the sociological implications of the telephone. A review of its effects to date indicate that the telephone accentuates centrifugal processes in society, especially the "decentralization of relationships", that it is pervasive, putting all within reach; that it makes communication insistent because the potential answerer does not know the nature of the potential call; that it is egalitarian accessible to all; and that it accentuates aural cues.

Strong norms affect its usage. It is an "irresistible intruder" -- one should answer its ring; "the initiator of a call shall be its terminator"; there are "conversational obligations" to maintain interaction; it has an 'egalitarian intensity" -- "unequals may call, but their calls are equal (at least until answered); therefore "avoidance" and screening procedures are used by many, but these have to be subtle to avoid answering errors. Calls are prominently dyadic, with each participant therefore controlling the link's very existence. By


Most of what is known about communications has been learned from the study of language. However, Hall looks primarily at non-verbal communication systems. He believes that Americans' behaviour in other countries results from ignorance of what they are communicating to other people by their own normal behaviour, as well as a lack of knowledge of what is expected in other countries.

This interdisciplinary book looks at culture as communication and communication as culture. Man operates on three different levels: the formal, informal, and technical. Each is present in any situation, but one dominates at any given instant in time. The shifts from level to level are rapid, and the study of these shifts is the study of the process of change. Culture is concerned more with messages than it is with networks and control systems. Hall gives three principal elements of a message which are applicable to all types of communication including language. Set- or words are perceived first. They constitute the point of entry into any cultural study. The isolates or sounds are the components that make up the sets, whereas patterns or syntax are the way sets are strung together to give them meaning.

"Neighbourhood contacts and patterns of friendship are underlying indices of community integration and cohesion which involve individual choice to a considerable degree." With the separation of place of residence from place of work, it is increasingly assumed that work contacts become dominant in determining patterns of social contact. If this is the case, and it is probably so for only certain specialized upper-middle and middle-class groups, social contacts in the neighbourhood and community would measure orientations away from the place of work toward the place of residence and consumption. Over 70% of the total sample reported regular visiting with their neighbours, neighbours usually implying residents in the immediate vicinity or on the block. Such visiting showed a statistical association with readership. Men and women with many of their friends in the community, as opposed to those with non-community patterns of friendship, produced the highest degree of association in the individual indices of community integration.

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This consists of an excerpt from a speech given by Kappel when he was president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. He describes highspeed machine-to-machine talk over the regular telephone network, satellite communication, mobile telephones, visual communication and other developments in mass communication techniques. However, he does not discuss the socio-economic implications of these developments.

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This paper attempts to apply the second law of thermodynamics, or the law of entropy, by "distorted" analogy, to social organization. Katzman defines entropy as random, chaotic distribution of matter or energy in such a way as to make the distribution tend to be uniform throughout the system. A communication flow-societal entropy model is put forward because Katzman feels that the notion of entropy within a social system provides the framework within which to study the effects of communication. Whereas the law of entropy only applies to closed systems, the relationship proposed in this article deals with the degree to which a system is opened or closed to the flow of communication, in channels, to and from what lies outside of the system. He proposes a relationship between changing patterns of communication flow and changing patterns of entropy within a social system. A rising level of communication flow with the environment (including other social systems) is said to increase internal "negentropy."

Klapper discusses the difficulties of relating mass communication research as a technique to any body of theory of communication. The "phenomenon and attempt to assess the roles of the several influences which produced it," is advocated.


The authors are interested in the degree of attachment that urban dwellers have to various groups and the means they have of sustaining and interrelating these associations. They focus on the extent to which the "quest for community" (Nisbet) persists even in the urban setting, by examining the social functions of a special form of mass communication, the urban weekly newspaper, in order to ascertain its ability to counteract the "eclipse of a community" (Stein).

The data support their general hypothesis that the urban weekly newspaper is an effective instrument for developing, reinforcing, and extending community identification and involvement. This may suggest that other modes of communication, such as the phone, radio, and television may also be effective instruments in developing, reinforcing and extending identification at the community and interpersonal level.


Several points are brought out in this article. The main one is that the audience must not be atomized nor the message isolated from the social process. The communicator and the recipient usually have an inter-dependent relationship. It is rarely just a question of a single communication producing a single reply. Indeed, the communication should be regarded as one link in a chain of communications which extends over time. Much of the relationship between communicator and recipient is indirect and tends to proliferate through other group members. All of the individuals involved, no matter how indirectly, in the communication process have a place in the social structure. As these several positions are related to one another within the social system, the communications which flow from one individual or group to another, no longer appear as random or unrelated acts but as elements in a total pattern of on-going interaction.
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"The Impact of Technological Change on World Politics." (3.3)

"Need for More Balance in the Flow of Communications." (3.3)
3.3. FUTURE IMPACT OF COMMUNICATION


This is a science-fiction novel, set on a planet in which there is absolutely no face-to-face contact, except for very limited procreation purposes. All communication is done by three-dimensional "trimensional images" which give the illusion that the other is in the same room with you. Nevertheless, the author concludes that the society is stagnating. "Tribal" experiences and full co-operation between individuals is not feasible solely on the basis of trimensional communication, with the result that it has produced "a world of isolated individuals and the planet's only sociologist is delighted that this is so."


Bellamy gives a turn-of-the-century fictional description of the consequences of the complete telepathy of the inhabitants of an unknown island. In his depiction, Bellamy closely anticipates some central tenets of symbolic interactionists. He believes that telepaths will have better self-understanding and will be able to distinguish between their selves as they themselves see them and their "real" selves as others perceive them "reflected in other minds as in mirrors." Telepathy will compel a complete taking of the role of the other, and an attendant growth of comprehension and sympathy. The social consequences of such complete communication involves the development of an extremely close-knit community, with strong group identity, whose interactions are not affected by constraints of distance.


This science-fiction novel tells of a future Earth in which the telepathic potential of a limited number of inhabitants has been recognized and developed. Some attention is paid to the intense sense of community developed among the telepaths and to the social psychological effects of the knowledge that one is being monitored and can monitor others. More attention is paid to the social conflict caused by the disparity in power and influence between telepaths and the rest of humanity.

The metropolis is seen as an effective and efficient way for enhancing the range and number of social choices, while communications systems are regarded as fundamental facilities in the maintenance of this range and number. One result is that people are attracted to cities because they find a wider range of choice within their individual limitations through communications and other facilities. This attraction power means that the metropolis is inherently subject to overload. Because of the communications overload of cities, coping devices must be sought, such as a search for privacy, a means of migrant adjustment, a reduction in stimuli to be attended to, and a flight to the simplified suburbs. These responses, though, work to negate the range of choice provided by the metropolis.

One solution might be to overdevelop communications and other facilities in the metropolis in order to maintain a wide range of activities without suffering overload. Proportionately accelerated investment in communications, together with an improved knowledge of the magnitude of this investment, he suggests, provide a possible approach to urban decentralization.


Pierce discusses the potential impact of future communication capacities on social relationships. Future communication technology will have significantly lower cost and greater mobility. It will no longer be "anchored physically to a home or an office," utilizing such devices as personal signalling and mobile telephony. It will be multi-party, allowing for conferences and no longer limiting contact to dyads. Voice and data communication will be increasingly linked, thereby increasing the utilization of routine communication channels. An important component of this will be a great growth in the capacity of computers and the use of them for routine, mundane, personal purposes.

The larger social impact of this will be the intertwined growth of integration and freedom. "In the future, government will be larger, business will be larger, life will be more integrated. This is the price that we must pay for technological well-being. But integration will no longer mean centralization. Electrical communication, the computer as a record keeper, and rapid and flexible means of transportation will make possible a civilization which can be highly integrated without being centralized."
"In the same way, a certain portion of our lives, of our work, and of our dealing with our obligations to the nation will be more reduced to rule. But within this structure, for those who have something of intellectual importance to offer, the options, will be greater, and in our private lives the options will be greater still."


In this article, Spilhaus proposes that a key component of experimental cities be a greatly improved information utility, utilizing broad-band coaxial cables and handling two-way point-to-point video and other broad-band communications. Such improvements would have great (but largely unspecified) effects on the flexibility of social relationships.


Although this issue deals chiefly with the effect of technology on world politics, it briefly touches upon the effect of communication systems in urban life. In particular, it suggests that computer communication technology will attenuate the need and wish of people to get together in urban concentrations, since people will be able to transact most of their business remotely. Although present telephone communications still fall short of stimulating face-to-face encounters, the future prospects of colour viewing screens might go a long way to reducing the telephone's present inability to provide the feeling of privacy, sincerity, personal rapport and physical closeness. In addition, many tasks -- even face-to-face dining -- could be handled by electronic devices. The relatively few operations requiring physical proximity, such as repairs and putting out fires, could be handled by small groups.


A series of excerpts from papers dealing with the nature of new advances in communication and the projected effects on the social and economic structures of the city is presented. A fuller network of communications is seen as relieving the load on centers of high density by permitting activities to be more widely diffused. Yet diffusion alone does not solve the more fundamental problems created by the massive force of communications bombarding modern man. Although wider knowledge is one of modern man's great liberations, in the last analysis each citizen has only so much span of attention and this scarcity demands priorities. He needs a balance between the flood of information streaming in through increasingly efficient channels from around the world and the local coverage of situations for which he has immediate responsibility.
He needs protection against new technological forms of intrusion on his privacy. He needs keener education in the distinction between fact and guess, and a deeper understanding of the value and depth of different types of information. Above all, his need for direct personal contact should be enhanced and not diminished by the modern network of communication.

In former times, man received a lot of information about his family, much information about his neighbourhood, some information about his city, and very little information about the outside world. Now we receive world news in an instant, but have lost contact with those who live close to us. This overflow of information from the outside means we have little time to process it. We need to strengthen man's ability to process and pass on information to his family and small group, but this means there must be opportunities for dialogue. For this we must move back to the small scale urban unit, built on the human scale of movement. Individual communication must be once again encouraged.

Lastly, it has been suggested that these new means of communication will obviate the necessity for face-to-face interaction among people. Yet these developments in indirect communication may create an even greater need for direct communication. The contemporary age is the age of organization, the age of the conference where decisions are made by groups of men in direct communication with one another. Developments in visual communication (telephones with T.V. screens) may meet this function in the future.

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