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An Experimental Case Study of the Social Class Structure and Family Relationships of Catholic Families with Students in Eighth Grade in Functionally Different Suburbs

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AN EXPERIMENTAL CASE STUDY
OF THE
SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS
OF
CATHOLIC FAMILIES WITH STUDENTS IN EIGHTH GRADE
IN
FUNCTIONALLY DIFFERENT SUBURBS

by

Rev. Daniel H. O'Donohue

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

June

1967

LIFE

Father Daniel H. O'Donohue was born in Limerick, Ireland, July 1, 1939.

He was educated by the Irish Christian Brothers, first in Limerick, and later at Westland Row, Dublin, where he completed his secondary education in 1957.

Father O'Donohue began his studies for the Priesthood at Holy Cross College, Dublin, the Dublin Archdiocesan Seminary, in the Fall of 1957. He attended University College Dublin from 1957 to 1960. In October, 1960, he was graduated from the National University of Ireland with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Having successfully completed the prescribed courses in Theology at Holy Cross College, Dublin, he was ordained a Priest for the Archdiocese of Dublin in May, 1964.

Following his ordination, Father O'Donohue spent some time as a prison and hospital chaplain and later taught religion in a Dublin vocational school. During 1965, he began preparatory work for post-graduate studies in sociology and assisted in a number of research projects.

In the Fall of 1965, Father O'Donohue registered for a Master of Arts degree in sociology at Loyola University.

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The writer would also like to express his gratitude to all his friends in Sociology for their support and encouragement in the design and completion of this research. Particularly, he would like to thank, The Very Reverend James F. Maguire S.J., President of Loyola University, for his kindness to him, Dr. Marcel Fredericks, who, as professor and advisor, has guided and directed the writer's development in Sociology, Sister Mary Mona, O.S.F., Mrs. Robert Mammoser and Mr. John Madden for their help in the typing, proof-reading and reproduction of the final copy, The Most Reverend John P. Cody, Archbishop of Chicago, The Right Reverend Monsignor Daniel B. O'Rourke, the Assistants, Sisters and People of St. Mary of the Woods Parish, who provided a "home from home" for the writer during his stay in Chicago.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The major focus of this research is the American suburb and the people who live there. The growth of the American suburbs has been recent, is still gaining momentum, and has been of such proportions that it is affecting every form of institutional life in this country. Just what the suburban movement signifies, and precisely how it will affect the American way of life is not clear. This movement of the American people from the cities and rural areas to the suburbs has not gone unheralded. Many "experts", both scientific and otherwise, have pontificated on the virtues and vices they consider endemic to suburban residence. The suburbs have been variously viewed, as something new and wonderful or as something new and terrible, as evidence of America's greatness and economic advancement or of its social and cultural impoverishment, as the natural outcome of population and technological growth or as the inevitable offspring of a technology uninformed by human values. However it is characterized, this was not a planned or guided movement, but rather under the influence of many factors in the social, economic and political life of the country, it has consisted in a very

haphazard spilling out of the city population into the surrounding rural areas. This movement to the suburbs was well underway long before our city and town planners sought to give it some direction.

Ever since 1790, the year of the first United States' census, the population of the United States has tended consistently to concentrate into urban areas. In 1790, 5.1 per cent of the people in the United States lived in urban areas; as of 1960, this figure had risen to 69.9 per cent. One significant aspect of this urban growth, as Donald Bogue has indicated, was the tendency for cities to grow to a very large size.¹ These large population centers have become dominant in the economic and social life of the country, so much so that "... medium size and small cities, as well as dispersed rural populations, appear to perform their function with reference to the metropolitan centers ..."²

The United States Bureau of the Census recognized the unique character of these large population clusters in 1910, when it defined them as metropolitan districts. Since then, this definition has been revised repeatedly in an effort to

¹Donald Bogue, The Population of the United States (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959).

²Donald Bogue, "Urbanization in the United States, 1950", American Journal of Sociology, 60(March, 1955), 479.

arrive at the most meaningful definition that adequately describes the central city and its area of dominance. The net result of these changes has been to reduce the size of the central cities (from 200,000 in 1910 to 50,000 in 1930 and since then) and to allow for greater recognition of the role of economic and social factors in the central cities' influence over the surrounding countryside. In 1950, the definition was changed to include whole counties, and the term "standard metropolitan area" was used in place of metropolitan district. In 1960, the term "standard metropolitan statistical area" introduced some minor modifications to the 1950 definition. A standard metropolitan statistical area (S.M.S.A.) signifies a county or group of counties with a central city of 50,000 or more inhabitants or "twin-cities" with a combined population of 50,000 or more inhabitants, plus any adjacent counties that are metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city. The metropolitan character and social and economic integration is defined in terms of the following criteria: metropolitan places of work, homes for non-agricultural workers, and economic and social communication with the central city.³

³ For a complete discussion see United States Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Vol. I, "Number of Inhabitants, United States Summary," xxxi-xxxiii, and United States Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, "Characteristics of the Population, Part I, United States Summary," xxxi-xxxv.

While exact longitudinal growth patterns are difficult to identify because of the changes in definition, yet a brief look at the population statistics for metropolitan areas from 1940 to 1960 does indicate the extent of the population concentration into these areas, and how much they have captured the population growth during these two decades. In 1950, there were 168 standard metropolitan areas. The population in these areas in 1950 was 56.8 per cent of the total population in the United States, and during the 1940-1950 decade, these areas accounted for 80.6 per cent of the country's total population increase. In 1960, with a minor change in definition, there were 212 standard metropolitan statistical areas. Their combined population amounted to 63 per cent of the United States total population in 1960. For the 1950-1960 decade, these areas accounted for 85 per cent of the country's total population increase.⁴

This pattern and trend in the distribution of the population of the United States, and the change it represents in such a short period of time is summed up very clearly by Dudley Kirk:

⁴The statistics for metropolitan and suburban areas in this chapter are taken from Bogue, "Urbanization in the United States: 1950", and Leo F. Schnore, The Urban Scene (New York: The Free Press, 1965), Ch. 6.

Everywhere we see the growing place of the metropolis and suburbia in our national life. Perhaps the single most significant demographic series in the whole armamentarium of American population statistics is represented by the following; two generations ago, in 1920, the median American lived in the countryside; by 1930 he lived in a small town of 5,000-10,000 population. To-day, he lives in a metropolitan area, increasingly in the suburbs, and the countryside dweller to-day is as much in touch with world events and cultural innovation as the city dweller of yesterday. It is difficult to overstate the revolution this has meant in the average American way of life.⁵

Within the metropolitan areas, there has been a development which can be considered almost as significant as the growth of the metropolitan areas themselves. The Bureau of the Census delimits two areas within metropolitan areas, the central city and the urban fringe. The population growth we have identified has not been distributed evenly in these two areas. Up until 1920, the central cities attracted the greater proportion of the population growth within metropolitan areas. Since then however, the pattern has reversed itself. Increasingly since 1920, the fringe areas have accounted for the greater proportion of metropolitan growth. In the 1950-1960 decade, the fringe areas were responsible for 76.3 per cent of the population increase in metropolitan areas. During that decade, many of the larger cities lost population, while their fringe areas continued to show a population increase. As of 1960,

⁵Dudley Kirk, "Some Reflections on American Demography in the Nineteen Sixties", Population Index, 26(October, 1960), 306.

48.7 per cent of the total population in the standard metropolitan statistical areas lived in the fringe areas outside the central cities. This tendency to concentrate into metropolitan areas and increasingly into the urban fringe within these areas has led McDermott and Folse to the following projection as to the future:

...if present trends continue, by 1980, well over half of our population will live in the suburbs of metropolitan areas, and these will have sprawled far beyond their present boundaries. Suburban living is becoming the American way of life.⁶

It is the urban fringe of metropolitan areas, i.e. that area outside the corporate limits of the central city but within the boundary of the standard metropolitan statistical area, that we are concerned with in this research.

Definition of a Suburb

The term S.M.S.A. described the metropolitan area in terms of its central city and the surrounding urbanized counties. The Bureau of the Census also uses the term "urbanized area", in which the central city and the closely settled incorporated and unincorporated areas surrounding

⁶ J. K. McDermott and C. L. Folse, Rural Sociology in a Changing Economy, (Urbana: University of Illinois Department of Agricultural Economics Mimeo Bulletin, 1958), p. 17.

the central city are considered as a single physical city. The Bureau of the Census does not use the term suburb, and possibly for this reason, there is a great deal of confusion in the literature as to what precisely constitutes a suburb. As a consequence, research reports under the general heading of "suburban" can apply to many different types of community. In their study of the family in the urban fringe, Jaco and Belknap included all the territory on the periphery of central cities within the scope of their research. They state in their report that "the fringe herein considered includes suburbs, satellite cities, and any other territory located immediately outside central cities whose labor force is engaged in non-farm activities".⁷ Richard Dewey similarly included incorporated and unincorporated places in his study of population expansion in Milwaukee.⁸ However, more and more social scientists are coming to reject the concept of

⁷E. G. Jaco and I. Belknap, "Is a New Family Form Emerging in the Urban Fringe", American Sociological Review, 18(October, 1953), 551-7.

⁸Richard Dewey, "Peripheral Expansion in Milwaukee County", American Journal of Sociology, 53(1948), 417-22.

the urban fringe as an undifferentiated unit. The problem, as Kurtz and Eicher have illustrated, is that the fringe areas as defined by the census includes not only incorporated and unincorporated places, but also areas of urban, mixed and rural land use patterns.⁹ They suggest that a clear distinction should be made within the urban fringe between the suburbs and the fringe area. They define a suburb as:

...Location beyond the limits of the legal city (possibly contiguous), with a consistent non-farm residential pattern of land use. The residents are primarily employed in urban occupations, mostly in the central city. The area may either be incorporated or unincorporated, depending on the type of suburb under investigation.¹⁰

They define the fringe area as:

...Location beyond the limits of the legal city, in the 'agricultural hinterland', exhibiting characteristics of mixed land use, with no consistent pattern of farm and non-farm dwellings. The residents are involved in rural and urban occupations. The area is unincorporated, relatively lax zoning regulations exist, and few, if any, municipal services are provided.¹¹

⁹R. A. Kurtz and J. B. Eicher, "Fringe and Suburbs: A Confusion of Concepts", Social Forces, 37(1958), 32-7.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 37.

¹¹Ibid., p. 36.

Clear as this division is, it does not really provide a precise definition of a suburb, rather it would appear to include the whole urbanized area under the term. The terminology of Hans Sebald, who distinguishes between sub-areas within the urban fringe in much the same way as Kurtz and Eicher, is much more acceptable.¹² He limits the term "urban fringe" to "the area closest to the metropolitan center, where the population is denser and agricultural land uses are not prevalent", and defines as the "rural fringe", "that part of the fringe which includes the extended and less densely populated area, where agricultural land uses are still prevalent".¹³ This division of the urban fringe, as delimited by the census, into two distinct sub-areas follows very closely that suggested by William Dobriner.¹⁴ Dobriner suggests the terms "suburban zone" and "rural-urban fringe" to describe these two sub-areas.

¹²Hans Sebald, Family Integration in a Rural Fringe Population, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1959).

¹³Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁴William M. Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 152-3.

In their discussion of the use of the term "suburb" by sociologists, Duncan and Reiss state:

In the usage of most writers the term 'suburb' appears to denote an urban place (usually an incorporated place) outside the corporate limits of a large city, but either adjacent thereto or near enough to be closely integrated into the economic life of the central city and within commuting distance of it. The criterion distinguishing a suburb from other territory on the city's periphery, but within its corporate limits is, therefore, not economic or ecological, but political.¹⁵

This would appear to be a rather consistent trend in the use of the term "suburb". The Municipal Year Book uses the term to refer to incorporated places of 2,500 or more inhabitants, located outside central cities, but within the boundaries of the metropolitan area.¹⁶ The political factor of incorporation as a self-governing community has importance over and above the fact that it facilitates the definition of a suburb. This becomes clear once it is realized that incorporation involves the existence of a political structure and organization and the local provision and financing of many urban services. One might reasonably postulate that

¹⁵O.D. Duncan, and A.J. Reiss Jr., Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 117.

¹⁶The Municipal Year Book is an annual publication of The Chicago City Managers Association.

there would be a greater sense of local community identity and possibly a higher degree of involvement and participation in local community affairs in incorporated areas than in unincorporated urbanized areas. Wattel indicates how the lack of any local political autonomy and the existence instead of many different sources of local government can be a source of many problems for an unincorporated suburban subdivision.¹⁷ It would appear preferable then to confine the term suburb to incorporated places within the metropolitan area, but outside the central city or cities.

The term "satellite city" also appears in the literature. It has been used to refer to either an industrial suburb,¹⁸ or to suburbs located within the rural fringe.¹⁹ While this type of further distinction has its merits, the present writer feels that it is not necessary for the identification of the major sub-areas within the metropolitan area.

¹⁷Harold Wattel, "Levittown, A Suburban Community", in William Dobriner (ed.), The Suburban Community, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), pp. 287-313.

¹⁸Leo F. Schnore, "Satellites and Suburbs", Ibid., pp. 109-121.

¹⁹Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics....., p. 137.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, perhaps the most concise division of the metropolitan area into meaningful sub-areas would be the following three-fold division: (1) the central city or cities, (2) the urban fringe, which following Sebald, would be defined as that area where urban land uses predominate, (3) the rural fringe, which in Sebald's terms also, would be defined as that area where agricultural uses still prevail. The term 'suburb' would be restricted to those incorporated places within the boundary of the metropolitan area, but outside the central city or cities. The advantage of a framework such as has been outlined is that it is sufficiently concise so that any area of research within the metropolitan area can be adequately located, and sufficiently broad so that further sub-classification within any individual sub-area is possible. This division of the metropolitan area, as outlined here, will be followed in this research. According to this outline, the area under study in this research is two suburbs located within the urban fringe.

The Metropolitan Community

There is one further development in the conceptualization of the metropolitan area which should be considered here. As early as 1925, Harlan Douglas drew a distinction

between the types of suburb that were developing on the perimeter of American cities.²⁰ He drew a distinction between suburbs on the basis of the function he perceived them to perform within the context of the metropolitan area considered as unit. He divided suburbs into two categories, manufacturing sub-centers i.e. "suburbs of production", and residential sub-centers i.e. "suburbs of consumption". While this distinction was largely ignored for many years, it has been revived and developed in the more recent past, particularly by Leo Schnore.²¹ Schnore, more than any other, has developed the concept of the metropolitan area as structural and organizational unit. He states that individual suburbs should be seen as "merely constituent parts of a larger urban complex - the metropolitan structure as a whole".²² Within this structure, distinct and different roles are played by the two types of suburb identified by Douglas. The residential suburb represents a decentralization of population. It may be considered as a supplier of labor

²⁰Harlan P. Douglas, The Suburban Trend, (New York and London: The Century Co., 1925), pp. 74-92.

²¹Schnore, "Satellites and Suburbs"

²²Ibid., p. 111.

within the metropolitan community and as a consumer of commodities. On the other hand, the employing suburb represents a decentralization of production, and it may be considered as a supplier of commodities and a consumer of labor. Thus conceived, "residential" and "employing" are ideal type categories representing functionally specialized sub-areas within the metropolitan community, to either of which, any individual suburb may more or less approximate.

This type of classification of suburbs as parts of a functionally interrelated whole is supported by the research findings of Duncan and Reiss. In a comparison of metropolitan suburbs and independent cities, they conclude that "for the most part there are clear and substantial differences between metropolitan suburbs and independent cities".²³ In their analysis, size of place was held constant. They go on to conclude that their findings are best understood on the basis of the hypothesis "...that because of their proximity to, and close functional interdependence with, large central cities, suburbs are apt to be economically and residentially specialized in ways not generally open to independent cities".²⁴

²³Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics of..., p. 178.

²⁴Ibid., p. 179.

Dobriner also supports this type of approach, and suggests that it is essential to the proper interpretation of suburban development. He states that:

The suburbs or the suburban zone is becoming increasingly heterogeneous in economic function, and in class, ethnic and racial characteristics. In short, suburbs are dynamic areas of increasing structural and functional differentiation within the metropolitan area;....²⁵

This conception of the metropolitan area as a single structural unit, composed of functionally distinct sub-areas, provides a framework within which to meet much of the criticism levelled at suburban research. Herbert Gans suggests that many important variables are hidden beneath the celebrated city-suburban differences and calls for a much more exact delimitation of sub-areas within the city and the suburbs.²⁶ The conception of the metropolitan area, outlined here, could also provide a framework for the type of social area analysis proposed by Shevky and Bell.²⁷ The value of

²⁵Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, p. 27.

²⁶Herbert J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A Re-examination of Definitions", in A.M. Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), pp. 625-48.

²⁷E. Shevky and W. Bell, Social Area Analysis, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955).

this type of approach is suggested by a study of Mary Powers.²⁸ She compared central cities and their suburbs on a tract basis, and found that all stages of the urban continuum as measured by population heterogeneity and density are found in both city and suburb. Finally, what research there is into the similarities and differences that exist between functionally different types of suburb would seem to suggest that a suburb's function plays an important role in shaping the social character of the community. Most of the research in this area has consisted in macroscopic analysis based on census data. It will be referred to in detail at a later stage in this report.

Two functionally different suburbs are the object of this research. The purpose is to contrast two individual suburbs, one "residential" in character, one "employing" in character, using questionnaire responses as the source of empirical data. The construction of the questionnaire and the critical decisions as to the variables that were included and the controls that were introduced were based on a study of the available literature on the suburbs. Chapter II is concerned with a review of this literature and the isolation of

²⁸Mary G. Powers, "The Process of Metropolitanization: A Study of City and Suburban Residential Areas", (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Brown University, 1943).

of the variables that were considered relevant to this research.

Summary

This chapter has indicated the rapidity and extent of the urbanization of the American people. It has been shown how cities have grown to very great proportions and have come to dominate, by virtue of their size and importance, the American scene. The larger urban complexes have been recognized as separate statistical entities by the Bureau of the Census and defined as "standard metropolitan statistical areas". Based on a review of the literature and a discussion of the S.M.S.A., three distinct sub-areas within the metropolitan area have been identified: the central city, the urban fringe and the rural fringe. Suburbs have been defined as incorporated places within the boundary of the metropolitan area but outside the corporate limits of the central city or cities. Finally, it has been suggested that the metropolitan area may be conceptualized as a single structural unit composed of functionally interrelated sub-areas. Within this framework, suburbs may be classified as either residential or employing, on the basis of whether they are chiefly areas of residence or centers of production. The purpose of this research is an analysis of two such functionally distinct suburbs based on questionnaire responses.

CHAPTER II

THE SUBURBAN WAY OF LIFE

Confused as is the question as to what precisely constitutes a suburb, there is even less agreement among social scientists as to what constitutes the "suburban way of life", or even, as to whether such a way of life can be said to exist at all. It is difficult to see how any single way of life could have developed in the suburbs in such a short period of time, if as Wood indicates:

All kinds of communities appeared to ring the city. The suburbs extracted, one by one, economic and social functions which previously existed side by side. Each tended to emphasize a particular aspect of society -- residential living, industry, recreation, gambling, retail trade.¹

Yet in spite of this, there can be no doubt as to the existence in the American culture of what Bennet Berger calls "the myth of suburbia".² The popular image identifies the suburbs as the location of the "good life", as the "best"

¹Robert C. Wood, Suburbia, Its People and Their Politics, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959), p. 64.

²Bennet M. Berger, Working Class Suburb, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), Ch. 1.

place in which to rear a family, as the scene of a "full" life in one's own home, surrounded by wide open spaces, good schools and churches, and by neighbors and friends of the "right kind," with whom one can visit and feel "at home" and organize a host of recreational and social activities. The popularity of this myth is not difficult to explain, as to deny the existence of this "idyllic paradise" would be to deny the ability of the American people to create the conditions for the "good" life and their ability to be a "success."

Some of the reasons for the existence of this myth may also be easily identified. Not least among the image producing factors is the type of macroscopic analysis of census data and the like that has contrasted central cities and suburbs. On the basis of this type of analysis, the suburban population has been described as younger, child-centered, predominantly white, belonging to the higher income and educational groups and being predominantly engaged in white-collar occupations. Added to this could be the deliberate efforts of real estate interests to "sell" the suburban image to their prospective customers. The "happy home" in the suburbs, as often as not, provides the location for the producers and advertisers in the consumer goods industries, who were quick to recognize in the growth of the suburbs the

development of a whole new market to be wooed and won over. Finally, there is the fact, so clearly indicated by Clark in his study of the Toronto suburbs, that for most of the new suburban residents, the move to the suburbs did represent a very real improvement in housing conditions.³ Whatever other reasons may be given, there can be little doubt as to the popularity of the image of the suburbs as classless, homogeneous and socially pleasant communities in which the more economically advantaged rear their families and enjoy the benefits of economic advancement. Perhaps Robert Wood has articulated this concept of the suburbs more succinctly than most when he states that "the most fashionable definition of suburbia today is that it is a looking glass in which the character, behavior and culture of middle class America is displayed."⁴

Three Approaches to the Suburbs

As one turns to look for a more scientific approach to the development of suburbia, one looks in vain for any

³S.D. Clark, The Suburban Society (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1966).

⁴Wood, Suburbia, Its People . . ., p. 4.

one comprehensive theoretical approach. There is no shortage of literature on the subject, but there is a very real absence of consensus as to the meaning and implications of the growth of the suburbs, and as to the nature of the emerging suburban way of life. Also, one cannot but be a little apprehensive about the interpretations and generalizations made in regard to the suburbs on very limited and what, at times, appears to be, very haphazard research and sampling procedures.

At the outset, it should be made clear, as most writers would agree, that the suburbanization of the American people would not have been possible without economic growth. The technological advances as evidenced in present day communications, transportation and industry are a necessary cause in the growth of the suburbs. The real increase in income for both salary and wage earners, and also the Federal Government's encouragement of homeownership are other economic factors that facilitated this growth. Many commentators feel however, that these were but permissive factors in the growth of the suburbs, and that they do not touch the deeper and more humanly significant processes that have led the American rural, urban and city dweller to make his home in the suburbs.

It is possible to identify three approaches to the suburbs in the literature. These are by no means mutually exclusive, as elements of all three are to be found in each one. They may be classified as three separate approaches in so far as they each highlight a particular facet of suburbia. The first two approaches might be more correctly termed as "orientations" to the suburbs, while the third does provide the beginnings at least of a theoretical framework, within which, much of the research that has been carried out on the suburbs can be placed. The three approaches may be identified as follows: (1) the positive approach, (2) the negative approach and (3) the ecological-sociological approach. A brief consideration of each of these three approaches, together with an outline of those variables that have been identified as sources of differentiation between suburbs will provide the framework, within which, this present study can be placed.

(1) The Positive Approach

The unifying factor in these various conceptualizations is that in each case the authors see the move to the suburbs as a search for, and an attempt to realize a particular way of life. This approach is based on the fact that there are many families of high and medium socio-economic status living in cities who could move to the suburbs but

who in fact choose to live in the city. The factor distinguishing between those who move and those who stay on in the city is that those who move are seeking a particular way of life--they are seeking a location where they can realize a certain set of values. Douglas was perhaps the first to advance this concept. For him, "the people of the residential suburb, at least, live where they do by reason of a natural selection based on a peculiar psychology and motivation."⁵

Sylvia Fava has supported and developed Douglas' ideas. Fava sees the suburbanite as a ". . . selected social-psychological type, oriented toward neighboring and other rural values and practices."⁶ The style of life associated with the suburbs is ". . . due not only to the presence in the suburbs of selected demographic and socio-economic groups, siting arrangements and other ecological characteristics; but it is also due to the selective migration to the suburbs of people predisposed to neighboring."⁷ The social-psychological elements (as Fava terms them), of habit, belief, feelings and felt needs exert a selection of those city-

⁵ Douglas, op. cit., p. 34.

⁶ Sylvia F. Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life," American Sociological Review, 21 (February, 1956), p. 37.

⁷ Ibid.

dwellers who move to the suburbs. Based on a study of New York city and Nassau County suburbs, Fava concluded that "suburban migration differentially attracts those who are willing to neighbor"⁸ and that "people are also drawn to the suburbs because of their quest for community".⁹

Wendell Bell, on the other hand, suggests that those who move to the suburbs are those who have chosen "familism" as a way of life over consumership and careersmanship. He states that, in his study of two Chicago residential suburbs, the move to the suburbs was typically a move in search of better housing conditions - from apartment to house. He concludes that his study "...supports the hypothesis that the new suburbanites are largely persons who have chosen familism as an important element in their life styles and in addition ... suggests a relationship between the desire for community participation or sense of belonging and the move to the suburbs".¹⁰ This association between the move to the suburbs and family considerations has also been

⁸Sylvia F. Fava, "Contrasts in Neighboring", in Dobriner, The Suburban ..., p. 127.

⁹Ibid., p. 128

¹⁰Wendell Bell, "Social Choice, Life Styles and Suburban Residence", Ibid., p. 241.

suggested by Dewey, Jones, and Jaco and Belknap.¹¹

Robert Wood also sees in suburbia a search for particular values. However, for Wood, suburbia is but one expression of a larger process at work in American society, in which the people are seeking a return to a "grass-roots democracy." He finds the search for community, identified by Fava and Bell, expressed in the people's desire to take part in, and be associated with, local government, and their desire to get away from city or metropolitan government, which is characterized as bad because it is big. In the suburbs, he states, we find expression of ". . . the long-standing conviction that small political units represent the purest expression of popular rule, and that government closest to home is best."¹² In spite of the high costs in mismanagement, amateurism and duplication, he states, not to mention the loss to the cities and to the metropolis as a unit involved in the piecemeal and fragmentary attack on regional problems, the suburbs have clung to their political

¹¹These works, Dewey, op. cit., Arthur Jones, Cheltenham Township (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), and Jaco and Belknap, op. cit., all emphasize the part played by children in the decision to move to the suburbs.

¹²Wood, op. cit., p. 12.

autonomy and its underlying ideology. Wood maintains that while "there is no economic reason for its existence and ... no technological basis for its support",¹³ this faith in communities of limited size and local government has been the crucial force that has preserved the suburbs, and allowed the suburbanite to view himself "... not as a helpless captive of the gargantuan society of the modern world, but as the representative of our best traditions".¹⁴ Those who would wish to reshape the structure of the metropolitan America, he states, must recognize the potency of this ideology and demonstrate not only that large scale political organizations are not evil, but also that they are more democratic.

These writers then see in the suburban development an orientation towards the realization of particular values. The suburbs are characterized as exerting a selection of like-minded people. In the suburbs, there is an attempt to realize a particular type of community - one that fosters close informal relationships, community integration and participation, and a community in which individual members can find a true sense of identity and a suitable setting in which to rear their families.

¹³Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 93.

(2) The Negative Approach

This approach is characterized as "negative" by way of contrast to the "positive" approach, just outlined, in the sense that the authors considered here may be said to view the suburbs with a certain degree of alarm or apprehension. While the concrete expressions used by any one writer may vary from the others, there is a certain underlying unity in that the accent is on the suburban movement as an escape, a flight from the city and its problems, and a submission to the forces and processes at work in society that robs the suburbanite of any real values or ultimate goals. Hand in hand with this approach, there is the lament for the rich social and cultural life of the city, now threatened with extinction by the suburban exodus.

For David Riesman, the suburbanites may have overcome the problems of poverty and poor housing, but in their place, there are far greater problems. He sees the suburbs as characterized by a slavish conformism that is robbing American work and leisure patterns of their diversity, texture and complexity. The suburbs "increasingly absorb the energies of men" as we witness "a tremendous but tacit revolt against industrialism" in its present form, in which work loses its centrality, and as a result "the place where it is done comes

to matter less".¹⁵ He speaks of the "triviality of participation" in the "endless tasks of localism" by men who have the ability to tackle much greater problems. This "dedication to civic affairs of the suburbs will be at the expense of the political affairs of the city, state and nation", whose problems must eventually catch up with people, even in the suburbs. The wives are isolated in their "suburban pueblos" where any selectivity as to one's friends would be frowned upon, and where their only company is "their young children and a few other housewives in the same boat". Riesman sees the "massification of men" in the suburbs as a new movement in American life, in which, "white-collar and blue-collar move toward one another, as each group now emphasizes consumership". There are no distant goals, but a captivation by "the new, the neat and the shiny" as people buy the good life now and pay later. "Because work no longer provides a central focus for life, and the breadwinner is no longer the chief protagonist of the family saga, and leisure has not taken up the slack", there would seem to be in suburbia "an aimlessness, a low-keyed un-pleasure". Gruenberg paints a somewhat

¹⁵These and the following quotations are taken from two of David Riesman's essays, "The Suburban Dislocation" and "Flight and Search in New Suburbs" in his book Abundance For What, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1964).

similar picture of the new suburbs, where the material opulence of the neighborhood belies its social and cultural impoverishment.¹⁶

Whyte also expresses concern over the suburbs, though less certain than Riesman.¹⁷ Suburbia is the home of the "organization man", who has replaced the Protestant Ethic with a Social Ethic. Social usefulness and adaptation form the core of his beliefs. He identifies the same type of response to the pressure of "the court" and the buy now, pay later mentality that Riesman criticized so much. At a time, he states, when "they are so well equipped, psychologically as well as technically, to cope with the intricacies of vast organizations" and "to lead a meaningful community life", most men don't even consider where they are going. They feel themselves being brought, or acted upon, by a "system that they instinctively conclude is essentially benevolent". The churches also have become infected by this lack of direction and absence of objective goals. He describes the development of the "united church", where the accent is on fellowship,

¹⁶S. M. Gruenberg, "Challenge of the New Suburbs", Marriage and Family Living, 17(May, 1955), 133-7.

¹⁷William H. Whyte, The Organization Man, (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1956), pp. 246-361.

community spirit and social usefulness, and where the transients seek above all else a sense of community and are "coming to care less and less than their elders about matters of doctrine that get in their way".

This uncritical abandonment of old values when they are in conflict with immediately desired goals has been described by Maurice Stein as the "eclipse" of community.¹⁸ Stein sees three major processes at work shaping the structure of modern society, urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization. There is a certain inevitability in the way in which these processes are working to bring about the eclipse of community, in other words, a mass-society in which "substantive values and traditional patterns are continually being discarded or elevated to fictional status whenever they threaten the pursuit of commodities or careers".¹⁹ For Stein, the suburbs are the locale in which this eclipse is most in evidence. The suburbs are characterized by a shallowness in personal relationships, insecurity and a lack of any real sense of identity. The

¹⁸Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), p. 329.

¹⁹Ibid.

overriding pre-occupations are money, status and success. The perennial busy social round of the suburbanites over-organized life, from the oldest to the youngest, and the anxiety engendered by the never ending struggle to maintain status is wrecking a terrible harvest, Stein states, in their emotional and family life. Children form part of the family status equipment and "are loved for what they do rather than what they are". Presenting an image and hiding the real self has become so much a part of life that even family life has not escaped, so much so, that "for all that it is so conspicuously child-centered and for all that parents habitually make sacrifices in order to get the 'best things' for their children, it is the unusual mother who really knows her own child".²⁰ It is more as a social philosopher than as a sociologist that Stein berates the quality of life in the suburbs, yet the concern he expresses re-echos that of Riesman and Whyte.

Far from seeing in suburbia an attempt to realize a particular set of values, these writers, whom we have classified as negatively oriented to the suburbs, seem to see suburbia as the unfortunate, but apparently inevitable,

²⁰Ibid., ch. 12.

end-product of a technological and economic advance that has outpaced our ability to cope with it. Statistically, more and more each year, the suburbs are becoming the home of the American people and in the process of this suburbanization, these writers seem to think, the way of life of Americans is losing its vitality, direction and vigor. The city, for all its defects, they claim was rich and challenging in its social and cultural life, but it is now being deserted and abandoned in favor of a life surrounded by all the trappings of economic advancement. It is these very "trappings" that are now the determinants of status and the measure of a man's ability, so much so, that the real self is no longer able to express itself and the "image", behind which people are forced to hide, is coming to be accepted as real.

(3) The Ecological-Sociological Approach

Finally, one can identify an approach to the suburbs that recognizes the influence of what has been termed "the ecological complex" - the variables, population, environment, technology and organization²¹ - as well as sociological

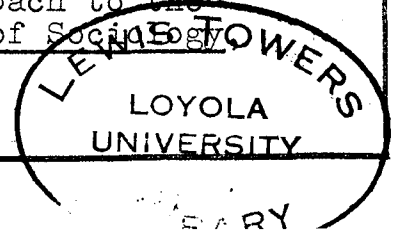
²¹O.D. Duncan and L.F. Schnore, "Cultural, Behavioral and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization", American Journal of Sociology, 60(September, 1959), p. 136.

and psychological variables. This is perhaps the most scientific attempt to provide a theoretical framework, within which, in the light of available research, the forces involved in the development of the suburbs and the existence of a widespread differentiation between suburbs and some of the sources of this differentiation can be identified. This third approach to the suburbs is based mainly on the work of two social scientists, Leo F. Schnore and Walter T. Martin.

Amos Hawley, in a study of changing trends in the development of metropolitan areas, concluded that "it is probable that the maturation of centers (i.e. the central cities) is a requisite to the expansion of settlement in satellite areas".²² Winsborough similarly considers that "the process of suburbanization in a city is not a simple thing, but the result of changes in two elemental aspects of urban population distribution, concentration and congestion".²³ Following Leo Schnore, he considers that the metropolitan area must be approached as a single urban complex, within which, one can identify functionally distinct sub-areas.

²²Amos H. Hawley, The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America: Deconcentration Since 1920, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956), p. 161.

²³H.H. Winsborough, "An Ecological Approach to the Theory of Suburbanization", American Journal of Sociology, 68(March, 1963), 570



The functional interdependence of suburbs and central city is one of the key factors for Leo Schnore in understanding the growth of the suburbs. Rather than seek the causes of suburban growth in socio-psychological theories, it may be readily understood, he states, if we recognize the role played by modern transportation and housing.

Modern transportation developments are much more than "mere permissive factors" in the growth of the suburbs. They have set the worker free of his dependence on the railroad, and also obviated the necessity of living close to his place of work. These same advances, together with the advances in the communications industries, have also freed business and industry of their dependence on the railroads and down-town areas of cities. Thus industry has been able to spread over a wide area, but the worker, unlike in previous eras, has not been forced to take up residence beside it. Rather, because of the new mobility of the labor force, population may grow and residential areas increase in size and in number with an increase in employment opportunities spread anywhere over a wide area.

The second variable is housing. Where homes were built, states Schnore, was largely decided, not by the individual home-owner but by building contractors and real estate agencies. The following factors played an important part in

their choice of building sites, (1) the prohibitive cost of building individual homes on small lots scattered throughout the city, (2) the ready availability of cheaper unencumbered land on the periphery of cities, plus the reduction in costs when large numbers of houses were built at the same time on the one site, and finally (3) the homes had to be within reach of the dominant employment sources.²⁴ Clark also emphasizes the role of housing in the development of the suburbs. On the basis of his study of fifteen suburban areas outside Toronto, he concluded that:

Yet it was not the desire to escape from the city which led to the scattering of subdivision developments over the countryside many miles from the city. Rather was it the drive to keep house prices down which forced developers further and further into the country. Where people wanted to live had very little to do with where houses were built.²⁵

And he later states:

What was sought in the suburbs, by the vast majority who settled there, was a home, not a new social world. When a new social world developed, its development was a consequence of seeking a home, not the reverse.²⁶

Within this framework of the increased mobility of

²⁴Leo F. Schnore, "The Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs", in Dobriner (ed.), The Suburban Community, pp. 26-44.

²⁵Clark, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

²⁶Ibid., p. 110.

the labor force, the savings involved in the mass-production of houses on unencumbered land and the high cost of land close to industrialized centers, Schnore states that one can understand the pattern of growth in the suburbs. Residential areas have grown more rapidly and will continue to do so with the addition of more housing, while employing areas have grown less rapidly as more and more land was taken over by industry. The compact city is a thing of the past, and as people and industry move out, Schnore sees the metropolitan area undergoing "...a process of increasingly specialized land use, in which sub-areas of the community are devoted more and more exclusively to a limited range of functions".²⁷ The key to suburban growth then he feels lies in the economic, technological and organizational changes going on in our society. Ogburn and Nimkoff reach this same conclusion:

Thus the growth of suburbs of modern cities is caused by several inventions which converge to produce this growth. There are the steam engine, the diesel, the electric railway, the autobus, the private automobile, the television, the radio. We do not say the desire for space, clean air and quiet are causes, for they are a constant desire of families.²⁸

²⁷Schnore, "The Growth of Metropolitan ...", p. 39.

²⁸W.F. Ogburn and M.F. Nimkoff, Technology and the Changing Family, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1955), p. 24.

In a theoretical approach, which may be combined with Schnore's analysis of suburban growth, Walter Martin suggests that suburban residence may critically influence the structure of social relationships.²⁹ He identifies in the suburbs "definitive characteristics", which are peculiar to suburban residence and "derivative characteristics", which the suburbs share in common with all other areas of residence. There are three definitive characteristics - ecological position, commuting pattern and the size and density of a suburb - and these would tend to have the following effects. Ecological separation would tend to minimize the suburbanites participation in city life and minimize his opportunities for social participation of a more informal neighboring character in his own home community and also in the activities of the rural farm community. The commuter will tend to participate less in his own home community and more in city organizations than the non-commuter. He suggests that the smaller the suburb and the less densely populated, the more will people tend to such informal activities as visiting and neighboring.

He identifies the derivative characteristics under

²⁹Walter T. Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence" in Dobriner, (ed.), The Suburban Community, pp. 95-108.

the following headings, demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological and the concept of homogeneity. These are common to all communities, but to the extent that they exist in the suburbs in a particular form, they exert a special influence on behavior patterns. Demographically, there is the selective nature of suburban migration, so that there are fewer unrelated individuals, large numbers of school and pre-school children and young married couples. Socio-economically, there is the selective migration of homogeneous socio-economic groups to individual suburbs. Psychologically, people with similar problems and backgrounds will tend to share the same problems, values and attitudes. The homogeneity which he speaks of is the internal homogeneity within individual suburbs resulting from the foregoing factors plus the fact that the mass-produced suburbs tend to consist of housing of much the same price and design. These factors, he feels, give rise to a situation that is most conducive to social interaction on an informal and neighborhood basis.

The combination of the ideas of Schnore and Martin provides possibly the best single framework, within which, one may approach the study of the suburbs. Changes in population, technology and functional organization are identified as the sources of suburban growth patterns, and it is suggested that a study of the ecological, demographic and socio-economic character-

istics of the suburbs provides the framework, within which, one may come to an understanding of the social life of suburbanites. The number of variables suggested indicates the hazards involved in making any generalizations about suburbanites. As these characteristics vary from suburb to suburb, one would expect the way of life to vary also. This, in fact, in spite of the popularity of the image of homogeneity, has been demonstrated to be the case. The suburbs may not be considered as one homogeneous entity. Many sociologists have criticized the tendency of authors to speak of the suburbs as though they could all be classified together and as though the virtues and vices of one were common to all. More often than not, it would appear, little more than lip-service is paid to differences that do exist.

Differentiation Between Suburbs

The basic question at issue in regard to the suburbs is whether they represent a new way of life or not. Are we witnessing a new social movement? Is there some factor involved in suburban residence that gives rise to a new style of life, with its own attitudes, beliefs, social relationships and structural forms, or is it that in the suburbs, urban patterns become accentuated and more obvious so that the suburbs are "simply new locations for well-established, basic values in

American society"?³⁰ As has already been indicated, many social scientists see in the suburbs a new way of life, but side by side with these, there is a growing body of research and theory that would seem to indicate that there is no "single" way of life in the suburbs. Rather, it would seem to suggest that the suburban development was simply "the reproduction of the city in the country"³¹ and that the way of life in any particular suburb is to a large degree a function of the type of variables outlined by Schnore and Martin. The circumstances of a suburbs creation, its age, size, social class structure and its predominant function have all been identified as factors influencing the style of life in any particular suburb. The remainder of this chapter shall concern itself with a consideration of the influence of these, and other variables on the development of the suburbs.

(1) Circumstances of Creation

Dobriner indicates the difficulties, problems and resentments that may arise when an old established rural

³⁰T. Ktsanes and L. Reissman, "Suburbia -- New Homes for Old Values", Social Problems, 7(1959 - 1960), 189.

³¹Clark, op. cit., p. 221.

village is over-run by the expanding city population.³² The new suburbanites in Old Harbour, a New England suburb, are faced with an already existing social system, to which, they do not belong and, in which, they have no part. In a very similar study of the impact of the suburban sprawl on a satellite town outside Columbus, Ohio, Arthur Havens indicates the social problems created by the differences in values and attitudes between the "oldtimers" and the "newcomers".³³ The situation is very different in the new mass-produced subdivisions built on open fields. Here the new suburbanites are faced with the task of creating a viable community and the challenge of building their own network of social institutions. One may easily be misled in these new suburbs by what Mowrer has called the "pioneering spirit", which helps to cloud over differences of class and social background as the new neighbors are thrown together in an effort to solve their common problems.³⁴

³²Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, pp. 127-140.

³³Arthur E. Havens, "Community Integration and Alienation in Suburbia", (unpublished Master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1960).

³⁴Ernest Mowrer, "The Family in Suburbia" in Dobriner (ed.), The Suburban Community, p. 158.

Clark also found, as one might expect, that there was very little in common between Wilcox Lake, a lakeside resort, where the new suburbanites had taken over summer cottages as their permanent homes and Thorncrest Village, a planned residential community, where "the very planning of the physical structure of the community was directed to the end of cultivating the close associations of neighborhood and community".³⁵ Not all suburbs were built with the same type of people in mind, rather one can find in the suburbs housing that ranges from the very poorest and cheapest to the most expensive. Some suburbs start with little more than the houses in which the people live, whereas others come provided with streets, stores, schools, churches and services. In a study of one hundred and thirty-seven suburbs, for which comparative statistics for 1920 and 1960 were available, Reynolds Farley found that there was a high degree of persistence on socio-economic characteristics for individual suburbs over the forty year period.³⁶ His conclusion highlights the importance of the circumstances which surround the creation of a suburb.

³⁵Clark, op. cit., p. 175.

³⁶Reynolds Farley, "Suburban Persistence", American Sociological Review, 29(February, 1964), pp. 38-47.

He states:

As individual entities, suburbs demonstrate a stability of characteristics relatively little affected by population growth. This suggests that the characteristics of a suburb may be fixed relatively early in that suburb's history and subsequent growth re-inforces existing socioeconomic residential patterns.³⁷

(2) Age

The age of a suburb has been shown to be another important variable. Mowrer has advanced the concept of the "suburban cycle".³⁸ He sees the suburban neighborhood as passing through three distinct phases. There are first, the early pioneering days characterized by close informal relationships with little emphasis on status. These are followed by a period of division in which status differentials begin to appear until the final stage of the "limited dream" is reached, when formal and secondary relationships have replaced the early informality and all that remains of the suburban vision is the single family dwelling unit. Based on a study of the Chicago suburbs, he concluded:

The findings of this research lead one to the conclusion that basic to the heterogeneity of the suburban family are two differentials: the stratification of families

³⁷Ibid., pp. 39-40.

³⁸Ernest Mowrer, "Sequential and Class Variables of the family in the Suburban Areas", Social Forces, 40(December, 1961), pp. 107-112.

by occupational status of the male heads, and the cycle of neighborhood development in which the basic character of social life shifts from a more rural orientation in its initial stages to an urban definition as the neighborhood reaches maturity.³⁹

Clark supports this approach of Mowrer. He sees the neighboring and organizational activity as a function of the newness of a suburb, and states that "...like the warm fellowship of the neighborhood, the warm fellowship of the community began to disappear once the settling in had taken place".⁴⁰ He goes on to state that:

As the strangeness disappeared, and people got to know one another to the point where differences between them became identifiable, the suburban society began to take on the character of an urban society.⁴¹

Dobriner also, in his study of the New York suburb of Levittown, concluded that in a period of ten years, from 1951 to 1961, it had changed from a typical image-conforming suburb to a suburb that was more typically working-class and urban in character.⁴² That age is a significant variable was also demonstrated by Schnore. In a comparison of cities and their suburbs, while holding the age of cities constant, he concluded

³⁹Ibid., p. 112

⁴⁰Clark, op. cit., p. 165.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 190

⁴²Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, pp. 85-126

⁴³Schnore, The Urban Scene, Ch. 9.

that "the common conception - that higher status people live in the suburbs - tends to be true of the very oldest areas, but is progressively less true of the newer areas".⁴³

(3) Size

A number of studies indicate the relevance of the size of a suburb for its way of life. Schnore, in the study just referred to, found that, just as in the case of age, there was a marked association between size and the direction of city-suburban differentials.⁴⁴ Herbert Collins, in a comparison of central cities, incorporated suburbs and fringe areas as to social status as measured by education, occupation and income, found that the differences were not always in favour of the suburbs.⁴⁵ Rather, he found, that differences varied both by size and age. Duncan and Reiss, in a similar analysis of "sizeable urban places and metropolitan areas", using eleven size categories of cities, demonstrated the existence of relationships, both direct and indirect, between city size and the population characteristics considered.⁴⁶

⁴³Schnore, The Urban Scene, Ch. 9.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 207

⁴⁵Herbert Collins, "City, Suburb and Fringe Differentiation in Socio-economic Status: Urbanized Areas of the United States, 1960", (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1965).

⁴⁶Duncan and Reiss, op. cit., Part I.

Clark brings out very clearly the influence of the size of a suburb on its social organization. Two of the suburbs he studied, Thorncrest Village, made up of two hundred homes, and Don Mills, with a population of several thousand inhabitants, were both planned communities, designed to foster close, informal social relationships. Referring to the way in which both of these had developed and how well the ideal of a closely integrated community had been realized, he states:

Don Mills, of course, could not be made into such a tight social group. This was a residential area with a much greater population, spread over a larger territory. In spite of the efforts to plan its growth, it acquired from the beginning something of a mass quality.⁴⁷

Besides age and size, Leslie Kish has suggested that distance from the central city is an important factor in the degree of differentiation between suburbs. Based on the 1940 census, he contrasted suburbs within two distance zones of the central city. He concludes that:

The pattern that seems to emerge is that of a primary communal area in which the suburban places are highly differentiated with regard to many population characteristics. This primary area is about twenty miles wide around the largest metropolitan cities, and only five miles wide for the smaller ones. Beyond these

⁴⁷Clark, op. cit., 178-9.

boundaries the degree of differentiation falls rapidly to a lower level.⁴⁸

(4) Social Class

Social class, as a critical variable in the life styles of suburban residents, has received much attention and aroused considerable controversy. In the popular conception, to live in the suburbs is almost synonymous with being socio-economically advantaged. As has already been indicated, this is not necessarily the case. There can be no doubt but that Sectorsky's "exurbanites"⁴⁹ and the residents of Whyte's Park Forest⁵⁰ and Seeley's Crestwood Heights⁵¹ were at the "higher" end of the social status scale. But for this very reason, one has doubts as to whether the factor of suburban residence had anything to do with the way of life described in these studies. Berger, in his study of working-class suburbanites in California, found little evidence to support the existence of an image-conforming pattern of life. On the contrary, he states:

⁴⁸Leslie Kish, "Differentiation in Metropolitan Areas", American Sociological Review, 19(August, 1954), 398.

⁴⁹A.C. Sectorsky, The Exurbanites (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1956).

⁵⁰Whyte, op. cit.

⁵¹J.R. Seeley, R.A. Sim and E.W. Looseley, Crestwood Heights (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963).

Membership and activity in formal associations are rare; so is semi-formal mutual visiting between couples. There is little evidence of pronounced striving, status anxiety, or orientations to the future.... Their tastes and preferences seem untouched by the images of suburbia portrayed in the mass-media.⁵²

Mowrer, as already indicated, concluded, on the basis of his Chicago study, that social status, as measured by the occupational status of the male family head, was the critical variable in determining the pattern of family life.⁵³ Clark, throughout his study, draws a distinction between three different types of suburb - the "planned packaged" suburbs, where housing was expensive, the mass-produced subdivisions which made up the greater portion of Toronto's suburbs, where the price range of the houses was generally within the income range of the average worker, and finally, the poor suburbs, where the housing was almost sub-standard. While there was evidence of strong neighborhood and community ties in the "expensive" and the very "inexpensive" suburbs, in the mass-produced suburbs:

The evidence was overwhelming of a general social apathy among the population, of an unwillingness to become in any way involved in forms of organized activity demanding time, effort, and money. Here clearly was expressed the

⁵²Bennet Berger, Working Class Suburb (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 92-93.

⁵³Mowrer, "Sequential and Class Variables...", p. 112.

⁵⁴Clark, op. cit., p. 161.

urge of the suburban resident to be left alone.⁵⁴

The general consensus of research into participation in voluntary associations would seem to indicate that participation is a function of social class. John C. Scott concluded that "membership participation in voluntary associations increases significantly with increase in social status" in his study of Bennington, Vermont.⁵⁵ Warner in his Yankee City studies states that "as the class-rank increases, the proportion of its members who belong to associations also increases and as the position of a class decreases, the percentage of those who belong to associations also decreases".⁵⁶ These findings are supported by the studies of Riessman,⁵⁷ Axelrod,⁵⁸ and Bell.⁵⁹ Finally,

⁵⁴Clark, op. cit., p. 161.

⁵⁵John C. Scott Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review, 22(June, 1957), 323.

⁵⁶W.L.Warner and P.S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 329.

⁵⁷Leonard Riessman, "Class, Leisure and Social Participation", American Sociological Review, 19(February, 1954), 76-84.

⁵⁸Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation", Ibid., 21(February, 1956), 13-18.

⁵⁹Wendell Bell and M. T. Force, "Urban Neighborhoods and Participation in Formal Associations", Ibid., 21(February, 1956), 25-34.

there is the study of Wright and Hyman which was based on a national sample. This study upheld the findings of local studies, but the authors also concluded that "membership was not related to a variety of situational factors", among which, they included type of community and length of residence.⁶⁰

The results of these studies on the influence of social class on voluntary participation patterns, taken in conjunction with Berger's California study, which is the only study of a working class suburb we have, leads one to ask whether social class and not suburban residence is the critical variable that defines the life style pattern in the suburbs. It is the central thesis of Dobriner's study, Class in Suburbia, "that class variables critically define suburbs".⁶¹ He rejects the concept of suburban homogeneity and the too ready identification of suburban residence as the critical factor in the pattern of life in the suburbs. He outlines the typical life style patterns of upper, middle and lower status communities and indicates how each of these is to be found in the suburbs. The image

⁶⁰C.R. Wright and H.H. Hyman, Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults", Ibid., 23(June, 1958), 294.

⁶¹Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, p. 29.

is due, he states, to the fact that middle class suburbs predominate and to the fact that in more open suburbs, the pattern of life is much more visible than in the city.

(5) Function

The importance of distinguishing between suburbs on the basis of the function they perform within the metropolitan area has already been referred to. While suburbs may be classified into a number of functional categories on the basis of their specific economic function, the two major functional categories are "employing" and "residential" suburbs. Suburbs are categorized as employing (i.e. as centers of employment) or residential (i.e. as areas of residence) on the basis of the ratio of the number of people employed in a suburb to the number of employed people who live within the suburb.⁶² That suburbs differentiated on the basis of their predominant function differ also on a large number of other characteristics has been demonstrated in a number of studies.

Just how great the differences are between these two types of suburb is indicated in a study carried out by

⁶²cf. Grace Kneedler Ohlson, "Economic Classification of Cities", The Municipal Year Book, 1950, (Chicago: The International City Managers' Association, 1950), pp. 29-37 and Victor Jones, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas", The Municipal Year Book, 1953 (Chicago: The Chicago City Managers' Association, 1953), pp. 49-57.

Leo Schnore on the basis of the 1960 census statistics.⁶³ He used a three-fold classification of suburbs, employing, residential and intermediate-type suburbs (mixed employing and residential). He compared seventy-four suburbs in the New York area on fifteen characteristics, and then in a separate analysis, three hundred suburbs in the twenty-five largest metropolitan areas across the United States on the same characteristics. It is interesting to note in view of the concept of suburban homogeneity that the number of suburbs in each of the three functionally distinct categories in both analyses was virtually the same. Of the seventy-four suburbs in the New York area, twenty-five were employing, twenty-five residential and twenty-four were intermediate, while of the three hundred suburbs throughout the country, the totals were one hundred and two employing suburbs with ninety-nine suburbs in each of the other two categories. Summing up his findings, he states:

The values observed for thirteen of these fifteen characteristics tended to increase or decrease systematically as one moved from one type of suburb to the next.... Perhaps the most clear-cut set of differences were those having to do with socio-economic status. Measures of income, education and occupational standing all showed the same in both samples, i.e., the highest values were registered in the residential suburbs, somewhat lower values in the intermediate class and the lowest in the employing category.⁶⁴

⁶³Schnore, op. cit., Ch. 9.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 180-181.

Sanford Dornbusch carried out a somewhat similar study of the residential and employing suburbs in the Chicago Metropolitan District based on the 1940 census figures.⁶⁵ He further divided the residential suburbs on the basis of rent. He found that the "high" rent residential suburbs differed significantly from their "low" rent counterparts on nineteen out of twenty-three characteristics considered, and from the employing suburbs on twenty-three out of twenty-five characteristics. The "low" rent residential suburbs differed significantly from the employing suburbs on nine out of twenty-three characteristics. The employing suburbs in contrast to the residential suburbs tended to have a younger population, with lower average education and to be more typically blue-collar in their occupational make up.

Charles Liebman studied the effect of function on the political characteristics of suburbs.⁶⁶ The specific

⁶⁵Sanford M. Dornbusch, "A Typology of Suburban Communities: Chicago Metropolitan District, 1940" Urban Analysis Report No. 10 (Chicago: University of Chicago, Chicago Community Inventory, May, 1952).

⁶⁶Charles S. Liebman, "Some Political Effects of the Functional Differentiation of Suburbs" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1960).

question he sought to answer was, do suburbs distinguished on the basis of function vary with respect to their political characteristics. The study was based on twenty-one suburbs⁶⁷ in Cook County, Illinois. The general conclusion was that, for the suburbs considered, there was no significant variation with respect to the political characteristics considered between functionally different types of suburb. A study of residential mobility patterns in Seattle indicated that the employing suburb resembled the central city more than the residential suburb in its mobility pattern.⁶⁷ In a similar study of different types of suburb in Seattle, Myers found that labor-force participation for mothers was higher in the employing suburb.⁶⁸

Finally, there are a number of other studies which

⁶⁷W.E. Kalbach, G.C. Myers and J.R. Walker, "Metropolitan Area Mobility: A Comparative Analysis of Family Spatial Mobility in a Central City and Selected Suburb", Social Forces, 42(March, 1964), 310-314.

⁶⁸George C. Myers, "Labor Force Participation of Suburban Mothers", Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26(August, 1964), 306-311.

compare functionally different types of cities.⁶⁹ The general conclusion of all these studies is that major differences do exist between cities, distinguished on the basis of their predominant economic function. The type of differences that exist and their implications are probably best summarized by Albert Reiss:

Reliable differences among the functionally specialized types of communities are found with respect to age and sex structure, mobility rates, labor force participation, educational attainment, industrial and occupational composition, income and home ownership. This does not imply that every functional type of community has a distinctive pattern for each of these characteristics, but that at least one functionally specialized type of place deviates considerably from the average of all places on each characteristic examined. The conclusion, therefore, seems warranted that type of functional specialization is a principal determinant of structural differences among communities.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Duncan and Reiss, op. cit., H.J. Nelson, "Some Characteristics of the Population in Cities of Similar Service Classifications", Economic Geography, 30(1957), 95-108, William F. Ogburn, Social Characteristics of Cities (Chicago: The International City Managers Association, 1937), Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Community Specialization in Durable and Nondurable Goods Manufactures", Land Economics, 34(1958), 122-134, and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Functional Specialization of Cities", in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss Jr., (eds.), Cities and Society (rev. ed.; Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 555-575.

⁷⁰Reiss, "Functional Specialization of Cities", p. 575.

The purpose of this study, to contrast two individual suburbs, distinguished on the basis of their employment-residence ratio, and the attempt made to match these two suburbs on the variables outlined in this review is presented in detail in Chapter III.

Summary

This chapter has consisted in an outline of the research and theory that attempts to describe the pattern of life in the suburbs. The popular image of the suburbs is that of homogeneous, economically advantaged, residential areas, characterized by a high degree of informal social relationships and community participation. The growth and subsequent style of life that has evolved in the suburbs has been interpreted in many ways, varying from those who see in the suburbs a search for, and an attempt to realize particular values and a specific way of life, to those who see there simply the expansion of the growing city population into the surrounding countryside, an expansion made possible by the economic and technological advances of our time, to those who view the suburbs with a certain degree of concern, seeing there a way of life dominated by status considerations

and lacking any real direction or goals. Finally, a number of variables -- the conditions of a suburbs creation, age, size, distance from the central city, social class and the function of a suburb -- have been indicated as playing an important role in the differentiation between suburbs and in the style of life that may be said to characterize any particular suburb. An outline of the purpose and methodology of this present study is contained in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

Purpose

The review of the literature in Chapter II indicates, perhaps more than anything else, the confusions and lack of agreement that exists as to what precisely, if anything, may be said to be characteristic of life in the suburbs. This diversity of opinion would seem to indicate the necessity of further and more closely defined research. The review also highlighted some of the variables that have an important influence on the social structure within any individual suburb.

In one of the clearest statements of the need for further research in this area, Herbert Gans states that "today, the primary task of urban (or community) sociology seems to me to be the analysis of the similarities and differences between contemporary settlement types".¹ Just as Schnore and Clark, Gans attaches a great deal of importance to the factor of housing. Today, he states, a free choice of housing is available not only to the upper

¹Gans, op. cit., p. 267.

classes, but also to the lower middle and upper working classes. Many characteristics of people enter into these free choices, but:

The most important one seems to be 'class' - in all its economic, social and cultural ramifications - and 'life cycle stage'. If people have an opportunity to choose, these two characteristics will go far in explaining the kinds of housing and neighborhoods they will occupy and the ways of life they will try to establish within them.²

He concludes by stating:

The studies of ways of life in communities must begin with an analysis of characteristics. If characteristics are dealt with first and held constant, we may be able to discover which behavior patterns can be attributed to the features of settlement and its natural environment.³

One cannot but agree with Gans' observations. Accordingly, the study reported in this paper was conceived and designed in an attempt to isolate the one variable of area of residence. The purpose of this study is to outline the similarities and differences between two functionally distinct suburbs, one typically residential in character, the other employing in character. In each case, the function of a suburb and its categorization as either "employing" or "residential" is based on its employment-residence ratio. An attempt has been made to match the two suburbs chosen for this study on the variables outlined in Chapter II,

²Ibid., p. 640.

³Ibid., p. 642.

and also to match the respondents on those variables that are known to influence family patterns - social class, religion, ethnicity and "family cycle stage".

This study attempts to answer the following two empirical questions:

1. Does the social class structure vary significantly in suburbs, distinguished on the basis of function.
2. Does the pattern of family relationships vary significantly in suburbs, distinguished on the basis of function.

While the results of this study will apply only to a certain section of the population in these suburbs - those Catholic families that have reached a certain stage in the family cycle, namely families with at least one child in grade school - it is hoped that the results of this study will give some indication as to the significance of the function of a suburb for family life and possibly pave the way for a more comprehensive study based on a more representative sample.

More specifically then, the purpose of this study is to test the following two null hypotheses which are based on the foregoing questions.

1. The Social class structure of Catholic families with students in eighth grade does not vary significantly in functionally different suburbs.
2. Family relationships do not vary significantly for Catholic families with students in eighth grade in functionally different suburbs.

Social class position, for the purposes of this study, will be based on the occupation and education of the male head of the nuclear family. The test of the first hypothesis will be based on social status as measured by these two variables. The term "family relationships" is very broad and all-inclusive. In this study, it is operationalized to include the following aspects of family life:

1. The extent of the nuclear families contact with members of the extended family.
2. The extent of the nuclear families participation in informal relationships with their neighbors.
3. The number of memberships in formal voluntary associations of the male and female heads of the nuclear family and the respondent.
4. The religious affiliation and church attendance, and membership in parochial voluntary associations of the male and female heads of the nuclear family.
5. The household roles of members of the nuclear family.

6. Family integration, student acceptance-rejection of parents, and the students attitude towards recreation with his parents.
7. Parental involvement in the following areas of the respondents life - school, peers, opposite sex relationships and health.

The test of the second hypothesis will be based on data drawn from the questionnaire in relation to each of these aspects of family life. In each case, social class will be used as a control variable, and where it is possible, the sex of the respondent.

This research will also consider the occupational roles of the male and female family heads and the factor of commuting. In this respect, one would expect commuting to be much less characteristic of the employing suburb.

Methodology

(1) Selection of Suburbs

The two suburbs selected for this study are located within a standard metropolitan statistical area in the Mid-western region of the United States. In the discussion of metropolitan growth patterns in Chapter I, a suburb has been defined as "an incorporated place within the boundary of the metropolitan area, but outside the corporate limits of the

central city or cities".⁴ Because the employment-residence ratio was not available for smaller places, only those suburbs are included in this study that had reached a population of 2,500 or more inhabitants as of the 1960 United States census. In the metropolitan area, chosen for this research, there were one hundred and forty-seven suburbs with a population of 2,500 or more inhabitants in 1960. The two suburbs studied in this research were selected from this total in the manner outlined below.

The most widely used technique for classifying suburbs into the two categories of "employing" and "residential" is that developed by Harris.⁵ This method has been followed, with minor modifications, by both Grace Kneedler-Ohlson⁶ and Victor Jones.⁷ According to this

⁴cf., p. 9.

⁵Chaucey D. Harris, "Suburbs", American Journal of Sociology, 49(1943), 1-13, and "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States", Geographical Review, 33(January, 1943), 86-99.

⁶Kneedler-Ohlson, op. cit.

⁷Jones, op. cit.

method, the function of a suburb, i.e. its classification as employing or residential, is based on the ratio of the total number of people employed in a suburb to the total number of employed people living within the suburb. The modifications introduced by the different authors concern the number of employment categories used in the computation of the ratio. Jones bases his ratio on the number employed in manufactures and trade within a suburb to the number employed in these jobs who are residents within the suburb.⁸ Kneedler-Ohlson, in her classification, used the ratio of the number employed in manufactures, trade and service industries within a suburb to the total employed residential labor force.⁹ In this study, the employment-residence ratio used to classify suburbs is taken from The Suburban Factbook.¹⁰ The employment-residence ratio given for each suburb in this publication is the ratio of the total number of people employed within a suburb to the total residential labor force within that suburb.¹¹

⁸Ibid., p. 50.

⁹Kneedler-Ohlson, op.cit., p.31.

¹⁰The Northern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, The Suburban Factbook (rev. ed.; Chicago: Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, March, 1964), Table 18.

¹¹The sources used in the compilation of the statistics on total employment by place of work and total residential labor force are given in Table 18 of The Suburban Factbook.

On the basis of their employment-residence ratio, suburbs can be ranged on a continuum from the lowest ratio to the highest. A "low" ratio identifies a predominantly residential suburb, with at most local service employment. A "high" ratio identifies an employing suburb and is indicative of a high degree of durable goods manufacturing. The intervening ratios represent a greater or lesser provision of employment within a suburb. Kneedler-Ohlson, Jones and Schnore all use two cutting points on this continuum to identify three types of suburb, the employing suburb, the balanced or mixed suburb (i.e., both residential and employing) and the residential suburb. In this research, the cutting points as developed by Grace Kneedler-Ohlson will be used. She states:

Cities that have a lower employment-residence ratio than most independent cities (below 40 per cent) are termed dormitory or residential suburbs; those that have an employment-residence ratio that is approximately the same as that for most independent cities (40 to 55 per cent) are called balanced suburbs; and those that have a high employment-residence ratio (above 55 per cent) are called employing suburbs.¹²

Accordingly, in this study, a ratio of less than 0.4 identifies a residential suburb, a ratio of from 0.4 to 0.55 identifies a mixed or balanced suburb and a ratio

¹²Kneedler-Ohlson, op.cit., p. 32.

greater than 0.55 identifies an employing suburb.

In the review of the literature in Chapter II, the following variables were identified as playing an important role, together with a suburb's function, in the social structure of any particular suburb--circumstances of a suburb's creation, age, size and distance from the central city. To counteract the influence of age and the circumstances of a suburb's creation it was decided to select two "old established suburbs." There was a difficulty here however. The absolute age of a suburb as measured by its date of incorporation may be very misleading as some of the oldest incorporated places on the city fringe have grown in population only quite recently. It was decided, therefore, to measure the age of a suburb from the date at which it reached a particular size in population.¹³ All suburbs were considered "old" and "established" which had reached a population of 10,000 or more inhabitants in 1940. The year 1940 was chosen as the base year to ensure that the growth of the suburb to 10,000 or more inhabitants had taken place before the increases brought about by the cessation of the war, and in this way to overcome the problem of the "newness" of a suburb.

¹³ Schnore, The Urban Scene, p. 208, Leo Schnore used a similar approach in this study, defining the age of a city as the number of years from the time it had reached a population of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

The population size of 10,000 was chosen in the belief that a suburb of such dimensions in 1940 would, today in 1966, have a comparatively long tradition of local government and a well established network of social institutions.

Of the one hundred and forty-seven suburbs with a population of 2,500 or more inhabitants in 1960 in the metropolitan area under study, twenty-three had a population of 10,000 or more inhabitants in 1940. When these suburbs were differentiated on the basis of their employment-residence ratio as outlined above, three were residential, four were balanced, and sixteen were employing.

The suburb with the "highest" employment-residence ratio was selected as the employing suburb for the purposes of this study. As of 1960, it had a population of 22,291 inhabitants and it is located twelve miles from the central business district of the central city. This suburb shall be referred to from this point on as "Jobtown". Each of the three residential suburbs has an employment-residence ratio of 0.3. Of these three, the suburb which most closely matched Jobtown in population as of 1960 and in distance from the central business district of the central city was selected as the residential suburb for this study. The suburb selected on the basis of these criteria had a population of 23,866 inhabitants in 1960 and it is located eleven

miles from the central business district of the central city. This suburb shall be referred to from this point on as "Hometown." Table 1 contains the pertinent data, on the basis of which the two suburbs were selected.

TABLE 1.--Characteristics on the basis of which "employing" and "residential" suburbs were selected

| Characteristic | Residential Suburb or Hometown | Employing Suburb or Jobtown |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Population in 1940 | 13,689 | 10,933 |
| Employment-Residence Ratio | 0.3 | 2.1 |
| Population in 1960 | 23,866 | 22,291 |
| Distance in miles from central city | 11 | 12 |

(2) Selection of Respondents

A number of considerations entered into the choice of respondents for this study. It was recognized that valid conclusions could not be reached unless the final universe was as representative as possible of the whole suburb in each of the two types of suburb under study. Yet, within the limitations in time, money and personnel inherent in student research, a sample necessitating door to door interviewing throughout each suburb was not possible. For this reason, in order to achieve as representative a sample as possible in each suburb within the capacity

of a single research student, it was decided to use school students as respondents to the questionnaire.¹⁴ While students as respondents does represent a limitation in this research, it also successfully provides some control for family cycle stage -- the families in this study all have children of school-going age.

The choice of what grade in school was also decided by practical considerations. There is only one high school in Jobtown and this is a small Lutheran school. In Hometown, there is also only one high school, which while large, would not, on its own, have provided an adequate sample. It was decided therefore to use the total eighth grade population attending schools within the boundaries of the two suburbs as respondents. The advantage of this method was that it insured that every area within the two suburbs would be represented in the final sample as the schools, both public and private, were dispersed throughout each suburb. One school within Jobtown was excluded from the study. This was a small Lutheran school with only five students in eighth grade, all of whom lived outside Jobtown, and thus did not come within

¹⁴ School-going students have been used previously in suburban research; cf. Dewey, op.cit., Kalbach, Myers and Walker, op.cit., and George C. Myers, "Labor Force Participation of Suburban Mothers", Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26(August, 1964), 306-311.

the terms of this study. This was the only school to be excluded from the study. One school, located outside the corporate limits of Hometown, was included in the study. This was a Catholic parochial school, drawing more than eighty per cent of its students from Hometown. This was the only school outside the boundaries of Jobtown and Hometown that was included in the study. In order to minimize the difficulties for the staff in each school, it was decided that the questionnaire should be given to the total eighth grade class in each school--a total of fifteen schools, of which eight were public schools, five were Catholic parochial schools and two were Lutheran schools--and that those respondents who did not fall within the terms of this research could be excluded later.

It was decided that some control for a family's length of residence in a suburb should be introduced, so that only those families that had lived a sufficient length in Jobtown and Hometown to be influenced in their family patterns by the suburb in question would be included in the analysis. While there is no absolute guide as to how long this would take, it was felt that the families of respondents who were born in Jobtown or Hometown could be considered as meeting the requirement of length of residence. Accordingly, it was decided to include in the

study only those respondents who had been born in the two suburbs in question. Finally, it was felt desirable that some control should be introduced for ethnicity and rural-urban background. To achieve this, it was decided to exclude those respondents, one or both of whose parents was born on a farm or outside the continental United States.

On the completion of the questionnaire and the outline of this research, the authorities in charge of the schools were approached for permission to administer the questionnaire. A letter of introduction from the Department of Sociology at Loyola University was presented to the respective authorities by the writer during the course of a personal interview, during which, the purpose of this research was outlined in detail. Unfortunately, the authorities in the public schools in each of the two suburbs were not in a position to grant permission. In each case, the request was brought before the Board of Education. They, having considered the request, refused permission on the grounds that the students and teachers were already overburdened with "official" questionnaires and tests, written permission would be required from each respondent's parents, that parents would object to some of the questions in the questionnaire and that the general policy was not to grant permission for such studies as the one considered here unless it would prove of immediate benefit to the students taking

part. Permission to conduct the study in their schools was granted by the authorities in five Catholic schools and the two Lutheran schools.

With the withdrawal of the public schools, however, the two Lutheran schools on their own did not provide a sufficient number of respondents on which to base an analysis. Of the total of forty-five students in the eighth grade in Jobtown's Lutheran school, only fifteen lived in Jobtown. Only seven of the nineteen students in Hometown's Lutheran school lived in Hometown. It was felt that if these two small groups were included with the Catholic respondents, they would only serve to introduce an unknown factor, religion, into the results. For this reason, it was decided not to include these two schools and to limit the research to the Catholic schools, three in Jobtown and two in Hometown, one within its territorial boundaries and the other located just outside them, but drawing the majority of its students from Hometown. The Catholic parishes to which these five schools were attached covered almost the entire area within the territorial boundaries of Jobtown and Hometown.

(3) The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used to collect the data for this study is contained in Appendix I. It is composed of a total of ninety-six questions, which may be broken down in the

following manner.

Two questions (63 and 66) are used to determine the respondent's social class. In this study, the two-factor index of social position of August B. Hollingshead is used.¹⁵ The two factors involved are the occupation and education of the male head of the nuclear family. Occupation is scored on a seven point scale and education on a four point scale. Each of these scores is multiplied by a common factor weight, which is derived from a standard regression formula. The sum of an individual's scores on these two factors determines his position on a range of scores from a "low" of eleven to a "high" of seventy-seven. Hollingshead divided this range of scores into five hierarchical groups from a "high" of I to a "low" of five. He designates these five groups as follows: those with scores of from eleven to seventeen inclusive fall into Class I and are called the Upper Class, Class II is designated as the Upper Middle Class, with a score range of from eighteen to twenty-seven inclusive, Class III, the Middle Class, has a range of scores of from twenty-eight to forty-three inclusive, Class IV ranges in score from forty-four to sixty inclusive and is called the Upper Lower Class, while

¹⁵August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven, Connecticut: August B. Hollingshead, 1957).

Class V ranges from a score of sixty-one to seventy-seven inclusive and is called the Lower Lower Class. In this research, three hierarchical groups are designated. This is in accordance with common practice where sample size does not allow for an analysis of five separate groups, or where the purpose of a study does not call for such a division. The three groups range from a "high" of I to a "low" of III. The range of scores is divided as follows:

Class I (Upper Class) -----scores of 11 to 27 inclusive

Class II (Middle Class) --- scores of 28 to 43 inclusive

Class III (Lower Class) --- scores of 44 to 77 inclusive

The remainder of the questionnaire is composed of questions covering the seven areas of family life previously outlined. Questionnaires and scales developed by many other authors were used as a guide to the construction of the questionnaire. Already existing scales, developed to measure attitudes or behavior in the areas of concern here, were either not available, or where they were, they were either too general or were developed with adult respondents in mind. Ten questions seek purely biographical data. Seven questions (7 - 13) relate to the existence and frequency of contact with the extended family, while four questions (14 - 17) relate to neighboring practices. Two questions (55 - 56) seek the number of voluntary associations participated in by the respondents and their parents. There

are six questions in each of the following areas: religious involvement (31 - 36), peer group relationships (19 - 24), school life (49 - 54) and parental attitude towards the respondents contact with members of the opposite sex (57 - 62). There are four questions in the following two areas, the performance of household chores (93 - 96), and the student's contact with the medical profession (67 - 70). Finally, there are two questions relating to the occupations of the respondent's parents (64 - 65), two relating to the type of house in which the respondent lives (2 - 3) and one question on the joint informal participation of the respondent's parents.

In the analysis, the questions relating to kinship contact, neighboring, and parental attitude towards the respondent's relationships with members of the opposite sex have been combined in each case. Six of the seven questions relating to kinship contact have been combined in the following manner. All six questions relate to relatives, explicitly. The possible range of answers to each of these questions (8 - 13) is, "regularly", "sometimes" or "never". In the analysis, a quantitative index of the combined answers for each respondent has been computed, by scoring the answers as follows; "regularly" - 2, "sometimes" - 1, and "never" - 0. Scored in such a fashion, the range of scores for the six

questions combined is from a "high" of 12, which indicates a high degree of contact with members of the extended family, to a "low" of zero, which indicates no contact with members of the extended family, at least in those ways mentioned explicitly in the six questions. A similar procedure was followed in regard to the four questions relating to neighboring practices. The range of answers and the scoring procedure was the same as for kinship contact. In this case the range of scores is from a "high" of eight, indicating a high degree of neighboring, to a "low" of zero, indicating no neighborhood contact in the ways mentioned in these questions (14 - 17). The same procedure was followed for those questions relating to the attitude of the respondent's parents towards his participation in heterosexual social relationships (57 - 61). The range of replies and the scoring procedure for these questions is as follows; "not allowed" - 0, "don't mind" - 1, and "encouraged" - 2. This procedure leads to a range of scores with a "high" of eight, indicating at least a favorable attitude towards the respondent's participation in mixed social events, to a "low" of zero, indicating a high degree of control by the respondent's parents in this area of his social life.

Finally, there are four scales, comprising a total of thirty-four questions, used in this study. The four

scales are:

1. Child acceptance-rejection of father (questions 82-92)
2. Child acceptance-rejection of mother (questions 71-81)
3. Recreation with father (questions 43-48)
4. Recreation with mother (questions 37-42)

All four scales are taken from F. Ivan Nye's study, Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior.¹⁶ The object of Nye's study was to measure the relationship between delinquent behavior and various aspects of family life. Two of these areas were (1) the degree of acceptance or rejection in the child's attitude towards his parents and (2) the child's attitude towards recreation with his parents. Nye used the above scales to measure the child's attitudes in these areas. The respondents in Nye's study were students in grades nine through twelve in schools throughout Washington state. Basically, there are only two scales, one of eleven items, measuring degree of acceptance or rejection, and one of six items, measuring the degree of favorableness in the child's attitude towards recreation with his parents. Each scale is completed separately for each parent giving the above four scales.

¹⁶F. Ivan Nye, Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958).

The four scales are Guttman type scales. The child acceptance-rejection of parents scale is scored for each item from zero to two. This gives a range of scores from a "low" of zero to a "high" of twenty-two, which Nye divides into three categories, using arbitrary cutting points that divided his universe of study into three equally sized groups, (1) those who were "most accepting," (2) an "intermediate" group and (3) those who were "most rejecting." This procedure was followed for both father and mother separately. As referring to the respondent's father, the scale had a co-efficient of reproducibility of .94, and a co-efficient of .95 in reference to the respondent's mother. The recreation scale was also scored from zero to two on each item. This gives a final range of scores from a "low" of zero to a "high" of twelve, which Nye again divided into three groups, (1) the "most favorable," (2) an "intermediate" group, and (3) the "least favorable." This scale has a co-efficient of reproducibility of .74 in relation to the father and of .75 in relation to the mother. While these scales do not reach the required co-efficient as suggested by Guttman, yet the cumulative score can be taken as a quantitative index of the respondent's attitude towards participation in recreational activities with his parents.

Nye also used a combination of the two scales, child acceptance-rejection of father and child acceptance-rejection of mother, as a measure of family integration. Those families

were considered as "most integrated" where the respondent's score was in the top tercile for each parent, and those were considered as "least integrated" where the respondent's score was in the bottom tercile for each parent. All others were placed in an intermediate category. The number of respondents in this present study does not permit the use of the same cutting points as used by Nye. Instead, the mean score for the whole universe of study has been computed for each of the four scales and will be used as the cutting point on each of the four scales.

(4) Pre-test and Administration of Questionnaire

The questionnaire was pretested in a suburban school in a mixed working class-middle class neighborhood. The respondents were forty students in the eighth grade class. The students had very little difficulty with the questions and completed the questionnaire within thirty-five minutes. Following the pretest, a small number of changes were made in the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered by the author of this research report in the five Catholic schools included in this study during the four day period of November 15th through 18th, 1966. The students completed the questionnaire in their own class rooms during the course of the normal school day. In every case, the teacher and the author of

of this report remained in the room while the students completed the questionnaire. At this point, the author wishes to express his thanks for the very great consideration given his every wish by the principals and teachers in each of the schools. Particularly, it is appreciated that the normal daily program was not resumed until the "slowest" student had completed the questionnaire. For each school, the procedure followed was identical. The author distributed the questionnaires and then read over the introductory page with the students. The students were instructed to raise their hand if they had any difficulty with any of the questions, and where they did so, the author sought to clarify the question with the individual student concerned. The students were also instructed to take their time in completing the questionnaire and to pay particular attention to the question relating to their father's occupation. While the time taken to complete the questionnaire varied, the majority of students did so within thirty minutes, and the slowest students within about forty-five minutes.

Final Universe of Study

The checking and coding for computer analysis of the completed questionnaires was carried out by the author of this report. The procedure is outlined in detail below and is summed up in Table 2.

One modification had to be introduced into the controls as envisioned in the outline of this research owing to the withdrawal of the public schools. In order to achieve a sufficiently large sample, the control for length of residence had to be reduced. As originally conceived, it was intended to exclude those respondents who were not born in Jobtown or Hometown but in order to achieve a sample of sufficient size, only those students were excluded from the study who had lived in Jobtown or Hometown for less than six years.

TABLE 2. -- The selection of the universe of study in the two suburbs of Jobtown and Hometown

| Basis for selection | Jobtown | Hometown |
|---|------------|-----------|
| Total number of completed questionnaires | 203 | 189 |
| Total number rejected | 91 | 90 |
| Number re-jected because | | |
| 1. Not born in suburb | 8 | 42 |
| 2. Less than 6 years residence | 23 | 20 |
| 3. One or both parents born outside U. S. | 29 | 13 |
| 4. One or both parents born on a farm | 20 | 8 |
| 5. Incomplete | 11 | 7 |
| Total | <u>91</u> | <u>90</u> |
| Total number in Final universe | <u>112</u> | <u>99</u> |
| Total | 203 203 | 189 189 |

The controls for length of residence, ethnicity and rural-urban origin are contained in questions 25 through 30. On the basis of their answers to these questions, the following respondents were not included in this study:

- (1) Those who did not live in Hometown or Jobtown
- (2) Those who had lived in Hometown or Jobtown for less than six years
- (3) Those respondents, one or both of whose parents had been born outside the continental United States
- (4) Those respondents, one or both of whose parents had been born on a farm
- (5) Those respondents whose answers to the questions relating to their fathers' occupation and/or education were incomplete or not specific enough to allow for accurate classification of social class position.

Of the total of 189 respondents in Hometown, 99 fall within the terms of this research, while of the total of 203 respondents in Jobtown, 112 fall within these terms. Thus the final universe of study is made up of a total of 211 eighth grade students, of whom, 99 live in Hometown and 112 live in Jobtown. All the respondents have lived in their respective suburbs for at least six years, all are at least second generation Americans, all are of urban background and finally, all are Catholics. There is a very even distribution of males and females

in these two totals, as is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3. -- Distribution of the final universe of study by suburb and sex

| Sex | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Total |
|--------|----------|----------|---------|----------|-------|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | |
| Male | 51 | 51.5 | 53 | 47.3 | 104 |
| Female | 48 | 48.5 | 59 | 52.7 | 107 |
| Total | 99 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 | 211 |

The total of 99 respondents in Hometown is composed of 51 male and 48 female students. In Jobtown, there are 53 male and 59 female students in the total of 112. When these totals are broken down by social class however, the distribution is not quite so even. Table 4 shows the distribution of the total number of respondents by type of suburb, social class and sex.

TABLE 4. -- Distribution of the final universe of study by suburb, social class and sex

| Social Class Category | Hometown | | Jobtown | |
|-----------------------|----------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Class I | 17 | 8 | 16 | 8 |
| Class II | 17 | 19 | 9 | 25 |
| Class III | 17 | 21 | 28 | 26 |
| Total | 51 | 48 | 53 | 59 |

It is clear that some of these sex groupings are not large enough to form the basis for a realistic analysis. This, however, for the purposes of this research, does not pose any

great difficulty. In this research the accent is on the respondents as children of their parents and members of suburban families and not as individuals. The control for the sex of the respondent has been used in the computation of the mean scores for the recreation and acceptance-rejection scales and the quantitative index for opposite sex relationships, where it was felt the sex of the respondent might play an important role. In all other cases, the sex of the respondent is not controlled for. At an early stage in the analysis, sex was used as a control variable, and while the frequencies were very small and did not provide a sufficient basis for statistical analysis, there were no obvious major differences between the sexes either within the same suburb or between the two different suburbs.

Analysis

The questionnaires were checked and coded for computer processing by the author of this report. The processing of the data and the statistical tests were carried out at the Data Processing Center of Loyola University. Two statistics are used in this study, chi-square, as a measure of association between variables, and a t-test for significance between means. Those relationships will be considered significant where the probability level is less than .10 i.e. $p < .10$. Where chi-square and the t-test are not used, the analysis consists in a comparison of the similarities and differences between simi-

lar social class groups in the two suburbs.

Limitations in this Study

There are a number of limitations in this study. To begin with, it refers only to Catholic families, living in these two suburbs, who have children in eighth grade attending the five schools included in this research. Those Catholic families with children in eighth grade in non-Catholic schools within the two suburbs or schools outside the boundaries of the two suburbs, other than the one included in this research, do not lie within the scope of this research. Also excluded from this study are those eighth grade students, attending the five schools included in this study, who were not present in school on the day the questionnaire was administered. There was a total of 12 such students, 3 in Hometown and 9 in Jobtown.

Secondly, there is the limitation inherent in the choice of respondents. While every effort was made to ensure accuracy, the students may have exaggerated, or not been terribly well informed, or even misled as to the precise nature of their fathers' occupation or as to how far he went in school. Yet it was felt that the majority of students would have accurate information in regard to these matters. This point was raised at an early stage in the planning of this research with a number of grade-school principals and they

felt that the majority of eighth grade students would be able to answer these questions accurately. However, it must be kept in mind that this is a source of error.

Finally, there is one feature in the history of Jobtown that may influence the results of this study. Two of the three Catholic parishes in Jobtown were originally Italian national parishes. It is impossible to estimate how the original ethnic character of these two parishes - even though the two combined are not as big as the third parish - will influence the findings of this research. However, in the light of this fact, the control for ethnicity, introduced into this study - all the respondents are at least second generation Americans - is not as powerful as it might otherwise have been.

Summary

In this chapter, the purpose and methodology of this study have been outlined. The purpose of this study is to contrast the similarities and differences between two suburbs differentiated on the basis of their employment-residence ratio. The two suburbs chosen for this study have been matched on age, size and distance from the central city. "Hometown", with an employment-residence ratio of 0.3, is the residential suburb chosen for this study and "Jobtown", with an employment-residence ratio of 2.1, is the employing suburb. These two suburbs are located within a metropolitan area in the mid-western region

of the United States. The employment-residence ratios of these two suburbs are the lowest and the highest ratios respectively of the total of twenty-three suburbs within this metropolitan area that had reached a population of 10,000 or more inhabitants in 1940.

The respondents in this study are the eighth grade students in each of the three Catholic grade schools within the corporate limits of Jobtown, the one Catholic grade school within the corporate limits of Hometown and one Catholic grade school, located just outside the corporate limits of Hometown, which draws most of its students from within Hometown. All the respondents are Catholics, with an urban background. All are at least second generation Americans and all have lived at least six years within their respective suburbs.

The questionnaire and its administration in the different schools has been outlined in detail in this Chapter and also the selection of the final universe of study. The final universe of study is made up of a total of 211 Catholic eighth grade students, of whom, 99 live in Hometown and 112 live in Jobtown. Finally, the method of analysis and a number of limitations in this study were outlined.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY STRUCTURE

The purpose of this chapter is to present a descriptive analysis of the educational and occupational characteristics of the male and female heads of the families of the two hundred and eleven respondents included in this study. Having established the social status of the family of origin of each of the respondents in each of the suburbs, this chapter will go on to consider the following aspects of family structure: the commuting pattern of the male family head, the occupational status of the female family head, the type of housing, family size and distribution of household chores. In this chapter, as throughout this study, the major focus of attention will be the similarities and differences between the two suburbs.

Social Status

As outlined in Chapter III, social status, for the purposes of this study, is based on the education and occupation of the male head of the respondent's nuclear family.

In Table 5, the educational status of both the parents of the respondents is outlined. It is clear that the standard of education in both suburbs is quite high and, though exact comparisons are not possible, it would appear to match very well the standard of education for all the suburbs in the

metropolitan area under consideration. The median number of school years completed for adults, twenty-five years of age and over, in these suburbs is 12.1.¹

TABLE 5. -- Educational status of the parents of the respondents in Hometown and Jobtown

| Educational Status | Hometown | | | | Jobtown | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|--------|----------|---------|----------|--------|----------|
| | Father | | Mother | | Father | | Mother | |
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| Post-graduate Training | 16 | 16.1 | 3 | 3.0 | 13 | 11.6 | 4 | 3.6 |
| College Graduates | 8 | 8.1 | 15 | 15.2 | 11 | 9.8 | 11 | 9.8 |
| Some College | 20 | 20.2 | 19 | 19.2 | 15 | 13.4 | 9 | 8.0 |
| High School Graduates | 33 | 33.3 | 49 | 49.5 | 44 | 39.3 | 61 | 54.5 |
| Partial High School | 15 | 15.2 | 10 | 10.1 | 21 | 18.8 | 17 | 15.2 |
| Junior High School | 7 | 7.1 | 3 | 3.0 | 7 | 6.2 | 8 | 7.1 |
| Less than 7 Years School | - | - | - | - | 1 | 0.9 | 2 | 1.8 |
| Total | 99 | 100.0 | 99 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 |

The majority of parents, both fathers and mothers

¹The Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, op. cit., Table 1.

in each suburb are at least high school graduates. The differences between the two suburbs would appear to be very slight. In Hometown, over 44 per cent of the fathers and 37 per cent of the mothers have some college education as compared to over 36 per cent of the fathers and 20 per cent of the mothers in Jobtown. At the lower end of the educational scale, over 22 per cent of the fathers and 13 per cent of the mothers in Hometown did not complete high school as compared to 25 per cent of the fathers and 24 per cent of the mothers in Jobtown. The difference between the two suburbs is much greater for mothers than it is for fathers. For both fathers and mothers, educational achievement is higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. Perhaps the clearest indication of the differences in educational attainment in favor of Hometown is the fact that while, in Hometown, 55.6 per cent of the fathers and 62.6 per cent of the mothers did not go beyond high school, the corresponding figures for Jobtown are 65.2 and 78.6 per cent respectively.

Table 6 presents the occupational status of the fathers of the respondents in each suburb. One fact that becomes clear from this table is that a home in the suburbs is not beyond the financial means of manual workers. There is a comparatively high representation of skilled manual workers in each suburb. The occupational distribution in both suburbs is in fact very similar, with eight percentage points being the largest

difference between the two suburbs in any one occupational category.

TABLE 6. -- Occupational status of the fathers of the respondents in Hometown and Jobtown

| Occupational Category | Hometown | | Jobtown | |
|------------------------------------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| Professional and Semi-professional | 12 | 12.1 | 13 | 11.6 |
| Proprietors, Managers, Officials | 33 | 33.3 | 28 | 25.0 |
| Clerical and Sales | 21 | 21.2 | 22 | 19.6 |
| Skilled Manual | 25 | 25.3 | 36 | 32.2 |
| Semi-skilled | 8 | 8.1 | 8 | 7.1 |
| Unskilled | -- | -- | 5 | 4.5 |
| Total | 99 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 |

The one major difference, if indeed it may be considered such, would appear to be the fact that in Hometown, one in three of the fathers fall into the "Proprietors, Managers, Officials" category and one in four into the "Skilled Manual" category whereas, in Jobtown, the proportion of fathers in each of these two categories is almost the exact opposite, one in four in the former category and almost one in three in the latter.

It should be noted here that in Hometown, the father of one of the respondents is dead, while in Jobtown, the fa-

thers of two respondents and the mother of one are dead. In each case, education and occupation are recorded as at the time of death.

Based on the education and occupation of the father, the social class structure of the families of the respondents in each suburb is detailed in Table 7.

TABLE 7. -- The social class structure of families of the respondents in Hometown and Jobtown, based on the education and occupation of the male family head

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | |
|-------------------------------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Upper Class | 25 | 25.2 | 24 | 21.4 |
| Middle Class | 36 | 36.4 | 34 | 30.4 |
| Lower Class | 38 | 38.4 | 54 | 48.2 |
| Total | 99 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 |
| Chi-sq. = 2.067 p. > .10 | | | | |

One in four of the Hometown families are in the upper class and over one in three in the middle class. In Jobtown, almost one half of the respondents families fall into the lower class category.

The difference in social class structure is not significant and thus, the null hypothesis "that the social class structure of Catholic families with students in eighth grade

does not vary significantly in functionally different suburbs" is not disproved. However, it would appear that the differences between the two suburbs are in the hypothesized direction. The proportion of upper and middle class families in the residential suburb is higher in each case than it is in the employing suburb, while the proportion of lower class families is higher in the employing suburb.

The data would seem to suggest that for two individual suburbs, distinguished on the basis of their employment-residence ratio and matched on such variables as age, size and distance from the central city, the social class structure does not vary significantly. It would further seem to suggest that one must be careful in utilizing the conclusions as to the socio-economic characteristics of functionally different suburbs that are based on macroscopic analysis of census data. This finding would also appear to substantiate the conclusion of Albert Reiss that differences identified on a macroscopic scale may not be applied to individual suburbs immediately, but rather indicate average differences which may not be verified in individual case studies.²

Throughout the remainder of this study, social class, as established here, will be used as a control variable, and

²Reiss, "Functional Specialization of Cities", p. 575.

comparisons between the two suburbs will be a comparison of the similarities and differences between respondents of the same social class living in Hometown and Jobtown.

Commuting Pattern

Table 8 presents the breakdown of the respondents by their fathers place of work, social class and type of suburb. Here, there are a number of differences between the two types of suburb.

TABLE 8. -- Per Cent distribution of fathers of respondents by place of work, suburb and social class

| Place of Work | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|----------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Home Suburb | 8.0 | 13.9 | 2.6 | 25.0 | 26.5 | 44.4 |
| Another Suburb | 16.0 | 13.9 | 36.9 | 58.3 | 26.5 | 31.5 |
| Central City | 64.0 | 69.4 | 60.5 | 16.7 | 38.2 | 24.1 |
| Away from Home | 4.0 | 2.8 | | | | |
| Incomplete | 4.0 | | | | 2.9 | |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

In Hometown, over two-thirds of the upper and middle class fathers work in the central city, and almost that pro-

portion of the lower class fathers work there. The proportion in any social class group in Hometown who work in their home suburb is small. By contrast, in Jobtown, less than one in four of the upper and lower classes work in the central city, while among the middle class fathers, less than 40 per cent do so. Nearly one half of the lower class fathers in Jobtown work in their home suburb, while one in four does so in each of the other two social class categories. One interesting feature of this Table is the comparatively high proportion of upper and middle class fathers in Jobtown who work in "another suburb" as compared to their counterparts in Hometown. As far as the families in this research are concerned, one may conclude that work in the central city is typical of the residential suburb and that work in one's home suburb or another suburb tends to be more typical of the employing suburb.

Schaff defines as commuters those who work outside their community of residence.³ Following this definition, Table 9A presents the distribution of the fathers of the respondents into the two categories of "commuter" and "non-commuter". It is clear that commuting to work is a typical pattern of the male family heads in each of the three social

³A. H. Schaff, "The Effect of Commuting on Participation in Community Organizations", American Sociological Review, 17(April, 1952), 216.

TABLE 9A. -- Per cent distribution of fathers of respondents by proportion who commute to work outside their suburb of residence, suburb and social class

| Commuting Status | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Commuter | 84.0 | 86.1 | 97.4 | 75.0 | 64.7 | 55.6 |
| Non-commuter | 8.0 | 13.9 | 2.6 | 25.0 | 26.5 | 44.4 |
| Incomplete | 4.0 | | | | 2.9 | |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 9B. -- Frequency distribution of fathers of respondents by commuting status, and chi-square analysis for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-sq. | p |
|--------------|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|---------|----|
| | Commuter | Non-commuter | Commuter | Non-commuter | | |
| Upper Class | 21 | 2 ^a | 18 | 6 | -- | |
| Middle Class | 31 | 5 | 22 | 9 | 2.31 | ns |
| Lower Class | 37 | 1 ^a | 30 | 24 | -- | |

** Those respondents who did not complete this question or whose fathers are dead are not included in this table

^a Frequency too small to permit chi-square analysis

class categories in Hometown, over 80 per cent of the upper and middle classes commute outside their community of residence to work, while almost 100.0 per cent of the lower class do so. In Jobtown, while commuting may be said to predominate in the upper and middle classes, yet one in four in each of these social class groups works in his home suburb. The difference between the middle classes in the two suburbs is not significant (Table 9B). There would appear to be a very real difference between the two lower classes. In Jobtown, in contrast to Hometown, over 44 per cent of the lower class male family heads are non-commuters.

The data would seem to suggest that commuting to work is a typical pattern of male family heads in the suburbs, irrespective of type of suburb, but it tends to be less typical in the employing suburb, particularly among the lower class. This would seem to suggest that lower class families tend to move out close to their place of employment. It would also appear to substantiate Leo Schnore's identification of employing suburbs with "industrial" suburbs in so far as there would appear to be a substantial number of blue-collar jobs in Jobtown.⁴

⁴Schnore, "The Functions of Metropolitan Suburbs", p. 456.

Mothers in the Labor Force

The data in relation to the occupational status of the mothers of the respondents would seem to indicate the importance of social class position in relation to the employment of mothers (Table 10A). In both suburbs, the proportion of mothers not working increases as one moves up the social class scale. In Hometown, 50 per cent of the mothers are working, either full-time or part-time, in the lower class category, while in the middle class, less than 40 per cent are employed, the majority part-time. Less than 20 per cent of the upper class mothers are employed. In Jobtown, the differential class pattern repeats itself, but in this case the differences between the middle and upper classes is not quite as marked. Sixty-three per cent of the lower class mothers are employed, half of whom are employed full-time. Over 44 per cent of the middle class mothers work, the majority part-time, while 37 per cent of the upper class mothers are employed, the majority in this case full-time.

Comparing the two suburbs, it is clear that the proportion of mothers who are employed is higher in Jobtown than it is in Hometown for each social class category. The greatest difference would appear to be between the two upper classes, where the proportion of mothers working is 20 percentage points higher in Jobtown than it is in Hometown. In table 10B, those

TABLE 10A. -- Per cent distribution of mothers of respondents by occupational status, suburb and social class

| Occupational Status | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|---------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Employed Full-time | 12.0 | 11.1 | 18.4 | 20.8 | 14.7 | 31.5 |
| Employed Part-time | 4.0 | 25.0 | 31.6 | 16.7 | 29.4 | 31.5 |
| Not Employed | 84.0 | 63.9 | 50.0 | 58.3 | 55.9 | 37.0 |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 10B. -- Frequency distribution of mothers of respondents by occupational status, suburb and social class and chi-square comparison between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown*

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-sq. | p |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|----|
| | Working | Not Working | Working | Not Working | | |
| Upper Class | 4 ^a | 21 | 9 | 14 | -- | -- |
| Middle Class | 13 | 23 | 15 | 19 | 0.467 | ns |
| Lower Class | 19 | 19 | 34 | 20 | 1.534 | ns |

*The one respondent whose mother is dead is not included in this table

^aFrequency too small to permit chi-square analysis

working full-time and part-time have been combined to facilitate chi-square analysis. While in each case the proportion of mothers working is higher in Jobtown than it is in Hometown, the differences between the middle and lower classes in Hometown and their counterparts in Jobtown are not significant.

The pattern that seems to emerge is that within each suburb the proportion of mothers who are employed increases as one moves down the social class scale, and that between the suburbs, there are more mothers employed in any one social class category in Jobtown than there are in Hometown. These results are very similar to those found by George Myers in his study of the labor force participation of suburban mothers. As in this research, he found that mothers in employing suburbs tended to be employed more often than those in residential suburbs.⁵ One reason for differences by social class within each suburb may be economic necessity - the financial obligations of home-ownership may put greater pressure on middle and lower class mothers to seek employment in order to augment their husbands wages or salaries. The differences between the two suburbs may be due, as Myers suggests, to the greater availability of jobs closer to home in the employing suburb.

⁵Myers, op. cit., p. 308.

Housing

That the suburbs contain predominantly single family dwelling units is borne out by this research. The respondents in both suburbs and within each social class category live almost exclusively in single family houses (Table 11). The one exception would appear to be the lower class families in Jobtown. Almost one in four of these families live in apartments. All the upper class families in Hometown live in single family houses, while the proportion of middle and lower class families who do so is 94.4 and 97.4 per cent respectively. In Jobtown, 87.5 per cent of the upper class families and 91.2 per cent of the middle class families live in single family houses.

Not only do the majority of families live in single family houses, they also own the houses in which they live (Table 12). Once again, it would appear, the lower class families in Jobtown are somewhat of an exception in that 14.8 per cent do not own the homes in which they live. For each of the other social class categories in each suburb, 8.0 per cent or less do not own their homes. These proportions are not absolute however, because of the comparatively high proportion of "don't know" answers.

These findings support the general findings of suburban research, that the move to the suburbs is generally a move into a single family dwelling, into "a home of one's

TABLE 11. -- Per cent distribution of families of respondents by type of housing, suburb and social class

| Type of Housing | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| House | 100.0 | 94.4 | 97.4 | 87.5 | 91.2 | 75.9 |
| Apartment | | 5.6 | 2.6 | 12.5 | 8.8 | 24.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 12. -- Per cent distribution of families of respondents by proportion who own their own house or apartment, suburb and social class

| Occupancy Status | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Owner | 84.0 | 91.7 | 89.5 | 95.8 | 88.2 | 75.9 |
| Rents | 8.0 | 2.8 | 2.6 | 4.2 | 5.9 | 14.8 |
| Don't know | 4.0 | -- | 7.9 | -- | 5.9 | 9.3 |
| Incomplete | 4.0 | 5.5 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

own". This is true, it would appear, not only of the residential suburb, but also to a very large extent of the employing suburb.

Family Size

For the purposes of this study, family size is defined as the number of children, now living, whether married or not and whether now living away from home or not, in the respondents nuclear family of origin. Table 13 presents the mean number of children per family in each social class in each suburb. One is immediately struck in this table by the fact that the mean number of children per family is highest for the upper class families in each suburb and that the mean number of children per family decreases as one moves down the social class scale.

TABLE 13. -- Mean number of children per family by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t value | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|-----------------|---------|----------|-----------------|---------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 5.040 | 2.208 | 25 | 4.875 | 2.490 | 24 | 0.246 | ns |
| Middle Class | 3.722 | 1.980 | 36 | 3.441 | 1.133 | 34 | 0.723 | ns |
| Lower class | 3.684 | 1.890 | 37 ^a | 3.333 | 1.542 | 53 ^a | 0.979 | ns |

^aOne respondent in each of these social class groups did not complete the question on family size.

Comparing the two suburbs, the mean number of children per family is higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown within each social class category. While the differences are in the same direction in each case, none of these differences are statistically significant.

Table 14 provides, perhaps, a clearer picture of the similarities and differences between the two suburbs in the number of children in each family. One is struck by the similarity between the two suburbs within each social class category. In both suburbs, the upper class has the highest proportion of families with seven or more children and the lowest proportion of families with three children or less. The middle class families in both suburbs are concentrated into the two smaller size categories, the one difference being that while none of the middle class families in Jobtown has more than six children, 8.3 per cent of their counterparts in Hometown have seven or more children. The proportion of lower class families with seven or more children in either suburb is small, 5.3 per cent in Hometown and 3.7 per cent in Jobtown.

Jaco and Belknap suggest that increased fertility rates is a feature of the urban fringe family which, they state emphasizes the reproductive-socializing role of parents.⁶ Kiser

⁶Jaco and Belknap, op. cit., pp. 473-475.

TABLE 14. -- Per cent distribution of families of the respondents by number of children per family, suburb and social class

| Number of Children | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|--------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| One to Three | 24.0 | 44.5 | 47.4 | 29.2 | 44.1 | 63.0 |
| Four to Six | 60.0 | 47.2 | 44.7 | 37.5 | 55.9 | 31.5 |
| Seven or More | 16.0 | 8.3 | 5.3 | 33.3 | | 3.7 |
| Incomplete | | | 2.6 | | | 1.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

has suggested that fertility rates are now highest among groups previously characterized by low fertility, i.e. Whites rather than Non-whites, urban rather than rural-farm and "upper" rather than "lower" classes.⁷ Both of these conceptions would appear to be borne out by this research. While it is difficult to interpret these results in the absence of any knowledge as to where the respondents are positioned in the birth order of their respective families, or as to the life-cycle stage of their parents, it would appear that the families in this study place a high value on children. The data would seem to suggest

⁷C. V. Kiser, "Fertility Trends and Differentials in the United States", Journal of the American Statistical Association, 47(March, 1952), 38.

that, if the number of children in a family may be taken as an indicant of child-centeredness and an emphasis on "familism" as a way of life, then the Hometown families are more child-centered and place a greater emphasis on familism than is true of the families in Jobtown, at least in so far as the families in this research are concerned. The data would further seem to suggest that such a commitment increases with an increase in social class, irrespective of suburb of residence. While the differences between the two suburbs in the mean number of children per family were not statistically significant, a tentative conclusion such as the above would appear to be warranted on the basis of the fact that, for each social class category, the mean number of children per family is higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. Further research, controlling for life-cycle stage and birth order, would be necessary before such a conclusion could be positively stated.

Household Roles

In this section, the focus of attention is the performance of the day to day tasks that are an integral part of the proper functioning and upkeep of the family household. In open-ended questions (questions 93 - 96), the respondents were asked to indicate who generally performed the daily household chores, kept the gardens in trim and did the odd

jobs and minor repairs about the house. The object of these questions was to determine, in a behavioral way, the extent to which the suburban family is characterized by a mixing of parental roles, and the extent to which the children are involved in these activities with their parents. The performance of these tasks is an important element in the socialization process of the child, and prepares him for the assumption of adult roles. On the basis of a limited study in Montreal, Elkin and Westley have suggested that the suburban adolescent does participate with his parents in the performance of household tasks and is very much involved in the day to day activities about the home.⁸

For the families included in this study, it would appear that the performance of household chores is predominantly the task of the female family head and the children. They perform the household chores in over 58 per cent of the families in each social class category within each suburb (Table 15). The proportion of male family heads who help in these tasks is at its highest among the middle class families in Hometown (33.3 per cent) and at its lowest among

⁸F. Elkin and W. A. Westley, "Protective Environment and Adolescent Socialization", Social Forces, 35(March, 1957), 243-249, and "The Myth of Adolescent Culture", American Sociological Review, 20(December, 1955), 680-684.

TABLE 15. -- Per cent distribution of families of the respondents by the distribution of household chores, suburb and social class

| Household chores done by | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Mother and Daughters | 32.0 | 27.8 | 44.7 | 25.0 | 55.9 | 35.1 |
| Mother and Children | 36.0 | 33.3 | 29.0 | 33.3 | 26.5 | 33.3 |
| Whole Family | 12.0 | 33.3 | 23.7 | 29.2 | 14.7 | 24.1 |
| Mother and Hired Help | 16.0 | 2.8 | | 8.3 | 2.9 | 3.7 |
| Mother Alone | 4.0 | 2.8 | | 4.2 | | 1.9 |
| Father and Children | | | | | | 1.9 |
| Incomplete | | | 2.6 | | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

the middle class families in Jobtown (14.7 per cent). No definite pattern of similarity or difference emerges between the two suburbs. The proportion of upper class families in Hometown and Jobtown which fall into the first two categories of "mother and daughters" and "mother and children" is comparatively even, but the proportion of upper class families in Jobtown where the "whole family", including father, helps in these chores (29.2 per cent) is over twice as high as it is in Hometown (12.0 per cent). In both suburbs the upper

class has the highest proportion of families that engage hired help, but the proportion is almost twice as high in Hometown (16.0 per cent) as it is in Jobtown (8.3 per cent).

In 27.8 per cent of the middle class families in Hometown, the household chores are the responsibility of the female members of the family, whereas they are exclusively a female responsibility in over half the middle class families in Jobtown (55.9 per cent). As already indicated, in one third of the middle class families in Hometown, the father helps in the family household chores, whereas in Jobtown, less than half that proportion do so (14.7). The two lower class categories would appear to be most evenly matched, with nine percentage points being the greatest difference between the two suburbs in any one category in Table 15.

No general conclusion would appear warranted by the data in Table 15. The frequencies do not permit a chi-square analysis. The differences and similarities between the two suburbs vary as one moves from one social class to the next. Except for the middle class in Jobtown, where the household chores are exclusively a female responsibility in over 55 per cent of the families, there would not appear to be any clear-cut separation of roles. Nor would there appear to be any clear mixing of roles, as the proportion of families in which the male family head helps in the household tasks is

less than one in four in each social class category except for the middle class in Hometown and the upper class in Jobtown. Perhaps the clearest fact that emerges is that in very few cases in either suburb are the household chores the sole responsibility of the female family head. In the majority of families in each social class category within each suburb, the female family head is helped in the performance of the daily household chores by her children.

No one member of the family emerges as "the gardener" in any of the social class categories in either suburb. In so far as any pattern emerges, it is that the male family heads perform this task exclusively more often in Jobtown than do their counterparts in Hometown and that in Hometown, tending the garden is more often the responsibility of the children than is the case in Jobtown (Table 16). In Hometown, 56.0 per cent of the upper class families fall into the categories "mother and children" and "children alone" while in 12.0 percent of these families, the care of the garden is the responsibility of the male family head alone. By contrast, in Jobtown, 37.5 per cent of the upper class families fall into the two former categories and 20.8 per cent into the latter.

The middle class families in each suburb would appear to be very similar. In Hometown, in 36.2 per cent of the middle class families, the gardening is done by either the

TABLE 16. -- Per cent distribution of families of the respondents by "who does the gardening", suburb and social class

| Gardening Done by | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Father Alone | 12.0 | 16.7 | 15.8 | 20.8 | 29.5 | 22.2 |
| Father and Sons | 8.0 | 19.5 | 10.5 | 4.2 | 8.8 | 11.1 |
| Father and Mother | 4.0 | 5.5 | 10.5 | 4.2 | 8.8 | 5.6 |
| Whole Family | 8.0 | 5.5 | 10.5 | 8.3 | 8.8 | 5.6 |
| Mother and Children | 32.0 | 8.4 | 21.1 | 16.7 | 23.6 | 16.6 |
| Children Alone | 24.0 | 30.6 | 23.7 | 20.8 | 11.8 | 13.0 |
| Hired Help | 12.0 | 2.8 | | 12.5 | 2.9 | 1.8 |
| Relatives | | 5.5 | 5.3 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 11.1 |
| No Gardening | | 5.5 | | 8.3 | 2.9 | 13.0 |
| Incomplete | | | 2.6 | | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

male family head alone or with his male children, while in 39.0 per cent of the middle class families, the gardening is done by the female family head and the children or the children alone. The corresponding proportion for the middle class families in Jobtown in each of these two combined

categories is 38.3 and 35.4 per cent respectively. The pattern of difference between the two suburbs identified for the two upper classes would appear to be repeated for the two lower classes. The proportion of lower class families in Hometown in which the gardening is done by the female family head and the children or the children alone is 44.8 per cent, while in 15.8 per cent of the families, the care of the garden is the sole responsibility of the male family head. In Jobtown, as is the case for the upper classes, the proportion in the former two categories is lower than in Hometown, 29.6 per cent and the proportion in the latter category is higher, 22.2 per cent.

While these similarities and differences exist, the over-all impression from Table 16 is that in both suburbs, gardening is everybody's task in general and nobody's task in particular. As is the case for household chores, there does not appear to be any definite mixing or separation of roles, but it does appear that the children do participate in this task with their parents, and do share in the responsibility of maintaining the home.

A very definite pattern emerges in relation to the carrying out of odd jobs and minor repairs about the home. These tasks would appear to be the responsibility of the male members of the suburban family (Table 17).

TABLE 17--Per cent distribution of families of the respondents by distribution of odd jobs and minor repairs, suburb and social class

| Odd Jobs Done by | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|--------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Father Alone | 40.0 | 33.3 | 63.2 | 54.1 | 55.9 | 50.0 |
| Father and Sons | 36.0 | 30.6 | 21.1 | 16.7 | 11.8 | 31.5 |
| Sons Alone | 20.0 | 8.3 | 7.9 | 16.7 | 5.9 | 3.7 |
| Whole Family | | 8.3 | 2.6 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 1.8 |
| Mother and Father | 4.0 | 5.6 | | | 17.6 | 13.0 |
| Father and Hired Help | | 11.1 | 2.6 | 8.3 | 5.9 | |
| Relatives | | 2.8 | | | | |
| Incomplete | | | 2.6 | | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

In Hometown, in 96.0 per cent of the upper class families and 92.2 per cent of the lower class families, the odd jobs and minor repairs are carried out by the male family heads and the male children, either alone or together. In both cases, these proportions are higher than the proportions for Jobtown, where 87.5 per cent of the upper class families and 85.2 per cent of the lower class families fall into the first three categories of Table 17. In both

suburbs, the proportion of middle class families where the responsibility for the odd jobs and minor repairs rests exclusively with the male family members is lower than for the other two social class categories, 72.2 per cent in Hometown and 73.6 per cent in Jobtown. Irrespective of social class or suburb of residence, it would appear that for the families included in this study, there is a very definite separation of roles in regard to the performance of the odd jobs and minor repairs about the home. Though to a lesser extent than is the case for household chores and gardening, it would appear that the children, in this case, the male children, do participate in these activities with their fathers.

The data in Tables 15, 16 and 17 would appear to indicate that, except in the case of household repairs, there is no definite pattern of mixing or separation of roles in the families included in this study. While a statistical analysis was not possible in view of the frequencies involved in these tables, the differences between the suburbs do not appear to be very great. Rather, the over-all impression is one of similarity, not only between the two suburbs, but also between the different social class categories. It would appear that the day to day tasks of maintaining a home are not distributed in any rigid pattern in either suburb, but that rather, these tasks are shared by all the family members to

a greater or lesser degree. The daily household chores and the care of the garden would appear to be mainly the responsibility of the female family head and the children, while the odd jobs and minor repairs about the house are, in the majority of families, the responsibility of the male family head and the male children. The proportion of children who participate in these tasks would tend to bear out the conclusion of Elkin and Westley as to the participation of the suburban adolescent in family life and the vitality of the socialization process in the suburbs. Finally, to the extent that all members of the family, to a greater or lesser degree, and particularly the children, share in the task of maintaining the family home, Bell's hypothesis, as outlined in Chapter II, that suburban families have chosen "familism" as a way of life, would appear to be verified.

Summary and Relevance to Theory

In this chapter, the occupational status of the male family head has been outlined, together with the educational status of both parents of the respondents. Based on the occupational and educational status of the male family head, the respondents families were located in one of three hierarchical social class categories. There followed, in turn, an analysis of the commuting pattern of the male family head, the occupational status of the female family head, the housing charac-

teristics of the families of the respondents, the number of children per family and finally an analysis of the distribution of household chores. Where the frequencies permitted, a chi-square test for significance between similar social class categories in Hometown and Jobtown was carried out, and a t-test for significance in the mean number of children per family in similar social class groups in the two suburbs.

Throughout, the results of this study have been related to existing research results relating to the suburbs. The social class structure of the families in this study does not differ significantly in the two suburbs and thus the null hypothesis that "the social class structure of Catholic families with students in eighth grade does not vary significantly" stands. Similarly the other statistical tests between the two suburbs were not significant, and so, for the variables considered in this chapter, the second hypothesis that "family relationships do not vary significantly for Catholic families with students in eighth grade in functionally different suburbs" also stands. To the extent that the two hypotheses were not disproved, it would appear that, at least in so far as the families included in this study are concerned, the function of a suburb, as determined by its employment-residence ratio, is not a critical factor in determining the social class structure of a suburb or the pattern of family

relationships.

Based on Le Play, Purnell Benson has suggested that interests in the home and children may be taken as indicative of familistic orientation.⁹ To the extent that, occupancy and ownership of a single family house and a wide dispersion of household chores among family members, may be taken as indicative of an interest in the home and to the extent that the mean number of children per family, which for the families included in this study is 3.333 at its lowest for the lower class families in Jobtown and increases by social class and suburb to 5.04 for the upper class families in Hometown, may be taken as indicative of an interest in children for their own sake, then it would appear that there is a comparatively high degree of familism in evidence in both of the suburbs included in this research.

⁹Purnell H. Benson, "Familism and Marital Success", Social Forces, 33(March, 1955), 278.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS

While there is no shortage of "commentaries" on religion in the suburbs, there has been very little systematic research. It is part of the "myth" that the move to the suburbs also involves a return to religion. However, what research there is would seem to indicate that this may not be true.

In a study of church participation in Flint, Michigan, it was found that, even when controls were introduced for such variables as type of religion, age, education, size of household, region of origin and length of residence, "city residents are more regular in attendance (at church) than are fringe residents."¹ Berger reports in his California study that:

Living in the new tract suburb has apparently had little clear effect upon the frequency of church attendance of our sample. Almost as many go to

¹Basil G. Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley, "Suburbanization and Church Participation", Social Forces, 37(May, 1959), 354.

church less often in this suburb as go more often, but the largest percentage (49) have not had their church attendance affected in any marked way.²

Gordon, in his study of Jews in eighty-nine suburbs across the United States, concludes:

The evidence gathered from this study shows clearly that Jews in suburbia are non-orthodox in religious ideas and practices. Although affiliated with synagogues and temples in ever increasing numbers, they do not place the same emphasis as earlier generations upon the importance and relevance of ritual.

The number of Jews who pray in accordance with any practice -- Orthodox, Conservative or Reform -- is generally regarded as minimal, both in suburbia and elsewhere.³

If suburban residence does involve a return to religion, one would expect that the building of new churches would be concentrated there. Yet, a survey of new churches, built during the two year period from 1958 to 1960, by forty-five Protestant denominations, "which held nearly one-half of the congregations of Protestant bodies in 1957" reports:

Perhaps the most unexpected finding was that denominations reported that only 26 per cent of their new congregations were located in the metropolitan suburbs. Since these are the areas of most rapid population growth and of American 'affluence', and since there is a widespread assumption that they are the almost exclusive points of

²Berger, op. cit., p. 45.

³Albert J. Gordon, Jews in Suburbia (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1959), p. 148.

church extension concentration the finding is startling.⁴

What religion there is in the suburbs, is characterized, in the eyes of some commentators, more by a social usefulness than by a commitment to a set of religious ideals and practices. Whyte, as has been indicated, stresses the social role of the church in the suburbs, where it provides a sense of belonging and does not bother the "transients" with ultimate or embarrassing questions. Seeley presents a very similar picture of religion in Crestwood Heights. He states that only "a negligible few were encountered who were concerned as to whether the teachings of religion are or are not, true to fact, or good as to ethical content"⁵ and that "where a Protestant denomination is adhered to, it is more a matter of habit than of deep conviction, a socially useful practice rather than a source of spiritual solace".⁶ Gibson Winter

⁴"New Churches, 1958-60, A Survey Conducted by Home Missions Research, Bureau of Research and Survey, National Council of Churches", Yearbook of American Churches, 1964, (New York: Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1964), p. 286.

⁵J. R. Seeley, R. A. Sim and E. W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 241.

⁶Ibid., p. 214.

takes a very critical view of the "activist style" of the "organization church" in the suburbs.⁷ He seems to feel that endless organizing and socializing cover a spiritual emptiness. The Protestant churches in the suburbs have become religious fellowships based on "association by likeness" and "mission by friendly contact" which serve to provide the suburbanite with "exclusive enclaves of identity" and "a symbol of membership of the White middle-class". Like Whyte and Seeley, he feels that there is little or no emphasis on religious truth and concludes that "it seems reasonable to assume that approximately one-half of the official membership of the churches, possibly as much as two-thirds, are religiously tied to the organization rather than personally bound to God or his teachings".⁸

Andrew Greeley states that religious practice has seldom been higher among Catholics than it is in the suburbs, and that the Catholic suburbanite has been very generous and loyal to his church.⁹ Like Winter, however, he feels that

⁷Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (New York: Macmillan Paperbacks, 1962).

⁸Ibid., p. 116..

⁹Andrew M. Greeley, The Church and the Suburbs (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1959).

one of the major problems of the suburban church is to reconcile its material prosperity with Christian ideals and to avoid becoming so involved in its own problems and self-enlargement as to lose its sense of wider responsibility. "The ordinary suburban parish," he states, "is so concerned with its own problems of growth, and so busy building up its own tight little community that it is not the best platform for social action in the world of human activities and ideas."¹⁰

While it was not possible to enter into a detailed examination as to the nature of the suburbanites' religious commitment, a two-fold measure of the religious involvement of the respondents' parents is used in this study, attendance at religious services and membership in formal religious associations.

Church Attendance

All the respondents in this study are Catholics. They all attend church at least once a week except for one male student in Hometown and four male students in Jobtown. As will become clear later, many of the students in attending church every week are going contrary to the pattern and example set by one or even both of their parents. This would seem to

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 69.

indicate that the school has an important influence. All the schools in this study are Catholic parochial schools administered jointly by the priests attached to the parishes and members of female religious congregations. It would appear that such close contact with priests and nuns as is involved in attendance at a Catholic school, in so far as the respondents in this study are concerned, does influence the students to conform to the norm laid down by the Catholic Church of weekly attendance at Mass.

While all the respondents are Catholics, the same is not true of their parents. In Hometown, all the parents are Catholics except for one non-Catholic mother, while in Jobtown, three fathers are non-Catholic and five have no religious affiliation.

Table 18 gives the church attendance pattern for the fathers of the respondents, broken down by suburb and social class. The most frequent attenders at church are the middle class fathers in Hometown. However, the most striking fact about Table 18 is the very close similarity between the upper class in Jobtown and the three social classes in Hometown and the very sizable drop in church attendance for middle and lower class fathers in Jobtown. Less than half the lower class in Jobtown attend church every week, while almost 30 per cent do not attend church.

TABLE 18. -- Per cent distribution of fathers of the respondents by church attendance, suburb and social class

| Frequency of Attendance | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|---------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Once a week or more often | 72.0 | 80.5 | 71.1 | 75.0 | 58.8 | 44.4 |
| 1 to 3 times a month | 12.0 | 5.6 | 2.6 | 8.3 | 8.8 | 9.3 |
| Less than once a month | 12.0 | 8.3 | 10.5. | 4.2 | 5.9 | 14.8 |
| Does not attend | -- | 5.6 | 15.8 | 8.3 | 20.6 | 29.6 |
| Incomplete | -- | -- | -- | 4.2 | -- | 1.9 |
| Dead | 4.0 | -- | -- | -- | 5.9 | -- |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

The pattern of church attendance identified for the male family heads repeats itself for the female family heads (Table 19). However, the difference in church attendance for the middle and lower class mothers in Jobtown is not as marked as it is in the case of their male counterparts. As is true for fathers, so also for mothers, the middle class in Hometown are the most frequent attenders at church. Comparing Table 18 and Table 19, it is clear that the proportion of mothers attending church at least once a week in each social class

TABLE 19. -- Per cent distribution of mothers of the respondents by church attendance, suburb and social class

| Frequency of Attendance | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|---------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Once a week or more often | 84.0 | 88.9 | 84.2 | 83.3 | 70.6 | 72.2 |
| 1 to 3 times a month | 8.0 | 2.8 | 2.6 | 4.2 | 8.8 | 5.6 |
| Less than once a month | 8.0 | 2.8 | 7.9 | 4.2 | 14.7 | 5.6 |
| Does not attend | --- | 5.5 | 5.3 | 4.2 | 5.9 | 16.6 |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

in each suburb is higher than it is for fathers. Except for the middle class in Hometown, there is a difference of at least ten percentage points in the proportion of fathers and mothers attending church every week in each suburb. In Jobtown, the most frequent church attenders are the upper class parents, whereas in Hometown, as indicated already, the middle class parents go to church most often.

In Table 20, the church attendance data for both parents has been combined. This table provides a clearer picture of the church attendance patterns of suburban parents. Only in the middle class families in Hometown is the proportion of parents who both attend church every week as high as

TABLE 20. -- Per cent distribution of both parents of the respondents combined by church attendance, suburb and social class

| Frequency of Attendance | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Both every week | 64.0 | 77.8 | 71.0 | 70.8 | 53.0 | 40.7 |
| One parent less than once a week | 24.0 | 13.9 | 15.8 | 8.3 | 17.6 | 33.3 |
| Both less than once a week | 8.0 | 2.8 | 7.9 | 8.3 | 17.6 | 14.8 |
| Neither parent attends | -- | 5.5 | 5.3 | 4.2 | 5.9 | 9.3 |
| No answer | | | | 4.2 | | 1.9 |
| One parent dead | 4.0 | | | 4.2 | 5.9 | |
| Total. | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

three out of four. In Jobtown, less than half the lower class parents both attend church every week. A greater proportion of upper class parents in Jobtown both attend church every week than is true of their counterparts in Hometown, but in the other two social class categories, the proportion of parents who both attend church every week is considerably higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. Perhaps one of the most interesting features of this table, particularly in view of the fact that almost all the respondents attend church every week, is the comparatively low proportion of families in which neither parent attends church.

One factor that may have an influence on the low proportions of middle and lower class parents who both attend church every week in Jobtown, as compared to the other social class groups in both suburbs, is the Italian ethnic character of some areas in Jobtown. Because of the possibility of the ethnic factor being involved, it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to the influence of area of residence. While many other ethnic traits might be abandoned deliberately in an attempt to become "Americanized", church attendance could hardly be described as a typical American pattern and so the traditional laxity in church attendance, associated with the Italian church might very easily carry over from one generation to the next. That the respondents in each suburb appear to be unaffected in their attendance at church by the attendance pattern of their parents, it has been suggested, is probably due to the influence of the priests and religious attached to the parochial schools, and to the fact that in less than 10 per cent of the families in any one social class category in either suburb do both parents "never" attend church.

Membership in Formal Parochial Associations

If the suburbs are the location of the "organization church" and an "activist" religious style, there would appear to be very little evidence of this in the two suburbs included in this study. Table 21A presents the distribution of the

fathers of the respondents by membership in parochially based formal associations.¹¹

In the upper class in Hometown, alone, are more than half the fathers members of such groups, while in the lower class in each suburb, less than a third of the fathers hold any such memberships. The apparent influence of social class should be noted in the pattern of membership in each suburb. Membership increases as one moves up the social class scale and is highest in each suburb for the upper class. There is a difference of twenty percentage points in Jobtown between the upper and lower classes in the proportion of fathers who are not members of any parochial groups, while in Hometown, there is a difference of twenty-five percentage points between the upper and lower classes. A further indication of the role of social class in the proportion of memberships is the fact that while the proportion of upper class fathers in Hometown who attend church every week is almost identical with the proportion of lower class fathers who do so, yet the proportion of upper class fathers who are members of parochial groups is almost twice that for lower class fathers. In Jobtown, upper class fathers attend church more often than

¹¹In this analysis, The Knights of Columbanus are excluded as it is not parochially based.

Table 21A.--Per cent distribution of fathers of respondents by membership in parochially based voluntary associations, suburb and social class

| Number of Memberships | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| None | 40.0 | 58.3 | 65.8 | 50.0 | 55.9 | 70.3 |
| One | 48.0 | 30.6 | 31.6 | 20.8 | 35.3 | 24.1 |
| Two | 8.0 | 11.1 | 2.6 | 25.0 | 2.9 | 3.7 |
| Three | | | | | | 1.9 |
| Incomplete | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 21B.--Frequency distribution of fathers of respondents by membership in parochially based voluntary associations, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-sq. | p |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------|----|
| | No Membership | One or More Memberships | No Membership | One or More Memberships | | |
| Upper Class | 10 | 14 | 12 | 11 | .521 | ns |
| Middle Class | 21 | 15 | 19 | 13 | .008 | ns |
| Lower Class | 25 | 13 | 38 | 16 | .218 | ns |

**Those respondents who did not complete this question or whose fathers are dead were not included in this table.

those in the lower class and they are also more involved in parochial organizations and so the pattern does not repeat itself. The data would seem to suggest that membership in church groups may be a function of social class and may not be taken as merely a function of religious involvement.

Comparing the two suburbs, the differences between them would appear to be very slight. In both, membership is lowest in the lower class, and increases as one moves up the social class scale. The differences in membership between similar social classes in the two suburbs are not significant (Table 21B). However, for each social class category, the proportion of fathers who are not members of any parochially based voluntary association is lower in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. To the degree that one in four of the upper class fathers in Hometown hold memberships in two such organizations, they would appear to be the most deeply involved in the organizational life of their respective parishes.

The pattern of membership in parochially based voluntary organizations established for fathers almost repeats itself for mothers (Table 22A). The one difference from the pattern established for fathers is that, in Hometown, the proportion of mothers who are members of church affiliated groups is higher for the middle class (75.0 per cent) than it is for the upper class (64.0 per cent). In Jobtown,

TABLE 22A.--Per cent distribution of mothers of respondents by membership in parochially based voluntary associations, suburb and social class

| Number of Memberships | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| None | 36.0 | 25.0 | 71.0 | 58.3 | 79.4 | 79.6 |
| One | 56.0 | 61.1 | 23.7 | 16.7 | 17.7 | 16.6 |
| Two | 8.0 | 13.9 | 5.3 | 20.8 | 2.9 | 1.9 |
| Three | | | | | | 1.9 |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 22B.--Frequency distribution of mothers of respondents by membership in parochially based voluntary associations, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-Square | p |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No Member-ship | One or More Memberships | No Member-ship | One or More Memberships | | |
| Upper Class | 9 | 16 | 14 | 9 | 2.968 | <.10 |
| Middle Class | 9 | 27 | 27 | 7 | 20.723 | <.001 |
| Lower Class | 27 | 11 | 43 | 11 | .902 | ns |

**The one respondent whose mother is dead is not included in this table.

membership increases with an increase in social class. As for fathers, so also for mothers in Hometown, while the proportion attending church every week is almost the same in each social class category, the upper class mothers are almost twice as likely to be members of parochial groups as are the lower class mothers, but unlike the pattern for fathers, the middle class mothers are even more likely to be members of such groups. In Jobtown, the pattern for fathers repeats itself almost exactly, the upper class mother attends church more often and is more likely to be a member of parochial organizations than are the mothers in either of the other two social class categories.

Comparing the two suburbs, the involvement of the female family heads in the organizational life of their parishes would appear to be much higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. In the case of the upper and middle classes, the differences between the two suburbs are statistically significant at the .10 and .001 levels respectively (Table 22B). Though the difference between the two lower classes in the two suburbs is not statistically significant, the proportion of lower class mothers who are members of parish organizations is higher in Hometown (29.0 per cent) than it is in Jobtown (20.4 per cent).

For both the male family heads and the female family

heads of the families included in this study, the proportion who hold memberships in parochially based formal associations is higher in each social class category in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. Though the differences between the two suburbs are significant in only two cases, as outlined above, it would appear that area of residence is an important variable. As the differences are in the same direction in each case, participation is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown, irrespective of social class, one may tentatively conclude that the type of suburb in which one lives does influence the rate of participation in parochially based formal associations.

While women go to church more often in each suburb and within each social class category than is true for their male counterparts, there is little evidence in this study to suggest that the mother, or for that matter, the children, represent the family in church. Except for the middle and lower class fathers in Jobtown, men go to church in considerable numbers in both suburbs. That religion is not relegated to the women in the family is also indicated by the fact that the proportion of fathers who are members of parochial organizations is higher than it is for mothers in the lower class in both suburbs and in the upper and middle classes in Jobtown.

Finally, to the extent that, in both suburbs, over 70.0 per cent of the lower class parents are not involved in any parochial organization, there is little or no evidence of church membership fulfilling a social role or providing an outlet for social activity. This would also appear to be true for the middle and upper class parents in Jobtown and the middle class fathers in Hometown, where less than 50.0 per cent hold membership in parochial organizations. It would appear that only among the middle class mothers in Hometown and to a lesser extent, both upper class parents in Hometown, is there a considerable degree of involvement in parochial organizational life. This would seem to indicate that the organizational style of religious activity, identified by Whyte and Winter, in so far as it may be considered to be verified at all, is true only for the higher social class parents in Hometown.

Membership in Formal Associations

For the purposes of this research, the extent of participation in formal voluntary associations is measured by the number of memberships an individual holds. Following

Komarovsky¹² and Bell and Force,¹³ all types of voluntary formal groups are included under the term "voluntary association," except economic concerns, governmental agencies and schools. The one exception to this is that parent-teacher organizations have not been included in the analysis. The reason for this is that the status of these organizations from school to school is doubtful and, in most cases, all parents with children attending the school are considered to be members and are eligible to attend the meetings. In order to provide a complete picture of the parents' participation in formal voluntary groups, the parochially based groups are re-included in these totals.

In both suburbs, irrespective of social class, a high proportion of the fathers hold membership in at least one voluntary group (Table 23A). Except for the middle class in Jobtown, over two thirds of the fathers hold one such membership. In Hometown, 12 per cent of the upper class fathers have no membership, while 72 per cent hold two or more memberships. Among the middle class fathers, 16.7 per cent are not involved in any formal group, while

¹² Mirra Komarovsky, "A Comparative Study of Voluntary Organizations of Two Suburban Communities," Sociological Problems and Methods, 27 (1933), 84.

¹³ Bell and Force, op. cit., p. 26.

TABLE 23A.--Per cent distribution of fathers of the respondents by membership in formal voluntary associations, suburb and social class

| Number of Memberships | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| None | 12.0 | 16.7 | 26.3 | 20.8 | 35.3 | 29.6 |
| One | 12.0 | 30.5 | 36.8 | 29.2 | 29.4 | 35.1 |
| Two | 40.0 | 16.7 | 23.7 | 20.8 | 23.6 | 16.7 |
| Three | 20.0 | 22.2 | 5.3 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 16.7 |
| Four | 8.0 | 8.3 | 2.6 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 1.9 |
| Five | | 2.8 | 5.3 | 4.2 | | |
| Six or more | 4.0 | 2.8 | | 8.3 | | |
| Incomplete | | | | 8.3 | | |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 23B.--Frequency distribution of fathers of respondents by membership in formal voluntary associations, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | Chi-Square | p |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------|------|
| | No Membership | One Membership | More than One Membership | No Membership | One Membership | More than One Membership | | |
| Upper Class | 3 ^a | 3 | 18 | 5 | 7 | 10 | - | - |
| Middle Class | 6 | 11 | 19 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 4.621 | <.10 |
| Lower Class | 10 | 14 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 19 | 0.121 | ns |

**Those respondents who did not complete this question or whose fathers are dead are not included in this table.

^aFrequency too small for chi-square analysis.

52.8 per cent of the fathers are involved in two or more. The corresponding proportions for the lower class fathers in Hometown are 26.3 and 36.9 per cent respectively. As in the case of parochial group memberships, the influence of social class would appear to be considerable. As one moves up the social class scale, the proportion of male family heads with no memberships decreases, while the proportion with two or more memberships increases to the extent that it is almost twice as high for the upper class fathers as it is for their lower class counterparts.

In Jobtown, the middle class male family heads would appear to be the least involved in voluntary organizations, 35.3 per cent holding no memberships and 29.4 per cent holding two or more. As in Hometown, the highest rate of participation is found among the upper class fathers, where 20.5 per cent hold no memberships and 41.7 per cent hold two or more. In the lower class families 35.3 per cent of the fathers hold two or more memberships, while 29.6 per cent do not belong to a formal voluntary group. To the extent that the participation rate is higher for lower class male family heads than for their middle class counterparts, the social class pattern identified in Hometown is not repeated in Jobtown.

A statistical comparison between the two upper class categories was not possible (Table 23B). The difference between the two suburbs in the rate of participation in formal voluntary groups in the case of the two middle classes is significant at the .10 level, but it is not significant in the case of the two lower classes. For each social class category, however, the proportion of fathers who are members of at least one formal voluntary group is higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. Thus, as in the case of parochial groups, though the difference in the rate of participation between the suburbs is not statistically significant in each case, to the extent that, in each social class category, the rate of participation is higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown, there would appear to be an area effect, and living in a residential suburb does appear to involve greater participation in formal voluntary groups.

The pattern of membership of female family heads in Hometown is very similar to that of the male family heads (Table 24A). The highest rate of participation is found among the upper class mothers, where 52 per cent hold two or more memberships and 8 per cent are not involved in any formal voluntary group. The proportion of mothers who hold no memberships in such groups increases and the proportion who hold two or more decreases as one moves down the social

class scale, so that social class position would again appear to be an important variable. For the middle class mothers, the proportion who hold no memberships is 13.9, while 52.8 per cent hold two or more memberships. For the lower class, the corresponding proportions are 44.7 and 23.7 per cent respectively.

The pattern of involvement of Jobtown mothers in formal voluntary groups also repeats that for their male counterparts. The upper class mothers have the highest proportion with two or more memberships (33.4 per cent) and the lowest proportion with no memberships (41.6 per cent). The middle class mothers are the least involved in formal voluntary groups with 50 per cent holding no membership and 17.7 per cent holding two or more. As is the case for the lower class male family heads, the lower class female family heads fall between the other two social class categories with 46.3 per cent holding no memberships and 22.2 per cent holding two or more.

The difference between the two suburbs is statistically significant in the case of the two middle class categories (Table 24B). It would appear that the area effect is again in evidence in so far as the proportion of female family heads who hold no membership in formal voluntary groups is lower and the proportion who hold two or more such memberships

TABLE 24A.--Per cent distribution of mothers of respondents by membership in formal voluntary association, suburb and social class

| Number of Memberships | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| None | 8.0 | 13.9 | 44.7 | 41.6 | 50.0 | 46.3 |
| One | 40.0 | 33.3 | 31.6 | 16.7 | 32.3 | 31.5 |
| Two | 28.0 | 36.1 | 15.8 | 16.7 | 11.8 | 16.7 |
| Three | 20.0 | 11.1 | 5.3 | 12.5 | 5.9 | 5.5 |
| Four | | 5.6 | | | | |
| Five or more | 4.0 | | 2.6 | 4.2 | | |
| Incomplete | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 24B.--Frequency distribution of mothers of respondents by membership in formal voluntary associations, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | Chi-Square | P |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No Member-ship | Member-ship | More than One Member-ship | No Member-ship | Member-ship | More than One Member-ship | | |
| Upper Class | 2 ^a | 10 | 13 | 10 | 4 | 8 | - | - |
| Middle Class | 5 | 12 | 19 | 17 | 11 | 6 | 13.302 | <.001 |
| Lower Class | 17 | 12 | 9 | 25 | 17 | 12 | 0.033 | ns |

**Those respondents who did not complete this question or whose mothers are dead are not included in this table.

^aFrequency too small for chi-square analysis.

is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown for each social class category. Though a difference by suburb of residence is not statistically verified for the upper and lower classes, in so far as it is in the same direction as for the middle class, the indications are that type of suburb does influence the rate of participation in formal voluntary groups.

One other pattern identified in the case of parochially based groups is also verified in the case of all formal voluntary groups. In Hometown, the middle and upper class female family heads are more involved than their male counterparts in formal voluntary groups. The pattern is reversed however, as is also true of the parochial groups, for the lower class in Hometown and all three social class categories in Jobtown. Thus it would appear that Mowrer's finding in his study of the Chicago suburbs, that upper class women participated in formal voluntary groups more than their husbands is borne out in the case of the residential suburb.¹⁴

At least two out of every three fathers, irrespective of social class or suburb, are members of at least one formal voluntary group. Except for the upper and middle classes in Hometown, mothers are not as involved as fathers in such

¹⁴Mowrer, op. cit., p. 110.

groups. Turning to the respondents themselves, it would appear that they are less involved than their fathers in each social class category in each suburb and less involved than their mothers in all cases except the upper class in Jobtown and the lower class in Hometown (Table 25A). In this analysis, all forms of clubs and organizations were included, whether connected with school or not, except short-term leagues in football, basketball and softball. In Hometown, the highest rate of participation would appear to be among the middle class respondents, while the upper class respondents appear to be the least involved in formal voluntary groups. In Jobtown, the upper class respondents are the most involved. One point that does seem to bear attention is that the middle class respondents in Jobtown have the lowest participation rate of all the social class groups in either suburb. Here, it would appear, they repeat the pattern of their parents, as the proportion of middle class fathers and mothers in Jobtown who hold memberships in formal voluntary groups is likewise the lowest in each case.

Comparing the two suburbs, the proportion of respondents who hold memberships in formal voluntary groups is higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown for the middle and lower classes. In the case of the middle class, the difference between the two suburbs is significant at the .001 level

TABLE 25A.--Per cent distribution of respondents by membership in formal voluntary associations, suburb and social class

| Number of Memberships | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| None | 40.0 | 25.0 | 39.5 | 37.5 | 64.7 | 50.0 |
| One | 44.0 | 50.0 | 36.9 | 25.0 | 14.7 | 31.5 |
| Two | 12.0 | 22.2 | 10.5 | 25.0 | 14.7 | 11.1 |
| Three | 4.0 | | 10.5 | 8.3 | 5.9 | 5.6 |
| Four | | 2.8 | 2.6 | 4.2 | | 1.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 25B.--Frequency distribution of respondents by membership in formal voluntary associations, suburb and social class and chi-square for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-Square | p |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No Membership | One or More Memberships | No Membership | One or More Memberships | | |
| Upper Class | 10 | 15 | 9 | 15 | 0.322 | ns |
| Middle Class | 9 | 27 | 22 | 12 | 11.173 | <.001 |
| Lower Class | 15 | 23 | 27 | 27 | 0.996 | ns |

(Table 25B). The difference between the two lower classes is not however significant. For the two upper classes, the pattern of difference between the two suburbs is contrary to any so far identified in relation to participation in formal voluntary groups. The upper class respondents in Jobtown are more involved in voluntary organizations than their counterparts in Hometown. The difference between the two however is not statistically significant.

Summary and Relevance to Theory

In this chapter, the religious affiliation, the church attendance and involvement in parochially based groups together with the pattern of membership in all forms of formal voluntary associations of the respondents and their parents has been outlined.

All the respondents and almost all their parents are Catholics. Virtually all the respondents, irrespective of social class or suburb attend church every week. This is not true for their parents however. The middle class parents in Hometown are the most frequent attenders at church. However, the differences between the three social class categories in Hometown and the upper class in Jobtown would appear to be quite slight. Church attendance is considerably less high for the middle and lower classes in Jobtown, but this may be due to the ethnic factor. In no

social class category in either suburb do all the parents attend church every week, yet in each suburb, the proportion of families, where neither parent attends church is less than one in ten within any one social class category. To the extent however, that at its highest, the proportion of families in any social class category in either suburb, where both parents fulfill one of the minimum requirements laid down by the Catholic Church for its members of weekly attendance at Mass, is 78 per cent and that this proportion falls to 41 per cent, it would appear that suburban residence, at least in so far as the families in this study are concerned, does not necessarily involve a return to religion.

The pattern that emerges for participation in parochially based church groups and for membership in formal voluntary associations is one of a difference between families based on social class and type of suburb. With two exceptions, - the middle class female family head in Hometown is more involved in parochially based groups than her upper class counterpart and the lower class male and female family heads in Jobtown are more involved in formal voluntary groups than their middle class counterparts, - in both suburbs membership increases with an increase in social class for both types of group. This finding is in keeping with the general conclusion of sociological research that participation in formal

voluntary groups is closely related to social class position, as indicated in Chapter II.

Contrasting the two suburbs, with one exception, - the upper class respondents in Jobtown are more involved in formal voluntary groups than the upper class respondents in Hometown - the rate of participation in parochially based groups and in all forms of formal voluntary associations, as measured by the number of memberships held, is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown. This pattern emerges for both male and female family heads in each social class category and for the middle and lower class respondents. The differences between the two suburbs are statistically significant in the case of the middle class female family heads for both forms of participation and in the case of the middle class male family heads and the middle class respondents for participation in formal voluntary associations. To this extent then, for these social class categories, the null hypothesis that "family relationships do not vary significantly for Catholic families with students in eighth grade in functionally different suburbs" is disproved and may be rejected. Based on this rejection, the conclusion may be drawn that for the social class categories and the variables mentioned there is a significant difference in the pattern of family relationships between two suburbs differentiated on the basis of

employment-residence ratio. To the extent however, that the cumulative evidence indicates a higher rate of participation in Hometown, irrespective of social class, the rejection of the null hypothesis may be extended to all the families in this study. A similar type of area effect was identified by Bell and Force, though not in relation to the suburbs, when they found that people of high social status living in high status areas belonged to more clubs than people of high status living in low status areas.¹⁵

In conclusion, two further points should be mentioned. There appears to be little evidence in the data to support Mowrer's concept of the maternal family. The female family head does attend church more often than her male counterpart, but except for the upper and middle classes in Hometown, she is less involved both in church affiliated groups and all other forms of formal voluntary associations. Finally, to the extent that over 80 per cent of the parents in the upper and middle classes in Hometown are members of at least one formal voluntary group and over 50 per cent involved in two or more, it would appear that the high rate of participation associated with suburban residence is verified for the higher social status groups in the residential suburb.

¹⁵Bell and Force, op. cit., p. 34

CHAPTER VI

INFORMAL SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the pattern of informal social relationships of the nuclear families of the respondents. For the purposes of this research, three aspects of informal social relationships are considered, contact with the extended family, neighborhood relationships and the extent of joint participation on an informal basis by the respondents' parents.

Kinship Relationships

The proportion of families in either suburb with relatives living in their own household is relatively low. Broken down by social class, it is clear that only in the lower class in Hometown is there any sizeable proportion of families who have relatives living with them (Table 26A). Otherwise the pattern in each suburb is very similar. The proportion of families with members of the extended family living with them is lowest for the middle classes (11.1 per cent in Hometown and 8.8 per cent in Jobtown), and highest for the lower classes, (26.3 per cent in Hometown and 14.8 per cent in Jobtown). In each case the proportion is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown. The proportion of upper

TABLE 26A. -- Per cent distribution of families of the respondents by those that have members of the extended family living with them, suburb and social class

| Status of Family | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|----------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Relatives Present | 12.0 | 11.1 | 26.3 | 12.5 | 8.8 | 14.8 |
| No Relatives Present | 88.0 | 88.9 | 73.7 | 87.5 | 91.2 | 85.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 26B. -- Frequency distribution of families of the respondents by those that have members of the extended family living with them suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-sq. | p |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------|----|
| | Relatives Present | No. Rel. Present | Relatives Present | No. Rel. Present | | |
| Upper Class | 3 ^a | 22 | 3 | 21 | - | - |
| Middle Class | 4 ^a | 32 | 3 | 31 | - | - |
| Lower Class | 10 | 28 | 8 | 46 | 1.874 | ns |

^aFrequency too small for chi-square analysis

class families with relatives living in their own household is almost identical in each suburb, 12 per cent in Hometown and 12.5 per cent in Jobtown. The difference between the two lower class categories, the only case where chi-square analysis is possible, is not significant (Table 26B).

The fact that lower class families tend to have relatives living with them more often than the other two social class categories may be explained on either practical or theoretical grounds, or perhaps both. It may indicate that lower class families are unable to meet the expenses of nursing home care for aging parents and so care for them at home. Theoretically, it may indicate, as Litwak states, that in the lower classes, traces of the "classical" extended family tend to remain and hence the more ready acceptance of the responsibility to care for aging parents.¹

While the proportion of families in either suburb with relatives living with them in their own homes is relatively small, only three families out of the total of two hundred and eleven in the universe of study do not exchange cards and greetings with their relatives for major holidays

¹Eugene Litwak, "The Use of Extended Family Groups in the Achievement of Social Goals", in Marvin B. Sussman (ed.), Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family (2nd edition; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), p. 479.

and family events. This fact would seem to indicate that while the nuclear family living in its own home is typical of the suburbs, both employing and residential, it cannot be considered to be isolated from other members of the extended family. Litwak emphasizes the role played by the communications systems in breaking down the barrier of geographical distance between relatives.² He suggests that the modern family may not be considered as an isolated unit and challenges the concept that the isolated nuclear family is the most functional in an industrial society. He stresses the extended character of the modern family. He uses the concept of the "modified" extended family, which, he states:

... Differs from the 'classical extended' family in that it does not demand geographical propinquity, occupational involvement, or nepotism, nor does it have an hierarchical authority structure. On the other hand, it differs from the isolated nuclear family structure in that it does provide significant and continuing aid to the nuclear family. The modified extended family consists of a series of nuclear families bound together on an equalitarian basis, with a strong emphasis on these extended family bonds as an end value.³

Questions eight through thirteen of the questionnaire

²Eugene Litwak, "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion", American Sociological Review, 25(June, 1960), 385-394.

³_____, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion", Ibid, 25(February, 1960), 10.

refer to behavioral aspects of kinship contact. These questions were designed, specifically, with Litwak's concept of the modified extended family in mind. They refer in turn to mutual visiting, joint celebration of major family events and holidays, the mutual exchange of presents and gifts and the mutual extension of aid or help. Each question may be taken as a behavioral measure of the contact between the nuclear family and its extended family. The scoring procedure for these six questions is outlined in Chapter III. The cumulative score on these six questions provides a quantitative index of the contact between the respondent's nuclear family and its extended family members for the variables mentioned. Table 27 presents the mean score and standard deviation for each social class category in each suburb on these six questions, together with a t-test for significance between means of similar social class categories in Hometown and Jobtown.

The differences between the two suburbs are not significant. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this table however, is the uniform "high" score for each social class group, irrespective of area of residence. The range of scores is from a "low" of zero, indicating no contact with the extended family in the ways mentioned in the questionnaire to a "high" of twelve, indicating regular contact with relatives in the ways mentioned. In each social class category within each

TABLE 27.--Mean score and standard deviation on kinship contact by suburb and social class and t-test for significance between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|----|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 9.360 | 1.411 | 25 | 9.167 | 2.353 | 24 | 0.350 | ns |
| Middle Class | 9.083 | 1.645 | 36 | 9.441 | 1.957 | 34 | 0.830 | ns |
| Lower Class | 9.211 | 1.711 | 38 | 9.037 | 1.613 | 54 | 0.497 | ns |

suburb the mean score is over nine. To this extent, the findings in this study would seem to support Litwak's hypothesis of the extended character of the modern family. It would appear that distance, occupational mobility and geographical mobility do not present insurmountable obstacles to the families included in this research. The move to a single family home in the suburbs may represent a physical separation from members of the extended family, but on the basis of these findings, it would appear reasonable to conclude that such a physical separation does not also involve a social separation or a destruction of kinship ties.

Michael Aiken, in a study of kinship relationships

in the Detroit area, came to a very similar conclusion.⁴ He found that mobility, other than religious mobility, does not inhibit kinship association and that there was no evidence to support the contention that the vitality of the extended family was on the wane in our industrial society. Similar support for the vitality and importance of kinship relationships is found in the studies of Axelrod,⁵ Bell and Boat⁶ and Young and Wilmot.⁷ The fact that there is very little difference between the two suburbs would appear to bear out the conclusion of Aida Tomah that kinship contact shows little variation by area of residence. In a study of informal relationships in the Detroit area, she found that in a precision matched sample on seven variables, living in three distinct areas, the central city, the outer city and a suburb, there was very little difference between the three areas in informal kinship contact, and that in each area participation on an

⁴Michael Aiken, "Kinship in an Urban Community" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964).

⁵Axelrod, op. cit.

⁶W. Bell and M. D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations", American Journal of Sociology, 62(January, 1957), 391-398.

⁷M. Young and P. Wilmot, Family and Kinship in East London (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1957).

informal basis was highest with members of the extended family.⁸

Neighborhood Relationships

As outlined in Chapter II, some writers, particularly Douglas and Fava, feel that those who have chosen to live in the suburbs are people who place a high value on close neighborhood social relationships. In this study, four questions (14 - 17) relate explicitly to informal contact between families on a neighborhood basis. These questions refer to mutual informal visiting by parents within their own neighborhood, informal visiting by mothers during the course of the normal day and mutual lending and borrowing of household utensils among neighbors. As in the case of extended family relationships, a cumulative quantitative index of each respondent's replies to these questions was computed. The scoring procedure is outlined in Chapter III. The range of scores is from a "low" of zero, indicating no contact with neighbors in the ways mentioned above, to a "high" of eight, indicating frequent contact on a neighborhood basis, at least in the ways outlined. Table 28 presents the mean score and standard deviation for each social class category within each suburb on these four questions, together with a t-test for signi-

⁸Aida K. Tomah, "Informal Group Participation and Residential Patterns", American Journal of Sociology, 70(July, 1964), 28-35.

ficance between similar social class categories in Hometown and Jobtown.

TABLE 28. -- Mean score and standard deviation on neighborhood informal participation by social class and suburb, and t-test for significance between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|-----------------|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 4.680 | 1.676 | 25 | 4.000 | 1.794 | 23 ^a | 1.372 | ns |
| Middle Class | 4.429 | 1.703 | 36 | 4.294 | 1.767 | 34 | 0.323 | ns |
| Lower Class | 4.211 | 1.455 | 38 | 4.222 | 1.369 | 54 | 0.037 | ns |

^aOne incomplete

In each suburb the mean score is highest for the upper class and lowest for the lower class, but the differences in means would appear to be slight, as just over one half score point is the greatest difference between the various social class categories either by class or by suburb. Comparing the two suburbs, the greatest difference in mean scores is between the two upper class categories. However, in no case are the differences between the two suburbs significant. To this extent then, it would appear that, just as in the case of extended family relationships, there is little difference between two suburbs, distinguished on the basis of their employment-residence ratio, in the degree of participation in

informal neighborhood relationships, at least as measured by these four variables.

Joint Informal Participation

As a final measure of the informal participation of suburban parents, the respondents were asked to indicate how often their parents went out for an evening together (question 18). It would appear from Table 29A that going out together is a relatively common practice among suburban parents. In Hometown, none of the middle class parents fall into the "seldom go out together" category, while the proportion of upper and lower class parents who do so is 12.0 and 13.2 per cent respectively. The data appear to indicate that the middle class parents in Hometown go out together most often, almost 60 per cent go out together about once a week or more often. "Going out together" would appear to be least typical of the lower class parents, although even here, the proportion of parents who go out together a number of times a month or more often is over 60 per cent. In Jobtown, there would appear to be very little difference between the upper and middle class parents, but joint participation would seem to be much less among the lower class parents, at least to the extent that half the parents in this class category go out together about once a month or less often.

Comparing the two suburbs, for each social class

TABLE 29A.--Per cent distribution of parents of respondents by frequency of participation in joint informal activities, suburb and social class

| Frequency of Participation | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|----------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| More than once a week | 16.0 | 16.7 | 5.3 | 8.3 | 11.8 | 9.3 |
| About once a week | 24.0 | 41.7 | 15.8 | 29.2 | 26.5 | 18.5 |
| 2 or 3 times a month | 28.0 | 27.7 | 44.7 | 20.8 | 20.6 | 16.7 |
| About once a month | 16.0 | 13.9 | 21.0 | 12.5 | 17.6 | 22.2 |
| Seldom go out together | 12.0 | - | 13.2 | 20.8 | 17.6 | 27.8 |
| Incomplete | | | . | 4.2 | | 5.5 |
| One parent dead | 4.0 | | | 4.2 | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 29B.--Frequency distribution of parents of respondents by frequency of participation in joint informal social activities, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | Chi-Square | p |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|------------|------|
| | At Least Once a Week | Two or Three Times a Month | Once a Month or Less | At Least Once a Week | Two or three Times a Month | Once a Month or Less | | |
| Upper Class | 10 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 0.366 | ns |
| Middle Class | 21 | 10 | 5 | 13 | 7 | 12 | 5.076 | <.10 |
| Lower Class | 8 | 17 | 13 | 15 | 9 | 27 | 7.759 | <.05 |

**Those respondents who did not complete this question and those, one of whose parents is dead, are not included in this table.

category, joint participation is less frequent in Jobtown than in Hometown, though the difference between the two upper class categories would appear to be quite small. The differences between the two middle classes is significant at the .10 level and between the two lower classes at the .05 level (Table 29B). To this extent then, there would appear to be a significant difference by type of suburb in the frequency of parents joint participation in informal social activities.

Summary and Relevance to Theory

In this chapter, the families of the respondents, living in the two different suburbs, have been contrasted on the extent of informal social participation with relatives and neighbors and also the joint informal participation of parents.

The findings of this study would appear to corroborate the conclusion of Jaco and Belknap as to the increasing importance of kinship ties in the fringe family and the conclusions of the other studies, already referred to, as to the strength and vitality of the kinship unit in present day society.⁹ The findings would also seem to suggest that while the suburban family is, in the majority of cases, an "isolated" nuclear family in the sense of living alone in a single family

⁹Jaco and Belknap, op. cit., p. 476.

dwelling, it is not in any sense isolated socially from the members of the extended kinship unit. To this extent, the suburban family would appear to be best described in terms of Litwak's concept of the "modified extended" family.

There is little difference between the two suburbs, in any social class category, in the degree of kinship or neighborhood contact as measured in this research. Thus, the null hypothesis that "family relationships do not vary significantly for Catholic families with students in eighth grade in functionally different suburbs" is not disproved, and the conclusion may be drawn that the function of a suburb as measured by its employment-residence ratio, does not influence significantly the structure of family relationships in relation to informal participation with relatives or neighbors, at least in regard to this universe of study and for the variables mentioned.

Clear differences emerged between the two suburbs on the extent of joint informal participation of the respondents' parents. For each social class category, participation is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown. In the case of the middle and lower social class categories, these differences were statistically significant. To this extent the above null hypothesis is disproved and may be rejected. It would appear that the functional character of a suburb does influence

the joint participation of parents, at least as far as the middle and lower classes in this study are concerned. This difference parallels the differences identified in the case of formal voluntary group memberships and would seem to indicate that participation, both formal and informal, other than in the case of kinship and neighborhood groups, is more typical of the residential suburb. To this extent, the functional character of a suburb would appear to influence the social participation of its residents.

CHAPTER VII

PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN

In this chapter, the focus of attention is the social and school life of the respondents, with the emphasis in each case on the parents knowledge thereof, and involvement therein. Stein has stated that its the unusual mother in the suburbs who really knows her own children and much has been written, or more correctly, hinted at, of the adverse effects of commuting on father-child relationships. Others have criticized suburban parents for "pushing" their children too hard or for reducing them to the role of status objects, while for others, the suburbs provide the best possible location for a meaningful family life. It can be a very difficult process to refute or substantiate such very general statements. The approach taken in this study is to measure the degree of interest exhibited by both parents of the respondents, by the answers of the respondents to factual questions relating to the day to day activities of their lives.

Peers

In reply to the question as to whether they could bring their friends home to visit with them (question 19),

virtually all the respondents said they could. Three students, all in Jobtown, one in the upper class and two in the lower class, said they were not allowed to bring their friends home to visit with them. To this extent then, at least, almost all parents take an interest in their childrens' friends.

In both suburbs, the mothers of the respondents appear to be very well informed about their childrens' friends (Table 30). The lower class in Jobtown seem to be the one group where

TABLE 30. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by mothers who know the names of the majority of their friends, suburb and social class

| Status of Mother | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Knows names of friends | 100.0 | 100.0 | 92.1 | 87.5 | 97.1 | 85.2 |
| Does not know names of friends | | | 5.3 | 8.3 | 2.9 | 14.8 |
| Incomplete | | | 2.6 | | | |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

any sizeable proportion of mothers do not know the names of the majority of their childrens friends.

The pattern for fathers is very different however, as Table 31A appears to indicate. One important factor to

TABLE 31A.--Per cent distribution of respondents by fathers who know the names of the majority of their friends, suburb and social class

| Status of Father | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|--------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Knows names of friends | 72.0 | 80.6 | 65.8 | 54.1 | 79.4 | 70.4 |
| Does not know names of friends | 24.0 | 19.4 | 34.2 | 41.7 | 14.7 | 27.8 |
| Incomplete | | | . | 4.2 | | 1.8 |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.00 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 31B.--Frequency distribution of respondents by fathers who know the names of the majority of their friends, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-Square | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|---------|----------|------------|----|
| | Knows | Does not | Knows | Does not | | |
| Upper Class | 18 | 6 | 13 | 10 | 1.789 | ns |
| Middle Class | 29 | 7 | 27 | 5 | 0.17 | ns |
| Lower Class | 25 | 13 | 38 | 15 | 0.363 | ns |

**Those respondents who did not complete this question or whose father is dead are not included in this table.

remember here is that all the fathers in Hometown except eight (8.1 per cent) commute outside their suburb or residence to work, while in Jobtown, almost two-thirds (62.5 per cent) of the fathers of the respondents are commuters. While the proportion of non-commuters is too small to permit a separate analysis, it should be borne in mind that the majority of fathers in both suburbs are commuters.

In Hometown, a higher proportion of middle class fathers know the names of the majority of their children's friends than is true for the other two social classes. This is the pattern in Jobtown also, the middle class fathers seem to be in closer contact with the friends of their children than are the upper and lower class fathers. In Jobtown, the upper class fathers are less well informed as to their children's friends than is true of the other two social class groups. In Hometown, however, it is the lower class fathers who are the least well informed.

The pattern of difference and similarity between the two suburbs is not uniform. There would appear to be quite a large difference in favor of Hometown between the two upper class categories in the proportion of fathers who know the names of the majority of their children's friends, 72 per cent and 54.1 per cent, respectively. There is almost no difference between the two middle class categories, while

for the two lower classes, the proportion of fathers who know the names of the majority of their childrens friends is higher in Jobtown (70.4 per cent) than in Hometown (65.8 per cent). In no case, however, are the differences between the two suburbs statistically significant (Table 31B).

In an attempt to discover whether parents in the suburbs exercise any measurable degree of control over their children's choice of friends, two questions were asked as to whether the respondents were encouraged or forbidden to be friends with any particular fellow students in their own neighborhoods. If children are expected to enhance or reaffirm the family social class position, or if parents themselves are very class conscious, one would expect this to be reflected in the control they exercise over their children's choice of friends.

For the majority of respondents in this study, there appears to be no attempt on the part of their parents to directly encourage them to seek out particular fellow students in their neighborhood as their friends (Table 32A). In Hometown, this type of control is true most often of the middle class families (33.3 per cent) and least often of the upper class families (16.0 per cent). In Jobtown, by contrast this type of control is exercised most frequently among the upper class families (45.8 per cent) and least frequently among

TABLE 32A. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by proportion whose parents encourage them to make special friends of particular fellow students in their own neighborhood, social class and suburb

| Status of Respondent | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Special friends encouraged | 16.0 | 33.3 | 23.7 | 45.8 | 29.4 | 20.4 |
| Special friends not encouraged | 84.0 | 66.7 | 76.3 | 54.2 | 70.6 | 79.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 32B. -- Frequency distribution of respondents by proportion whose parents encourage them to make special friends of particular fellow students in their own neighborhoods, social class and suburb, and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-Sq. | p |
|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|----|
| | Special friends encouraged | Special friends not encouraged | Special friends encouraged | Special friends not encouraged | | |
| Upper Class | 4 ^a | 21 | 11 | 13 | -- | - |
| Middle Class | 12 | 24 | 10 | 24 | 0.125 | ns |
| Lower Class | 9 | 29 | 11 | 43 | 0.144 | ns |

^aFrequency too small for chi-square analysis

the lower class families (20.4 per cent). Contrasting the two suburbs, there would appear to be a considerable difference between the two upper class categories, where the proportion of families where the parents who encourage the respondents to make special friends of particular fellow students in their neighborhood is almost three times as high in Jobtown as it is in Hometown.. In the case of the other two social classes the differences would appear to be slight. In each case the difference is in the reverse direction, the proportion of parents who seek this type of control over their child's choice of friends is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown. The differences in the case of the middle and lower classes in the two suburbs are not significant (Table 32B).

Except for the middle class parents in Jobtown and Hometown, there appears to be a greater effort on the part of parents to prevent particular friendships (Table 33A). In each social class category, except as mentioned the two middle classes, the proportion of parents who forbid their children to be friends with particular fellow students is higher than the proportion who seek to encourage particular friendships. This question as to whether the respondent was forbidden to be friends with any particular fellow students (question 24) was limited to friends of the respondent's own sex so that the issue might not be complicated by the parents attitude towards the respondent mixing with members of the opposite

TABLE 33A. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by proportion forbidden to be friends with particular fellow students of their own sex in their neighborhood, social class and suburb

| Status of Respondent | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Particular friendships forbidden | 20.0 | 27.8 | 26.3 | 50.0 | 23.5 | 38.9 |
| No friendships forbidden | 80.0 | 72.2 | 73.7 | 50.0 | 76.5 | 61.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 33B. -- Frequency distribution of respondents by those forbidden to be friends with particular fellow students of their own sex in their neighborhood, social class and suburb and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-Sq. | p |
|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|------|
| | Particular friendships forbidden | No friendships forbidden | Particular friendships forbidden | No friendships forbidden | | |
| Upper Class | 5 | 20 | 12 | 12 | 4.863 | <.05 |
| Middle Class | 10 | 26 | 8 | 26 | 0.165 | ns |
| Lower Class | 10 | 28 | 21 | 33 | 1.578 | ns |

sex. The pattern that emerges in Hometown is the same as that for the previous question, the highest proportion of parents who forbid particular friendships is among the middle class (27.8 per cent), while the lowest is among the upper class (20 per cent). The difference between the middle and lower classes is less than one percentage point. The pattern that emerges in Jobtown is also the same as for the previous question in so far as the highest proportion of parents who forbid their children to be friends with particular fellow students of their own sex is found in the upper class (50.0 per cent), but varies from the former pattern in so far as the proportion of lower class parents who exercise this form of control is higher than that for middle class parents, 38.9 and 23.5 per cent respectively.

The difference between the two suburbs is significant at the .05 level in the case of the two upper classes (Table 33B). The difference between these two social classes is also in the same direction as in the case of the previous question, the proportion of parents who forbid particular friendships is higher in Jobtown than in Hometown. To this extent, it would appear that upper class parents in Jobtown, much more so than their upper class counterparts in Hometown, seek to control both who their eighth grade child should, and should not, mix with socially in their neighborhood. For

the middle and lower class categories, the differences between the two suburbs in the proportions of parents who forbid particular friendships are not significant. In the case of the two middle class categories however, the differences are both in the same direction. In this case however, the proportion of parents who seek to control who their eighth grade child should, and should not, mix with socially is higher in Hometown than it is in Jobtown. The proportion of lower class parents who forbid particular friendships is higher in Jobtown than in Hometown, whereas in the case of parents who sought to encourage particular friendships, the proportion of lower class parents who did so was higher in Hometown than in Jobtown.

The fact that less than 40 per cent of the parents in any social class category in either suburb, except for the upper class parents in Jobtown, forbid or encourage friendships with particular fellow students could be taken as an indication that in the protective environment of the suburbs, there is little need for parents to control their children's choice of friends. It may also indicate, as Elkin and Westley point out that in the suburbs, parents and children experience little conflict over the choice of friends.¹

¹Elkin and Westley, "Protective Environment and...", p. 249.

While the social class structure does not differ significantly between the two suburbs, the data could be interpreted as reflecting the social class structure in each suburb. In Hometown, the proportion of upper and middle class families is higher than in Jobtown, whereas the proportion of lower class families is higher in Jobtown. It could be argued that the upper class families in Jobtown, because of the predominance of lower class families, who make up almost 50 per cent of the Jobtown families included in this study, seek to make their children aware of their "position" and to prevent them making the "wrong" type of friends, whereas their counterparts in Hometown need be less concerned because of the more even distribution of the three social classes. Similarly it could be argued that the middle class in Hometown are concerned lest they become identified with the lower class and thus are more inclined to attempt to control their children's choice of friends, whereas their counterparts in Jobtown are less able to pick and choose their friends because of the high proportion of lower class families and hence the proportion of families who try to do so is smaller than in Hometown. However this type of interpretation is by no means proved by the data as the social class position of the "particular fellow students" is an unknown. However it does suggest that the function of a suburb may influence

differentially the social class pattern of parental control in their children's choice of friends. This type of area effect would be somewhat similar to that identified in the case of formal voluntary group membership, but more detailed research into this specific area would be necessary before any conclusions could be arrived at.

Two aspects of the suburbs as the ultimate "melting pot" were considered briefly in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to name the religion of their two closest friends and as far as possible to name the occupation of their friends' fathers (questions 21 and 22). It was felt that the answers to these two questions would give some indication as to the frequency with which social class and religious boundaries were crossed in the selection of one's friends, though it was realized that a much more rigorous investigation than was possible in this study would be needed in order to come to any definitive conclusions.

A very high proportion of the respondents in both suburbs either did not know the occupation of their friends' fathers or they had only a very vague idea. For this reason, the most that could be accomplished in the analysis was to classify the respondents into three groups on the basis of whether the occupations of the fathers of their two best friends fell into the same occupational category as that

of their own father (i.e. white collar or blue collar), or whether they both fell into a different category, or whether one was in the same category and one in a different category.

Even allowing for the high proportion of respondents who did not know the occupations of the fathers of their two best friends, it would appear that the proportion of respondents, both of whose friends' fathers fall into a different occupational category to that of their own father is comparatively small in each social class group in each suburb (Table 34):

TABLE 34. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by occupational status of the fathers of their two best friends in relation to that of their own father, social class and suburb

| Occupational status of fathers of two best friends | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|---|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Both same as respondent's father | 40.0 | 36.1 | 34.2 | 25.0 | 50.0 | 35.2 |
| Both differ- ent from respondent's father | 16.0 | 2.8 | 13.2 | 16.7 | 5.9 | 12.9 |
| One same as, one differ- ent from respondent's father | 24.0 | 25.0 | 13.2 | 25.0 | 14.7 | 20.4 |
| Don't know | 20.0 | 36.1 | 39.4 | 33.3 | 29.4 | 31.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

With the exception of the upper class in Jobtown, the highest proportion of the respondents have chosen friends whose fathers are engaged in occupations similar to those of their own fathers. These facts might be taken as an indication that in the majority of cases friendship patterns do not cross social class boundaries, but this could not be inferred with any real confidence, as the data is too incomplete.

A very clear picture emerges, however, in the case of the religious affiliations of the respondents' friends (Table 35).

TABLE 35. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by religious affiliation of their two best friends, social class and suburb

| Religion of two best friends | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Both Catholics | 88.0 | 91.7 | 89.4 | 83.3 | 70.6 | 83.3 |
| Both Non-Catholic | | | | 4.2 | | |
| One Catholic, one Non-Cath. | 12.0 | 8.3 | 5.3 | 12.5 | 29.4 | 14.8 |
| Don't know | | | 5.3 | | | 1.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

There is but one case where the respondents two best friends are non-Catholic and in the majority of cases the respondents in both suburbs do not number a non-Catholic among their two best friends. Except for the middle class in Jobtown, more than one in four of whom include a non-Catholic among their two

best friends, there is little evidence to indicate, at least in so far as the respondents in this study are concerned, that friendship patterns cross religious boundaries. To this extent, it would appear that religion is an important factor in determining the pattern of social relationships in the suburbs. This finding would appear to be in very close agreement with that of Albert Gordon in relation to Jewish-Gentile relationships in the suburbs. He states that "Jewish residents of suburbia, when pressed for a more careful examination of Jewish-Christian relations, point out that Jews seldom come to know non-Jews any better in suburbia than they did in the big city".²

²Albert J. Gordon, Jews in Suburbia (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1959), p. 170.

Opposite Sex Relationships

The awakening of an interest in, and an attraction to, members of the opposite sex is an important aspect of the young adolescent's life. Parents play a major role in their children's proper adjustment to heterosexual relations. In this study, the focus of attention is not the existence or frequency of contact between the sexes, but rather the respondents' conception of their parents attitude in this regard. Four questions, relating specifically to opposite sex relationships in terms of mixed parties, dances and boy-friends or girl-friends, were used in this study (questions 57 -61). For each respondent, a quantitative index based on his replies to these four questions was computed as outlined in Chapter III. The range of scores for both male and female respondents is from a "low" of zero, representing a high degree of parental control over the respondents association with members of the opposite sex, to a "high" of eight, representing at least a favorable attitude on the part of parents towards interaction between the sexes in the ways outlined in this research.

In Hometown, the mean score for male respondents on these four questions rises as one moves up the social class scale (Table 36). It would appear that the most permissive attitude is among the upper class parents. In Jobtown, by

TABLE 36. -- Mean score and standard deviation for male respondents on parents' attitude towards social relationships with members of the opposite sex by suburb and social class and t-test for significance between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|-----------------|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 3.556 | 1.464 | 17 | 3.267 | 1.534 | 16 | 0.553 | ns |
| Middle Class | 2.941 | 1.197 | 17 | 3.222 | 2.635 | 9 | 0.377 | ns |
| Lower Class | 2.765 | 1.480 | 17 | 3.429 | 1.643 | 27 ^a | 1.363 | ns |

^aOne incomplete

contrast, the lower class parents are the most permissive in this regard, and the middle class parents the strictest. Comparing the two suburbs, there would appear to be little difference between the parents in any one social class category. The differences in each case are not statistically significant. Nor are the differences in the same direction in each case. The upper class parents in Hometown would appear to be more permissive than their counterparts in Jobtown, but in the case of the other two social class categories, the parents in Jobtown would appear to allow their eighth grade sons greater freedom in the question of social interaction with members of the opposite sex.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Table 37 is that

for female respondents, irrespective of social class or suburb,

TABLE 37. -- Mean score and standard deviation for female respondents on parents' attitude towards social relationships with members of the opposite sex by suburb and social class and t-test for significance between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|-----------------|-------|------|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 2.750 | 1.035 | 8 | 2.625 | 1.598 | 8 | 0.186 | ns |
| Middle Class | 2.000 | 0.816 | 19 | 1.960 | 1.306 | 24 ^a | 0.117 | ns |
| Lower Class | 2.095 | 1.091 | 21 | 2.731 | 1.343 | 25 ^a | 1.752 | <.10 |

^aOne incomplete in each case

parents are more strict and appear to exercise greater control over their daughter's association with boys than is true for parents control over their son's association with girls. For each social class category in each suburb, the mean score is lower for female respondents than for their male counterparts.

As in the case for male respondents, in Hometown, the upper class parents seem to be the most permissive in regard to their daughter's association with members of the opposite sex. However, contrary to the pattern for male respondents, the middle class parents would appear to be less permissive than their lower class counterparts. In Jobtown, the pattern for male respondents repeats itself. The middle class parents are the least permissive in regard to their daughter's social

interaction with members of the opposite sex, while the lower class parents are the most permissive.

In the case of the upper and middle classes, the differences between the two suburbs are not significant. The difference between the two lower class categories is significant at the .10 level. As in the case for male respondents, the upper class parents in Hometown are more permissive than their Jobtown counterparts, while the opposite is true for the lower class families; lower class parents in Jobtown are more permissive than their Hometown counterparts. For the two middle class categories however, the pattern of difference established in the case of male respondents is reversed, middle class parents in Jobtown are more strict than middle class parents in Hometown in the control they seek to exercise over their daughter's relationships with members of the opposite sex.

A final question, closely related to the topic of opposite sex relationships was asked of female respondents (question 62), in which the respondents were asked to indicate their parents' attitude towards the use of make-up, (Table 38). In Hometown, middle class parents appear to be least opposed to their daughter's using make-up, while less than one-third of the lower class parents allow their daughters in eighth grade to use it. In contrast, middle class

TABLE 38. -- Per cent distribution of female respondents by parents' attitude towards the use of make-up, social class and suburb

| Parents' attitude towards make-up | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Do not allow it | 50.0 | 42.1 | 71.4 | 37.5 | 68.0 | 46.2 |
| Don't mind | 37.5 | 47.4 | 28.6 | 62.5 | 24.0 | 42.3 |
| Encourage it | 12.5 | 10.5 | | | 4.0 | 7.7 |
| Incomplete | | | | | 4.0 | 3.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 8 | 19 | 21 | 8 | 25 | 26 |

parents in Jobtown would appear to be the most opposed to the use of make-up and the upper class parents least opposed.

One cannot identify any over-all pattern either by social class or by suburb in relation to parental attitudes towards their eighth grade adolescent children's participation in social activities with members of the opposite sex. There appears to be very little difference between parents in this regard. The over-all impression is very similar to that given by Elkin and Westley in their study of "Suburban Town", of a limited participation by adolescents in mixed social activities, under the direct guidance of their parents. This would appear to be true of most families included in this study, irrespec-

tive of social class or suburb.

School

The focus of attention in this study in the school life of the respondent is, as was the case for peer-group relationships, the involvement and interest of the respondents' parents. Education is not only one of the major areas in an adolescents life, it is also perhaps the single most effective aid to upward mobility. Suburban parents, themselves comparatively highly educated, would be expected to take a very keen interest in their children's education.

Summer school is fast becoming an integral part of the American educational system. In high school and grade school, it serves the purpose of helping those students who are having difficulty in their academic courses or to help students, already doing well, to advance further. If there is pressure on students to over-achieve in school or a very real concern on the part of parents over their child's progress in school, one would expect this to be reflected, to some degree at least, in the parents' use of summer school. From Table 39, it is clear that the proportion of respondents in either suburb who attended summer school during the summer previous to the administration of this questionnaire is quite small, and almost inconsequential in Jobtown.

TABLE 39. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by those attending summer school during the summer previous to the administration of the questionnaire, suburb and social class

| Attendance at Summer school | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Attended Summer school | 20.0 | 16.7 | 10.5 | 8.3 | 8.8 | 1.9 |
| Did not att. Summer sch. | 80.0 | 83.3 | 89.5 | 91.7 | 91.2 | 98.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

Though the proportion of students who attended summer school is comparatively small in both suburbs, yet it is higher for each social class category in Hometown. Within Hometown, the proportion of students who attended summer school rises from one in ten to one in five as one moves from the lower class to the upper class. To the extent that sending one's children to summer school at this early age represents either a concern over their academic progress or an effort to "push" their children to greater achievement, one may tentatively at least, on the basis of this analysis, conclude that it is more true of the residential suburb than of the employing suburb, and that within the residential suburb, it is more true of the upper classes. While this conclusion would appear to be valid for the respondents in this study, perhaps it is more noteworthy that the majority of parents

in each suburb did not send their children to summer school.

Three other measures of the respondents' parents' interest in his academic life were used in this study, their willingness to help with the respondents' homework, their contact with the respondents' teacher and their attendance at parent-teacher meetings. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that almost all the fathers in Hometown and two-thirds of those in Jobtown commute outside their suburb of residence to work.

In each social class category in each suburb, 50 per cent of the fathers at least help their children with their homework when they find it difficult (Table 40).

TABLE 40. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by fathers who help them with their homework when they find it difficult, suburb and social class

| Father helps with homework | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Usually | 76.0 | 66.7 | 63.2 | 66.7 | 70.6 | 51.8 |
| Seldom | 20.0 | 19.4 | 18.4 | 12.5 | 23.5 | 38.9 |
| Never | | 13.9 | 15.8 | 16.6 | | 9.3 |
| Incomplete | | | 2.6 | 4.2 | | |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

The question (question 51) included the phrase "when you find it difficult" so that those students who might other-

wise do their homework unaided would be included in the responses. In Hometown, the proportion of fathers who "usually" help their children with their homework when they find it difficult increases with an increase in social class, with the highest proportion among the upper class (76.0 per cent) and the lowest among the lower class (63.2 per cent). In Jobtown, the proportion of middle class fathers who "usually" help their children (70.6 per cent) is higher than in the case of the other two social class categories, while the lowest proportion who do so is among the lower class fathers (51.8 per cent), as is the case in Hometown. In both suburbs, the proportion of fathers who "never" help their children with their homework when they find it difficult is comparatively small, with none of the upper class fathers in Hometown and the middle class fathers in Jobtown falling into this category.

Contrasting the two suburbs, upper and lower class fathers in Hometown are more likely to "usually" help their children with their homework when they find it difficult than are their counterparts in Jobtown. By contrast, middle class fathers in Jobtown are more likely to "usually" help their children than middle class fathers in Hometown.

For each social class category within each suburb, the proportion of mothers who "usually" help their children with their homework is higher than that for fathers. Mothers,

irrespective of social class or suburb, it appears are more directly involved than fathers in the childrens' homework (Table 41).

TABLE 41. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by mothers who help them with their homework when they find it difficult, suburb and social class

| Mother helps with homework | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Usually | 84.0 | 69.4 | 65.8 | 79.1 | 85.3 | 64.8 |
| Seldom | 12.0 | 16.7 | 26.3 | 4.2 | 14.7 | 25.9 |
| Never | 4.0 | 13.9 | 7.9 | 12.5 | | 9.3 |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

The pattern for mothers of difference and similarity by social class and suburb repeats that for fathers. The proportion of mothers who "usually" help their children is highest in Hometown for the upper class mothers and lowest for the lower class mothers, while in Jobtown, the proportion who "usually" help their children is highest for the middle class families and lowest for the lower class families. Also, as in the case for fathers, the upper and lower class mothers in Hometown "usually" help their children more often than their Jobtown counterparts, whereas in the case of the two middle classes, Jobtown mothers more often "usually" help their children with their homework when they find it difficult.

While the frequencies in each case are too small to

permit chi-square analysis, based on the two foregoing tables, the conclusion may be drawn that, as measured by their willingness to help their children with their homework when they find it difficult, and in relation to the families included in this study, upper and lower class parents in Hometown would appear to be more involved in the academic life of their children than their counterparts in Jobtown, while the reverse is true in the case of the middle class parents, they are more involved in Jobtown than in Hometown. However, the differences between the two suburbs do appear to be quite small, being less than sixteen percentage points at most and falling to less than one percentage point.

The pattern that emerges in relation to the respondents' fathers contact with their teachers is very similar to that identified in the case of their help to the respondent doing his homework (Table 42A). In Hometown, the proportion of upper class fathers (84.0 per cent) who discussed their child's progress with his teacher is higher than that in the case of the other two social class categories. The proportions who did so in the middle and lower classes are almost identical, 63.9 and 63.2 per cent respectively. In Jobtown, the highest proportion of fathers who talked with their child's teacher is found among the middle class fathers (73.5 per cent), while the lowest proportion who did so is in

TABLE 42A. -- Per cent distribution of fathers of respondents by proportion who discussed respondents academic progress with his teacher, suburb and social class

| Status of Father | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|---------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Talked with teacher | 84.0 | 63.9 | 63.2 | 70.8 | 73.5 | 59.3 |
| Did not talk with teacher | 12.0 | 36.1 | 34.2 | 25.0 | 20.6 | 37.0 |
| Incomplete | | | 2.6 | 4.2 | | 3.7 |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | . | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 42B. -- Frequency distribution of fathers of respondents by those who discussed his academic progress with his teacher, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown*

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-square | p |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------|----|
| | Talked to teacher | Did not talk to teacher | Talked to teacher | Did not talk to teacher | | |
| Upper Class | 21 | 3 ^a | 17 | 6 | -- | -- |
| Middle Class | 23 | 13 | 25 | 7 | 1.654 | ns |
| Lower Class | 24 | 13 | 32 | 20 | 0.102 | ns |

*Those respondents who did not complete this question or whose fathers are dead are not included in this table

^aFrequency too small to permit chi-square analysis

the lower class (59.3 per cent).

The differences between the two suburbs, within any one social class category, are not significant (Table 42B). However, the pattern of difference is the same as that identified previously in the case of fathers helping with their childrens homework. The proportion of upper and lower class fathers who have talked with their child's teacher is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown, while the reverse is true for middle class fathers, the proportion who did so is higher in Jobtown.

Mothers, almost without exception, have discussed their child's progress with his teacher (Table 43).

TABLE 43. -- Per cent distribution of mothers of respondents by proportion who discussed respondent's academic progress with his teacher, suburb and social class

| Status of Mother | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|---------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Talked with teacher | 96.0 | 91.7 | 94.7 | 95.8 | 85.3 | 87.0 |
| Did not talk with teacher | | 8.3 | 5.3 | | 14.7 | 11.1 |
| Incomplete | 4.0 | | | | | 1.9 |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

In the two upper class categories, every mother

reported on had discussed her child's progress with his teacher. In the case of the other two social classes, over 90 per cent of the mothers in Hometown and over 85 per cent of their Jobtown counterparts have talked to their child's teacher. As in the case of the pattern of parental help with the respondents' homework, in each social class category in each suburb, the proportion of mothers who have discussed their child's progress with his teacher is higher than that for fathers.

In both suburbs, the proportion of fathers who "usually" attend parent-teacher meetings increases as one moves up the social status scale (Table 44A). Once again, the pattern that emerges is very similar to that already identified in the case of the two previous questions. In Hometown, upper class fathers attend parent-teacher meetings most frequently and their lower class counterparts least frequently. In Jobtown, to the extent that the proportion of middle class fathers who "never" attend parent-teacher meetings is lower than that for upper class fathers, even though the proportion who "usually" attend is less, the pattern identified previously is also repeated in Jobtown.

Contrasting the two suburbs, the differences are not significant (Table 44B). However, in each social class category, the proportion of fathers who "usually" attend parent-teacher meetings is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown. This

TABLE 44A. -- Per cent distribution of fathers of respondents by attendance at parent-teacher meetings, suburb and social class

| Frequency of Attendance | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Usually | 72.0 | 61.1 | 50.0 | 58.3 | 52.9 | 29.6 |
| Seldom | 4.0 | 13.9 | 21.1 | 12.5 | 20.6 | 27.8 |
| Never | 12.0 | 25.0 | 26.3 | 25.0 | 20.6 | 38.9 |
| Incomplete | 8.0 | | 2.6 | 4.2 | | 3.7 |
| Dead | 4.0 | | | | 5.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

TABLE 44B. -- Frequency distribution of fathers of respondents by attendance at parent-teacher meetings, suburb and social class and chi-square for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown**

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | Chi-sq. | p |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|---------|----|
| | Usually attends | Seldom attends | Never attends | Usually attends | Seldom attends | Never attends | | |
| Upper Class | 18 | 1 ^a | 3 | 14 | 3 | 6 | - | - |
| Middle Class | 22 | 5 | 9 | 18 | 7 | 7 | 0.751 | ns |
| Lower Class | 19 | 8 | 10 | 16 | 15 | 21 | 3.873 | ns |

**Those respondents who did not complete this question or whose fathers are dead are not included in this table

^aFrequency too small for chi-square analysis

does not repeat the pattern of difference between the two suburbs identified in the two previous questions. It is interesting to note however, that the pattern of difference between the two suburbs identified here for fathers attendance at parent-teacher meetings parallels very closely that identified in the case of formal voluntary group membership. To the extent then, that attendance at parent-teacher meetings takes on the character of participation in a formal group, it would appear that the area effect, tentatively indicated in relation to formal voluntary group membership in Chapter V, reasserts itself.

The differences between the three social class categories within each suburb in the proportion of mothers who attend parent-teacher meetings are quite small (Table 45).

TABLE 45. -- Per cent distribution of mothers of respondents by attendance at parent-teacher meetings, suburb and social class

| Frequency of Attendance | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Usually | 88.0 | 91.7 | 86.8 | 75.0 | 76.5 | 72.2 |
| Seldom | | 2.8 | 7.9 | 12.5 | 17.6 | 18.5 |
| Never | 8.0 | 5.5 | 5.3 | 4.2 | 5.9 | 7.4 |
| Incomplete | 4.0 | | | 4.2 | | 1.9 |
| Dead | | | | 4.2 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

Less than five percentage points separate the three social classes within each suburb in the proportion of mothers who "usually" attend parent-teacher meetings. Comparing the two suburbs, there is a difference of at least ten percentage points in the proportion of mothers who "usually" attend parent-teacher meetings within any one social class category. In each case, as was true also for fathers, it is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown.

Finally, the pattern of difference between fathers and mothers is the same as that identified in the case of the two previous questions relating to helping the respondent with his homework and contact with his teacher. Irrespective of social class or suburb, mothers attend parent-teacher meetings more than fathers. To the extent that this pattern of difference has emerged consistently, it would appear that as far as this sample is concerned and as measured in terms of the variables used in this study, mothers are more involved than fathers in the academic life of their children. However, the data would appear to suggest that fathers are also very much involved in their childrens' school life. Except in the case of attendance at parent-teacher meetings, where the pattern follows very closely that of formal voluntary group membership, fathers appear to take an active interest in their child's school work; at the lowest within any one social class category, over 50 per cent of the fathers help their children with their homework

and almost two-thirds have discussed their child's progress with his teacher.

No statistically significant differences emerged between the two suburbs. In so far as any overall pattern can be identified, it would appear that upper and lower class fathers in Hometown are more involved than their Jobtown counterparts in their children's academic life and that middle class fathers in Jobtown are more involved than their Hometown counterparts. The overall pattern that emerges for mothers is one of very high involvement in both suburbs, but what differences there are would appear to indicate a greater degree of involvement among Hometown mothers.

While generally it may be said of eighth grade students that a decision to go to college has not been finalized, yet even at this stage a student will have a fairly clear idea of his parents' wishes in regard to a college education. If parents place a high value on a college education and intend to ensure such an education for their children, the student will be aware of it. For many families, there is never any doubt but that the children will go to college and the question to be solved is simply one of "which college". It was felt that while many students would not be in a position to give a definite "no" to the question as to whether their parents intended to send them on to college after they had finished

high school, the proportion of students who were not sure on this question would of itself be an indication at least, of the absence of a definite policy on the part of parents and to that extent represent a lower commitment on the part of those parents to the value of a university education.

As had been expected, a very small proportion of students in either suburb replied with a definite "no" to the question as to their parents' intention to send them to college (Table 46).

TABLE 46. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by parents intention in regard to a college education, suburb and social class

| Parents' Intention | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| Will go to College | 88.0 | 94.4 | 63.2 | 83.3 | 64.7 | 64.8 |
| Will not go to College | | 5.6 | 10.5 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 9.3 |
| Don't Know | 12.0 | | 26.3 | 12.5 | 32.4 | 25.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

The upper class in both suburbs and the middle class in Hometown replied in the majority of cases that their parents did intend to send them to college. For the lower class in each suburb, one in four were not sure, while for the

middle class in Jobtown, almost one in three didn't know. One may conclude that almost all the upper class respondents in both suburbs and the middle class respondents in Hometown expect their parents to send them to college when they have completed high school. To the extent that this reflects the attitude of their parents, one may further conclude that the parents in these three social class categories place a high value on college education. In the other three social class categories, commitment to the value of a college education would appear to be less certain, at least to the extent that over 25 per cent of the respondents in these three categories are not sure of their parents' attitude in this regard. The distribution of the lower class respondents is almost identical in each suburb. The one difference of any size between the two suburbs lies with the middle class respondents. Almost one in three of the middle class respondents in Jobtown are not sure, whereas in Hometown, virtually all the middle class respondents (94.4 per cent) expect their parents to send them to college. Large as this difference appears to be, however, on its own it does not provide a sufficient basis to conclude that area of residence is an important factor, particularly when the pattern of difference is not repeated in the case of the other two social class categories.

The time spent each day by the respondents in study

outside school would appear to reflect the high degree of parental interest just identified (Table 47A). According to the

TABLE 47A. -- Per cent distribution of respondents by time spent in study each day outside school, suburb and social class

| Hours of study per day | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|------------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| About 1½ or more hours | 76.0 | 86.1 | 76.3 | 54.2 | 58.8 | 55.6 |
| About 1 hour or less | 24.0 | 13.9 | 23.7 | 45.8 | 41.2 | 44.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

official handbook of the Catholic School Board of the area under study "about one and a half hours of homework a school day is the most that should be expected of pupils of average ability in grades seven and eight".³ Within each social class category within each suburb, more than half the respondents do at least one and a half hours homework each day. In Hometown, there is little difference between the upper and lower classes. In both cases, three out of four respondents spend at least one and a half hours doing homework outside school each day. For middle class respondents, 86.1 per cent fall into this category. In Jobtown, again one is struck by the similarity between the

³Archdiocese of Chicago School Board, Book of Policies, Elementary Schools (Rev. ed.; Chicago: Archdiocese of Chicago School Board, 1961), p. 20.

upper and lower classes and the fact that the proportion of middle class respondents who spend one and a half hours a day or more in study outside school is higher than in the case of the other two social class categories.

The fact that the amount of time spent in study each day is comparatively similar between the different social class categories within each suburb and so obviously different between the two suburbs within any one social class category and the fact that in each case the differences favor Hometown would appear to indicate that the schools in the two suburbs have very different expectations of their students in regard to the amount of time spent each day doing homework. The differences between the two suburbs are statistically significant at the .05 level in the case of the middle and lower classes (Table 47B). In the case

TABLE 47B. -- Frequency distribution of respondents by time spent in study each day outside school, suburb and social class and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | Jobtown | | Chi-Sq. | p |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------|------|
| | 1½ or more hours | One hour or less | 1½ or more hours | One hour or less | | |
| Upper Class | 19 | 6 | 13 | 11 | 2.573 | ns |
| Middle Class | 31 | 5 | 20 | 14 | 6.583 | <.05 |
| Lower Class | 29 | 9 | 30 | 24 | 4.178 | <.05 |

of the two upper classes, the difference is almost significant at the .10 level. To this extent, there would appear to be a very clear difference between the two suburbs, but the indications are that while it may reflect a differential influence on the part of parents and the students' own inclination, it would appear that it reflects a differential set of expectations on the part of the schools in the two suburbs.

Health

Jaco and Belknap suggest that parents in the suburbs provide the best possible medical care for their children.⁴ The findings of this study bear out this conclusion completely. In almost nine out of ten cases, the respondents in this study had visited the doctor at least once during the twelve month period previous to the administration of the questionnaire for reasons of ill-health or a medical check-up. The same pattern emerged for dental care. The one exception to this pattern in relation to visits to both the doctor and the dentist was among the lower class respondents in Jobtown, where one in four had not visited the doctor and one in three had not visited the dentist during the previous twelve month period. The data would seem to suggest then that, as measured by visits to

⁴Jaco and Belknap, op. cit., p. 556.

doctors and dentists, suburban parents, as Jaco and Belknap suggest, take very good care of their childrens' physical health.

Family Integration

In this final section the accent shifts from the behavioral approach to family life with which this study has been concerned throughout, to the respondents attitude towards their parents. The data already presented in this chapter does appear to indicate that parents in the suburbs are deeply involved in the life of their children. The differences between the two suburbs appear to be very slight, the general over-all impression being that parents, irrespective of type of suburb, are in close contact with the peer-group and school life of their children. In this final section, the purpose is to examine the respondents' response to their parents' interest, to measure to some degree at least how close the respondents feel to their parents. More specifically, the scales developed by Ivan Nye, as outlined in Chapter III, will be used to provide a measure of the similarity and difference between respondents of the same sex and social class living in Hometown and Jobtown in their accepting and affectionate feelings towards their parents.

Recreation fulfills a need not only for parents, but

perhaps even more so for their children. The recreation scale, as developed by Nye, measures the degree of favorableness in the child's attitude towards recreation with his father and mother. As Nye states, the scale provides an indication of how well the negative feelings that may be aroused by the everyday control exercised by parents over their children have been overcome.⁵ In so far as willingness to participate in joint activities has been identified as one of the factors involved in family integration, the scale also provides some measure of family integration.⁶

In the analysis, the mean score on the recreation scale was computed for respondents of the same sex within each social class category in Hometown and Jobtown. These scores were compared, holding sex and social class constant, using a t-test for difference between means. In each case the differences between the two suburbs in the mean scores of respondents of the same sex and social class were not significant. Based on the scores in these scales, there would appear to be little difference between the two suburbs in the respondents' attitude towards recreation with their parents. Table 48 presents, in summary form, the pattern of difference that emerges between

⁵Nye, op. cit., p. 102.

⁶E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Predicting Success and Failure in Marriage (New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1939), p. 10.

TABLE 48.--Pattern of difference in mean scores on attitude towards recreation with father and mother between respondents of the same sex and social class living in Hometown and Jobtown*

| Social Class | Male Respondents | | | | Female Respondents | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------|--------|------|--------------------|------|--------|------|
| | Father | | Mother | | Father | | Mother | |
| | Home. | Job. | Home. | Job. | Home. | Job. | Home | Job. |
| Upper Class | X | | X | | X | | X | |
| Middle Class | | X | | X | X | | X | |
| Lower Class | | X | X | | X | | X | |

*The position of the X indicates in which suburb the higher mean score occurs within any one sub-category.

the two suburbs, indicating for each sub-category the suburb in which the higher mean score occurs.⁷

No over-all pattern of difference for both male and female respondents emerges between the two suburbs.

To the extent that the mean score for female respondents is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown for both father and mother, irrespective of social class, it would appear that female respondents in Hometown are more favorably disposed towards recreation with their parents than their counterparts in Jobtown. The one other consistent pattern of difference that emerges between the suburbs for both sexes is among the upper class

⁷ The detailed tables of mean scores and t-tests are contained in Tables 52-55 in Appendix II.

respondents. Irrespective of sex, the mean score for upper class respondents for both father and mother is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown. However, as indicated already, the differences in mean scores between the two suburbs are not significant. To this extent, it would appear that there is little difference between respondents living in Hometown and Jobtown in the degree to which they are favorably disposed towards participation in recreational activities with their father and mother.

In the use of the acceptance-rejection scale, developed by Nye, the purpose was to obtain a measure of the respondents' more general attitude towards his parents. As Nye states, the scale provides an index of the respondents' "generalized attitude" of acceptance or rejection of his parents.⁸ While one cannot form discrete categories of acceptance or rejection, yet a particular respondent or group may be classified as more or less accepting of their parents on the basis of their scale score. To this extent, the scale scores do provide a basis of comparison between the respondents in each suburb.

As in the case of the recreation scale, the mean scores for respondents of the same sex and social class in each suburb were computed. The differences in mean scores of respondents

⁸Nye, op. cit., p. 71.

of the same sex and social class in Hometown and Jobtown are not significant. It would appear that there is very little difference in the general attitude of acceptance or rejection of their father and mother between the respondents living in the two different suburbs. The direction of the difference between the two suburbs within each sub-category is presented in Table 49.⁹

For male respondents, both in relation to father and to their mother, the mean score is higher for each social class category in Hometown than in Jobtown.

TABLE 49--Pattern of difference in mean scores on acceptance-rejection of father and mother between respondents of the same sex and social class living in Hometown and Jobtown*

| Social Class | Male Respondents | | | | Female Respondents | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------|--------|------|--------------------|------|--------|------|
| | Father | | Mother | | Father | | Mother | |
| | Home. | Job. | Home. | Job. | Home. | Job. | Home. | Job. |
| Upper Class | X | | X | | X | | | X |
| Middle Class | X | | X | | X | | X | |
| Lower Class | X | | X | | | X | | X |

*The position of the x indicates in which suburb the higher mean score occurs within any one sub-category.

The second over-all pattern of difference that one can identify is that the mean scores for middle class respondents in Hometown, both male and female, is higher for both parents than that of middle class respondents in Jobtown.

⁹The detailed tables of mean scores and t-tests are contained in Tables 56-59 in Appendix II.

To this extent, it would appear that male respondents in Hometown, irrespective of social class, and middle class respondents in Hometown, irrespective of sex, are more accepting of their fathers and mothers than their counterparts in Jobtown. However, the differences are not significant and to this extent, one may conclude that there is little difference between the respondents living in the two suburbs in the degree to which they are accepting or rejecting in their general attitude towards their parents.

Finally, as a measure of family integration, the two scales, acceptance-rejection of father and acceptance-rejection of mother, have been combined. The mean score for the total universe of study was computed for each scale separately. Those respondents who scored "at or above" the mean scores for both father and mother were defined as belonging to families with a "high" degree of integration. Those scoring below the mean for both father and mother were defined as belonging to families with a "low" degree of integration, while all others were placed in an intermediate category.¹⁰ A similar procedure was used by Nye in his study, already referred to, though he used different cutting points.¹¹

¹⁰The mean scores for the total universe of study for fathers was 11.556 and for mothers was 12.159. The cutting point used for fathers was 11 and that for mothers, 12.

¹¹Nye, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

The distribution of the families of the respondents into the three categories of "high," "intermediate" and "low" family integration by suburb and social class is presented in Table 50A. In both suburbs, the middle class contains the

TABLE 50A.--Per cent distribution of the families of the respondents into categories of high, medium and low integration by suburb and social class

| Family Integration | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | I | II | III | I | II | III |
| High | 48.0 | 61.1 | 39.5 | 29.2 | 47.1 | 37.0 |
| Medium | 28.0 | 22.2 | 18.4 | 37.5 | 17.6 | 22.2 |
| Low | 20.0 | 16.7 | 42.1 | 29.2 | 29.4 | 38.9 |
| One parent dead | 4.0 | | | 4.1 | 5.9 | |
| Incomplete | | | | | | 1.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number | 25 | 36 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 54 |

highest proportion of highly integrated families. In hometown, the middle class not only have the highest proportion of families with a high degree of integration (61.1 per cent), but also the lowest proportion of families in the low integration category (16.7 per cent). The lower class in Hometown has the lowest proportion of families with a high degree of integration (39.5 per cent) and highest proportion with a low degree of integration (42.1 per cent). In Jobtown, the highest proportion of families in the highly integrated category is among the middle class families (47.1 per cent), while the lowest is

among the upper class families (29.2 per cent). The lower class families have the highest proportion of low integration families (38.9 per cent).

The differences between the two suburbs within any one social class category are not significant (Table 50B). However,

TABLE 50B. -- Frequency distribution of families of the respondents into categories of high, medium and low integration and chi-square test for significance between similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown*

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | Chi-Sq. | p |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------|----|
| | High Integr. | Medium Integr. | Low Integr. | High Integr. | Medium Integr. | Low Integr. | | |
| Upper Class | 12 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 1.879 | ns |
| Middle Class | 22 | 8 | 6 | 16 | 6 | 10 | 2.005 | ns |
| Lower Class | 15 | 7 | 16 | 20 | 12 | 21 | 0.239 | ns |

*Those respondents, one of whose parents is dead, or who did not complete the scales are not included in this table

within each social class category, the proportion of families with a high degree of integration is higher in Hometown than in Jobtown. The reverse is also true in the case of the upper and middle classes, in that the proportion of families in each of these two categories with a low degree of family integration is higher in Jobtown than in Hometown. To this extent, it would appear that there is a higher degree of family integration in Hometown, however the differences between the two sub-

urbs, as measured by the scales used in this study, would appear to be quite small.

Based on the foregoing data, there appears to be little difference between the two suburbs in parent-child relationships as measured by the respondents' attitude towards recreation with his parents and his feelings of acceptance or rejection towards them. To this extent, it would appear that the function of a suburb, as measured by its employment-residence ratio has little influence on parent-child relationships.

Summary and Relevance to Theory

This chapter has focused on the area of child-parent relationships, particularly on the parents' interest and involvement in the peer-group and school life of their eighth grade children and the childrens' response as measured by their attitude towards participation in joint recreational activities with their parents and their more general attitude of acceptance or rejection of their parents.

It would appear that there is little difference generally between the two suburbs within any one social class category. Significant differences between the two suburbs were found only in the following cases, for upper class respondents in relation to their parents' desire that they should not make friends of particular fellow students in their own neighborhood, for lower class female respondents in relation

to their parents' attitude towards their participation in social activities with members of the opposite sex and finally for middle and lower class respondents in relation to the time spent in study outside school. To this extent, the null hypothesis that "family relationships do not vary significantly for Catholic families with students in eighth grade in functionally different suburbs" is not disproved except in the above mentioned instances. It would appear therefore, that the function of a suburb, as measured by its employment-residence ratio, does not influence significantly the pattern of child-parent relationships, at least as measured in this research and in relation to this universe.

However a number of points may be made in relation to the data presented in this chapter. As measured by the behavioral indices used in this study, parents in the suburbs would appear to be deeply involved in the scholastic and peer-group life of their children. The respondents' friends are welcome in his home and are known by name in the majority of instances to his parents. There is little effort made, except by upper class parents in Jobtown and to a lesser extent by middle class parents in Hometown, to control or positively direct the respondents' choice of friends. This would appear to reflect a very close agreement between parents and children and also, what Elkin and Westley describe as the protective

environment of the suburbs. The parents take an active interest in the respondents' school life, helping with homework, watching his progress to the extent of discussing it with his teacher and to a lesser extent, depending on their social class, attending parent-teacher meetings. To this extent, the child-centeredness and familistic orientation attributed to suburban parents by Wendell Bell, Jaco and Belknap and Elkin and Westley would appear to be verified.

Mothers are more involved in the day to day life of their children, irrespective of social class or type of suburb, than are fathers. To this extent, there would appear to be some evidence to support Mowrer's concept of the maternal family, yet the data in no way suggest that the care of the children is relegated to the mother or that the father is uninvolved. Nor would it appear that commuting is a factor involved in the lower proportion of fathers who take an active interest in the life of their eighth grade children in regard to the variables considered in this study. If commuting were a factor, one would expect a higher degree of involvement among Jobtown fathers, a much lower proportion of whom are commuters, particularly in the upper and lower classes. However this is not the case. To this extent, it would appear that while Walter Martin may be right in describing commuting as a "definitive characteristic" of suburbia, as outlined in

Chapter II, in the sense that it is very widespread among suburban residents, particularly in the residential suburb, it would not appear to play a definitive role in father-child relationships, at least in regard to the data presented here.

The data clearly suggest that the respondents do not cross religious boundaries in the choice of close friends and to this extent, there would appear to be little evidence to suggest a lessening of the importance of religion for social life, or to indicate a lessening of religious differences in the suburbs. Though the data is very incomplete, there would appear to be some evidence that class boundaries also play a major role in the formation of close friendships.

Finally, while the differences between the two samples, closely matched on the variables of social class, ethnicity, length of residence and, to some extent, family cycle stage, are not significant, the cumulative evidence of the data presented in this chapter would appear to indicate that participation of parents in the life of their children and family integration are higher in Hometown than in Jobtown.. To this extent, it would appear that the type of suburb in which one lives does influence the pattern of parent-child relationships, though as measured in this research and in relation to this universe of study the differences between two suburbs, matched on the variables of age, size and dis-

tance from the central city, and distinguished on the basis of their employment-residence ratio, are not statistically significant.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This study was designed specifically as an experimental case study of the similarities and differences in the social class structure and pattern of family relationships between two suburbs distinguished on the basis of function. The function of the two suburbs was determined by their employment-residence ratio. The two suburbs chosen for this study, one with an employment-residence ratio of 0.3 (Hometown), the other with an employment-residence ratio of 2.1 (Jobtown), are located within a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area in the Mid-Western Region of the United States. They were matched as far as possible on age, size and distance from the central city. The families included in the study were matched on length of residence in their respective suburbs, ethnicity, rural-urban origin, religion and to some extent, stage in the family cycle. Throughout, the analysis has consisted in a comparison of families of similar social class position living in Hometown and Jobtown.

More specifically, the study was designed to test two major hypotheses. The first hypothesis, that "the social class structure of Catholic families with students in eighth

grade does not vary significantly in functionally different suburbs" was not disproved. The differences in social class structure were in the anticipated direction in that the proportion of upper and middle class families was higher in Hometown than in Jobtown and the proportion of lower class families was lower. However, to the extent that the differences are not statistically significant, it would appear that they are not very great. This would suggest that some of the major differences in occupational and educational status and level of income, identified in macroscopic analyses of functionally different suburbs, as outlined in Chapter II, may not be verified in individual cases, or that they may be due to factors other than a suburb's function.

The second hypothesis, that "family relationships do not vary significantly for Catholic families with students in eighth grade in functionally different suburbs" was tested throughout the study in relation to those aspects of family life considered. One problem throughout, was that for many variables, the distribution of the respondents was such that it did not lend itself to chi-square analysis. In such cases, the analysis consisted in a comparison of proportions. For the remainder, seventy-seven statistical tests were carried out between respondents of the same social class living in Hometown and Jobtown. Table 51 presents, in summary form, the

outcome of these tests, indicating for each variable, the significance and the direction of the differences between the two suburbs.

The differences between the two suburbs were significant at the .10 level or more in eleven instances, two in relation to the two upper class categories, six in relation to the two middle class categories and three in relation to the two lower class categories. To the extent that in these cases, the differences between the two suburbs are statistically significant, the null hypothesis is disproved and the conclusion may be drawn that, for these particular variables, and for these particular social class categories, the function of a suburb does appear to influence significantly the pattern of family relationships. Particularly, this would appear to be true for middle class families in relation to participation in formal voluntary groups, parochially based or otherwise. Four of the six significant differences between the two middle class categories occur in relation to formal voluntary group membership. As indicated in Chapter V, this would appear to reflect an area effect and suggest that in the residential suburb, there exists a certain expectation, or even some degree of social pressure in relation to voluntary group membership, or possibly an "atmosphere" conducive to participation in formal voluntary groups.

TABLE 51. -- Summary of variables on which statistical tests were run between Hometown and Jobtown, indicating for each variable the suburb in which the higher proportion or mean score occurs and the level of significance

| Variable | Upper Class | | Level of Sign. | Middle Class | | Level of Sign. | Lower Class | | Level of Sign. |
|---|-------------|------|----------------|--------------|------|----------------|-------------|------|----------------|
| | Home. | Job. | | Home. | Job. | | Home. | Job. | |
| Father Commutes | X | | * | X | | ns | X | | * |
| Mother Employed | | X | * | | X | ns | | X | ns |
| Number of Children per Family | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| Membership in Parish Groups | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Father | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| b) Mother | X | | .10 | X | | .001 | X | | ns |
| Membership in Voluntary Groups | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Father | X | | * | X | | .10 | X | | ns |
| b) Mother | X | | * | X | | .001 | X | | ns |
| c) Respondent | | X | ns | X | | .001 | X | | ns |
| Relatives living in Household | | X | ns | X | | * | X | | ns |
| Kinship Contact | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| Contact with Neighbors | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| Joint Informal Participation of parents | X | | ns | X | | .10 | X | | .05 |
| Father knows friends' names | X | | ns | X | | ns | | X | ns |
| Encouraged to cultivate special friends | | X | * | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| Forbidden to make certain friendships | | X | .05 | X | | ns | | X | ns |
| Parents' attitude to opposite sex relationships | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Male Resp. | X | | ns | | X | ns | | X | ns |
| b) Female Resp. | X | | ns | X | | ns | | X | .10 |
| Father talked with Teacher | X | | * | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| Father attends parent-teacher meetings | X | | * | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| Time at study outside school | X | | ns | X | | .05 | X | | .05 |
| Attitude toward recreation with Father | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Male Resp. | X | | ns | | X | ns | | X | ns |
| b) Female Resp. | X | | ns | X | | ns | | X | ns |
| Attitude toward recreation with mother | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Male Resp. | X | | ns | | X | ns | X | | ns |
| b) Female Resp. | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| Acceptance-rejection of father | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Male Resp. | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| b) Female Resp. | X | | ns | X | | ns | | X | ns |
| Acceptance-rejection of mother | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Male resp. | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |
| b) Female resp. | | X | ns | X | | ns | | X | ns |
| Family Integration | X | | ns | X | | ns | X | | ns |

[†]The position of the X indicates in which suburb the higher proportion or mean score occurs within each social class category

*The frequencies in these social class categories are too small to permit chi-square analysis

However, though the differences are not significant, perhaps the most important finding in this study is the fact so clearly illustrated in Table 51, that for the majority of variables, and in relation to each social class category, the differences between the two suburbs are in the same direction. This fact, much more so than the comparatively small number of significant differences, would appear to indicate that there is a difference in the pattern of family relationships in the families included in this research by suburb of residence. In sixteen of the twenty-nine variables, included in Table 51, the differences between the two suburbs are in the same direction, irrespective of social class. To this extent then, though the differences between the two suburbs are not statistically significant in the majority of instances, it would appear that the function of a suburb, as measured by its employment-residence ratio does influence differentially the pattern of family relationships.

While the above conclusions are immediately relevant only to the families of the respondents in the two suburbs included in this research, they would appear to indicate the relevance of the function of a suburb to the family life of its residents. To this extent, the findings of this study indicate that this area of suburban sociology certainly warrants further research, based on adult respondents and more

representative samples. However, to the extent that the differences by type of suburb were not statistically significant in such a large number of instances, it does raise the question as to whether the life-style of suburban residents may be ecologically defined. Mowrer, Gans, Dobriner and Clark, among many others, all consider the suburban life-style to be simply an extension of the patterns of life identified with urban areas. They maintain that status variables are more determinative of suburban life than are ecological variables. While it was not the intention in this research to examine the differences in family patterns by social class, many such differences were identified. The resolution of this problem of sociological versus ecological variables can only be arrived at by more rigorous research that matches, not only the respondents but also the areas in which they live, on as many variables as possible. Particularly, this is true of comparative city-suburban research.

There are a number of other concluding observations that may be made in relation to the findings of this study. As measured by home-ownership, family size, participation in the performance of the day to day tasks about the home, and the involvement of parents in the life of their children, there would appear to be clear evidence in this study to indicate that familism is an important value among suburban residents. There is also evidence to suggest that whatever

the physical distance that may separate members of the extended family, it appears to have little detrimental effect on kinship relationships. Based on this study, there would appear to be a very strong kinship orientation among suburban families. Finally, the data does indicate that mothers are more involved than fathers in the life of their eighth grade children. However, as the involvement of fathers is also relatively high throughout, this fact can hardly be taken as demonstrating the existence in the suburbs of the maternal family. It does, however, provide some indication that this concept may be valid.

In conclusion, the findings of this study would appear to suggest that, while not to the extent that might be expected on the basis of the analysis of census statistics, the ecological-economic variable of function, as measured by a suburb's employment-residence ratio, differentially influences the pattern of family relationships, but that within any one type of suburb, the sociological variable of status also plays an important role.

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Abbreviations:

A.S.R.: The American Sociological Review

A.J.S.: The American Journal of Sociology

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APPENDIX I
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS - 1966

This study is part of a series of studies of eighth grade students. The study is being carried out by Loyola University. In this study, we are interested in finding out what the important activities of the students and their parents are.

This is a completely anonymous study. The answered questionnaires will not be seen by anyone here in your school. You are asked not to put your name or address on any of these sheets. The research scientist who has given you the questionnaire will take them back directly to Loyola University. No one will have any way of telling who answered them.

This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer each question as honestly and as frankly as you can. Be sure you answer every question as otherwise you will not qualify to be part of this study.

We, at Loyola University, would like to thank you for your co-operation and for taking part in this study.

Survey of eighth grade students - 1966

Please be sure to answer every question. For each question, put an X opposite the answer that applies to you.

1. Sex: Male.....
Female.....
2. Please check the type of house you live in:
a single family house.....
an apartment or flat.....
3. Do you own or rent the apartment/house that you live in
own it.....
rent it.....
don't know.....
4. How many brothers and sisters do you have
Brothers.....
Sisters.....
5. Please check whether any other relatives are living with you
Grandparents.....
Aunts or Uncles.....
Other relatives.....
6. If both your parents live at home, please go on to question 7.
If either your father or mother is not living at home with you, please check the reason why (CHECK SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT).

| | Father | Mother |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|
| Death..... | _____ | _____ |
| Separation..... | _____ | _____ |
| Divorced..... | _____ | _____ |
| Job away from home..... | _____ | _____ |
| Other reason..... | _____ | _____ |
7. Does your family exchange cards and greetings with any of your relatives for birthdays, anniversaries, Christmas, etc. (Please exclude those relatives who live in your home)
Yes.....
No.....

FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, 8 THROUGH 17,
PLEASE CHECK WHETHER IT IS TRUE OF YOUR FAMILY
REGULARLY, SOMETIMES, OR NEVER.

8. Does your family visit the homes of your relatives
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
9. Do any of your relatives visit your home
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
10. Do your parents give presents (gifts or money) to any of
your relatives for birthdays, anniversaries, etc. (Please
exclude those relatives who live in your home)
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
11. Does any member of your family receive presents (gifts or
money) from any of your relatives for birthdays, anni-
versaries, etc. (Please exclude those relatives who live
in your home)
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
12. Does your family get together with any of your relatives
to celebrate holidays, big feast-days, birthdays, etc.
(Please exclude those relatives who live in your home)
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
13. Does your family give or receive help from any of your
relatives in doing household repairs such as painting or
fixing equipment, etc. (Please exclude those relatives
who live in your home)
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
14. Do your parents go out to visit with friends and neighbors
in the neighborhood
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
15. Do your parents have friends and neighbors from this
neighborhood in to visit with them in your home
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
16. Do neighbors visit with your mother during the day
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
17. Do your parents borrow or lend household items (garden
tools, household utensils, etc.) with your neighbors
Regularly _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____
18. Please check below the statement that best describes
how often your parents go out for an evening together
(if your parents are divorced or separated or dead,
please go on to question 19).

more than once a week..... _____
about once a week..... _____
two or three times a month..... _____
about once a month..... _____
seldom go out together..... _____

19. Are you allowed to bring your friends home to visit with you
 Yes.....
 No.....
20. Do your parents know the names of the majority of your friends (ANSWER SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT)
 Father Mother
 Yes.....
 No.....
21. What is the occupation of the fathers of your two best friends
 1) _____
 2) _____
22. What is the religion of your two best friends
 1) _____
 2) _____
23. Do your parents try to encourage you to make special friends of any particular fellow students in your neighborhood
 Yes.....
 No.....
24. Are there any fellow students of your own sex in your neighborhood that your parents have forbidden you to go around with
 Yes.....
 No.....
25. When you were born, where was your family living
 In this suburb.....
 In another suburb.....
 In a city.....
 In a small town.....
 On a farm.....
 Outside the United States.....
26. If you were not born in this suburb, how long have you been living here
 Over ten years.....
 9-10 years.....
 6-8 years.....
 Less than 6 years.....
 Don't live in this suburb.....

27. In what country was your father born.....
28. If your father was born outside the United States, please go on to question 29. If your father was born in the United States, was it
 In a city.....
 In a small town.....
 On a farm.....
29. In what country was your mother born.....
30. If your mother was born outside the United States, please go on to question 31. If your mother was born in the United States, was it
 In a city.....
 In a small town.....
 On a farm.....
31. What is your religion
 Protestant (GIVE SPECIFIC DENOMINATION)
 Catholic.....
 Jewish.....
 Other (BE SPECIFIC).....
 No religion.....
32. How often do you attend church
 Once a week or more often.....
 1 to 3 times a month.....
 Less than once a month.....
 Don't attend.....
33. What is the religion of your parents (ANSWER SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT)
- | | Father | Mother |
|--|--------|--------|
| Protestant (GIVE SPECIFIC DENOMINATION)..... | _____ | _____ |
| Catholic..... | _____ | _____ |
| Jewish..... | _____ | _____ |
| Other (BE SPECIFIC)..... | _____ | _____ |
| No religion..... | _____ | _____ |
34. How often do your parents attend church (ANSWER SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT)
- | | Father | Mother |
|-------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Once a week or more often.... | _____ | _____ |
| 1 to 3 times a month..... | _____ | _____ |
| Less than once a month..... | _____ | _____ |
| Don't attend..... | _____ | _____ |

35. Besides attending religious services, does your father belong to any society or organization that is connected with his church

Yes.....

No.....

If yes, please give their names

36. Besides attending religious services, does your mother belong to any society or organization that is connected with her church

Yes.....

No.....

If yes, please give their names

FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS, PLEASE CHECK THE ANSWER THAT BEST INDICATES HOW YOU FEEL

37. I enjoy (or would enjoy) being at home for an evenings entertainment with my mother
Very much _____ Somewhat _____ A little _____ Not at all _____
38. I enjoy (or would enjoy) attending ball games with my mother
Very much _____ Somewhat _____ A little _____ Not at all _____
39. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going to moving pictures with my mother
Very much _____ Somewhat _____ Prefer to go by myself _____
40. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going on picnics with my mother
Always _____ Almost always _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
41. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going visiting with my mother
Always _____ Almost always _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
42. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going on trips with my mother
Always _____ Almost always _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
43. I enjoy (or would enjoy) being at home for an evenings entertainment with my father
Very much _____ Somewhat _____ A little _____ Not at all _____
44. I enjoy (or would enjoy) attending ball games with my father
Very much _____ Somewhat _____ A little _____ Not at all _____
45. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going to moving pictures with my father
Very much _____ Somewhat _____ Prefer to go by myself _____
46. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going on picnics with my father
Always _____ Almost always _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
47. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going visiting with my father
Always _____ Almost always _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
48. I enjoy (or would enjoy) going on trips with my father
Always _____ Almost always _____ Seldom _____ Never _____

49. Did you attend summer school last summer
 Yes.....
 No.....
50. Do your parents intend to send you to college when you finish High School
 Yes.....
 No.....
 Dont't know.....
51. Doyour parents help you with your homework when you find it difficult (ANSWER SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT).

| | Father | Mother |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Usually..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Seldom..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Never..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
52. How much time on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school
 None or almost none.....
 Less than a ½ hour a day.....
 About ½ hour a day.....
 About one hour a day.....
 About 1½ hours a day.....
 Two or more hours a day.....
53. In the past year, have your parents discussed your progress at school with your teacher/s (ANSWER SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT)

| | Father | Mother |
|----------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Yes..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| No..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
54. In the past year, did your parents attend Parent-Teacher meetings in your school (ANSWER SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT)

| | Father | Mother |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Usually..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Seldom..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Never..... | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |

55. We would now like to know if your parents belong to any clubs or organizations (other than church groups). Below is a list of the types of clubs they might belong to. Please check any of these that your parents belong to, and write in any others at the bottom (CHECK SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT)

| | Father | Mother |
|---|--------|--------|
| Political club..... | _____ | _____ |
| Youth organizations (Y.M.C.A., Scouts, etc.) | _____ | _____ |
| Country Club..... | _____ | _____ |
| Labor Union..... | _____ | _____ |
| Parent-Teacher organization..... | _____ | _____ |
| Hobby or Sports Club..... | _____ | _____ |
| Civic or Community Clubs (Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, etc.)..... | _____ | _____ |
| Veterans Organizations (American Legion, etc.)..... | _____ | _____ |
| Fraternal Organizations (Elks, etc.)..... | _____ | _____ |
| Other (PLEASE GIVE THE NAMES OF ANY OTHERS)..... | _____ | _____ |
| Father _____ | | |
| Mother _____ | | |
| Not a member of any club..... | _____ | _____ |

56. Are you a member of any club or organization (Please check those that apply)

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| Y.M.C.A..... | _____ |
| Scouts..... | _____ |
| Church Club..... | _____ |
| Other (Please name them)..... | _____ |
| Not a member of any club.. | _____ |

WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOUR PARENTS FEEL ABOUT YOU GOING AROUND WITH MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX. FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS (QUESTIONS 57 THROUGH 62), PLEASE CHECK THE ANSWER THAT YOU THINK BEST DESCRIBES HOW YOUR PARENTS FEEL.

57. Attending mixed parties
 Not allowed _____ Don't mind _____ Encourage it _____
58. Attending dances arranged for your own age-group
 Not allowed _____ Don't mind _____ Encourage it _____
59. Attending dances arranged for high school students
 Not allowed _____ Don't mind _____ Encourage it _____

FOR MALE STUDENTS ONLY

60. Going around with a girl friend
 Not allowed _____ Don't mind _____ Encourage it _____

FOR FEMALE STUDENTS ONLY

61. Going around with a boy friend
 Not allowed _____ Don't mind _____ Encourage it _____
62. Wearing make-up
 Not allowed _____ Don't mind _____ Encourage it _____
63. What is your father's occupation (PLEASE BE AS SPECIFIC AS YOU CAN, e.g., owner of a small store, skilled laborer, a furniture salesman in a department store, a file clerk in a loan company, vice-president of a four man insurance agency, GIVE AS MUCH DETAIL AS YOU CAN)
-
-

64. Where is your father's place of work
 In this suburb.....
 In another suburb.....
 In the city of Chicago.....
 Other (PLEASE SPECIFY).....

65. Does your mother work
 Yes.....
 Full time.....
 Part time.....
 No.....

66. Please check how much formal education your parents have had (CHECK SEPARATELY FOR EACH PARENT)
- | | Father | Mother |
|-----------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Graduate professional training... | _____ | _____ |
| Standard college or | | |
| University graduation..... | _____ | _____ |
| Partial college training..... | _____ | _____ |
| High school graduation..... | _____ | _____ |
| Partial high school..... | _____ | _____ |
| Junior high school..... | _____ | _____ |
| Less than seven years of school.. | _____ | _____ |

67. In the past year, how often did you visit the doctor
 Number of visits.....
 Did not visit the doctor in the past year....
68. If you did not visit the doctor in the past year, please go on to question 69. If you did visit the doctor, was it because
 1) you were sick.....
 2) for a check-up.....
 3) other reason (SPECIFY).....
69. In the past year, how often did you visit the dentist
 Number of visits.....
 Did not visit the dentist in the past year..
70. If you did not visit the dentist in the past year, please go on to question 71. If you did visit the dentist, was it because
 1) you had a toothache.....
 2) for a check-up.....
 3) other reason (SPECIFY).....

FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, 71 THROUGH 92, PLEASE CHECK THAT ANSWER THAT COMES CLOSEST TO EXPRESSING HOW YOU FEEL

71. Do you enjoy letting your mother in on your "big" moments
 Very much _____ Somewhat _____ Hardly at all _____ Not at all _____
72. Do you enjoy talking over your plans with your mother
 Always _____ Usually _____ Sometimes _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
73. Where you are concerned, do you think "what your mother doesn't know won't hurt her"
 Always _____ Usually _____ Sometimes _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
74. Have you ever felt ashamed of your mother
 Often _____ Sometimes _____ Once in a while _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
75. Do you enjoy doing extra things to please your mother that you are not required to do
 Often _____ Sometimes _____ Seldom _____ Never _____
76. If it were possible to change real parents into ideal parents, what would you change in your mother
 Just about everything _____ A large number of things _____
 A few things _____ One or two things _____ Nothing _____
77. Do you confide in your mother when you get into some kind of trouble
 All problems _____ Most _____ Some _____ Few _____ None _____

78. Do you feel rebellious around your mother
Always_____ Often_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
79. In general, do you feel that you get a "square deal"
with your mother
Always_____ Usually_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
80. Do you think "Oh, what's the use" after you have tried
to explain your conduct to your mother
Often_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
81. Are you interested in what your mother thinks of you
Very much_____ Somewhat_____ Hardly at all_____ Not at all_____
82. Do you enjoy letting your father in on your "big" moments
Very much_____ Somewhat_____ Hardly at all_____ Not at all_____
83. Do you enjoy talking over your plans with your father
Always_____ Usually_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
84. Where you are concerned, do you think "what your father
doesn't know won't hurt him"
Always_____ Usually_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
85. Have you ever felt ashamed of your father
Often_____ Sometimes_____ Once in a while_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
86. Do you enjoy doing extra things to please your father
that you are not required to do
Often_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
87. If it were possible to change real parents into ideal
parents, what would you change in your father
Just about everything_____ A large number of things_____
A few things_____ One or two things_____ Nothing_____
88. Do you confide in your father when you get into some
kind of trouble
All problems_____ Most_____ Some_____ Few_____ None_____
89. Do you feel rebellious around your father
Always_____ Often_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
90. In general, do you feel that you get a "square deal"
with your father
Always_____ Usually_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
91. Do you think "Oh what's the use" after you have tried
to explain your behavior to your father
Often_____ Sometimes_____ Seldom_____ Never_____
92. Are you interested in what your father thinks of you
Very much_____ Somewhat_____ Hardly at all_____ Not at all_____
93. In your home, who usually prepares the meals, does the
cleaning up, makes the beds, etc.
-

94. Who else helps in doing these chores generally

95. Who does the gardening generally

96. Who does the odd jobs and minor repairs about the house

APPENDIX II

TABLES

TABLE 52. -- Mean score for male respondents on attitude towards recreation with father by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|-----------------|---------|----------|----|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 7.389 | 3.775 | 16 ^a | 6.400 | 4.013 | 16 | 0.728 | ns |
| Middle Class | 9.353 | 2.422 | 17 | 9.778 | 2.279 | 9 | 0.434 | ns |
| Lower Class | 7.118 | 3.919 | 17 | 7.179 | 3.518 | 28 | 0.054 | ns |

^aThe father of one respondent is dead

TABLE 53. -- Mean score for female respondents on attitude towards recreation with father by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|-----------------|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 9.500 | 3.464 | 8 | 8.000 | 3.505 | 8 | 0.861 | ns |
| Middle Class | 7.526 | 3.373 | 19 | 6.120 | 3.734 | 23 ^a | 1.289 | ns |
| Lower Class | 5.810 | 3.723 | 21 | 5.192 | 3.930 | 26 | 0.549 | ns |

^aThe fathers of two respondents are dead

TABLE 54. -- Mean score for male respondents on attitude towards recreation with mother by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|----|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 6.389 | 4.175 | 17 | 5.600 | 3.996 | 16 | 0.551 | ns |
| Middle Class | 7.294 | 3.197 | 17 | 8.222 | 3.420 | 9 | 0.688 | ns |
| Lower Class | 7.118 | 3.569 | 17 | 5.357 | 4.011 | 28 | 1.487 | ns |

TABLE 55. -- Mean score for female respondents on attitude towards recreation with mother by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|----------------|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 8.375 | 3.739 | 8 | 6.125 | 3.603 | 7 ^a | 1.226 | ns |
| Middle Class | 7.947 | 3.082 | 19 | 7.160 | 2.954 | 25 | 0.859 | ns |
| Lower Class | 7.238 | 3.254 | 21 | 5.923 | 3.405 | 26 | 1.342 | ns |

^aThe mother of one respondent is dead

TABLE 56. -- Mean score for male respondents on acceptance-rejection of father by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|-----------------|---------|----------|----|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 12.667 | 5.145 | 16 ^a | 10.200 | 5.454 | 16 | 1.335 | ns |
| Middle Class | 12.471 | 2.918 | 17 | 11.889 | 3.333 | 9 | 0.461 | ns |
| Lower Class | 12.353 | 5.037 | 17 | 10.750 | 5.233 | 28 | 1.010 | ns |

^aThe father of one respondent is dead

TABLE 57. -- Mean score for female respondents on acceptance-rejection of father by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|-----------------|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 13.750 | 4.773 | 8 | 12.875 | 6.402 | 8 | 0.310 | ns |
| Middle Class | 12.368 | 4.450 | 19 | 11.000 | 7.174 | 23 ^a | 0.732 | ns |
| Lower Class | 8.810 | 4.512 | 21 | 9.538 | 4.852 | 25 ^b | 0.527 | ns |

^aThe fathers of two respondents are dead

^bOne incomplete

TABLE 58. -- Mean score for male respondents on acceptance-rejection of mother by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|----|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 13.167 | 4.062 | 17 | 11.400 | 3.043 | 16 | 1.390 | ns |
| Middle Class | 11.706 | 2.568 | 17 | 11.333 | 3.808 | 9 | 0.298 | ns |
| Lower Class | 12.235 | 5.345 | 17 | 10.357 | 4.572 | 28 | 1.253 | ns |

TABLE 59. -- Mean score for female respondents on acceptance-rejection of mother by suburb and social class and t-test for difference between means of similar social class groups in Hometown and Jobtown

| Social Class | Hometown | | | Jobtown | | | t | p |
|--------------|----------|----------|----|---------|----------|-----------------|-------|----|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | N | Mean | St. Dev. | N | | |
| Upper Class | 13.000 | 4.309 | 8 | 13.500 | 6.928 | 7 ^a | 0.173 | ns |
| Middle Class | 14.000 | 4.069 | 19 | 12.840 | 5.105 | 25 | 0.813 | ns |
| Lower Class | 10.714 | 4.113 | 21 | 11.654 | 5.114 | 25 ^b | 0.682 | ns |

^aThe mother of one respondent is dead

^bOne incomplete

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend Daniel O'Donohue has been read and approved by the director of the thesis. Furthermore, the final copies have been examined by the director and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

June 16-1967
Date

Carol Frederick Ph.D.
Signature of Adviser