

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 069 815

UD 013 013

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**TITLE** Perceptions Regarding Neighborhood and Metropolitan Resources of High School Students in Differing Parts of a Metropolitan Area.  
**INSTITUTION** Missouri Univ., Kansas City. Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education.  
**PUB DATE** Aug 71  
**NOTE** 81p.  
**EDRS PRICE** MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29  
**DESCRIPTORS** \*Community Characteristics; \*Community Resources; Community Study; \*High School Students; Inner City; Metropolitan Areas; \*Neighborhood; \*Perception; Questionnaires; Research Methodology; Student Attitudes; Urban Areas; Urban Schools; Urban Studies  
**IDENTIFIERS** Missouri

**ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this paper is to report data obtained with a questionnaire dealing with the neighborhood- and community-related perceptions of Greater Kansas City Area high school students in many different parts of that metropolitan area. The questionnaire elicits opinions on several discrete though related themes, and was pilot tested and first used in the present study. The results of the study support the conclusion that metropolitan location should be treated as an important independent variable in future research. Youth in or near the inner city appear to be more negative about their neighborhoods than are youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Consistent indications were found throughout the study that students in one of the two upper middle class schools in the sample were less satisfied with and less well integrated into their neighborhood and its institutions than were respondents in other communities. Fragmentary evidence was found indicating that youth in middle class neighborhoods may perceive their neighborhoods to be less stimulating than do youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area. An impressive percentage of students reported that they felt they could turn in time of emergency to sources of help available "nearby" in their neighborhoods. (Author/JM)

ED 069815

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PERCEPTIONS REGARDING NEIGHBORHOOD AND METROPOLITAN RESOURCES OF  
HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN DIFFERING PARTS OF A METROPOLITAN AREA

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August, 1971

UD 013013

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## I. SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The sample of high schools which participated in the study was chosen to represent a diversity of types of schools categorized primarily by metropolitan location and composition of the student body. Based on personal acquaintance with schools in the metropolitan area as well as previous research in which we had collected data on socioeconomic and racial composition for nearly all the high schools in Greater Kansas City,<sup>1</sup> a list of high schools in the metropolitan area was prepared with each school classified according to:

- 1) Type of control (Public or Parochial)
- 2) Race - (Black, White, Integrated)<sup>2</sup>
- 3) Metropolitan location (Central city - inner city, inner city fringe, outlying; Suburban - industrial, residential; Urban - rural)
- 4) Socioeconomic composition<sup>3</sup> (Working-class, Comprehensive,<sup>4</sup> Middle class, Upper Middle Class)

Cross-classified on all four variables simultaneously, the sample of 13 schools from which data were collected provided one school in each of the following categories:<sup>5</sup>

Central City Black Inner City Working Class  
Central City White Inner City Working Class

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<sup>1</sup>Classification methods utilized in categorizing Greater Kansas City Area high schools on socioeconomic and racial composition are shown in detail in Daniel U. Levine, Robert J. Havighurst, and Edna S. Mitchell, Opportunities for Higher Education in a Metropolitan Area: A Study of High School Seniors in Kansas City, 1967 (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1970) and Daniel U. Levine, "Schools in Metropolitan Kansas City," Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, v. 55, no. 351 (January 1971), 107-123.

<sup>2</sup>For details on classification by race, see Levine, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Schools were categorized according to whether previous research indicated that a particular social class group was predominant in its student body. For details, see Levine, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup>A "Comprehensive" school as defined in this study is one enrolling students with diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, particularly lower-middle-class and working-class.

<sup>5</sup>Unless otherwise indicated in the category title, all the non-central city schools were white public schools. For purposes of this study, high schools in Kansas City, Kansas were considered to be "Central City" schools (see Levine, op. cit., for the rationale for this decision). For eight of the thirteen schools, data on ninth graders actually were collected at junior highs located in the same neighborhood as the senior high specified in the category; the remaining five schools included both 9th and 12th graders. Nearby junior and senior highs were combined after it was found that responses to the questionnaire generally did not vary in any discernible way by grade level.

Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class  
 Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class  
 Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class<sup>6</sup>  
 Central City White Outlying Middle Class  
 Industrial Suburb Comprehensive  
 Residential Suburb Comprehensive  
 Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1)  
 Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2)<sup>7</sup>  
 Urban-rural Comprehensive  
 Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive  
 Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive

After the schools had been selected, administrators were contacted and permission was requested to obtain data from ninth and twelfth graders. These two grade levels were chosen because we wanted to obtain as large a spread as possible in selecting two grade levels, in order to determine whether responses to questionnaire items change as students grow older. It was felt that most ninth graders are mature enough to provide meaningful answers on topics of the kind examined in the questionnaire. At each school we requested cooperation in obtaining responses from students in six classes at each grade level. Wherever possible, we included at least one high-ability and one low-ability English or social studies class at each grade level, in order to ensure to the extent possible that the sample would include a cross-section of respondents of differing ability levels and social backgrounds. In several schools fewer than 150 students were enrolled at a grade level or the administration preferred that we administer the questionnaire to all students in the grade; in these cases we tried to obtain data on the entire population in the grade. As a result, the original samples at each grade at the individual schools varied from approximately one hundred to several hundred.

Questionnaires were delivered and, in many cases, administered by one of the authors. In most of the schools questionnaires were administered in the English or social studies classes, but in a few they were completed in other classes, home rooms, or study halls. Prior to administration, teachers of the classes in which questionnaires were distributed were invited to attend a training session at which we provided orientation about and instructions on administering the questionnaire. Teachers were paid \$10 each for attending these one hour training sessions, and a large majority were able to attend since the sessions were held after school.

Following collection of the completed questionnaires, each respondent was given a social-class score using Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>This school is located in a community which was undergoing racial transition at the time data were collected. The school since has become almost entirely black in racial composition. Since it is located in a community which has been predominantly middle-class and still has a substantial middle-class population as well as mostly middle-class housing, it is safe to assume that a good proportion of its students are from upward-mobile families of working class origin.

<sup>7</sup>The two Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class schools are located in nearby suburbs in the same county.

<sup>8</sup>August B. Hollingshead, "Two Factor Index of Social Position." Paper published at the Yale Station, New Haven, 1965.

which utilizes information on parental occupation and education to place respondents in social class categories from 1 (low) to 5 (high).<sup>9</sup> Next, questionnaires were inspected visually to identify and eliminate those filled out by respondents who had not completed a substantial portion of the instrument<sup>10</sup> or obviously had not tried to give honest responses. Following these procedures, 1750 respondents at 13 schools were included in the final sample.<sup>11</sup> The distribution of respondents in the sample by school, social class,<sup>12</sup> grade level, sex, and racial or ethnic group is shown in Table 1.

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<sup>9</sup>For general purposes, these categories can be treated as corresponding to the following social-class groups: 1 and 2 = upper class and upper middle class; 3 = lower middle class; 4 = upper working class; 5 = lower working class.

<sup>10</sup>The questionnaire was designed to take 45 minutes to complete. It was pre-tested extensively in two schools for this and other purposes. Respondents in the pre-testing stage were not included in the final sample except in the case of those in the reliability study.

<sup>11</sup>Social class groups 1 and 2 on the one hand and 4 and 5 on the other were combined in order to increase the size of cells in each school.

<sup>12</sup>No more than 50 completed questionnaires from any one social class group at a particular grade level were included.

TABLE 1  
 Distribution of Respondents in the Sample by School, Social Class, Grade  
 Level, Sex, and Racial or Ethnic Group

	Grade		Sex		Racial or Ethnic Group		Social Class				
	9	12	MM	F	White	Black	Other (Mexican, Indian, Oriental, Unknown)	1 & 2	3	4 & 5	
Central City Black Inner City Working Class	31	67	58	60	0	118			1	7	110
Central City White Inner City Working Class	41	47	44	44	74	7	7				88
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class	48	64	40	72	0	112			12	14	86
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class	25	25	0	50	40	5	5				50
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class	40	53	48	45	42	32	19				93
Central City White Outlying Middle Class	79	110	97	97	92	189	1		80	79	30
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	168	36	105	99	204				55	62	87
Residential Suburb Comprehensive	37	129	89	77	166				36	47	83
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1)	84	79	78	85	161	2			86	75	2
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2)	0	88	44	44	86		2		43	40	5
Urban-Rural Comprehensive Parochial Central City	94	38	80	52	132				16	38	78
White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive	83	90	86	87	137	4	32			83	90
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	121	53	58	116					50	60	64



## RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

It was difficult to obtain reliability estimates on subjects' responses because the questionnaire is a long instrument with many relatively discrete subsections and disparate items. On the other hand most of the items are relatively straightforward and only a few require projective-type responses. However, we were able to administer the questionnaire twice (two months apart) to a group of 38 respondents at one of the central city high schools. Data on this group allow us to report information on stability of response to items in many parts of the study. This information is reported in various ways in accordance with the format of items. In general, the reliability of the questionnaire appeared adequate, though there were several sections that should be looked at more closely from this point of view in further research. It also should be noted that the sample of students to whom the questionnaire was readministered were from a working-class school in which one might expect slightly more variation in response between administrations than in higher status schools and that some high school students tend to be flip-pant about a questionnaire when filling it out a second time. For these reasons the reliability data reported in several parts of the study probably underestimate the actual reliability of the data we collected on our total metropolitan sample.

We did not have the resources to interview or observe respondents in situations that might have provided independent evidence concerning the validity of items on the questionnaire. However, discussions were held with several groups of students who had responded to the questionnaire and an explicit effort was made to determine whether or not respondents had been willing and able to provide accurate data. The results of these discussions, the excellent responses during and after the orientation sessions we conducted for teachers (at which we stressed approaches for obtaining reliable and valid data when administering the questionnaire), and the straightforward nature of most items bolstered our confidence that the questionnaire had adequate validity. We believe that the questionnaire has a good deal of face validity compared to other attitude instruments which frequently are administered to high school students. In addition the reader will note many places in this report in which responses appear to show a considerable amount of internal consistency, as in the case of factors analyses which produced factors that were relatively easy to name because they consisted of items factorially related to other logically-similar items and factorially distinct from logically-dissimilar ones.

## CHAPTER 11. PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD ADEQUACY AND ATTRACTIVENESS

Although the neighborhood is a basic unit of social organization in the metropolitan area and although neighborhoods in differing parts of the metropolis obviously differ from one another in important respects, very little is known about these differences or about how people perceive and evaluate their neighborhoods. The neighborhood perceptions and evaluations of youth are particularly important inasmuch as the neighborhood commonly is thought to play a part in shaping a young person's attitudes and behaviors. The perceptions young people hold concerning conditions in their neighborhoods can be expected to influence decisions as to where they will live and, consequently, how the metropolitan area will evolve.

In addition, perceptions of local neighborhoods may point to certain types of problems such as lack of safety or lack of recreational facilities which may be more salient for youth in some communities than in others elsewhere in the metropolis. Are young people in some types of metropolitan communities more negative about and dissatisfied with their neighborhood than are most young people elsewhere in the metropolitan area? What are the major deficiencies young people perceive in neighborhoods in differing parts of the metropolitan area? In particular, does metropolitan location affect neighborhood perceptions and evaluations over and beyond associations one might expect to find between social class and attitudes toward neighborhood? These are the basic questions explored in this chapter.

### EVALUATION OF LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS

#### Procedures

Perceptions of local neighborhoods were measured with twelve semantic-differential-type sets of terms on which respondents were asked to check one of seven blanks from positive to negative. The twelve sets of terms were arranged with seven having the favorable term on the left and five on the right as follows:

<u>Favorable on Left</u>		<u>Favorable on Right</u>	
Adequate	- Inadequate	Overcrowded	- Uncrowded
Safe	- Unsafe	Poor	- Wealthy
Quiet	- Noisy	Dirty	- Clean
Pretty	- Ugly	Dull	- Exciting
Makes me	- Makes me	Discouraging	- Hopeful
feel that	feel that I		
I belong	do not belong		
Friendly	- Unfriendly		
Up-to-date-	Out of things		

Responses were scored from 1 to 7, with responses on the favorable pole scored high and responses on the unfavorable pole scored low.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, reliability data were obtained by readministering the questionnaire to a group of 38 respondents two months after the first administration. Comparison between the two sets of responses showed that on three of the twelve items, one-third or more of the respondents shifted their answers two points or more on the seven-point scale. On the other hand, on eight items at least one-fourth of the respondents gave the same response on both administrations.



The items with lowest reliability were, as one might expect, those which were most affectively saturated: Friendly-Unfriendly and Makes me feel that I belong-Makes me feel that I do not belong. Shifts which occurred between the first and second administration tended to be toward the positive poles slightly more frequently than toward the negative. The overall equal-weighted mean shift on the twelve items was 1.34, i.e., approximately one and one-third interval. While this figure is higher than we would have preferred, we did not feel it was high enough to make responses unusable, particularly since changes in response direction did not fall heavily toward either the positive or negative poles.

After questionnaires had been coded, punched on IBM cards, and transferred to computer tape reels, a factor analysis for the entire sample of 1750 respondents was carried out to determine whether responses to the twelve characteristics tapped one general attitude orientation toward local neighborhoods. This analysis showed that nine of the twelve items loaded on one factor, which was titled "General Attractiveness of Local Neighborhood"; the remaining three items did not load at criterion level on any factor. The nine items and their loadings on the factor "General Attractiveness of Local Neighborhood" were as follows:

Pretty - Ugly	.692
Dirty - Clean	.669
Discouraging - Hopeful	.642
Up-to-date - Out of things	.602
Makes me feel that I belong-Makes me feel that I do not belong	.602
Adequate-Inadequate	.588
Safe-Unsafe	.558
Poor-Wealthy	.501
Friendly-Unfriendly	.483

The next step in the analysis was to determine whether respondents in a given school should be separated by sex, social class, and/or grade level before comparing their attitudes toward their local neighborhoods. That is, were sex, social class, and grade level sufficiently associated with responses to the neighborhood evaluation items to require taking these variables into account before comparing subsamples from different schools?

To make this determination, Pearson product-moment correlations were computed between neighborhood evaluation responses and social class, and point biserial correlations were computed between neighborhood evaluation on the one hand and grade level and sex (separately) on the other. Inspection of the correlations showed that there was no consistent trend for grade level and sex to correlate with neighborhood evaluation.<sup>2</sup> In the case of social class, eight of the twelve correlations

<sup>1</sup>Unless explicitly designated otherwise, criterion level for loading on a factor in this and other parts of the study was .4.

<sup>2</sup>None of the twelve correlations with sex were as high as .10, and only two of the twelve correlations with grade level were this high (.11 and .12, respectively).

were above .1 and five were above .2. For this reason it was decided to combine the responses of 9th and 12th graders and of males and females within schools before comparing responses between schools; however, responses within schools were kept separate by social class, except that the responses of Social Class 1 and 2 students and of Social Class 4 and 5 students were combined in order to constitute sub-groups large enough for comparison between schools. No sub-group of respondents within a school was included in the final analysis unless it had 30 or more members. Following these procedures, the sample of respondents used in most of the analysis reported in this chapter consisted of 1600 students classified by type of school and social class.

The correlations between social class and the twelve sets of terms describing neighborhood characteristics are of some interest in themselves since they indicate how perceptions differ in neighborhoods of differing socioeconomic composition. As one would expect, the highest correlation (-.37) was between social class and ratings on 'poor-wealthy.' Other sets of terms which correlated at or above .20 with social class were 'pretty-ugly' (-.28); 'dirty-clean' (-.23); 'adequate-inadequate' (-.22); and 'up-to-date - out of things' (-.20). Sets of terms which correlated between .10 and .20 with social class were: 'safe-unsafe' (-.17); 'discouraging-hopeful' (-.14); and 'quiet-noisy' (-.11). Sets of terms which were essentially uncorrelated with social class were: 'overcrowded-uncrowded' (-.05);<sup>3</sup> 'makes me feel that I belong-makes me feel that I do not belong' (-.04); 'dull-exciting' (-.02); and 'friendly-unfriendly' (-.01). Thus we conclude that low status respondents perceived their neighborhoods as being poorer, uglier, dirtier, less adequate, and more 'out of things' than did higher-status respondents. To a lesser extent, low status respondents also perceived their neighborhoods as being more dangerous, discouraging, and noisier than did other respondents.

### Findings

The mean scores on the factor 'General Attractiveness of Local Neighborhood' of respondents in the sample are shown in Table 2. In order to simplify comparisons, each respondent's scores on the items in the factor were summed and then divided by nine, with appropriate corrections for occasional blank responses. Since there were nine items on the factor and the scores on each item ranged from 1 (unfavorable) to 7 (favorable), high mean scores represent responses toward the favorable end of the continuum and 4 is the mid-point between favorable and unfavorable responses.

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<sup>3</sup>The Kansas City Metropolitan Area has little of the crowded tenement-type slums which exist in abundance in many larger metropolitan areas.

TABLE 2

Mean Scores on "General Attractiveness of Local Neighborhood" Factor  
For Respondents in Thirteen Secondary Schools in the Kansas City  
Metropolitan Area, by School Type and Social Class  
(N's in Parentheses)<sup>a</sup>

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>SC 1 and 2</u>	<u>SC 3</u>	<u>SC 4 and 5</u>
Central City Black Inner City Working Class	_____	_____	4.35 (110)
Central City White Inner City Working Class	_____	_____	4.52 (88)
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class	_____	_____	4.83 (86)
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class	_____	_____	4.81 (50)
Central City White Outlying Middle Class	5.36 (80)	5.38 (79)	4.96 (30)
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	5.44 (55)	5.16 (62)	4.54 (87)
Residential Suburb Comprehensive	5.20 (36)	5.09 (47)	5.06 (83)
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1)	5.65 (86)	5.64 (75)	_____
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2)	5.34 (43)	5.47 (40)	_____
Urban-rural Comprehensive	_____	5.46 (38)	5.10 (78)
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehen- sive	_____	5.28 (83)	5.14 (90)
Parochial Industrial Suburb Com- prehensive	5.60 (50)	5.45 (60)	5.62 (64)

<sup>a</sup>The N's for a given school vary slightly from item to item due to non-responses.  
The number given is the largest for a school on this section of the questionnaire.

Before attempting to interpret the data in Table 2, we must emphasize that the model for the interpretation of the means shown in the table is problematic. It would be possible, for instance, to use one of the post hoc statistical methods, e.g., the Tukey or Scheffe, in deciding which of the means were statistically different. Such procedures however would impute to the data a level of precision we feel is unwarranted. Rather than asking whether or not certain of the means differ from one another at a particular level of confidence, we can proceed at a more basic and less sophisticated level of interpretation, involving simple means, standard deviations, and standard errors of means.

The estimated within school standard deviation of individual responses is .95, or one score-point for practical purposes. This would indicate that within any particular school one would find no more than 25% of the students scoring more than 2 points above or below the school mean. Further, because the individual scores within each school are reasonably symmetrical it is likely that, on the average, 5% or fewer of the students in any given school will have scores deviating more than 2 points from the particular mean. Also, approximately one-half to two-thirds of the students have scores within the interval of the mean plus and minus one score-point.

Assuming that the distributions of scores within each school are approximately of the same shape and spread, the above numbers can be used to approximate the percent of students at one school who score higher (or lower) than the average score of a different school.

If two schools, A and B, have the same mean about as many A students score above B students as there are B students scoring above A students. The following table provides the approximate percent of students in School A that score above the average (mean) student in school B. It is assumed that the A school mean is above that of B. The first column gives, in raw score points, the extent to which the A mean is above the B mean. The second column gives the range of percents of A students scoring above the average B student.

<u>Mean of A Minus Mean of B</u>	<u>Approx. % of A Students Scoring above the B Mean</u>
0.00	50%
0.25	55-60%
.50	65-70%
.75	73-77%
1.00	80-84%
1.25	85-90%
1.50	90% +

The above table provides only rough estimates and assumes that the school means are accurate. The standard error of the school means is typically .125 or less. Hence on a repeated sampling basis it is likely that the school means in Table 2 are reasonably accurate estimators of the true school average.

In comparing the school means themselves, rather than the percent of students in A scoring above the B mean, we would take a mean difference of  $\pm .4$  score points as indicative of a reliable difference in the average perceptions. School differences of a lower magnitude should be viewed skeptically unless they conform to a definite pattern across types of schools. Examples of patterns would be where

the SC1 and SC2 school means are typically lower than SC 3 or SC 4 and 5 means, or where the means of predominantly black schools are typically different from those of predominantly white schools. Our interpretations of the patterns we think may indicate school differences are described in the following paragraphs.

Inspection of the data in Table 2 suggests the following conclusions:

1. As one would expect given the product-moment correlations we found between social class and neighborhood evaluation, low status respondents tend to be generally more negative about their neighborhoods than are higher status respondents. All seven of the mean scores below 5 are registered by students in Social Class Group 4 and 5. In the three public schools with students from each of the three social class groups (1 and 2; 3; 4 and 5), respondents in Social Class Group 1 and 2 score higher than respondents in Social Class Group 4 and 5. These findings suggest that working-class youth tend either to rate their neighborhoods less favorably than middle-status youth in the same community or live on blocks less attractive than most others in the larger neighborhood. (While we cannot be sure that all respondents in the sample lived within the designated attendance areas of their schools, most undoubtedly did, at least in the public schools.)

2. Neighborhood evaluation varies with metropolitan location. As shown by the differences between scores at the inner city schools on the one hand and the inner city fringe and outlying central city schools on the other, working-class youth in the inner city are less positive about their neighborhoods than are working-class youth elsewhere in the central city.<sup>4</sup> Although the neighborhood ratings of central city respondents outside the inner city do not seem to be consistently different from those of respondents of similar social status at public schools in the suburbs, working-class respondents in the industrial suburb gave their neighborhoods less favorable ratings than did working-class respondents in the residential suburb. In addition, respondents at one of the Residential Suburban Upper Middle Class schools viewed their neighborhoods more favorably than did respondents at any other public school.

3. Race did not appear to have an independent effect on neighborhood evaluation. The mean score for Social Class Group 4-5 respondents at the black inner city fringe school was not much different than the scores registered by working-class respondents at other central city schools outside the inner city. Although it is true that the lowest mean score in the sample (4.35) was registered at the black school in the inner city, the neighborhood in which this school is located unquestionably is more deteriorated than is the neighborhood surrounding the white inner city school which registered the second lowest score.

In addition, a separate tabulation was made of the responses of white and black respondents at the outlying central city school (the only school which had enough respondents of both races to make an intra-school comparison). Far from being more negative about their neighborhood, black respondents scored higher (5.19)

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<sup>4</sup> Before making these and later comparisons in this section, a check was made to make sure that Social Class Groups 1-2 and 4-5 at any given school were not over-loaded with Class 1 respondents or Class 5 respondents as compared to Social Class 1-2 and 4-5 groups at comparison schools.

than did white respondents (4.41).<sup>5</sup>

4. Parochial school students appear to rate their neighborhoods more favorably than do students attending public schools in comparable locations. Respondents in each of the three social class groups at the Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive School rated their neighborhoods more highly than did respondents in the comparable groups at the /Public/ Industrial Suburb Comprehensive School, even though the Social Class 1 and 2 group had more Social Class 2 members at the parochial school than the public school. Similarly, Social Class 4 and 5 respondents at the Parochial Inner City Fringe School were more positive about their neighborhoods (5.14) than were Social Class 4 and 5 respondents at the central city inner city fringe schools. However, since parochial schools draw their students from a wider geographic base than do public schools, it is not certain whether these differences in neighborhood evaluation reflect a difference in the neighborhoods in which respondents live or a tendency for parochial school respondents to perceive the same neighborhoods more positively than public school respondents.

In sum, our data suggest that metropolitan location, the social class background of respondents, and public-parochial enrollment but not race are related independently to neighborhood evaluation. When metropolitan location and social class are operating in the same direction, we find a large difference between the neighborhood evaluations of young people in differing parts of the metropolitan area. High- and middle-status students attending one of the two schools in our sample located in an upper middle class residential suburb, for example, rated their neighborhoods a full interval and one-half higher on the seven-point scale than did working class respondents in a depressed black neighborhood in the inner city.

Of course, it is not surprising that working class youth in the inner city are generally less positive about their neighborhoods than are middle class youth in residential suburbs. Even where urban renewal and rehabilitation have stemmed the decay of old inner city neighborhoods, these neighborhoods simply do not have the open space, greenery, and other amenities that make residential suburbs physically attractive. In many respects municipal services are inadequate and social as well as physical conditions are unattractive even in inner city neighborhoods that have not become slums. From this point of view what may be surprising is that our inner city respondents gave their neighborhoods a mean rating above the midpoint (3.5) on the twelve items describing neighborhood characteristics. On the other hand, it also is possible that response set may have operated to induce relatively high ratings throughout our sample. That is, respondents may tend to rate their neighborhoods highly on questionnaires partly because outsiders might question why a person would live in a neighborhood he did not view with favor.

Because they point to differences in neighborhood evaluation between students in differing types of suburbs and in public as compared with parochial schools, our

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<sup>5</sup>These findings probably were due to the fact that many black respondents had moved only recently from the inner city to this racially-changing neighborhood and many white respondents interpreted racial change as neighborhood decline. (Chi-square tests showed that black respondents at the integrated outlying school perceived their neighborhoods as more adequate, less noisy, prettier, more friendly, and more hopeful than their white classmates.)

data underline the importance of taking such factors as suburban location and intra-community location into account in future research on neighborhoods. Considerations of this type will become more important in the future if differences between and within suburbs and neighborhoods become greater than they are now.

### Individual Items

In some respects, variations on individual items among the twelve sets of terms may be more interesting and important than are variations on the nine-item general factor. In addition, it seemed likely that interactions between social class, race, grade level, sex, and/or metropolitan location might occur on particular items even though race, grade level, and sex did not appear to be consistently related to scores on the nine items of the factor as a whole. To investigate this possibility and to determine which subgroups of respondents might hold distinctive perceptions of their local neighborhoods, we inspected computer print-outs showing the responses of subjects categorized simultaneously by social class, sex, and grade level at each school.<sup>6</sup> Selected departures from the modal response patterns on individual items among the twelve sets of terms dealing with neighborhood characteristics are described in this section. Our fundamental strategy for identifying such departures from modal response patterns was to search for cases in which respondents in a given school were unusually positive or negative about their neighborhoods as compared with respondents in our metropolitan sample as a whole. (Since response patterns in all of the schools were skewed toward the positive pole of the seven-point neighborhood rating scale when all twelve items are considered as a group, we were particularly interested in determining which groups of students gave their neighborhoods an uncommonly negative rating on individual items). To do this, school-by-school data were examined in order to identify items on which (1) the proportion of respondents in a school who selected any of the three most negative points on the scale was ten percentage points or more higher than the corresponding percentage for the sample as a whole, and (2) the proportion of respondents who marked the extreme positive point on the scale was ten percentage points or more higher than the corresponding percentage for the total sample. In addition, distinctive responses of sub-groups of respondents classified by social class, grade level, and/or sex occasionally are reported provided that such sub-groups seemed large enough to reflect reliable differences. It should be explicitly emphasized that the findings reported in this section were not identified through a formal hypothesis-testing approach and that their validity depends as much on future replications as do most of other conclusions reported in this chapter.

The first items we will consider are the three which did not load on the factor 'General Attractiveness of Local Neighborhood.' These three items were 'Quiet-Noisy,' 'Dull-Exciting,' and 'Safe-Unsafe.'

On the item 'Quiet-Noisy,' there were no schools at which respondents perceived their neighborhoods as distinctively quiet or noisy according to the criteria specified above. That is, there were no schools at which the percentage of respondents who chose either the three "high noise" categories or the extreme "high

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<sup>6</sup>The analysis in this part of the chapter utilized the full 1750-respondent metropolitan sample.

quiet" category was ten percentage points or more greater than in the total metropolitan sample.

The "Dull-Exciting" item was unusual in that it was the only item in the set of twelve for which the percentage of respondents who selected the three negative response categories (41%) exceeded the percentage who selected the three positive categories (31%). This finding suggests that young people in urban areas tend to feel there is a lack of stimulating activities or resources in their neighborhoods.

Further examination of response patterns on this item showed that twelfth graders tended to be slightly more dissatisfied in this respect than ninth graders ( $r_{pb} = -.12$ ) and that twelfth grade girls from upper-middle-class families were particularly likely to perceive their neighborhoods as being more or less dull - 53% selected the three categories closest to the "Dull" pole. However, closer inspection also showed that 48 of these 100 girls attended three of the four schools at which fewer than 25% of the twelfth-grade respondents selected the three categories toward the "Exciting" pole and that these four schools were the three middle-class schools and the urban-rural school. The proportions of twelfth graders at these four schools who viewed their neighborhoods as exciting were only 23%, 18%, 20%, and 09%, respectively. However, except at the urban-rural school, where 58% of the twelfth graders perceived their neighborhoods as more or less dull, seniors at these schools did not seem particularly inclined to characterize their neighborhoods as dull. Thus the overall pattern suggests that older youth in middle-class neighborhoods are relatively inclined to perceive their neighborhoods as lacking in excitement. This finding may reflect the fact that so many contemporary youth in middle-class neighborhoods have begun to complain that the environments in which they were raised are somehow "plastic" or "unreal."

On the item "Overcrowded-Uncrowded," there were no schools at which the proportion of respondents who viewed their neighborhoods as either crowded or extremely uncrowded departed from the modal pattern for the total sample by ten percentage points or more. (As noted above, the Kansas City Metropolitan Area does not have dense urban slums of the kind found in New York or Chicago, for example.) It is possible that the reason why the "Overcrowded-Uncrowded" item as well as the "Dull-Exciting" item did not load on the general nine-item factor may have been because these two items had relatively little discriminating power in terms of differentiating among groups of differing social background in the various schools in the sample.

Turning to the items which loaded on the factor "General Attractiveness of Local Neighborhood," there was only one school at which there was an unusual tendency (as defined above) to perceive one's neighborhood as "Inadequate" and only two schools at which there was an unusual tendency to perceive one's neighborhood as "Adequate." At the Central City Black Inner City Working Class School, 21% of the respondents selected the three response categories toward the "Inadequate" pole, as compared with 11% of the respondents in the total metropolitan sample. At the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1) School and the Central City Outlying Middle Class School, 44% and 39% of the respective respondents selected the category closest to the "Adequate" pole, as compared with 25% in the total sample. In addition, 34% of the respondents at the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School selected the category closest to the "Adequate" pole. These patterns suggest, as one would expect given the findings previously reported for



the factor as a whole, that metropolitan location and social-class of the neighborhood interact to influence perceptions of a neighborhood's adequacy. Youth in the most depressed (black) part of the central city, that is to say, are most likely to rate their neighborhoods as inadequate, while youth in predominantly middle-class neighborhoods in the central city and the suburbs are most likely to perceive their neighborhoods as being generally adequate.

A somewhat similar pattern emerged with respect to the item "Poor-Wealthy." As compared with 11% in the total sample, 35% of the respondents at the Black Inner City Working Class School and 21 to 23% of the respondents at the other three inner city or inner-city fringe schools selected the three response categories toward the "Poor" pole in rating their neighborhood as wealthy or poor. Conversely, 11% of the respondents at the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School selected the pole closest to "Wealthy," as compared with 3% of the respondents in the entire sample.

On the item "Pretty-Ugly," the only two schools at which the percentages of respondents selecting the three negative response categories were ten percentage points or more greater than in the sample as a whole were the two inner city schools, at which 23% of the respondents in the white school and 34% in the black school selected these categories. Conversely, the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School was the only one at which the percentage of respondents (28%) who selected the category closest to "Pretty" was ten percentage points or more greater than in the sample as a whole (17%). This pattern somewhat resembled those reported above with respect to respondents' perceptions of the adequacy and wealth of their neighborhoods.

Data on the "Friendly-Unfriendly" item indicated quite a different pattern. The only school at which the percentage of respondents selecting the three response categories toward the "Unfriendly" pole was ten percentage points or more greater than in the total sample was the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School, where 28% of the respondents selected these categories as compared with 16% in the total sample.<sup>7</sup> Conversely, at only two schools did the percentage of respondents who selected the category closest to "Friendly" depart by ten percentage points or more from the 27% of respondents in the total sample who chose this category: 9% of the respondents at the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School and 16% of the respondents at the Central City Outlying Middle Class School viewed their neighborhoods as unambiguously friendly. Thus the pattern of response on this item appears to partly reflect some of the same kind of youthful alienation from predominantly middle-class neighborhoods which was found in connection with the item "Dull-Exciting."

On the item "Safe-Unsafe," the only two schools at which the percentages of respondents selecting the three response categories toward the "Unsafe" pole were ten percentage points or more greater than in the total sample were the two inner city schools: 32% of the respondents at the black inner city school and 31% at

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<sup>7</sup>To some extent, this finding was due to the fact that all our respondents at this school were seniors and that grade level correlated slightly ( $r_{pb1} = .11$ ) with responses on the item. However, seniors at this school selected the three negative categories more frequently than seniors at any other school.

the white inner city school selected these responses, as compared with 14% in the total sample. There was no school at which the percentage of respondents selecting the extreme "Safe" category was ten percentage points or more greater than in the total sample. This pattern clearly indicates that the tendency for youth to perceive their neighborhoods as being unsafe is an inner city phenomenon.

On the item "Dirty-Clean," there were three schools at which an unusually high percentage of respondents (as defined above) perceived their neighborhoods as being "Dirty"; these three schools were the black inner city school (30%), the black inner city fringe school (20%), and the white inner city school (19%). Conversely, the only two schools at which the percentages of respondents selecting the category closest to the "Clean" pole exceeded the total-sample average of 33% by ten percentage points or more were the two suburban upper-middle-class schools (53% and 47%, respectively). This pattern clearly follows the dichotomy between low-status, inner city metropolitan location on the one hand and upper-status, residential-suburb location on the other.

On the item "Makes me feel that I belong-do not belong," the only two schools at which the percentages of respondents selecting the three negative response categories were ten percent or more greater than the total-sample percentage of 16% were the black inner city school (28%) and the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School (26%). Conversely, there was no school at which the percentage of respondents selecting the extreme positive category was ten percentage points or more higher than the total sample percentage of 23%, and it was only in the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School that this figure was ten percentage points or more less than in the total sample. It is not surprising that respondents at the black inner city school tended to feel relatively little of a sense of belongingness in their neighborhoods, given the fact that they rather consistently were relatively negative about other aspects of their neighborhoods. The relatively slight sense of belongingness reported by respondents at the Residential Upper Middle Class (2) School resembles the pattern found on the "Friendly-Unfriendly" item and reflects the unusual amount of psychological alienation from neighborhood which appears to be present among young people attending this school.

On the item "Discouraging-Hopeful," the only school at which the percentage of respondents selecting the three negative response categories was ten percentage points or more greater than in the sample as a whole was the Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class School. It is possible that this finding reflects the fact that the neighborhood in which this school is located had been changing rapidly from white to black over the previous few years and that many of our respondents at this school - particularly the white respondents - were expressing discouragement watching their neighborhood become an extension of the black ghetto in Kansas City.

On the item "Up-to-date-Out of things," the only two schools at which the percentage of respondents selecting the three negative response categories markedly exceeded the total sample percentage of 17% were the black inner city school (42%) and the Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class School (36%). The response of students at the black inner city school apparently reflects their overall relatively negative evaluation of their neighborhoods. Since the neighborhood in which the integrated inner city fringe school is located is not known to be relatively older or more blighted than most other neighborhoods in or near

the inner city represented in our sample, we are not able to suggest any explanation for the relatively negative rating given by respondents at that school on this particular item.

### Discussion

There were several items on which the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School differed from all other schools in the sample. In each case, respondents at this school were more negative about their neighborhoods than were respondents at other schools. Since this also means, of course, that respondents at this school were more alienated from their neighborhood than were respondents at the other two middle-class schools in the sample,<sup>8</sup> it is logical to ask whether differences in background or other variables possibly might account for these attitude differences. To do this, the sample of respondents at the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School was compared with the sample at the Upper Middle Class (1) School, which is located in a nearby suburb in the same county. The two groups did not differ noticeably in social class background, even when comparisons were made across all five social class categories. As shown in Table 1, the two samples contained approximately equal percentages of males and females and neither had more than a handful of black students. Examination of the religious affiliations of students in the two samples showed that Presbyterians and Methodists constituted the largest single group in both samples, while smaller groups of Catholics, Jews, Episcopalians, and Baptists were present in both samples. In social class background, sexual composition, and religious affiliation, in other words, our samples of respondents from these nearby upper middle class schools appeared to be drawn from the same larger population.

What, then, might account for the greater signs of alienation from neighborhood found among respondents at the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School? Although the communities surrounding both schools consist largely of expensive, large-plot houses, the community served by the Upper Middle Class (1) School is older and more established than that served by the second school; much of the latter community was farmland as recently as fifteen years ago and a large percentage of its population lives in new homes built during the last ten years.<sup>9</sup> This difference suggests that part of the reason students at the Upper Middle Class (2) School appear to be more alienated than students at other middle class

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<sup>8</sup> It should be recalled that all the respondents at the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School were seniors. However, visual inspection comparing their responses with those of seniors at the other two middle class schools indicated that the differences in grade-level composition were not responsible for the differences in responses to the neighborhood evaluation items.

<sup>9</sup> Only 41% of the respondents at the Upper Middle Class (2) School indicated that they had grown up in the Greater Kansas City Area, as compared with 64% in the school (the Industrial Suburb Comprehensive School) with the next lowest percentage and 78% in the metropolitan sample as a whole. Similarly, the mean number of years respondents at the Upper Middle Class (2) School had lived in their present neighborhoods was 6.87 as compared with 7.51 at the school with the next lowest mean.

schools in our sample is because the young people who attend it have not had sufficient time to develop attachments to their neighborhoods and/or because institutions in these neighborhoods are not as strong or well established as they may become when the community has more time to mature.

### Intercorrelations

Intercorrelations among the twelve neighborhood-evaluation items also were examined to determine whether they might shed more light on the meaning of the items by showing which ones were most substantially interrelated. For this purpose correlations of .4 or higher were considered to signify a substantial relationship between two items and are reported in this section.

The item "Adequate-Inadequate" correlated at .44 with "Pretty-Ugly" and at .41 with "Dirty-Clean." Similarly, the item "Poor-Wealthy" correlated at .50 with "Pretty-Ugly" and at .41 with "Dirty-Clean," while "Discouraging-Hopeful" correlated at .40 with "Dirty-Clean." This pattern of intercorrelations indicates that global evaluations of neighborhood such as are signified in the terms "Adequate-Inadequate" and "Discouraging-Hopeful" are particularly related to aesthetic aspects of the physical environment which in turn are related to the socioeconomic status of a neighborhood's residents.

However, the item "Discouraging-Hopeful" also correlated at .55 with "Makes me feel I belong-Makes me feel I do not belong," thus indicating (as one might expect) that perceptions regarding "Discouraging-Hopeful" aspects of a neighborhood have more of a psychological basis than do perceptions regarding general neighborhood adequacy.

The item "Friendly-Unfriendly" correlated at .54 with "Makes me feel that I belong-Makes me feel I do not belong," as one might expect given that these items clearly tap two more psychologically-oriented aspects of neighborhood perception than is true with respect to the remaining items.

The item "Up-to-date-Out of things" correlated at .45 with "Pretty-Ugly" and at .42 with "Dirty-Clean." The corresponding correlations with perceptions of friendliness and of belongingness were .34 and .24, respectively. This finding suggests that the item tended to tap primarily physical rather than psychological aspects of neighborhood perception. Stated differently, it appears that students in our sample appeared to respond more in terms of the "Up-to-date" pole - which can be interpreted with reference to the physical appearance or conditions in a neighborhood - than in terms of the "Out of things" pole. Since our original reason for using the item had been to tap psychological aspects of neighborhood perception, it is recommended that this set of terms not be used in further research unless steps are taken to divide it into two items (e.g., "Up-to-date-Out-of-date"; "In the middle of things-Out of things") or to otherwise clarify the meaning of the terms for respondents.

Finally, the item "Safe-Unsafe" correlated at .43 with "Dirty-Clean" but was correlated only at .27 with "Poor-Wealthy." This pattern is difficult to interpret and we believe it is primarily an artifact of the fact that students at one particular school in the sample (i.e., the black inner city school) rated their neighborhood much more negatively on these two items than did respondents at any other school.

### Population Density

In addition to the semantic-differential-type items dealing with neighborhood characteristics, respondents also were asked to indicate whether they felt the number of people living in their immediate neighborhoods was too high or too low. Two questions were included for this purpose. The first asked, "Thinking about the number of people you would guess live within a mile of your family, do you think this number is: far too many; a little too many; about right; a little too few; far too little." The second question was identical except that the word "teenagers" was substituted for "people." Percentage distributions of responses among students at the various schools are shown in Tables 2A and 2B. It should be noted that this part of the analysis was carried out using the entire metropolitan sample of 1750 respondents.

Perceptions that there are too many people in one's neighborhood appear to be associated both with social class and metropolitan location. As shown in Table 2A, more than ten percent of the respondents in the central city public schools but less than ten percent in public schools outside the central city believe there are "far too many" people living within a mile of them. Conversely, more than sixty percent of the respondents at schools outside the central city but only sixty percent or less at central city schools believe this number is "about right." The only exceptions to this generalization were found at the central city middle class school (where only five percent thought there were "far too many" people) and the suburban Upper Middle Class (2) School (where 13% said there were "far too many people" in their neighborhoods and only 55% felt the number of people was "about right.") The difference which is apparent between the two central city outlying schools suggests that social class of the neighborhood is related to young people's perceptions of local population density even in cases where comparisons are made between respondents in communities situated in the same general location within the metropolis.

After the discrepancy at the Upper Middle Class (2) School was noted, response patterns for the total sample were inspected and it was found that twelfth graders were slightly more likely to say there were too many people in their neighborhoods than did ninth graders. Thus the fact that our sample at the Upper Middle Class (2) School consists entirely of seniors may account for part or all of the discrepancy.

As one might expect, the percentage of respondents at the urban-rural school who felt there were too many ("far too many" plus "a little too many") people in their neighborhoods was at the bottom end of the distribution (14%) while the percentage who felt there were too few people was at the top end (13%). One other point that should be noted is that respondents at the Residential Suburb Comprehensive School were intermediate between respondents at the central city schools on the one hand and respondents at three of the other four suburban schools with respect to the "about right" category.

With respect to perceptions of the density of teenagers in one's local neighborhood, the data in Table 2B indicate that differences in perception are associated primarily with metropolitan location (i.e., inner city vs. non-inner city). At the public inner city and inner city fringe schools, on the one hand, eight to eleven percent of the respondents feel there are "far too many" teenagers, as compared to five percent at the parochial inner city fringe school and no more than three percent at any of the non-inner city or inner city fringe schools. Conversely less

than forty percent of respondents at three of the four public inner city or inner city fringe schools believe there are too few (A little too few" or "Far too few") teenagers in their neighborhoods, as compared with percentages of 40% or more at all the remaining schools.

One other pattern worth noting in Table 2B is that the two schools with the highest percentages of respondents who feel there are too many teenagers in their neighborhoods are the two black schools. This finding suggests that race may be independently associated with perceptions of density among teenagers in one's neighborhood, perhaps because segregation in housing, schools, and other institutions tends to concentrate minority youth in relatively dense communities as compared with youth in non-segregated communities nearby.

Taken together, the findings reported in this section suggest that perceptions of density in the population of one's neighborhood may be related to inner city vs. non-inner city location and that in some cases race and social class of the neighborhood also may be independently related to these perceptions. However, it should also be recalled that in an earlier section of this chapter no differences were found between schools with respect to perceptions that respondents' neighborhoods are "Overcrowded-Uncrowded." This latter finding resulted from the use of a more stringent criterion (i.e., a divergence of ten percentage points or more from modal patterns in the sample as a whole) than was used in the present section. Thus it is clear that differences in the perceptions of local neighborhood population density among young people in differing parts of the Kansas City Metropolitan Area are relatively small.

TABLE 2A

Percentage Distribution of Respondents According to Perceptions of Local  
Neighborhood Population Density

	<u>Response Category</u>				
	<u>Far too many</u>	<u>A little too many</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>A little too few</u>	<u>Far too few</u>
Central City Black Inner City Working Class (N = 113)	12	26	55	04	03
Central City White Inner City Working Class (N = 88)	17	23	51	04	00
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 112)	13	23	57	02	00
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 49)	13	11	58	08	04
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class (N = 92)	11	23	60	04	02
Central City White Outlying Middle Class (N = 134)	05	18	74	01	02
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 202)	04	15	63	09	04
Residential Suburb Comprehensive (N = 164)	06	26	63	04	01
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1) (N = 157)	06	14	73	07	00
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) (N = 86)	13	26	55	06	01
Urban - Rural Comprehensive (N = 129)	04	10	73	12	01
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive (N = 171)	03	16	75	03	02
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 170)	02	12	74	09	03

TABLE 2B

Percentage Distribution of Respondents According to Perceptions  
of Density of Teenagers in Local Neighborhoods

	<u>Response Category</u>				
	<u>Far too many</u>	<u>A little too many</u>	<u>About Right</u>	<u>A little too few</u>	<u>Far too few</u>
Central City Black Inner City Working Class (N = 112)	09	14	39	25	13
Central City White Inner City Working Class (N = 88)	09	08	45	24	14
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 110)	11	13	42	22	11
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 50)	08	00	40	30	22
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class (N = 92)	02	09	41	29	18
Central City White Outlying Middle Class (N = 186)	02	04	49	31	14
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 200)	03	05	32	35	26
Residential Suburb Comprehensive (N = 162)	01	09	45	23	22
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1) (N = 158)	01	08	41	34	16
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) (N = 88)					
Urban - Rural Comprehensive (N = 130)	01	03	48	28	20
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive (N = 165)	05	08	43	34	10
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 171)	01	06	43	30	20



### III. NEIGHBORHOOD ATTACHMENT

#### Local Institutions and Friends

One logical way to determine whether a person feels an attachment to people and institutions in his neighborhood is to find out whether he would feel a sense of loss if he were separated from them. To compare the degree to which young people in the various schools and communities in our sample felt an attachment to selected institutions as well as friends in their local neighborhoods, therefore, respondents were asked the question, "If your family should decide to move to a city 500 miles from here, would you miss the places and things where you now live?" Space was provided to give a separate response for each of the following referents: "Your church"; "Your school"; "The house you live in"; "Parks or playgrounds near your house"; "Friends in your neighborhood"; and "Places you and your friends hang around." Respondents were requested to indicate whether they would miss each referent "Very much," "Much," "Not very much," or "Not at all." For purposes of analysis and interpretation, the categories "Very much" and "Much" were considered to be positive about a local neighborhood referent and the categories "Not very much" and "Not at all" were considered to be negative. The percentages of respondents at each school who were positive about each referent are shown in Table 3.<sup>1</sup> Correlations between responses to these referents and social class or other background variables were not computed.

Before reviewing the data summarized in Table 3, it should be mentioned that the six referents did not appear to have equal reliability in the pilot study which was carried out at one of the participating schools. For this part of the questionnaire, reliability was considered satisfactory if more than half the respondents in the pilot study selected the same response category on the second administration as they did on the first. By this measure, the referents "The house you live in," "Parks or playgrounds near your house," and "Friends in your neighborhood" did not have satisfactory reliability. Since the respondents in the pilot study were a small group drawn from a low status school where reliability might be expected to be lower than in a middle or high status school, this does not mean that the data necessarily are too unreliable to warrant presentation and discussion. It does mean, however, that particular caution should be exercised when interpreting the response patterns dealing with the referents "The house you live in," "Parks or playgrounds near your house," and "Friends in your neighborhood."

Considering first the overall pattern of response shown in Table 3, the young people in our metropolitan sample report that the referents they are most attached to in their local neighborhoods are their schools, their houses, their friends, and the places they "hang around"; for each of these referents, approximately two-thirds of the respondents in the sample say they would miss these resources either "much" or "very much." The referent to which respondents were least attached was "parks and playgrounds"; only 13 to 32 percent of the respondents in the various schools said they would miss the parks and playgrounds in

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<sup>1</sup>The analysis in this chapter utilizes the full metropolitan sample of 1750 respondents.

TABLE 3

Percentages of Respondents Who Said They Would Miss Friends and Institutions in Their Neighborhoods<sup>a</sup>

School	Referent					Places Hang Around
	Church	School	House	Parks or Playgrounds	Friends	
Central City Black Inner City Working Class (N = 112) <sup>b</sup>	.50	.63	.53	.24	.64	.54
Central City White Inner City Working Class (N = 85)	.49	.72	.53	.09	.72	.63
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 103)	.51	.68	.54	.24	.75	.67
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 49)	.61	.65	.46	.14	.67	.63
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class (N = 93)	.47	.49	.55	.32	.61	.62
Central City White Outlying Middle Class (N = 185)	.52	.69	.63	.31	.69	.64
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 199)	.46	.69	.69	.16	.75	.70
Residential Suburb Comprehensive (N = 162)	.44	.56	.60	.12	.71	.66
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1) (N = 158)	.44	.70	.73	.20	.74	.65
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) (N = 88)	.36	.45	.67	.17	.55	.51
Urban - rural Comprehensive (N = 130)	.41	.52	.65	.20	.72	.66
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive (N = 158)	.52	.81	.73	.24	.68	.79
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 169)	.44	.67	.77	.22	.68	.74
Total Sample (N = 1701)	.47	.65	.64	.21	.69	.66

<sup>a</sup>A respondent was considered to be positive about a referent if he answered "Very much" or "Much" in response to the question, "If your family should decide to move to a city 500 miles from here, would you miss the places and things where you now live?"

<sup>b</sup>The N's for a given school vary slightly from item to item due to non-responses. The number given is the largest for a school on this section of the questionnaire.

their neighborhoods much or very much. There was more variation from school to school on the referents "house" and "school" than there was on other referents.

On the referent "church," the two schools at which response patterns diverged most sharply from the total metropolitan sample were the Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class School and the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School, where 61% and 36% of the respondents respectively said they would miss their local churches much or very much. We do not know of any particular reason why respondents at the inner city fringe school scored unusually high on this referent, but we can surmise that respondents at the Upper Middle Class (2) School may have scored especially low in part because their neighborhoods are relatively new and churches may not be well established there.

It should be noted, however, that in the sample as a whole, there was a slight tendency for a larger percentage of ninth graders than of twelfth graders to respond that they would miss local churches; thus the low percentage at the Upper Middle Class (2) School may be due to the fact that our respondents at this school were all seniors. In addition, it also should be noticed that working class youth and black youth in our sample do not appear to indicate consistently more attachment to their local churches than do middle class youth or white youth. Similarly, students at parochial schools do not clearly indicate more attachment to local churches than do students in the public schools.

On the referent "school," the schools at which respondents most clearly diverged from the total sample were the Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Working Class School on the positive end and the Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) School, the Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class School, the Urban-rural Comprehensive School, and the Residential Suburb Comprehensive School on the negative end. The high degree of attachment to local schools found at the parochial inner city fringe school underlines the fact that respondents in inner city or inner city fringe schools in our sample did not indicate less attachment to local schools than did respondents elsewhere; indeed, if anything respondents at these schools tended to indicate slightly more attachment toward local schools than did respondents in the other schools. The low degree of attachment to schools indicated by students at the Upper Middle Class (2) School is in line with the relatively negative feelings about local neighborhood conditions respondents at this school expressed on several other parts of the questionnaire. The relatively low degree of attachment reported by respondents at the outlying integrated school in the central city may reflect the fact that this school recently had changed from comprehensive to working class in socioeconomic composition.

On the referent "house you live in," the response pattern appeared to indicate that attachment to one's house tends to be associated with both social class and metropolitan location: less than sixty percent of the respondents at the inner city schools and the inner city fringe schools said they would miss their houses much or very much, whereas sixty percent or more of the respondents in schools outside the inner city said they would miss their houses. The only exceptions to this generalization were that 73% of the respondents at the parochial inner city fringe school and 55% of the respondents at the central city integrated outlying school said they would miss their houses much or very much.

However, since metropolitan location and social class are related (e.g., suburban communities tend to be higher in social class than inner city communities), the pattern shown for "house" in Table 3 does not reveal whether social class has an independent effect beyond its association with metropolitan location. To examine this question, response patterns were inspected for the schools at which there were fairly large numbers of respondents from more than one social class group - that is, the comprehensive and the middle class schools. This visual inspection indicated that at five of the six schools there was no discernible tendency for respondents of a higher status group to say they would miss their houses more frequently than did respondents of a lower status group. This result indicates that students of differing social status within a given metropolitan community tend to express equal attachment to their houses and that social class does not contribute independently to perceptions on this variable beyond its association with metropolitan location (inner city vs. non-inner city).

On the referent "Parks or playgrounds near your house," the pattern of response across schools was exactly what we would have predicted on the basis of our knowledge of park and recreational facilities and resources in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. That is, it was at the two central city outlying schools that respondents scored highest in the total sample on attachment to parks and playgrounds; these two schools also are closer to the largest and best-known park in Kansas City than are any other public schools in the metropolitan area and are located in communities widely renowned for their liberal endowment of landscaped boulevards and green open spaces. Conversely, the six schools at which less than twenty percent of our respondents said they would miss local parks or playgrounds much or very much are located in inner city neighborhoods characterized by drabness and deterioration or suburban communities characterized by uniform tract development with little open space. For these reasons we conclude that attachment to local parks and playgrounds among high-school youth is strongly influenced by the quality of recreational facilities available and the general attractiveness of the physical environment of local communities.

Response patterns for the referents "Friends" and "Places you and your friends hang around" were very similar. For both referents there was relatively little variation from one school to another and little in the way of discernible differences related to metropolitan location or social class. Respondents at the Upper Middle Class (2) School clearly indicated less attachment to friends and hangouts in their neighborhoods than did respondents in the total sample; this finding is well in line with evidence already cited suggesting that young people have developed comparatively little attachment to the relatively new institutions in the recently-established community in which the school is located. In addition, respondents at the black inner city school indicated relatively little attachment to "places you and your friends hang around," perhaps reflecting the unusually depressed physical state of their community and/or their relatively negative general perceptions of their local neighborhoods as compared with respondents elsewhere in the metropolitan area.

#### Metropolitan Location Preferences

Another way to determine whether individuals feel a sense of attachment to the local neighborhoods in which they live is to ask them whether they would continue to live in the same place if given a choice to move. To tap this dimension of attachment, we asked respondents to answer the open-ended question, "If your family should decide to move but you could make your family stay in the Kansas City area,

where would you have them live?"

To score the item, respondents' answers first were classified into one of four categories: "Same place"; "Same locality (other place)"; "Different locality"; and "No response or type of locality unknown." Because there were a number of responses specifying locations which the research staff could not identify, a relatively sizable proportion of responses were classified in the "unknown - no response" category. The distribution of responses into the four categories is shown in Table 4.

Examination of the data in Table 4 shows that 61% of the respondents in our sample would like to live either in the place they are now living or somewhere else in the same general locality. Examination of response patterns for the sample as a whole (not shown in Table 4) also indicated that twelfth graders were slightly more inclined to express a desire to move than were ninth graders.

As shown in Table 4, the only three schools at which half or less of the respondents indicate a preference to remain either in the same place or the same general locality are the black inner city school (48%), the black inner city fringe school (29%), and the integrated school in the outlying part of the central city (37%). This pattern also suggests that race has an independent effect on desire to remain in one's present locality; smaller percentages of respondents at the two all-black schools indicate a preference to remain in their present locality than is true at the other inner city or inner city fringe schools.

Examining the percentages of respondents who were categorized as specifically listing another locality to which they wished to move, on the other hand, nearly one-third of the respondents at the white inner city school were placed in this category, thus indicating that desire to move to another locality is associated with inner city location per se. Thus we conclude that both race and metropolitan location (inner city vs. non-inner city residence) are associated with attachment to local neighborhood as defined in terms of preference to remain in the same locality.

Where precisely do respondents at the schools cited above and in the total sample desire to live? To answer this question, respondents' location preferences were classified into the following categories: "Industrial Urban Area"; "High Income Suburb"; "Middle Income Suburb"; "Low Income Suburb"; "Suburb - Income Unknown"; "Inner City"; "Middle Class Urban"; "Stable Non-Middle Class Urban"; "Small City"; and "Rural." Among the sample of students at the black inner city school, 68% specified suburban communities to which they would like to move. Among respondents at the white inner city school and the black inner city fringe school, by way of contrast, only 26% and 17%, respectively, specified suburban communities as their locational preference. Among respondents at the integrated school in the outlying part of the central city, 38% of the respondents specified suburban communities. This pattern suggests that desire to move to the suburbs among young people in the central city may be associated particularly with unusually high dissatisfaction about one's present neighborhood.

For our sample as a whole, it may be of some interest to note that "average" suburbs clearly were more favored as places to live than were other types of communities: 46% of the respondents in the total sample specified either a middle-income suburb or a suburb of unknown income level in designating where they would

TABLE 4

Percentage Distribution of Respondents Expressing Desire to Live in  
Same or Different Metropolitan Location

<u>School</u>	<u>Same Place</u>	<u>Response Category</u>		<u>Unknown or No Response</u>
		<u>Same Locality (Other Place)</u>	<u>Different Locality</u>	
Central City Black Inner City Working Class (N = 118)	19	31	18	31
Central City White Inner City Working Class (N = 88)	42	13	32	14
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 112)	26	03	39	32
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 50)	52	14	22	12
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class (N = 93)	18	19	48	14
Central City White Outlying Middle Class (N = 189)	35	31	23	11
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 204)	46	21	13	21
Residential Suburb Comprehensive (N = 166)	39	25	18	18
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1) (N = 163)	48	15	20	17
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) (N = 88)	44	10	19	26
Urban - rural Comprehensive (N = 132)	52	11	27	10
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive (N = 173)	44	29	17	10
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 174)	57	18	17	07
Total sample (N = 1750)	41	20	22	17

like to live in the Kansas City Area. Only twelve percent of our respondents, by way of contrast, specified high-income suburbs, and fifty percent of this latter group were students enrolled at the two schools in upper-middle-class communities.

Respondents also were asked to explain the reason for the location they had specified in response to the question on where they would like to live in the Kansas City area. After considerable study of responses to this open-ended item, we categorized the reasons of those who responded<sup>2</sup> into the following six categories: "Close to friends"; "Near facilities"; "Near present school"; "In higher status area"; and "Nice or clean environment." The latter category included the responses of those who said the location they had specified was nicer, cleaner, or otherwise more pleasant than were their present neighborhoods.

For the sample as a whole, the distribution of respondents was as follows: "Close to friends" - 22%; "Near facilities" - 07%; "Near present school" - 01%; "In higher status area" - 08%; and "Nice or clean environment" - 61%. At every school except the integrated inner city fringe school and the Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive School, the percentage of respondents giving reasons classified in the "Nice or clean environment" category was between 58% and 71%. At the integrated inner city fringe school, only 39% of the respondents gave this reason, as did 50% of the respondents at the parochial industrial suburb school. Inspection of the response patterns at the two schools revealed that 40% of the respondents at the integrated inner city fringe school and 35% at the parochial industrial suburb school based their choices primarily on the wish to remain "Close to friends." We do not know why respondents at these two schools were unusually prone to give this consideration priority weight in designating where they would like to live, but in any event it is clear that youth in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area as a whole are concerned first and foremost with whether a community is generally clean and pleasant when they are asked to specify where they would like to live.

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<sup>2</sup> Although 25% of the students in the total sample did not respond to this item, a large proportion of non-respondents were students who indicated they would like to continue living in their present location and apparently did not feel it was necessary to give a reason for this choice.

#### IV. NEIGHBORHOOD RESOURCES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

To a greater or lesser degree the people, institutions, and physical conditions in a neighborhood offer various kinds of resources and opportunities for the residents who live in it. Young people particularly should have resources and opportunities available which may contribute in any of a number of ways to individual and social growth or to the satisfaction of a variety of desires and needs. This is not to say that such resources and opportunities necessarily should be available in local neighborhoods and communities, provided that they are easily accessible elsewhere in the metropolis. At the same time, however, it would be difficult to provide adequate resources and opportunities on a metropolitan basis without knowing something about the degree to which they are present or absent in individual neighborhoods. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the question of whether several such resources and opportunities are differentially available to young people in differing parts of the metropolitan area.

##### Activities and Organizations of Special Interest to Youth

One type of opportunity we believe should be available to all young people in the metropolitan area is the chance to participate in activities and/or organizations which enable youth to pursue individual interests in the arts, sports, religion, or other areas of personal concern. To determine whether students in the sample felt they were able to participate in activities in which they might be interested, respondents were asked to provide a yes-no response to the questions, "Are there any non-school activities or organizations in which you like to participate, but which are not available in your area?" and "Are there any non-school activities or organizations available in your area which you wanted to join but were not allowed to?"

Visual inspection of response patterns for the total sample indicated that sex, social class, grade level were not consistently associated with the tendency to respond affirmatively or negatively to the two items. It should be noted that the percentages of non-respondents on this part of the questionnaire ran as high as 20 to 25% at several schools; for this reason, the data presented in this section are particularly in need of future replications.

Inspection of the response pattern shown in Table 5 indicates that as many as 25% of the high school youth in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area are interested in participating in activities or organizations which they perceive as being unavailable in their communities. Schools at which the percentages of respondents who expressed this view seemed unusually high or low included the black inner city school and the upper middle class (2) school at the high end and the integrated inner city fringe school at the low end. In neither of the former two schools, however, did the unavailability of specified activities or organizations appear to be due to (perceived) restrictions on participation; at both schools the percentage of respondents who felt they had been unable to join in available activities or organizations was below the total-sample percentage of ten percent. The response of students at the upper middle class (2) school is consistent with evidence presented elsewhere in this report suggesting that the neighborhoods in which they live are not yet mature enough to provide the full range of resources and opportunities available to youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area. We do not have sufficient evidence, however, to venture an explanation as to why



TABLE 5

Percentages of Students Who Said Non-School Activities or Organizations  
In Which They Would Like to Participate Were Not Available or Could Not  
Be Joined in Their Community

	<u>Not Available</u>	<u>Could Not Join</u>
Central City Black Inner City Working Class	40	05
Central City White Working Class	24	08
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class	30	10
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class	11	09
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class	29	13
Central City White Outlying Middle Class	19	07
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	27	12
Residential Suburb Comprehensive	24	12
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1)	17	16
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2)	33	04
Urban-Rural Comprehensive	19	15
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe	25	06
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	23	09
Total Sample (N's = 1509 and 1514)	25	10

responses at the black inner city school and the integrated inner city fringe school diverged so sharply from the modal pattern of response for the total sample.

#### Sources of Emergency Help

One important resource every neighborhood should supply is help in time of emergency. As society becomes urbanized and metropolitanized and interpersonal contacts multiply over a wide geographic area but also become more fragmented and impersonal, it is reassuring to feel that people on whom one can count for assistance in an emergency are close at hand. No matter how wealthy or poor a neighborhood may be or where it is located, there is no good reason why its inhabitants should not feel a sense of security based on the knowledge that emergency help is readily available.

To determine whether youth in differing parts of the metropolitan area feel they can obtain help in case of emergency, we asked students in the sample to respond to the general item, "Assume you are home alone and something happens which you can't handle alone. Are there people nearby you feel you could turn to for help?" and then to indicate whether they could turn for "immediate help" to the following specific sources: "Neighbor(s)"; "Relative(s)"; "Family friends"; "Police"; "Teacher"; and "Clergyman." In each case respondents were asked to answer with a simple "yes" or "no." The responses of students in the total metropolitan sample of 1750 are shown in Table 6.

As shown in Table 6, the large majority of respondents in every school feel that nearby sources of help are available in an emergency. The range from high to low in responding to the general item on "people nearby" is only eight percentage points. By this criterion, neighborhoods throughout the metropolitan area are providing young people with a sense of security defined in terms of feeling able

TABLE 6

## Percentage of Respondents Who Feel Emergency Help is Available from Nearby Sources

School	People Nearby (General)	Neighbors	Relatives	Family Friends	Police	Teacher	Clergyman
Central City Black Inner City Working Class (N = 118) <sup>a</sup>	.90	.69	.58	.66	.37	.16	.16
Central City White Inner City Working Class (N = 88)	.94	.86	.57	.63	.50	.08	.17
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 112)	.97	.85	.66	.68	.32	.14	.23
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 50)	.92	.86	.54	.60	.30	.08	.12
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class (N = 93)	.89	.75	.42	.51	.43	.06	.26
Central City White Outlying Middle Class (N = 185)	.90	.83	.44	.62	.58	.08	.18
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 203)	.96	.90	.29	.67	.54	.10	.23
Residential Suburb Comprehensive (N = 163)	.97	.90	.38	.57	.48	.14	.25
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1) (N = 159)	.92	.89	.31	.70	.66	.12	.22
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) (N = 130)	.93	.87	.24	.64	.59	.17	.26
Urban-Rural Comprehensive (N = 130)	.92	.87	.37	.71	.48	.10	.17
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive (N = 171)	.93	.89	.57	.66	.48	.16	.32
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 174)	.95	.93	.27	.68	.46	.08	.27

<sup>a</sup>The N's for a given school vary slightly . . . (Table 3 note)

to call on people nearby for help in times of need.

Turning to the specific sources of possible help to which students were asked to respond, the pattern which emerged with regard to 'neighbors' indicated that youth in the depressed inner city ghetto (i.e., the black inner city school) feel less able to turn to their neighbors for help than do youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area. The only exception to this generalization was that respondents at the outlying integrated school felt as little able to turn to neighbors for help as did respondents in the inner city; most likely the relatively low sense of being able to turn to neighbors for support among students at this school is associated in part with the rapid racial transition and occasional interracial hostility which had occurred in the community in which the school is located.

In addition, the data in Table 6 suggest that respondents attending the three comprehensive schools in the suburbs tend to feel a slightly greater sense of being able to turn to neighbors for immediate help than do respondents in other types of schools; these three schools were the only ones at which ninety percent or more of the respondents said they could turn to their neighbors for help. Perhaps it is understandable that youth at these schools should express a greater confidence in neighbors than do respondents in the inner city, where crime and other forms of social disorganization may result in considerable distrust and isolation among neighbors. One reason respondents at the comprehensive schools may differ from respondents at the other suburban schools is that the communities in which the former group resides may be somewhat denser than predominantly middle-class communities in which families tend to be more isolated in detached, single-family units on relatively large lots.

The picture is considerably different with respect to relatives. Having relatives to turn to for immediate help is primarily associated with residence in or near the inner city: at least 54% of the respondents at each inner city or inner city fringe school said they could turn to a relative for help in time of need. Elsewhere, by way of contrast, the respective percentages of respondents who feel they can turn to relatives for help drop to the forties in the rest of the central city, the thirties in the residential suburbs, and the twenties in the industrial suburbs. The only exception to this generalization is that only 24% of the respondents at the upper middle class (2) school say they can turn to their relatives for immediate help, perhaps because this residential suburb is relatively new and its inhabitants may recently have left relatives behind to move there.

With respect to family friends, the percentage of respondents who said they felt able to obtain immediate help from this source clearly was lower in the integrated school in the outlying part of the central city than in any other school in the sample. It seems likely that recent racial transition in the community as well as the hostility and tensions which have accompanied this transition both may play a part in accounting for the divergent pattern found at the integrated outlying school.

With regard to the police, it was found that young people attending public schools in or near the inner city feel less able to turn to the police for help than do young people elsewhere in the metropolitan area: at three of the four inner city public schools less than forty percent of the respondents said they could turn to the police for immediate help, as compared with 43% in the school with the next lowest percentage.

With respect to teachers and clergymen, we could find no discernible patterns of variation in accordance with metropolitan location, social class, or other background variables except that slightly higher percentages of respondents at the two parochial schools said they could turn to a clergyman than was true at any of the public schools.

Several sections in this chapter have called attention to the relative feelings of insecurity (defined in terms of feeling able to turn to various sources for immediate help in an emergency) reported by respondents at the integrated school in the outlying part of the central city. On three (People nearby; Family friends; Teacher) of the seven sources of support described above, the percentage of respondents indicating they felt help could be obtained was lower than at any other school, and on a fourth (Neighbors) the percentage was lower than was true at every school except the inner city black school. In addition, it also was found that twelve percent of the respondents at the integrated outlying school felt they could not turn to a single source of immediate help; in no other school did the comparable percentage exceed six percent. These findings suggest that youth in a community changing rapidly from white to black experience feelings of helplessness (as defined above) more frequently than do young people elsewhere in the metropolitan area. The distinctive response of respondents at the integrated outlying school probably has a multiplicity of causes, such as the fact that many young people at this school were relatively new in their community, isolation and hostility between white and black families in the community, and feelings of rootlessness associated with rapid social change. But whatever the reason or reasons, the relative insecurity reported by respondents at the integrated outlying school suggests that special efforts are needed to help young people feel safe and secure in racially-changing urban communities.

## V. IMPORTANCE AND USE OF METROPOLITAN RESOURCES

The preceding parts of this study have been concerned primarily with determining how high school students perceive and react to their local neighborhoods. In addition to local community-related perceptions and preferences, the study also explored several issues involving perceptions of and orientation toward the metropolitan area as a whole. How do young people in differing parts of the metropolitan area view social and other resources which fundamentally are available to a metropolitan market? Are such resources used widely throughout the metropolitan area and is their usage much affected by the vagaries of metropolitan location? Data bearing on these and related issues and questions are reported in this chapter.

### Importance of Metropolitan Resources and Activities

The major instrument used to explore such questions was a 45-item list of metropolitan resources and activities administered to respondents at our thirteen-school sample. Resources and activities listed on this part of the questionnaire included such diverse things as airplanes, the philharmonic, libraries, shopping centers, newspapers, and restaurants. In many cases specific rather than general referents were utilized in order to obtain data with minimum ambiguity (e.g., "Nelson Art Gallery" rather than "art museum" as a general category). To determine how much importance students in the sample attached to each referent, respondents were asked to "rate the importance of each item by placing a check in the column that indicates just how important it is."<sup>1</sup> The six response categories used for this task were: "Very important"; "Somewhat important"; "Not particularly important"; "Of very little importance"; "Not important at all"; and "Undesirable." Responses in these categories were scored from 1 (Very important) to 6 (Undesirable). A copy of the 45-item list, together with the instructions for respondents and the scoring systems, is provided in Appendix A to this report.<sup>2</sup>

As described in Chapter I, reliability information was obtained by readministering the questionnaire to a group of 38 respondents at one of the participating schools. Analysis of the responses of this group of students on the two administrations of the questionnaire showed that 40% of the responses on the second administration were identical to those respondents gave on the first and 60% were no more than one category different on the six-point scale. The mean shift in

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<sup>1</sup>Although our pilot testing of the instrument did not indicate respondents had difficulty interpreting the wording of these instructions, it should be noted that our sample question suggested respondents might think a referent was important if they had occasion to "go there every day." It is possible that some respondents interpreted these instructions to mean that importance was being defined in terms of usage and thereby did not perceive the distinction we intended to draw between perceptions of "importance" and reports of "usage."

<sup>2</sup>Because an extra box was present on the response sheet, a few respondents placed a check in a location beyond the "Never" category. These responses were scored as 6.

TABLE 7

Importance and Usage Mean Scores and Standard Deviations  
For Forty-Five Referents<sup>a</sup>

<u>Referent</u>	<u>Importance</u>		<u>Usage</u>	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
1. Airplane	1.894	1.387	3.920	1.419
2. Train	2.554	1.373	4.005	1.254
3. Commercial bus (Greyhound, etc.)	2.454	1.383	3.707	1.342
4. Public transit (subway, buses, etc.)	2.299	1.513	3.157	1.509
5. Taxi	2.572	1.500	3.565	1.457
6. Private automobile	1.412	1.105	1.587	1.298
7. Nelson Art Gallery	2.604	1.462	3.498	1.348
8. Kansas City Museum	2.559	1.462	3.674	1.312
9. K. C. Public Library (downtown)	1.983	1.387	3.352	1.523
10. Other libraries	1.918	1.314	2.436	1.318
11. Home Show	3.335	1.518	3.910	1.479
12. Auto Show	3.090	1.519	3.814	1.467
13. Philharmonic	3.297	1.713	3.879	1.322
14. Starlight Theatre	2.500	1.499	3.365	1.474
15. Band concerts	3.269	1.691	3.744	1.466
16. Stage plays	2.991	1.637	3.529	1.467
17. Lectures	3.653	1.814	3.860	1.421
18. Downtown movie theaters	2.616	1.204	2.566	1.276
19. Other movie theaters	2.064	1.149	2.197	1.195
20. Swope Park Zoo	2.328	1.338	2.811	1.246
21. Swope Park recreational facilities	2.454	1.446	3.179	1.403
22. Lakes (boating & swimming)	1.886	1.187	2.422	1.322
23. Circus	2.957	1.453	3.581	1.344
24. Auto racing	3.021	1.622	3.657	1.520
25. Private golf course	3.631	1.569	4.164	1.454
26. Public golf course	3.356	1.744	4.050	1.502
27. Municipal Stadium (sports)	1.947	1.326	2.839	1.462
28. American Royal Building (sports)	2.200	1.453	3.220	1.486
29. Downtown shopping stores	1.880	1.275	2.305	1.303
30. Other shopping area (30th & Main, etc.)	2.029	1.341	2.522	1.442
31. Shopping centers (Ward Pkwy., etc.)	1.596	1.115	1.777	1.161
32. Radio	1.370	.837	1.328	.837
33. Commercial television	1.595	1.143	1.510	1.060
34. Educational television	2.428	1.679	3.062	1.573
35. Telephone	1.274	.824	1.350	.901
36. Kansas City Star	1.570	1.146	1.699	1.167
37. Kansas City Times	1.652	1.189	1.803	1.245
38. Other local papers (Wed. Mgzn. etc.)	2.334	1.383	2.601	1.448
39. Special newspapers (Call, etc.)	2.544	1.515	3.012	1.573
40. Restaurant where you have to dress up	2.252	1.295	2.657	1.297

TABLE 7 (Cont'd.)  
Importance and Usage Mean Scores and Standard Deviations  
For Forty-Five Referents<sup>a</sup>

<u>Referent</u>	<u>Importance</u>		<u>Usage</u>	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
41. Restaurant where you need not dress up	2.033	1.161	2.235	1.232
42. Drive-in restaurant	1.975	1.204	1.835	1.130
43. Eat at home of friends	2.371	1.371	2.555	1.279
44. Teenage night club, coffeeshouse	2.089	1.452	2.996	1.573
45. Auditorium or stadium (music show)	2.503	1.593	3.210	1.510

<sup>a</sup> Low scores represent high ratings on importance and frequent usage.

responses across all the 45 items was 1.09 points. As before, we believe this estimate is unrealistically high since care was taken to eliminate obviously non-serious respondents from the final sample and responses limited to one administration in a metropolitan cross-section are likely to be more accurate than responses obtained on a second administration of the questionnaire at a low-status school.

Mean ratings and standard deviations showing the ratings on importance assigned by students in the entire 1750-subject metropolitan sample for each of the 45 metropolitan resources and activities are shown in Table 7. Resources and activities which received a mean rating between "Very important" and "Somewhat important" (i.e., between 1 and 2 on the six-point scale) were: Telephone - 1.27; Radio - 1.37; Private automobile - 1.41; Kansas City Star /the area-wide afternoon newspaper/ - 1.57; Commercial TV - 1.60; Shopping centers - 1.60; Kansas City Times /the area-wide morning newspaper/ - 1.65; Downtown shopping - 1.80; Lakes - 1.89; Airplane - 1.89; Other /local/ libraries - 1.92; Municipal stadium /professional football and baseball/ - 1.95; Drive-in restaurants - 1.98; and K. C. Public Library - 1.98. For the most part, these are referents which obviously are widely used by teenagers. Resources and activities which received a mean rating lower than the "Not particularly important" point on the scale were "Auto racing - 3.02; Auto show - 3.10; Band concerts - 3.27; Philharmonic - 3.30; Home show - 3.34; Public golf course - 3.36; Private golf course - 3.63; and Lectures - 3.65.

To determine whether grade level, social class, and sex were correlated with perceptions of the importance of metropolitan resources included on the 45-item list, product-moment and point biserial correlations (as appropriate) were computed between these background variables and a sample of nine items spread throughout the list. No consistent or discernible relationships between either social class or grade level and ratings of the importance of resources were found in the correlations; however, all nine correlations with sex were between .1 and .3. For this reason, account had to be taken of sex in comprising a sample to allow comparison of the responses of students at the various schools. Therefore, to take sex differences into account in the analysis reported in this chapter, either males or females were randomly eliminated from the sub-samples at the five schools at which one sex outnumbered the other by ten or more subjects until these sub-samples consisted of equal numbers of males and females. Since the sample at the Central

TABLE 8

Items and Loadings Assessing the Importance of Ten Factors  
Involving Metropolitan Resources and Activities

Factor Number and Title	Items	Loadings
I. Intellectual Activities	Stage plays	.72
	Band concerts	.67
	Philharmonic	.64
	Starlight theatre	.54
	Auditorium or stadium	.43
	Lectures	.39
	Educational TV	.39
II. Eating Out Facilities	Restaurant where you need not dress up	.75
	Drive-in Restaurant	.64
	Restaurant where you have to dress up	.64
	Eat at home of friends	.50
	Teen-age night club, coffee house	.45
III. Mass Communications	Kansas City Times ;	.85
	Kansas City Star	.84
	Other local papers	.50
	Commercial TV	.38
	Telephone	.35
IV. Sports Activities and Events	Private golf course	.80
	Public golf course	.78
	Municipal stadium (sports)	.42
	American Royal Bldg. (sports)	.38
V. Mass Transportation	Commercial bus (Greyhound, etc.)	.67
	Train	.63
	Public transit (subway, busses, etc.)	.61
	Taxi	.58
	Airplane	.51
VI. Movie Theatres	Downtown movie theatres	.75
	Other movie theatres	.74
VII. Shopping facilities	Other /than downtown/ shopping areas	.68
	Downtown shopping stores	.66
	Shopping centers	.47



TABLE 8 (Cont'd.)

Factor Number and Title	Items	Loadings
VIII. Auto and Home Hobbies	Auto show	.69
	Home show	.46
	Auto racing	.45
IX. Intellectual Institutions	Kansas City Museum	.74
	Nelson Art Gallery	.71
	K. C. Public Library	.52
	Other libraries	.41
X. Leisure Time Recreation Facilities	Swope Park Recreational facilities	.59
	Swope Park Zoo	.58
	Lakes - boating and swimming	.50
	Circus	.34

City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class School consisted entirely of females, this procedure resulted in the total elimination of that school from the sample.

To facilitate analysis and interpretation of the data, a factor analysis was performed using the responses of all students in the sample on all 45 items dealing with the importance of metropolitan resources and activities. An item was considered to have loaded on a factor only if its loading for the factor was .40 or larger, except that items loading between .34 and .40 were included in a factor if they obviously involved the same type of resource or activity as did other items which loaded above .40. Using these criteria, ten factors emerged which included every item except Private automobile, Radio, and Special Newspapers. Two of these referents (Private Automobile and Radio) were among the three rated most important by respondents in the sample and it is probable that their failure to load on any factor was due largely to the relative lack of variance which was found on responses to the two items. No referent loaded on more than one factor. The composition of the ten factors together with the factor loadings and the names given to the factors are shown in Table 8.

Factor I consisted of seven items describing intellectual-educational type cultural resources and activities and was given the title "Intellectual Activities." Mean scores on the seven items for respondents at each of the twelve schools utilized in this part of the study are shown in Table 9, as are similarly-derived mean scores on the other ten factors. Examination of the response pattern shown for Factor I in Table 9 at first indicated that respondents in middle-class communities may tend to assign greater importance to Intellectual Events than do respondents in other communities; the mean score of 2.67 at the suburban upper middle class (2) school was markedly lower than were other means, while the central city middle class school and the suburban upper middle class (1) school ranked third and fourth, respectively, among schools in the sample. However, mean scores as these latter two schools were not much different from mean scores at several

TABLE 9

Mean Importance Scores on Items Included in Eight Factors Denoting  
Metropolitan Resources and Activities<sup>a</sup>

School	Factor							
	I Intellec- tual Activities	II Eating Out Fa- cilities	IV Sports Activities and Events	V Mass Transpor- tation facilities	Shop- ping Fa- cilities	VIII Auto and Home Hobbies	IX Intellec- tual Insti- tutions	X Leisure-Time Recreation Facilities
Central City Black Inner City Working Class (N = 118)	3.03	2.80	4.31	2.43	2.17	3.46	2.38	2.63
Central City White Inner City Working Class (N = 88)	3.24	2.21	3.07	2.19	1.91	3.38	2.19	2.34
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class (N = 80)	2.80	2.95	3.15	2.18	1.83	3.13	2.39	2.46
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class (N = 93)	3.04	2.76	3.16	2.31	1.84	3.28	2.15	2.49
Central City White Outlying Middle Class (N = 189)	2.82	2.12	2.59	2.25	1.98	3.37	1.99	3.00
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 204)	3.35	2.24	2.82	2.63	1.83	3.24	2.53	2.52
Residential Suburb Comprehensive (N = 154)	3.24	2.16	2.63	2.30	1.89	3.00	2.54	2.96
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1) (N = 163)	2.94	2.31	2.53	2.68	1.88	3.37	2.40	2.37
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2) (N = 88)	2.67	2.06	2.64	2.62	2.41	3.43	2.07	3.04
Urban-rural Comprehensive (N = 104)	3.17	2.97	3.57	2.86	2.01	3.02	2.56	2.61
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive (N = 173)	2.97	2.02	2.76	2.33	1.88	3.20	2.24	2.41
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive (N = 116)	3.01	2.28	2.07	1.94	1.66	3.10	2.36	2.72

<sup>a</sup>Lower scores represent referents assessed as more important. Adjustments were made to take non-responses into account in calculating means.

other schools and it is possible that the relatively non-local background of respondents at the upper middle class (2) school (i.e., a relatively high proportion grew up in other parts of the country) may account for their tendency to assign relatively great importance to Intellectual Activities.

One other characteristic of the response pattern for Factor I which may be noteworthy is that the three highest mean scores are found at the white inner city school and the two public comprehensive schools. This pattern may indicate that youth in predominantly white working class and mixed-class communities attach lesser importance to Intellectual Activities than do youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area - at least when they are asked to assess the importance of these events on a written questionnaire.

Even though we had not found noticeable correlations between social class and randomly-selected items on the list of metropolitan referents, as a check we also inspected response patterns on several items from Factor I for the metropolitan sample as a whole and for the larger individual-school samples which contained sizable numbers of respondents from more than one social class group (i.e., S.C. 1 and 2; S.C. 3; S.C. 4 and 5). This inspection did not suggest that consistent differences were present across social groups at the same school; thus we conclude that social class is not independently related to self-reported perceptions of the importance of Intellectual Activities after account has been taken of the possible association which may exist between these perceptions and metropolitan location.

Factor II consisted of five referents which involved dining locations outside of one's own house and therefore was titled "Eating Out Facilities." The response pattern shown in Table 9 for Factor II clearly suggests that youth in the two black schools in the central city as well as the integrated outlying school and the urban-rural school assign less weight to facilities for eating out than do youth in white communities included in our sample. Based on this pattern we conclude that young people in neighborhoods with a large or predominant minority population or in neighborhoods on the urban-rural fringe perceive such facilities to be less important than do young people elsewhere.

Factor III consisted of five referents which included area-wide and local newspapers, commercial television, and the telephone, and was titled "Mass Communications." Because the area-wide morning newspaper (the Kansas City Times) loaded at .85 on "Mass Communications," it was felt that responses to the item would adequately represent responses to the factor as a whole. For this reason mean scores for Factor III are not included in Table 9; instead a visual inspection was made of response patterns to the item "Kansas City Times." This inspection showed that between 79% and 90% of the respondents at every school except the central outlying middle class school perceived the Times as being either "Very Important" or "Somewhat important"; at the latter school 94% of the respondents selected these two categories. No trends were discernible with respect to metropolitan location.

Factor IV consisted of four referents involving the importance of golf courses and metropolitan facilities at which professional sports events are held. The factor was titled "Sports Activities and Events." Examination of the response pattern for Factor IV in Table 8 shows that respondents at the central city middle class school and the three residential suburb schools (which are substantially or predominantly middle class in socioeconomic composition) have lower mean

scores than do respondents at any other school except the parochial industrial suburb school; this pattern indicated that social class may be associated with perceptions of the importance of "Sports Activities and Events" - a trend which would be quite understandable in view of the expense involved either in taking up golf as a hobby or attending professional athletic contests. Conversely, respondents at the black inner city school clearly attached less importance to "Sports Activities and Events" than did respondents at any other school, perhaps because they live in the most depressed and deteriorated part of the metropolitan area and have little chance to play golf or attend professional athletic contests.

Factor V consisted of five referents involving transportation by means other than private automobile and was titled "Mass Transportation." The pattern of response for Factor V shown in Table 8 suggests that perceptions concerning the importance of mass transportation are associated with central city vs. suburban location: central city schools have mean scores of 2.43 or lower, while all the suburban schools except the Residential Suburb Comprehensive School and the Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive School have mean scores of 2.62 or higher. (It might be noted that the former school actually is located within the central city although we have classified it as a suburban school because it is located in a suburban-type community with its own school district.) It is possible that the relatively great importance respondents at the parochial industrial suburb school attached to Mass Transportation may be related to the fact that many of them commute long distances to attend it.

The sixth factor consisted of two items involving movie theaters, downtown and elsewhere and was titled "Movie Theatres." This factor is not reported in Table 9 because it consisted of only two closely intercorrelated items which we could examine easily as separate items. Visual inspection of the total-sample response patterns indicated that twelfth graders and females more frequently rated these two referents as "Very Important" than did ninth graders and males, respectively. However, no differences appeared to exist between schools except that respondents at the urban-rural school rated the two referents in Factor VI as being "Very important" slightly less frequently than did respondents in the total sample (on "Downtown theatres," 20% as compared with 29%; on "Other movie theaters," 22% as compared with 32%).

The seventh factor consisted of three referents involving downtown, regional, and local shopping areas and was titled "Shopping Facilities." Respondents at most schools agreed in assigning relatively great importance to the referents in this factor: the total-sample mean for this factor was lower than any other and was the only one which fell between the response categories "Very important" and "Somewhat important." Only at the upper middle class (2) school and, to a lesser extent, the black inner city school did respondents seem relatively less willing to attach importance to Shopping Facilities than did respondents in the total sample. Some readers may interpret the relatively high score found at the upper middle class school as being internally consistent (i.e., in obverse order) with the relatively great importance respondents at this school attached to Intellectual Events.

The eighth factor consisted of three referents involving interests in home and automobiles and was titled "Auto and Home Hobbies." There was relatively little variation in the mean scores of respondents at the various schools on this factor and no trends were detectable with respect to metropolitan location.

The ninth factor consisted of four referents involving three well-known intellectual-cultural institutions in Kansas City (the Museum; the Art Gallery; the Public Library) as well as "Other Libraries" and was titled "Intellectual Institutions." The three schools with the highest mean scores (i.e., low importance ratings) on this factor were the three public comprehensive schools located respectively in the industrial suburb, a residential suburb, and at the urban-rural fringe. Conversely, the four schools with the lowest mean scores were the central city middle class school, the upper middle class (2) school, and the white inner city school, and the integrated outlying working class school, thus indicating that social class of the school is not clearly related to perceptions of the importance of intellectual institutions. Our interpretation of this pattern is that young people who live in suburbs which are not predominantly middle class and in urban-rural fringe neighborhoods may assign lesser importance to intellectual institutions than do youth in the central city or in middle class suburbs.

The tenth factor consisted of three referents including Kansas City's major park and zoo as well as "Lakes for - boating and swimming" and was titled "Leisure-time Recreation." The three schools which diverged most clearly from the modal pattern of response on this item were the upper middle class (2) school, the central city outlying middle class school, and the residential suburb comprehensive school; all three schools had relatively low mean scores on the items in this factor. Except that respondents at the upper middle class (1) school scored below the mean for the total sample, this pattern suggests that young people in neighborhoods with a substantial or predominant middle-class population may attach lesser importance to Leisure-time Recreation Facilities than do youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area. (Visual inspection of the responses of students at the upper middle class (1) school for the three items considered separately showed that response patterns at the school were similar to those in the total sample on all three items.) The possibility that reliable differences in accordance with metropolitan location may exist on this factor should be examined in future research on the perceptions of young people in differing parts of the metropolitan area.

#### Usage of Metropolitan Resources

To determine how much students actually used metropolitan resources, respondents were asked to use the same 45-item list as was used to assess perceptions of importance and to "place a check in the column that best describes the number of times you have made use of each item during the past year." The five response categories among which respondents were asked to make a choice included: "Very Often"; "Often"; "A few times"; "Hardly ever"; and "Never." These categories were scored from 1 (Very often) to 5 (Never).

Reliability estimates obtained in the same manner as were reliability data on perceptions of importance indicated that responses to the usage section were considerably more reliable than were responses on the importance section: 48% of the responses on the second administration were identical to those respondents gave on the first and 80% were no more than one category different on the five-point scale.

Mean scores and standard deviations obtained from the frequency of usage reports of respondents in the entire metropolitan sample of 1750 are shown in Table 7. Resources and activities which were reported as having mean usage scores between

TABLE 10

Items and Loadings Assessing the Usage of Ten Factors  
Involving Metropolitan Resources and Activities

Factor Number and Title	Items	Loadings
I. Intellectual Institutions and Activities	Philharmonic	.55
	Stage Plays	.55
	Starlight Theatre	.55
	Nelson Art Gallery	.53
	Kansas City Museum	.52
	Band Concerts	.51
II. Popular Communications	Radio	.66
	Commercial TV	.62
	Telephone	.55
III. Leisure-time Recreation and Spectator Sports	Auto racing	.64
	American Royal Building (sports)	.56
	Auto Show	.56
	Municipal Stadium (sports)	.52
	Lakes (boating and swimming)	.44
	Circus	.43
IV. Shopping Facilities	Other (than downtown) shopping area	.62
	Downtown shopping	.57
V. Restaurants	Restaurant where you need not dress up	.73
	Restaurant where you have to dress up	.67
	Drive-in restaurants	.45
VI. Golf Courses	Private golf course	.81
	Public golf course	.80
VII. Movie Theaters	Downtown movie theaters	.72
	Other movie theaters	.69
VIII. Swope Park Zoo and Recreational Facilities	Swope Park Zoo	.69
	Swope Park recreational facilities	.61
IX. Mass Transportation	Public transit (subway, buses, etc.)	-.55
	Commercial bus (Greyhound, etc.)	-.50
	Taxi	-.50
	Train	-.38
X. Local and Special Newspapers	Special newspapers	-.57
	Other <u>than</u> area-wide local paper	-.54

TABLE 10 (Cont'd.)

Factor Number and Title	Items	Loadings
XI. Major Metropolitan Newspapers	Kansas City Times	-.75
	Kansas City Star	-.73

"Very often" and "Often" (i.e., between 1 and 2 on the five-point scale) were: Radio - 1.33; Telephone - 1.35; Commercial TV - 1.51; Private automobile - 1.59; Kansas City Times - 1.70; Kansas City Star - 1.80; Shopping Centers - 1.78; and Drive-in restaurant - 1.84. Resources and activities which received a mean rating lower than the "Hardly ever" point on the scale were: Train - 4.00; Public golf course - 4.05; and Private golf course - 4.16.

To determine whether grade level, social class, or sex were correlated with reports of the frequency of usage of the metropolitan resources included on the 45-item list, product-moment and point biserial correlations were computed between these background variables and a sample of 8 items spread throughout the list. Only one correlation as high as .10 was found between either grade level or social class on the one hand and usage scores on the other, but two of the eight correlations between usage and sex were higher than .20. For this reason we used the same sexually-balanced sample in analyzing the usage scores by school as we had used with the importance scores.

A factor analysis of the responses of students in the entire metropolitan sample to the 45 referents indicated that eleven factors could be isolated using the same criteria as we had used to define factors on the importance responses. These eleven factors together with their component referents and loadings are shown in Table 10. Eleven referents did not load on any factor.<sup>3</sup> Seven of the factors were two-referent factors and one was a three-referent factor for which we judged response patterns from school to school could be analyzed easily using referents singly; accordingly, Table 11 shows scores for students at the twelve-school sample only for the four factors on which we derived mean scores by summing responses on more than one item.

Factor I consisted of six referents involving intellectual-educational institutions and activities and therefore was titled "Intellectual Institutions and Activities." This factor was most similar to Factor I on the importance ratings in that it included the four highest-loading referents from the latter factor, but it differed in that it included the "Nelson Art Gallery" and the "Kansas City Museum" but not the "Auditorium or Stadium (music shows)," "Lectures" and "Educational TV."

<sup>3</sup>These thirteen referents were: Airplane; Private automobile; Kansas City Public Library; Other Libraries; Home show; Lectures; Shopping Centers; Educational TV; Eat at home of friend; Teenage night club or coffee house; and Auditorium or Stadium (music show).

TABLE 11

Mean Usage Scores on Items Included in Four Factors  
Denoting Metropolitan Resources and Activities<sup>a</sup>

School	Factor			
	I Intellectual Institutions and Activities	II Popular Communications	III Leisure-time Recre- ation and Spectator Sports	IX Mass Trans- portation
Central City Black Inner City Working Class	3.69	1.62	3.63	3.02
Central City White Inner City Working Class	3.82	1.46	3.14	3.45
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class	3.55	1.57	3.43	3.02
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class	3.85	1.39	3.58	3.48
Central City White Outlying Middle Class	3.64	1.38	3.40	3.64
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	3.91	1.57	3.34	3.99
Residential Suburb Comprehensive	3.95	1.54	3.27	4.01
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1)	3.76	1.34	3.49	4.02
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2)	3.82	1.41	3.47	4.41
Urban-rural Comprehensive	4.00	1.60	3.28	4.43
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive	3.87	1.30	3.27	3.72
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	3.96	1.45	3.33	4.00

<sup>a</sup>Lower scores represent referents reported as more frequently used. Adjustments were made to take non-responses into account in calculating means.



Examination of the response pattern shown for Factor I in Table II indicates that usage of the cultural resources available under the heading "Intellectual Institutions and Activities" is associated with metropolitan location: none of the scores at the central city schools and the two middle-class suburban schools are above 3.37, while scores at the remaining suburban schools are 3.91 or higher. Although there is relatively little range in the set of means (all tend to indicate usage between "A few times" and "Hardly ever"), the pattern suggests that youth in the central city and in middle-class communities outside the central city tend to take slightly more advantage of intellectual-cultural resources than do young people elsewhere in the metropolitan area. It is possible that this pattern may arise in part because central city youth tend to be geographically closer to these resources and because youth in middle-class communities may have a relatively high level of interest in intellectual-cultural resources and activities.

Examination of the response patterns on the individual items suggested the following: on "Nelson Art Gallery," the pattern closely resembled the pattern for the factor as a whole; on "Kansas City Museum," students at the two suburban middle-class schools did not appear to report more frequent usage than did respondents in other suburbs; on "Philharmonic," students at the two middle-class suburban schools again did not seem to report higher usage and respondents at the black inner city school appeared to report particularly low usage; on "Starlight Theatre," respondents at the upper-middle class (1) school reported particularly high usage and respondents at the black inner city school reported relatively low usage; on "Band Concerts," respondents at the upper-middle class (2) school and the black inner city school reported particularly high usage; and on "Stage Plays" respondents at the two black schools reported particularly high usage.

These results suggest to us that usage of intellectual-cultural resources may be affected by several variables which probably include geographic distance and school sponsorship. For example, the Kansas City Museum but not the Nelson Art Gallery is located an appreciable distance from the two suburban middle-class schools and the black inner city school is located relatively far from the Starlight Theatre; thus distance factors might account for several of the discrepancies from the overall factor pattern reported above. It is possible, similarly, that stage plays may have been produced relatively frequently at the two black schools and that special band concerts may have been held either in the black inner city school or the surrounding community. We believe, therefore, that future research on this topic should concentrate on disentangling and clarifying these variables.

Factor II consisted of three items including "Radio," "Commercial TV," and "Telephone" and was titled "Popular Communications." This factor was most similar to Factor III on the importance ratings in that it included "Commercial TV" and "Telephone," but it did not include newspapers, which loaded separately as Factors X and XI (see below). Examination of the response pattern for Factor II in Table II indicated that young people in middle-class communities may tend to use "popular communications" slightly more often than do young people in other types of communities: of the five lowest means, three were at the middle-class schools. However, it also should be noted that scores at all schools in the sample were low considering that they are means on a five-point scale; thus one can conclude, as might have been predicted, that radio, commercial television, and the telephone are frequently used by young people throughout the metropolitan area.

Inspection of the individual-item patterns at the two black schools indicated that these schools did not markedly diverge from the sample as a whole on any of the three items. In other words, respondents at these two schools scored slightly below the sample means on each of the three items rather than on any one or two of the three.

Factor III consisted of six referents involving spectator events and recreational activities and therefore was titled "Leisure-time Recreation and Spectator Sports. Response patterns clearly correlated with metropolitan location could not be discerned for Factor III; therefore response patterns to the individual items were inspected to determine if metropolitan location appeared to be associated with frequency of usage reports on any of the six referents. The only school which diverged markedly from the total sample pattern on "Auto racing" was the Residential Suburb Comprehensive School, where 32% of the respondents as compared with 20% of the total sample said they went to the races "Very often" or "Often." None of the schools diverged markedly from the total sample on the referents "American Royal building (sports)" or "Auto Show." The white inner city school was the only school at which the reported frequency of attendance at the "Circus" diverged markedly from the total sample, perhaps because youngsters from this school or its neighborhood may have attended as a group during the previous year.

On none of the four referents cited in the preceding paragraph were there clear relationships between metropolitan location and frequency of usage. On the referent "Lakes (boating and swimming)," however, the pattern of response suggested that race but not metropolitan location may be associated with frequency of usage; 40% of the respondents at each of the two black schools as compared with 54% in the total sample and 70% at the white inner city school and the urban-rural school marked the response categories "Often" or "Very often."

Factor IV we did not consider to be meaningful in terms of our study because it included two shopping referents but did not load on "Shopping Centers," which tend to provide suburbanites access to shopping facilities that central city residents have available downtown and at major commercial intersections. Therefore we did not examine response patterns on this factor.

Factor V consisted of three referents describing differing types of restaurants and was titled simply "Restaurants." The highest loading item on this factor was "Restaurants where you need not dress up." Examining response patterns on this item, we found that the only schools which markedly diverged from the total sample were the urban-rural school in the low-usage direction and the three middle class schools plus the residential suburb school in the high direction; at least 69% of the respondents in each of these latter four schools said they went to restaurants where they need not dress up either "Often" or "Very often," as compared with 60% in the total sample and 37% at the rural-urban school. This finding suggests the unsurprising conclusion that young people in wealthy communities (wherever they may be located in the metropolitan area) dine out more often than do young people in less wealthy areas.

The sixth factor consisted of the two golf course referents. Examination of the response patterns on the referent "Private golf course" showed that the only schools which seemed to diverge noticeably were the two inner city schools, the integrated outlying working class school, and the black inner city fringe school on the one hand and the three middle class schools on the other. For the total sample, 80% of our respondents said they "Never" or "Hardly ever" had played golf

at a private course during the previous year; comparable percentages for the schools cited above were as follows: integrated outlying working class school - 96%; white inner city school - 91%; black inner city school - 89%; black inner city fringe school - 89%; central city middle class school - 72%; residential suburb middle class (1) school - 72%; residential suburb middle class (2) school - 67%. This pattern suggests that usage of private golf courses is associated with social class and race but that metropolitan location is not independently related to private golf usage after its associations with race and social class are taken into account.

However, when we examined response patterns for the item "Public golf course," only two schools diverged noticeably from the pattern for the total metropolitan sample: 77% of the respondents in the total sample said they had never or hardly ever played at a public golf course, as compared with 90% and 87% at the integrated outlying working class school and the black inner city school, respectively. Thus we conclude that the availability of public golf courses in the metropolitan area partly but not totally diminishes the differential in golf course usage between low-status and minority youth in the central city on the one hand and youth in middle class parts of the central city and in the suburbs on the other.

Factor VII consisted of the two referents "Downtown movie theaters" and "Other /than downtown/ movie theaters" and thus was the same as the movie theatre factor which emerged on the importance ratings. Examination of response patterns on the "Other movie theaters" item showed that only two schools diverged markedly from the pattern for the total metropolitan sample: 40% of respondents at the urban-rural school and 82% at the residential suburb comprehensive school reported that they went to movies outside the downtown area often or very often, as compared to 63% of the respondents in the total sample.

On the referent "Downtown movie theaters," only three schools diverged markedly from the total metropolitan sample: 63% of the respondents at the black inner city fringe school and 60% at the black inner city school said they had attended downtown movies often or very often during the previous year, as compared with 48% of the respondents in the total sample and 36% at the urban-rural school. Considered together with the pattern described above for "Other movie theater," these results suggest that black youth but not white youth in or near the inner city tend to patronize downtown movies rather than other movies in their own or other neighborhoods.

Factor VIII consisted of the two referents "Swope Park Zoo" and "Swope Park recreational facilities" but it did not include the referents "Circus" and "Lakes - boating and swimming" which together with the Swope Park referents constituted the "Leisure Time Recreation Facilities" factor in the importance ratings. Response patterns on the referent "Swope Park Zoo" were somewhat surprising: the percentages of respondents who said they had been to the zoo often or very often during the previous year ranged from 50 to 65% at the four public working class schools but only 23 to 28% at the remaining schools.<sup>4</sup> (The only exception to this generalization was that 45% of the respondents at the Residential Suburb Comprehensive School said they had been to the zoo often or very often.) This pattern

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<sup>4</sup>This finding cannot be explained in terms of geographic distance from the zoo inasmuch as students at schools closest to the zoo did not report particularly frequent usage.

clearly indicates that high-school students in working-class communities in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area tend to make more use of the zoo than do students in higher-status communities.

Factor IX consisted of four transportation referents other than private automobile and was titled "Mass Transportation." This factor was identical to Factor V on importance except that the referent "Airplane" also loaded on the latter factor. Examination of the mean scores for the items in Factor IX in Table II indicated that there was a tendency for suburban schools to have higher means (less usage) than central city schools: all the suburban schools had means of 3.99 or more, while means for the central city schools were all below 3.73. This pattern was clearest in responses to the item "Public transit," on which no less than 45% of the respondents in the public central city schools as compared with no more than 18% in the public suburban schools said they had used the bus often or very often during the previous year. Within this larger pattern it was found that students in the middle class suburban schools appeared to give this response less frequently (96%) than in the other suburban schools and that respondents in the central city middle class school had the lowest percentage (45%) among the public central city schools. In addition, 71% of the respondents in the black inner city school and 73% in the black inner city fringe school said they had used public transit often or very often as compared with 51% in the white inner city school. These results suggest that metropolitan location, race, and social class all are associated with use of public transit, i.e., low-status minority youth in the inner city are at one extreme in public transit use and high-status white youth in middle-class suburbs are at the other. This pattern also may indicate that public transit but not autos are particularly accessible to the former group while the reverse may be true for the latter group.

Factor X consisted of the two referents "Special Newspapers" and "Other local papers." Examination of the response patterns on the item "Special Newspapers" showed that only two schools diverged markedly from the pattern for the total metropolitan sample: 64% and 51% of the respondents at the two black schools said they had read such a paper often or very often during the previous year, as compared with 34% in the total sample. Undoubtedly, the paper black students had been reading with relative frequency was the Kansas City Call, which is prepared specifically for black residents of the Kansas City area. Essentially the same pattern appeared in responses to the referent "Other local papers," on which it was only at the two black schools and the parochial inner city fringe school that more than 50% of the respondents said they had read local papers often or very often during the previous year.

Factor XI consisted of two referents identifying the area-wide morning and evening newspapers. Examination of response patterns to the item "Kansas City Times" showed that the only two schools which diverged markedly from the pattern for the total metropolitan sample were the urban-rural school in the low usage direction and the central city middle class school in the high usage direction: 62% of the respondents at the urban-rural school as compared with 77% in the total sample and 90% at the central city middle class school reported they had read the paper often or very often during the previous year.

Among the items which did not load on any factor, we were particularly interested in examining library usage among respondents in the sample. Accordingly, we examined response patterns to the referent "K.C. Public Library (downtown)" and found, as one would expect, that central city respondents used this resource much

more frequently than suburban respondents: from 23% to 55% of the respondents in the various central city schools said they used the downtown library often or very often, as compared with no more than 16% in any of the five public suburban schools. Response patterns on the item "Other libraries," however, showed that from 47% to 58% of the respondents in all but four schools said they used these libraries often or very often; this finding suggests that suburban youth either have their needs for library service adequately satisfied in their own communities or do not want to go downtown to the library. The schools which diverged from the pattern included the upper middle class (2) school, the central city middle class school, and the parochial suburban school, where more than 70% of the respondents in each reported using "other" libraries often or very often.

### Discussion and Conclusions

In general, differences found regarding the importance and usage of metropolitan resources among young people in differing parts of the metropolitan area appeared less frequently and were smaller than we had expected. It is possible that such differences are less pronounced in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area than in most other metropolitan areas of comparable or larger size, since Kansas City has retained its middle-class base more successfully than many other big cities and certain suburban communities in the Kansas City area have always had sizable concentrations of working-class inhabitants. It is also possible, of course, that our expectations concerning central city-suburban differences, for example, were unrealistically high to begin with inasmuch as it is easy to accept popular stereotypes which exaggerate the differences which exist between the city and suburbs in most S.M.S.As..

In addition, however, it may be that our data are not sufficiently accurate to isolate differences that do exist. For various reasons, we were less satisfied with the quality of our data in this part of the study than in any other reported in this paper. For example, our wording of the question on importance probably was too vague, the data do not appear to have been as reliable as we had hoped, distinctions should have been made to get at school-related vs. non-school-related usage of resources, it is possible that many of our respondents did not make the distinction between "importance" and "usage" which we had in mind in administering the questionnaire,<sup>5</sup> and respondents' answers may have been heavily influenced by various forms of response set. For all these reasons the data in this chapter and the conclusions in this section should be treated cautiously until future replications are obtained in Kansas City as well as other metropolitan areas.

We will not discuss all the findings reported in the preceding pages of this chapter but instead will emphasize the most important conclusions and implications we believe can be drawn from the chapter as a whole.

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<sup>5</sup> One methodological suggestion we would make for future research in this area is to use a split sample in which half the respondents answer only the "usage" questions and the other half answer only the "importance" questions. In addition, it would be useful to conduct interviews with a number of students in order to determine whether responses correspond at all with actual attitudes and behaviors on these respective dimensions.

First, indications were found that metropolitan location is independently associated with views of the importance and frequency of usage of community resources after account is taken of social class, grade level, and sex. In some cases, such as the tendency for students in mixed-class suburbs to attach relatively low importance to and report relatively infrequent usage of "Intellectual Institutions and Activities," it is difficult to speculate on cause-and-effect because families which do not stress these resources may tend to congregate in this type of suburb; in this case, therefore it would be improper to conclude there is a relationship between attitudes or behavior and metropolitan location per se. In other cases, however, such as the finding that respondents from the upper middle class suburban schools are high on usage of the art gallery but not the museum, it is more permissible to speculate about possible effects of geography because there was no inherent reason to expect a difference on the two institutions and because the first is geographically much closer to these respondents than is the second.

Second, the conclusion that metropolitan location is sometimes associated with attitudes toward and/or usage of metropolitan resources<sup>6</sup> raises many important questions involving metropolitan governance and financing. For example, if it were verified that youth in suburbs close to the art gallery utilize this resource more frequently than do some groups of youth in the central city in part because of its greater accessibility to the former than the latter, one may question the equity of present metropolitan arrangements wherein citizens of the central city but not the suburbs support this institution through tax exemption for its property and provision of city services.<sup>7</sup> Once an analysis along these lines is initiated, it quickly becomes desirable to examine many other pertinent considerations such as the extent to which there are "trade-offs" between municipalities which support institutions used by residents of other municipalities, the nature and actual value of the benefits (as opposed to simple frequency of usage) which users receive from a particular resource or institution, and the extent to which the clients of an institution or consumers of a service pay directly (e.g., admissions charges) at the point of use.

Third, some of the findings regarding differentials in the importance attached to and usage of resources reported among youth in the metropolitan area point to issues of obvious importance for the welfare and development of metropolitan society as a whole. For example, the data in the present study clearly indicate that youth in the central city think public transit is more important and use it more frequently than do youth in the suburbs. This pattern may be partly due to metropolitan location in that public transit tends to be less available in the suburbs and partly due to social class and related factors which give suburban youth more access to private automobiles. But whichever the weight assigned to these or other possible reasons, our data suggest that as metropolitan areas become more "suburbanized," greater difficulties may be encountered - at least in the near future - in obtaining area-wide support for public transit improvements

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<sup>6</sup> It is probable, of course, that these responses are circularly related in that respondents will tend to use resources regarded as important and to attach greater importance to resources they have an opportunity or need to use regularly.

<sup>7</sup> It should be remembered that although the mixed-class residential community was classified as "suburban" for purposes of this study, this community actually is located on the outskirts of the central city and its residents are city taxpayers.

required for the long-range prosperity of the metropolis.

It perhaps is not necessary to point out that much more comprehensive data are needed before the kinds of issues mentioned above can be handled satisfactorily in the process of arriving at public policy. Very few studies, for example, have tried to assess the economic much less the social costs and benefits of community resources and services on a metropolitan scale. The present study of a single metropolitan area is limited to the self-reported attitudes and behaviors of high school students on a relatively selective set of variables; even so, it is one of few which have tried to collect empirical area-wide data in anything like a systematic fashion. For studying and making public policy, by way of contrast, it is desirable to acquire as complete an assessment as possible of the financing, benefits, and usage of important community resources and services in several metropolitan areas. We hope that the exploratory study reported herein will help stimulate additional research looking toward this goal.

## VI. PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF GOVERNMENT OFFICES

In addition to sections dealing with neighborhood and metropolitan resources and perceptions, the Community Perception Questionnaire also contained a section to assess respondents' perceptions of the importance of 22 government offices ranging from high federal positions to precinct captain in a local neighborhood. This section was included because we were interested in determining whether young people in differing parts of the metropolitan area differed in their perceptions of offices at various government levels. For example, do high status youth in middle class suburbs believe that local offices are more or less important than do young people in other communities? Do the low status youth of the inner city perceive federal government offices as being more or less important than do young people elsewhere in the central city? Answers to questions of this sort might well provide clues to the political orientation and interests of high-school youth in differing communities within the metropolis.

For purposes of this study, the 22-item list of government offices was titled the "Government Offices Inventory." Instructions for the Inventory asked respondents to check one of six response categories for each referent after considering the question, "From what you know about the following offices what is your opinion about the importance of each?" Response categories were scored from 1 (high importance) to 6 (low importance) as follows: "Very Important" - 1; "Somewhat Important" - 2; "Not Particularly Important" - 3; "Mostly unneeded" - 4; "Not Needed at All" - 5; and "Never Heard of this Office" - 6.

Reliability estimates were obtained utilizing the responses of students in the low-status school who had filled out the questionnaire twice. For this part of the questionnaire, 54% of the responses on the second administration of the questionnaire were exactly the same as on the first administration and 72% were no more than one category different on the six-category response scale. The mean amount of shift on the 22 items was .70, or a little more than two-thirds of one interval. These figures indicated that this part of the questionnaire was considerably more satisfactory with respect to reliability than were several other parts described earlier.

Product moment and point-biserial correlations were computed (as appropriate) between seven randomly-selected items from the 22-item Government Offices Inventory on the one hand and social class, grade level, and sex on the other. None of these correlations were higher than .10. Accordingly, it was not considered necessary to separate students by sex, grade level, or social class before examining inter-school differences in perception of the importance of government offices.

Mean scores and standard deviations on 21 of the 22 items for the entire sample of 1750 respondents<sup>1</sup> are shown in Table 12, which also shows the results of a factor analysis described below. As can be seen in Table 12, the six officers rated as most important were: "Senators to Congress"; "Governor"; "Members of the President's Cabinet"; "Secretary General of the U. N."; "Mayor"; and

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<sup>1</sup>There were 40 to 60 non-responses on most of the items. The office not shown in Table 12 is "City Manager," which had a mean score of 2.015 and a standard deviation of 1.311.



"Representatives in the State Legislature." Only one of these offices is at the local municipal or county level. The seven offices rated as least important were: "City Delayer" (see below); "Zoning Commissioner"; "Ward or Precinct Captain"; "City Planner"; "County Coroner"; "Clerk of the County Court"; and "City Park and Recreation Director." All of these offices are local municipal or county positions. Clearly, youth in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area tended to perceive local municipal and county offices on the Government Offices Inventory as being relatively less important than the state and federal offices on the inventory.

To determine how consistently students in the total metropolitan sample of 1750 rate referents on the Government Office Inventory in accordance with the level of government and to simplify analysis of the data, a factor analysis was performed using responses on all 22 referents. The two factors which emerged from the factor analysis are shown in Table 12, along with the loading, mean score, and standard deviation for each item. Only one referent - "City Manager" - did not load on one or the other factor. Two referents, "County Sheriff" and "County Judge," loaded on both factors.

It was difficult to name the factors because several considerations seemed to have played a part in determining their constitution. Only five of the thirteen referents or items on Factor I referred to local municipal or county offices, whereas all ten items on Factor II referred to local municipal or county offices; for this reason some thought was given to naming the first factor as "Non-local Offices" and the second as "Local Offices." However, it also was found that Factor I contained the ten most highly rated offices (i.e., those perceived as most important) and Factor II contained the nine lowest rated offices. In addition, all the signs in Factor I were positive and all the signs in Factor II were negative. Apparently the tendency for respondents to rate local municipal and county offices as less important than state or federal offices was strong enough to differentiate the two factors along both the importance and the level of government dimensions. However, the importance dimension seemed to differentiate them more clearly and therefore the two factors were titled "More Important Government Offices" and "Less Important Government Offices," respectively.

Once the factors had been given these titles, our main concern was to determine whether respondents in any particular metropolitan location perceive more important offices (Factor I) as relatively less important than respondents elsewhere and whether metropolitan location is associated with perceptions that less important offices are relatively important. These questions were answered by calculating separate mean scores for the items in Factor I and the items in Factor II for each of the thirteen schools. The results are shown in Table 13.

Examination of the response pattern shown for the factor "More Important Government Offices" in Table 13 shows that there is very little variation in mean scores from school to school and little, if any, discernible pattern differentiating schools by metropolitan location. However, the mean score at the black inner city school appears to be slightly higher than at other schools. For this reason it may be pertinent to examine the individual items to determine whether a few particular items may be responsible for the difference. We will report on this analysis in the next section.

Examination of the mean scores on the items for the factor "Less Important Government Offices" (Table 13) shows that there is little variation from school to

TABLE 12

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Items and Item Loadings  
on Two Factors Involving the Importance of Government Offices

Factor Number	Title	Items	Loading	Mean <sup>a</sup>	S.D.		
I	More Important Government Offices	Governor	.71	1.208	.641		
		Senators to Congress	.65	1.204	.706		
		Mayor	.61	1.442	.787		
		Members of the President's Cabinet	.59	1.316	.772		
		Representatives in the State Legislature	.58	1.462	.863		
		Chief of Police	.55	1.475	.909		
		State Attorney General	.54	1.664	.940		
		City Councilman	.52	1.834	.948		
		Lieutenant Governor	.51	1.876	1.059		
		Federal Judge	.49	1.501	.929		
		Secretary General of the U.N.	.47	1.418	.962		
		County Sheriff	.46	1.924	1.020		
		County Judge	.41	1.811	.993		
		II	Less Important Government Offices	Zoning Commissioner	-.64	2.645	1.630
				City Planner	-.59	2.531	1.727
Ward or Precinct Captain	-.58			2.620	1.606		
Clerk of the County Court	-.56			2.340	1.286		
County Coroner	-.55			2.473	1.480		
City Delayer	-.50			3.888	2.000		
County Judge	-.49			1.811	.993		
City Park and Recreation Director	-.49			2.076	1.164		
County Prosecutor	-.47			1.898	1.039		
County Sheriff	-.41			1.924	1.020		

<sup>a</sup>Lower mean scores represent higher ratings of importance.

TABLE 13  
 Mean Scores on Items in Two Factors Involving the Importance of Government Offices<sup>a</sup>

	Factor	
	I More Important Government Offices	II Less Important Government Offices
Central City Black Inner City Working Class	1.78	2.31
Central City White Inner City Working Class	1.66	2.50
Central City Black Inner City Fringe Working Class	1.65	2.46
Central City Integrated Inner City Fringe Working Class	1.49	2.50
Central City Integrated Outlying Working Class	1.60	2.35
Central City White Outlying Middle Class	1.50	2.36
Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	1.63	2.59
Residential Suburb Comprehensive	1.62	2.57
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (1)	1.63	2.69
Residential Suburb Upper Middle Class (2)	1.61	2.56
Urban-Rural Comprehensive	1.64	2.50
Parochial Central City White Inner City Fringe Comprehensive	1.49	2.32
Parochial Industrial Suburb Comprehensive	1.61	2.53

<sup>a</sup>Lower mean scores represent higher ratings of importance of the referents in a factor.

school but suggests that there is a slight difference associated with metropolitan location: all the suburban schools have means of 2.56 or higher, while all the central city schools have means of 2.50 or lower. This pattern means that central city respondents perceived the least important of the offices in the factor as having slightly more importance than did suburban respondents. Again, an examination of the individual items may indicate whether a few particular items may account for this apparent difference associated with metropolitan location.

### Individual Items

To determine whether differences associated with metropolitan location might be present in responses to the individual items designating local, state, and federal offices, a visual inspection was made of response patterns for the thirteen-school sample on the 22-item Government Office Inventory. Highlights of this inspection for the items on Factor I indicated that:

- Respondents at the black inner city school tended to perceive "Senators to Congress" as being relatively low in importance: 63% of the respondents at this school, as compared with 81% in the total metropolitan sample, rated this office as "Very Important." Conversely, there was a slight tendency for respondents at the three middle class schools to rate this office relatively high: in each of these schools at least 91% of the respondents said the office was very important.
- Respondents at the black inner city school tended to perceive "Governor" as being relatively low in importance: whereas 70% of the respondents at this school rated the office of governor as "Very important" or "Important," in no other school was the comparable percentage less than ninety percent.
- Respondents at the black inner city school tended to perceive "Members of the President's Cabinet" as being relatively low in importance: 63% of the respondents at this school, as compared with 74% in the sample as a whole, rated the office as "Very important." Conversely, there was a slight tendency for respondents at the three middle class schools to rate this office relatively high: the respective percentages of students at the three middle class schools who rated this office as "Very important" were 79%, 85%, and 86%.
- Respondents at the black inner city school tended to perceive "Representatives in the State Legislature" as being relatively low in importance: 53% of the respondents at this school, as compared with 63% in the total metropolitan sample, rated this office as "Very important."
- Respondents at the black inner city school tended to perceive "Federal Judge" as being relatively low in importance: 54% of the respondents at this school, as compared with 63% in the total metropolitan sample, rated this office as "Very important."

Highlights of the inspection of responses on the "Less Important Government Offices" factor indicated that:

- Respondents at the central city schools tended to perceive the office "Ward or Precinct Captain" as being relatively more important

than did respondents at the suburban schools: at least twenty percent of the respondents at all six of the six central city schools rated this office as "Very important," whereas only one of the six suburban schools had a comparable percentage as high as twenty percent.

- Respondents at the central city schools tended to perceive "City Park and Recreation Director" as being relatively more important than did respondents at the suburban schools: at least thirty percent of the respondents in each of the six central city schools rated this office as "Very important," whereas none of the six suburban schools had comparable percentages this high.
- Respondents at the central city schools tended to perceive "County Coroner" as being relatively more important than did respondents at the suburban schools: at least 65% of the respondents at each of the six central city schools rated this office as being "Very important" or "Somewhat important," as compared with no more than sixty percent at any of the six suburban schools.

### Discussion

We have seen that respondents at the black inner city school tended to assign relatively low ratings of importance to several of the offices in the "More Important Offices" factor. These offices were "Senators to Congress," "Governor," "Members of the President's Cabinet," "Representatives in the State Legislature," and "Federal Judge." Should these findings be interpreted as indicating that black youth in depressed inner city ghettos tend to perceive certain government offices - particularly non-local ones - as having less importance than do youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area?

We do not think so. For one thing, it is hard to see why black youth in the inner city should perceive these offices as less important than do black youth on the fringe of the inner city, yet no cases were found on which respondents at the black inner city fringe school stood out as having particularly low mean scores on the items in Factor 1.

Instead, we believe that the tendency for respondents at the black inner city school to rate the offices indicated above as being relatively low on importance probably was due to response set. One of the referents included on the Government Offices Inventory was a non-existent office titled "City Delayer" which was included primarily as a lie check. In general, respondents who rated this office highly presumably were not responding as honestly as those who rated it low or said they had never heard of it. When response patterns to the item "City Delayer" were examined separately, it was found that the black inner city school was the only one which diverged markedly from the total sample mean: 42% of the respondents at this school as compared with 27% in the sample as a whole said they thought it was "Very important" or "Somewhat important." This divergence at the black inner city school, furthermore, was from the "Not important" pole toward the middle of the scale. Similarly, all the divergent patterns noted above for the black inner city school on non-local offices were from the positive (i.e., very important) pole toward the middle of the scale. It is possible, therefore, that a response set in favor of middle-scale choices was

responsible for the relatively low mean score respondents at the black inner city school registered on Factor I.<sup>2</sup>

The other trend noted in response patterns to Factor I was that respondents at the three middle class schools tended to rate the offices of "Senators to Congress," and "Members of the President's Cabinet" as relatively more important than was true across the total sample of schools. This finding may indicate that youth in middle-class communities may tend to perceive high federal offices as being slightly more important than do young people in other metropolitan communities.

As regards the central city-suburban differences found in Factor II, we had no a priori reason to predict that central city and suburban respondents should have diverged particularly sharply in assessing the importance of "County Coroner." The other two referents (i.e., "Ward or Precinct Captain" and "City Park and Recreation Director"), however, may well have had more psychological salience for central city respondents than for suburban respondents, since the one is traditionally associated with city politics and the other refers specifically to a "city" office. (Even though many of our suburban respondents live in cities and some - those at the residential comprehensive school - live within Kansas City, Missouri, many of them may not think of their communities in city images.) On the other hand it is possible to argue that central city respondents may attach greater importance to the coroner's office due to the presumably higher homicide rate in the central city than in the suburbs, or that central city youth may attach greater importance to the office of park director than do suburban youth who presumably have more open space, on the average, in their local neighborhoods. All such explanations in the present exploratory study, however, clearly are post hoc attempts to account for an interesting and potentially important set of findings which clearly require replication and verification with other samples in further studies.

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<sup>2</sup>This finding raises the question whether response set may have been responsible for divergent responses at the black inner city school which were found throughout this study and are reported in earlier chapters. It is possible, of course, that response set did play a part in generating these findings; however, in contrast to the findings reported in this chapter, the response patterns described in the preceding chapters did not indicate any definite reason for believing that this was the case.

## VII. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Conclusions suggested by the data reported in Chapter II on "Perceptions of Neighborhood Adequacy and Attractiveness" were as follows:

1. General evaluation of local neighborhood appears to be independently associated with both social class and metropolitan location. As indicated by scores on the items in the factor "General Attractiveness of Local Neighborhood," working class students are less positive about their neighborhoods than higher status students, working class students in the inner city are less positive than their counterparts elsewhere in the central city, working class respondents in the industrial suburbs are less positive than their counterparts in the residential suburbs, and students in the upper middle class suburb are more positive than any other group in the sample.

In addition, indications also were found that students attending parochial schools may be less negative about their neighborhoods than are students of similar social status in the public schools. Race was not clearly associated with general neighborhood evaluation after consideration was given to metropolitan location and social status.

2. Somewhat similar patterns appeared to be present in responses to four of the individual items ("Adequate-Inadequate," "Poor-Wealthy," "Pretty-Ugly," and "Dirty-Clean") which deal with primarily physical characteristics of the local neighborhood. That is, on each of these items the pattern which emerged at least partially was that inner city students tended to be most negative and students in middle class communities tended to be most positive. More specifically, respondents at the black inner city school were more negative about their neighborhood than respondents anywhere else in the metropolitan area. Based on the overall response patterns on these items as well as the fact that this school is located in the most deteriorated neighborhood in the sample, we concluded that this trend primarily reflected differences in metropolitan location and socioeconomic status. However, it is possible that race also may be slightly related to some of the differences in response patterns on these items, either independently or in interaction with metropolitan location and social class.

3. Negative perceptions on the two items "Pretty-Ugly" and "Safe-Unsafe" appeared to be particularly frequent among students in the inner city. That is respondents at the two inner city schools (one of which is all-black and the other of which is predominantly white) more frequently perceived their neighborhoods as being ugly and unsafe than did respondents elsewhere in the metropolitan area.

4. On three of the items involving primarily-psychological characteristics<sup>1</sup> of the neighborhood, indications were found that respondents in high status, middle-class communities may be more negative about their neighborhoods than are respondents in most other parts of the metropolitan area. However, the patterns on two of these items also might be explained by the fact that the upper middle class

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<sup>1</sup>i.e., "Dull-Exciting," "Friendly-Unfriendly," and "Makes me feel I belong-Makes me feel I do not belong."

school at which divergent responses were noted is located in a relatively new community as compared with other schools in the sample.

5. Students in the central city more frequently perceive the density of people in their neighborhoods (i.e., within one mile of the respondent) as being too high than do suburban respondents, while respondents in or near the inner city - particularly the black neighborhoods - more frequently perceive the number of teenagers in their neighborhoods as being too high than do respondents elsewhere in the metropolitan area. On both items, however, only a small minority of respondents in any one school responded that population density in their neighborhood was clearly too high.

6. High school students in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area are more inclined to perceive their neighborhoods as being "dull" than as "exciting." Twelfth graders are slightly more dissatisfied with their neighborhoods in this respect than are ninth graders.

Conclusions suggested by the data reported in Chapter III on "Neighborhood Attachment" were as follows:

1. Attachment to one's house as indicated by responses to the question "If your family should decide to move to a city 500 miles from here, would you miss the places and things where you now live?" is clearly associated with metropolitan location: students in or near the inner city were less inclined to say they would miss their houses as compared with students elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Attachment to one's house did not appear to be independently associated with social class inasmuch as the responses of lower status students did not differ discernibly from those of higher status respondents in the same communities.

2. Additional indications were found that students at one of the upper middle class suburban schools are more alienated from or dissatisfied with their neighborhoods than are students at other schools in the sample, possibly because the community in question and its institutions are relatively new.

3. Students in neighborhoods which are predominantly black or are becoming predominantly black were less inclined to indicate a desire to remain living in their present locality than were students at schools elsewhere in the sample. On the other hand, students at the white inner city school were particularly likely to specify another locality in which they would like to live. These results suggested that race and inner city location are both associated with dissatisfaction with present neighborhood location. The data also suggested that desire to move to the suburbs is associated with high dissatisfaction with one's local neighborhood. "Average" suburbs were specified much more frequently as places to live than were high-income suburbs. For the sample as a whole by far the most common reason given for desiring to live in another locality was to be in a "nice or clean environment," but respondents at the integrated inner city fringe school and the parochial industrial suburb school were particularly concerned with remaining "close to friends" when specifying where they would like to live.

Conclusions suggested by the data reported in Chapter IV on "Neighborhood Resources and Opportunities for Youth" were as follows:

1. An appreciable percentage (up to one-quarter) of high school youth in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area are interested in participating in activities or



organizations which they perceive as being unavailable in their local neighborhoods.

2. A large majority of students at every school in the sample felt there were "people nearby" to whom they could turn in case of emergency.

3. With regard to specific sources of help, students at the inner city black school and the integrated school in the racially-changing community felt less able to turn to "neighbors" for help than did students elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Feeling able to turn to relatives for help was clearly associated with metropolitan location; on this item schools fell in the following pattern from high affirmative to low affirmative response: inner city and inner city fringe; the remainder of the central city; the residential suburbs; and the industrial suburbs. Students in the inner city reported feeling less able to turn to the police for help than did students elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Finally, there were several indications that students at the integrated school in the racially-changing community felt less able to obtain help in an emergency than did students elsewhere in the metropolitan area, thus indicating that special efforts are needed to help young people feel safe and secure in racially-changing neighborhoods.

Conclusions suggested by the data reported in Chapter V on "Importance and Use of Metropolitan Resources" were as follows:

1. Students in the predominantly white working-class and mixed-class schools apparently attach lesser importance to "Intellectual Activities" than do youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area.
2. Students in the black schools as well as the integrated outlying school and the urban-rural school attached less importance to facilities for eating out than did students elsewhere.
3. The importance attached to items in the factor "Sports Activities and Events" was associated with social class and metropolitan location: students at schools which were in middle class and/or residential suburban communities attached highest importance to these items, while students at the black inner city school attached lowest importance to them.
4. Central city respondents attached greater importance to items in the "Mass Transportation" factor than did suburban respondents.
5. Students in urban-rural communities and in mixed-class suburbs apparently attach lesser importance to metropolitan intellectual institutions (i.e., the Museum; the Art Gallery; and the Public Library) than do respondents elsewhere.
6. Students in the central city and in middle-class suburbs report making slightly more use of the items in the factor "Intellectual Institutions and Activities" than did students in the remaining suburbs and the urban-rural fringe. Analysis of the individual items suggested that geographic distance and other variables probably were influencing the usage of community resources designated within the factor.
7. Central city students reported using mass transportation facilities more

frequently than did suburban students. Usage of public transit (which was the highest-loading item on the factor) appeared to be associated with race and social class as well as metropolitan location in that low status minority respondents in the inner city reported highest usage and high status white respondents in the middle class suburbs reported lowest usage. This pattern may indicate that public transit facilities but not autos are particularly accessible to the former group while the reverse may be true for the latter group.

8. Other interesting findings were that black students (but not white students) in or near the inner city reported relatively high usage of downtown movie theaters and that, surprisingly and perhaps inexplicably, students in working-class communities tended to report more frequent usage of the Kansas City Zoo than did respondents elsewhere.

In general, differences related to the importance and usage of metropolitan resources among respondents in differing parts of the metropolitan area were not as large or numerous as we had expected to find. It is possible that our findings in this regard may reflect inadequacies in the data, unrealistic expectations on our part, or an atypical situation in Greater Kansas City as compared with other metropolitan areas.

Conclusions suggested by the data reported in Chapter VI on "Perceptions of the Importance of Government Offices" were as follows:

1. Factor analysis of twenty-two government offices listed on the Government Offices Inventory produced two major factors encompassing all but one of the items. The two factors were labeled "More Important Government Offices" and "Less Important Government Offices," respectively. The majority of items on the first factor designated federal and state offices, while the second consisted almost entirely of local municipal and county offices.
2. Students in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area tend to perceive local municipal and county governmental offices as being relatively less important than state and federal offices.
3. Other than a tendency for students at the three middle class schools to give relatively high ratings to two federal offices ("Senators to Congress" and "Members of the President's Cabinet"), we did not find what we regarded as clear-cut evidence of metropolitan differences in the ratings assigned to individual items on the two major factors which emerged on the Government Offices Inventory.
4. There was little variation from school-to-school in average scores on items in the "More Important Government Offices" factor, except that respondents at the black inner city school tended to rate these offices as relatively low in importance. Examination of response patterns on the individual items suggested that response set may have been responsible for the divergent scores at the black inner city school.
5. There was relatively little variation from school-to-school in average scores on items in the "Less Important Government Offices" factor, except that respondents at the central city schools tended to rate the least important of the offices in the factor as having slightly more importance than did suburban respon-

dents. Examination of the response patterns on the individual items suggested that this difference seemed to be due to differences on items such as "ward or Precinct captain" which for more or less obvious reasons may have had more salience for central city than for suburban students.

### Discussion

The purpose of this paper has been to report data obtained with a questionnaire dealing with the neighborhood- and community-related perceptions of high school students in many different parts of one metropolitan area. The questionnaire elicits opinions on several discrete though related themes and was pilot tested and first used in the present study. As is typical in exploratory research with geographically-limited survey data, the study helps pin-point questions and issues rather than providing answers that could be considered in any way definitive. This is particularly the case with the present study inasmuch as very little previous research has been carried out on the topics under consideration and comparisons were made among a number of sub-samples which did not constitute an exhaustive set of cells even though the total number of respondents in the study was fairly large. Therefore we will not attempt to discuss all the important issues we believe are raised or implied in the preceding chapters but rather will only identify a few that are most important in research on the community perceptions of youth in a modern metropolis.

First and most general, the results of the study support the conclusion that metropolitan location should be treated as an important independent variable in future research. Most researchers may regard this statement as an obvious truism but studies on urban or metropolitan affairs often do not make use of anything more than a simple city-suburban dichotomy. By way of contrast the present study examined several types of city as well as suburban communities and found, for example, that respondents in differing types of suburbs sometimes differ from respondents elsewhere in the central city. To an appreciable extent, such differences in the socioeconomic status and characteristics of various metropolitan communities, but the point is that a typology of metropolitan communities may provide as much or more information about how a respondent tends to perceive or behave in his community as does his individual status.

Second, youth in or near the inner city appear to be more negative about their neighborhoods than are youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area. As indicated particularly by responses on items asking respondents to rate their neighborhoods in terms of "Pretty-Ugly," "Dirty-Clean," and "Safe-Unsafe," and by the stress placed on being in a "nice clean environment" among respondents who did not express a preference to remain in their present localities, negative perceptions appeared to be derived primarily from aesthetic and security considerations.

Although there were indications that in certain respects black inner city youth may be more dissatisfied with their neighborhoods than white inner city youth (e.g., perceptions that the density of teenagers is too high), as noted above both groups of inner city respondents were more negative about their neighborhoods than were students elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Thus our findings provide only very limited support for the conclusions of observers such as Herbert J. Gans<sup>2</sup> who have argued that working class whites in the inner city tend

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<sup>2</sup>Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

to be strongly attached to their neighborhoods and of researchers such as Wolf and Lebeaux who provided empirical support for this viewpoint.<sup>3</sup> It also should be kept in mind, however, that our study was concerned with high school students rather than adults and that the majority of our inner city respondents tended to be positive about their neighborhoods; for these and other reasons involving limitations in our data on one metropolitan area, we do not view the results of our study as strongly in opposition to other studies on the white working class in the inner city. Nevertheless, the tone of our findings is that white inner city youth resemble black inner city youth in expressing relatively high dissatisfaction with their local neighborhoods and the major implication of this finding is that the inner city environment is not much (if any) more acceptable to white youth than to black.

Third, consistent indications were found throughout the study that students in one of the two upper middle class schools in the sample were less satisfied with and less well integrated into their neighborhood and its institutions than were respondents in other communities. Data on respondents' backgrounds as well as considerations internal to the data suggested that the major reason for the divergence of students at the school in question was that the community in which they lived was the newest in the sample and its institutions probably were not as well established as in the communities served by the other schools. This finding suggests that special attention should be given to the psychological and developmental needs of adolescents in newly-established metropolitan communities.<sup>4</sup> It also raises the possibility that alienation from neighborhood and community may become a serious problem in rapidly-growing metropolitan areas or metropolitan societies in which little explicit effort is made to establish viable institutions for children and youth.

Fourth, and related to the previous point, fragmentary evidence was found in the present study indicating that youth in middle class neighborhoods may perceive their neighborhoods to be less stimulating than do youth elsewhere in the metropolitan area. This finding, if verified, would support the argument of observers such as Richard Sennett who believe that homogeneous middle class neighborhoods are too "orderly" for children and youth in a modern society, with enormously detrimental consequences for young people and society.<sup>5</sup> The present study provided only suggestions that a relatively high degree of psychological alienation from local community was present among respondents at the three middle class schools. Since this phenomenon has received almost no attention in previous empirical

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<sup>3</sup>Eleanor P. Wolf and Charles H. Lebeaux, "On the Destruction of Poor Neighborhoods by Urban Renewal," *Social Problems*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer, 1967), 3-8; See also "The Inner City Impact" by Zvi Haimon in *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 2, December 1970, 233-246, for a comparison in the neighborhood-related attitudes and behaviors of inner city groups in Detroit.

<sup>4</sup>Herbert J. Gans has developed this point of view at some length in his participant-observer study of the growth of Levittown, New Jersey reported in *The Levittowners* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967).

<sup>5</sup>Richard Sennett, *The Uses of Disorder* (New York: Knopf, 1970).

research elsewhere, we believe it may be a particularly important and fruitful topic for future studies.<sup>6</sup>

Fifth, an impressive percentage of students in our sample reported that they felt they could turn in time of emergency to sources of help available 'nearby' in their neighborhoods; in every school at least 39% of the respondents said there were people nearby whom they could call on for such help if the need arose. Considerable variation was found with respect to metropolitan location when several potential sources of help were analyzed separately. As one might expect, given the history and present stage of metropolitan evolution, for example, inner city students more frequently said they could seek help from nearby relatives than did suburban students, while the latter felt more confident about seeking help from the police than did the former. Nevertheless, the overall trend indicating that respondents throughout the sample felt help would be available from one source or another is reassuring in view of the concerns social scientists as well as laymen often express concerning the development and implications of impersonal social relationships in modern urban society.

Sixth, analysis of data on the importance attached to and frequency of usage of community resources pointed toward significant issues that exist within metropolitan society. For example, students in the middle class suburb reported that they visited the Nelson Gallery of Art at least as frequently as do youth in the central city, even though central city residents support the Gallery through their taxes while suburban residents do not. It was further pointed out, however, that an adequate analysis of such situations with respect to equity for the individual and implications for the future of the metropolis as a whole would have to consider inter-municipal trade-offs, the social value of community resources, and other components that one might use in a true area-wide assessment of costs and benefits. It is hoped that the present exploratory study, despite its many limitations in scope and methodology, will help stimulate further research on these important issues.

Seventh, the finding that youth throughout the metropolitan area tend to consider local municipal and county offices as less important than state and federal offices may not be surprising but it does suggest that high school students' perceptions of the importance of government offices may be dependent to a considerable extent on the amount of attention and publicity given to various levels of government in such media as school textbooks and national television. At first we thought it was possible that these perceptions might be associated largely or partly with fragmentation in the governmental structure of the Kansas City Metropolitan Area, in which many units of government exercise control over local

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<sup>6</sup>Among the few bits of available data which bear on this question are the results of a study Louis Harris conducted for Time magazine early in 1971. Harris reported that, "Suburban teen-agers are impressively unhappy with their surroundings; nearly three-fifths are 'often bored,' and 43% say they would like to live somewhere else when they are no longer dependent on their parents" (Time, March 15, 1971). Although differences in wording and other considerations make it difficult to compare our findings with those of Harris, these percentages seem a little high in comparison with our data, perhaps because Harris used a national sample that may be considerably more alienated, on the whole, than is true among youth in a medium-sized, southwestern metropolitan area like Kansas City.

development but most seemingly are too small and powerless to take effective action on major economic and social problems. However, central city respondents did not differ from suburban respondents and groups of respondents in various suburbs did not differ from one another in their perceptions of the importance of government offices; this suggests that national influences such as television together with inherent characteristics such as the presumably greater power of central government tend to override intra-metropolitan differences that might make larger and well-publicized municipalities seem more important in the eyes of youth than are smaller, almost anonymous ones. Since we did not collect data to identify the reasons behind respondents' designations of the importance of the 22 items on the "Government Offices Inventory," this explanation must remain highly speculative until further research is conducted to test it directly.

Our purpose in this concluding section has been to identify some of the most important implications of the data we collected from a metropolitan sample of ninth and twelfth graders using an instrument titled the Community Perceptions Questionnaire which was developed specifically for this study. Each section of the questionnaire provided data on one or more issues which we considered to be important in assessing the quality of metropolitan society. The study was an exploratory effort designed as much to develop the instrument and identify issues as to yield firm conclusions about the Kansas City Metropolitan Area, much less metropolitan areas in general. The value of the study will depend on the extent to which it helps stimulate similar or related studies in Greater Kansas City and other metropolitan areas.

### COMMUNITY PERCEPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire asks how you feel about many of the things around you. It is being answered by many high school students in the Greater Kansas City Area. Its purpose is to learn more about the ideas and problems of young people, in order to help get a better understanding of the kind of world young people would like to live in.

Please answer every question, even when you have not completely made up your mind and are not sure your opinion tomorrow would be the same as it is today. Do not take a long time to answer any one question. On some questions you will be asked to give only one best answer, even though you could give several more answers if asked to do so. Do not put down your name or address. The information obtained from this questionnaire will be used at the Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, University of Missouri - Kansas City.

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Grade Level \_\_\_\_\_

How many years have you lived in your present house? \_\_\_\_\_

How many years have you lived in your present neighborhood? \_\_\_\_\_

Did you grow up in the Greater Kansas City Area? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, where did you grow up in the Greater Kansas City Area? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

If no, where did you grow up? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your father's or guardian's occupation and what kind of work does he do? \_\_\_\_\_

To the best of your knowledge, what was the highest grade in school your father or guardian completed? (Circle highest grade completed)

Elementary	Secondary	College	Graduate School
6 7 8	9 10 11 12	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

What was the highest grade in school your mother completed?

Elementary	Secondary	College	Graduate School
6 7 8	9 10 11 12	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

If your mother works, what kind of work does she do? \_\_\_\_\_

(Optional) What church or religious group do you belong to or attend? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Please put a check on the blank that best represents how you feel about the subject of each question. For example, if the question asked whether you felt your best friend was tall or short and you thought of him as extremely tall, you would answer as follows:

Tall   X                                                                  Short

If, on the other hand, you thought he was somewhat short, you might answer as follows:

Tall                                                               X                Short

If you thought of him more as tall than short, you might answer as follows:

Tall                       X                                              Short

In other words, you would pick the blank that best showed the degree to which you thought of him as tall or short.

The subject of the following questions is 'MY NEIGHBORHOOD.'

- |                                    |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |   |
|------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 1. Adequate                        | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Inadequate                                    |
| 2. Poor                            | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Wealthy                                       |
| 3. Quiet                           | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Noisy   |
| 4. Pretty                          | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Ugly  |
| 5. Dull                            | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Exciting                                      |
| 6. Friendly                        | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Unfriendly                                    |
| 7. Overcrowded                     | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Uncrowded                                     |
| 8. Safe                            | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Unsafe  |
| 9. Dirty                           | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Clean   |
| 10. Makes me feel<br>that I belong | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Makes me<br>feel that I<br>do not be-<br>long |
| 11. Discouraging                   | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Hopeful                                       |
| 12. Up-to-date                     | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | <u>      </u> | Out of<br>things                              |
13. If you possessed the resources to let you do anything you wanted to do, what would you do for your neighborhood? \_\_\_\_\_

14. If your family should decide to move to a city 500 miles from here, would you miss the places and things where you now live? Use the following letters to show how much you would miss each place:

VM--Very Much  
 NVM--Not very much  
 M--Much  
 NAA--Not at all



For example, if you would not miss your neighbors very much, you would answer as follows: NVH Neighbors

your church                       parks or playgrounds near your house  
 your school                       friends in your neighborhood  
 the house you live in            places you and your friends hang around

15. a. If you could make your family stay in the Kansas City area, where would you have them live? \_\_\_\_\_

b. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

16. a. Assume you are home alone and something happens which you can't handle alone. Are there people nearby you feel you could turn to for help?

Yes     No

b. Place checks next to the individual or individuals in your neighborhood you would be able to turn to for immediate help.

neighbor(s)                       teacher  
 relative(s)                       family friends  
 police                               clergyman

17. If you could live anywhere in the United States you wanted to, which would you prefer? (Check one.)

a city     a suburban area     a small town     a farm

18. Thinking about the number of people you would guess live within a mile of your family, do you think this number is: (check one)

far too many                       a little too few                       about right  
 a little too many                       far too little

19. Thinking about the number of teenagers who live within a mile of your family, do you think this number is: (check one)

far too many                       a little too few                       about right  
 a little too many                       far too little

20. What would you say are the three most important problems in your neighborhood?

a. \_\_\_\_\_ b. \_\_\_\_\_  
c. \_\_\_\_\_

21. How active are you in school-sponsored activities? (Check the one most accurate answer.)

very active     somewhat active     not very active     do not participate.

22. In the spaces below, list the non-school activities in which you participate.

Activity	Number of years you have participated	Average number of hours each week you have participated
a. _____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____
d. _____	_____	_____

23. Which one of the activities you listed above is most important to you?

- a. \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

24. Are there any non-school activities or organizations in which you would like to participate, but which are not available in your area?  Yes  No  
If yes, list these activities or organizations a. \_\_\_\_\_

- b. \_\_\_\_\_
- c. \_\_\_\_\_

25. Are there any non-school activities or organizations available in your area which you wanted to join, but were not allowed to?  Yes  No

If yes, list the activity or organizations a. \_\_\_\_\_

- b. \_\_\_\_\_
- c. \_\_\_\_\_

26. You are with a group of students from a number of schools. Some of the other kids are telling each other where they live. What are the first three things that come to your mind, not counting street address, when you think of how you would tell them where you live?

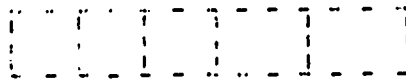
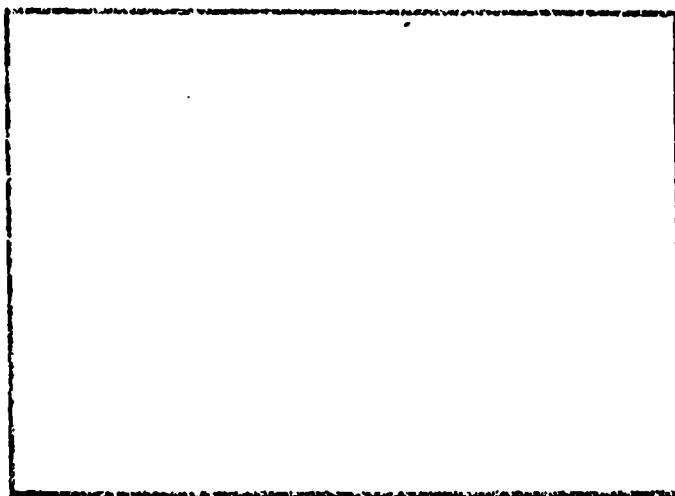
- a. \_\_\_\_\_
- b. \_\_\_\_\_
- c. \_\_\_\_\_

27. How would you rate the Kansas City area as a place with many things to do? (Put a check somewhere between excellent and poor.)

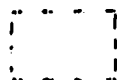
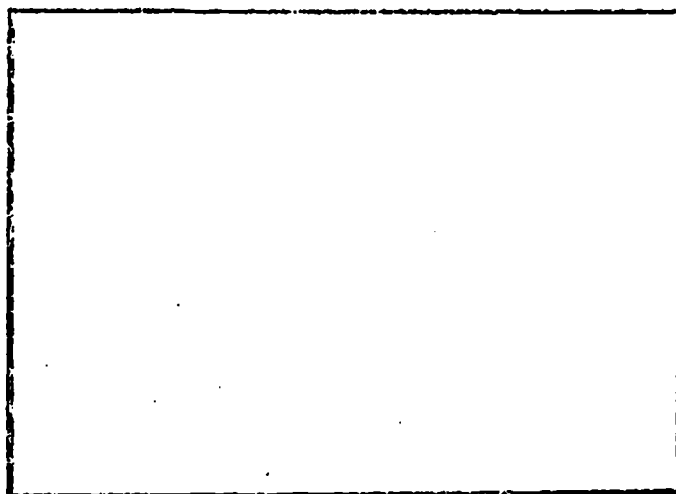
Excellent \_\_\_\_\_ Poor

Take a quick look at the pictures on the next two pages and put a check under the one picture that looks most like where you now live.

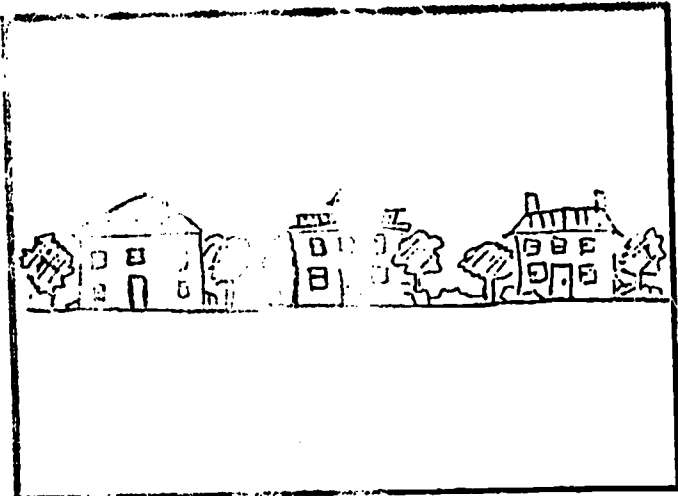
Example:



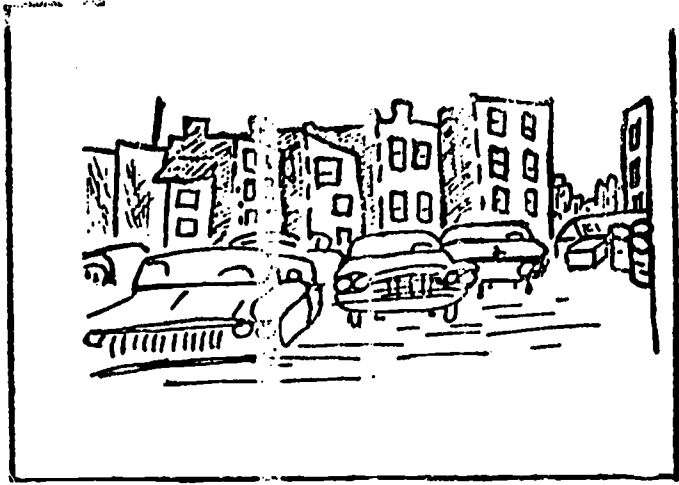
Now go back through the pictures one at a time and show how much you would like to live (in each one) by placing an "x" in one of the other boxes. Example: If you would strongly dislike living in the area shown in this picture you might mark it in the following way.



Prefer	Prob.	Don't	Prob.	Would
very	would	care	would	strongly
much	like	one	not	dislike
to	to	way	like	living
live	live	or	to	here
here	here	other	live	
			here	



<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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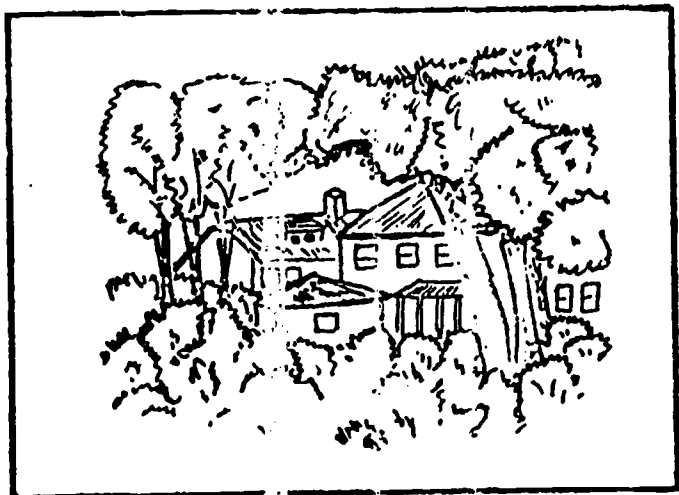


<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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B.

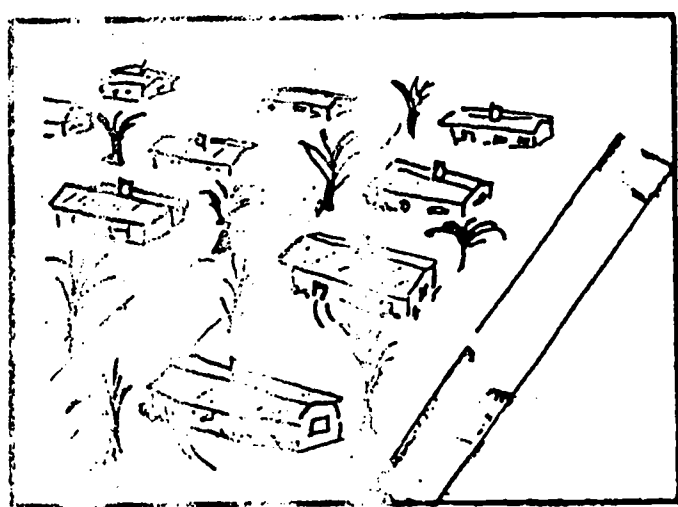


<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

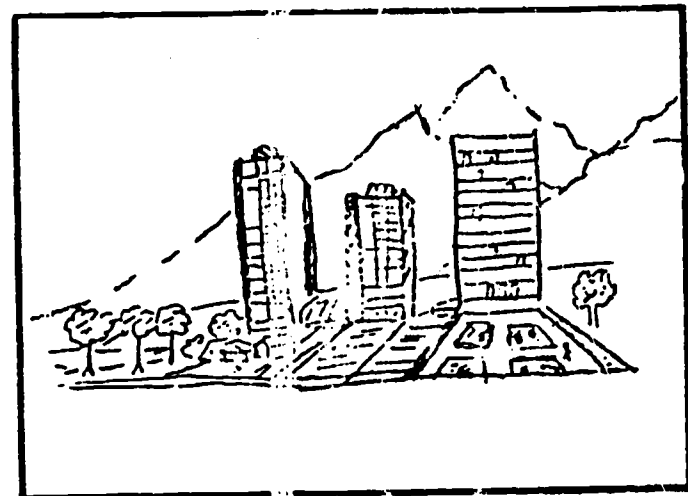


<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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D.



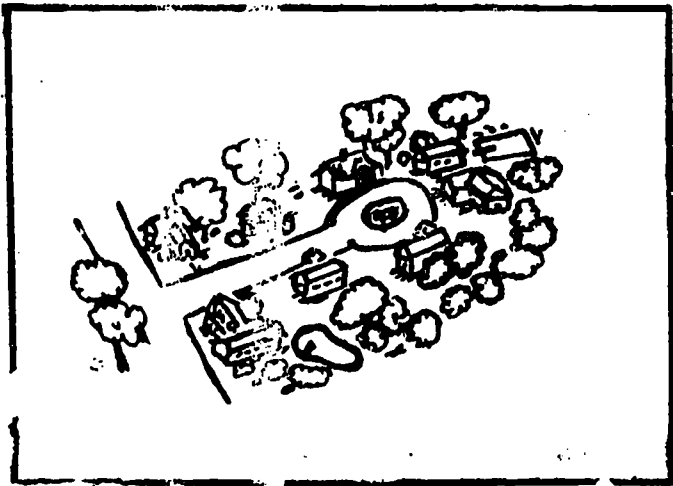
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

F.

Prefer very much    Prob. would like    Don't care    Prob. would not    Would strongly dislike



<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

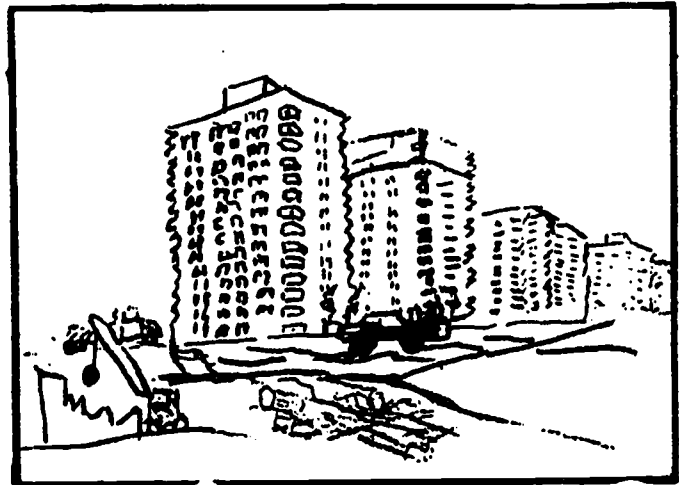


H.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------



<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------



J.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Go back through the pictures and pick the one which shows most nearly where you expect to be living twenty years from now. Place the letter for that picture in this box.

28. Assuming that you will still be in the Greater Kansas City area, draw a picture showing what you expect to be doing on a week end afternoon twenty years from now. Do not take more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 minutes to do this drawing. Use the top half of the page above the dotted line.

- 29. If you needed to earn money by working part-time while you are in school, where could you get a job?

Kind of Work	Approximate distance from your home (in miles)
a. _____	_____
b. _____	_____
c. _____	_____

30. What kinds of jobs have you had which gave you the largest amount of spending money? a. \_\_\_\_\_ b. \_\_\_\_\_ c. \_\_\_\_\_

31. Are you already working and earning most of your own spending money?

\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No

- a. If yes, are you considering this job or one like it as a life-time job?

\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No

- b. In this job who are you working for? (Check one.)

private employer \_\_\_\_\_ other government agency (such as city or  
municipal agency \_\_\_\_\_ Neighborhood Youth Corps) \_\_\_\_\_

- c. Who or what helped you get this job? (Check any appropriate answer.)

\_\_\_\_ want ad \_\_\_\_ relative \_\_\_\_ employment agency \_\_\_\_ no one \_\_\_\_ friend  
\_\_\_\_ school officials \_\_\_\_ government official \_\_\_\_ other

32. If you were allowed to vote in elections this year, but were only permitted to vote for one of the following positions, which one would you choose? (Check one.) \_\_\_\_ the mayor \_\_\_\_ your councilman \_\_\_\_ your representative in Congress \_\_\_\_ your representative in state legislature

33. Pretend that you are entitled to vote. When you go to the polls on election day, however, you are not permitted to vote. What would you do about it?
- \_\_\_\_\_

34. There is a large hole in the street in front of your house. As a citizen you know it should be repaired. Whom would you contact? \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

The following is a list of things that are found in the Greater Kansas City Area. First do Section A (the left-hand column). Then return to the top of the list and do Section B (the right-hand column). There are two pages of items.

Section A

Please rate the importance of each item by placing a check in the column that indicates just how important you think it is.

EXAMPLE: If one of the items were "Drugstore", and you thought this very important because you go there every day, you would mark it like this:

this:

Section B

Please place a check in the column that best describes the number of times you have made use of each item during the past year.

EXAMPLE: If one of the items were "Drugstore" and you go there every day, you would mark it like this:

		Section A					Section B						
	✓	Very important	Somewhat important	Not particularly important	Of very little importance	Not important at all	Undesirable	Drugstore	Very often	Often	A few times	Hardly ever	Never
								Drugstore					
								Airplane					
								Train					
								Commercial bus (Greyhound, etc.)					
								Public transit (subway, buses, etc.)					
								Taxi					
								Private automobile					
								Nelson Art Gallery					
								Kansas City Museum					
								K.C. Public Library (downtown)					
								Other libraries					
								Home Show					
								Auto Show					
								Philharmonic					
								Starlight Theatre					
								Band concerts					
								Stage plays					

Undesirable	Not important at all	Of very little importance	Not particularly important	Somewhat important	Very important	Never	Hardly ever	A few times	Often	Very often
Lectures										
Downtown movie theaters										
Other movie theaters										
Swope Park Zoo										
Swope Park recreational facilities										
Lakes (boating & swimming)										
Circus										
Auto racing										
Private golf course										
Public golf course										
Municipal Stadium (sports)										
American Royal Building (sports)										
Downtown shopping stores										
Other shopping area (30th & Main, etc.)										
Shopping centers (Ward Pkwy., etc.)										
Radio										
Commercial television										
Educational television										
Telephone										
Kansas City Star										
Kansas City Times										
Other local papers (Wed. Mgzn., etc.)										
Special newspapers (Call, etc.)										
Restaurant where you have to dress up										
Restrnt. where you need not dress up										
Drive-in restaurant										
Eat at home of friends										
Teenage night club, coffee house										
Auditorium or stadium (music show)										



From what you know about the following offices what is your opinion about the importance of each? (Check the one best answer)

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Particularly Important</u>	<u>Mostly Unneeded</u>	<u>Not Needed At All</u>	<u>Never Heard of This Office</u>
35. City Manager						
36. Governor						
37. Senators to Congress						
38. Mayor						
39. City Councilmen						
40. State Attorney General						
41. Chief of Police						
42. Lieutenant Governor						
43. City Delayer						
44. Members of the President's Cabinet						
45. County Sheriff						
46. Clerk of the County Court						
47. Secretary General of the U.N.						
48. County Prosecutor						
49. Representatives in the State Legislature						
50. County Coroner						
51. City Planner						
52. County Judge						
53. Federal Judge						
54. Ward or Precinct Captain						
55. City Park & Recreation Director						
56. Zoning Commissioner						

The following list suggests a number of places that might be located either near to or far from your neighborhood. Do Column A first; then Column B.

COLUMN A: Check the answer which shows how close to where you live you would like to have each place listed.

EXAMPLE: If you want the closest park to be 30 minutes from where you live, check as follows:

COLUMN B: Check the answer which shows how desirable it is to have such a place in your neighborhood.

EXAMPLE: If it is extremely desirable to have a park in your neighborhood, check as follows:

		Park										
A	Few minutes	Fifteen minutes	Thirty minutes	Forty-five minutes	One hour	Park	Extremely desirable	Partly desirable	Somewhat desirable	Not particularly desirable	Undesirable	Very undesirable
						Hospital						
						Medical clinic						
						Med. Office Bldg.						
						Factory						
						Supermarket						
						Grocery store						
						Drug store						
						Swimming Pool						
						Ball field						
						Large park						
						Small park						
						Golf course						
						Movie theater						
						Indoor skating rink						
						Pool hall						
						Bowling Alley						
						Country club						
						Dance hall						
						Community center						
						Library						
						College or university						
						Elementary School						
						High school						
						Hotel or motel						
						Apartment building						
						Your church						
						Museum						
						Fire station						
						Police station						
						Package liquor store						
						Tavern						
						Nice restaurant						
						Snack bar or grill						
						Gas station						
						Clothing store						
						Funeral home						
						Laundry/dry cleaners						
						Where you work						
						Bus stop						