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Voluntary Associations among Negroes in Lincoln, Nebraska

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VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AMONG NEGROES IN LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

BY,

RALPH V. THOMPSON

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of
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Under the Supervision of Dr. Nicholas Babchuk

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VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AMONG NEGROES IN LINCOLN, NEBRASKA
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

It is universally acknowledged that the home and family life have been greatly affected by our modern civilization. Starting with the last half of the nineteenth century, the family system has been undergoing a tremendous change. Apparently, the modern family is failing to function as an institution where members of the family may find opportunity for self-expression. As a substitute, the members of the family have contrived to ally themselves with their fellow men outside their homes in various types of voluntary associations.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the extended family, the church, and the community met the needs for human fellowship, personal security, and the social world. These needs were not as well satisfied when the Industrial Revolution weakened the customary social institutions of the local community which had gratified them; as a consequence, voluntary associations developed apace. These filled in the gaps of social structure, formed a training ground for democratic participation, and provided a structural
network which supported the older political institutions.¹

The prevalence of voluntary associations in modern society, and especially in urban areas, has been regarded as symbolic of a democratic way of life. Many observers view such associations as merely an integrating force in the larger society. They consider these associations, in part, as providing integration for the person that previously had been provided by the home, church, or the community. Still other observers view associations as mass escape media through which urbanites, in particular, seek to satisfy some of their basic social needs. According to Lee, many students of sociology emphasize the security offered by "belongingness," or the "sense of community" found in voluntary associations; while others see it mainly as an orienting function and the occasion to participate in the social processes of society.² Be that as it may, the impressive network


of voluntary associations in the city has helped to create a fallacious stereotype that all urban dwellers are "joiners."

Sociologists have long recognized a correlation between urbanization and the development of voluntary associations. This observation has commonly been oriented at the theoretical level to the assumption that urbanization as a social process consists of a progressive displacement of "primary" by "secondary" groups in the social structure. The close, intimate, and continuous associations characteristic of the inclusive primary group community give way in the city, it is argued, to intermittent participation in a series of discontinuous groups many of which are formally and impersonally organized about a single, specific interest.³

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Voluntary associations customarily have been identified as characteristic of the urban way of life, and memberships in such associations has been assumed to be more common for city residents than rural

peoples. It is in the large urban centers that the proliferation of voluntary associations has had its greatest impetus. It was the growth of the great urban centers during the last century that produced conditions most fertile for the extensive development of voluntary associations.

Voluntary associations usually flourish and multiply where the population is large and heterogeneous. Such associations, at least in Western civilization, are primarily to be found in communities that are urban and democratic in general characteristics.

Over a hundred years ago a Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, observed that in no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used or applied to a greater multitude of objects than in America. His observations led him to state:

"...Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds,—religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; in this manner they found hospitals, prisons, and schools. If it is
proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government of France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.”

Another observer of the American scene in the nineteenth century was Lord Bryce, who noted the widespread operation of voluntary associations, and described certain aspects of this phenomenon.

According to Lee, voluntary associations began in America before the Civil War coinciding with the growth of canal cities around the 1820's. They were so numerous and diversified that this fact impressed both Tocqueville and Bryce as indicated above. Lee suggests that the growth and development of voluntary associations was greatest during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was then that thousands of associations came into being and Lee herself implies that it was a rare citizen who did not become affiliated with several organizations.


During the first quarter of the twentieth century the number of voluntary organizations continued to increase rapidly in such fields as adult education, youth organizations, women's associations, town and country planning, the federation of kindred voluntary associations and societies, the establishment of national and local councils of social service, and professional and special scientific societies.

**PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION**

Concerning more contemporary American society, Myrdal remarks that:

"...America is...the country of countless associations. For every conceivable 'cause' there is at least one association and often several....Americans in the upper and middle classes are great 'joiners' and 'supporters' of all sorts of schemes for the common good. If a proposal makes sense to people, their participation and pursuit can be counted on."

Hatt and Reiss also agree with Myrdal that Americans might appropriately be called a "nation of joiners."

Komarovsky, on the basis of her research, has been led to remark that:

"...We are all familiar with the stereotype of the urban dweller. He is a man who no longer identifies himself with the primary

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group such as the neighborhood or the larger kinship unit. Instead, he plays with one group, prays with another, joins the third one for economic reasons and still a fourth for civic ends, and so on."

In short, the above persons agree that there are many voluntary associations to be found in the society and that many (perhaps a substantial majority of Americans) are affiliated with associations. There are other students on the scene, however, who have found through their research that not all Americans participate in voluntary associations. Indeed, many Americans do not participate in any formal groups. In support of this position, Scott in his study reports that 75 per cent of the men but only 56 per cent of the women in his sample were members of voluntary associations. Men were also likely to belong to a greater number of associations than women.9

Two studies which provide us with the firmest information on the extent to which persons affiliate with associations are those of Wright and Hyman and the

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research conducted by the Michigan Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research. These studies are important because the first deals with the affiliative patterns of a more or less random sample of the adult population in the United States. The latter study provides us with a picture of the voluntary associations of the total adult population of Metropolitan Detroit. In this particular investigation the researcher used a sizable randomly select sample. Scott's study also deals with the voluntary association of all persons in the New England town of Bennington, Vermont. Scott generalizes on the basis of a sample of 232 persons randomly selected. These studies all give us a picture of the affiliative patterns of associations of communities. The samples represent universes respectively of the adult population of the United States, the adult population of a large metropolitan community, and the population (age range 10 years of age and older) of a small New England community. The proportion of persons affiliated in the three reports are as follows: the national surveys 53 per cent (1953),\textsuperscript{10} the Detroit Area Study 63 per

cent,\textsuperscript{11} and Scott's study 64.2 per cent.\textsuperscript{12} These figures indicate that hardly all Americans join associations. Indeed they show that many persons have never become affiliated with a voluntary organization and also suggest that the members of the immediate families of these persons are not and have never become affiliated.

One of the points of interest in our study is to ascertain the extent to which Negroes in Lincoln will be found to affiliate and the comparison of our findings will be made with those reported in the above investigations.

The preceding discussion directs itself primarily to the question of the extent of affiliation. A number of other characteristics of the persons who are affiliated as reported in the literature also provide direction for this inquiry. Thus, Anderson found that persons over 30 years of age were more likely to have a greater number of memberships in associations than those persons under 30 years of age.\textsuperscript{13} According to


\textsuperscript{12}Scott, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 317.

\textsuperscript{13}W. A. Anderson, "The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations," \textit{Agricultural Extension Service Bulletin}, \#695, Cornell University, Ithaca, April, 1938.
Bushee, husband and wife tend to belong to a similar number of associations. And Scott notes that married persons are more likely to belong to voluntary associations than are those persons who are not married.

Axelrod found that the extent of participation in formal groups varied for different subgroups in the population; subgroups characterized by relatively high incomes, high educational achievements, and high occupational status were more likely to be affiliated with associations. Reissman indicates that a person's educational achievement is directly associated with the number of memberships in voluntary associations that a person is likely to have. Also, educational achievement is directly related to frequency of attendance at association meetings. He finds that a similar relationship holds true for the variables of income and occupation as well as education.

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15 Scott, op. cit., pp. 315-326.


Consistant with the above findings, are those reported by Scott who indicates that non-manual workers participate more in voluntary associations than unskilled workers. And Mather indicates that a higher income is likely to be associated with memberships in a greater number of voluntary associations.

Protestants are likely to have many more voluntary association memberships than either Catholics or persons who profess no religious affiliation. Persons in the upper social class who are not religiously affiliated, however, have significantly more memberships than Catholics.

Goldhamer finds that married men are more active in associations than single men; while among women, it is the single who are the "joiners." In the young age group the married of both sexes participate somewhat less than the single.

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In a different vein, Zimmer finds that the longer a person has resided in a given neighborhood, the more memberships he will hold in voluntary associations. And Freeman, Novak, and Reeder suggest that mobility and community attitude are both significantly associated with memberships in voluntary associations.

**THE PRESENT INQUIRY**

The above discussion on voluntary association provides a point of departure for the present inquiry. We will, in the present study, be testing many of the relationships suggested above. What is new in our study is that we will be utilizing an all-Negro sample. Most researchers have not dealt specifically with ethnic and/or racial groups. Our major interest is to discover whether or not several of the above findings are applicable to the Negro community as indicated by our sample.

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HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED

In almost every study undertaken, socio-economic status has been found to be a factor that is significantly related to memberships in voluntary associations. One of our major interest will be to discover whether or not such a relationship exists among the universe of Negro subjects from which the sample has been drawn. We will test such a relationship in this study. Stated as a hypothesis:

1. Persons with higher socio-economic status are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than persons with lower socio-economic status.

We will test this hypothesis through the following sub-hypotheses; these give the hypothesis proposed above more specific form.

a. Non-manual workers are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than skilled workers who, in turn, are more likely to have more memberships than unskilled workers.

b. Persons with higher educational achievements are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than persons with lower educational achievements.
c. Persons with higher family income are likely to have significantly more memberships in voluntary associations than persons with lower family income.

There was no problem of occupationally classifying the male subjects in this study since, for our purposes, the trichotomy unskilled (blue-collar), skilled workers, and non-manual (white-collar) appeared to be sufficiently precise to test whether occupation was in some way related to membership and participation in voluntary associations. The occupational classification of women in our sample, however, did raise a problem. To handle this problem we decided on the following procedure: all of the non-married women, whether single, divorced, separated, or widowed were classified according to their current occupation as either non-manual or unskilled workers. Fortunately, all of the non-married women in the sample were gainfully employed. Married women who were working for wages outside of the home were classified on the basis of their husband's occupation. This we felt would provide a more accurate picture of occupational status of the household in which the wife worked since we did not know whether such wives were temporarily employed, had recently entered the work force, or had accepted
their current employment to supplement the family income and consequently were less likely to be concerned about the type of job they had. Housewives were also classified according to the occupation of the husband.

Generally, persons who are engaged in non-manual occupations usually have high educational achievement and they are likely to have many personal friends. Such "higher" social-class persons are prone to exert an influence which is usually reflected in the activities of the community in which they themselves usually play a major role. Non-manual workers are usually urged to affiliate with or to participate in organizational activities by persons who are already affiliated. On the other hand, most unskilled workers have low educational achievement. Generally, they do not exercise leadership, and they are less likely to be asked to participate in organizations by persons who are members. Skilled workers will be intermediate to unskilled and non-manual workers in this respect. When lower-class persons do affiliate, they tend to join and participate in different types of voluntary associations than those that characterize higher-class individuals.

In regard to educational achievement, usually
the highly educated person is widely regarded as being more capable of pursuing and accomplishing long-range goals than the less educated person. The educated person is likely to have wide range of interest in several fields of endeavours which may create opportunities for contacts with persons with similar interests. Also, most highly educated persons are more likely to exercise leadership ability. Very often the educated person is urged to join several organized groups or to organize new ones. A greater proportion of educated persons are more likely to be concerned with problems of good citizenship; they often believe that they can contribute more to the welfare of the community in which they serve by allying themselves with several voluntary organizations.

With reference to economic status, we have used the term "family income" to refer to the combined annual income of the members of the family who are gainfully employed outside of the home. When we study the family annual income of the subjects in our sample, we would expect to find that the higher the income, the more memberships in voluntary associations. In other words, we would expect that persons whose family annual income is $6,000 or more, for example, would have memberships in more organizations than
persons whose family annual income is $2,000 or less.

Other hypotheses which we will test are focused on such variables as sex, marital status, religious affiliation, home ownership, friendship patterns, and mobility (residential), as these relate to memberships in voluntary associations. They are as follows:

2. Men will have significantly more membership in voluntary associations than do women.

It might be expected that on the average men will be found to belong to a greater number of voluntary associations than will women regardless of the social or economical status.

3. Married persons will belong to a greater number of voluntary associations than unmarried persons.

For the purpose of this study, all those persons who are single, divorced, separated, or widowed are classified as unmarried persons.

4. Persons who have religious affiliations are likely to have more memberships in other (non-religious) voluntary associations than those persons with no religious affiliation.

Generally the church offers the opportunity for self-expression and occasions whereby the individual may achieve status. This is especially true in the Negro community. Hence, we might expect that those persons who are religiously affiliated might also be inclined to join other organizations in order to achieve status.
5. Home-owners are likely to hold more memberships in voluntary associations than non-homeowners. Many studies have shown parallel results that home-owners do participate more in voluntary associations than do non-homeowners. This relationship is to be expected considering the close affinity between social class and home-ownership.

6. Persons with more intimate friends are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than persons with less intimate friends. Certain friendship patterns are correlated with membership participation in voluntary associations. Persons of upper socio-economic status usually have a wider range of intimate friends than persons of lower socio-economic status. Consequently, they have a greater potential of becoming involved with several organizations on the basis of their contacts. Then too, not only is the range of personal acquaintance likely to be broader for such persons, but they also probably have the opportunity to exert some influence on the social structure of the community.

7. Persons who have lived in a given area or same house for relatively long period of time are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than persons who have recently moved into the area.
Persons who have lived for some period of time in a given area are likely to feel a definite attachment to the community, and may desire to identify themselves with group activities in the community. Hence, we might expect that they would have a high incidence of membership in voluntary associations.

**SUMMARY**

The last half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century witnessed an unparalleled rise and development of voluntary associations, especially in the United States. Many students who have studied in this area have suggested that this development stems from the Industrial Revolution which brought about changes in the pattern of social interaction in the home, church, and community life.

Voluntary associations developed to meet the needs for human fellowship and to advance special causes and interests that persons held. Some specific factors which are directly related to the rapid growth of voluntary associations are: (1) the relative loss of control over the individual on the part of the home, church, and the community, (2) the principle of the freedom of individual choice, and (3) the increased division of labor.
Numerous investigations have verified the claim that participation in voluntary associations is a social phenomenon in which the larger percentage of Americans are involved. There are, however, many persons who do not belong to any voluntary associations. In the main, such persons are likely to come from low social class background as indicated by educational achievement, income, and occupation.

This study will test many relationships that have been found to characterize the patterns of participation as indicated by other researchers. It constitutes a point of departure from most studies in that it is concerned exclusively with the pattern of affiliation of Negroes. Most researchers of voluntary associations have not dealt with the pattern of association of specific ethnic and/or racial groups. In the test and in our discussion of the hypotheses we have proposed in this study, we will refer to other investigations when they bear directly on the relationship we will be examining.
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The principal aim of this thesis is a study of the voluntary associations to which adult Negroes in Lincoln, Nebraska belong and the variables which tend to be related to membership and the patterns of social participation in these associations.

The data on which this investigation is based was collected from a universe of adult Negro subjects in Lincoln during the period from February to March, 1960. The data was sought by means of interviews in which a structured schedule was used. A random sample of blocks and houses in five residential areas in Lincoln were initially chosen and from these the subjects to be studied were then selected. These five residential areas almost wholly represent the areas in which reside the Negro population in Lincoln.

LOCALE OF THE STUDY

The study was carried out in the City of Lincoln, Nebraska. The City is located almost to the southeastern part of the State. Since 1867 Lincoln has been the State's capital and the seat of the State University.
The City is also traditionally known for its array of religious and educational institutions.

When compared with other Midwestern urban centers, Lincoln has a relatively small population of Negro citizens. The 1950 census reports the total population of the City of Lincoln to be 98,884 persons, of which 1,233 were listed as Negroes.\textsuperscript{24} For the past decade or more, Negroes have been migrating northward from the South, and many of these persons have settled within the Lincoln area.

A survey of minority housing in Lincoln, carried out during the summer of 1959 for and under the general direction of the Mayor’s Council on Human Relations reports a total of 2,890 non-whites in the City. The figure may be and probably is, greater than this, since the list of names used in the survey was not complete. This would mean that the non-white population of the City of Lincoln probably represents more than 2.1 per cent of the total population, or an increase of at least .7 per cent over the 1950 Census. From the 1950 Census it is known that 88.7 per cent of the

\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Knowing Our Neighborhood}, A detailed study of the Negro residential area prepared by the Area Study Committee of the Malone Community Center Board of Trustees. Census Population Information, p. 18.
non-whites were Negroes, with the remaining 11.3 per cent being Orientals, Indians, and others. If this figure may be projected to the present population, about 2,450 of the non-white population of the City are Negroes, with about 340 constituting the rest of the non-white population. 25

While Negroes live in almost every residential area in the City of Lincoln, about 60 per cent of the total population live in close proximity to the Malone Community Center. This Center is situated almost exactly in the middle, geographically, of the community which it serves. For the purposes of this study, the area is described as bounded on the east by 23rd Street and on the west by 19th, on the north by Vine Street, and on the south by "R" Street. Since the larger percentage of the Negro population is located in this area, about 40 per cent of the total sample was chosen from this area for study, while the remaining part of the sample was chosen from among Negro families living at 8th, 9th, and 20th Streets south, and at Belmont and

25 A survey carried out for and under the general direction of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1959, p. iii.
West Lincoln. In other words, the subjects were selected from each of the six areas mentioned above in proportion to the number of Negro families found in each area.

THE SAMPLE

The sample used in this study was selected from the six areas noted above. The State, County, and Municipal Offices and the Census Bureau were contacted for information on the Negro population in Lincoln, but such information was not available from any of these sources.

The procedure for securing the sample is described as follows: first, a survey was made of the areas from which samples were to be drawn; in this survey the number of blocks and dwelling units and the general physical features of the areas were all taken into consideration. A predetermined pattern of randomly choosing blocks and houses was then followed. This predetermined pattern was independent of knowledge regarding which particular person lived where.

After selecting a specific residence, the following procedure was employed in selecting the specific person to be interviewed. On finding a couple at home, the schedule was administered to the husband only. In other instances, it was administered to either a male or
female who was found alone at home. In cases where two or more males or two or more female were found at home, the schedule was administered to the person who owned the house, or the specific party who rented the house. The predetermined number of our sample was 120 persons; these were to represent both sexes equally.*

As indicated above, a survey of minority housing in Lincoln, carried out during the summer of 1959 for and under the general direction of the Mayor's Council on Human Relation reports a total of 2,890 non-white persons in the City, of which approximately 2,450 were Negroes. The data in this study used a sample of 120 adults. This number is probably quite adequate to estimate the characteristics of the total adult Negro population excluding the proportion of persons under 20 years residing in the community, the 120 adults we interviewed represent between five and ten per cent of the total adult Negro population in the City.

*Most of the subjects who were interviewed were quite willing to give the information which was being sought. Several persons, however, responded to only certain questions on the schedule, while other persons refused to give any information. By eliminating the two latter categories we finally arrived at our present sample.
THE INTERVIEWS

For securing the basic data of this investigation, the interview method was utilized. In this context, a structured schedule was used (Appendix). For the most part, rapport was quickly and easily established with the interviewees. In the brief preliminary conversation with each subject the investigator invariably mentioned (1) the nature and importance of his call, and (2) his affiliation with the University of Nebraska. This discussion helped to introduce the researcher and his project to the subject and helped to put the subject at ease.

The investigator explained that a total sample of 120 subjects was being sought from among the Negro population in Lincoln in connection with the project. He assured each subject that the identity of the source of statements would not be revealed in any instance and that none of the data furnished with regard to the family would be used for any purpose other than the particular project.

A copy of the schedule was handed to each respondent at the time of the interview so that the subject could follow the questions that were being asked. This gesture greatly facilitated rapport between the interviewer and the interviewees. About ten respondents
refused to participate in this study. In these instances, the investigator tactfully closed the contact; he expressed, however, appreciation for the meeting with the respondent and endeavoured to leave him in a friendly frame of mind. Several female respondents were reluctant to give information concerning age, marital status, occupational and economic statuses. In such instances, the investigator suggested that the subjects designate their answers through a number or letter on a precoded card that provided the information sought. This procedure for “depersonalizing” the response readily produced answers in these areas. The suggestion proved to be very effective.

The time required to conduct an interview ranged anywhere from half an hour to an hour. Each interview was conducted in a more or less informal atmosphere. The respondent was given amply opportunity to express himself or to raise questions on any of the questions in the schedule. The investigator expressed his appreciation to all persons cooperating, and sought to leave each one in a happy state of mind.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SCHEDULE

A three-page interview schedule divided into two parts was used in collecting the data. The first part of the schedule dealt with background data and
included such information as: (a) type of residence (e.g. rooming house, single family dwelling, duplex, and apartment house), (b) sex, (c) marital status, and (d) age of the respondents. The second part of the schedule was concerned with the social participation of the respondent in voluntary associations and dealt with such information as: (a) mobility (residential), (b) educational status, (c) religious affiliation, (d) friendship patterns, (e) social participation, (f) occupational status, and (g) economic status. Both structured items and open-ended questions were included in order to secure information.

The schedule was pre-tested prior to the actual field survey. The idea of pre-testing the schedule had several objectives. Some of these objectives were:

(a) to enable the interviewer himself to become thoroughly acquainted with, and possibly to improve the schedule.

(b) to note the time factor that would be involved in administering the schedule

(c) to observe the reactions of the subjects, so that mistakes, on the part of the interviewer might not be duplicated during the actual interviews.
With little qualification, the pre-testing showed that the schedule was appropriate and adequate for securing the necessary data to test the hypotheses proposed.

CONCEPTS DEFINED

Many researchers in the field of voluntary associations note that the terms "voluntary association," "voluntary organization," "voluntary society," or "voluntary association agency," in the context of the social services are used interchangeably to cover those bodies which provide some form of social services, which control their own policy, and which depend, in part, at least, upon financial support from voluntary sources. Within a formal structural framework, the functions of individuals are more or less explicit. Rules define the conduct of persons toward each other. Certain individuals are vested with authority. There are specifications as to who shall be included or excluded from a particular relationship, collective objectives may be defined sometimes through constitutions, by-laws, formal documentary agreements or by consensus.26

According to Maccoby, the distinguishing characteristics of the voluntary association are that it be private, non-profit, voluntary in that entrance rests on mutual consent while exit is at the will of either party, and formal in that there are offices to be filled in accordance with stipulated rules. These traits serve to differentiate the voluntary association from public and governmental bodies, profit-making corporations and partnerships, the family, clan, church, nation and other groups into which the individual is born. They also differentiate it from informal friendship groups, cliques, or gangs.\textsuperscript{27}

**STATISTICAL PROCEDURES**

The hypotheses in this study will be tested by setting up the null hypothesis in each instance. The null hypothesis contends that the observed difference between any two groups is no greater than that which might occur by chance alone.

In this particular study, the null hypothesis will be tested by means of the chi square technique, with

the level of significance being set at the five percent level. This will tell us if the observed difference between groups could have occurred more than five times out of a hundred by chance alone. Whenever results are obtained in this study which could have occurred more than five times out of a hundred by chance, the alternate hypothesis will be rejected. In other words, we will be accepting the null hypothesis which postulates that the observed difference is probably due to chance.

**SUMMARY**

The data for this study was gathered by means of interviews utilizing a three-page structured schedule. The investigation was conducted in Lincoln, Nebraska during the period from February to March, 1960. A predetermined number of persons in the sample for the study was 120 adult Negro subjects. These were to represent both sexes equally. With the exception of few refusals, most respondents cooperated quite willingly in giving information for the study.

Rapport was quickly and easily established after the interviewer had gained entrance into the home. One factor which no doubt may have served to eliminate or minimize any strain or tenseness on the part of the respondents in the situation was the similar racial
identity of the interviewer and the interviewees. The investigator sought to conduct each interview in an atmosphere that would represent a more or less informal occasion. Each respondent was given amply opportunity to express himself or to raise questions on any of the questions in the schedule.

The hypotheses in this study will be tested by setting up the null hypothesis in each instance. The acceptable level of significance is set at the five per cent level. The chi square technique will be used to test the null hypothesis at the five per cent level of significance.
CHAPTER III
PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

This section of the thesis presents the findings of the study by describing the tests of each hypothesis and presenting interpretations of the results of these tests. Among the major variables treated are: socio-economic status, which is operationalized in terms of three indices, namely, occupation, education, and income. Other attributes of the persons in the sample that have been analysed as these relate to membership in voluntary associations include sex, marital status, religious affiliation, home ownership, friendship patterns, and mobility (residential).

Three studies which provide us with some information on the extent to which persons affiliate with voluntary associations are those of Wright and Hyman, the research conducted by the Michigan Survey Research Center, and a research conducted by Scott. The first study shows the affiliative patterns of a random sample of the adult population of the United States, the second deals with the voluntary associations of an area sample of the total adult population of Metropolitan Detroit, and the third study concerns voluntary
associations of an area sample of all persons in the New England town of Bennington, Vermont. The proportion of persons affiliated in the three reports are as follows: the national survey 53 per cent, the Detroit Area Study 63 per cent, and the Scott's study 64.2 per cent.

Our present investigation deals with the affiliative patterns of adult Negroes in Lincoln, Nebraska. A random sample of 120 subjects was selected to be studied. When church membership is included as a voluntary association the results show that 87.5 per cent of the total sample has associational affiliation; when church membership is excluded, it shows 75 per cent affiliative tendencies.

When compared with the percentage of participation in the three previous studies, the percentage in this latter study shows a higher incidence in membership participation. A large percentage of these associations are formed around religious institutions.

A. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

In the present study, it has been hypothesized that a person's socio-economic status will correlate positively with the number of memberships in voluntary associations. As noted above, the hypothesis was operationalized in terms of three indices, the first
of which is based on occupation. (Similarly, the two additional indices postulate positive relationships with the number of memberships in such associations. These include educational achievement and income).

Occupations were classified into three categories for the purposes of the present study, namely non-manual occupations, skilled occupations, and unskilled occupations. In the main, the non-manual workers were persons engaged in white-collar occupations, the skilled classification included those persons commonly referred to as blue-collar workers, and manual workers were those engaged in unskilled occupations. Thus, considering the particular type of occupational category as an index of measurement, it is predicted that non-manual workers will tend to have more memberships in voluntary associations than will skilled workers, and that these latter, in turn, will have more such memberships than persons classified as unskilled workers.

Stated in the form of a hypothesis: non-manual workers are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than skilled workers who, in turn, are more likely to have more memberships than unskilled workers.

That occupational status appears to be related to associational activities has been reported in the
findings of several investigators. Scott, for instance, observed quantitative differences in membership activities between unskilled and non-manual workers, with the latter having much greater membership participation in voluntary associations than the former.²⁸ In the same vein, Bell and Force suggested that the higher the person’s position in the social structure, the more likely it is that he will exhibit associational affiliations.²⁹ And Reissman’s work shows a characteristic difference in regard to memberships in voluntary associations between high and low occupational prestige groups.³⁰ Also, in the findings of Bushee, professional men were seen to have more association membership than businessmen.³¹ Another investigator, Komarovsky, found skilled workers most commonly associated with unions and fraternal lodges, while the unskilled, when they were affiliated with organizations,

²⁸ Scott, op. cit., p. 322.
³⁰ Reissman, op. cit., pp. 76-84.
were more likely to be affiliated with social and athletic clubs and, in later life, a fraternal lodge.\textsuperscript{32}

The present study differs from those others chiefly in terms of its sample. Of the 120 subjects who were interviewed, 36 persons or 30 per cent of the total sample were classified as non-manual workers; however, most of these persons were engaged in clerical occupations. There were some persons in this occupational category representing the professions and the business community. Forty-four respondents or 36.7 per cent of the sample were skilled workers, while 40 subjects or 33.3 per cent of the sample were engaged in unskilled occupations.

These three categories of occupations were cross-tabulated with three categories involving quantitative measurements of memberships in voluntary associations. The data are presented in Table 1. These include a category for those who had no membership in voluntary associations, another for those having one to three memberships, and a third for those belonging to four or more voluntary associations. Actually, two levels

\textsuperscript{32}Komarovsky, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 686-698.
Table 1-3  NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (INCLUDING CHURCH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 7.790  \( p < .10 \)
of analysis were used for this index. The first included church membership as a voluntary association and the second excluded it.

When the results (involving church membership) were tested for statistical significance by means of the chi square technique, a computation of 7.790 was obtained. This is slightly less than significant at the .05 level of probability (where a significant chi square value is equal to 9.488). Although the present results are not significant, it can be observed in Table 1 that the results are in the predicted direction.

Fewer non-manual subjects, as expected, are seen as having no voluntary memberships than is true for the other two groups. Conversely, a larger percentage of the non-manual respondents have memberships in four or more groups than is the case for the skilled and unskilled categories. Although the category involving one to three memberships includes a larger percentage of skilled workers than non-manual workers, the "discrepancy" is resolved in terms of the category for four or more memberships. In other words, the non-manual subjects were more likely to stack up, so to speak, in the larger quantitative category, all of which is consistent with our original hypothesis. Then,
too, by simply dichotomizing the membership categories in "no" associations-"one or more" associations, it is observed that approximately 94 per cent of the non-manual subjects are members of one or more associations, while the same is true for only about 91 per cent of the skilled subjects, and 78 per cent of the unskilled workers. This is presented in Table 2.

(insert Table 2 about here)

On a qualitative plane, it should be noted that the non-manual subjects participated in widely different associations; these included such organizations as a fraternal lodge and the N.A.A.C.P. In turn, the skilled and unskilled workers primarily favoured social and athletic clubs and fraternal lodges with their affiliations. These findings appear to be consistant with those cited by Komarovsky.

Even when church memberships are excluded from the voluntary associations listed for each occupational groupings, a similar trend is found. This means that the direction of the data suggest a positive relationship between occupational standing and the number of memberships in voluntary associations. It must be cautioned once more, however, that the results are not statistically significant. A chi square value of 5.343 was obtained while chi square must equal or exceed
Table 2-3 PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OCCUPATION (INCLUDING CHURCH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 or more</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.488 to reach the .05 level of significance, (a sign-
nificant p is equal to 9.488). These data can be
found in Table 3.

(insert Table 3 about here)

While our results do not permit any conclusive
generalizations, especially in view of their failure
to gain significance, they suggest that occupational
status is an important variable related to voluntary
association memberships on the part of Negroes. This
clearly shows that the results not only tend to confirm
those obtained by other researchers for the over-all
population, but further suggest that the same relation-
ship holds true for the Negro sub-population.

B. EDUCATIONAL STATUS

A second index used to measure socio-economic
status as a correlate of participation in voluntary
associations was educational status. That this latter
characteristic appears to be a significant variable has
been indicated rather extensively in the literature;
most studies suggest a positive relationship between
the amount of education and the number of memberships
in voluntary associations. This relationship has been
underscored by Scott, who reports:

"...Membership participation in voluntary
associations increases with increase in
education. Persons with high-school education
Table 3-3  **NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OCCUPATION (EXCLUDING CHURCH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4 or more</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 5.343  p > .20
have many more memberships than persons with only elementary-school education, and persons with college education have more memberships than those with only high-school education or those with merely elementary school education.33

In terms of the variable dealing with the number of memberships in voluntary associations, it was hypothesized that persons with higher educational achievement are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than persons with lower educational achievement.

For the purposes of this study, educational achievement was arbitrarily broken down into three categories, the first of which included subjects who had completed nine years of schooling or less. The second category, which included 50 per cent of the subjects, was for persons who had completed ten through twelve years of schooling, while the third was for those subjects who had completed more than twelve years of schooling.

In attempting to explain the positive relationship between educational attainment and the number of voluntary-association memberships, many researchers have suggested that the highly educated person is more capable of pursuing and accomplishing long-range goals

33Scott, op. cit., p. 320.
than the less educated persons; thus, the expectation that he would be 'asked' to join several organized groups.

One investigation, that of Nangus and Cottam, found that the relationship holds true for persons with formal educational attainment up to eleven years, but that high-school graduates belonged to fewer associations than those who had attended high school but dropped out. On the other hand, Axelrod found that education is quite strikingly related to the extent of formal group participation. He notes that more than 75 per cent of all persons with some college experience have formal group membership, while only 50 per cent of those with grade-school education have them. Reissman has pointed to the fact that the amount of educational achievement is also associated with frequency of attendance at association meetings. In his study of the aged in Florida, Webber found that those persons with less than nine years of education belonged to

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36Reissman, op. cit., pp. 76-84
fewer voluntary organizations and attended those to which they belonged less regularly than those persons with from nine to twelve years of education.37

In this study, the three categories of educational attainment were cross-tabulated with the three categories involving quantitative measurements of memberships in voluntary associations. Again, this was done with the inclusion of church memberships among the voluntary associations, and with the exclusion of such memberships.

When including church membership, a chi square value of 1.007 was obtained in statistically testing differences between the respective groupings. This, of course, is far from being significant for at the .05 level a significant chi square value with four degrees of freedom is equal to 9.488. On the basis of the data found in Table 4, the hypothesis must be rejected. However, the over-all number of persons in the sample who, regardless of their formal education, belong to voluntary associations is very striking.

(insert Table 4 about here)

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of years in school</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-12 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 12 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.007  p > .90
When the data are corrected to exclude church memberships, the distribution is more comparable to those reported by other researchers using all-white samples. The obtained chi square value (4.144) is not significant, and even though the predicted direction is apparent, as can be seen in Table 5 the hypothesis is deemed untenable. Here, 80 per cent of the high-school graduates indicate at least one membership, while only 77 per cent in the ten to twelve years category do, and 67 per cent in the under ten years group.

It cannot be concluded with any confidence, on the basis of evidence presented here, that Negroes do or do not significantly differ from non-Negroes regarding memberships in voluntary associations. The fact that trends in relationships discussed above are all in the hypothesized direction, does point to the likelihood that Negroes and non-Negroes do not differ in associational patterns.

(insert Table 5 about here)

C. ECONOMIC STATUS

The final index used to operationalize socio-economic status was income. As with the other indices, a positive relationship between income and the number of memberships in voluntary associations has been reported by several investigators in the literature.
Table 5-3  MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
(EXCLUDING CHURCHES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of years in school</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-12 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 12 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 4.14  p<.05
Mather, Scott, and Anderson, for example, overwhelmingly agree that economic status (or income) is a highly significant factor influencing these memberships. In one study, Mather noted that without exception, every type of group—church, fraternal, service, recreational, patriotic, cultural—was characterized by fewer memberships on the part of individuals located in the lower income groups. It was only with church membership that lower-income individuals even approached the quantitative membership features of individuals in the upper-income categories. For example, 66.9 per cent of the men and 82.1 per cent of the women with relatively small incomes held church memberships, as compared with 80.7 per cent of the men and 87.5 per cent of the women who were more financially affluent.

On the basis of these and other observations in the literature, it was hypothesized for the purposes of this

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39 Mather, Ibid., pp. 380-384.
40 Mather, Ibid., pp. 380-383.
study that persons with higher family incomes are likely to have significantly more memberships in voluntary associations than persons with lower family incomes. It should be mentioned that one of the assumptions underlying this hypothesis is that persons with relatively greater economic security are more capable of meeting financial obligations and, as a result, will not only be in a position to hold more memberships, but will also be induced to join more and varied groups.

Four income categories were utilized by this study, arbitrarily classifying family income in terms of less than $2,000; $2,000 to $3,999; $4,000 to $5,999; and over $6,000. These groupings were then cross-tabulated with the three categories of quantitative memberships.

When tested statistically, a chi square of 5.863 was obtained. This is not significant at the .05 level where a significant chi square value with six degrees of freedom is equal to 12.592 is required. But once again, we can observe that the cases do distribute themselves in the predicted direction. These data are presented in Table 6. Essentially, though, income does appear to bear some relationship to membership in voluntary associations. Also, the results tend to be consistent with the conclusion that there are no major
differences between Negroes and non-Negroes as far as their patterns of participation in voluntary associations are concerned.

(insert Table 6 about here)

When church membership is included as a voluntary association affiliation, similar results are observed. Although the statistical test is not significant, the data are observed to distribute themselves in the expected direction. Moreover, what is really significant is the large number of respondents who indicate memberships in one or more voluntary associations regardless of income level.

2. SEX

Another major variable treated in this study is that of sex. That the relationship of sex to the number of memberships in voluntary associations is determined by the type of associations seems to be a near unanimous agreement among researchers. With regard to the different types of voluntary associations, several studies have shown that men are likely to be found in such widely different organizations as business-affiliated voluntary organizations, sport clubs, service or ex-service personnel clubs, social clubs, charitable organizations, professional associations, and several other types of associations that are patriotic or
### Table 6-3  MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO INCOME LEVELS (EXCLUDING CHURCHES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family annual income</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $2,000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000 to $3,999</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,000 to $5,999</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $6,000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 5.863  \( P > .30 \)
### Table 7-3  MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO INCOME LEVELS (INCLUDING CHURCHES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family annual income</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4 or more</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000 to $3,999</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,000 to $5,999</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $6,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 8.618  p < .20
fraternal in nature. On the other hand, these same studies have disclosed that women affiliate predominantly in cultural organizations, educational organizations, and especially in organizations of a religious nature.

In the lowest economic classes organized group life is apparently carried on largely by men; while in the upper classes it is about equally divided between the sexes. There is some, though not conclusive, evidence that in the working classes women participate less in voluntary associations than do men irrespective of age and/or marital status.

If we could assume that there is a general tendency for men to have more memberships in organized groups than women, then for our present study it may be hypothetically stated that adult Negro males have significantly more memberships in voluntary associations than do adult Negro females.

The sex dichotomy was cross-tabulated with three numerical levels of memberships in associations. For a statistical analysis, the chi square technique was used and the null hypothesis was postulated. The chi square value obtained was not significant. However, the data do distribute themselves in the expected direction, with a larger percentage of men than women having one or more voluntary association memberships (80 and 70
per cent respectively). This is shown in Table 8. It might be stated here, that the results obtained in the present study at least tend to confirm those of the other researchers.

(insert Table 8 about here)

When church membership is included, the chi square value obtained from a statistical test is slightly less than significant (chi square equals 1.860). But again, the data are distributed in the expected direction and tend to confirm the hypothesis that males participate more in voluntary associations than do females. These data are presented in Table 9. This sex differential regarding affiliative tendencies appears to be consistent with other areas of sociological research; namely, those demonstrating the different role expectations impinging upon men and women in our society. The male is expected to take the lead, to show initiative, etc. The results obtained in this study suggest that this holds true when operationalized in terms of memberships in voluntary associations.

(insert Table 9 about here)
Table 8-3  NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO SEX (EXCLUDING CHURCHES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4 or more</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex of respondent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.860
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of respondents</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 6.292  \( p < .20 \)
3. MARITAL STATUS

Many students of voluntary associations have pointed to the importance of marital status as a factor influencing memberships in such organizations. Essentially, their findings show that a greater proportion of married persons are members of voluntary associations than single persons. The reports of Scott, Goldhamer and Komarovsky are characteristic. All of these studies were, however, concerned with non-Negro samples. Consequently, it was decided to see if such results would be obtained from the present sample. It was hypothesized that married persons would belong to a greater number of voluntary associations than unmarried persons.

For the purposes of this study, unmarried persons include those who were divorced, separated, widowed, or had never been married. The sample includes 96 married and 24 unmarried persons. When marital status is cross-tabulated with memberships in associations, significant differences can be observed (Table 10). Furthermore the observed differences are in the hypothesized direction. In terms of percentages, 79 per cent of the married respondents, in contrast to only 42 per cent of the unmarried respondents, indicated memberships in one or more voluntary associations. The data tend to confirm the hypothesis that marital status is positively related
to membership behaviour. Also, it suggests that no
categorical differences exist between Negro and non-
Negro samples.

(insert Table 10 about here)

When churches are included as associations and the
results tested statistically, a chi square value
slightly less than significant is obtained. However,
the results are still in the predicted direction. Also,
when the membership categories are collapsed, it is
observed that 90 per cent of the married respondents
and only 79 per cent of the single respondents indicate
one or more memberships. These data are presented in
Table 11. On the basis of these results, then, it might
be concluded that not only do Negroes differ quantita-
tively in memberships according to sex, but that
regardless of the independent variable, a surprisingly
large number of them participate in organizations of a
voluntary nature.

It might also be mentioned that for the above
data, the length of time a person was married also
tended to correlate with his number of memberships in
voluntary associations. Couples who had been married
from 1 to 10 years and from 11 to 20 years had the
highest incidence of memberships in voluntary
associations respectively; while newly married persons
reported a lower incidence of memberships.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 7.798  p < .05
Table 11-3  
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS (INCLUDING CHURCHES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 4.092  \( p < .20 \)
Since socio-economic status appears to be an important determinant influencing memberships in voluntary associations, it was decided to hold this variable constant while viewing the functioning of four other characteristics that were proposed in hypotheses 4, 5, 6, and 7. These characteristics included (4) religious affiliation, (5) home-ownership, (6) friendship patterns, and (7) mobility (residential). Each of these four variables is viewed in terms of income and occupational levels.

4. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

The first behavioural phenomenon treated here and, it might be added, the one showing the most interesting results, is that of religious affiliation.

A great number of associations are formed around religious institutions. This conclusion is indicated in a number of different studies. To illustrate, Bushee's study showed that people who join voluntary associations were most likely to become affiliated with religious groups. And Komarovsky suggests that while religion is less important than economic class as a factor in

---

41 Bushee, op. cit., p. 219.
participation, it does play a pertinent role in the formation of group structure. 42

These conclusions relate to our fourth hypothesis: persons who have religious affiliations are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than those persons with no religious affiliations.

By "having religious affiliation" we mean having membership in organized religious groups and/or regularly or actively participating in activities having a religious nature. Our data show that 87.5 per cent or 105 persons of the total sample claimed to have religious affiliations. Among those persons who were religiously affiliated, Protestants were more frequently members of associations than Catholics. This confirms the findings of others. For example, Scott notes that Protestants are more likely to participate in voluntary associations than Catholics. 43 Wright and Hyman also report the same finding and furthermore note that Jews have an even higher rate of membership than Protestants. 44

42 Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 696.
43 Scott, op. cit., p. 317.
44 Wright and Hyman, op. cit., p. 286.
In the present case, what is most striking among the respondents indicating no religious affiliation is that none of them was a member of a voluntary association. It appears, at least for the Negro population in question, that religious affiliation bears a very important relationship to voluntary organization memberships and also to the economic or income variable but not to occupational classifications. These data are presented in Table 12.

(insert Table 12 about here)

5. HOME OWNERSHIP

With reference to home-ownership, Lindstrom found that home-owners participate more in voluntary associations than do non-homeowners.45

Among the sample used for this study, 60 per cent or 72 respondents were listed as home-owners, while 40 per cent or 48 persons were non-homeowners. When the income level was held constant, 75 per cent of the


*A large percentage of the respondents reported that they were home-owners, while about twelve respondents indicated that they were buying the home which they currently occupied. For the purposes of this study, all those persons in the latter category were listed as home-owners.
Table 12-3 MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4 or more</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Affiliation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
respondents in each group was a member of at least one voluntary association. Also, only minor differences were observed between the two groups at each of the four income levels and at each of the three occupational levels.

(insert Table 13 about here)

One important point, however, was observed among respondents reporting memberships in four or more voluntary associations. Twenty-one per cent of the home-owners are included in this category, while only 10 per cent of the non-homeowners are included. In other words, the principal membership difference between those who do and those who do not own their home, is that relatively more home-owners are extremely active than are non-homeowners.

6. FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

Also viewed while holding income and occupation constant was the number of close friends indicated by each respondent. The rationale here is that persons sustaining more primary relationships are likely to have more voluntary association memberships than are persons sustaining fewer primary relationships. The primary relationship is used in this study to refer to intimate, face-to-face social interaction of individuals in a homogeneous group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home ownership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 2.409  \( p > .30 \)
It should be mentioned that several studies have shown friendship to be related to number of memberships in voluntary associations. Persons of lower-class status appear to have fewer intimate friends and, in addition, they engage in less organizational activities than persons with more intimate friends. Further substantiation for this claim is given by two other studies which indicate such a relationship. For the purposes of this study it was hypothesized that persons with more intimate friends are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than persons with less intimate friends.

Most persons who have few intimate friends tend to limit their social interaction more to their immediate family, in contrast to the persons who have much more intimate friends who more willingly become involved with persons outside their immediate family, outside of their own neighbourhood, and at times outside of their own community. The implication is clear. Not only is the range of personal acquaintance likely to be broader for the individual with more intimate friends, but thereby too, he usually has great opportunities to exert some influence on the social structure of his community.

For the purposes of this study, the number of intimate friends that a person had was categorized into
three levels; 1-3 friends, 4-6 friends, and over 6 friends. The number of cases in each cell is too few to permit any definite conclusion. However, the data, when translated, do appear to distribute themselves in the predicted direction. These data are presented in Table 14.

(insert Table 14 about here)

Again, what is striking is that rather large differences were found among the friendship categories with reference to respondents who indicated memberships in four or more associations. Only seven per cent of the respondents indicating no close friendships had memberships in four or more organizations. This contrasts with 19 per cent of the one-to-three friend category, and 33 per cent for the classification with four or more close friends. In summary, it appears that the number of close friends is an important correlate of the number of memberships in voluntary associations.

7. MOBILITY (RESIDENTIAL)

The final factor treated within the context of this study was mobility (residential). The evidence relating length of residence in the community with the number of association memberships held is contradictory. Komarovsky, Anderson, Lindstrom, Zimmer, and Freeman, Novak and Reeder conclude that the longer a person has
Table 14-3  NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Intimate Friends</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4 or more</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 11.140  p < .02
resided in a given neighbourhood, the more memberships he will hold in voluntary associations. On the other hand, both the Scott and the Wright and Hyman studies find no relationship between mobility and voluntary association membership. Zimmer noted that in the urban community, the level of participation was higher among migrants from urban areas than from rural areas. The only exception was that rural white-collar and college-graduate migrants participated in associations more than did the urban migrants or natives with less schooling. Rural migrants who lived longer in the farm were less likely to participate in the urban setting than those with a shorter farm history, though the differences in participation between natives and migrants decreased with time in the community. It was initially hypothesized in this study that persons who have lived in a given area or same house for some period of time are likely to have more memberships in voluntary associations than persons who have recently moved into the area. Furthermore,


stability was operationalized in terms of periods of time, namely, less than one year, 1 to 10 years, and more than 10 years.

As can be observed in Table 15, the data obtained from our Negro sample tended, in most cases, to distribute themselves in the predicted direction. In other words, the longer a person resided in Lincoln, the more likely it was that he would be a member of one or more voluntary associations. As with home-ownership and friendship patterns, the greatest differences were observed among those respondents reporting four or more organizational memberships, and those reporting fewer than four memberships.

(insert Table 15 about here)

SUMMARY

Several major hypotheses and related sub-hypotheses were presented and tested in this chapter. For all of them, a positive relationship was expected to obtain with reference to the number of memberships in voluntary associations. The first variable, that of socio-economic status, was operationalized in terms of occupational status, educational achievement, and economic status. Although the results were not statistically significant, the data distributed themselves in the predicted directions; thus, they tend to support the hypotheses and
Table 15-3  
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY  
ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO  
MOBILITY (RESIDENTIAL)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Number of Associations</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than one year</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One to ten years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over ten years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 11.774  \( p < .10 \)
suggesting that, for the variables mentioned, Negroes do not differ from non-Negroes in their affiliative tendencies. The hypothesis is not, however, confirmed since our design was predicted upon statistically significant confirmation.

It was hypothetically stated that men could be expected to belong to more voluntary associations than women. Although the chi square test failed to produce statistically significant results, the data were distributed in the anticipated direction. Possible with a larger sample and in a larger community, the hypothesis might be confirmed. Men did, however, belong to a greater number of associations than did women.

Again, another major hypothesis postulated a positive relationship between marital status and the number of voluntary association memberships. It was expected that married persons would have more than unmarried persons. The hypothesis was confirmed by the results; these proved to be statistically significant; Again, the results suggest that Negroes do not differ from non-Negroes in this respect.

Four other characteristics also appeared to be positively related to the number of voluntary association memberships. These included religious affiliation, home-ownership, friendship patterns and mobility
(residential). Income and occupation are two variables that were held constant when viewing each of these four characteristics.
A. REVIEW OF THE STUDY

Several studies have shown that urbanites are less bound to the traditional codes of the immediate or extended family, the church, and the community, but find self-expression and a measure of satisfaction by allying themselves with their fellow men in voluntary associations. These associations function primarily to replace the patterns of interaction lost or weakened in the traditional institutional associations of family, church, and community. Thus, the proliferation of voluntary associations in most urban areas is seen as the consequence of the breakdown of traditionally communal institutions in the modern urban world.

A salient characteristic of the present-day American scene is the part being played in it by voluntary associations, the functioning of which has been a considerable interest of researchers for many years. Several studies have shown that not all urban Americans are addicted to "joining." But joiners there are, especially on the higher levels of the social structure. Presumably, people join an
organization because they are in agreement with its objectives. Further, they may be convinced that their own welfare will be better served by joining rather than by remaining on the outside.

It should be mentioned here that certain differences in multiple memberships, objectives in joining, and variables affecting joining are what students of voluntary associations have directed themselves to in these investigations. Essentially, they have underscored such determinants of membership and have, in addition, been concerned with the relationship between membership and such factors as socio-economic status, educational achievement, type of occupation, amount of income, sex, and marital status.

Significantly, almost all studies of voluntary associations have directed themselves to the voluntary associations of predominantly all-white samples. It was, then, the purpose of this study to examine several of the variables found to be important in other investigations as they relate to an all-Negro sample. More specifically, it was hypothesized that the number of memberships in voluntary associations would be positively related to socio-economic status; this was operationalized in terms of occupational status, educational achievement, and income. In this context,
two other general variables considered were sex and marital status. And, in order to have greater confidence in understanding the import of more specific variables, income and occupational status were held constant when viewing the relationship between religious affiliation, home ownership, friendship patterns, mobility (residential), and the patterns of participation in voluntary associations.

The data utilized in this thesis were obtained from a universe of adult Negro subjects in Lincoln, Nebraska. The data was sought by means of personal interviews in which a structured schedule was used. A random sample of blocks and houses in several residential areas were chosen and from these areas the subjects to be studied were then selected. A copy of the schedule was handed to each respondent at the time of the interview to permit him to follow the questions that were being asked. The time required to conduct an interview ranged from 30 minutes to an hour, and each interview was conducted in an informal atmosphere.

The interview schedule was divided into two parts, the first of which elicited relevant background data such as type of residence, marital status, age of the respondents, etc. The second part was concerned with the social participation of the respondents in voluntary
associations. The schedule was pre-tested before it was used in the field survey. Once obtained, the data was coded, arranged in the relevant categories and then relationships were tested for statistical significance.

B. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Although the results were not statistically significant, occupational status, when used as a determinant, appeared to be related to membership behaviour in associations. In other words, the data did distribute themselves in the anticipated directions, with non-manual workers indicating more memberships than skilled workers, who, in turn, participated more in voluntary associations than unskilled workers. Comparable results were obtained when church membership was both included and excluded as a voluntary association membership. These results almost approximate those reported in the literature for predominantly all-white samples, and are interpreted to mean that all things being equal, no marked significant differences appear to exist between Negroes and non-Negroes in their affiliative tendencies.

Educational status or achievement was also observed to relate positively to the number of memberships in voluntary associations. Although the results were not significant statistically, the findings did show that
greater educational achievement appeared to correlate with a tendency for the person to affiliate. This relationship was also maintained when church membership was either included or excluded. These results were comparable with those obtained by other researchers.

The third index used to operationalize socioeconomic status was income. The hypothesis appeared tenable, and, although the results were not statistically significant, the data was distributed in the predicted directions. Specifically, the higher the income, the greater the number of memberships in voluntary associations. Similar findings have been reported by investigators who have dealt with non-Negro samples. This suggests that there is no basic differences in membership tendencies between whites and Negroes.

Another variable studied as it related to association was sex. In this study, the adult males belonged to more voluntary associations than the adult females. These results are comparable to those reported by other investigators. Marital status was another variable that was analysed as it related to membership in voluntary associations. Not only were the data distributed in the expected directions, but the results were also statistically significant. As hypothesized, married persons held a significant greater number of memberships than
did the unmarried respondents. These findings are in line with those reported generally in the literature by other investigators.

When religious affiliation was used as an independent variable, it was found that respondents without any church affiliation participated in no voluntary associations. Home-owners were observed to hold more memberships than non-homeowners, and the more intimate friends a person had, the more memberships he appeared to have. Similar results were obtained for home-ownership, friendship patterns and religious affiliation.

The final variable utilized in this study was mobility (residential). When income and occupational status were held constant for these latter four variables: religious affiliation, home-ownership, friendship patterns, and mobility (residential), each variable related positively to the number of memberships in voluntary associations.

In this study, each of the major hypotheses and respective sub-hypotheses received some support. In the main, the results obtained have corresponded with those reported by other students of voluntary associations. Although the specific relationship tested in this investigation were not, with one exception, significant, the relationships between variables as hypothesized were
distributed in the expected direction.

Despite the relatively high degree of participation in voluntary associations on the part of many adult Negro subjects there has been a lack of concern about the purpose and functional significance of these associations for the associator. Some observers note that most middle-class Negroes are obsessed with the struggle for status, and this behaviour is vividly illustrated among the "joiners." Membership in association is one important way in which status can be achieved. This, apparently, is an especially fruitful area where future studies might disclose some basic factors for these associational behaviour tendencies on the part of Negroes of various socio-economic classes.

If voluntary associations do indeed tend to replace or supplement neighbourhoods as social units in cities, they may actually overshadow the family in their appeal and binding force. The reality of this statement seems to illustrate the activities of many families in the Negro cultural system. Today, voluntary associations are accepted channels in the Negro social system for distributing status and serving as a media for self-expression. The whole area merits further empirical investigation.
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BOOKS


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4. A survey carried out for and under the general direction of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1959, p. iii.


APPENDIX

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AMONG NEGROES IN LINCOLN, NEBRASKA
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
Telephone: HE. 2-7631 Ext. 4148
Lincoln 8, Nebraska

PART I --- BACKGROUND DATA

1. Type of Residence: a. ___ rooming house
   b. ___ single house
   c. ___ duplex
   d. ___ apartment
   e. ___ others

2. Sex: ___ Male ___ Female

PART II --- HOW:

3. How long have you been living in Lincoln?
   ___ All life (born here)
   ___ Number of years

4. ____ How long have you been living in this house?

5. Where did you live before moving to this house?

6. How many houses have you lived in for the past two years?

7. Have you moved from place of: Under 2,500___
   2,500 to 9,999___ 10,000 to 49,999___
   50,000 to 100,000___ Over 100,000___ Population?

8. Would you mind telling me if you attend a church?
   Yes ___ No ___

9. Which church do you usually attend?

10. During the last year, about how often were you able to attend?

11. Do you hold any office in the church?

12. Social participation (on separate sheet)

13. Would you mind telling me how old you were on your last birthday?
12. Are there any clubs, teams, and groups like that which you belong to? Yes  No. Could you name them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. How often do you meet?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. How often do you get a chance to go?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Are there any officers?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Have you ever been an officer?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Do you happen to remember how you first became interested in this?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Have you ever tried to interest your friends to join?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Did they join?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Who?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. Could you tell me if you are married, single, widowed, or what? Single__ Married__ Divorced__ Widowed__ Separate__

15. Friendship: (Hand respondent a card) Please write the initials of ten persons who you know the best

16. How many of these ten persons live in Lincoln?

___0___1___2___3___4___5___6___7___8___9___10__

17. How many of these ten would you call very close personal friends?

___0___1___2___3___4___5___6___7___8___9___10__

18. How many of these ten either live in the same house where you live or in the neighbourhood?

___0___1___2___3___4___5___6___7___8___9___10__

19. Did you happen to vote in the last election or were you unable to for some reason? Yes__ No__

20. Do you or your family rent or own the place where you life?

___a. own
___b. rent
___c. don't know

21. How long have you been married? ________

22. How many children in your family? ___Boys___Girls

23. Do you remember the name of the last school you attended? ___________________________

24. What was the last school grade you completed? _____

25. (If married or had been) What is the last grade in school your husband (wife) completed? ________

   a. (If child) What school do you go to? ________

   b. What grade are you in? ________

26. Last week, were you working (keeping house), (going to school), or what?

   a. Working for pay or profit _______________________

   b. Looking for work _____________________________

   c. Had job or business, but did not work because of illness, bad weather, labour dispute __________________
26. (Continued)
d. Keeping house

e. Permanently unable to or too old to work

f. Retired or voluntarily idle

g. Other main activities (specify)

27. What kind of work do you do?

a. Job

b. Industry

28. Would you mind telling me what is your approximate family annual income?

a. ___ Under $2,000
b. ___ $2,000 to $2,499
c. ___ $2,500 to $2,999
d. ___ $3,000 to $3,499
e. ___ $3,500 to $3,999
f. ___ $4,000 to $4,499
g. ___ $4,500 to $4,999
h. ___ $5,000 to $5,499
i. ___ $5,500 to $5,999
j. ___ Over $6,000