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COMPARING TWO GLOBAL MEASURES OF PERCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY

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ABSTRACT. This article examines and compares two global measures of perceived neighborhood quality: satisfaction and attachment. In doing this, the article expands upon the general satisfaction model by developing and testing a model of perceived neighborhood quality which is appropriate to both of these summary measures. Using survey data, the article demonstrates that satisfaction and attachment are each affected by social interaction in the neighborhood and that each can be distinguished by how strongly it taps the cognitive and affective components of well-being. The article also demonstrates the differential impact of general and local social status variables on each of the global measures as well as the impact of perceived homogeneity.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of research on neighborhoods and urban places, there have been attempts to describe neighborhoods with summary measures of their overall quality. The purpose of this paper is to examine two of these summary measures, satisfaction and attachment, and to develop and test a model of perceived neighborhood quality that includes factors likely to affect each of these measures. Focus will be placed on how satisfaction and attachment differ from each other in relation to the cognitive and affective components of perceived life quality.

Numerous studies have used *neighborhood satisfaction* as a global indicator or perceived neighborhood quality. Such an approach to neighborhood quality was formalized by Marans and Rodgers (1975) and Campbell *et al.* (1976) into what is referred to here as the *general satisfaction model*. In this additive model, respondent evaluations of each of a number of neighborhood attributes are seen as linked to respondent perceptions of these attributes. The evaluation of each attribute is also presumed to be affected by the individual's aspirations or expectations, which in turn are affected by personal characteristics such as income, race, or education. It is expected that personal characteristics will affect a person's evaluations of specific neighborhood attributes and therefore will indirectly affect overall neighborhood satisfaction.

While satisfaction has been studied frequently in neighborhood research

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(Wilson, 1962; Butler *et al.*, 1969; Campbell *et al.*, 1976; Hall and Ring, 1974; Department of the Environment, 1972; Francescato *et al.*, 1978; Atkinson, 1977; Michelson, 1977; Marans and Wellman, 1978; Gollin *et al.*, 1975; Galster and Hesser, 1981), several other indicators have also been used to measure perceived neighborhood quality. Among these are various indicators tapping people's sense of attachment to the area in which they live. Several researchers have asked residents whether they think of their neighborhood as their home (or 'real' home) or just a place to live (Barton, 1975; Rodgers *et al.*, 1975; Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Royal Commission, 1969) and whether they feel attached to the local area (Gollin *et al.*, 1975; Hunter, 1974). Although there is no empirical evidence to support the contention, it seems that both these items tap attachment because "feeling at home" appears to express a sense of rootedness to a specific place that means the same thing as feeling attached to that place.

It appears that it is possible to distinguish satisfaction from attachment in terms of the degree to which each taps the cognitive and affective quality of life components. Numerous works on subjective well-being (Campbell *et al.*, 1976; McKennell, 1978; Andrews and McKennell, 1980; McKennell and Andrews, 1980; 1983) differentiate between affective measures, which are often expressed in terms of emotions such as happiness or pleasure, and cognitive measures which imply an evaluative judgement based on the satisfaction of some standard or aspiration. Because neighborhood satisfaction is thought to be linked to the evaluation of specific neighborhood attributes, relative to one's expectations, it is therefore expected that it will primarily tap the cognitive component of well-being.

In contrast to satisfaction, it is expected that attachment to the neighborhood will be more closely related to the affective component of perceived neighborhood quality. Hunter (1974) argues that emotional involvement with a neighborhood produces a sense of attachment which can transcend any evaluation of the neighborhood. Such involvement is often produced via interaction with friends, relatives, and acquaintances living in the neighborhood. A resident, therefore, may realize that his/her neighborhood is not as good as others, but nevertheless feels attached to certain attributes of that neighborhood, such as the people who live there. Moreover, a person may feel satisfied with the neighborhood but still feel little attachment if he or she has not developed any ties to the place or its inhabitants that could not be easily replaced somewhere else. This line of reasoning suggests that the general

satisfaction model requires modification when investigating neighborhood attachment. Specifically, attention should be paid to measuring the impact on attachment of factors, such as social interaction, that are likely to produce a sense of emtional involvement with the neighborhood and that thereby represent the affective component of well-being.

While it is expected that indicators of social interaction will be strongly related to attachment, it is not expected that they will be as important as evaluation of neighborhood attributes in determining satisfaction. If one assumes that residents of modern urban areas have been "liberated" by modern communications and transportation technologies from having to find friends, acquaintances, or relatives in the neighborhood (Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Connerly, forthcoming), then it seems that the presence or absence of these relations in the neighborhood will not have as powerful effect on neighborhood satisfaction as will the evaluation of other attributes, such as quality of local public services, that are spatially tied to the neighborhood. Hence, while it is expected that social interaction will be more strongly related to attachment, it is also expected that evaluation of neighborhood attributes will be more strongly related to satisfaction (see Figure 1).

At the same time, it is likely that there will be some overlap between satisfaction and attachment since each probably taps both cognition and affect. It seems likely that some people will not feel strong attachment to a neighborhood they know to be inferior while others will feel both satisfied and attached to their neighborhood. To the degree that satisfaction and attachment each tap both cognition and affect, attachment should show a weak but significant relation to evaluation of neighborhood attributes and satisfaction should reflect a weak but significant relation with social interaction (see Figure 1).

In general, it appears that although appropriate for measuring the cognitive component of neighborhood quality, the general satisfaction model must be expanded so that it more accurately portrays the factors that determine both the cognitive and affective components of perceived neighborhood quality. The rest of this article focuses on developing a general model of perceived neighborhood quality and testing it using data from a metropolitan area survey.

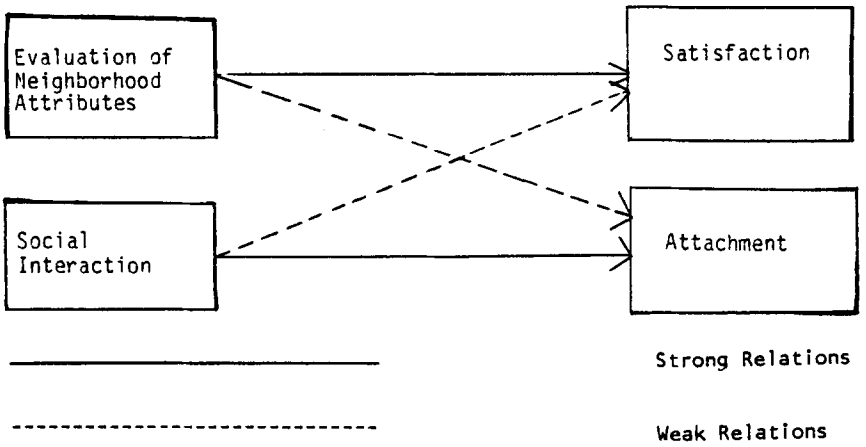

Fig. 1. Relationship between evaluation of neighborhood attributes, social interaction, satisfaction, and attachment.

A MODEL OF PERCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY

The model of perceived neighborhood quality illustrated in Figure 2 is identical to the general satisfaction model in that resident's evaluation of specific neighborhood attributes mediates between actual levels of those attributes in the objective environment and overall perceived neighborhood quality, with respondent characteristics affecting how the attributes are evaluated. But the perceived neighborhood quality model differs from the general satisfaction model in several important ways. First, as already discussed, the perceived neighborhood quality model considers two measures of neighborhood quality: satisfaction and attachment. Social interaction is shown to contribute primarily to neighborhood attachment while evaluation of neighborhood attributes contributes primarily to neighborhood satisfaction. It is also hypothesized that social interaction will have an impact on evaluation of neighborhood attributes since it is presumed that people with friends living nearby are more likely to favorably rate their neighborhood on such attributes as friendliness of neighbors.

A second modification of the general satisfaction model is that personal characteristics are conceptualized as having two components: *general social status* and *local social status* (Hunter, 1974). The former refers to one's status in mass society and includes race and social class. Given the economic

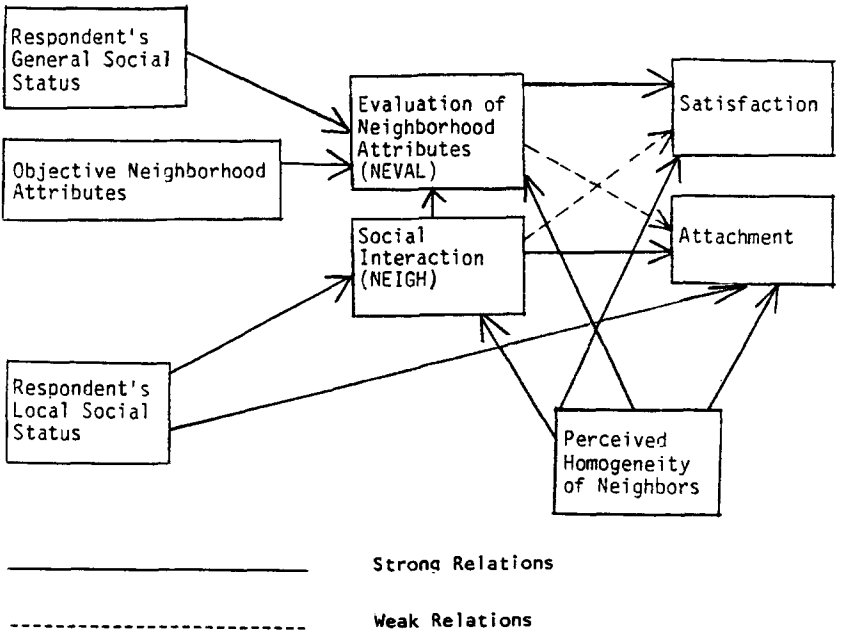

Fig. 2. Model of perceived neighborhood quality.

and racial segregation that exists in most residential areas, class and race are expected to have a strong impact on one's evaluation of a neighborhood. Simply put, the more income a person has the greater the chance he or she will live in a neighborhood that meets or surpasses most standards of aspiration. Consequently, it is theorized that measures of general social status will be directly related to the evaluation of specific neighborhood characteristics and thereby indirectly related to general satisfaction with the neighborhood.

In contrast, measures of local social status, such as length of residence, stage in the life cycle, or age, tell us more than general social status about one's position *in* the neighborhood. In particular, length of residence and life cycle stage have been shown to be strongly determinative of neighborhood social interaction (e.g., Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Connerly, forthcoming) and therefore are expected to have an impact, through social interaction, on neighborhood attachment (Hunter, 1974). Consequently, Figure 2 shows a causal arrow connecting local social status to both social interaction and attachment thereby indicating that one's local status is expected to have

both a direct and an indirect (through social interaction) impact on neighborhood attachment. A direct impact on attachment is possible because even if length of residence, for example, doesn't lead to increased social interaction, it could still produce a sense of attachment to the neighborhood. In contrast, the diagram does not show a direct arrow between general social status and satisfaction since it is presumed, as previous research (Marans and Rodgers, 1975) has demonstrated, that the impact of the general status measures on satisfaction are indirectly channeled through evaluation of neighborhood attributes. Figure 2 therefore shows that the expected primary impact of general social status is on evaluation of neighborhood attributes and satisfaction while local social status primarily affects social interaction and neighborhood attachment.

A third variation from the general satisfaction model is the addition of a measure of perceived homogeneity in the neighborhood. Based on past research into neighborhood social relations and quality (Gans, 1967), it is assumed that social homogeneity has an impact on both social interaction and the evaluation of attributes relating to the people living in a neighborhood. It is therefore assumed that social homogeneity will have an indirect impact on satisfaction and attachment through both social interaction and the evaluation of neighborhood attributes. A direct impact on perceived neighborhood quality is also conceivable because perceived homogeneity may directly enhance a person's sense of comfort in knowing that his or her neighbors share similar values and characteristics.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data analyzed in this study were collected in The University of Michigan's 1975 study of the quality of life in Detroit (Rodgers, *et al.*, 1975). Measures of both neighborhood satisfaction and attachment were incorporated in this survey in which 1194 interviews were conducted with randomly selected residents of the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. A large number of neighborhood questions were asked, the responses to which were later combined with available census data on demographic characteristics and police department statistics on crime levels. Consequently, the Detroit data provide a rare opportunity to view the impact of both subjective and objective indicators on perceived neighborhood quality.

Frequency distributions for both satisfaction and attachment are shown in

TABLE I

Frequency distribution of perceived neighborhood quality measures

Neighborhood attachment: "Do you think of this neighborhood as your home, or just a place you happen to live in?"	
1. Place to live	23.2%
2. Home	76.8%
	100.0
(n = 1179)	

Neighborhood satisfaction: "All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with this neighborhood as a place to live?"	
1. Completely dissatisfied	3.1
2.	2.9
3.	4.6
4.	12.7
5.	10.4
6.	30.0
7. Completely satisfied	36.3
	100.0
(n = 1182)	

Table I along with the exact wording of questions used to elicit responses. The Pearson correlation coefficient between the two measures is 0.425 indicating that although they are related, each has significant variation not explained by the other measure.

Table II shows the Pearson correlation coefficients between each of several independent variables used in the survey and the two measures. The independent variables are divided into the categories shown in Figure 2. The perceived homogeneity variables were measured by asking respondents whether their neighbors were similar to or different from them in terms of race, income, education, and age and whether the neighbors were "like me" or "unlike me". All but three objective measures are based on 1970 U.S. Census data. The measures of average length of residence and percent Catholic refer to the sampling clusters used in the survey. Data on crime were obtained from 1973 Detroit and State of Michigan crime reports. Finally, the Detroit survey obtained respondent evaluations of numerous neighborhood attributes. These evaluations have been categorized into four major types of attributes; physical, social, local public services, and accessibility; which

appear to cover the various dimensions of neighborhood quality (Marans *et al.*, 1981).

The correlations in Table II were used to identify variables suitable for testing the more expansive neighborhood quality model. Of particular interest are the social interaction and homogeneity variables, since they are being added to the general satisfaction model. The modest correlations between some of the social interaction variables and both perceived neighborhood quality measures give partial support to the theory that urban residents have been "liberated" from having to find their social relations in the neighborhood (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Whereas having relatives near counts for little in terms of either attachment or satisfaction, having a high number or percentage of friends living nearby is significantly correlated with both attachment and satisfaction. Of all the social interaction variables, however, knowing and spending time with one's neighbors (neighboring)[1] is most strongly related to satisfaction and attachment. These results tend to confirm the view, discussed earlier, that urban residents are liberated by transportation and communications technologies from the need to have their friends and relatives live nearby. Nevertheless, this liberation doesn't obviate the satisfaction or attachment derived from knowing and spending time with one's neighbors. Simply because the neighborhood no longer represents the sole source of social relations doesn't mean that social interaction in the neighborhood can't contribute to perceived neighborhood quality.

The relatively small correlations between various measures of perceived homogeneity with one's neighbors on the one hand, and attachment and satisfaction on the other, suggest that differences in race, income, education, and age do not strongly affect either attachment or satisfaction. Homogeneity appears important to both measures of neighborhood quality only when respondents were asked whether their neighbors were like or unlike them. Hence perceived homogeneity is important, but only when its definition is left up to the respondent. Unfortunately, the data provide no other evidence that would help to understand what people mean when they say their neighbors are like or unlike them.

Given the relationships shown in Table II, a path analysis was used to test the appropriateness of the model shown in Figure 2. The results of the path analysis are shown in Table III. Column 1 shows the standardized regression coefficients when neighboring[2] (NEIGH) is used as the dependent variable representing social interaction in the neighborhood. The results of this

TABLE II

Zero order correlation coefficients for perceived neighborhood quality

	Attachment	Satisfaction
General social status		
Income	0.121*	0.136*
Education	−0.010	0.010
Black	−0.089*	−0.180*
Tenure	0.342*	0.232*
Local social status		
Family status	0.085*	0.080*
Length of residence	0.238*	0.112*
Mid	0.127*	0.061*
Old	0.132*	0.100*
Young	−0.251*	−0.154*
Sex	0.065*	0.016
Social interaction		
Num. of friends near	0.124*	0.128*
Perc. of friends near	0.086*	0.069
Relatives near	0.015	0.016
Neighboring	0.234*	0.180*
Neigh. organization	0.065*	−0.025
Homogeneity		
Race	0.032	0.102*
Income	0.020	0.025
Education	0.112*	0.119*
Age	0.064*	0.096*
Like me unlike me	−0.254*	−0.354*
Objective measures		
Ave. length of resid.	0.149*	0.118*
Percent catholic	0.074*	0.155*
Percent black	−0.082*	−0.207*
Residential density	−0.185*	−0.241*
Median family income	0.191*	0.279*
Percent DU's substan.	−0.113*	−0.136*
Total crime rate	0.008	0.006
Median property value	0.145*	0.238*
Physical		
Noise	−0.168*	−0.278*
Abandonment	−0.169*	−0.348*
Motorcycle problems	−0.073*	−0.149*
Yards	−0.174*	−0.420*
Traffic	−0.224*	−0.275*
Crowdedness	−0.192*	−0.302*
R's dwelling	−0.361*	−0.524*
Other's dwellings	−0.245*	−0.458*

TABLE II

Zero order correlation coefficients for perceived neighborhood quality

	Attachment	Satisfaction
Social		
Vandalism	−0.216*	−0.372*
Wino problems	−0.202*	−0.374*
Children	−0.196*	−0.326*
Friendly neighbors	−0.288*	−0.479*
Safety at neight	−0.171*	−0.344*
Local public services		
Streets	−0.154*	−0.325*
Schools	−0.058*	−0.193*
Police relations	−0.248*	−0.402*
Recreation	−0.230*	−0.385*
Accessibility		
Shopping access satis.	−0.108*	−0.190*

* Significant at 0.05 level.

analysis support the model shown in Figure 2 and are comparable to those reported elsewhere (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Hunter, 1974). While two general social status measures, INCOME and RACE, aren't significant predictors of neighboring, two measures of local social status, length of residence (LOR) and family status (FAMSTAT), have significant and positive coefficients. It is also seen that whether neighbors are perceived as like or unlike the respondent (LIKEME), average length of residence in the neighborhood (AVELOR), and residential DENSITY are strong predictors of NEIGH. The signs for each of these coefficients are in the expected direction.

The second step in the path analysis, shown in column 2 of Table III, involved regressing an index, NEVAL, representing the summation of each of the variables measuring the evaluation of neighborhood attributes, shown in Table II, against each of the independent variables, including NEIGH. The results show that NEVAL relates less to the local social status variables than NEIGH, because FAMSTAT and NEIGH are not statistically significant, while LOR is *negatively* associated with NEVAL. Instead, a measure of general status, income, is positively associated with NEVAL. Hence, as illustrated in Figure 2 the general social status measure, INCOME, is a stronger predictor of satisfaction than the local social status variables.

TABLE III

Standardized regression coefficients for perceived neighborhood quality

	1 NEIGH	2 NEVAL	3 ATTACH	4 SATIS
INCOME	0.059	0.104*	−0.019	−0.061*
RACE	−0.033	−0.001	0.067*	0.009
TENURE	0.046	0.086*	0.188*	0.037
LOR (Length of residence)	0.152*	−0.090*	0.097*	0.003
FAMSTAT (Family status)	0.161*	−0.010	0.065*	−0.024
YOUNG	−0.056	−0.178*	−0.181*	−0.032
MID (Middle aged)	−0.012	−0.081*	−0.065	−0.029
PERCATH (Percent Catholic)	−0.003	0.038	−0.024	0.011
AVELOR (Average length of residence)	0.064*	0.074*	−0.018	0.044
LIKEME (Perceived homogeneity)	−0.203*	−0.319*	−0.087*	−0.085*
PROPVAL (Median property value)	−0.055	0.028	−0.083*	0.063
SUBSTAN (Percent substandard housing)	0.016	−0.117*	−0.036	0.107*
DENSITY	−0.108*	−0.287*	−0.038	0.000
NEIGH (Neighboring)	–	−0.032	0.113*	0.083*
NEVAL (Evaluation of neighborhood attributes)	–	–	0.280*	0.634*
Adjusted R-Square	0.160	0.367	0.290	0.484

* Statistically significant at 0.05 level.

Columns 3 and 4 show the regression results when the independent variables are used to predict neighborhood attachment and satisfaction. In measuring impacts on attachment, the results are as expected with the coefficients for the local social status measures (LOR, FAMSTAT, and YOUNG) significant, while INCOME is not.[3] LIKEME and NEIGH are also significant indicating that both perceived homogeneity and local social interaction have significant and positive impacts on attachment.[4]

NEVAL, the index measuring evaluation of neighborhood attributes, is also strongly associated with attachment and even has a coefficient larger than NEIGH's. Hence, attachment appears to tap both cognition and affect. Nevertheless, NEIGH's coefficient is of a similar magnitude as NEVAL's.

Satisfaction also appears to tap both cognition and affect as it is significantly associated with both NEIGH and NEVAL. But NEIGH's coefficient is much less than NEVAL's, indicating that satisfaction is much more closely tied to the cognitive component of well-being than is attachment. Moreover,

satisfaction is not significantly affected by local social status as is attachment. Hence, while satisfaction and attachment are each related to the cognitive and affective dimensions, satisfaction appears to more exclusively tap cognition and attachment more exclusively taps affect.

The results shown in Table III therefore tend to support many of the assumptions shown in the perceived neighborhood quality model (see Figure 2). NEIGH, however, does not appear to intervene between the local social status variables and perceived neighborhood quality as the model suggests. This is seen when the path coefficients are divided into direct and indirect impacts, as shown in Table IV.[5] Most of the impact of LOR, FAMSTAT, YOUNG, and MID on attachment is direct and those indirect impacts that do occur are mediated primarily through NEVAL. Table V also shows that only relatively small indirect impacts of any of the other independent variables are mediated through NEIGH. Hence while social interaction appears to play a significant role in affecting perceived neighborhood quality, it does not mediate the effect of other independent variables.

In contrast to NEIGH, NEVAL plays a very important role in mediating the indirect impacts of various background and objective neighborhood indicators. In Table V, for example, NEVAL mediates much of the effect that

TABLE IV

Direct, indirect, and total impacts of independent variables on attachment

	DIRECT	INDIRECT			TOTAL INDIRECT	TOTAL
		NEIGH	NEVAL	NEIGH/ NEVAL		
INCOME	−0.019	0.007	0.029	−0.001	0.035	0.016
RACE	0.067	−0.004	0.000	0.000	−0.004	0.063
TENURE	0.188	0.005	0.024	0.000	0.029	0.217
LOR	0.097	0.017	−0.025	−0.001	−0.009	0.088
FAMSTAT	0.065	0.018	−0.003	−0.001	0.014	0.079
YOUNG	−0.181	−0.006	−0.050	0.001	−0.055	−0.236
MID	−0.065	−0.001	−0.023	0.000	−0.024	−0.089
PERCATH	−0.024	0.000	0.011	0.000	0.011	−0.013
AVELOR	−0.018	0.007	0.021	−0.001	0.027	0.009
LIKEME	−0.087	−0.023	−0.089	0.002	−0.110	−0.197
PROPVAL	−0.083	−0.006	0.008	0.000	0.002	−0.081
SUBSTAN	−0.036	0.002	−0.033	0.000	−0.031	−0.067
DENSITY	−0.038	−0.012	−0.080	0.001	−0.091	−0.129
NEIGH	0.113	–	–	−0.009	−0.009	0.104
NEVAL	0.280	–	–	–	–	0.280

TABLE V

Direct, indirect, and total impacts of independent variables on satisfaction

	DIRECT	INDIRECT			TOTAL INDIRECT	TOTAL
		NEIGH	NEVAL	NEIGH/ NEVAL		
INCOME	−0.061	0.005	0.066	−0.001	0.070	0.009
RACE	0.009	−0.003	−0.001	0.001	−0.005	0.004
TENURE	0.037	0.004	0.054	−0.001	0.057	0.094
LOR	0.003	0.013	−0.057	−0.003	−0.047	−0.044
FAMSTAT	−0.024	0.013	−0.006	−0.003	0.004	−0.020
YOUNG	−0.032	−0.005	−0.113	0.001	−0.117	−0.149
MID	−0.029	−0.001	−0.051	0.000	−0.052	−0.081
PERCATH	0.011	0.000	0.024	0.000	0.024	0.035
AVELOR	0.044	0.005	0.047	−0.001	0.051	0.095
LIKEME	−0.085	−0.017	−0.202	0.004	−0.215	−0.300
PROPVAL	0.063	−0.004	0.018	0.001	0.015	0.068
SUBSTAN	0.107	0.001	−0.074	0.000	−0.073	0.034
DENSITY	0.000	−0.009	−0.182	0.002	−0.189	−0.189
NEIGH	0.083	–	–	−0.020	−0.020	0.063
NEVAL	0.634	–	–	–	–	0.634

most of the independent variables have on satisfaction. The only exception to this is PROPVAL whose impact on satisfaction is primarily direct. Nevertheless, NEVAL, unlike NEIGH, assumes the mediating role ascribed to it in Figure 2 and in particular, much of the total impact of LIKEME, DENSITY, and YOUNG on the dependent variables is mediated through NEVAL such that the total impact of these variables is much greater than their direct impact.

Also, perceived homogeneity, as measured by LIKEME, appears to have a very strong total impact on both measures of perceived neighborhood quality. This impact is both direct and indirect, with much of the indirect impact mediated by NEVAL.

Finally, neighborhood attachment and satisfaction can be compared by examining how different neighborhood attributes affect each of these global measures. Table VI shows the results of the two regressions when NEVAL is decomposed into indexes representing variables measuring the physical (PHYS), social (SOCIO), public services (SVCS), and accessibility (ACCESS) components of neighborhood quality.[6] The results show that while accessibility is not considered very critical to either measure, the physical attributes of the neighborhood are slightly more important than the other two cate-

TABLE VI

Standardized regression coefficients for perceived neighborhood quality with evaluation of neighborhood attributes decomposed

	Attachment	Satisfaction
INCOME	−0.019	−0.058*
RACE	0.056	0.020
TENURE	0.190*	0.032
LOR	0.098*	0.006
FAMSTAT	0.070*	−0.030
YOUNG	−0.181*	−0.025
MID	−0.064	−0.027
PERCATH	−0.030	0.021
AVELOR	−0.014	0.036
LIKEME	−0.084*	−0.087*
PROPVAL	−0.078*	0.053
SUBSTAN	−0.040	0.109*
DENSITY	−0.033	−0.003
NEIGH	0.111*	0.087*
PHYS	0.169*	0.302*
SOCIO	0.115*	0.214*
SVCS	0.033	0.246*
ACCESS	0.011	0.044*
Adjusted *R*-Square	0.290	0.487

* Statistically significant at 0.05.

gories. The social and service attributes are of comparable importance to the physical attributes in explaining satisfaction, while services is not significantly related to attachment.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. First, the analysis suggests that neighboring plays a significant role in both satisfaction and attachment, despite the fact that most urban residents no longer confine their social interactions to the neighborhood. Indeed, the bivariate analysis shows that having nearby friends or relatives is not very critical to either of the perceived neighborhood quality measures. Nevertheless, as much research has suggested, many people still know their neighbors and spend time with them (e.g., Connerly, forthcoming), and according to the results discussed here, such activities are still important to perceived neighborhood quality.

Second, the analysis shows that attachment and satisfaction can be distinguished by the degree to which each relates to the cognitive or affective quality of life components. Following Hunter (1974), it was assumed that local social status and social interaction would be more strongly associated with the measure that primarily taps affect. Hence while length of residence, age, and family status are significantly associated with feeling attached to one's neighborhood, their impact on satisfaction is not significant. Moreover, while neighboring is relatively important in affecting attachment, evaluation of specific neighborhood attributes assumes the dominant role in predicting satisfaction, indicating that satisfaction is more closely related to the cognitive component of well-being. Nevertheless, neither attachment or satisfaction exclusively taps either cognition or affect.

Third, while the findings confirm the use of the perceived neighborhood quality model, they also suggest modifications to it. Contrary to what is shown in Figure 2, social interaction, in the form of neighboring, does not intervene between the dependent variables and either perceived homogeneity or the local social status variables. Hence, a revised version of the perceived neighborhood quality model, illustrated in Figure 3, shows social interaction behaving as an exogenous variable. This diagram also shows that neighborhood social interaction has no significant impact on evaluation of neighborhood attributes while, as just discussed, evaluation of neighborhood attributes has an important impact on attachment.

While neighboring is an important contributor to feelings of attachment, the fact that it does not mediate the impact of other variables on attachment means that it does not occupy an exclusive path to feeling at home in one's neighborhood. Having children or living in a neighborhood a long time can lead to increased attachment regardless of whether one knows and meets with neighbors. Hence, Hunter's (1974) assertion that local social status conditions are significant correlates of attachment because they lead to increased social interaction seems unfounded. These conditions are significantly related to attachment, but they act on feelings of attachment independently of their effects on neighboring.

Fourth, in contrast to neighboring, the evaluation of individual neighborhood attributes mediates the effects of personal characteristics, perceived homogeneity, and objective neighborhood conditions on both satisfaction and attachment. This finding supports previous research (e.g., Marans and Rodgers, 1975) which reported that personal characteristics and objective

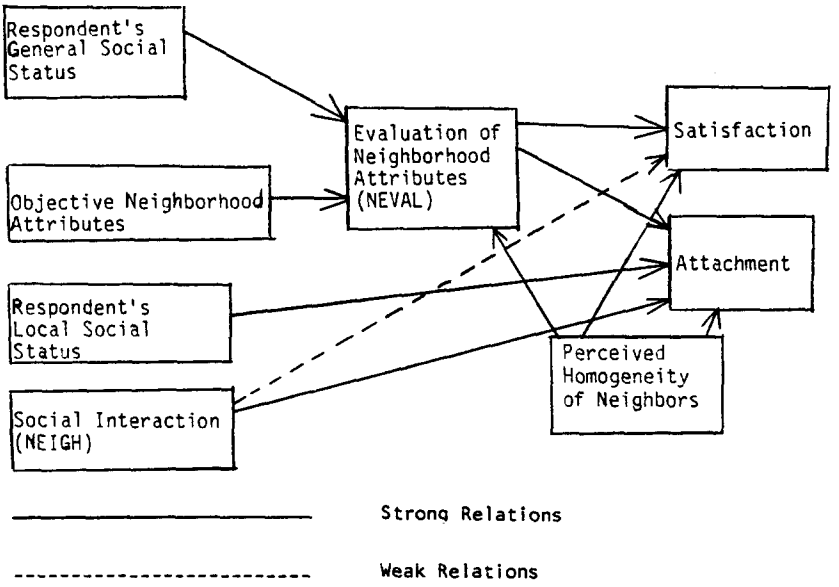

Fig. 3. Revised model of perceived neighborhood quality.

neighborhood conditions don't directly influence perceived neighborhood quality but do so through their impact on the evaluation of neighborhood attributes.

Finally, when measured in terms of specific contexts, such as income, race, age, or education, perceived homogeneity has little impact on either of the perceived neighborhood quality measures. But when people are simply asked how much their neighbors are like or unlike them, their responses are strongly associated with both attachment and satisfaction. Hence, while perceived homogeneity is an important indicator of perceived neighborhood quality, it does not seem definable in terms of the conventional class, age, and racial distinctions. It may be, as Michelson (1976) has argued, that homogeneity must be defined more subtly in terms of differences in lifestyles and values before we can understand its impact on perceived neighborhood quality.

In general, the results show that our understanding of perceived neighborhood quality is enhanced by using attachment, as well as satisfaction, to measure overall quality of life in the neighborhood. While satisfaction is primarily useful for understanding how people evaluate their neighborhood,

relative to their aspirations and other neighborhoods, it does not appear to do as well as attachment in measuring the emotional content of neighborhood quality. Further research needs to be performed, however, on the public policy implications of the distinction between satisfaction and attachment. For example, while it appears that satisfaction gives a good indication of how people evaluate the current conditions in their neighborhood it may say less than attachment about what level of commitment residents have to improving their neighborhood. It may be that people who are more attached to their neighborhood, either through long residence, family status, or interaction with neighbors, are more prepared to work to improve their neighborhood. If so, then efforts to promote neighborhood revitalization, particularly through upgrading by incumbent residents (Clay, 1979), should not only look at neighborhood conditions and need but also at indicators of personal and collective commitment to shape the quality of their neighborhood. Whether attachment to the neighborhood actually measures this commitment to act, however, remains to be determined.

NOTES

[1] Neighboring was measured by summing the scores on two questions which asked how many of the respondent's 10 to 12 closest neighbors he or she knew by name and how often the respondent got together with these neighbors.

[2] Even though number of friends living nearby is moderately correlated with the perceived neighborhood quality measures, it is not as strongly correlated with the two items comprising NEIGH (knowing and spending time with one's neighbors) as these items are with each other. Hence number of friends living nearby was not included in the index measuring neighboring. When it is included, however, the results are very similar to those shown in Table III.

[3] RACE is significant, but the positive association between being black and feeling at home in one's neighborhood runs contrary to our expectations that this measure of general social status would, if anything, relate ***negatively*** to a cognitive measure of perceived neighborhood quality.

[4] That TENURE is significant seems due to the fact that many respondents associated attachment (feeling at home in one's neighborhood) with homeownership.

[5] The direct impact of TENURE, for example, on attachment is simply TENURE's standardized regression coefficient (0.186). Its indirect impact on attachment through NEVAL is TENURE's coefficient in predicting NEVAL (0.093) multiplied by NEVAL's coefficient in predicting attachment (0.283). For a good introduction to calculating and interpreting direct and indirect effects, consult Asher (1976).

[6] Each of these indexes are summations of the appropriate variables shown as Evaluation of Neighborhood Attributes in Table III.

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