

The Role of Neighborhood Social Networks in Scattered-Site Public Housing Residents' Search for Jobs

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Abstract

In theory, housing poor families in the suburbs among those who are not poor can provide better housing options and help families connect with economic and social opportunities. Social networks are vital links to larger social systems and the neighborhood networks of low-income people may thus influence their access to opportunity. Does living in small clusters of public housing in a nonpoor area instead of in a dispersed housing pattern influence the types of social ties poor people use when they look for jobs?

Dispersed residents have neighborhood social networks that contain greater diversity, so therefore they have greater access to diverse sources of information. Dispersed residents, however, use their neighbors less frequently when they look for a job than clustered residents do. Implications for theory, policy, and practice are discussed.

Keywords: Low-income housing; Neighborhood; Public housing

Introduction

Does the level of dispersal within the suburbs affect access to opportunity for low-income residents? In theory, housing poor families in the suburbs among those who are not poor can provide better housing options and help these families connect with economic and social opportunities (Goering et al. 1995). By contrast, people in poor areas have little exposure to those who are middle income (Wilson 1987). Contagion effects may spur delinquent behaviors (Crane 1991), and large concentrations of the poor may allow for the formation of alternative subcultures with less than mainstream behaviors (Jencks and Mayer 1990). Mixing incomes deals with each of these problems. In nonpoor neighborhoods, low-income people may be exposed to positive role models; moreover, dispersal may prevent both contagion effects and the formation of alternative subcultures. Neighborhood matters for the life chances of individuals and their success in job attachment and the labor market (Ellen and Turner 1997; Rosenbaum 1991).

Although neighborhood quality is associated with these positive outcomes, the mechanisms responsible are largely unexplored (Briggs 1997; Plotnick and Hoffman 1999). One of these mechanisms may be the social networks of individuals: People are embedded in social networks that

act as vital links to larger social systems (Wellman 1988). Furthermore, neighborhood social networks may be responsible in part for social and economic opportunity. More diverse neighborhoods may provide the opportunity for access to more varied information available through less close and more diverse social networks. Thus, living in a nonpoor area may be especially valuable for low-income people.

The question that this article addresses is whether high levels of dispersal increase access to opportunity through neighborhood social ties. Specifically, do the neighborhood social networks of women in suburban dispersed public housing provide access to more diverse sources of information than do those of residents in small clusters of public housing in the same region? The article also investigates whether neighborhood social networks are important in determining those whom residents might approach for information when they search for a job. The analysis begins with a review of current knowledge of the impact of housing mobility programs on social and economic opportunity. A brief summary of the emphasis in the neighborhood effects literature on outcomes rather than mechanisms follows, leading into a discussion of social capital and social networks as potentially valuable in terms of access to opportunity for low-income people, especially in housing mobility programs and other programs that disperse poverty.

The article continues with an overview of the study design, findings, and implications for policy and practice. The major findings are that dispersed residents do have access to more diverse information through their neighbors, but at the same time they are less likely than clustered residents to use such ties in searching for a job. Furthermore, the diversity and closeness of the neighborhood network are positively associated with using neighborhood ties to look for a job, regardless of the type of housing.

Social and economic opportunity in housing programs that mix incomes

The small amount of published research on the social and economic opportunity of dispersed low-income housing indicates that moving to nonpoor areas does not have a uniformly beneficial effect, likely because of differences in the duration of living in nonpoor areas and in levels of dispersal. The results of Chicago's court-ordered Gautreaux public housing desegregation program point to two major outcomes. First, those who moved to the suburbs were more likely to find jobs than those who moved within the city, but not jobs with higher wages. Second, the children of suburban movers dropped out of school less often, were more often placed in college tracks, were more often employed, had higher wages, and were more likely to have jobs with benefits. These results occurred over the first 15 years after the program was implemented.

Thus, the program was effective in bringing greater opportunity to the children of the families that moved to the suburbs (Rosenbaum 1991, 1995; Rosenbaum and Popkin 1990). However, those who dropped out of the program or moved back to the city from white suburbs were omitted from the analysis.

By contrast, the solution to the Yonkers desegregation lawsuit did not bring expected increases in social and economic opportunity. Briggs (1998) surveyed 132 youths: Half of them stayed in public housing located in poor, minority Southwest Yonkers, and half moved to small public housing developments in white, affluent East Yonkers. Movers experienced social support from living in their small developments—they had ties that helped them cope with everyday life—but they were unable to leverage benefits that might come from living in nonpoor areas, such as access to information on jobs. These youths tended to live in “ethnic fishbowls” (Briggs 1998, 208) and were only partially integrated into their surrounding neighborhoods. However, the youths had been living in their communities no more than three years, and over time they might develop ties to the larger community.

Rosenbaum’s (1991, 1995) and Briggs’ (1998) research suggests that clustering low-income minorities in middle-income areas may have done little to encourage contacts between residents and the wider community. Whereas the Gautreaux families were spread out with Section 8 vouchers, a metropolitan dispersal solution, those in Yonkers were concentrated in small developments. It may be that a policy that truly disperses public housing residents in middle-income areas may be more successful in creating ties to the larger community. Also, the two programs differ in the length of time residents have lived in their housing situation. Over time, Yonkers youth may experience gains similar to those of the Gautreaux children.

Results from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program may help test these suppositions. Authorized in 1992, MTO completed the baseline implementation of its quasiexperiment in five cities across the nation in September 1999. While the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s (HUD’s) report of initial findings presents little quantitative information about the effects of moving to nonpoor areas, it does offer some anecdotal information (Goering et al. 1999). Focus group participants report that some people are finding better jobs and others are feeling motivated to look, given that their neighbors are going to work every day. Anecdotal evidence suggests positive experiences in schools with good teachers and role models, while a few children have had problems adjusting. Other preliminary MTO results suggest that children may attend better schools (Ladd and Ludwig 1998) and that moves to low-poverty neighborhoods reduce adolescent participation in criminal activity (Ludwig, Duncan, and Hirschfield 1998). In Boston, children moving to low-poverty neighborhoods had a reduced likelihood of

injuries, asthma attacks, and victimization by crime (Katz, Kling, and Liebman 2001). Chicago's early results indicate that all families that moved had significant improvements in family well-being, with the greatest gains being made by families moving to low-poverty neighborhoods; however, families moving to low-poverty neighborhoods also experienced more isolation (Rosenbaum and Harris 2001). At the same time, Section 8 households have a negative impact on the sale prices of neighboring homes (Galster and Tatian 1998). Few other results are generally available, and MTO's long-term effects on economic opportunity will not be available for some time.

Neighborhood effects, social relations, and access to opportunity

Studies of neighborhood effects have not directly explored the impact of living in dispersed housing, although this research has contributed to the growing popularity of dispersal programs. The neighborhood effects literature tests the assertion that neighborhood of residence influences a range of outcomes and that living among more affluent people causes different outcomes than living in concentrated poverty communities. In examining the impact of living among those who are not poor, researchers explore the assertion that affluent people bring something with them—either working and diverse lifestyles, a community without concentrated social problems, productive civic institutions, or standards of behavior indicative of access to opportunity. Low-income people who live in predominantly poor areas are isolated from social and economic opportunities. Living near those who are affluent apparently provides those opportunities. In their exhaustive literature review on the effect of neighborhood on the life chances of an individual, however, Jencks and Mayer (1990) find few certain neighborhood effects but nevertheless draw two main hypotheses from the literature: (1) When neighbors set the social standards, affluent neighbors create an advantage; and (2) when neighbors compete for scarce resources (such as social standing, grades, or jobs), affluent neighbors pose a disadvantage. A later review by Ellen and Turner (1997), building on the work of Jencks and Mayer (1990), points to definite neighborhood effects, especially for adolescents. Outcomes for adults are less certain.

These explorations of neighborhood effects, however, do not touch on the importance of social relations in creating access to social and economic opportunity. As Briggs (1997) points out, the literature on poverty often assumes social interaction between affluent and poor neighbors. For social influence to occur, however, poor and nonpoor neighbors must have some contact, even simply seeing each other on the street. Further, social ties may be the connection between macrolevel neighborhood factors and microlevel individual outcomes.

Social relations as links to opportunity

Social relations act as vital links to larger social systems (Wellman 1988). Individuals are not unconnected Hobbesian actors making choices without regard for other people, nor do their networks dictate their opportunities (Granovetter 1985). People are embedded in networks, and their choice of action takes place in the context of a system of social relations. Social ties can influence not only these choices of action, but also life events, norms and attitudes, behaviors, and achievement (Briggs 1998). Galster and Killen (1995) hint at this when they discuss how opportunity and social relations might intersect in a neighborhood. They argue that opportunity is both *process* and *prospect*. Process is the way markets, institutions, and service delivery systems work. Prospect has to do with possible outcomes, such as future income, consumption, and utility. In their heuristic model, networks influence values, aspirations, and preferences, shaping participation in the labor force, crime, fertility, and education. Opportunity is something that an individual perceives, not something that the neighborhood alone necessarily controls. Networks may help shape these perceptions (Briggs 1998; Galster and Killen 1995).

Not only are people embedded in social relations that contribute to how they perceive opportunity, but those relations may also facilitate action, provide information, or make connections between the micro- and the macrolevel. Coleman (1988) calls relationships among people that facilitate action “social capital” and outlines three types. First, he describes the social capital based in people “doing things for each other” (Coleman 1988, S102). These relations are based in “trustworthiness of the social environment, which means that obligations will be repaid, and the actual extent of obligations held” (Coleman 1988, S102). This type of social capital is a web of mutual obligations that maintain helping relationships among people who trust each other to fulfill their obligations. Some people have high levels of obligations outstanding and thus have more social capital from which to draw. Second, he discusses social capital as the “potential for information inherent in social relations” (Coleman 1988, S104). People use their social relations to gather information about things with which they themselves have no contact but that later shape their actions. Therefore, social capital can be social relations “that provide information that facilitates action” (Coleman 1988, S104). Third, he comments, “When a norm exists and is effective, it constitutes a powerful, though sometimes fragile form of social capital” (Coleman 1988, S104). This type, unlike the previous two, both facilitates certain actions and constrains others.

Those who have access to opportunity may have more social capital—that is, they may have access to relations of mutual obligation based on trust. They may have access to better information through social relations. The group with whom people associate sets standards for behav-

ior and norms and has social punishments for breaking those norms (sanctions). These standards for behavior may set levels individuals must meet. Thus, social relations are basic to the discussion of social capital as a source of opportunity and personal support.

Social networks and opportunity

How do social networks link individuals with social and economic opportunity? Because social ties tend to be homogeneous, more diverse and weak ties¹ allow access to more diverse sources of information and more varied opportunities (Granovetter 1973). Furthermore, the more diverse the people someone knows, the more different types of information are available to that person (Burt 1983, 1984; Campbell, Marsden, and Hurlbert 1986; Marsden 1987; Wellman and Potter 1999). People in one's social network may vary along different attributes: ethnicity, religion, gender, or work. Diversity along job and income are especially associated with heterogeneity in job information. By using weaker ties, an individual has access to more diverse sources of information.

Yet poor people tend to use closer and more homogeneous ties in searching for a job (Granovetter 1995). New resources require weak ties, and these are most advantageous to those higher up on the socioeconomic ladder and least advantageous to those at the bottom. Weak ties alone are not enough for someone to be able to use networks instrumentally in a job search. Rather, those people with more social resources—higher birth status (according to father's occupation) or higher-status jobs—are more likely to maintain ties that connect them to higher-status jobs (Lin and Dumin 1986). Thus, it is debatable whether weak ties are useful to low-income people in finding a job. In some social groups, finding jobs through contacts may be the best option, but the jobs “may still be of poor quality by general standards if this is all the group can provide” (Granovetter 1995, 151). Working-class ties may lead to jobs, but jobs from same-group contacts may lead to jobs that are no better than anyone else in the group has. These findings are echoed in other empirical studies showing that diversity of local ties inhibited or enhanced job information and opportunities (Kasinitz and Rosenberg 1996; Wial 1988).

Whether neighborhood composition influences the configuration of such ties is a separate question. Community of residence affects ties only a little, influencing the types of non-kin with whom people associate (Fischer 1982). Furthermore, living in a poor neighborhood does not necessarily mean that all neighborhood ties are local or close (Hurlbert, Beggs, and Haines 1998). The geographic location of the social network does not in general necessarily influence an individual's ability to find

¹ Weak ties are emotionally distant, infrequent, of short duration, or not kin.

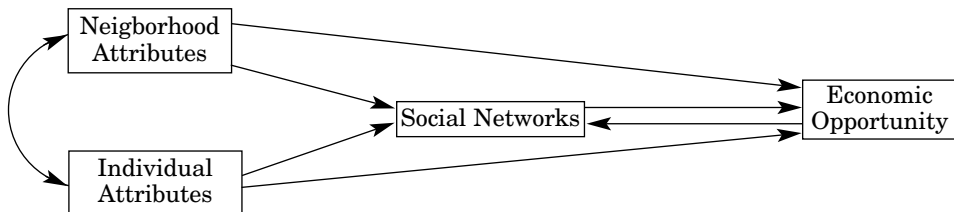
a job, although it may influence the belief that he or she could find a job outside the neighborhood (Hurlbert, Beggs, and Haines 1998).

Social networks in the presence of affluent neighbors

Given that social networks connect individuals with opportunity and that living among affluent neighbors may also be associated with bringing the poor closer to opportunity, what is the connection between the two? Living among affluent people should provide access to both diverse ties and weak ties. Also, living in housing that is truly dispersed rather than clustered in a nonpoor neighborhood will enable low-income people to have at least some access to those ties.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationships in a social network analysis of the placement of low-income households among affluent neighbors. The heuristic model generally presents the key relationships as described in the neighborhood effects literature. Individual attributes influence access to opportunity, just as neighborhood attributes do. Also, these attributes are correlated. Neighborhood attributes influence social networks, just as individual attributes do. A social network perspective suggests that social networks may mediate the effects of both individual and neighborhood attributes. The model posits that social networks and economic opportunity also influence each other. Work status and place of work influence the diversity and weakness of the ties within an individual's social networks. Likewise, the more diversity and the less closeness in an individual's social network, the greater the access to opportunity.

Figure 1. Heuristic Model: Network Effects in Neighborhood Outcomes for Housing Dispersal Programs



This theoretical perspective suggests three conjectures. First, living in dispersed housing may influence the composition of the social networks of low-income people, making them more economically diverse, more diverse in terms of job prestige, and not as close as those of clustered public housing residents. Second, although poor people may have access to more diverse ties in nonpoor neighborhoods, they may not have the social resources to use them to better their own situation. Third, social network closeness and diversity should be associated with the use of different types of personal ties to access opportunity.

Data and study design

The data for this study come from an in-person survey of 253 women between the ages of 18 and 55 living in scattered-site housing in Montgomery County, MD, a wealthy northern suburb of Washington, DC. In 1997, HUD set the qualifying area median income for a family of four in the county at \$70,300. By contrast, the median income for a family of four in public housing from all sources was \$5,500. In 1997, the county was home to two types of scattered-site housing: 628 units of public housing dispersed throughout the county and 328 family public housing units located in five clustered developments ranging from 20 to 70 units.

The dispersed housing is the product of the county's inclusionary zoning program, the Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit (MPDU) program. For the past 25 years, this program has been creating affordable housing for families with moderate incomes, as well as housing affordable over the long term. In 1973, the Montgomery County Council determined that the county had a severe shortage of housing that low- and moderate-income families could afford. Since then, the MPDU program has produced over 10,000 units of affordable housing. The law requires that when a development of 50 housing units or more is built, the developer must set aside 12 to 15 percent of the units as moderately priced housing. As compensation, the developer receives a density bonus. The developer must price 60 percent of the moderately priced units so that they are affordable to moderate-income families for 10 years, and the rest of the units are made affordable to low-income people for the long term.

The Housing Opportunities Commission (HOC), the county's public housing authority, has the option to buy a third of the MPDUs. Local nonprofit organizations can purchase the remainder (HOC 1994). As a result of the program, each new subdivision built over the past 25 years contains a mix of incomes, and dispersed public housing units are located unit-by-unit in nonpoor areas. The public housing units that the MPDU Program has produced are similar to the dispersal pattern of a housing mobility program that might employ housing vouchers to achieve scattering. Most of the dispersed and clustered units are townhouses, but both dispersed and clustered units include single-family homes. About 16 percent of the dispersed units are in multiunit apartment buildings.

Of the 253 women interviewed, 127 lived in dispersed housing, and 126 lived in clustered housing.² The women were selected at random, and the response rate was 85 percent. The average respondent was in her

² The interviews took about 14 weeks to complete, from June through October 1997, and they ranged in length from half an hour to an hour and 20 minutes, depending on the number of social network members the respondent listed. Each respondent received \$20 in cash for her time.

mid-thirties, had children under 18, and had three people in her household (table 1). Roughly two-thirds of the respondents were black, most were non-Hispanic, and the majority of both groups had more than a high school education. About half of them had been married at one time, although only 17 percent were currently married. The survey data were supplemented with 1990 census data and information provided by HOC.

Table 1. Respondent Characteristics

		Dispersed (N = 127)	Clustered (N = 126)
Age	Mean years	36	34
	Minimum	18	20
	Maximum	55	55
Race	White	13%	15%
	Black	64%	63%
	Asian	3%	2%
	American Indian	2%	0%
	Other	18%	20%
Hispanic		17%	14%
Education	Less than high school	17%	25%
	High school	34%	40%
	Certificate/Some college	39%	30%
	College degree	10%	5%
Marital status	Married	17%	17%
	Separated	14%	17%
	Divorced	20%	13%
	Widowed	6%	4%
	Never married	43%	50%
Household size	Mean persons	2.8	3.0
	Minimum	1.0	1.0
	Maximum	10.0	8.0
Children present in household	Under 18	88%	95%
	Under 13	72%	85%

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 percent because of rounding.

The design is quasiexperimental, posttest only, employing nonequivalent groups (Cook and Campbell 1979). The danger with this type of design is that group differences may mistakenly be attributed to the program, rather than to selection differences between groups. In addition, non-random assignment to the treatment (dispersed) group and comparison (clustered) group means that the analyses will have nonrandom error in the variance because of self-selection to live in dispersed or clustered housing.

HOC's selection process, however, enabled me to control for a good deal of the error associated with selection bias. These are public housing units, whether dispersed or clustered. Residents can come from other public housing units or from the public housing waiting list. Families

already in public housing live in units that suit their size. Therefore, when family size changes, these households will change units. For those on the waiting list, the housing authority offers a newly available unit to the next individual on the list. A person who passes up a unit is dropped from the list, unless he or she can show a valid reason for not accepting the unit. Only transportation problems or family size can dictate some choice on the part of the future resident. Therefore, controlling for car ownership and family size will account for a great deal of the self-selection error. In addition, I control for significant demographic differences between the groups and other differences that might influence interactions with neighbors. This also reduces the nonrandom error.

Even using these controls, self-selection to live in dispersed or clustered housing is a potential problem. For example, Although female residents of dispersed and clustered housing differ little in terms of their age, race, marital status, or household size, they do differ in terms of education, propensity to have children in the household, work status, hourly wages, and job prestige.³ Living in dispersed or clustered housing could cause these differences, or they could have been present before the move. However, at the time of the study, HOC staff said that the agency did not screen any differently for dispersed and clustered housing.⁴ It is also possible that, through some method unknown to me, individuals who were more motivated to do better self-selected to live in dispersed housing. Perhaps some would rather lose their opportunity for public housing than move into a clustered unit. Thus, those who were already doing better may have moved into dispersed housing. Data from the time of entry into public housing are not available for the sample, so I cannot test this hypothesis directly. In addition, because some clustered housing residents do better, they may have a greater tendency to move out—many clustered residents would prefer not to live in a known public housing development under HOC's watchful eye. Dispersed residents in a similar situation may stay even though their incomes rise, because they are more satisfied with their units and their neighborhoods. Both sets of residents thought the grass was greener in the other type of housing, so the two sets of issues may even each other out. I am unable to sort all of these potential issues out. To be extremely conservative, I control throughout the analysis for significant differences between groups.

³ Dispersed residents were slightly more educated than their clustered counterparts. Smaller proportions of dispersed residents had children in their households. Dispersed residents were more likely to be working and more likely to be working full-time. They earned higher wages and had higher job prestige than residents of clustered housing.

⁴ Just after data collection was complete, HOC began to discuss using dispersed housing as a reward for good behavior in clustered housing.

Network data

I asked each respondent a series of questions designed to elicit a list of people in her social network who did not live with her. The respondent identified people with whom she had talked in the past about jobs and those she would talk to in the future about jobs. She listed her best friend, people with whom she would talk about important personal matters, relatives with whom she spoke at least occasionally, and neighbors she knew well enough to say hello.⁵ I then went back through the list and identified all the neighbors she listed.

Dependent variables

There are two sets of dependent variables (table 2). The first set consists of measures of social networks that mediate the relationship between

⁵ Thus, I employed five different name generators to sample a broad network that would include both close and weak ties:

- “If you were going out to find a new job, who do you know that would be a good source of information about getting a job or getting a better job than you now have?”
- During this most recent job search, besides people in your household, how many people did you talk to because you thought they would be a good source of information about jobs? Can you tell me the first names or initials of up to five of the people you talked to?
- Who is your closest/very best friend that does not live with you?
- Thinking back over the past six months, who are the people with whom you have discussed matters important to you?
- About how many relatives do you have who do not live with you that you speak to at least occasionally? Count those whom you see at least occasionally or speak to on the telephone....Please give me the names or initials of five of those relatives who you speak to occasionally that you have not already listed.
- About how many neighbors in your current neighborhood do you know well enough to say hello? Don’t count relatives or friends already listed.”

The respondent could not name anyone twice, nor could she name someone in her own household. As the respondent named her ties, the interviewer wrote the first name or initial on a list labeled letter A through letter Z and gave it to the respondent. Then the interviewer asked detailed questions about letters A–Z. As part of the details about the network, the interviewer went down the list of up to 26 names and asked which of these people were neighbors. On average, respondents listed 4.8 neighbors, about one-third of all the people they listed. The greatest number of neighbors a respondent listed was 14, and roughly 6 percent (15 respondents) listed no neighbors at all. The A–Z method of collecting network data is based on the Adolescent Questionnaire of the Yonkers Family and Community Project (1995), although the actual questions were modified for the current study. I derived the content of the questions from neighborhood studies by Campbell and Lee (1992) and previous network questionnaires (Burt 1984; Marsden and Campbell 1984).

Table 2. Dependent Variables and Weighted Values by Housing Type

Concept	Variable	Explanation	All	Dispersed	Clustered
Neighborhood social network	Economic diversity	Index of Qualitative Variation of homeowners in the neighborhood network	0.40	0.54	0.10 ***
	Job prestige diversity	Standard deviation of National Opinion Research Center 1989 General Social Survey Occupational Prestige Scores ^a for people in the respondent's neighborhood	6.81	7.10	6.09
	Closeness frequency	Proportion of the neighborhood network that the respondent said she spoke with once a week or more	0.43	0.41	0.48
	Relatives	Proportion of the neighborhood network consisting of relatives	0.02	0.02	0.03
	Duration	Number of years respondent has known people in the neighborhood network	4.92	4.68	5.49
	Affect	Emotional closeness to people in the neighborhood network, ranging from 0 for not close to 1 for close	0.32	0.28	0.42 ***
Economic opportunity	Neighbors	Personal ties used in job finding, most recent job search	18%	15%	24%
	Friends		60%	60%	59%
	Co-workers		34%	36%	31%
	Family		47%	48%	43%
	No personal tie used		29%	28%	29%
	Neighbors	Personal ties used in job finding, future job search	27%	26%	29%
	Friends		80%	82%	75%
	Co-workers		70%	74%	62% ***
	Family		74%	74%	74%
	No personal tie used		9%	8%	12%
Estimated population size ^b			906	618	288

Note: Data are weighted for sampling probabilities.

^a Davis et al. 1991.

^b This is the weighted sum, based on 127 responses in dispersed housing and 126 in clustered housing, included for the purpose of calculating the number of people in the population corresponding to a given rate.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

neighborhood attributes, individual attributes, and economic opportunity, as pictured in figure 1. The second measures access to opportunity in the form of the type of personal tie used to find a job.

Network variables summarize a list of responses that describe the people in the respondent's neighborhood network. The measure of economic diversity is the Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV) (Agresti and Agresti

1977) of homeownership in the neighborhood.⁶ The IQV is a measure of dispersion for a categorical variable. Its value is 0 where there is no diversity and 1 when completely diverse. In this case, the categorical variable is whether the network member owned his or her home. Job prestige diversity is the standard deviation of the National Opinion Research Center's 1989 General Social Survey Occupational Prestige Scores (Davis et al. 1991) for people in the respondent's neighborhood. Tie weakness is a multidimensional concept that I operationalize in terms of different ways of measuring the closeness of a relationship. A weak tie is not close, so each of these measures is negatively associated with tie weakness. First, the frequency of contact is the proportion of the neighborhood network with whom the respondent said she spoke once a week or more. Second is the proportion of relatives in the neighborhood network. Third is the duration of the relationship, measured as the average number of years the respondent had known the people in her network. Fourth is affect—the emotional closeness in the neighborhood network. Each network member was rated as 0 for not close, 1 for close, and .5 for neither (Marsden and Campbell 1984). Less frequent, lower proportions of kin, shorter, and less emotionally close relationships characterize weak ties.

To measure access to opportunity, I asked each respondent what types of ties she used in her most recent job search and which ties she thought she would use in a future search. These two sets of questions unearth two different concepts. Responses to a question about the most recent job search reveal actual behavior, while questions about a future job search reveal perceptions. Both are valuable in examining access to opportunity. The results for speaking to co-workers, friends, kin, or no tie at all were not significant in many cases. Therefore, although I discuss these results, I present only models regressed on speaking to a neighbor about jobs either in the past or in the future.

Independent variables

The independent variables control for significant differences between the groups and factors that might be associated with the use of social networks (table 3). They reflect the concepts presented in figure 1, corresponding to individual level control variables and neighborhood attributes. They also include a dummy variable for the policy variable of interest, living in dispersed versus clustered housing.

⁶ I chose this measure because it was unlikely respondents knew accurately the income of their neighbors, even if they talked about it at all. They all knew which neighbors owned their homes. Given that the dispersed housing program creates rental housing among affluent homeowners, I considered the diversity of homeownership a reasonable measure of economic diversity.

Table 3. Independent Variables and Weighted Values by Housing Type

Concept	Variable	Explanation	All	Dispersed	Clustered	
Housing type	Dispersed versus clustered	Dummy variable, where dispersed = 1	68%	N = 618 ^a	N = 288 ^a	
Controls	Education < High school	Dummy variables, where the reference category is a college degree	20%	17%	25%	**
	High school Certificate/		35%	33%	41%	
	Some college		36%	39%	29%	
	College degree		9%	11%	6%	
	Knew neighbors before moving to current home	Dummy variable, where 1 = knowing at least one neighbor before moving to the neighborhood	13%	4%	30%	***
	Time in neighborhood	Number of years of residence in the neighborhood	5.59	5.67	5.42	
	Grew up in Montgomery County	Dummy variables, where the reference category is growing up in some place other than Montgomery, County, MD or Washington, DC ^b	32%	28%	42%	**
	Elsewhere in Maryland		9%	9%	7%	
	Washington, DC		16%	15%	17%	
	Other place		43%	48%	34%	
	Someone in the household owns a car	Dummy variable, where 1 = yes	65%	73%	47%	***
	Children under 18 in the house	Dummy variable, where 1 = yes	89%	86%	96%	***
	Received housing assistance as a child	Dummy variable, where 1 = yes	23%	18%	32%	**
	Received welfare as a child	Dummy variable, where 1 = yes	20%	17%	26%	**
	Receives Temporary Assistance for Needy Families	Dummy variable, where 1 = yes for receiving assistance at the time of the survey	20%	15%	31%	***
Worked the week of the survey	Set of dummy variables, where the reference category is not working	41%	46%	28%	***	
Full-time		24%	25%	23%		
Part-time		35%	29%	49%		
Not working						
Job prestige	National Opinion Research Center 1989 General Social Survey Occupational Prestige Scores ^c for the respondent's most recent job	37	38	33	***	
Hourly wage	Reported hourly wage from the respondent's most recent job	\$8.49	\$8.95	\$7.46	***	
Neighborhood attributes	Median family income	Median family income at the census-tract level, 1990 census	\$61,786	\$64,760	\$55,409	***

Table 3. Independent Variables and Weighted Values by Housing Type (continued)

Concept	Variable	Explanation	All	Dispersed	Clustered
Neighborhood attributes (continued)	Percent nonwhite	Percent nonwhite at the block-group level, 1990 census	24%	22%	30%
	Lives up county	Dummy variable indicating whether the respondent lived in the northern part of the county away from the District of Columbia (= 1) versus closer to the District (= 0)	73%	65%	91% ***

Note: Data are weighted for sampling probabilities.

^a This is the weighted sum, based on 127 responses in dispersed housing and 126 in clustered housing, included for the purpose of calculating the number of people in the population corresponding to a given rate.

^b Very few grew up in Virginia. Therefore, they were folded into the reference category.

^c Davis et al. 1991.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

Results

Neighborhood networks and access to opportunity

The first conjecture suggests that the neighborhood networks of public housing residents in dispersed units are more economically diverse, more diverse in terms of job prestige, and contain less closeness than those of clustered public housing residents. To test these hypotheses, I ran logistic and ordinary least squares regressions to see whether housing type was associated with qualitative differences in neighborhood networks. For ease of presentation, table 4 shows only the parameters associated with living in dispersed or clustered housing, omitting parameters associated with control variables. (See appendix for full results.) Dispersed residents have significantly more diverse neighborhood networks and significantly greater job prestige diversity in their neighborhood networks, and they do not feel as close to their neighbors. The diversity in composition reflects the fact that dispersed residents know their nonpoor neighbors. However, they do not feel as close to their neighbors as clustered residents do. Time in the neighborhood enhances the duration, frequency, and length of the relationships within the neighborhood network.

Speaking to neighbors during the most recent job search

The second conjecture questions whether dispersed or clustered residents differ in using neighbors in a job search. The networks may be more diverse, an indicator of potentially diverse opportunities, but the residents may not use these resources. Therefore, I examined reported

Table 4. How Do Neighborhood Networks Differ?

Dependent Variable	Dispersed Parameter
Economic diversity ^a	22.78*** ^c
Job prestige diversity ^b	1.92 ^c
Closeness	
Frequency ^b	0.03 ^d
Relatives ^b	0.02* ^d
Duration ^b	0.19 ^d
Affect ^b	-0.10*** ^d

Note: Results control for significant differences and factors associated with social networks at the individual level between dispersed and clustered residents.

^a Odds ratio.

^b Ordinary least squares regression parameter.

^c See table A.1 for full results.

^d See table A.2 for full results.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

behavior in the most recent job search for those who did look while living in their current neighborhood.⁷ I also asked about a future job search, because people might think they would behave differently in the future than they have in the past if they had to look for a job. As noted earlier, this second analysis reveals more about perception than behavior.

The types of contacts that residents of dispersed and clustered housing used to look for their most recent jobs are remarkably similar (table 2). Roughly 60 percent of both groups spoke with friends, about a third spoke with co-workers, and under a half spoke with family. Less than 30 percent spoke with no one. A greater percentage of clustered residents spoke with neighbors about jobs, suggesting that a difference may exist in how clustered and dispersed residents use their neighborhood networks.

When asked about a future job search, the two groups did not differ significantly in terms of whether they would talk to neighbors, friends, family, or nobody at all (table 2). Dispersed residents said more frequently that they would speak to co-workers if they were looking for a job, 74 percent compared with 62 percent in clustered housing ($\chi^2 = 5.47$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.02$).

When controls are included (table 5, column A1), it is evident that dispersed residents spoke less frequently to neighbors about job possibilities in the past than clustered residents did. I also tested for significant

⁷ More than three-quarters of both groups had looked for a job while living in their current neighborhood. Of those, half had looked for a job in the past month.

Table 5. Logistic Regression on the Neighbor Ties Used in the Most Recent Job Search (N = 163)

	A1		A2		A3	
	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error
<i>Housing type</i>						
Scattered versus clustered	-0.80**	0.40	-0.96**	0.44	-2.14***	0.71
<i>Neighborhood attributes</i>						
Median family income			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Percent nonwhite			-2.63	2.15	-3.22	2.12
Lives up county			0.23	0.58	-0.15	0.59
<i>Neighborhood network</i>						
Economic diversity					1.64**	0.68
Mean closeness					-0.10	1.00
Job prestige diversity					0.05	0.04
Wald <i>F</i> model minus intercept	2.69***		2.96***		2.70***	
-2LogL	134.46*		132.22*		125.06**	
Likelihood ratio ^a			2.24		7.16*	

Note: Control variables have been omitted from the table for ease of presentation. See table A.3 for the full model. Variances have been corrected for sampling probabilities.

^a Critical $\chi^2 = 7.81$, $df = 3$, $\alpha = 0.05$.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

differences in the use of co-workers, family, or friends, holding significant differences between the groups constant. The differences for dispersed and clustered residents remained nonsignificant.

When examining a future job search, I found no significant differences between dispersed and clustered residents in the use of neighbors. I also tested for differences in the use of co-workers, family, or friends in a future job search, controlling for significant differences. The differences between dispersed and clustered residents remained nonsignificant for friends and relatives, and the significant difference disappeared for speaking with co-workers.

The neighborhood network and the job search

The quality of ties in the neighborhood network may influence the ties used in job finding, as the third conjecture suggests. I conducted a logistic regression analysis on speaking with different people—neighbors, friends, co-workers, family, or no tie at all—in both the most recent and a future job search. In each case, the dependent variable was 1 if the respondent used that particular tie and 0 otherwise. I added blocks of variables measuring neighborhood attributes (table 5, column A2) and

neighborhood social networks (column A3) to see whether these sets of variables added significantly to the model.^{8,9}

Only with regard to neighbors is there any significant difference between dispersed and clustered residents.¹⁰ Dispersed residents are less likely to speak with neighbors about jobs than clustered residents are, but the two groups are no different in their use of friends, co-workers, or family. When neighborhood characteristic variables are added to the model (table 5, column A2), the negative relationship between dispersed housing and talking to neighbors becomes significant at a 1 percent level. However, none of the neighborhood variables had any significant relationship with speaking with neighbors about jobs, nor did they add significantly to the model (LR = 1.98, critical $\chi^2 = 7.81$, $df = 3$, $\alpha = 0.05$).

When measures of neighborhood networks are added (table 5, column A3), the negative relationship between living in dispersed housing and speaking to neighbors about jobs remains and increases. Of the neighborhood network variables, only the measure of economic diversity is significant. A likelihood ratio test indicates that as a block, these neighborhood network variables do significantly improve the model (LR = 7.97, critical $\chi^2 = 7.81$, $df = 3$, $\alpha = 0.05$).

I also looked at the relationships between neighborhood networks and the types of ties respondents said they would use in a future job search (table 6). Those who live in dispersed housing are no more or less likely than residents of clustered housing to say they would speak with friends, co-workers, or family, or refrain from using personal ties in a future job search.¹¹

In the models presented in columns B1 and B2, dispersed residents are not significantly less likely to say that they would talk to neighbors in

⁸ In thinking about the relationship between work status and social networks, one could argue that current work status does not predict the tie used to find the job. However, in the data used here, the dependent variable is the type of tie used in the most recent search. That search could have been occurring at the time of the interview. It could also be the search through which the respondent obtained her current employment. The time order of events and the direction of causality are not at all clear. Further, modeling work and social networks as simultaneous would not change the results substantially. Therefore, I have attempted to control for the effects of work status and occupational prestige, not model the relationships causally.

⁹ In the process of performing these logistic regressions, those who do not know their neighbors drop out of the model because they are missing information about neighbors, as do those who did not know anything about their neighbors' jobs.

¹⁰ Only the results for using ties to neighbors are presented. The others did not show significant results for living in dispersed or clustered housing, although the level of closeness and diversity in both the most recent and a future job search were significant.

¹¹ These models were tested but are not presented.

Table 6. Logistic Regression on the Neighbor Ties Used in a Future Job Search (N = 212)

	B1		B2		B3	
	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error
<i>Housing type</i>						
Dispersed versus clustered	-0.19	0.33	-0.11	0.36	-0.92*	0.53
<i>Neighborhood attributes</i>						
Median family income			-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Percent nonwhite			-0.24	1.55	-0.12	1.61
Lives up county			0.02	0.45	-0.31	0.51
<i>Neighborhood network</i>						
Economic diversity					1.18**	0.55
Mean closeness					2.28***	0.66
Job prestige diversity					0.09***	0.03
Wald <i>F</i> model minus intercept	1.27		2.56***		2.24***	
-2LogL	236.31		235.19		203.94***	
Likelihood ratio ^a			1.12		31.25***	

Note: Control variables have been omitted from the table for ease of presentation. See table A.4 for the full model. Variances have been corrected for sampling probabilities.

^a Critical $\chi^2 = 7.81$, $df = 3$, $\alpha = 0.05$.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

a future job search. In column B3, the addition of the neighborhood network measures causes the relationship between living in scattered versus clustered housing to become significant at a 10 percent level. Those in dispersed housing are less likely to speak with neighbors. Having a more economically diverse neighborhood network, feeling closer to neighbors, and having more job prestige diversity in the neighborhood network are associated with thinking that one would speak to neighbors in the future. While the neighborhood network variables add significantly to the model at a 10 percent level (LR = 7.75, critical $\chi^2 = 7.81$, $df = 3$, $\alpha = 0.05$), the neighborhood level variables do not.

Summary and discussion

William Julius Wilson (1987) posits that living in inner-city poverty areas isolates low-income people socially and economically from mainstream society. In response, HUD's most recent policies are predicated on the idea that moving people to the suburbs will place poor people close to those who are more affluent, thus improving their life chances and alleviating some of the problems associated with living in areas of concentrated poverty. The policy argument that living among those who are not poor enhances access to opportunity for the poor follows logically from the results of the neighborhood effects literature, yet there is little empirical support for positive expectations.

Is the creation of housing opportunities for poor people among the non-poor enough to provide them with access to opportunities that will improve their life chances? A social network approach suggests that lack of access to opportunity does not mean that poor people have no ties to middle-class residents, but rather that they may lack ties that act as diverse sources of information. The present study explores two of the suburban options by comparing the quality of neighborhood social networks of low-income women who live in small public housing developments with those of women who live in public housing units dispersed throughout the same wealthy jurisdiction. Do these two options provide equal access to social and economic opportunity?

Differences in neighborhood social networks

The neighborhood social networks of dispersed residents do differ from those of clustered residents in ways suggesting that dispersed residents have better access to diverse sources of information. These differences support Fischer's (1982) findings that, in general, community of residence influences ties only a little—mainly affecting the types of non-kin with whom residents associate. In the case of Montgomery County's public housing, community of residence does appear to influence the types of non-kin with whom people associated. Dispersed residents have neighborhood networks that are more economically diverse and more diverse in terms of job prestige. Dispersed residents also do not feel as close to their neighbors as clustered residents do. In theory, these more diverse, less close ties allow access to opportunities that are different from those available to people who have more homogeneous, closer social networks. In terms of policy, then, dispersed rather than small clusters of housing may be a better tactic for encouraging ties between the poor and their nonpoor neighbors. It may be that the greater separation of Montgomery County's dispersed residents puts them in a situation where they at least have relations with nonpoor neighbors, while the relative concentration of clustered residents prevents such contacts. Dispersed housing in Montgomery County approximates a metropolitan dispersal program, while the clustered housing is in small developments. The differences in the diversity of the neighborhood networks of the two groups indicate the presence of contacts between dispersed residents and their nonpoor neighbors.

The solution to a segregation problem in Yonkers was to create small developments in nonpoor areas, but this resulted in no contacts with nonpoor neighbors, social support from poor neighbors only, and no social leverage. Therefore, metropolitan dispersal programs such as the MTO may be better suited to creating opportunities for contacts. As a result, the level of dispersal of low-income people into nonpoor areas may be a key variable in creating ties between neighbors. Time may also be important for creating ties. Regardless of where people lived, time was a

significant predictor of the duration of neighborhood relationships, frequency of contact, and emotional closeness.

Although differences in neighborhood networks exist, clustered residents, not dispersed ones, were more likely to talk to neighbors about jobs, that is, speak with people who were like themselves and theoretically did not have access to different sorts of opportunities than they had themselves. Furthermore, if contacts increase in closeness over time, these closer ties may not be advantageous in finding a job. The two groups did not differ in their propensity to use any other ties in finding a job, nor do they differ in how they thought they would use ties in the future. One possible explanation is the argument by Nan Lin and colleagues (Lin and Dumin 1986; Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn 1981; Lin, Vaughn, and Ensel 1981) that it is not enough to have diverse contacts, one must also have the social resources—high birth status or high job status—to use those contacts. Gordon Allport's (1979) contact hypothesis also provides a possible explanation, suggesting that intergroup contact may be facilitated if the two groups have equal status interactions within a given situation, work toward common goals, have intergroup cooperation, and have support from authority for positive contacts (see also Pettigrew 1998). Pettigrew goes further to suggest that certain processes are essential for optimal intergroup contact: The two groups must gain information about each other, change their behavior toward each other, find a way to create positive emotions based in empathy between groups, and reappraise the norms of one group based on experience with another (1998). It may be that processes do not occur in relations between low-income residents of dispersed housing and their nonpoor neighbors. The contrast in incomes between homeowners and their public housing neighbors can be very marked: Both very wealthy and moderate-income people live next to the very poor. To enable nonpoor residents in dispersed housing to have the opportunity to use their more diverse and less close neighborhood ties, the housing situation must encourage circumstances that overcome status differences between poor and nonpoor neighbors.

Regardless of whether these public housing residents lived in clustered or dispersed public housing, the diversity and closeness of neighborhood social networks were associated with the types of ties used in finding a job. The more economically diverse the network, the more likely the resident to say she spoke with a neighbor about jobs in the past. The closer residents were to their neighbors and the more diverse the neighborhood network in terms of job prestige, the more likely they were to say they would talk to their neighbors in the future about jobs. In other words, regardless of housing type, the quality of a network mattered in terms of the type of tie people thought they would use. More closeness rather than less is important for this low-income population to use personal ties to find jobs. This follows Granovetter's (1995) suggestion that low-income people are more likely to use closer ties in a job search.

The neighbors of dispersed residents were by no means emotionally close to them. Closeness with neighbors was associated with a propensity to speak with friends or co-workers in a past job search or to speak with neighbors in the future. In terms of the prospect of opportunity within the neighborhood network, if residents felt close to their neighbors, they would be more likely to speak to them about jobs. Again, helping to create connections would help pave the way for closer relations, as would reducing the attributes of public housing that differentiate public housing residents from their private market neighbors. These connections could occur through the inclusion of dispersed residents in neighborhood organizations. More practical factors, such as the ability to decorate and have adequate storage space and play space for children also set the residents apart and make positive interactions difficult. When dispersed residents cannot alter or beautify their homes as their neighbors do, when they have personal belongings in their yard because they lack storage, or when their children play in the parking lot because their unit is in an all-adult community, positive interpersonal relations with neighbors are difficult.

While the literature anticipates positive outcomes from the use of weak and diverse relationships, nonuse of neighborhood ties by dispersed residents in finding a job could be an alternative positive outcome. Clustered residents clearly have social networks within their neighborhoods that are closer and more homogeneous. They use those networks to find jobs. However, jobs from same-group contacts may lead to positions that are no better than anyone else's in the group (Granovetter 1983, 1995). Dispersed residents live with a different group of people than their clustered counterparts do. While dispersed residents use those more diverse neighborhood ties less frequently for finding a job, the lack of close homogeneous ties within the neighborhood may force them to look elsewhere, thus broadening their opportunities. Perhaps they are using bridging relationships out of the neighborhood, as Stoloff, Glanville, and Bienenstock (1999) suggest. Perhaps they are using more formal job search methods and, as Drentea (1998) and Elliott (1999) point out, experiencing better job outcomes. In either case, current findings point to the potential importance of social networks in shaping perceptions of opportunity. Furthermore, an examination of social ties enables inspection of microlevel interactions to assess the sum of the causal relationships associated with access to opportunity.

Public housing authorities wishing to create housing opportunities for the poor in the suburbs must therefore keep in mind several elements that will enhance the housing experience for the poor and their neighbors. First, for contacts with nonpoor neighbors to occur, the housing must have a high level of dispersal throughout a community. Second, if there are great disparities in the income levels of poor and nonpoor neighbors, the housing agency may need to work to create situations for positive contacts between public housing residents and their market-

rate neighbors. This means maintaining the quality of the housing, as HOC does, supporting poor residents who live in more affluent areas, and helping subsidized and market-rate residents learn about each other. In the case of Section 8 dispersal, the housing authority may have less opportunity to intervene and enhance the possibility of positive interactions.

Issues for future study

Issues for future study fall into four categories: social networks, the nonpoor neighbors of very low income residents, the importance of dispersal in creating ties, and the outcomes of dispersed and other mixed-income housing programs.

Do low-income residents use their social networks in ways that vary with the type of housing? Looking at differences in place-based networks may answer some basic questions about the success of dispersed or clustered neighborhoods. To understand how people use their networks, focusing on specific uses of ties is necessary (Wellman and Wortley 1990). Examining the relationships that dispersed and clustered residents would use in finding a job is especially pertinent to the question of whether dispersed housing makes it more possible for low-income people to access opportunity through either using their neighborhood ties or exposing them to broader opportunities. Are the job-finding networks of poor people in nonpoor areas more diverse than those of their counterparts in clustered housing? Do differences in job-finding networks correlate with differences in the types of jobs that these public housing residents seek?

Furthermore, network theorists argue that although ties are specialized, they exist in the context of an individual's entire social network. One constraint in finding information about jobs may be network structure. A network in which everyone knows everyone else may be a poor source of information about jobs, while one that is looser may enable a better flow of information. Additional analysis is needed to model the network characteristics of the individual's entire network as a contributing factor in finding a job, especially for low-income people who live in dispersed housing.

The second area for study concerns the nonpoor residents of suburban low-income housing. One limitation of this study is that it concentrates only on the networks and experiences of low-income residents. In addition, the network data collected do not depict an entire network of individuals, just the people each resident knew. In the future, it would be useful to understand the pattern of interaction within the neighborhood from the perspective of the nonpoor residents. Network studies of several of these mixed neighborhoods could find out whether contacts among

nonpoor neighbors differed from those between nonpoor and poor neighbors. Are low-income residents of wealthy suburbs any less connected to their neighborhoods than are their more affluent neighbors?

A third and more overarching area concerns the influence of different levels of dispersal of low-income people and the benefits they derive from living among nonpoor neighbors. These benefits may not be in terms of social network connections. Under what circumstances do mixed-income housing developments, small clusters of public housing, or dispersal programs succeed? How do great income disparities among residents influence community cohesiveness, stability, or relationships? Do low-income people tend to do better in one type of program, and are increases due to social networks or the use of other resources? We know little about the relative merits of the different types of programs that mix incomes.

The fourth area concerns the outcomes of mixed-income housing programs. Connections need to be made between the social network studies proposed above and the outcomes these programs produce. Empirical studies must be carried out on the basic outcomes of these programs. Further, we need to think about how housing in the suburbs should be constructed. The results of the MTO program point to the effects of moving from the inner city to the suburbs, but not to these questions. Many mixed-income developments, scattered-site clusters of public housing, and dispersal programs exist throughout the country, and more are likely to be created soon. They need to be evaluated in terms of both management issues and social and economic outcomes for residents.

Appendix

Table A.1. Regression on Neighborhood Network Economic Diversity (Logit) and Job Prestige Diversity (OLS)

Variable	Economic Diversity (N = 234)		Job Prestige Diversity (N = 184)	
	Log Odds	Standard Error	Beta	Standard Error
Intercept	-3.33**	1.46	8.80**	3.57
Housing type				
Dispersed	3.13***	0.45	1.92**	0.79
Clustered	—		—	
Education				
< High school	0.63	0.83	-6.04***	1.61
High school	0.98	0.76	-3.01*	1.68
Certificate/Some college	0.85	0.73	-2.44	1.61
College degree	—		—	
Knew neighbors before moving to current home (1 = Yes)	0.83*	0.49	0.21	0.93
Time in neighborhood	0.02	0.49	0.11	0.09
Grew up in				
Montgomery County	0.60*	0.45	1.88*	1.06
Elsewhere in Maryland	0.73	0.63	1.74	1.74
Washington, DC	-0.17	0.51	1.02	1.02
Other place	—		—	
Someone in the household owns a car (1 = Yes)	-0.09	0.34	-0.97	0.89
Children under 18 in the house (1 = Yes)	-0.11	0.55	-1.64	1.64
Received housing assistance as a child (1 = Yes)	0.23	0.46	-0.97	1.01
Received welfare as a child (1 = Yes)	0.63	0.43	2.00*	1.05
Receives Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (1 = Yes)	0.05	0.47	1.26	1.17
Worked the week of the survey				
Full-time	0.12	0.39	-1.18	1.01
Part-time	-0.89*	0.46	0.01	1.15
Not working	—		—	
Job prestige	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.04
Hourly wage, most recent job	-0.04	0.06	-0.08	0.11
-2LogL/R ²	73.21**		0.18***	

Note: The dashes indicate the reference category for a series of dummy variables.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A.2. OLS Regression on Neighborhood Network Closeness Measures (N = 234)

Variable	Relatives		Duration		Affect		Frequency	
	Beta	Standard Error	Beta	Standard Error	Beta	Standard Error	Beta	Standard Error
Intercept	-0.02	0.04	0.48	2.04	0.30**	0.12	-0.01	0.19
Housing type								
Dispersed	0.02*	0.01	0.19	0.36	-0.10***	0.03	0.03	0.05
Clustered	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Education								
< High school	0.02	0.02	-1.13	0.98	0.10	0.06	0.32***	0.09
High school	-0.01	0.02	-1.33	0.95	0.16**	0.06	0.28***	0.08
Certificate/Some college	-0.00	0.01	-1.15	1.01	0.14**	0.06	0.23**	0.08
College degree	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Knew neighbors before moving to current home (1 = Yes)	0.07***	0.02	3.07***	0.76	0.10	0.06	0.20***	0.06
Time in neighborhood	-0.00	0.00	0.60***	0.04	0.02***	0.00	0.01**	0.01
Grew up in								
Montgomery County	0.02	0.01	0.12	0.36	-0.07	0.04	-0.16**	0.06
Elsewhere in Maryland	-0.02**	0.01	-0.95	0.94	-0.19***	0.05	-0.07	0.08
Washington, DC	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.55	-0.08**	0.04	-0.14**	0.07
Other place	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Someone in the household owns a car (1 = Yes)	-0.02**	0.01	-0.38	0.33	-0.09***	0.03	-0.04	0.05
Children under 18 in the house (1 = Yes)	-0.01	0.02	-0.47	0.49	-0.01*	0.04	0.16**	0.08
Received housing assistance as a child (1 = Yes)	-0.01	0.01	-0.43	0.44	-0.01	0.04	0.13*	0.07
Received welfare as a child (1 = Yes)	0.01	0.02	-0.00	0.48	0.03	0.04	-0.13**	0.06
Received Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (1 = Yes)	0.03**	0.02	0.04	0.52	0.01	0.04	0.08	0.06

Table A.2. OLS Regression on Neighborhood Network Closeness Measures (N = 234) (continued)

Variable	Relatives		Duration		Affect		Frequency	
	Beta	Standard Error	Beta	Standard Error	Beta	Standard Error	Beta	Standard Error
Worked the week of the survey								
Full-time	-0.00	0.01	-0.86	0.52	-0.04	0.04	-0.13**	0.06
Part-time	-0.00	0.01	-0.61	0.49	-0.05	0.04	-0.11*	0.07
Not working	—		—		—		—	
Job prestige	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Hourly wage, most recent job	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.02**	0.01
R ²	0.17***		0.51***		0.21***		0.14**	

Note: The dashes indicate the reference category for a series of dummy variables.
 * $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

*Table A.3. Logistic Regression on the Neighbor Ties Used
in the Most Recent Job Search (N = 163)*

	A1		A2		A3	
	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error
Intercept	-1.36	1.50	-1.74	1.94	-1.67	2.25
<i>Housing type</i>						
Dispersed versus clustered	-0.80**	0.40	-0.96**	0.44	-2.14***	0.71
<i>Control variables</i>						
<i>Education</i>						
< High school	0.79	0.48	0.82	0.96	1.19	1.16
High school	0.98	0.48	1.01	0.94	1.28	1.14
Certificate/Some college	1.03	0.48	0.92	0.84	1.10	1.15
College degree	—	—	—	—	—	—
Knew neighbors before moving to current home (1 = Yes)	0.81	0.55	0.81	0.52	0.68	0.54
Time in neighborhood	0.07*	0.04	0.08*	0.04	0.07*	0.04
Grew up in Montgomery County	-1.21**	0.96	-1.22**	0.58	-0.83	0.57
Elsewhere in Maryland	1.33*	0.94	1.23	0.75	1.48*	0.88
Washington, DC	-0.97*	0.95	-0.94*	0.56	-0.79	0.59
Other place	—	—	—	—	—	—
Someone in the household owns a car (1 = Yes)	0.11	0.40	0.07	0.42	0.30	0.45
Children under 18 in the house (1 = Yes)	0.54	0.74	0.91	0.89	1.24	1.11
Received housing assistance as a child (1 = Yes)	-1.87**	0.86	-1.76**	0.87	-1.83**	0.78
Received welfare as a child (1 = Yes)	1.17	0.75	1.19	0.73	1.12*	0.65
Receives Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (1 = Yes)	0.58	0.51	0.52	0.55	0.47	0.57
<i>Worked the week of the survey</i>						
Full-time	1.03**	0.52	1.13**	0.52	1.14**	0.51
Part-time	-0.68	0.60	-0.67	0.65	-0.43	0.66
Not working	—	—	—	—	—	—
Job prestige	-0.03*	0.02	-0.03	0.02	-0.03	0.02
Hourly wage, most recent job	-0.06	0.05	-0.06	0.06	-0.07	0.06
<i>Neighborhood attributes</i>						
Median family income			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Percent nonwhite			-2.63	2.15	-3.22	2.12
Lives up county			0.23	0.58	-0.15	0.59
<i>Neighborhood network</i>						
Economic diversity					1.64**	0.68
Mean closeness					-0.10	1.00
Job prestige diversity					0.05	0.04
Wald <i>F</i> model minus intercept	2.69***		2.96***		2.70***	
-2LogL	134.46*		132.22*		125.06**	
Likelihood ratio ^a			2.24		7.16*	

Note: The dashes indicate the reference category for a series of dummy variables.

^a Critical $\chi^2 = 7.81$, $df = 3$, $\alpha = 0.05$.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A.4. Logistic Regression on the Neighbor Ties to Be Used in a Future Job Search (N = 212)

	B1		B2		B3	
	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error	Log Odds	Std. Error
Intercept	-1.61	1.34	-0.90	1.66	-2.32	1.98
<i>Housing type</i>						
Dispersed versus clustered	-0.19	0.33	-0.11	0.36	-0.92*	0.53
<i>Control variables</i>						
<i>Education</i>						
< High school	1.35	0.80	1.33	0.97	1.77	1.11
High school	1.55	0.89	1.54*	0.94	1.67	1.08
Certificate/Some college	1.21	0.85	1.22	0.93	1.26	1.05
College degree	—	—	—	—	—	—
Knew neighbors before moving to current home (1 = Yes)	-0.11	0.46	-0.08	0.45	-0.44	0.48
Time in neighborhood	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.04	-0.03	0.71
Grew up in Montgomery County	0.06	0.38	0.03	0.37	0.06	0.42
Elsewhere in Maryland	0.88	0.63	0.88	0.66	1.16	0.74
Washington, DC	0.07	0.42	0.07	0.43	0.24	0.48
Other place	—	—	—	—	—	—
Someone in the household owns a car (1 = Yes)	-0.65**	0.32	-0.60*	0.33	-0.35	0.35
Children under 18 in the house (1 = Yes)	0.22	0.46	0.16	0.46	0.47	0.59
Received housing assistance as a child (1 = Yes)	-0.88*	0.45	-0.89*	0.45	-0.91**	0.45
Received welfare as a child (1 = Yes)	0.10	0.43	0.06	0.45	-0.23	0.43
Receives Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (1 = Yes)	-0.10	0.41	-0.08	0.42	-0.22	0.46
<i>Worked the week of the survey</i>						
Full-time	0.31	0.37	0.28	0.37	0.56	0.43
Part-time	-0.06	0.40	-0.04	0.41	0.35	0.48
Not working	—	—	—	—	—	—
Job prestige	-0.03**	0.01	-0.03**	0.02	-0.05**	0.02
Hourly wage, most recent job	0.10*	0.05	0.09*	0.05	0.14**	0.06
<i>Neighborhood attributes</i>						
Median family income			-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Percent nonwhite			-0.24	1.55	-0.12	1.61
Lives up county			0.02	0.45	-0.31	0.51
<i>Neighborhood network</i>						
Economic diversity					1.18**	0.55
Mean closeness					2.28***	0.66
Job prestige diversity					0.09***	0.03
Wald <i>F</i> model minus intercept	1.27		2.56***		2.24***	
-2LogL	236.31		235.19		203.94***	
Likelihood ratio ^a			1.12		31.25***	

Note: The dashes indicate the reference category for a series of dummy variables.

^a Critical $\chi^2 = 7.81$, $df = 3$, $\alpha = 0.05$.

* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

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