

How Do Housing Types Affect Neighborhood Relationships? Analysis of a four-city survey in Japan*

Shinsuke OTANI**

1. Introduction

Throughout my career as a Sociologist I have used two questions to guide my research. First, how does urbanism affect personal community networks in Japan? Second, how are attitudes and actions changed by an urban environment?

To answer these questions, I have conducted and analyzed many surveys over the past ten years. Examples include a Chugoku-Shikoku Survey (1989)*, and College Students' Network Surveys (1993/1994/1997). In 1999 I conducted a new survey, named a four-city survey. The purpose of this survey was to answer the following question: Is neighborhood weakened by urbanism in contemporary Japan? In this paper I use the results of a four-city survey to argue that researchers must consider the influences of housing type when answering such a question. I will give a detailed argument for this position in the next section about Japanese personal community networks.

The survey plan

Most of the data discussed in this paper come from the surveys that are shown below. These surveys use a new method of sampling that measures the effects of both urbanism and housing type on personal community networks. The procedure for this survey is as follows:

1. To begin, I developed a new four part typology to analyze the effects of both urbanism and housing types.

The features of the four housing types are;

Type I: Single-unit houses in traditional residential areas

This housing type is located exclusively in residential districts. Most districts were developed before World War II, and it usually takes under 30 minutes to travel downtown by train or by car. Almost all houses in these areas are single-family units with gardens. Most residents are home owners. This kind of housing is more expensive than any other type of housing.

Type II: Single-unit houses in suburban areas

This housing type is located in suburban areas, which were built by major developers after the 1960s. Many residents in these areas moved from central downtown to the suburbs in order to buy single-family houses. The commute downtown is usually quite long.

Type III: Owned condominiums

Living in condominiums is very popular among Japanese city-dwellers. This is because of two reasons—the convenience and the housing cost. Many condominiums are built near the central city areas, so people living in condos can easily commute to their workplaces. Furthermore, this housing is less expensive than a single-family housing built in the same area. Thus many middle-class Japanese tend to buy condos.

*Key words: neighborhood relationships, urbanism, housing types, personal community networks

**Professor, Sociology Department, Kwansei Gakuin University

Type IV: Public apartments

Japanese local governments have many public apartments to provide dwelling places for working-class people. Persons who wish to live in public apartments have to submit their proof of earnings, as they must be living on a limited income.

*We could not select samples of each type in all cities, because there is no type I in Hachioji, and no type II Musasino.

2. Next I chose four cities that are consistent with my interests; Nishinomiya, Matsuyama, Hachioji, Musasino

The features of the four cities;

Musashino: (About a 15-minute trip by train from the Tokyo downtown terminal (Shinjuku)): 1995 census population: 135,051

Nishinomiya: (About a 15-minute trip by train from the Osaka downtown terminal (Osaka)): 1995 census population: 390,389

Hachioji: (About a 60-minute trip by train from the Tokyo downtown terminal (Shinjuku)): 1995 census population: 503,363

Matsuyama: (Major regional city): 1995 census population: 460,968

3. I interviewed the city clerks of four local governments to gain assistance in searching for my four housing types.
4. After that, census books obtained from the respective city offices were used to make systematic random samples of all four housing types.

A four-city survey

Area: Nishinomiya, Matsuyama, Hachioji, and Musashino

Method: Mailed questionnaire

Period: Feb. 1-28, 1999.

Age of sample: Adults aged from 20 to 86

Features of each city and number of respondents

	number of randomly selected candidates	number of candidates who chose to participate	response rate
Musashino	540	190	35.0%
Nishinomiya	720	328	45.6%
Hachioji	540	177	33.0%
Matsuyama	720	259	36.0%
Total	2520	954	37.9%

The number of respondents who live in each housing type

Type I	540	236	43.7%
Type II	540	246	45.6%
Type III	720	280	38.8%
Type IV	720	192	26.7%
Total	2520	954	37.9%

2. Method of measuring neighborhood relationships

To understand neighborhood relationships, we need to recognize that there are two kinds of social relationships which take place in neighborhoods. One is geographically based and the other is intimacy based.

Some sociologists refer to the difference between just neighbors and real neighbors, but fail to thoroughly explore this distinction in their research. Fischer (1984) distinguishes between just neighbors and real neighbors. Just neighbors are any group of people who happen to live near one another and real neighbors are an intimate social group composed of people who live in close proximity nearby. Keller (1968) also pointed out two concepts: “a neighboring of place” and “a neighboring of taste”. Indeed, these two kinds of relationships could be given many different titles, such as “nearby” and “friendly” or “physically close” and “socially close”. However, for the sake of consistency I will use Fischer’s original terms “just” and “real” when discussing these different kinds of relationships.

Most empirical research has focused on real neighbors and has completely disregarded just neighbors. Hence, there is a need to develop methods which measure just neighbors.

Although many empirical studies have been made in Japanese sociology, almost none of them correctly measure the reality of neighborhoods. Furthermore, there have been few efforts to improve questionnaires in Japanese urban sociology. The research presented in this paper shows why this is a very serious matter.

In this paper, I use new questionnaires that measure different kinds of neighborhood relationships. I use the results of these questionnaires to discuss the effects of different housing types on personal community networks. In the process of analyzing my survey, I would like to show important elements that influence neighborhood relationships

In these questionnaires, I distinguished between “just neighbors” and “real neighbors”. For measuring just neighbors, I asked respondents to choose only one neighbor among all household members who live on either side of the respondent’s house. In this survey, the relationship with a “just neighbor” is defined as the relationship with people who happen to live next-door. I then asked respondents some questions; these questions are of two kinds—the information about a “just neighbor” and the contacts with him/her. Through these means, I measured respondents’ relationship with “just neighbors”.

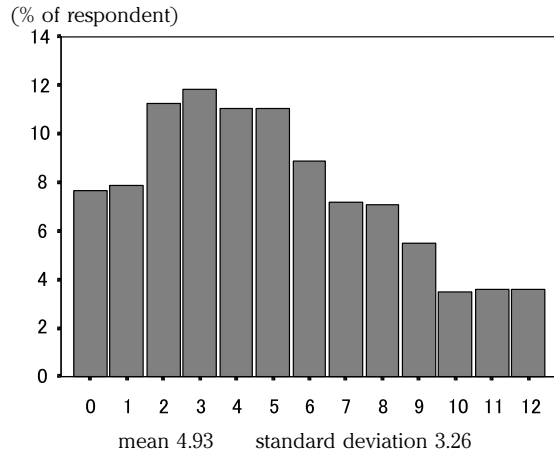
Questions measuring strength of neighborhood relationships among “just neighbors”

- Q 8. We will now ask you about your neighborhood relationships. Please think about the people who live in the houses on either side of your house. From these people please choose one person with whom you have an intimate relationship. I will now ask you about your relationship with him/her.
- a. Do you know members of his/her household?
 - b. Do you know where he/she comes from?
 - c. Do you know what kind of occupation he (/her husband) has?
 - d. Do you know what kind of school he/she graduated from?
 - e. Do you know how they met their spouse?
 - f. Do you know what kind of problems he/she has?
 - g. Have you been somewhere, such as, shopping, lunch or dinner, with him/her this month?
 - h. Have you ever given a small present, such as baked food, or been given a present?
 - i. Have you ever visited his/her home? Or has he/she ever visited your home?
 - j. Have you ever talked to him/her about your troubles?
 - k. Do you associate with his/her whole family?
 - l. Have you ever asked him/her to do a small favor, such as house-sitting while you were away?

(% of respondents who answered “yes”)

	Total
a. know members of his family	86.3
b. know his hometown	51.5
c. know his occupation	72.2
d. know his academic background	29.0
e. know how he met his spouse	21.3
f. know his problems	16.2
g. went out with him	13.0
h. gave a small present	77.5
i. visited his home	35.7
j. discussed troubles	19.1
k. associate with his whole family	24.6
l. asked him to do a small favor	46.6

Neighboring Score: Number of questions to which a respondent answered yes.



In contrast, “real neighbors” are people who live anywhere in the same elementary school district. I then asked respondents to count the number of neighbors with whom they have contact in their daily lives. These contacts involve three kinds of experiences: going somewhere together at least once a month, giving some small presents, and visiting each other at home.

Questions about relationships with “real neighbors”:

Q 9. We would like to ask you about another neighborhood relationship. This time, please think about some people who live in your elementary school district. Please count them and then fill in the answer sheets.

1. How many neighbors have you been out with this month? For example shopping, lunch or dinner, and so on.
2. How many neighbors have you ever given a small present, such as baked food, or been given a present?
3. How many neighbors have ever visited, or have visited your home?

	Mean	S.D.	Minimum	Maximum	Rate of the persons who answer ‘0’
gave a small present	3.4	3.4	0	42	15.0%
visited his home	2.2	3.1	0	40	36.7%
went out with him	1.2	2.4	0	40	58.9%

3. What factors are related to neighborhood relationships? (See Tables A–C)

Differences between “real neighbors” and “just neighbors”

- ① “Just neighbors” are related to age and length of residence.
 - The older respondents know more information about their neighbors than the younger ones.
 - The longer respondents have lived in their place of residence, the more information they know about their neighbors and the more they contact their neighbors.

② “Real neighbors” are related to the life-stage of the respondents’ youngest child

- For example, a respondent whose youngest child is in elementary school will have more experiences going out with “real neighbors” (2.5). The respondent whose youngest child is preschool more frequently visits their “real neighbor’s” house (3.5).

Respondents cannot choose their “just neighbors”, and for this reason their relationships with these people are often superficial. On the other hand they can choose their “real neighbors”, thus, these associations tend to be more deeper.

Such findings indicate that it is necessary for sociologists to distinguish between “just neighbors” and “real neighbors”, when we are analyzing neighborhood relationships.

Length of residence (how long have you lived in the city?)

Table A-1 Strength of neighborhood relationship among “just neighbors” by length of residence (% of respondents who answered “yes”)

	Total	≤5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	21+ years	χ ²
a. know members of his family	86.4	78.5	87.7	89.7	90.1	***
b. know his hometown	51.6	41.7	50.0	54.4	61.9	***
c. know his occupation	72.2	60.3	66.8	76.4	88.1	***
d. know his academic background	29.1	20.3	23.0	25.4	54.9	***
e. know how he met his spouse	21.3	14.4	19.9	21.3	32.2	***
f. know his problems	16.2	14.8	15.1	15.8	20.2	N.S.
g. went out with him	12.9	11.4	12.0	11.5	18.4	N.S.
h. gave a small present	77.5	72.6	77.9	79.8	80.0	N.S.
i. visited his home	35.7	30.9	30.0	36.1	48.9	N.S.
j. discussed troubles	19.0	19.4	19.6	16.7	21.7	***
k. associate with his whole family	24.7	21.5	19.2	28.8	29.5	*
l. asked him to do a small favor	46.6	37.0	41.9	53.0	55.2	***

(*** = P<0.005, ** = P<0.01, * = P<0.05, N.S. = No Significance)

Table A-2 “Just neighboring” score by length of residence

	Total	≤5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	21+ years	F-test
Neighboring score	4.93	4.21	4.69	5.04	6.05	***

Table A-3 “Real neighboring” score by length of residence

	Total	≤5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	21+ years	F-test
gave a small present	3.4	2.9	3.8	3.3	3.6	*
visited his home	2.2	1.9	2.6	2.2	2.2	N.S.
went out with him	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.1	1.3	N.S.

Age

Table B-1 Strength of neighborhood relationships among “just neighbors” by age of the respondent (% of respondents who answered “yes”)

	Total	20's	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's+	χ^2
a. know members of his family	86.4	70.1	79.8	88.4	86.6	89.8	93.3	***
b. know his hometown	51.5	29.9	40.7	51.1	52.6	59.5	61.9	***
c. know his occupation	72.1	55.8	59.6	67.7	75.5	78.9	85.6	***
d. know his academic background	29.0	11.7	19.3	26.5	31.1	37.8	36.2	***
e. know how he met his spouse	21.3	10.4	18.3	22.8	21.7	23.8	24.1	N.S.
f. know his problems	16.3	1.3	11.9	14.3	18.9	20.0	23.7	***
g. went out with him	13.0	7.9	11.0	11.3	10.9	18.5	16.4	N.S.
h. gave a small present	77.6	67.5	71.6	77.6	79.2	78.4	86.0	*
i. visited his home	35.7	27.3	31.2	33.9	35.1	39.1	44.7	N.S.
j. discussed troubles	19.1	6.5	19.3	20.1	16.5	24.9	21.2	*
k. associate with his whole family	24.7	20.8	20.2	20.5	19.9	32.2	36.9	***
l. asked him to do a small favor	46.6	34.2	46.8	45.7	48.1	49.2	49.6	N.S.

(*** = P<0.005, ** = P<0.01, * = P<0.05, N.S. = No Significance)

Table B-2 “Just neighboring” score by age of the respondent

	Total	20's	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's	F-test
Neighboring score	4.9	3.5	4.3	4.9	4.9	5.6	5.8	***

Table B-3 “Real neighboring” score by age of the respondent

	Total	20's	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's	F-test
gave a small present	3.4	2.7	3.6	4.0	3.2	3.1	3.2	*
visited his home	2.2	2.2	2.6	2.8	2.1	1.7	1.7	***
went out with him	1.2	0.8	1.3	1.7	1.0	0.9	1.0	*

Life-stage of the respondent's youngest child

Table C-1 Strength of neighborhood relationships among "just neighbors" by life-stage of the respondent's youngest child (% of respondents who answered "yes")

	Pre-school	Elementary School	Junior high-School	High School	18+ College	18+ Work/single	18+ Work/married	χ^2
a. know members of his family	91.2	83.1	94.0	91.3	88.9	83.5	94.7	*
b. know his hometown	47.1	43.7	66.0	61.7	64.2	55.6	65.1	*
c. know his occupation	68.7	62.0	84.0	78.7	75.9	71.4	87.0	***
d. know his academic background	20.9	12.9	34.0	36.2	40.7	29.4	40.5	***
e. know how he met his spouse	26.9	7.0	30.0	34.0	22.2	16.7	26.3	***
f. know his problems	13.4	10.0	22.0	19.1	20.4	16.7	24.7	N.S.
g. went out with him	11.9	2.8	14.0	12.8	9.4	19.8	20.5	*
h. gave a small present	85.1	78.9	84.0	83.0	72.2	75.4	84.3	N.S.
i. visited his home	35.8	25.4	48.0	40.4	35.2	34.1	46.1	*
j. discussed troubles	16.4	15.5	32.0	14.9	22.2	20.6	23.8	N.S.
k. associate with his whole family	26.9	15.5	26.0	19.1	29.6	27.2	36.0	*
l. asked him to do a small favor	50.7	40.8	54.0	53.2	56.6	44.4	54.5	N.S.

Table C-2 "Just neighboring" score by life-stage of the respondent's youngest child

	Total	Pre-school	Elementary School	Junior high-School	High School	18+ College	18+ Work/single	18+ Work/married	F-test
Neighboring Score	5.3	5.0	4.0	5.9	5.5	5.5	5.0	6.0	***

Table C-3 "Real neighboring" score by life-stage of the respondent's youngest child

	Total	Pre-school	Elementary School	Junior high-School	High School	18+ College	18+ Work/single	18+ Work/married	F-test
gave a small present	3.7	4.5	4.4	4.6	4.3	2.9	3.2	3.5	*
visited his home	2.5	3.5	3.2	2.8	3.2	2.2	2.0	1.9	***
went out with him	1.4	1.5	2.5	1.4	1.8	1.0	1.1	1.2	*

4. Is neighborhood really weakened by urbanism?

The urbanism hypothesis and popular understandings would lead us to believe that both “real” and “just” neighborhood relationships are weakened by urbanism.

Results which are typically collected through city wide random sampling often support this hypothesis. For example, the following table shows the results of a typical random sample.

Our random sample data “Chugoku-Shikoku Survey (1989)” support the theory of Urbanism and popular understandings.

Table 1 Average number of “real neighbors” “Chugoku-Shikoku Survey (1989)”

	Total	Hiroshima	Okayama	Matsuyama	Uwajima	Saijyo	F-test
1985 Census population		1,044,118	572,479	426,658	71,381	56,516	
Real neighbors	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.9	3.0	N.S.
	Total	regional cities		local small cities		T-test	
Real neighbors	2.7	2.5		3.0		p<.05	

Wording: How many intimate or close neighbors do you have? (People you get together with frequently)

Here we can see that small cities have the highest scores for relationships with real neighbors. The problem with this kind of city wide random sample is that it fails to consider that small cities and large central cities have different types of housing.

I will now draw on data which factors in the four different housing types.

We can not directly draw a comparison among all four cities because there is no housing type I in Hachioji, and no type II in Musasino. Therefore, I will compare neighborhood relations among those who live in type III housing, because it was one of the only housing types which was common to all four cities.

At first I compare “just neighbors”.

Table 2-1 Strength of neighborhood relationship among “just neighbors” by city, for respondents who live in housing type III (% of respondents who answered “yes”)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Hachioji	Musashino	χ^2
a. know members of his family	80.4	77.2	89.6	65.0	83.9	***
b. know his hometown	36.0	36.8	38.5	41.7	25.8	N.S.
c. know his occupation	56.8	53.6	60.8	50.0	59.7	N.S.
d. know his academic background	16.8	21.4	11.3	17.2	21.0	N.S.
e. know how he met his spouse	12.5	17.9	10.3	13.8	9.7	N.S.
f. know his problems	12.5	10.7	14.6	13.8	9.7	N.S.
g. went out with him	8.5	12.5	6.3	10.3	6.6	N.S.
h. gave a small present	64.3	48.2	77.1	60.3	62.9	***
i. visited his home	25.8	25.0	25.0	22.8	30.6	N.S.
j. discussed troubles	11.4	14.3	11.5	12.3	8.1	N.S.
k. associate with his whole family	16.2	14.3	19.8	13.8	14.8	N.S.
l. asked him to do a small favor	33.0	25.0	40.6	29.8	31.1	N.S.

When comparing each of the four cities, we find that Matsuyama has a low score on most of the neighborhood relationships when compared to Nishinomiya and Musashino. This is surprising because

Nishinomiya and Musashino are both metropolitan cities, where as Matsuyama is a local city. This is contrary to the hypothesis that urbanism weakens community relationships.

I will now compare neighboring scores for “just neighbors”.

Table 2-2 “Just neighboring” score for respondents who live in owned condominiums (housing type III)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Hachioji	Musashino	F-test
Neighboring score	3.7	3.6	3.9	3.5	3.7	N.S.

Respondents who live in Matsuyama condos only have superficial relationships with their “just neighbors”. They know very little information about their neighbors and contact them rarely.

I will now compare just neighboring scores of respondents who live in single-unit houses in traditional residential areas, respondents who live in single-unit housing in suburban areas and respondents who live in public apartments.

Table 3-1 “Just neighboring” score for respondents who live in single-unit houses in traditional residential areas (housing type I)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Musashino	F-test
Neighboring score	5.5	5.4	5.9	5.5	N.S.

Table 3-2 “Just neighboring” score for respondents who live in single-unit houses in suburban areas (housing type II)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Hachioji	F-test
Neighboring score	5.3	5.6	5.0	5.5	N.S.

Table 3-3 “Just neighboring” score for respondents who live in public apartments (housing type IV)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Hachioji	Musashino	F-test
Neighboring score	5.5	5.5	5.8	5.2	5.6	N.S.

When comparing respondents who live in the same type of housing (Tables 3-1 to 3-3), we see that there is no difference between the “just neighboring” scores of the cities.

I will also compare “real neighboring” scores among respondents from all four housing types.

Table 4-1 “Real neighboring” score for respondents who live in single-unit houses in traditional residential areas (housing type I)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Musashino	F-test
gave a small present	3.1	3.1	2.6	3.5	N.S.
visited his home	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.0	N.S.
went out with him	1.0	1.3	0.8	1.1	N.S.

Table 4-2 “Real neighboring” score for respondents who live in single-unit houses in suburban areas (housing type II)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Hachioji	F-test
gave a small present	4.1	4.8	3.6	4.1	N.S.
visited his home	2.8	3.1	2.8	2.5	N.S.
Went out with him	1.3	1.4	1.4	0.9	N.S.

Table 4-3 “Real neighboring” score for respondents who live in owned condominiums (housing type III)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Hachioji	Musashino	F-test
gave a small present	2.6	2.2	3.0	2.2	2.9	N.S.
visited his home	1.9	1.7	2.1	1.3	2.1	N.S.
went out with him	1.2	0.8	1.5	1.0	1.2	N.S.

Table 4-4 “Real neighboring” score for respondents who live in public apartments (housing type IV)

	Total	Matsuyama	Nishinomiya	Hachioji	Musashino	F-test
gave a small present	3.7	2.7	4.1	3.4	4.7	N.S.
visited his home	2.3	1.6	2.6	2.9	2.2	N.S.
went out with him	1.2	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.2	N.S.

Again, these results indicate that there is no difference between cities when comparing “real neighboring” scores.

These results deny the Urbanism hypothesis and popular understandings that neighborhood relationships, both real and just, are significantly weakened by urbanism. These results differ from results found through typical city-wide random sampling because they consider the effects of different housing types.

5. New interpretation: Housing Type

When focusing on housing type, a new interpretation emerged.

Table 5-1 Strength of neighborhood relationship among “just neighbors” by housing type (% of respondents who answered “yes”)

	Total	Type 1: Houses Downtown	Type 2: Suburban Houses	Type 3: Owned Condo.	Type 4: Public Apart.	χ^2
a. know members of his family	86.3	88.1	91.8	80.4	85.6	***
b. know his hometown	51.5	60.7	61.2	36.0	50.3	***
c. know his occupation	72.2	82.4	81.8	56.8	69.6	***
d. know his academic background	29.0	46.1	30.2	16.8	23.6	***
e. know how he met his spouse	21.3	27.5	22.4	12.5	25.1	***
f. know his problems	16.2	14.9	14.0	12.5	26.4	***
g. went out with him	13.0	12.1	12.8	8.5	20.9	***
h. gave a small present	77.5	77.3	86.3	64.3	85.8	***
i. visited his home	35.7	37.5	36.1	25.8	47.3	***
j. discussed troubles	19.1	17.2	19.8	11.4	31.7	***
k. associate with his whole family	24.6	29.9	23.3	16.2	32.0	***
l. asked him to do a small favor	46.6	49.1	52.1	33.0	56.3	***

Table 5-2 “Just neighboring” score by housing type

	Total	Type 1: Houses Downtown	Type 2: Suburban Houses	Type 3: Owned Condo.	Type 4: Public Apart.	F-test
Neighboring score	4.9	5.5	5.3	3.7	5.5	***

Table 5-3 “Real neighboring” score by housing type

	Total	Type 1: Houses Downtown	Type 2: Suburban Houses	Type 3: Owned Condo.	Type 4: Public Apart.	F-test
gave a small present	3.4	3.1	4.1	2.6	3.8	***
visited his home	2.2	1.9	2.8	1.9	2.3	***
went out with him	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.2	N.S.

Neighborhood relationships are strongly related to housing type.

While the age, income and academic background of people who live in housing types I and IV is much different, the age, income and academic background of those who live in housing type II and housing type III is very similar. Yet despite this similarity, respondents from housing type II and housing type III have very different neighboring scores. Therefore, we can conclude that these different scores are not caused by differences of age, income or academic background, but rather by lifestyle differences.

To further understand the differences in lifestyle that are reflected by those who choose to live in different kinds of housing, we present the following table.

Table 6 Most important factors when choosing a home (%) (Nishinomiya only)

	Near parent's home	To be close to friends	Near workplace	Near a good school	Close to institutions	To increase living area	To live in a pleasant environment	Prestige of area
Type 1: Houses Downtown	17.8	1.4	23.3	9.6	2.7	9.6	32.9	2.7
Type 2: Suburban Houses	6.7	1.1	22.2	7.8	2.2	30.0	30.0	0
Type 3: Owned Condo.	9.4	5.2	37.5	16.7	6.3	17.7	6.3	1.0
Type 4: Public Apart.	21.3	2.1	12.8	14.9	21.3	21.3	6.4	0
Total	12.4	2.6	25.8	12.1	6.5	19.9	19.6	1.0

Respondents who live downtown said that living in a pleasant environment (32.9%) was the most important factor when choosing to live downtown.

Like respondents who live downtown, suburban respondents also said that living in a pleasant environment (30.0%) was one of the most important factors when choosing their place of residence.

However, unlike respondent who live downtown, suburban respondents said that increased living area (30.0%) was important when choosing their place of residence. This trade off between increased living area and commute time reflects a lifestyle difference between those who live downtown and those who live in the suburbs.

An even larger difference in lifestyle is seen among condo owners. These respondents said that living close to the workplace (37.5%) was the most important factor when choosing their place of residence. They also said that living near a good school (16.7%) was the second most important factor when choosing to live in a condo.

Income constraints limited the choice available to respondents living in public apartments. For this reason, none of the above factors seemed to significantly influence choice of residence.

With the exception of public apartments, lifestyle seems to be an important influence when choosing a place of residence.

Having discussed the importance of housing type, I will now reconsider the results of the random sampling by examining rates of housing among the four different sized cites.

Table 7-1 Housing Census for Nishinomiya and Matsuyama

	Nishinomiya			Matsuyama		
	Total	Owned	Rent	Total	Owned	Rent
Total	155,640 (100) (100%)	72,590 (46.6%)	77,060 (49.5%)	175,810 (100) (100%)	85,440 (48.6%)	88,220 (50.2%)
Single Unit Houses	49,450 (31.8) (100%)	45,420 (91.9%)	3,630 (7.3%)	99,840 (56.8) (100%)	80,710 (80.8%)	18,770 (18.9%)
Town houses	7,830 (5.0) (100%)	3,510 (44.8%)	4,140 (52.9%)	3,010 (1.7) (100%)	560 (18.6%)	2,310 (76.7%)
Multi-Unit apartments and condos	97,860 (62.9) (100%)	23,390 (23.9%)	69,060 (70.6%)	71,890 (40.9) (100%)	3,320 (4.6%)	66,930 (93.1%)
Other	500 (0.3)	280	220	1,080 (0.6)	850	220

*Nishinomiya 2000 *Matsuyama 1998

Table 7-2 Housing Census for Hachioji and Musashino

	Hachioji			Musashino		
	Total	Owned	Rent	Total	Owned	Rent
Total	187,520 (100) (100%)	89,700 (47.8%)	93,580 (49.9%)	60,470 (100) (100%)	20,550 (34.0%)	37,750 (62.4%)
Single Unit Houses	80,860 (43.1) (100%)	72,520 (89.7%)	8,000 (9.9%)	13,860 (22.9) (100%)	12,740 (91.9%)	1,010 (7.3%)
Town houses	5,170 (2.8) (100%)	1,240 (24.0%)	3,670 (71.0%)	1,480 (2.5) (100%)	650 (43.9%)	820 (55.4%)
Multi-Unit apartments and condos	101,290 (54.4) (100%)	15,850 (15.7%)	81,810 (80.3%)	44,940 (74.3) (100%)	7,040 (15.7%)	35,870 (79.8%)
Other	190 (0.1)	90	100	180 (0.3)	130	60

*Hachioji · Musashino 1998

These tables show that the rates of Multi-Unit apartments and condos are as follows: Matsuyama 40.9%, Hachioji 54.4%, Nishinomiya 62.9%, Musashino 74.3%

When considering these results, we see that the central city of Musashino has a very high rate of condo owners, while the small city of Matsuyama has a much lower rate of condo owners. This indicates that the typical city wide random surveys may have indicated lower rates of neighboring relationships because central cities have higher rates of condo ownership.

6. Conclusion

- ① My first conclusion follows from the argument that I have been making throughout this paper. As my results have shown, it is housing type and not city size that is most important when explaining the relationship between neighborhood contact and urbanism. Therefore, when attempting to answer the question “Is neighborhood really weakened by urbanism?” we need a more careful analysis which takes into consideration the effect of housing type.
- ② My second conclusion follows from the first. Since it is condo ownership and not city size that shapes kinds of contact that people maintain with their neighbors, future research about the effects of

urbanism should focus on the attitudes, opinions and behaviors of condo owners. This presents an exciting new area of research that may contain many new opportunities to contribute to the existing body of urbanism literature.

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How Do Housing Types Affect Neighborhood Relationships? Analysis of a four-city survey in Japan

ABSTRACT

Is neighborhood weakened by urbanism in contemporary Japan? To answer this question, I have conducted a four-city survey (Musashino, Nishinomiya, Hachioji, and Matsuyama) (1999) in Japan. This survey uses a new method of sampling that measures the effects of both urbanism and housing type (Type I: Single-unit houses in traditional residential areas, Type II: Single-unit houses in suburban areas, Type III: Owned condominiums, Type IV: Public apartments) on personal community networks. This paper provides diverse analyses of how housing types are related to neighborhood networks.

The urbanism hypothesis and popular understandings would lead us to believe that neighborhood relationships are weakened by urbanism. However, according to my survey findings, it is housing type, and not city size, that is most important when explaining the relationship between neighborhood contact and urbanism. Neighborhood relationships are strongly related to housing type. Therefore, when attempting to answer the question we need a more careful analysis which takes into consideration the effect of housing type.

Key Words: neighborhood relationships, urbanism, housing types, personal community networks