LANDSCAPE TASTE AS A SYMBOL OF GROUP IDENTITY*
A WESTCHESTER COUNTY VILLAGE
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SOCIAL scientists have suggested that the landscape in which an individual lives is a major factor in his self-perception and in the image he presents to society.¹ One should be able, therefore, to identify different socioeconomic groups on the basis of residential landscapes. This has been done often in order to differentiate income and ethnic areas;² however, far less obvious social differences may also be expressed in residential landscape choices. This paper presents evidence that subtle variations in the landscape tastes of two groups of nearly identical, high socioeconomic status are significant indicators of group identity. Furthermore, the boundary of social networks between the two groups corresponds closely to the boundary between landscapes.

An inventory of exterior residential landscapes of all of the 1,139 houses in Bedford Village, the study area, was taken in June, July, and August, 1971. The principal research tools were observation of the landscapes, examination of the membership lists of social organizations, and casual conversation with members of the social groups. Speaking with real-estate brokers proved to be especially valuable.

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Mr. Duncan is a graduate student in geography at Syracuse University.
Not only do they know the age and market value of houses, but, if they are astute, they have a wealth of information on the social networks in their area and on the landscape tastes of different socio-economic groups. Social geographers, particularly landscape geographers, have been remiss in not communicating more with these knowledgeable people.

Bedford Village is an unincorporated village in the town of Bedford, New York. It lies approximately thirty-five miles north of New York City, in Westchester County (Fig. 1). Bedford residents have a strong sentimental attachment to the village and to the surrounding countryside. They take great pride in their small, quiet village because it has an “unspoilt” colonial look. Until 1700, when King William III ceded Bedford to New York State, it had alternately been in New York and Connecticut. To this day it is described by residents as a New England village.
Bedford is the image of affluence and cultural homogeneity. Its socioeconomic and ethnic composition is fairly uniform. The majority of residents are upper-middle- and upper-class white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The sizable Catholic minority is largely Italian, and other ethnic groups are numerically insignificant. An indicator of the general affluence in the town is the real-estate market: few houses are worth less than $40,000, and the average value is approximately $80,000.

**History of the Bedford Village Landscapes**

The land around Bedford began to be cleared for settlement in 1680, and a common, now the village green, was laid out. The common soon failed to serve all the farmers, and additional pastureland was cleared. Until the advent of the railroad in 1847, the landscape
remained predominantly open. Then Bedford, with its new accessibility to New York City, became a fashionable place for wealthy urban families to establish country estates. The rural atmosphere was cherished by the new residents, and houses and gardens reflected their feelings. Although farmhouses were remodeled and barns were converted into stables, the tendency was to retain a modest appearance. This was the romantic period in American architecture and landscape gardening; the English "natural garden," an asymmetrical arrangement of shrubbery and trees, was in vogue.

Rail transportation improved during the late 1800's, and by 1900 Bedford was the home of a number of well-to-do businessmen who commuted to work in New York City. By the late 1920's Bedford residents foresaw the wave of middle-class suburban development that was soon to approach northern Westchester, and they instituted
a strict zoning code to preserve the rural atmosphere of the town. The most influential citizens involved in the establishment of the code lived north of the business district and were primarily concerned about their residential area. Thus four acres became the minimum lot size allowable to the north, northwest, and northeast of the village center. A small area south of the village center was zoned for quarter-acre lots, since it was already developed, with modest homes and land owned by the town merchants and laborers. To preserve the northern, old residential landscape yet allow for the inevitable growth of the town, the remaining area south of the village center was zoned for minimum lot sizes of two, one, and one-half acres (Fig. 2). In time this led to a new landscape, built by developers who bought several tracts of land for the construction of new roads and houses. The creation of the new landscape would have a profound effect on the social organization of the town.

A zoning committee was established in 1929 to consider any proposed amendments to the code. The public record of the controversies, which continue to arise over proposed amendments, is an excellent source of information on community sentiment toward the landscape. Proposals to rezone properties for further development were met with great hostility. Many people attended these town meetings to state their objections. Such phrases as "the rural character of the town," "rustic beauty," "preservation of the character of the community," "to protect our heritage," and "the colonial atmosphere of the village" were used repeatedly. As a result of these conservative sentiments there have been remarkably few changes in the zoning code.

**Contemporary Landscapes of Bedford Village**

Scrutiny of residences in the village revealed four distinct landscapes: the village center; a small, older residential area that might be called the tradesmen’s landscape; and what I have designated as the alpha and beta landscapes (Fig. 3). The last two are areally predominant, and the first two are included within them in the analysis of social organization.

**The Village Center Landscape**

The village center consists of one street of shops extending out from the central green (Fig. 4). Surrounding the green are the Catho-

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3 Minutes of the public hearings of Town Board Meetings, 1929–1971, Bedford, N.Y.
lic Church, the Presbyterian Church, the old burial ground, and a few old, large houses (Fig. 5). The street is a mixture of old and new buildings (Figs. 6 and 7). Although the newer buildings are traditional in design, they fail to appear old enough for many residents of the alpha landscape, who find them not in keeping with the New England village character. The building in Figure 7 is nearly ten years old, yet it is still spoken of as "that awful new building." One informant from the alpha landscape stated that she and her friends refused to use the drugstore in the building even though its prices were much lower than those in the older drugstore across the street. Another new building houses the movie theatre and a few shops. Since it is slightly older, residents seem to have accepted its less authentic origin. The white columned building in the center of Figure 4 was built in 1970, and the owner spared no expense in conforming to the character of other buildings on the street. Even so, many informants from the alpha landscape spoke unfavorably about the building, stating that its attempt to look colonial was overdone. Alpha people also objected to the fact that it replaced a small variety store, a basically unattractive but sentimental cornerstone of the past (Fig. 6).

Love of the old, no matter how ugly, seems to be characteristic of Yankees as well as of Englishmen. David Lowenthal and Hugh C. Prince quoted John Ruskin: "If the design be poor, [time] will enrich it; if overcharged, simplify it; if harsh and violent, soften it." This sentiment puts a builder in an untenable position: he can only imitate old buildings or create new ones, which residents feel disrupt the mood of the village center.

THE TRADESMEN'S LANDSCAPE

The tradesmen's landscape is restricted to a small area just south of the village center, except for a pocket-sized space in the alpha landscape. The humble houses are packed closely together along quiet streets. Almost all of them are more than thirty years old; the gardens, usually enclosed by a low fence, are meticulously landscaped and often abundant with flowers, both in beds and climbing the fences. Most of the residents are more than fifty years old, and the absence of children on the streets is noticeable. Neighbors seem to interact, frequently across their fences, which suggests that they have lived and worked together for a long time.

Fig. 4—State Road, Bedford Village. A mixture of old and new buildings line the street, across from the village green.

Fig. 5—A large, old residence on the Bedford Village green.
Fig. 6—An old variety store, beloved by residents of the alpha landscape, which was replaced by a modern building. (Photograph courtesy of Pendor Natural Color.)

Fig. 7—A “new” building, which is disliked by alpha residents.
Fig. 8 (upper left)—One of the many dirt roads in the alpha landscape.

Fig. 9 (upper right)—A small house in the alpha landscape, valued at $50,000 to $55,000.

Fig. 10 (lower left)—A secluded estate in the alpha landscape, valued at $250,000.
THE ALPHA LANDSCAPE

The alpha landscape is the oldest residential landscape in the area. The roads and lanes are narrow and crooked, usually overhung with branches of spreading maple and oak trees and lined by dry stone walls (Fig. 8). The most prestigious roads in the alpha landscape are unpaved—residents feel this is compatible with the nature of the area. Many feel so strongly that when the town attempted to pave these roads a few years ago some of the women lay down in front of the bulldozers rather than permit them to “ruin the atmosphere.”

Alpha people are obviously anglophiles and appear to value the English upper-class style of studied seediness. Gardens as well as roads reflect that preference in their “natural” aura and their appearance of considerable age (Fig. 9). Lowenthal and Prince, observing English landscape tastes, captured the spirit of the alpha landscape: “From the condemnation of planning and regimentation, one might well suppose the picturesque to be a series of happy accidents, and conclude that the desired impression of roughness and irregularity was entirely fortuitous. Nothing is further from the truth; the picturesque is contrived and composed with as much care as any geometrical layout.”

The larger Bedford Village properties have what Lowenthal and Prince describe as “wide expanses of meadowland studded with fine trees” (Fig. 10).

Bedford residents strive for a rural but sophisticated environment. One informant from the alpha landscape explained, “I want to live in the countryside but I don’t want only farmers to talk to.” He might have added that he disapproved of ill-kempt farm houses and junked equipment lying in the fields. Lowenthal and Prince depicted a corresponding attitude in England: “The favored landscape is what Turner denoted ‘elegant pastoral’ as distinct from merely ‘pastoral’; it calls to mind traditional upper-class tastes and pursuits.”

Several large farms in the alpha area are highly valued by neighbors because they keep open land that might otherwise be used for new homes. These “gentlemen’s farms” are so well maintained that nothing offends even the most critical alpha eye. Picturesque ponds on these farms and on other smaller estates nestle among old willow trees. Ducks and geese swim peacefully in slowly moving streams, producing a gentle, bucolic scene. The area boasts more than a hundred miles of bridle paths, along which individuals and families ride, prop-

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5 Ibid., p. 193.
6 Ibid., p. 192.
7 Ibid.
erly attired, observing the landscape and in turn becoming part of it.

Houses in the alpha landscape exhibit considerable individuality, although they conform closely to certain criteria of appearance. A variety of house types, predominantly nineteenth- and early twentieth-century frame versions of the traditional colonial residence, appear because most homes have been remodeled or expanded and thereby give a rambling effect. The additions reflect the architectural styles popular in several different periods; “eclectic” probably best characterizes the taste reflected in the alpha landscape. The interiors of alpha houses confirm the group’s preference for random design and contrast sharply to beta interiors, which tend to be coordinated.

THE BETA LANDSCAPE

Almost all of the houses in the beta area were built in the past twenty years; most are less than ten years old. More than 80 percent of the houses in the beta landscape, excluding the tradesmen’s landscape, are nearly perfect reproductions of old New England colonial houses (Fig. 11). Streets are paved, straighter than alpha roads, and lack dry stone walls and overhanging branches. Gardens are open expanses of grass, with shrubs and trees arranged symmetrically. Privacy appears to be less valued by the beta group than by the alpha group. Houses in the beta landscape are much more clearly visible from the road than those in the alpha landscape are, reflecting the area’s newness as well as an apparent desire to maintain a more open landscape (Fig. 12). In the alpha landscape 358 houses (68.6 percent) are more than half obscured from the road, whereas in the beta landscape only 93 (15.1 percent) are. Although beta houses are closer together than alpha houses are, high, concealing fences are practically nonexistent and the few trees cannot obscure the houses from view.

The degree of openness of the landscape appears to be central to each group’s image of the landscape. A member of the alpha landscape wants to stand in his garden and feel that he is out in the country, surrounded by nature, not by other houses. Distinguished is the alpha resident who has a long gravel driveway, possibly with a pair of stone posts at the entrance. In the beta landscape, however, the spacing of the houses and the openness of the landscape suggest that the resident wants to stand in his garden, to see and be seen, while a streetful of expensive houses and gardens similar to his own mirror his prosperity. The convenient spatial arrangement of the houses and gardens is conducive to interaction among beta neighbors. Property owners occasionally talk at the edges of their lots—an event rarely witnessed in
Fig. 11—A typical house in the beta landscape, valued at $80,000.

Fig. 12—A $150,000 beta house, only partially obscured from view.
### Table I—The Distribution of Americana in Bedford Village Landscapes

<table>
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<th>Artifact</th>
<th>Alpha Landscape (520 houses)</th>
<th>Beta Landscape (619 houses)</th>
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<td>Number of alpha houses with the artifact</td>
<td>Percent of all alpha houses with the artifact</td>
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<td>Eagles</td>
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<td>Colonial-style lampposts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rustic signs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ornate mailboxes</td>
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### Table II—Social Groups and Landscapes

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<th>Social Group</th>
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<th>Beta Landscape (619 houses)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of all alpha houses</td>
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<td>Presbyterians</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
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<td>Golf club</td>
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<td>37.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garden club</td>
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<td>Historical society</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcomers club</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volunteer firemen</td>
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<td>Private elementary schools</td>
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<td>Social register</td>
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<td>22.0</td>
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</table>
the alpha landscape. Even more noticeable are children playing in the streets, a sight seldom seen in the alpha area.

Although beta residents appear to be less concerned with their landscape as a whole than alpha residents are, individual beta properties are exceptionally neat and carefully planned. They are intended to be aesthetically pleasing and are carefully coordinated to be "traditional American." The American eagle and the carriage lamp--posts which light the driveway are probably meant to convey an image of upper-class prosperity rather than any special attachment to the past. Furthermore, beta residents are more concerned with their houses than with their gardens. This may be because they have slightly lower socioeconomic status than alpha residents do and thus are not used to being able to control the landscape. One might say that they do not expect to be able to manage the entire surrounding landscape and therefore concentrate their attention on the house.8

ARTIFACTS IN THE LANDSCAPE

Landscape tastes and an apparent interest in the colonial background of Bedford Village are reflected in the residents' choice of certain artifacts: eagle ornaments on houses, colonial-style lampposts, rustic signs, and ornate mailboxes. The spatial separation in the distribution of these objects is quite striking (Table I). Most of the Americana are found in the beta landscape and cannot be used to measure concern with the history of the town, as the following section on social networks illustrates. People in the alpha landscape feel that such Americana are "a bit overdone" and in dubious taste. As one informant put it, "I think they [the eagle ornaments] are awful. I mean—anyone could buy them in Caldor's [a local discount store] for $4.98." Two notable sentiments that underlie the alpha landscape tastes are expressed in this remark: dislike of imitation and disdain for what is easily available and therefore does not evince the owner's unique taste. These attitudes are also major reasons why members of the alpha landscape would not want a house in the beta landscape.

The difference between mailboxes in the two landscapes is noticeable. Many beta mailboxes are expensive and ornate, but those in the alpha area are standard rural-route mailboxes. This contrast supports

8 Herbert Gans (The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans [New York, 1965], pp. 20-21) and Gerald Suttles (op. cit. [see footnote 2 above], pp. 75-76) suggest that groups with low socioeconomic status arrange the physical landscape only in the interiors of their houses.
the hypothesis that alpha residents tend to play down their affluence whereas beta residents tend to accentuate theirs. Also, the rural-route mailboxes maintain the country image held by alpha residents, but the fancy ones add to the prosperous, suburban impression that beta residents wish to convey.

Social Networks

The correspondence between membership fields of various local organizations (based on the locations of members' residences) and the landscape boundaries observed in the field is clear (Table II).

The Episcopal Church has the alpha landscape as its service area; consequently, social networks established through the church tend to be confined largely to the alpha landscape. Many alpha informants identified membership in the church as a prerequisite for social acceptance by the alpha inner circle. It is part of what alpha residents jokingly referred to as "the Holy Trinity" of social life: the Episcopal Church, the golf club, and private school. Membership in all three organizations is held by 19 percent of the alpha households but by only 0.6 percent of the beta residents. All alpha informants identified the Episcopal Church as the high-prestige church in the area, whereas informants from the beta landscape often did not recognize a church that was "most prestigious." According to alpha informants there are many conversions to Episcopalianism. I know of six such cases, in which conversion was made shortly after moving to the alpha landscape. The Episcopal Church is located in the center of the alpha landscape. It is surrounded by acres of meadowland and old trees, and members are very proud of its "virgin" forest. An open-air chapel stands near a beautiful stream; the rustic site is popular for alpha weddings.

The membership field of the Presbyterian Church is segregated from that of the Episcopal Church. Neither group of members was aware of the extent of its spatial and social segregation, and each was shocked to learn of it. Interestingly, all the members of the Presbyterian Church in nearby Katonah (Fig. 1) who live in the study area have houses in the beta landscape, even though the church is closer to the alpha landscape.

The membership field of the Catholic Church is almost the exact reverse of the Episcopalian: its service area is clearly in the beta landscape. Members of the alpha landscape, when told of the spatial and social segregation of the Catholics, were not in the least surprised. In their minds Catholics are practically synonymous with Italians; ac-
tually, slightly more than 50 percent of all Catholics in the area are Italians. The Catholic Church appears to have the lowest social status of the three churches in the study area. A few years ago, when the Bedford Museum was opened, the only church in the study area that was not officially represented was the Catholic Church.

The distribution of Italians follows the distribution of the Catholic Church members, as one would expect. They appear to have the lowest status of all groups living in the study area. They are considered working-class people, although their income and housing are middle class. People in the alpha landscape regard the Italians as laborers, since they came to the area for that purpose in the beginning of the twentieth century. Many have remained in the construction trade, and the fact that they have done much of the building in Bedford Village and in adjoining communities contributes to their lack of acceptance by alpha residents. Many of the attempts to relax zoning restrictions in Bedford have been made by Italian builders, and large numbers of irate residents have appeared at zoning-board hearings to protest the changes, noting that the instigators were Italian.

The Bedford Golf and Tennis Club is the only country club in the study area, and its membership is tightly controlled. The waiting list for the club is said to be five to ten years, but if one belongs to the right social network membership can be arranged in a year or two. Only one Italian belongs to the club—and he lives in the center of the alpha landscape. Even more revealing is that 154 (60.6 percent) of the Episcopalians in the study area but only 3 (2.2 percent) of the Presbyterians are club members. The three Presbyterians live in the alpha landscape. It is clear that members of the beta landscape are generally excluded from the social interaction of the country club. The separation of social networks through the club is a dynamic process, for members' children use the club and develop social networks that exclude outsiders to a large degree. When club members were interviewed, a common reason given for restrictive membership was their fear that newcomers would want to change the rather simple clubhouse into a more modern, fancier building. The alpha members liked their unassuming building and were no doubt correct to assume that newcomers would have different landscape tastes.

The Bedford Garden Club (Fig. 13) is even more exclusive than the golf club. As Table II shows, the social field of this club is in the alpha landscape. The club has no meeting house, and gatherings are held in members' gardens. One's landscape tastes might well be an unstated criterion for membership in the club.
The membership field of the Bedford Historical Society was examined in an effort to understand the number and distribution of Americana in the study area. Membership in the society is open to everyone, and application forms are distributed at the village museum and elsewhere. The membership fee, $5.00 a year, is not a financial burden to anyone in the study area. It appears from the data that few of those who display Americana are members of the historical society. This leads me to believe that people in the beta landscape do not have any real interest in colonial America.

The historical society's maps and booklets deal exclusively with the alpha and village center landscapes. This could be expected, since the beta landscape is recent. However, the landscape tastes expressed by the society's publications also strongly reflect alpha tastes, which could explain the high participation rate (45 percent) of alpha resi-
dents in the society. In the United States, especially among the upper class, address reflects social status: the older the upper-class landscape, the more prestigious the address. The historical society therefore fulfills a critical image-maintaining function for alpha residents by formally linking the landscape and, by extension, its inhabitants to the past.

The Bedford Village Newcomers Club draws its members almost exclusively from the beta landscape. The fact that the club includes 18 percent of the beta households demonstrates its integral position in the beta social network. One of the major functions of this club is to greet all new residents in the village, but it is clear that only one group, the beta residents, respond to the greeting and join the club. This selective process is a salient factor in molding beta social net-

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works and, consequently, in separating members of the beta landscape from those of the alpha landscape. Three of the five alpha residents who belong to the newcomers club live in new colonial-style houses similar to those in the beta landscape, so that although the location is "wrong" in these cases, the individual landscape resembles that of the beta group.

The Bedford Fire Department, staffed by volunteers, has social as well as service functions. It is based overwhelmingly in the beta landscape, where 85.4 percent of its 89 members live (Fig. 14). More important, 41 (46.0 percent) of its members live in the tradesmen's landscape. The volunteers are largely middle-class, blue-collar workers employed in the study area. Ten of the thirteen members of the organization who live in the alpha landscape are blue-collar workers. The landscapes of these volunteers are not typically alpha: three of them live in the pocket of the tradesmen's landscape that is situated in the alpha area; eight live in apartments and small houses in and around the village center; one lives in a small cottage in the middle of the alpha landscape on a street that has a few other cottages on it; and one lives in a brick ranch-style house on a new road in the alpha landscape. This demonstrates that the landscape boundaries outlined in my preliminary study are not definitive and that further examination would reveal that social networks are even more closely associated with different landscapes than the figures in Table II indicate.

Two local private elementary schools serve Bedford Village. One is in the alpha landscape, and the other is just outside the study area. As Table II illustrates, these institutions draw their enrollment almost exclusively from the alpha landscape. The private schools are part of a chain by which alpha residents maintain their social networks. Children who are graduated from these schools are encouraged to attend college-preparatory schools, which in turn encourage students to enter certain colleges, especially Ivy League schools. Invitations to the dancing classes, at the Bedford Golf and Tennis Club, are extended only to children who attend private schools. One fifteen-year-old informant from the alpha landscape told me he did not know a single public-school child his age. Just as the clubs segregate the adult members of the different landscapes, the schools segregate their children.

The playing habits of Bedford children are also affected by the landscape in which they live. Twenty-eight of the 52 streets in the beta landscape, but only nine of the 37 in the alpha landscape, are
dead-end.\textsuperscript{10} Also, highway access roads cross the alpha landscape, and through traffic is heavier there than it is in the beta landscape. The roads in the alpha landscape, furthermore, are flanked by trees and are often so hilly and tortuous that approaching cars cannot be seen; thus they are too dangerous for children to play in. Since streets cannot be used as a communal play area and since houses are far apart, alpha children are not so apt to interact with their immediate neighbors as beta children are. They make special arrangements to be driven to visit their friends. Alpha landscape tastes are perpetuated, for children of alpha families grow up with a desire for privacy in the home landscape. As adults they may well choose a landscape that minimizes casual interaction among neighbors. The children of the beta landscape, on the other hand, interact frequently with their immediate neighbors and come to think of this type of interaction as natural. Because the children of the different landscapes attend different schools and because they do not interact in each other's landscape, communication between them is lacking.

The New York Social Register is a good measure of high socioeconomic status. Of the 120 Bedford Village residents listed in the 1969 register, 94.2 percent live in the alpha landscape. High socioeconomic groups try to appear as though they always have had money and no longer have to display it. The alpha area is an "old money" landscape, whereas the beta area is a "new money" landscape. Alpha people who cannot afford a mansion prefer a simple, unimposing house to one that attempts to look like a mansion but is not. This is not to say that many of the houses in the beta landscape are pretentious; rather, no attempt is made to de-emphasize their value, as it is in the alpha landscape.

Members of the alpha landscape are apparently attempting to exclude lower socioeconomic people who live in the beta landscape from their social networks. Landscape tastes are used by the residents of the alpha landscape to distinguish people who may be desirable members of their social network and those who clearly are not. If a newcomer to the alpha landscape is not already known, he will prob-

\textsuperscript{10} The names given to the routes reflect the residents' perceptions of their landscape. In the alpha landscape 86 percent of the routes are named "road," which is in keeping with the rural image that alpha residents have of their area. In the beta landscape 46 percent of the routes are named "drive," "lane," or "circle." These seem to be in keeping with the suburban image that beta residents have of their area. Many of the "roads" in the beta landscape predated the present settlement pattern. All of the "avenues" are in the tradesmen's landscape.
ably be invited over for a drink by an alpha neighbor. This informal inspection serves as a further weeding-out process. If the newcomer is “nice”—of high socioeconomic standing—he will receive a second invitation from his host to a larger gathering, where he can meet other alpha residents. If, however, the newcomer fails his first inspection, the word spreads throughout the social network and no further invitations are likely to be forthcoming.

The neighborhood interaction patterns in the alpha landscape are similar to what Edward T. Hall describes as English neighboring patterns. “In England propinquity means nothing. The fact that you live next door to a family does not entitle you to visit, borrow from or socialize with them, or your children to play with theirs.”11 He continues, “They may get to know and even like their neighbors, but it won’t be because they live next door, because English relationships are patterned not according to space but according to social status.”12 This neighboring pattern is typical of high socioeconomic groups in the United States. Minimum casual interaction among neighbors is facilitated by the alpha landscape. Because so many houses and gardens are obscured by fences and vegetation, residents seldom have to see or be seen by their neighbors. Also, because the space between houses is great, most residents in their gardens are out of comfortable speaking distance from their neighbors, what Hall calls “Public Distance—Far Phase,”13 and therefore do not feel obliged to interact.

Since physical distance separates the alpha and beta areas, residents do not see each other in their respective landscapes; and since meeting places such as clubs and churches are segregated, there is almost no interaction between the two groups. The isolation is so complete that members of each group only marginally recognize the existence of the other and are unfamiliar with the other landscape’s social organizations. Alpha and beta residents see the variations in their landscapes, but they do not appear to associate the differences with separate social networks. The lack of recognition of the other social networks suggests that little friction exists between the groups.

Erving Goffman asserts that an individual uses his landscape to indicate to others his values and socioeconomic status.14 The Hudson Guild makes this point too: “Housing . . . has represented much more

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11 Hall, op. cit. [see footnote 9 above], p. 133.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., p. 117.
14 Goffman, op. cit. [see footnote 1 above], pp. 22–30.
than physical structures. It is the symbol of status, of achievement, of social acceptance. It seems to control in large measure the way in which the individual, the family perceives him/itself and is perceived by others."\textsuperscript{15} Similarly, Alvin L. Schorr views housing "as a symbolic extension of one's self."\textsuperscript{16} In a society that does not officially sanction social stratification, individuals provide covert cues (such as speech, dress, and landscape tastes) rather than overt cues to their social status. Landscape tastes have been overlooked by students of social stratification. Yet they are a critical part of presentation of self for middle- and upper-class Americans, whose social interaction takes place to a great extent in the home landscape. "In the United States, your address is a cue to status. . . . The Joneses from Brooklyn and Miami are not as 'in' as the Joneses from Newport and Palm Beach."\textsuperscript{17} Address, therefore, associates an individual with a given landscape and, by extension, with a given social status.

F. Stuart Chapin, in a pioneering study on microlandscapes, developed a "living-room scale" based on interior decoration tastes as presentation of self, which he used as a measure of socioeconomic status.\textsuperscript{18} Social geographers are in a unique position to develop a landscape scale as a measure of socioeconomic status, because of their long concern with the relation of culture—group attitudes, values, and needs—to landscape.

\textsuperscript{15} Human Relations in Chelsea [see footnote 1 above], p. 60.
\textsuperscript{16} Schorr, op. cit. [see footnote 1 above], p. 520.
\textsuperscript{17} Hall, op. cit. [see footnote 9 above], p. 129.