

Residential Homogeneity and Neighborhood Interaction¹

Gertrude Fish
Assistant Professor, University of
Maryland, College Park

The relationship between the degree of homogeneity and the resulting social relationships within a neighborhood is a question that, although not new, needs to be explored and resolved. It is likely that the spatial relationships and the mix of people within a neighborhood have always affected the types of interactions that have resulted. With moral overtones to the question, there is an obligation to determine possible outcomes of decisions that may so directly affect the quality of social organizations and communities. This article reports the results of exploratory research which was conducted to determine the effects of socioeconomic heterogeneity on neighborhood social behavior.

Human ecologists study the form and development of communities, communities being social organizations of residents of particular spatial areas. The unit of ecological analysis is "the aggregate which is either organized or in the process of becoming organ-

ized" (Hawley, 1950); in other words, human ecology is concerned with the degree of organization of spatial groups.

Spatial groups were formed by the free choice of households in the marketplace before World War II. Hoyt observed that the pressures of economics and social psychology combined in choices of residential location; that households moved as close to the leaders of the community as their economic means would allow.

Planners, by the nature of their work, are called upon to make decisions that the marketplace used to make. Catherine Bauer realized that planning residential areas required decisions on the socioeconomic mix of residents and asked, ". . . what is the relation between

¹The data for this research came from Hatch Project 404, "Residential Mobility, Family Life Style, and Housing Needs and Choices," carried out in the Department of Consumer Economics and Public Policy, Cornell University under the direction of Earl W. Morris from 1969 through 1972. The project was supported through a grant from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Cornell Experiment Station.

heterogeneity and the quality of neighborly social life?" (Bauer, 1951). That no great progress in answering the question was made in the following decade was apparent when Gans wrote:

The proper solution is a moderate degree of homogeneity, although at this point no one knows how to define this degree operationally or how to develop planning guides for it. (Gans, 1961)

In 1968, Marice Broady in England and John Madge in this country wrote about the need for a "fuller knowledge of what conditions are most favorable to satisfactory social organizations" (Madge, 1968). In 1972, the National Academy of Sciences reported to the Department of Urban Development that research was needed on the effect of socioeconomic diversity on communication and social relations (Marrett, 1973).

One of the primary aspects of the questions to be answered involves the effect of mix on social organization or disorganization. That is, is one mix more likely to produce a greater degree of disorganization or organization than another. George Herbert Mead saw social disorganization as "an inability to mobilize action effectively in the face of a given situation" (Blumer, 1969). He asserted that the process of communication *is* society, in other words, the social fabric exists only in the process of communication. Communication is necessary to social organizations, and if socioeconomic diversity or heterogeneity affects communication, then it is affecting the social organization of the spatial group.

Social organization of spatial groups has been demonstrated to both support and constrain the members of the group. Working class families who have been removed from familiar people (Gans, 1967) and the families of corporation management personnel whose transiency creates a need for social and emotional support (Whyte, 1956) both have a special need for people similar to themselves with

whom to band together, i.e. neighbors who can represent foster family when the bonafide family is not present. Whyte's study of Park Forest (1956) pointed out that the price of such social and emotional support is the loss of a great deal of autonomy and privacy. In that particular case, the need for social belonging out-weighed the desire for privacy for most of the residents.

Social organization of the neighborhood can also fulfill safety needs. Block associations in large cities provide security for the residents; at the same time such neighborhood organizations exert political influence (Segal and Meyer, 1969).

Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950) showed that informal groups constrain the attitudes and behavior of members.

. . . social groupings create channels of communication for the flow of information and opinions. Standards for attitudes and behavior relevant to the functioning of the social group develop, with resulting uniformity among the members of the group. Pressures toward conformity to these standards may result in the exclusion of deviates from the social group. (p. 151)

Macoby's study of "Community Integration and the Social Control of Juvenile Delinquency" offered evidence that socialization from informal neighborhood pressures was effective for constraining the behavior of youth (1958).

Spatial organizations also function to preserve the conditions upon which the residents' satisfactions rest (Maslow, 1943). Residents of many communities have banded together to ward off dams, highways, low income housing; or to preserve medical services, municipal services, good schools, and political representation.

If heterogeneity affects informal social organization of spatial groups, then, it is affecting the ability of the group to support and constrain the behavior of its members and to

preserve the control of its environment.

Two studies which illustrate social behavior of low income residents are Gans' *The Urban Villagers* and Young and Willmott's *Family and Kinship in East London*. Gans observed low income families in an ethnic neighborhood in Boston and reported that low income people are "person-oriented". That is, they derive their identity and sense of belonging from interacting with their social group of relatives and peers. Much of their social life was with relatives; group pressures for support and constraint of individual behavior were strong.

The Young and Willmott study of low income families in London who were moved to a new housing estate found that they changed from a people-centered to a house-centered existence. "Keeping Themselves to Themselves," the title of Chapter X, describes the social behavior that the new context called forth. The authors also noted:

. . . their need for respect is just as strong as it ever was, but instead of being able to find satisfaction in actual living relationships, through the personal respect that accompanies almost any steady human interaction, they have to turn to the other kind of respect that is awarded, by some strange sort of understanding, for the quantity and quality of possessions with which the person surrounds himself. (Young and Willmott, 1957, p. 162)

The Organization Man illustrates for high income households a pattern of behavior similar to that of the low income households in the West End and the Bethnal Green. The interaction of the spatial group was intense and demanding; group pressures to conform were strong. In Forest Park, skill in social interaction and functioning in groups distinguished the socially mobile from the ones who were stalled in their climb up the corporate ladder.

Social interaction outside the kin network

or the less personal basis of special interest seemed to be unusual for the households in the West End (Gans) and Bethnal Green (Young and Willmott). Difficulty in establishing non-kin social relations was noted by one Greenleigh housewife who said,

I tried getting friendly with the woman next door but one, but it didn't work. (Young and Willmott, 1957, p. 132)

A high income neighborhood that exhibited social behavior similar to that in Greenleigh, the low income housing estate in the Young and Willmott study, was found in a study of Habitat '67 (Fish, 1969). The respondents evidenced neighborhood feeling only when presented with a hypothetical situation which threatened the area of the building itself. The residents of Habitat '67 valued the esteem of others but expressed a desire for privacy.

Privacy and social isolation are not synonymous, however. Privacy connotes *a desire for no social interaction*; social isolation connotes *a desire for social interaction*. Since humans are social animals, a desire for privacy from neighbors usually means that social interaction is being enjoyed elsewhere. This was the case for the Habitat '67 residents. Their friends and relatives were scattered about Montreal and the world, and were seen as often as desired. The wives in Greenleigh were socially isolated. They couldn't afford transportation to Bethnal Green where their families and friends were, and they lacked the social skills to make new friends outside their kin network.

Are the patterns of social behavior illustrated by the preceding studies caused by low income or by the homogeneity/heterogeneity of the neighborhood? One approach to answering this question is to compare the determinants of residential satisfaction and mobility for high and low income households in homogeneous and heterogeneous neighborhoods.

The effect of heterogeneity on the determinants of residential satisfaction and the propensity to move was tested on an area prob-

ability sample of 229 households living in 19 hamlets of Tioga County, New York (Hatch Project 404). The respondents were women under the age of 65 who were or had been married.

Hamlets are physical groupings of dwelling units that offer some notable advantages to the study presented. Spatial boundaries define the area within which to test for neighborhood characteristics. That is, the ambiguity of where a neighborhood begins or ends is relieved. The choice of whether or not to live within the purview of that particular group of families is more apparent to a family choosing a new residence; to choose to live within a hamlet is a clear decision for that place rather than some other place.

Three important influences on residential satisfaction were controlled by their absence. There is no public transportation in Tioga County; density in a hamlet is at a level that would seem not to be a stress factor; and racial differences were not an influence since there were only one black and one Spanish-speaking family in the sample.

Residential satisfaction (Morris, 1972) was measured by three indexes. The first index, for propensity to move, is a summed score of responses to four questions about:

1. length of time the family planned to stay when they moved in;
2. their desire to move;
3. their expectations of moving within one year;
4. their expectations of moving within five years.

Satisfaction with the neighborhood is a summed score of responses to questions concerning:

1. How do you feel about this neighborhood as a place to live?
2. Do you like living on this street?
3. Do you prefer living in a rural area?
4. How satisfied are you with living in Tioga County?

The index for satisfaction with the house is a summed score of the responses to the questions:

1. How does this house compare with the last one you lived in?
2. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your present house?
3. Do you think you have been better off since you came to this community?

The number of visits received from neighbors during the week preceding the interview is used as a measure of informal social interaction. When visiting has a significant effect on satisfaction, it enters the model as an intervening variable.

The amenity score (AMENY) is a summed score for possessing such things as a freezer, television, dishwasher, washer and dryer, etc. and is a measure of the quality of services provided by the house. The measure of social mobility behavior (SOCMOB) is a summed score of actual changes from the date of the marriage in tenure, structure, and amenity of housing; change in the husband's occupational classification last five years; and present enrollment of husband or wife in an educational course meeting at least once a week.

In contextual analysis individual actions are influenced by the characteristics of the group (Linz, 1957). Heterogeneity of the neighborhood is treated as a contextual condition in this study. It was measured by summing the standard deviations of the neighborhood for the following variables:

1. Hollingshead score of the husband's job,
2. Years of education of the wife,
3. Income per capita,
4. Amenity score of the house.

The sums ranged from 5.71 to 11.22. Neighborhoods having scores between 5.71 and 7.39 were labeled homogeneous; those with scores between 7.60 and 11.25 were labeled heterogeneous.

In relational analysis, individual actions are

influenced by the individual's relative position in the group. In this investigation, the relational analysis employs measures of deviance in the use of leisure time and a high and low income dichotomy. The use of leisure time variables (how often the husband and wife watched television, participated in sports, went out for entertainment, or spent time at hobbies) were transformed to deviations from the median for the hamlet. HLESTIME is a summed score for the husband; WLESTIME is a summed score for the wife. If the fact that neighbors spent their leisure time on different activities had a negative influence on a household's satisfaction or a positive influence on its propensity to move, we interpreted those effects as demonstrating a dependence on other residents for identity and social support (Gans, 1962). In such a case, HLESTIME and WLESTIME were measures of person-orientedness. Households were divided into high and low income at \$9,000; approximately half the sample were above and half below this point.

Path Analysis

It was decided to use path analysis in an exploratory fashion. Land points out that the method of path analysis has two advantages when testing untried avenues of explanation:

- (1) integrates residual r as effects caused by all unmeasured variables outside of the set under consideration in the path model,
- (2) provides an interpretation of the correlation of an exogenous and endogenous variable as the sum of direct and indirect effects. (Land, 1969)

A path analysis interprets the results of a multiple regression to show the relationships among the variables. In the diagrams of the path analyses of this study the regression coefficients significant at the 5 percent level appear in each model. All the variables in the

basic set were in the original regressions, but if the effect of a variable on satisfaction with the house or neighborhood or propensity to move was not significant at the 5 percent level it was dropped from the equation, thus effectively making its coefficient 0 (Heise, 1969). Each diagram shows the variables having a significant effect on residential satisfaction for the particular subsample being investigated.

Arrows indicate the direction of the influence of the variables and the standardized beta coefficient on the arrow measures the strength of the effect.

Models for the determinants of residential satisfaction and mobility for

1. low income households in heterogeneous neighborhoods
2. high income households in heterogeneous neighborhoods
3. low income households in homogeneous neighborhoods
4. high income households in homogeneous neighborhoods.

will be presented, and then comparisons and interpretations from the four models will be made.

The Four Analyses

Figure 1 shows the standardized regression coefficients (path coefficients) that have an effect significant at the 5 percent level on satisfaction with the house, satisfaction with the neighborhood, and propensity to move for low income households in heterogeneous neighborhoods.

Satisfaction with the house does not influence satisfaction with the neighborhood. Number of visits from neighbors is not influenced by and does not influence any other variable. Therefore, housing satisfaction, number of visits from neighbors, and type of structure are not in the system for propensity to move (MOVE). The determinants of the pro-

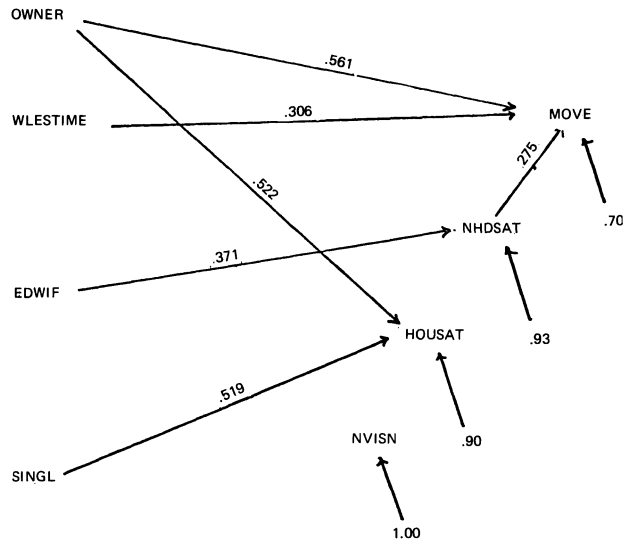


FIGURE 1. Model for Residential Satisfaction for Low Income Households in Heterogeneous Hamlets (n=48).

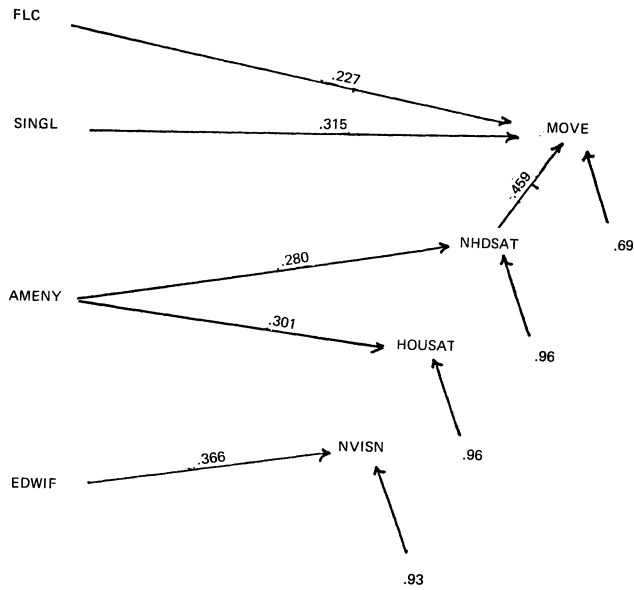


FIGURE 2. Model for Residential Satisfaction for Households With Incomes of \$9000 or More in Heterogeneous Hamlets in Tioga County (n=62).

propensity to move for this subsample are tenure, wife's leisure time, and neighborhood satisfaction all of which have negative effects on propensity to move. The education of the wife has an indirect effect on the propensity to move by its positive influence on neighborhood satisfaction.

Figure 2 shows the variables having a significant effect on satisfaction and propensity to move for high income households in heterogeneous hamlets. Length of time married, type of structure, and satisfaction with the neighborhood all have negative influences on propensity to move. The quality of services provided by the house increased neighborhood satisfaction and thus has an indirect effect on propensity to move. The number of amenities has a positive influence on housing satisfaction and higher levels of education of the wife increase the number of visits from neighbors but housing satisfaction, education of the wife and number of visits from neighbors do not affect propensity to move.

Figure 3 shows the structure and relationships for the determinants of residential mobility and satisfaction for low income households in homogeneous neighborhoods.

Attendance at formal organization meetings by husband and/or wife and differences in the use of leisure time by husbands have positive effects on propensity to move. Ownership of the dwelling unit and satisfaction with the neighborhood have negative effects on the propensity to move. Attendance at formal organization meetings by husband and/or wife and the availability of a car to the wife during the day influence housing satisfaction, and housing satisfaction influences neighborhood satisfaction but these variables do not display an effect on the propensity to move.

Figure 4 shows the determinants of residential mobility and satisfaction for high income households in homogeneous neighborhoods. The husband's leisure time activities and wife's leisure time activities have contrasting effects indicating that the husbands desire

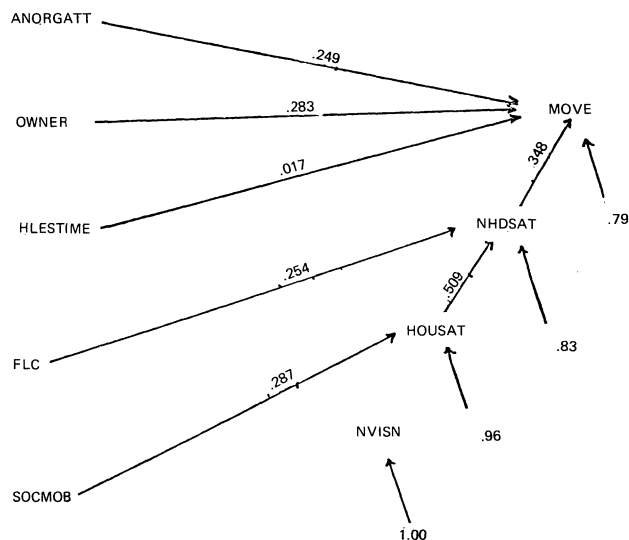


FIGURE 3. Model for Residential Satisfaction for Households with Incomes of \$8,999 or Less Living in Homogeneous Hamlets in Tioga County (n=64).

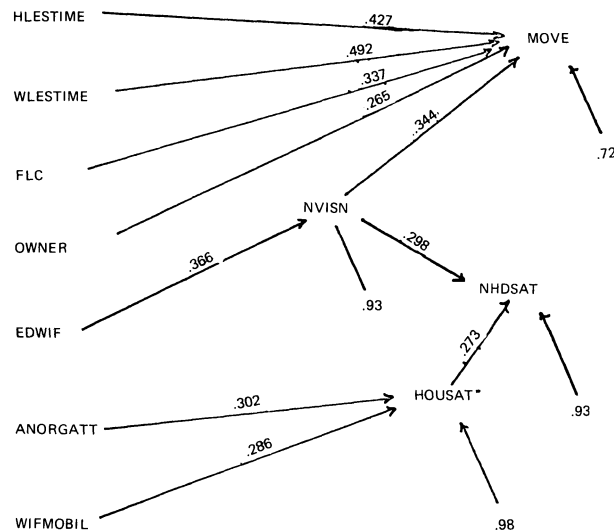


FIGURE 4. Model for Residential Satisfaction for Households With Incomes of \$9,000 or More Living in Homogeneous Hamlets in Tioga County (n=55).

privacy but the wives depend on neighbors for identity and social interaction.

Husband's leisure time, length of time married and tenure have negative influences on propensity to move: Wife's leisure time activities and number of visits from neighbors have positive influences. Education of the wife has an indirect effect by having a positive influence on number of visits from neighbors. The number of visits from neighbors has an indirect effect by having a positive influence on neighborhood satisfaction. The number of visits from neighbors enters the system only for this subsample and neighborhood satisfaction then no longer has an effect on propensity to move. Number of visits from neighbors has a negative effect on neighborhood satisfaction.

Attendance at formal organization meetings by the husband and/or wife and the availability of a car to the wife during the day influence housing satisfaction, and housing satisfaction

influences neighborhood satisfaction but these variables do not have an effect on propensity to move.

Figure 4 shows education of the wife having a positive effect on number of neighborhood visits, but number of neighborhood visits increases the probability of moving. The paradox of education increasing the ability to socialize outside the family and kinship network and yet the parallel increase in desire for privacy for the nuclear family is documented in Whyte's *Organization Man*. The wives struggled with conflicting forces; one the desire to be a significant member of the neighborhood group, the other to preserve privacy for a separate family life. In the present study, the number of neighborhood visits has a negative effect on neighborhood satisfaction. Organizational attendance on the other hand, has a positive effect on satisfaction with the house which in turn has a positive effect on neighborhood satisfaction. We could speculate from the

diagram that the formal organization places the interaction away from the family circle thus preserving its privacy.

Households with incomes of \$9,000 or more and living in homogeneous hamlets show the lowest mean propensity to move of any of the subsamples (0.82), the highest mean satisfaction with the neighborhood (4.06), and the highest mean satisfaction with the house (4.69).

Gans characterized the low income residents of the West End as person-oriented. The respondents in the Young and Willmott study (1957) had a similar pattern of social life and also had low incomes. If person-oriented behavior depends on the level of income of the households we would expect that for low income households, the differences in use of leisure time variables would have positive influences on propensity to move and negative influences on satisfaction with the house and neighborhood; for high income households differences in the use of leisure time either would have no effect, or because of the desire for privacy and self-actualization, would have a negative effect on the propensity to move and a positive effect on housing satisfaction and neighborhood satisfaction. Level of income, then, would affect the ability of the group to support and constrain the behavior of its members and to preserve the control of its environment.

If person-oriented behavior depends on the socioeconomic homogeneity of the neighborhood we would expect that leisure time activities of husband and wife would have positive effects on propensity to move and negative effects on satisfaction with the house and the neighborhood for households in homogeneous neighborhoods. (Deviance in a person-oriented setting would increase the propensity to move and decrease satisfaction with the house and neighborhood.) Homogeneity, then, would be affecting the ability of the group to support and constrain the behavior of its members and

to preserve the control of its environment.

Person-oriented behavior is evidenced in the model for high income households in homogeneous neighborhoods (Figure 4, $WLESTIME \xrightarrow{.492} MOVE$) and in the model for low income households, in homogeneous neighborhoods (Figure 3, $HLESTIME \xrightarrow{.017} MOVE$); therefore we would be persuaded that person-oriented behavior depends on the socioeconomic homogeneity of the residents, not the income level.

Deviance in the use of the husband's leisure time decreases the propensity to move of high income households in the homogeneous neighborhoods; this effect we interpret as a desire for privacy by the husbands. Deviance by the wife in the use of leisure time decreases the propensity to move of low income households in the heterogeneous neighborhoods; this effect we interpret as evidence of social isolation like that of the wives in Greenleigh, the new housing estate in the Young and Willmott study.

In general, fewer variables explain roughly the same percent of the variance in propensity to move in the models for heterogeneous neighborhoods. AMENY, measuring quality of services provided by the house, appears only in the model for high income households in heterogeneous neighborhoods and increases both housing and neighborhood satisfaction.

The Effect of Heterogeneity on Social Interaction Patterns

The mean number of neighborhood visits received by the household during the week preceding the interview was not different for all households in homogeneous hamlets (0.87) than for all households in heterogeneous hamlets (0.87), i.e. homogeneity-heterogeneity of the neighborhood was not affecting the number of neighborhood visits in the sample. For all high income households the mean for the number of neighborhood visits was 0.82; for

all low income households it was 0.92. This difference is not significant at the 5 percent level.

The number of visits from neighbors had a significant negative effect on neighborhood satisfaction for high income households in homogeneous hamlets. Though not statistically significant at the 10 percent level, the number of visits from neighbors had a positive effect on neighborhood satisfaction for low income households in heterogeneous hamlets.

This pattern indicates that visiting is indeed disturbing privacy in homogeneous neighborhoods even though there is no significant difference between the mean number of visits for any two subsamples, i.e., the same level of

neighborhood visiting is disturbing in a homogeneous setting but not in a heterogeneous setting. However, the mean satisfaction with the neighborhood is highest where the negative effect of visits from neighbors is strongest. Table 1 illustrates the paradox.

It would seem from the relationships illustrated by Table 1 that heterogeneity creates a degree of social isolation depending on level of income. Visits from neighbors relieve social isolation and thus increase satisfaction with the neighborhood.

Table 2 shows that homogeneity-heterogeneity tended to affect the percent, of total visits, that were from relatives to a slight degree, as households in homogeneous neighbor-

TABLE 1. Relationship between visits from neighbors and satisfaction with the neighborhood.

Group	Standardized Beta for NVISN - NHDSAT	\bar{x} NHDSAT
High income HH in Homogeneous Hamlets	-.30	4.06
All households in Homogeneous Hamlets	-.15	3.92
All high income HH	-.11	3.91
Low income HH in Homogeneous Hamlets	-.04	3.81
High income HH in Heterogeneous Hamlets	.10	3.79
Low income HH in Heterogeneous Hamlets	.23	3.70

TABLE 2. Percent of total visits to the household which were from relatives by household income and hamlet type.

Group	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous	All
Low income	.404	.300	.359
High income	.371	.349	.360
All households	.388	.327	.359

hoods received a slightly higher percentage of their visits from relatives. However, the difference between the means for all households in homogeneous hamlets (.388) and all households in heterogeneous hamlets (.327) is not significant at the 5 percent level.

On the other hand, the households of the same income level (low income) but in different degrees of socioeconomic heterogeneity have means that are significantly different at the 5 percent level for percent of visits from relatives. Table 2 shows that low income households living in homogeneous neighborhoods had a mean of 40 percent of total visits from relatives while for low income households in heterogeneous neighborhoods a mean of 30 percent of total visits were from relatives. This would support an interpretation that the contextual quality of socioeconomic heterogeneity has a significant effect on patterns of social interaction for low income households.

Low income households in heterogeneous hamlets have a higher propensity to move than high income households in heterogeneous hamlets. The difference between the means for propensity to move (MOVE) for low income households in heterogeneous hamlets and high income households in heterogeneous hamlets is significant at the 5 percent level. We would interpret these findings to mean that the contextual condition of heterogeneity affects low income households' interaction patterns and their relative position on income increases their propensity to move.

Conclusions

If, as the data indicates, person-oriented behavior depends on homogeneity of the neighborhood, satisfaction with the house is highest in homogeneous neighborhoods, and satisfaction with the neighborhood is highest in homogeneous neighborhoods, the logical conclusion is that the degree of social organization in homogeneous neighborhoods supports

and constrains the behavior of the residents, thus preserving their control of the environment. This is not to say that the most homogeneous neighborhood is necessarily the best one, for more contacts with the larger society seem to be encouraged by some heterogeneity (lower percent of visits from relatives and higher incidence of attendance in formal organizations).

The findings of this study apply to the recent exchange between Scobie and Starr concerning the tenant selection practices for public housing. Without social support and constraints for behavior, the working poor may feel that control of their environment is impossible. Thus, the contextual condition of heterogeneity would be the underlying cause of discontent and not individual dissimilarities.

Policies of scattersite housing will create heterogeneous neighborhoods. Figure 4 suggests that the low income households placed in the scattered units will suffer social isolation, the behavior of the members will feel no group pressures to conform to acceptable standards, and no collective effort will preserve the conditions upon which their satisfactions rest. The result, in human ecological terms is an aggregate of residents without social organization.

REFERENCES

- Catherine Bauer (1951) "Social Questions in Housing and Community Planning," *Journal of Social Issues*, 7, p. 23.
- Herbert Blumer (1969) "Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead," in *Sociological Theory*, ed. by Walter L. Wallace (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.), p. 243.
- Maurice Broady, (1968) *Planning for People* (London: The Bedford Square Press), pp. 116-117.

- Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back (1950) *Social Pressures in Informal Groups: A Study of the Human Factors in Housing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), p. 151.
- Gertrude S. Fish (1969) "Habitat '67," paper for Planning 784, Spring Semester, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
- Herbert Gans, Jr. (1962) *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (The Free Press, New York).
- Herbert Gans, Jr. (1967) *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community* (New York: Random House), p. 272.
- Herbert Gans, Jr. (1968) "Planning and Social Life: Friendship and Neighbor Relations," in *People and Plans* (New York: Basic Books), p. 163.
- Hatch Project 404, Residential Mobility, Family Life Style, and Housing Needs and Choices," carried out under the direction of Earl W. Morris from 1969 through 1972 in the Department of Consumer Economics and Public Policy. New York State College of Human Ecology, Cornell University, Ithaca.
- Amos H. Hawley (1950) *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure* (New York: Ronald Press), p. 68.
- David R. Heise (1971) "Problems in Path Analysis and Causal Inferences," in *Sociological Methodology 1969*, Edgar F. Borgatta, ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc.), p. 69.
- Homer Hoyt (1966) "The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities," *Urban Housing*, ed. by William L. C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, Margy Ellin Meyerson (New York: The Free Press).
- Kenneth Land (1969) "Principles of Path Analysis," in *Sociological Methodology*, Edgar Borgatta and George Bohrnstedt, eds., (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.).
- Juan Linz (1957) "Ecological Analysis and Survey Research," in *Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences*, citing Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: Free Press, rev. ed.), Chapter 1.
- Eleanor Macoby (1958) "Community Integration and the Social Control of Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, 14, pp. 38-41.
- John Madge (1968) "Housing: Social Aspects," in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.
- Cora B. Marrett (1973) "Social Stratification in Urban Areas," in *Segregation in Urban Areas*, ed. by Amos Hawley and Vincent Rock (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences), p. 172.
- Abraham H. Maslow (July 1943) "A Theory of Human Motivation," *Psychological Review*, XXXX, 394-395.
- Earl W. Morris (1972) Working Paper number two, "Factor Analysis of Propensity to Move, Environmental Satisfaction, and Housing Satisfaction Indexes," Department of Consumer Economics and Public Policy, New York State College of Human Ecology, Cornell University Ithaca, New York.
- Erwin K. Scheuch (1969) "Social Context and Individual Behavior," in *Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge: MIT Press), pp. 142-143.
- Richard S. Scobie (1973) "Problem Families and Public Housing," *The Public Interest*, Number 31, pp. 126-129.

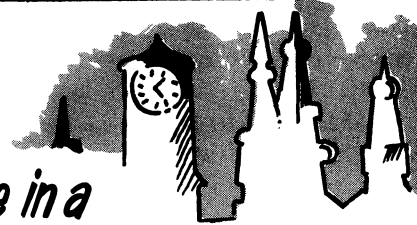
David R. Segal and Marshall W. Meyer (1969) "Social Context of Political Partisanship," in *Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge: MIT Press), p. 231.

Roger Starr (1973) "Which of the Poor Shall Live in Public Housing?" *The Public Interest*, 23, pp. 116-124; and "A Reply," *The Public Interest*, 31, pp. 130-134.

William H. Whyte, Jr. (1956) *The Organization Man* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.).

Michael Young and Peter Willmott (1957) *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), Chapter X.

A Reminder
A Professional Conference in a
New England Setting



Housing - Multi Disciplinary Synthesis
Oct. 30 - Nov. 1, 1974
Durham, New Hampshire

For Information AAHE National Headquarters
Dr. Vera Ellithorpe, Executive Secretary AAHE
Dept. of Family Economics
Manhattan, Kansas 66505