

Building Ties: The Social Networks of Affordable-Housing Residents

Elyzabeth Gaumer
Ahuva Jacobowitz
City of New York

Jeanne Brooks-Gunn
Columbia University

The views presented here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development or the City of New York.

Abstract

Despite decades of investment in affordable housing, little is known about the social connectedness of the population served or the use value of interactions among residents. In this article, we use cross-sectional survey data from recent movers to a single affordable housing complex in New York City (N = 120) to assess the structure of social networks and the content of local relationships, specifically the exchange of expressive, instrumental, and informational support. Respondents living in affordable housing report a diversity of ties, including friends, family, and neighbors. We find that within-building networks differ in key ways from networks of individuals who live in the same neighborhood but not in the same residential building. Residents interact less frequently with building ties, report few close ties in the building, and do not perceive building neighbors to be essential resources. When we examine the content of these relationships, however, we find that building residents do provide and receive multiple types of support, particularly informational resources. We further find that the characteristics of building neighbors are associated with the odds of providing or receiving specific types of support or resources. Expressive (or emotional) support is more likely between similar individuals, and having children is associated with both provision and receipt of support of all kinds. Receiving information about childcare or finding a school or tutor for one's child is more likely from a building tie who is better off. Understanding affordable-housing residents' social context can support policies that target this population and improve our understanding of social integration in this setting.

Introduction

During the past few decades, federal housing policies have increasingly sought to alter the neighborhood conditions of low-income households, either by providing opportunities to move out of high-poverty areas or by redeveloping distressed public housing complexes into mixed-income communities. Most recently, efforts have turned toward revitalizing high-poverty neighborhoods by infusing new services and creating a more diverse housing stock, with the hope of engendering healthier communities and greater income diversity. These approaches seek to improve the lives of the lowest income households by increasing access to better quality schools and safer streets, improving housing quality, and generally reducing concentrated disadvantage and social isolation.

Many place-based strategies include the provision of housing for low-income working households that, although generally better off than households living in public housing or receiving vouchers, often struggle to find adequate housing in the private market—particularly in high-cost cities. In New York City, more than 70 percent of households that would income qualify for low-income affordable housing are rent burdened and 25 percent are severely burdened.¹ Alternative poverty measures² that account for the value of rental assistance and other social safety-net benefits and for the local cost of living would define many of these households as living below the revised poverty line (Levitan, 2013).

Affordable-housing programs that serve low-income working households have been active for decades. Since its inception in 1987, the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) Program alone has placed more than 2 million low-income units in service nationwide.³ Local initiatives support the creation or preservation of additional affordable housing for households earning up to 80 percent of U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Income Limits.⁴ In New York City, most of the 165,000 units financed as part of the New Housing Marketplace Plan (NHMP)⁵

¹ Low-income affordable housing typically targets households earning between 30 and 80 percent of U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Income Limits. The prevalence of rent burden estimates is based on the authors' analysis of the 2011 Housing and Vacancy Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011), which defines *rent burdened* as paying more than 30 percent of monthly household income toward gross rent and *severely burdened* as paying more than 50 percent of monthly household income toward gross rent. Estimates include those living in subsidized housing or reporting receipt of one or more forms of rental assistance.

² Alternative measures include the Supplemental Poverty Measure used in the 2010 decennial census and the poverty measure developed by the City of New York's Center for Economic Opportunity. Both use the National Academy of Sciences' 1997 recommendations, with adjustments based on Interagency Technical Working Group guidelines. See Levitan (2013) for details.

³ National data are available from the LIHTC database: <http://lihtc.huduser.org>.

⁴ HUD Income Limits are set annually and are adjusted for geography. In fiscal year (FY) 2014, 80 percent of HUD Income Limits (defined as *low income*) for a family of four is equivalent to \$67,100 for the New York City HUD Metropolitan Fair-Market Rent Area (HMFA); \$68,500 for the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA); \$57,900 for the Chicago HMFA; and \$47,050 for the New Orleans-Metairie, LA MSA. By comparison with the official poverty thresholds for 2013, which accounted for family size and composition but not for geography, these incomes translate to roughly 280, 290, 240, and 200 percent of the federal poverty level, respectively.

⁵ NHMP was New York City's 11-year housing plan initiated under Mayor Michael Bloomberg to preserve or construct 165,000 units of affordable housing by the end of FY 2014 (June 30, 2014). Of the units financed through FY 2013, 80 percent were targeted to households earning up to 80 percent of HUD Income Limits. *Housing New York* is Mayor Bill de Blasio's 10-year housing plan that began in FY 2014. See <http://www.nyc.gov/hpd> for details.

(fiscal years [FY] 2004 through 2014) were targeted to these households (City of New York, 2004), and the *Housing New York* plan (FY 2014 through 2024) is committed to financing 140,000 units for households earning 31 to 80 percent of HUD Income Limits (City of New York, 2014). The development of affordable housing is often used as part of public housing redevelopment activities. Affordable-housing residents may serve as higher income residents in complexes with shallow income mixing (as studied by Tach, 2009) or in combination with a wider range of income targets, including residents with incomes well above the median and those in the lowest income stratum, such as relocated public housing residents or those who move with vouchers (as studied by Chaskin and Joseph, 2011). Thus, the population served by affordable housing can act either as the focus of intervention, which is the case with most affordable housing development, or as part of the intervention, which is seen in some mixed-income housing developments, depending on time and place.

A growing body of research focuses on the impact of moving to mixed-income housing on the social networks of poor households (Chaskin, 2013; Kleit, 2005) and the potential for such changes to promote well-being (Briggs, 1998; Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber, 2007; Levy, McDade, and Bertumen, 2013). Less is known about how place-based strategies affect affordable-housing residents' personal networks. In this article, we present a case study of recent movers to a single affordable housing complex in New York City in which we assess residents' relationships with others and the access to social resources that these relationships provide. We focus on two dimensions: (1) the structure of social networks (for example, composition, range, and density) and (2) the content of local relationships—specifically, the extent to which residents exchange different kinds of support or resources with neighbors. This case study is a first step toward understanding the personal networks of the population served by affordable housing and the ways that these housing programs shape the social lives of low-income, nonpoor households.

Background

Housing subsidy programs may improve the life chances of residents through multiple pathways. By ensuring affordable rents, these programs make recipients less likely to experience housing-induced poverty (Stone, 2006) and possibly better able to meet critical expenses. By accessing better quality units, either in the private market with the use of a voucher or by moving to newly constructed subsidized developments, residents may be less likely to be exposed to environmental hazards that pose a direct risk to health (Acevedo-Garcia et al., 2004). By moving out of concentrated poverty and into higher opportunity neighborhoods, families may gain access to safer streets (Ludwig et al., 2011) and better quality schools (Schwartz, 2010). Changes in social context that result from residential mobility may alter the personal networks of individuals and families, reducing the strain of draining relationships (Curley, 2009) and offering the opportunity to establish new relationships with better off neighbors (Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber, 2007). Because social networks not only shape the flow of social resources to individuals but also give rise to perceptions and behaviors, local networks may act as a primary mechanism by which broader neighborhood factors influence individual outcomes (Kleit, 2001; Wilson, 1987).

Although sustained attention has focused on former public housing residents' social networks and the changes that result from moving to mixed-income housing, little is known about the social lives of affordable-housing residents. A small number of studies include interviews with residents

of affordable housing in mixed-income developments. Chaskin and Joseph (2011) reported that renters of affordable housing units are similar in life circumstances to former public housing residents, whereas owners of affordable units are similar to market-rate owners and renters. Tach (2009) focused on the differences between “newcomers” and “long-term” residents; although most long-term residents were in the lowest income stratum, both groups included some households with incomes that would qualify them for affordable housing. These studies suggest that former public housing residents and affordable-housing renters may face similar challenges to forming meaningful relationships with more affluent neighbors, but existing data are too limited to understand fully the particular opportunities or constraints that affordable-housing residents face. To understand the potential effect of these programs on the well-being of recipients and their potential utility as higher income neighbors in mixed-income settings, it is essential to develop a better understanding of their personal networks—their composition and range, the prevalence of ties to neighbors near and far, and the use value of these relationships for both getting by and getting ahead.

Network Structure

Access to social resources is determined in part by the composition of one’s social network and the properties of the network as a whole, including the range of the network, strength of ties, level of reciprocity, and density of the network (Lin, 2000). The structure of networks facilitates some opportunities and behaviors and constrains others. Dense networks (wherein most of the individuals know one another and few others outside the group) are generally composed of similar individuals and characterized by high levels of trust and mutual obligation that foster the sharing of available resources and effective social control (Briggs, 1998; Coleman, 1988). The kind of interdependence that is typical of dense, bonding networks, however, can produce negative consequences for its members. Individuals can be overburdened by the demands of their obligations to others even when favors are likely to be returned, particularly in a setting where individuals are frequently in need of support because of precarious finances or personal instability. Curley (2009) reported that relocated public housing residents are less likely to form relationships with new neighbors to preserve precious resources and avoid potentially “draining” ties. Solidarity among group members who bond over shared adversity may face a downward leveling of norms, whereby individual successes are viewed as unlikely or impossible (Portes, 1998). Perhaps most importantly, dense networks are likely to convey redundant information and lack bridges to outside resources (Burt, 1992) such that advice and assistance lead to the reproduction, rather than the improvement, of life circumstances (Granovetter, 1995).

By contrast, wide-ranging networks comprising weak ties are more likely to serve individuals by broadening knowledge and access to information, facilitating connections to other resources through brokered ties, and generally increasing one’s competitive edge (Burt, 2001; Granovetter, 1973). Strong and weak ties serve individuals and families in different ways, but it has been suggested that the presence of these bridging ties is particularly critical for low-income residents’ upward mobility (Briggs, 1998). Although weak ties have been identified as beneficial for securing work and job advancement (Granovetter, 1973), these types of relationships are less likely to provide sustained support to individuals, who thus may require a larger network to achieve the same levels of engagement provided by fewer strong ties. Larger networks require maintenance and may be less likely to fulfill obligations, making them costly for individuals to acquire and sustain (Burt, 1992).

Relationship Content

Whereas network structure defines the extent of available resources (opportunity) and propensity for certain relations to be engaged, relationship content focuses on activated ties and the prevalence of use for specific instrumental action (Hurlbert, Beggs, and Haines, 2001). In this article, we examine three types of support, each of which may benefit low-income residents in different ways.

Emotional, or expressive, support includes those actions related to general caring, empathy, or sharing between trusted individuals or confidants. The presence or absence of this type of support has been shown to have both direct and indirect effects on well-being (Berkman, 1995; House, 1981) and may be particularly salient for helping low-income households cope with both acute and chronic stress (Thoits, 2011). *Instrumental* support is the provision of practical assistance, either in the form of small favors or more substantial commitment of resources. This form of assistance may convey critical resources to low-income residents who lack financial resources and frequently live at the margin, enabling individuals to acquire services or goods not otherwise attainable because of limited means (Edin and Lein, 1997; Venkatesh, 2006). *Informational* support is the provision of knowledge or information that enables people to help themselves.⁶ Obtaining knowledge through one's network may be less costly than acquiring it on one's own (Coleman, 1988); however, for low-income households, the value of this type of support is likely contingent on whether it provides new information not otherwise available (Hurlbert, Beggs, and Haines, 2001) and on the extent to which it affords opportunities or advantages (Granovetter, 1995; Henley, Danziger, and Offer, 2005).

Affordable Housing and Social Networks

Lower income households have been shown to have small, locally based networks that are primary sources of emotional and instrumental support (Campbell and Lee, 1992; Fischer, 1982; Stack, 1974). Residential mobility may disrupt existing neighbor networks, leading some households to make secondary moves to be closer to family and friends who provide emotional and instrumental support (Boyd, 2008). Research on relocated public housing residents' exchanges with new neighbors is mixed. Some research shows that interactions in the new location are mostly casual and limited to exchanges within income and tenure groups (Chaskin, 2013; Chaskin and Joseph, 2011). Rasiniski, Lee, and Haggerty (2010), however, showed that residents engage with new neighbors in a variety of activities related to help and advice, and most of the long-term residents studied by Tach (2009) reported instrumental support exchanges with neighborhood-based networks. Kleit (2010) found substantially lower rates of neighboring after relocation off site but reported little change in access to social support among English speakers. This finding underscores Haines et al.'s (2011) point that neighborhood ties make up a minimal proportion of the typical network and therefore should not be viewed in isolation from the broader set of social relationships and resources available.

Affordable-housing residents may be less socially isolated than the lowest income households that qualify for public housing or vouchers. Because income and social network size generally have a positive association, these less poor households may have larger social networks overall. Higher rates of labor force participation may provide opportunities for a wider range of relationships,

⁶ In this article, informational support includes *appraisal* support, sometimes defined separately as the sharing of information that helps people evaluate themselves. For a discussion, see Tardy (1985).

including coworkers and employers. These same factors may also make it less likely that affordable-housing residents' networks are locally bound—many or even most of their relationships may be with individuals who live in other parts of the city or country. If so, moving to affordable housing may not alter their relationships in any significant way. On the other hand, residents who share the experience of applying for affordable housing, move to a newly constructed building (and sometimes also a new neighborhood) within a few months of one another, and live in close proximity under the same roof may share enough common experiences to form relationships with one another.

Establishing relationships with neighbors may benefit affordable-housing residents even if they do not exhibit the kind of social isolation often associated with the most disadvantaged households. Forming local ties may generally increase residents' sense of belonging and ease the transition to life in a new building and, in many cases, a new neighborhood. Ties to other low-income working neighbors who face similar challenges may facilitate the sharing of strategies and resources that help individuals and families to buffer stress and manage everyday challenges. Weak ties to neighbors, particularly with those who are better off, may augment existing relationships and thereby provide access to additional resources or new information that creates opportunities and promotes upward mobility over time.

Data and Methods

Data were gathered from 120 residents who moved to a newly constructed affordable rental housing complex developed as part of NHMP. Study participants applied to a housing lottery that allocated 241 affordable rental units⁷ in two midrise buildings. Each of the 241 households that received housing through the lottery was recruited for an interview approximately 4 years after applying for housing; the data analyzed in this article are limited to those households that accepted the offer of affordable housing and continued to live in the complex through the time of interview.⁸ We recruited the head of household, defined for the purpose of this study as the individual who completed the initial housing application. In some cases, the head of household was unavailable, was not English proficient, or preferred not to be interviewed. For these households (N = 7), we recruited another adult member of the household if that person was part of the original household that moved to the study site (that is, was listed on the initial housing application). The response rate was 64 percent.⁹ Face-to-face interviews were conducted in the home, at the project's offices, or at another location based on the preference of the respondent. Interviews lasted approximately 50 minutes and included a series of name-generator and name-interpreter loops to create the

⁷ Additional affordable housing units in these two buildings were allocated to eligible households that did not apply through the housing lottery.

⁸ In the present analysis, we exclude 18 households that no longer lived at the affordable housing complex.

⁹ Of the 241 households, 18 were defined as out of scope because of language (that is, the householder was not English proficient and no other adult household members were eligible). An additional 4 households were deemed out of scope for the present analysis, including 1 that was unable to provide informed consent and 3 in which the household member who was interviewed was not on the original housing application. Another 14 households had unknown eligibility status. In these cases, the identity of the household could not be confirmed for reasons such as a language barrier, no contact established after several attempts, or the householder no longer lived in the sampled unit but could not be confirmed as living somewhere else in the complex or having moved elsewhere. The final response rate is calculated using the American Association for Public Opinion Research Standard Definitions, Response Rate 5 (AAPOR, 2011), which excludes ineligible and unknown eligible households from the denominator. Our final response rate is calculated as 120 completed interviews / (120 completed interviews + 1 incomplete interview + 66 refusals) = 64 percent.

egocentric network data analyzed in this article. All interviews were conducted in English.¹⁰ All protocols and materials for this study were approved by the Institutional Review Board at Teachers College, Columbia University (Protocol #12-175).

Interview data were linked to additional secondary data collected before move-in, which were used to describe the population served. Baseline data were obtained via a self-administered questionnaire completed before the final determination of eligibility for housing (87 percent of the respondents analyzed in this article also participated in the baseline survey), via self-report information obtained from the housing application, and via other data collected by the housing developer as part of the screening process (administrative data were available for all 120 participating households). Exhibit 1 presents basic descriptives of the study population. Affordable units include studio, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom units, with mover households ranging from one to four people. At the time of the interview, 37 percent of the households had one or more coresident children and 29 percent were single-person households. Most respondents were female, with a median age of 40 at the time of interview. Overall, this population is educated, with 49 percent completing a 4-year college degree or beyond. At the time they were interviewed, 76 percent of respondents were working for pay; the median household income was \$45,000.¹¹

Exhibit 1

Study Population (1 of 2)

Study Participants	Number	Percent
Race/ethnicity^a		
White, non-Hispanic	32	27
Black, non-Hispanic	11	9
Hispanic	60	50
Asian, non-Hispanic	6	5
Other	11	9
Female^a	86	72
Median age^a		40
Education^a		
High school diploma or less	24	22
Some college/associate's degree	35	29
4-year college degree or beyond	59	49
Household size^a		
Single-person household	35	29
One adult with coresident child(ren)	11	9
Average household size		2.3
Coresident child(ren)^a		
Number of children		
None	76	63
One	21	18
Two	17	14
Three or more	6	5
Median percentage of HUD Income Limits (baseline)^{b, d}		76

¹⁰ As a result, 18 households were defined as out of scope because they were not English proficient.

¹¹ Employment status was not collected for other adult members of the household; therefore, it is likely that a greater proportion of households has at least one wage earner than reported here.

Exhibit 1

Study Population (2 of 2)

Study Participants	Number	Percent
Median household income		
At baseline ^b		\$46,298
At followup ^a		\$45,000
Currently working for pay^a	91	76
Section 8		
At baseline ^c	21	18
At followup ^a	17	14
Neighborhood safety		
Baseline neighborhood is very safe/safe ^e	78	76
Current neighborhood is very safe/safe ^a	109	91
Housing quality^f		
No maintenance deficiencies at baseline ^e	28	27
No maintenance deficiencies at followup ^a	90	75
Number	120	100

HUD = U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

^a Followup data come from self-report information obtained during the in-person interview.

^b Baseline data come from administrative data confirmed by the housing developer as part of the housing eligibility screening process.

^c Baseline data come from self-report information contained in the initial application for housing.

^d Using fiscal year 2009 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Income Limits for the New York Metro Fair Market Rent area.

^e Baseline data come from self-report on baseline self-administered questionnaire (SAQ). Percent shown as proportion of total completing SAQ (N = 103).

^f Housing quality measured by self-report for any of four maintenance deficiencies: (1) lack of heat for 6 hours or more during past winter, (2) lack of hot water for 3 hours or more in past year, (3) the number of cockroaches seen in the home on a typical day (none is considered no maintenance deficiency here), and (4) seeing any signs of mice or rats in the building in the past 90 days.

Study Site

The affordable housing units in our study site were targeted to low-income households, as defined by HUD, with earnings at the time of initial qualification for housing ranging between 69 and 80 percent of HUD Income Limits, depending on household size and the unit type for which they qualified.¹² Of the participating households, 21 applied with a Section 8 voucher, which enabled them to meet eligibility guidelines with a lower household income than would otherwise be required.

The study site includes two midrise buildings containing affordable rental units on either side of a single block that terminates in a large public waterfront park. Each building is next to a luxury condominium tower that sits between the affordable-housing building and the park. Both affordable-housing buildings have elevators, and no stairs are required to enter the buildings or reach any of the units. Each building has a single point of entry that opens into a small lobby area where mailboxes for all residents are located. The street frontage of the buildings is a substantial portion of the block face, with the entrance doors midblock on either side of the street. People come and go at most times of the day and evening, and residents regularly pass one another at the entrance or immediately in front of the buildings.

¹² Qualifying incomes ranged from a minimum of \$37,370 for a household of one (studio unit) to a maximum of \$61,450 for a family of four (two-bedroom unit).

The two buildings with affordable housing units are typical in design and include no features that would specifically encourage neighborly interaction—that is, no community room or outdoor space shared by residents and no seating in the lobby areas; however, several respondents mentioned during the course of the interviews a common laundry room in the basement of each building as a place where they frequently see neighbors. The complex allows pets, which is not typical for newly constructed affordable housing in New York City. Of study participants, 21 percent reported having a dog, which increases foot traffic to and from the building and also provides an opportunity for residents to see one another on the street when they walk their dogs. Dog owners reported walking their pet an average of 2.5 times per day.

All study participants moved to the study site approximately 3 1/2 years before being interviewed, although some had moved to another unit in the complex (N = 14), including 6 who moved between the two affordable-housing buildings and 8 who moved within the same building. When they applied for housing, 42 percent of respondents lived in the community district¹³ where the study site is located. For these households, the average length of residence in the community was 14.7 years at the time of the interview compared with 3.8 years for those households that moved from another neighborhood in New York City.

Residents reported improvements in both neighborhood safety and housing quality relative to where they lived when they applied for housing. The vast majority of all respondents—91 percent—rated the streets at night in the study site neighborhood as either “very safe” or “safe.” At baseline, 76 percent of respondents reported their neighborhood as “very safe” or “safe” at night. At the time of the followup interview, 75 percent of residents reported no maintenance deficiencies in their affordable housing unit (no instances of heating breakdown, loss of hot water, signs of rodents in the building, or cockroaches in the home). At baseline, only 27 percent reported no maintenance deficiencies in their home.

Social Network Measures and Analytic Strategy

We captured data on three types of networks: the overall network of the respondent (“ego”) regardless of geographic proximity, relationships with individuals who lived within the same neighborhood (as defined by the respondent), and ties to neighbors within the same building. Exhibit 2 shows the overall structure and flow of the interview modules.

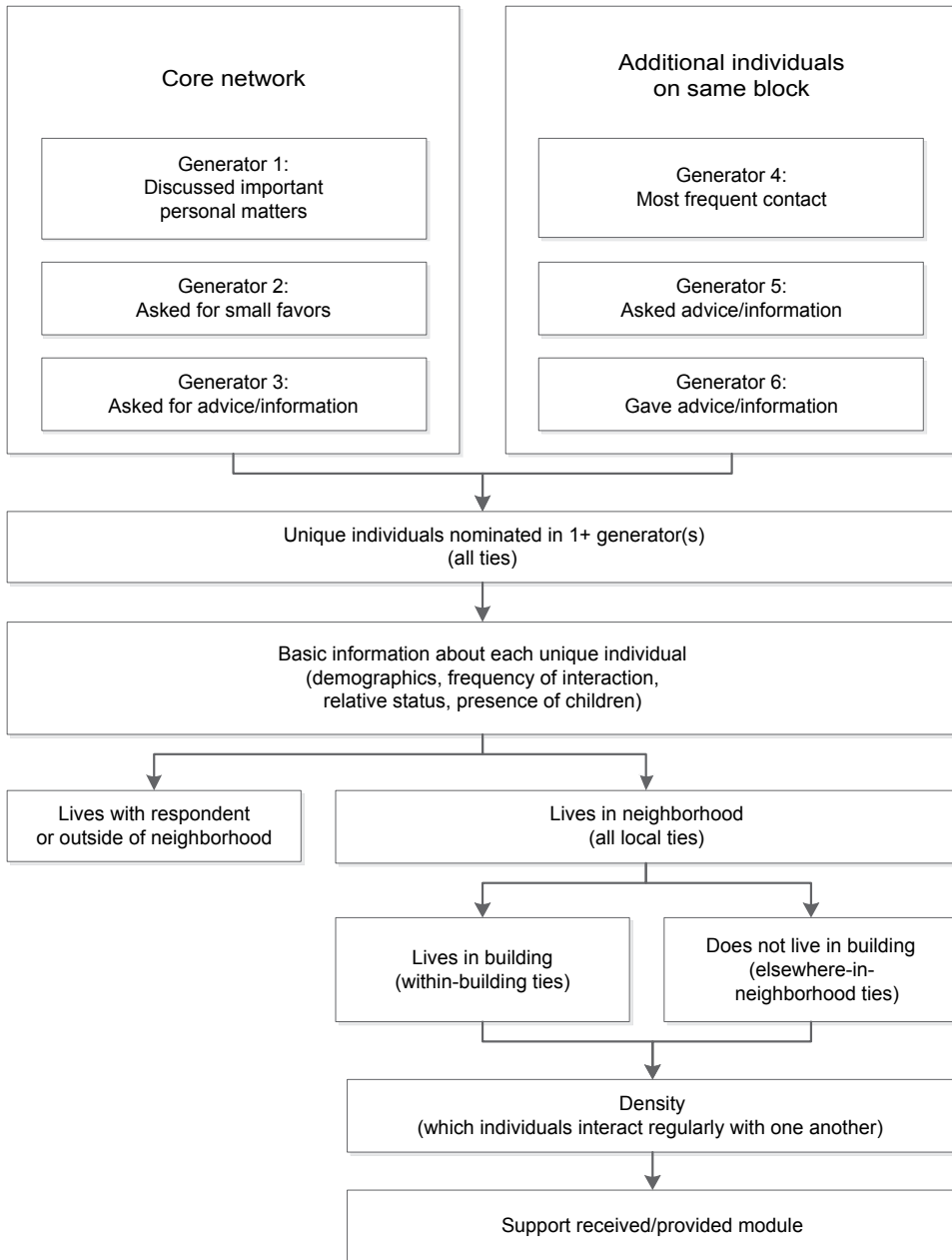
Six name generators enabled respondents to nominate a maximum of 18 individuals. Up to 3 names were captured¹⁴ for each of the following: (1) people with whom the respondent discussed an important personal matter in the last 6 months, (2) people the respondent asked for small favors in the last 2 months, and (3) people the respondent asked for advice or information in the last 12 months. Individuals named in these three generators are considered the respondent’s *core network*

¹³ A community district is an administrative boundary used by the City of New York to allocate municipal resources and define local political representation. These boundaries roughly correspond to Public Use Microdata Areas; New York City contains 59 community districts. Affordable housing that is allocated through a lottery process, such as the units studied in this article, include a 50 percent set-aside for qualified applicants who live in the community district where the study site is located.

¹⁴ For the first three generators (the core network), respondents were able to name as many individuals as they chose, but only the first three were captured for each generator. For the final three generators (those limited to people on the same block), the respondent was specifically asked to name up to three individuals for each generator.

Exhibit 2

Interview Flow and Definitions



and were not limited to a specific geography (that is, they could name anyone regardless of where s/he lived). Because we were particularly interested in neighbor ties, we also asked the respondent to nominate up to 3 individuals who live *on the same block* for each of the following: (4) neighbors with whom the respondent interacted most frequently, (5) any other neighbors not already named from whom the respondent sought advice or information, and (6) any other neighbors not already named to whom the respondent provided advice or information. Respondents were able to nominate the same individual more than once; however, the final network comprised only unique individuals (“alters,” or “ties”) named in one or more of the six generators.

Basic information was collected for each unique individual who was named, including the tie’s relationship to the respondent, whether the tie was the same race or ethnicity as the respondent, the gender of the tie, and whether the tie was foreign born. We also asked whether the tie had one or more children younger than 18 years old, whether the respondent thought the tie was generally “better off, worse off, or about the same” as the respondent, and the frequency of interaction between the respondent and the tie. The question about interaction included visiting face to face, talking on the phone, e-mailing, and texting. Frequency was measured using a six-item categorical variable coded to estimate the total number of interactions per year, with “every day” coded as 365.25 interactions (to account for leap years), “a few times a week” coded as 156, “once a week” coded as 52, “once a month” coded as 12, “a few times a year” coded as 5, and “less than once a year” coded as 1 interaction.

For each unique individual, we asked geographic proximity (for example, in the same household, neighborhood, or building). Any tie who lived with the respondent was treated as part of the overall social network but was excluded from calculations of building and neighborhood networks.¹⁵ More detailed information was collected for each individual who lived in the same neighborhood as the respondent (*local tie*). The density of the local network was derived from information gathered on which of the local ties interacted regularly with other individuals in the respondent’s network; all answers were treated as symmetrical and assumed to be undirected—that is, if the respondent indicated that one tie interacted regularly with another person, the data were coded so that the other person also interacted regularly with the tie. We define *density* as the proportion of ties who interact regularly with one another, ranging from 0 (none of the ties interact) to 1 (all the ties interact regularly).

Content and activation were measured using 18 true-or-false statements such as “I have loaned money to _____” and “_____ has loaned money to me.” Each interaction was coded as falling into one of six categories: expressive, instrumental, or informational support and the direction of the interaction—provided or received by the respondent. Two additional measures were coded based on whether the respondent had named the local tie in one of the core generators that corresponded to the true-or-false statement for the provision of that type of support. If the local tie was named for that generator, it was coded the same way as if the respondent had indicated “true.” Exhibit 3 lists each of these items and their corresponding category.

The interview data were used to generate two complementary datasets: (1) a respondent-level dataset of 120 individuals and their overall network characteristics (for example, composition, homophily,

¹⁵ Coresident family represents a minimal proportion of all nominated individuals. See exhibit 3.

Exhibit 3

Activation Items Asked of Local Ties

Received by Ego	Provided by Ego
Expressive/emotional support	
[NAME] has invited me into his/her home. (1)	I have invited [NAME] into my home. [NAME] has come to me to talk about important personal matters.
Instrumental support	
[NAME] has loaned money to me. [NAME] has taken care of, babysat, or hosted a playdate for my child at least once.*	I have loaned money to [NAME]. I have taken care of, babysat, or hosted a playdate for [NAME]'s child at least once.**
Informational support	
(2) [NAME] has given me advice about childcare, or finding a school or tutor for my child.* [NAME] has given me advice about my job, work, or finding a new job. I have talked to [NAME] about a neighborhood issue or improvement. I have talked to [NAME] about an issue or improvement in my home or housing situation. [NAME] has given me advice about finding or applying to housing in New York City.	[NAME] has asked me for advice or information. I have given [NAME] advice about childcare, or finding a school or tutor for his/her child.** I have given [NAME] advice about his/her job, work, or finding a new job. [NAME] has talked to me about a neighborhood issue or improvement. [NAME] has talked to me about an issue or improvement in his/her home or housing situation. I have given [NAME] advice about finding or applying to housing in New York City.

* Asked only of respondents who had one or more children younger than age 18.

** Asked only when local tie had one or more children younger than age 18.

Note: Local tie(s) nominated in the following generator were treated as if the respondent has reported "true" for the statement: (1) Generator 1: From time to time, most people discuss important matters with other people. Looking back over the last 6 months, who are the people with whom you discussed an important personal matter? (2) Generator 3: From time to time, we seek out people for advice or information about a question or an issue. In the last 2 months, who are the people you have gone to for advice or information?

range, geographic proximity ties, and activation for specific types of support) and (2) a dataset comprising the 282 building ties named by the 120 respondents.¹⁶ For this second dataset, we employed logistic regression models to estimate the odds ratios of the respondent receiving or providing each of the three main types of support: expressive, instrumental, and informational. These models used robust standard errors to account for multiple ties within a given respondent's network. For these analyses, frequency of interaction with the individual was group centered based on the mean frequency of interaction within the given network. Outcomes were coded based on the items listed in exhibit 3, with binary values indicating whether one or more of the items were coded as "true" for each type and direction. All data are unweighted.

The social network data analyzed here are cross-sectional. As such, the present study does not attempt to draw any conclusions about changes in social networks or the effect of moving to affordable

¹⁶ Of all respondents, 15 did not nominate any within-building ties, including 8 who did not name any local ties and 4 who did not nominate any ties at all. These cases are therefore included in all descriptive analyses but excluded from the tie-level dataset and corresponding statistical models.

housing on social connectedness. The nature of the affordable-housing selection process makes it very unlikely that any two residents knew each other before moving to the study site; however, we cannot assess net changes in social networks or whether these relationships may have formed even in the absence of moving to this particular housing complex. We focus on describing the social context of this low-income population, including the characteristics of individual networks and the use value of interactions for particular ends.

Findings

Social Networks of Low-Income Working Households

Exhibit 4 shows descriptive statistics for the average network composition, including all ties regardless of geographic proximity and separately for all local ties. We also parse local ties into those who live in the same building as the respondent (“same building”) or in the neighborhood but not in the same building as the respondent (“elsewhere in neighborhood”).

Exhibit 4

Social Network Range and Composition, by Geographic Proximity to Respondent

Residents of Affordable Housing Complex (N = 120)	Lives in Same Neighborhood			
	All Ties	All Local Ties	Same Building	Elsewhere in Neighborhood
Network size				
Average number of unique ties named ^a	5.9	3.2	2.4	0.8
Percent of all unique ties named	100	54	40	14
Average number of unique ties in core network ^a	3.8	1.2	0.6	0.6
Percent of all unique ties in core network	65	32	16	16
Frequency of contact (interactions per year)				
Average annual frequency of contact	149	97	78	155
Composition (%)				
Family within same household ^b	7	NA	NA	NA
Family outside the household	27	14	4	41
Nonkin ties outside the household	73	86	96	59
Same race or ethnicity as respondent	64	56	52	69
Same gender as respondent	66	71	70	75
Female	63	68	70	64
Foreign born	36	33	31	40
Has children younger than age 18	33	41	44	30
Status relative to respondent (%)^c				
Better off	30	24	19	31
About the same	51	54	56	55
Worse off	13	12	12	11
Density (%)	NA	31	34	10

NA = not applicable.

^a Capped at 3 people for each name generator; maximum core members = 9; maximum overall members = 18.

^b Coresident family members are excluded from all local ties, same building, and elsewhere in neighborhood calculations.

^c May not add to 100 percent because of item nonresponse.

Overall, respondents living in affordable housing reported an average network size of 5.9 unique people, including 3.8 people in the core network. The average annual frequency of contact with all ties was 149 interactions, equivalent to between two and three times per week. On average, one-third of unique ties are kin, comprising mainly family members from outside the respondent's household. The demographics of nominated individuals show that residents of affordable housing interact with similar individuals. On average, 64 percent of ties are identified as being the same race or ethnicity as the respondent and 66 percent are the same gender—most of whom are female. The average network comprises mostly people whom the respondent indicated as being generally “about the same”; 30 percent of the ties in the average network are “better off” and 13 percent are “worse off.”

Neighbor Networks

Local ties—unique individuals who live in the same neighborhood as the respondent—represent 32 percent of the average core network and 54 percent of the average overall network. Respondents interact less frequently with local ties than with the overall network, with an average frequency of 97 interactions per year, or between one and two times per week. A lesser, but still substantial, portion of local ties are kin. The average local network shows a lesser proportion that is the same race or ethnicity and a greater proportion that is the same gender than the overall network but remains consistent with the pattern that people interact primarily with similar individuals. Most local ties are doing “about the same” as the respondent. On average, local networks show a relatively low level of density;¹⁷ 31 percent of local ties interact regularly with one another.

As exhibit 4 shows, focusing generally on local or neighborhood ties fails to capture important differences between relationships with ties who live within the same residential building and those who live elsewhere in the neighborhood.¹⁸ People interact less frequently with ties from within the same building—on average, 78 times a year compared with 155 times a year with ties who live elsewhere. A lesser proportion of the average building network are kin, the same race or ethnicity, the same gender, or better off, whereas a greater proportion has coresident children. Building networks have a substantially greater average density than the networks of those who live elsewhere in the neighborhood—34 compared with 10 percent.

Although the proportion of within-building ties in the average core network is similar to the proportion of ties who live elsewhere in the neighborhood (16 percent for both groups), fewer of the total within-building ties named are primary ties or those named in the core network. On average,

¹⁷ Using the General Social Survey social network data, Marsden (1987) reported an average density of 0.61 compared with averages of 0.44 in Fisher's (1982) study and 0.33 in Wellman and Wortley's (1989) study of Toronto residents. In these studies, density is defined as the proportion of ties who are especially close to one another, rather than our more liberal measurement of the proportion of ties who interact regularly (regardless of emotional connection).

¹⁸ Too few respondents named no building ties in their personal network to analyze separately ($N = 15$); however, exploratory analysis suggests that these individuals differed in key ways from those who had at least one building relationship. Those with no building ties were more likely to have moved from within the community, to have more kin ties, and to have a lower household income at followup. Although they had, on average, smaller networks (on average they named 2.8 total ties), their networks generally included a greater share of relationships with ties who are better off, and they reported receiving expressive, instrumental, and informational support from a greater proportion of their network than those who named one or more affordable-housing residents in their network.

0.6 out of 2.4 within-building ties were named in the core network versus 0.6 ties out of 0.8 ties who live elsewhere in the neighborhood—25 versus 75 percent, respectively. When asked how many people in the building the respondent considered a close friend, the typical response was none (the average was 1.2). When asked about their reliance on neighbors in the building, most respondents did not perceive people they knew in the affordable-housing building to be essential resources; 61 percent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, “I would have a hard time getting by without the help or assistance my neighbors provide,” and 68 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, “I rely on the people I know in my building a lot.”¹⁹

At face value, these findings appear to mirror previous work on relocated public housing residents, which found limited interaction among neighbors; however, the fact that residents are less well-connected to other building residents than to those who live in the surrounding neighborhood or beyond does not necessarily mean that they do not convey resources or help to support the daily lives of residents. To the extent that building ties augment other relationships, they may represent a unique source of support, resources, or (new) information not otherwise available to low-income individuals and also help to connect residents with others.

Receipt and Provision of Support Among Neighbors

To investigate the content of these relationships, we calculated whether the respondent provided or received one or more instances of expressive, instrumental, or informational support with each local tie. Exhibit 5 presents summary statistics for the proportion of local ties who were activated for specific ends, including the subsets of ties who live in the same building and who live elsewhere in the neighborhood. Overall, we find that most relationships with neighbors include instances of one or more types of support but that the specific utility and directionality of the relationship varies according to proximity.

We see lower rates of social exchange with neighbors from the same building than with those who live elsewhere. Respondents exchanged (received and provided) support of one or more types with 81 percent of within-building ties compared with 96 percent of ties who lived elsewhere in the community. In general, affordable-housing residents provided support to a greater share of within-building ties than the share of those from whom they received support or assistance. This pattern is seen across all three types of support and shows the potential for within-building ties to tax the limited resources of residents; however, 85 percent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, “Sometimes I feel overwhelmed by the help or assistance I provide to my neighbors.”

Affordable-housing residents exchange instrumental support with the smallest share of local ties, which is particularly true of within-building networks. Residents exchange informational support with the greatest share of ties; on average, they exchange information with 70 percent of their within-building network and with 93 percent of their network ties who live elsewhere in the neighborhood. Although residents exchange all three types of support with a smaller share of their within-building network than with ties who live elsewhere, it is clear that residents of affordable housing do interact with one another and that these relationships convey varied types of support and sharing of resources.

¹⁹ Respondents were read six statements about the people they knew in their building and asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed with each using a five-point Likert scale: strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree.

Exhibit 5

Activation of Local Ties, by Type and Direction

Residents of Affordable Housing Complex (N = 120)	Lives in Same Neighborhood		
	All Local Ties	Same Building	Elsewhere in Neighborhood
Expressive/emotional (%)			
Received only	5	5	4
Provided only	12	14	7
Reciprocal exchange	61	55	86
Instrumental (%)			
Received only	7	3	17
Provided only	10	8	12
Reciprocal exchange	14	13	21
Informational (%)			
Received only	3	3	0
Provided only	11	12	5
Reciprocal exchange	74	70	93
One or more types of support (%)			
Received only	3	3	2
Provided only	7	7	3
Reciprocal exchange	83	81	96
Average number of ties	3.2	2.4	0.8

Note: Coresident family members are excluded from these calculations.

Neighbor Characteristics and the Likelihood of Interaction

To assess what individual characteristics are associated with certain types of support, we used a complementary dataset of each building tie²⁰ named by one of the 105 affordable-housing residents in the study who nominated one or more unique individuals who lived at the same address. Exhibit 6 presents a series of logistic regression models that estimate the odds of providing or receiving each type of support.

Overall, being the same gender and same race or ethnicity as the respondent is significantly associated with greater odds of expressive support (received or provided) but not of instrumental or informational support. Household composition—specifically, both the respondent and the local tie having one or more coresident children—is significantly associated with greater odds of receiving and providing all three types of support, particularly instrumental support. Frequency of interaction is significantly associated with greater odds of receiving emotional and instrumental support and of providing instrumental support, but not with the odds of receiving informational support or of providing emotional or informational support. Because sustained attention has focused on the proposed benefits of more affluent neighbors, particularly for access to information and job contacts, we include a binary variable for whether the respondent indicated the tie was generally better off. Relative status and the odds of providing or receiving any of the three types of support exhibit no statistically significant association.

²⁰ Individual ties remained anonymous; therefore, more than one respondent may have nominated the same individual.

Exhibit 6

Odds of Providing or Receiving Support, by Type

Characteristics of Building Tie	Received by Respondent ^a			Provided by Respondent ^b		
	Emotional	Instrumental	Informational	Emotional	Instrumental	Informational
Same gender	1.9*	1.3	1.1	2.0*	0.8	1.2
Same race or ethnicity	2.1*	1.4	1.3	2.4**	1.3	1.3
Both have one or more children	3.0**	11.1***	2.6*	2.0^	10.6***	2.9*
Interact more frequently than with other ties	3.6**	4.2**	1.7	1.5	2.1^	2.1
Tie is better off relative to respondent	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.2	0.6
N (total building ties)	282	282	282	282	282	282

[^] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

^a Logistic regression models use robust standard errors. Data are limited to 105 respondents who named one or more within-building ties.

^b Average proportion of building ties activated for specific type and direction on support.

We further examined what characteristics are associated with specific forms of information received by the respondent, both because informational support was the most prevalent form of exchange between residents and because research and policy have focused heavily on the potential benefits of neighbors who may act as informational resources. Exhibit 7 presents a series of models that examine the association between the characteristics of building ties and the odds of the respondent receiving information or advice about five different topics. Both the respondent and tie having one or more children is positively associated with receiving information about school or childcare and housing, but not with receiving work and job information or discussing a neighborhood issue. Although respondents are more likely to seek information about childcare or finding a school or tutor for their children from a neighbor who is better off (odds ratio = 3.0, $p < .05$), they are no more likely to receive advice about their job, work, or finding a new job, nor about neighborhood issues, housing issues, or a housing search.

Exhibit 7

Odds of Receiving Information

Characteristics of Building Tie	Specific Types of Informational Support Received by Respondent				
	Work/Job Search	Childcare/School ^a	Neighborhood Issue	Housing Issue	Housing Search
Same gender	1.4	2.9*	1.2	1.4	2.0
Same race or ethnicity	1.8^	0.8	0.7	1.4	1.2
Both have one or more children	1.3	6.4***	1.5	2.3*	3.3**
Interact more frequently than with other ties	2.0^	1.4	3.0*	1.7	3.1**
Tie is better off relative to respondent	1.6	3.0*	1.0	1.4	0.9
N (total building ties)	281	117	281	281	281

[^] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Notes: Logistic regression models use robust standard errors. Data are limited to 104 respondents who named one or more within-building ties and gave valid responses to informational resources questions.

^a Limited to 38 respondents who had one or more coresident children, named one or more within-building ties, and gave valid responses to informational resources questions.

Discussion

Affordable-housing residents in our case study are socially connected to a range of individuals who include family, friends, and neighbors. Although the average network is relatively homogenous regarding race and ethnicity and, particularly, gender, greater diversity exists in terms of relative status—on average, 30 percent of ties are better off and 13 percent are worse off. Slightly less than one-half of the average overall network consists of ties to individuals who live outside of the residents’ community. Affordable-housing residents do not appear to have the kind of dense, potentially redundant, and locally bound networks that are often ascribed to lower income households.

Ties with those who live in the neighborhood but not in the same building are similar to an individual’s overall network in terms of homophily, frequency of interaction, and relative status. For the average resident, 75 percent of these neighborhood ties were named in the core personal network. By contrast, ties to other affordable-housing residents in the same building differ in key ways from the characteristics of the rest of the network. Relationships in the building are somewhat more diverse, ties interact less frequently, and a smaller share of relationships are to others who are better off. Although within-building networks have a greater average density than those that comprise individuals living elsewhere in the neighborhood, the proportion that interacts regularly remains low. For the average network, only 25 percent of building ties were named in the core personal network.

Certain characteristics were associated with a greater likelihood of receipt or provision of support between affordable-housing residents. Expressive support is more likely between similar individuals; however, homophily is not associated with instrumental or informational support. Both ties

having one or more children is the factor that is mostly consistently associated with provision and receipt of support between building residents. This finding is consistent with other qualitative research that finds that children facilitate interaction across socioeconomic groups (Chaskin and Joseph, 2011) and improve access to other resources, such as childcare centers that act as brokers to other institutions and services (Small, 2009). Residents are significantly more likely to receive information about childcare or finding a school or tutor for their child from a building tie who is better off.

Although affordable-housing residents do not perceive a great degree of reliance on building ties and report few or no close friends in the building, we find meaningful interaction and exchange of multiple types of support that may help residents to both get by and get ahead. Taken together, this finding suggests that residents of affordable housing access a broad range of social resources, with relationships to neighbors in the building acting as supplemental or secondary ties. The value of these ties depends partly on the direct resources and knowledge of the individual and partly on the resources of others in the broader network. For this reason, it is less important that most building relationships are with ties who are doing about the same than it is that these ties, in turn, are connected to a range of others outside the building, many of whom are better off. Because residents exchange informational resources with a substantial proportion of their building network, it is important to consider if and how building networks facilitate access to new or different knowledge, rather than the mere exchange of information. In our case study, we see the potential for affordable-housing residents to benefit directly from exchanges with other building residents and indirectly by becoming connected to neighbors who have access to social resources. Whether these same processes would work in residential developments with a broader mix of incomes is unclear. More research is needed that examines the social lives of affordable-housing residents in different contexts. This research is particularly important if we are to understand how this population functions in complexes with a broader income mix and how policies can support greater social integration across income levels.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank their dedicated project team, particularly their field interviewers who contributed to this project. They also thank their anonymous reviewer for providing thoughtful feedback. This project is supported by U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development grant H-21613CA.

Authors

Elyzabeth Gaumer is the Director of Housing Policy Research and Program Evaluation at the Department of Housing Preservation and Development, City of New York.

Ahuva Jacobowitz is the Deputy Director of Housing Policy Research and Program Evaluation at the Department of Housing Preservation and Development, City of New York.

Jeanne Brooks-Gunn is the Virginia and Leonard Marx Professor of Child Development and Education at Teachers College and College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University.

References

- Acevedo-Garcia, Dolores, Teresa L. Osypuk, Rebecca E. Werbel, Ellen R. Meara, David M. Cutler, and Lisa F. Berkman. 2004. "Does Housing Mobility Policy Improve Health?" *Housing Policy Debate* 15 (1): 49–98.
- American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR). 2011. *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys*. Deerfield, IL: American Association for Public Opinion Research.
- Berkman, Lisa F. 1995. "The Role of Social Relations in Health Promotion," *Psychosomatic Medicine* 57 (3): 245–254.
- Boyd, Melody L. 2008. "The Role of Social Networks in Making Housing Choices: The Experience of the Gautreaux Two Residential Mobility Program," *Cityscape* 10 (1): 41–63.
- Briggs, Xavier. 1998. "Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital," *Housing Policy Debate* 9 (1): 177–221.
- Burt, Ronald S. 2001. "Structural Holes Versus Network Closure As Social Capital." In *Social Capital: Theory and Research*, edited by Nan Lin, Karen Cook, and Ronald S. Burt. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers: 31–56.
- . 1992. *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Campbell, Karen E., and Barrett A. Lee. 1992. "Sources of Personal Neighbor Networks: Social Integration, Need, or Time?" *Social Forces* 70 (4): 1077–1100.
- Chaskin, Robert J. 2013. "Integration and Exclusion: Urban Poverty, Public Housing Reform, and the Dynamics of Neighborhood Restructuring," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 647: 237–267.
- Chaskin, Robert J., and Mark L. Joseph. 2011. "Social Interaction in Mixed-Income Developments: Relational Expectations and Emerging Reality," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33 (2): 209–237.
- City of New York. 2014. *Housing New York: A Five-Borough, Ten-Year Plan*. New York: City of New York.
- . 2004. *The New Housing Marketplace Plan: Creating Housing for the Next Generation*. New York: City of New York.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94: S95–S120.
- Curley, Alexandra M. 2009. "Draining or Gaining? The Social Networks of Public Housing Movers in Boston," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 26 (2): 227–247.
- Edin, Kathryn, and Laura Lein. 1997. *Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-Wage Work*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Fisher, Claude. 1982. *To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Granovetter, Mark S. 1995. *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6): 1360–1380.

Haines, Valerie A., John J. Beggs, and Jeanne S. Hurlbert. 2011. "Neighborhood Disadvantage, Network Social Capital, and Depressive Symptoms," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 52 (1): 58–73.

Henley, Julia R., Sandra K. Danziger, and Shira Offer. 2005. "The Contribution of Social Support to the Material Well-Being of Low-Income Families," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67 (1): 122–140.

House, James S. 1981. *Work Stress and Social Support*. Boston: Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers.

Hurlbert, Jeanne S., John J. Beggs, and Valerie A. Haines. 2001. "Social Networks and Social Capital in Extreme Environments." In *Social Capital: Theory and Research*, edited by Nan Lin, Karen Cook, and Ronald S. Burt. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers: 209–232.

Joseph, Mark L., Robert J. Chaskin, and Henry S. Webber. 2007. "The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development," *Urban Affairs Review* 42 (3): 369–409.

Kleit, Rachel G. 2010. "Draining Ties: Tie Quality Versus Content in Low-Income Women's Social Networks When Displaced by Redevelopment," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 27 (4): 573–588.

———. 2005. "Hope VI New Communities: Neighborhood Relationships in Mixed-Income Housing," *Environment and Planning A* 37: 1413–1441.

———. 2001. "Neighborhood Relations in Suburban Scattered-Site and Clustered Public Housing," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23 (3–4): 409–430.

Levitan, Mark. 2013. *The CEO Poverty Measure: 2005–2011*. New York: City of New York.

Levy, Diane K., Zach McDade, and Kassie Bertumen. 2013. "Mixed-Income Living: Anticipated and Realized Benefits for Low-Income Households," *Cityscape* 15 (2): 15–28.

Lin, Nan. 2000. *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ludwig, Jens, Lisa Sanbonmatsu, Lisa Gennetian, Emma Adam, Greg J. Duncan, Lawrence Katz, Ronald Kessler, Jeffrey Kling, Stacy Tessler Lindau, Robert Whitaker, and Thomas W. McDade. 2011. "Neighborhoods, Obesity, and Diabetes—A Randomized Social Experiment," *New England Journal of Medicine* 365 (16): 1509–1519.

Marsden, Peter V. 1987. "Core Discussion Networks of Americans," *American Sociological Review* 52 (1): 122–131.

- Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 1–24.
- Rasinski, Kenneth A., Lisa Lee, and Catherine Haggerty. 2010. "Functional and Social Neighborhood Integration of Leaseholders Relocated Into Public and Private Housing by the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation," *Housing Policy Debate* 20 (1): 65–89.
- Schwartz, Heather. 2010. *Housing Policy Is School Policy: Economically Integrative Housing Promotes Academic Success in Montgomery County, MD*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Small, Mario L. 2009. *Unanticipated Gains: Origin of Network Inequality in Everyday Life*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Stack, Carol. 1974. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper.
- Stone, Michael E. 2006. "What Is Housing Affordability? The Case for the Residual Income Approach," *Housing Policy Debate* 17 (1): 151–184.
- Tach, Laura M. 2009. "More Than Bricks and Mortar: Neighborhood Frames, Social Processes, and the Mixed-Income Redevelopment of a Public Housing Project," *City & Community* 8 (3): 269–299.
- Tardy, Charles H. 1985. "Social Support Measurement," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13 (2): 187–202.
- Thoits, Peggy A. 2011. "Mechanisms Linking Social Ties and Support to Physical and Mental Health," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 52 (2): 145–161.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2011. *New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Venkatesh, Sudhir A. 2006. *Off the Books: The Underground Economy of the Urban Poor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wellman, Barry, and Scot Wortley. 1989. "Brothers' Keepers: Situating Kinship Relations in Broader Networks of Social Support," *Sociological Perspectives* 32 (3): 273–306.
- Wilson, William J. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.