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PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF HOME AMONG URBAN MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES WITH YOUNG CHILDREN

by

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ABSTRACT

Housing environments have been studied in a variety of ways. However, there has been no thorough understanding of which aspects of such environments are psychologically important in people's lives. The present research represents an attempt to construct an overview of the concept of 'home' in order to better understand how people think of housing environments, and ultimately, to better understand how the physical housing environment contributes to an individual's satisfaction, self-esteem, and well-being.

There were two stages in this research: in the first stage, several pilot studies served to generate eighty-five different meanings of home; and secondly, in the main study these meanings were sorted into groups based on their similarity of meaning. Through hierarchical cluster analysis, nine dimensions of meaning were interpreted from these data, including: home as a relationship with others, home as social network, home as self identity, home as a place of privacy and refuge, home as continuity, home as personalized place, home as a base of activity, home as childhood home, and home as physical structure.

Although this research may be described as a case study of adults in urban middle class families with young children, it is claimed that the results represent a generalizable overview to the psychological meanings of home. However, numerous situational influences on concepts of home are also established (e.g., sex, role in household, length of residence), leading to the theoretical implication that the above dimensions of meaning represent modes of categorizing housing environments. Future research directions are suggested.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This investigation represents an attempt to understand one aspect of the relationship between housing environments and people's lives. Specifically, it focuses on the concept of 'home' as a device to understand how people think about housing; thus, identifying various meanings of 'home' is seen as one part of the process of understanding how the physical housing environment contributes to an individual's satisfaction, self esteem, and well-being. If we can understand what people mean by 'home' and under what circumstances they apply this concept to their housing, then this research should be useful in identifying conceptually salient issues which can be applied to housing design, management, and future research.

This introductory chapter is used to present some background material relevant to psychological concepts of home. Initially, a theoretical orientation to the problem will be stated, and this will be followed by the underlying rationale for focusing on 'home.' Then some common meanings of 'home' will be reviewed and a wide range of literature will be used to postulate six categories of meaning--or conceptions--of 'home.' A final section in this chapter will pose the need for and the goal of the present study.

The first step in this research was to consider how housing, as an environment, might be studied. Although it is commonly agreed that environments have psychological importance in people's lives, opinion varies as to how one defines an environment and how one includes it in

the psychological study of human life. Many studies have ignored the physical aspects of environments altogether; others have attempted to relate selected environmental variables to particular psychological variables. For example, some housing variables have included: house form (Rapoport, 1969; Pyron, 1971, 1972; Canter & Thorne, 1972), household activity patterns (Chapin & Hightower, 1966), space use within dwellings (Hole & Attenburrow, 1966), personalization of dwellings (Van der Ryn & Silverstein, 1967; Laumann & House, 1970; Franck, Unseld, & Wentworth, 1974), semi-private areas within dwellings (Newman, 1972), housing site considerations (Gutman, 1966; Newman, 1972) and social interaction among neighbors (Festinger, Schacter, & Back, 1960; McCarthy & Saegert, 1976). Yet it should be noted that the meaning or definition of these variables for people other than the researcher is rarely questioned. Consequently, it has been argued (e.g., Bechtel, 1975) that there is a tendency for researchers to impose concepts and language on the individuals who are studied rather than to allow the individuals themselves to elaborate concepts which are important to them.

In an effort to identify psychologically significant and meaningful environmental factors, the present study explores how individuals define and conceptualize the environment, specifically, the housing environment. The intent is to focus on people's concepts of the housing environment rather than studying a strictly 'physical' environment since factors identified in this way should be able to serve as a foundation for a broader understanding of the relationships between physical settings and psychological experience. This approach, and the interest in the relationship between physical settings and psychological experience,

relies on the theoretical orientation of Ittelson (1960, 1973), who has emphasized the value of perceptual and conceptual processes when studying environments and environmental relationships. Similarly, the theoretical orientation of Franck, Unseld, and Wentworth (1974, 1976) provides a foundation for this approach:

> A basic premise guiding our research is that environment, behavior, and experience are interrelated phenomena. Experience of the environment derives from transactions between people and their settings. Thus, we characterize the adjustment of newcomers as a "process of construction" to emphasize that they constructed their experience of the environment through action that was guided by feelings, beliefs, expectations, and goals. . . .the reality which the newcomer experiences is not simply something "out there" independent of his relationship to it (Franck, Unseld, & Wentworth, 1976: 29, 30).

This theoretical orientation suggests the potential value of studying people's concepts of the housing environment, rather than studying some other measurable (but perhaps less meaningful) aspects of housing environments.

A wide range of literature about housing was consulted in search of established or suggested relationships between psychological experience and residential environments. A few sources suggested that people commonly think of their residential environment as 'home.' For example, Fried and Gleicher (1961) and Fried (1963) studied a neighborhood in Boston which was about to be torn down for urban renewal, and concluded that the common core of attachment to the local area was that it represented 'home' for them. In 1967, the President's Committee on Urban Housing was charged with the task of addressing

> the most pressing need of our society. That need is to promote a decent home and healthy surroundings for every American family now imprisoned in the squalor of the slums (President's Committee, 1969: 1).

Despite the Great Society overtones associated with this intention, it was clear that 'home' was used as a way of conceptualizing a desirable housing environment. The implication of 'home' as an evaluative comment on one's housing makes it an especially important concept to understand.

Another important reason to focus on 'home' is that it seems to be a meaningful environmental concept in many situations, for a wide range of people. Angrist (1974), for example, reviewed a variety of literature relevant to housing and well-being and pointed out that some low income families seek public housing "as a permanent home," even though this housing is intended to serve only as a way station to a better dwelling. Under very different circumstances, the continuing conflicts in the Middle East have drawn attention to stories about how Palestinians want to return to land held by Israel because "It's home."

Thus, concepts of home were chosen as the focus of this investigation because (a) the idea of 'home' apparently refers to a housing environment, (b) it can be used to refer to a desirable housing environment, (c) home appears to be a meaningful concept for a wide range of people, and (d) home apparently invokes a range of psychological meanings and experiences which are thought to be important in people's values, goals, and aspirations regarding housing.

INVESTIGATING THE MEANINGS OF HOME

What is the meaning of home? On one level, 'home' is simply a word which we use in conversation and correspondence as a name for a housing environment. On another level, the idea of home is much more than that as it connotes a place of satisfaction and sometimes even a significant achievement in one's life (e.g., "I own my own home."). However, common uses of the word still represent one reasonable starting point from which to consider the potential complexity of meanings and associations of home.

Webster's Third International Dictionary cites several principal definitions of the word 'home' as a noun, and these are summarized as follows:

1. a. the house and grounds with their appurtenances habitually occupied by a family: one's principal place of residence: DOMOCILE;
   b. a private dwelling: HOUSE;

2. one's abode after death;

3. a. the social unit formed by a family living together in one dwelling;
   b. the family environment to which one is emotionally attached: the focus of domestic affections;

4. a. a familiar or suitable setting;
   b. normal environment: HABITAT;
   c. center of cultivation: FOCAL POINT;

5. a. the country or place of origin;
   b. center or base of operations.

The Oxford English Dictionary cites similar principal definitions:

1. (only in Old English and early Middle English) A village or town, a collection of dwellings. b. An estate,

2. A dwelling-place, house, abode; the fixed residence of a family or household; the seat of domestic life and interests; one's own house; the dwelling in which one habitually lives, or which one regards as one's proper abode. Sometimes including the members of a family collectively; the home-circle or household.

3. The place of one's dwelling or nurturing with the conditions, circumstances, and feelings which naturally and properly attach to it, and are associated with it.

4. In various connexions, referring to the grave, or future state: the 'long' or 'last' home.

5. A place, region, or state in which one properly belongs, in which one's affections centre, or where one finds refuge, rest or satisfaction.

6. One's own country, one's native land.

8. An institution providing refuge or rest for the destitute, the afflicted, the infirm, etc. or for those who either have no home of their own, or are obliged by their vocation to live at a distance from the home of their family.

These basic sources of meaning underscore the multidimensional character of home; they show that home can be a dwelling, a family, a habitat or region, as well as a base of operations and a refuge.[1] However, for a study of psychological concepts of home, these definitions raise more questions than they answer. For instance, Webster's indicates that a home is first and foremost a house--or a house plus the land around it. Does this imply that apartment dwellers have no home in the most common usage of the word? In contrast, the Oxford English Dictionary articulates a broader range of examples for home as a residence, including a house, but also including a dwelling-place and an

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[1]Some additional definitions refer to symbols or positions in games or sports, or to animals or animal behavior, or to the idiom "at home." However, these definitions are not included here since they appear to be secondary or colloquial uses of the word 'home.'

abode. A second question is raised by the Oxford definitions since they do not distinguish between the dwelling-place (the house, in Webster's) and the people who live there (separately defined as the family, the social unit living together in one dwelling, in Webster's). Is the dwelling-place thought to be a separate feature of home, or is it inextricable from the people who live together there? Finally, the third and fifth definitions from the Oxford Dictionary indicate that feelings and affections are associated with "the place of one's dwelling" and with "a place, region or state," yet Wester's limits the emotional aspects of home to "the family environment." What, specifically, is the role of emotions and feelings in concepts of home?

Thus, although these dictionary definitions show a multiplicity of meanings for 'home,' one must also ask whether or not these interpretations of the literal uses of the word are equivalent to the meanings and significances of home as conceptualized by people through their own experiences. For example, the idea of home as a place of one's own, as a measure of independence from the rest of the world, is probably a psychologically important meaning of home. However, this idea is not accounted for in these definitions. Therefore, there are apparent deficiencies and many possible differences in emphasis or interpretation within this basic list of meanings of home. These misgivings about dictionary definitions provide one rationale for empirical investigations of concepts of home.

An interesting contrast to the dictionary definitions cited here is provided by Loewy and Snaith (1967). They investigated attitudes and motivations of potential consumers in the housing market, and reported

a range of meanings for the word 'home' from a nationwide sample of adults.[2] They also solicited meanings for 'house' from their sample, and the reported meanings for these two words are compared in Table 1.

There are at least three observations which can be made about these data: First, these reported meanings are much more oriented to psychological and behavioral meanings (e.g., raising children, relaxing, loving, being independent) than were the dictionary definitions (e.g., house, family, base, region). This observation suggests that there may be a fundamental difference between the literal meanings of 'home' and the ways in which people experience 'home' as a personally meaningful concept. Secondly, the reported meanings of house and home are similar in content (indeed, the most common definition of "house" was that it meant "a home"), except that, thirdly, "home" is associated more so with personal, interpersonal, and emotional meanings, while "house" is slightly more associated with physical setting, structure, and maintenance.

Although these meanings represented a rather peripheral aspect of the study conducted by Loewy and Snaith,[3] they represent the only empir-

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[2]Their sample included newly married couples, couples with younger and older children, older couples, and some single adults, in a sampling distribution which approximated the socio-economic characteristics of non-farm households in the United States.

[3]Loewy and Snaith (1967) investigated respondents' attitudes and motivations toward present and future housing choices. Their analysis led to the identification of ten housing markets (e.g., first house, upgrade house, apartment renter, new community) which were described in terms of nine motivations that were though to "affect the physical and social facts of housing." These motivations included: children, privacy, convenience, individuality and independence, use of time, investment, posessions, outdoors, and socializing. The source or derivation of these motivations was unclear.

TABLE 1

Some Common Meanings of 'Home' and 'House'

from Loewy and Snaith (1967).

percent of sample reporting this definition for 'home'		percent of sample reporting this definition for 'house'
----	A home	40.9
38.0	A place to raise children/family	25.4
29.5	A place to live/stay/spend your time	32.5
20.5	A place to rest/relax/be comfortable in	11.7
16.5	A place for love/warmth/understanding	8.1
11.8	A place that I own/is my own/belongs to me	11.1
11.1	A place for privacy/to be alone/get away	9.0
10.0	A place you can always come home to	4.8
9.5	Security	6.0
9.5	A place to be independent/can do as I please	5.7
5.1	A place where you can entertain	3.3
5.0	A house/a single house/not an apartment	4.8
3.3	A place to express individuality	4.0
2.9	Good location/near stores/buses	---
1.6	A place to keep your furniture/belongings	1.6
1.3	Lots of work/repairs/expense of upkeep	5.6
1.0	A place for investment	4.2
0.8	Modern applicances/facilities	2.1
0.1	A building structure/walls/roof	7.5

Total number of respondents = 2,514

ical precedent for a comprehensive overview to concepts of home. While they do support the contention that home is associated with a range of psychological meanings and experiences, these meanings were not grouped or categorized into any systematic framework based on respondents' ideas about home.

The above definitions represent present-day meanings of home. It is interesting, however, that the definition and use of the word 'home' has changed over time. Specifically, the derivation and translation of this word appear to show that there was a shift in the meaning of home during the 17th and 18th centuries, when it first became associated with the personal and domestic, with "family life." Before that time 'home' meant native village or birthplace, or one's own place or country (Aries, 1962; Janeway, 1971). This point is supported by Webster's derivations of 'home' from older languages, which indicate that the more prominent meanings referred to village, country and homeland, while the ideas of dwelling and house were more peripheral. Webster's derivations of 'home' include:

from Old English: ham, translated as village, country, dwelling, home;
from Old High German: heim, translated as homeland, dwelling, house;
from Old Norse: heimr, translated as homeland, world; and
from Gothic: haims, translated as village.

This shift in meaning was probably brought about by changes in the nature of everyday life which accompanied the urbanization influences in northwestern Europe, during the 16th and 17th centuries. "House was becoming home by separating itself from the world of work and turning into

a stronghold of family living and leisure" (Janeway, 1971: 14). And architecturally, a different building form emerged from these changes:

> The development of the individual dwelling or house was related to the economic rise of the yeoman and the artisan in the early Renaissance in Northern Europe.
> The house became 'domestic architecture' during the eighteenth century as a product of the increase of wealth in the middle class and the demand for more informality and comfort by the ruling class. It was also a result of social reforms that called for the improvement of housing conditions for the working population (Holt, 1966: 310).

Consequently, it is likely that the meaning of the word 'home' (as generally synonymous with the place that one habitually occupies) did in fact change from a focus on large physical area (e.g., village) to a smaller familial unit (e.g., one's plot of land, or dwelling). Therefore, present research on concepts of home should expect an emphasis on the family unit and the dwelling, but it is not clear whether a larger physical area or social group continues to be a meaningful aspect of home. Webster's definitions and the data from Loewy and Snaith (1967), for example, show no clear references to community, or town, or country (except country as place of origin), as important meanings of home. However, the Oxford Dictionary's reference to "a place, region or state" apparently does include a larger area as a part of home. Once again, unanswered questions about the meaning of home suggest the need for some form of empirical investigation.

A sidelight to these definitions and meanings of home is the multitude of famous sayings and quotations which might be expected to provide some insight on the topic. A broad sampling of these sources includes quotations such as:

East and West, Home is best (Spurgeon)
Home, in one form or another, is the great object of life. (Holland)
Home is where the heart is. (attr. to Pliny)
Peace and rest at length have come, All the day's long toil is past, And each heart is whispering, "Home, Home at last." (Hood)
Keep the home fires burning, While your hearts are yearning, Though your lads are far away, They dream of home. (Ford)
Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you it. (Frost)
It takes a heap o' livin' in a house t' make it home. (Guest)
'Mid pleasure and palaces though we may roam, Be it every so humble, there's no place like home; A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there, Which sought through the world is ne'er met with elsewhere. (Payne)
To be happy at home is the ultimate result of all ambition, the end to which every enterprise and labor tends, and of which every desire prompts the prosecution. (Johnson)
Many a man who thinks to found a home discovers that he has merely opened a tavern for his friends. (Douglas)
Let your boat of life be light, packed with only what you need--a homely home and simply pleasures, one or two friends. . . (Jerome)
For a man's house is his castle. . . . The house of every one is to him as his castle and fortress, as well for his defence against injury and violence as for his repose. (Coke)
One's home is the safest refuge to everyone. (Pandects)
This is the true nature of home--it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division. (Ruskin)
Where we love is home, Home that our feet may leave, but not our hearts. (Holmes)
The world with myriad paths is lined, But one alone for me One little road where I may find The charms I want to see. Though thoroughfares majestic, call The multitudes to roam, I would not leave, to know them all, The path that leads to home. (Guest)

Undoubtedly, many of these sayings have endured because they embody romanticized notions about home. However, home itself may be a concept which frequently conjures up a romanticized perspective on housing environments, in the same way that Mom's apple pie, hot dogs, and hamburgers are often romanticized as appetizing things to eat.

A POSSIBLE OVERVIEW OF CONCEPTS OF HOME

Given such diverse uses, what constitutes a reasonable overview to the psychological meanings of home? The present investigator approached this problem by developing categories of similar meanings which were found in the above range of sources, as well as in research literature. Although these categories were conceived by this investigator, sometimes relying on other researchers' concepts, they are intended to serve as a speculative set of ideas which may be appropriate for psychological concepts of home. When they were first formulated, during the initial stages of this research, these categories were viewed as a stimulus to empirical research about the multi-dimensional nature of home, not as a substitute for such research.

Six categories were conceived, including common meanings such as 'home as physical structure,' 'home as self identity' and 'home as social unit.' Three other categories, 'home as a locus in space,' 'home as territory,' and 'home as emotional ties' were also conceived. In the following discussion, the idea for each category is introduced and elaborated through references to appropriate literature.

A. Home as Physical Structure

One very common conception of home is that home is where you live, it is a place, a physical environment, a building. It is commonly referred to as a house, an abode, a dwelling, or one's principal place of residence. The emphasis can be exclusively on the physical place, and the terms 'home,' 'dwelling unit,' 'apartment' or 'house,' and

'place of residence' are used interchangeably. The home is defined primarily by physical characteristics, with the clarification that someone lives there at some time.

In this sense, 'homes' often become 'houses' because the physical aspects of these environments are their principal characteristics. Further, homes are sometimes seen as products and marketable commodities and their social and personal characteristics take on secondary importance: "The idea of 'home' tends to be relegated to sentimental songs and sayings. . . . Meanwhile, the actuality is a series of residences built, sold and occupied as generally replaceable commodities" (Raskin, 1974: 23). Or, consider this description of "a home":

> Spacious seven room home professionally landscaped. Convenient to I-84. Formal dining room, equipt. eat-in kitchen, 3 bedrooms, 24 ft. carpeted living room, huge family room with fireplace, 2 full ceramic baths. (Homes, 1974: 4).

Although this description appeared as a real estate advertisement, it is a typical way for some people to describe what they mean by 'home' under some circumstances.

Especially in the architectural literature, home is primarily understood as a physical structure which people inhabit. However, the emphasis is clearly placed on houses as homes; the ideas of apartments or other shelters as home are seemingly nonexistent. A typical historical examples shows this bias:

> . . .almost every man either builds, or looks forward to building, a home for himself, at some period of his life; it may be only a long hut, or a most rustic cottage, but perhaps also, a villa, or a mansion (Downing, 1847; cited in Holt, 1966: 314-315).

Differences between homes are seen as differences in architectural style, and little attention is directed toward the lives or personalities of the people who live there. Furthermore, the "history" that architectural historians emphasize is likely to focus on houses for the upper class, even though an analysis of the types of houses at any one time and place shows clear differentiation in terms of status and family type (Demos, 1970). Thus a typical survey of early American homes (Pratt, 1946) illustrates grand house designs and one is led to think of "homes" such as the Georgian Colonial house, the New England "salt box," the Southern plantation house, and other architecturally-defined types of "home."

For this conception, then, the important characteristics of home are physical descriptions: dwelling unit type, architectural style, quality of housing stock, minimum space standards, and building form (e.g., Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1968a, 1968b, 1969; Sanoff, 1970a, 1970b; Lansing, et al., 1970; Pyron, 1971, 1972). This conception, and the presumed importance of the physical environment, have often led investigators to study such physical aspects of housing in an attempt to relate these elements to human satisfactions, needs, and aspirations.

One of the classic attempts to develop this conception was a study of people moving into new housing (Wilner, et al., 1962). It was hypothesized that better housing (new physical structures) would lead to improved health, well-being and morale, and have positive influences on family life. However, the results were equivocal in demonstrating the importance of the physical environment, as most comparative measures did

not show significant differences. Thus, many researchers concluded that a study confined to the physical characteristics of housing was insufficient for understanding the relationships between life processes and housing environments. Yet even through analyses of user behavior or user needs, the important conclusions of some studies continue to concentrate on physical descriptions: design criteria for dayrooms, kitchens, bathrooms, bedrooms, furniture, heating, electric outlets, space standards per person, room arrangement, and provision for household appliances (Hole & Attenburrow, 1966).

It seems likely that this category of meaning is overly simplistic: phrases like "a house is not a home" imply that the structure may be an important feature of home, but it is far from sufficient in alluding to the richness of meaning of home. Consequently, several additional categories or conceptions of home are proposed.

B. Home as Self Identity

While the first category is rooted in physical environmental terms, a second group of ideas presents a contrasting conception: namely, home may be thought of as an integral part of one's self. Thus this category greatly expands the range of meanings of home, as it introduces the possibility that home is not strictly an environment, or a place, as illustrated in the first category. Rather, these ideas suggest that what a person calls 'home' may be a characteristic reflection of that person's self image, self identity, and sense of self.[4]

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[4]Although these terms (self image, self identity, sense of self) apparently have different emphases in some psychological literature,

In recent years, this relationship between housing and self identity has attracted a great deal of attention. Much of this interest was sparked by Schorr's (1966) review of the housing literature, and his category of issues entitled 'housing and self-perception.' He concluded, based on a variety of research and literary sources, that people evaluate themselves in terms of their surroundings. Thus, people living in substandard and dilapidated housing presumably have poor self-evaluations, a lack of motivation, and low aspirations. Schorr also reported that the evidence was ambiguous as to whether or not morale and self-evaluation can be improved by a move to better housing. Thus, instead of embracing an environmental determinism (better housing necessarily leads to improved self-evaluations), he suggests that this housing/self-image relationship may apply to some people more so than to others. Along this line of thinking, one might also question whether this idea is perceived by the people being studied, or whether it derives primarily from researchers' perceptions of those people.

Additional evidence for home as self identity is drawn from the kinds of choices people make about their housing. It is said that most house buyers "look for styles that will fulfill their self-images and be symbols-of-self" (Cooper, 1971: 11). And this concern with image of self is often one of the key issues of an architect-client relationship:

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they have not been differentiated for the purposes of this study. Such differentiation might be useful at a later date when the meanings within each category can be clarified.

> Building a house can be a stormy process, exacerbated by delays, unexpected hikes in costs, misunderstandings between workmen, architects and clients, and by the fact that when most people build a house, they see it as a reflection of themselves--either as they are or as they wish they were. This may be the first time the client has come to terms with the questions of "Who am I and what do I want?" There can also be conflicts between architect and client as to just whose identity is being reflected in this new house (Skurka, 1974: 27).

Although O'Mara (1974) wrote about "a place of one's own" and "one's environment," she also emphasizes the interrelatedness of self and environment. In this case, the environment can be seen as a "manifestation" and "record" of oneself:

> Embodiment of oneself in one's environment provides a perceptibly solid manifestation of "whom I am." One's sense of self literally enables one to act, to engage oneself in activities as judged currently relevant. Such appraisals and actualizations require a particularity of focus upon past and future. I see the physical environment existing as a tangible record of past accomplishments and future projects, thus providing answers for one's focussed interrogations which defines one's situation (O'Mara, 1974: 11).

Weil writes that it is desirable for a house to be private property, an extension of self (and she proposes the importance of ownership in this link between self and property):

> Private property is a vital need of the soul, the soul feels isolated, lost, if it is not surrounded by objects which seem to it like an extension of the bodily members. . . . The forms this need takes can vary considerably, depending on circumstances; but it is desirable that the majority of people should own their house and a little piece of land round it, and whenever not technically impossible, the tools of their trade (Weil, 1952: 33-34).

Perhaps a clear way to think about the relation of self and home is

to consider the home (as dwelling) as a symbol of self and self identity. In this regard, Bachelard (1969) suggests that just as house and non-house are basic divisions of geographic space, so the self and non-self represent basic divisions of psychic space. This idea is also expressed by Cooper:

> . . .in perceiving house as a symbol of self, Man sees its interior as self viewed from within; it is his own created and changing symbol, reflecting the essence of self as viewed by self. And he sees the exterior as the symbol of self which he wishes to present to the outside world, or self as viewed by others. Thus in choosing the house as a symbol-of-self, Man has fixed upon an object with both an inside and an outside, an intimate interior and a public exterior. . . . Thus, the house might be viewed as both an avowal of the self--that is, the psychic messages are moving from self to the objective symbol of self--and as a revelation of the nature of self--that is, the messages are moving from objective symbol back to the self. It is almost as if the house-self continuum could be thought of as both the negative and positive of a film, simultaneously (1971: 7-8).

Clearly, there are strong indications that a dwelling (which is presumed to be home for most people) is a source of messages and expressions about one's self. And it may be that some personal environment is necessary for a person to develop a sense of self as distinguished from non-self (the world). Although there are other possibilities for a personal environment, one's home may be one of the most important places serving this purpose.

Since this conception emphasizes home as a symbol or symbolic extension of self, one might easily contrast this idea with the first category, home as physical place, since that conception focuses on a physical environment existing independently of one's self. However, the two ideas are also somewhat related: it is likely that the physical

place serves as one tangible symbol of self and self identity. Thus, it may be that home becomes meaningful through the interaction of these two dimensions of meaning: when a place is viewed as a symbol of self, then it becomes 'home'; otherwise it may be thought of as 'a place to live for a while.'

C. Home as Locus in Space

Similar to home as self identity, this next category focuses on a person's pattern of thoughts and relationships to environment, rather than a conception of the environment by itself. That is, home may represent the locus of one's daily geographic orientation in the world: home is where one starts out from, and returns to. "Home is also the place to which you come back again and again. . . . For all my years of travelling, I have always had somewhere to return to, somewhere where everything is just where I put it away twenty, thirty or forty years ago" (Mead, 1972: 13-18).

This category of meaning is especially interesting because it is one area in which conceptions of home seem to be related to behavior. For example, home as locus in space is exemplified in the work on home range which often assumes or demonstrates that one's place of residence is somehow central to one's daily travels (e.g., Anderson & Tindall, 1972). The domocentric patterns (i.e., star-shaped patterns of paths leading from the residence at the center to various destination points at the periphery) which are often used by children to describe the places they know also support the home-as-locus of idea. And yet, the interesting point to be made is that these behavioral patterns also ap-

pear to be meaningful as cognitive entities. Two writers in particular suggest that what-one-thinks-of-as-'home' may be a behavioral locus as well as a center of one's thinking about the world:

> The extent and differentiation of home range may, thus, in part, be defined behaviorally in terms of origin and destinations, patterns of locomotion, occupancy, and usage of various places, etc. It is also a cognitive entity, a conceptual gestalt built up of interstices in the behavioral pattern . . ., knowledge of places once visited or lived in, and of locational goals realizable within the scope of the individual's plans (Stea, 1970: 139-140).

> Home range is defined as an amoeboid signature whose pattern is formed by a series of behavior settings, oriented towards a predominant locus of activity, and connected by significant linkages.
> Home range is that series of linkages and settings traversed and occupied by the individual in his normal activities. . . . .In most but not all cases, the locus of activity will be the living space, or home. It is a physical, social, and psychological locus and the true locus will depend on which predominates. An executive's psychological locus may be his office, while his physical and social locus is his living space. The locus serves a function similar to the bell tower on campus. It assists the individual in orienting to his environment and in interrelating the linkages and settings. A locus of activity facilitiates the development of a "topographic map" and, in so doing, improves the conceptualization of a person's home range (Gelwicks, 1970: 149-150).

The research method called 'cognitive mapping' deals specifically with a person's images of the physical environment as travelled in and as thought of. The home is such a strong organizer of a person's environmental image that cognitive mapping studies often start with or include it as part of the exercise (Lunch, 1960). It may also comprise an important type of reference system for orienting in the world.

Eliade, in The Sacred and the Profane (1959) says "nothing can be done without a previous orientation, and any orientation implies acquir-

ing a fixed point. For this reason religious man has always sought to fix his abode at 'the center of the world.'" Establishment of the home point changes the world from homogeneous to differentiated space. And Gill (1972), examining the English country house as a recurring motif in modern fiction, wrote that the house provides a definite unity of place, a "still point" in an overturning world--in people's lives as well as in literature.

Other studies of people exploring new places--and exploratory behavior in general--presume some base or locus from which the exploration and construction of a world can be assimilated (e.g., Franck, Unseld, & Wentworth, 1974). The place which is perceived as one's home can represent such a base, serving as a geographic reference in the world (Lynch, 1960).

Bettelheim (1974) voices the conviction that a personal place assists in an avowal of self, allowing one to establish a place from which to consider the world, to affirm a stable sense of self through the establishment of a locus: "Repeatedly we found that once patients were secure in possession of their private space and especially of their bed, they preferred to sit there and take the world in from this particularly safe location" (p. 148). For most people, presumably, home serves a similar purpose.

D. Home as Territory

In contrast to the previous category, whereby home was discussed as being a locus within an area, the area itself may also be thought of as 'home.' In general terms, this category groups together the ideas of

neighborhood, territory, home area, home range, and even hometown.

The scale of a home territory apparently varies. One end would seem to be represented by the idea of "a room of one's own" (O'Mara, 1974), an idea which was referred to in the 'self identity' category. And in a slightly larger sense, the scale of the dwelling/household/family is also appropriate:

> The family provides the psychological and physical territory in which one can be emotional, express one's feelings, and give and receive affective response (Sussman, 1972: 135).

Worthen (1975) extends this territorial conception to the area around the dwelling. Describing how people plant their yards in a suburban tract development, she categorized the decisions made by homeowners:

> The first decision a new gardener [homeowner] usually made was to draw lines on the ground. The lines which he invariably chose to emphasize were the property lines, the lines parallel to the facade of the house, and the lines of the driveway and sidewalk. . . . The decision to emphasize edges seemed universal. Homes that shared a continuous lawn were extremely infrequent. . . . The attention given to edges indicated that new homeowners were acutely conscious of property lines. One woman said, "Well, it's actually here." and put her foot into the middle of some pansies that her neighbor had planted a few inches too far to the south. . . . Once the outlines of the yard were drawn, the new gardner had to decide how to fill them in (Worthen, 1975: 19-20).

Establishing territorial boundaries appears to be a ritual for claiming ownership and individuality, an idea which seems very compatible with the 'home as self identity' category advanced earlier.

Yet the most common scale of reference for home as territory seems to be represented by a larger physical area such as one's neighborhood or the area of one's daily travels. For example, Lyman and Scott (1967)

conclude that there are four types of territories in human societies: public territories, home territories, interactional territories, and body territories. Home territories are public areas taken over by groups or individuals, such as street or sidewalk areas where the same group of children plays ball or hopscotch, or neighborhood bars and coffee shops that cater to habitual customers. In each case, regular participants have a sense of intimacy and control. Thus, this conception is more complex than some of the earliest definitions of territory which emphasized personalization and defense of particular physical areas. Although home as territory probably includes these components, it also includes familiarity, belongingness, predictability, and a spatial framework of behavior.

The idea of psychological ties to a local area, usually the vicinity around the dwelling, has been a recurring theme in history. In ancient Greece, the public life--in public spaces like the Acropolis--was the most important arena of events and the dwelling was supposed to be humble and meager (Putnam, 1910). The thread of this idea seems reflected in the modern stereotype of a local residential area as the primary focus of working class life. One classic example of this conception of home emerged from the study of Boston's West End just prior to urban renewal (Fried & Gleicher, 1961; Gans, 1962; Fried, 1963). These researchers tried to assess residents' reactions to relocation by studying the people in that area before and after they were forced to move somewhere else. One pair of researchers concluded that

> the common core lies in a widespread feeling of belonging someplace, of being "at home" in a region that extends out

> from but well beyond the dwelling unit. Nor is this only because of familiarity, since a very large proportion of the more recent residents. . .regard the West End as their real home. . . . We would like to call this way of structuring the physical space around the actual residential unit a territorial space, in contrast to the selective space of the middle class. It is territorial in the sense that physical space is largely defined in terms of relatively bounded regions to which one has freedom or restriction of access. . . There is also evidence. . .that it is territorial in a more profound sense: that individuals feel different spatial regions belong to or do not belong to them and, correspondingly, feel that they belong to (or in) specific spatial regions or do not belong (Fried & Gleicher, 1961, emphasis added).

It is especially noteworthy that the phenomena being described in this example do not focus exclusively on the physical area, but rather, they provide a stimulus for multiple meanings of home. Therefore, this research example will again be cited in the next two sections: home as social unit, and home as emotional ties.

E. Home as Social Unit

Three of the previous categories have emphasized the role of the physical environment, or some aspect of it, in defining the nature of home: physical structure, locus in space, and territory. Home may also be conceptualized as a social environment, or a particular social unit. Such a conception may emphasize a family, a community, a group of friends, and even a larger urban population.

In general, the literature about families and communities focuses on social life and social relations, with little attention to the setting in which that life takes place (e.g., Hughes, 1971; Komarovsky, 1962; Skolnick & Skolnick, 1971). From such a perspective one might assume that this conception of home is relatively independent of other

categories which are proposed above. However, some relationship, or at least an overlap, between social relations and environment is often implied. For example, the following definition of 'nomelessness' relies on the idea of "settled persons," apparently presuming a lasting relationship with a particular physical place:

> Homelessness is a condition of detachment from society characterized by the absence or attenuation of the affiliative bonds that link settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures (Caplow, Bahr, & Sternberg, 1968: 494).

Furthermore, other authors have contended that physical and social aspects of environment cannot be studied independently because their interrelationships are essential to the understanding of either one (Proshansky, et al., 1970; Proshansky, 1973, 1976; Ittelson, et al., 1975). Thus, this idea of home as social unit will be treated as a separable category of meaning which is pervasively interrelated with the other categories.

Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950), Bott (1957), Young and Wilmott (1957, 1973), Jacobs (1961), Broady (1966), Yancey (1971), Zito (1974), and other authors have suggested that the location and use of a person's housing has important social consequences, particularly in terms of reference groups and social networks. A good example of such social meanings of home may again be illustrated by the studies of Boston's West End just prior to urban renewal (Fried & Gleicher, 1961; Gans, 1962; Fried, 1963, 1974). Residents felt that their neighborhood was their home because they identified with and participated in the local social milieu there. Fried elaborates this point:

> What is common to a host of studies is the evidence for the integrity of the urban, working-class, slum community as a social and spatial unit. It is the sense of belonging someplace, in a particular place which is quite familiar and easily delineated, in a wide area in which one feels "at home." This is the core of meaning of the local area. And this applied for many people who have few close relationships within that area. Even familiar and expectable streets and houses, faces at the window and people walking by, personal greetings and impersonal sounds may serve to designate the concrete foci of a sense of belonging somewhere and may provide special kinds of interpersonal and social meaning to a region one defines as "home" (Fried, 1963: 155).

This social conception of home has also been described by Abramson (1974), who suggests that when a person has no identifiable home, he is likely to be perceived as rootless, lacking easily identifiable reference groups, traditions, continuity and a sense of the past. He applied this argument to Richard Nixon, concluding that not only did Nixon have no home, he also had no local "continuity of traditional and cultural values" which could be attributed to him (Abramson, 1974: 6). While previous presidents have always been identified with specific homes and places (e.g., Eisenhower's boyhood in Kansas, the Kennedy compound, Johnson's Texas ranch), Nixon's homelessness undermined one source of the public's ability to know and understand him. His recent entrenchment in San Clemente, and the beginnings of his relationship to that community, have somewhat mitigated his homelessness.

According to sociologists, there are circumstances in which men are detached from their social affiliations (as illustrated above), but "Homeless women and children are relatively rare. Their appearance denotes widespread disorder and instability such as follow famines and civil wars" (Caplow, et al., 1968: 494). The idea that women are not

homeless, that they maintain social affiliations more so than men, presents an interesting empirical question in its own right. Clearly, as women have struggled to change their conventional roles in society, "the home" and women's roles as "homemakers" have been central issues. It is notable, however, that discussions on this topic commonly consider home to be a social and interpersonal entity:

> The home, one idealized as the sphere to which woman was naturally adapted by virtue of her physical attributes, an anatomy and psychology; as the wholesome soil of competent adult performance; and as the refuge where man could be restored to do battle in the marketplace, has come under pitiless attack. It is exposed to the hazard of dissolution because of marital incompatibility; it places individuals under unwholesome competitive pressures, as children are expected to 'measure up' to adult expectations, spouses to their peers, and families to their neighbors (Muller, 1974: 69).

While the emphasis on social change is well founded, other authors have argued that women's relationships to the physical dwelling and interior spaces are also at issue (Loyd, 1975; Wright, 1975).

Finally, the home as a social unit may also be considered in terms of its social and behavioral consequences, often conceived as the role of the family and community in socialization processes. That is, there are standards of appropriateness assumed or enforced regarding behavior, values, life styles, ethics and morals. These codes are important in life within and beyond the dwelling, and represent a background of experience for life in a changing world. In an article entitled "Home as the ultimate classroom," one author discusses some of the learning and socialization processes which are almost always associated with the home:

> Parents introduce life's practical needs through the family pattern. They teach their young to tie their shoelaces, use the telephone. . .how to listen, restrain, relax, be personal, be guarded, be open, love another. . . . Parents teach vocabulary, walking, ball-playing, swimming, cooking, sewing, house care, travel, gardening, skating and all those important realities of a human's participating in a culture (Blessington, 1974: 76).

He goes on to argue that parents would do well to recognize the potential value of the home as a social situation, as an interpersonal and subcultural frame of reference.

Returning for a moment to the dictionary definitions cited earlier, it was pointed out that the relationship of social to physical aspects of home was conceived differently in the two sources: one separated house from family, and the other grouped these ideas together in a different way. Therefore, although this 'social unit' category is discussed as being interrelated with dwelling and neighborhood, it is possible that different people conceive these ideas differently. One question to be raised is whether or not the social and physical aspects of home are perceived separately or whether they combine to form other salient meanings.

F. Home as Emotional Ties

While the previous five categories range across a variety of meanings, an additional category seems needed to acknowledge some of the emotion and feeling which is often associated with home. "Home is where the heart is" comes to mind as a popular phrase, and it can be supplemented with other ideas about home as a source of pleasure and satisfaction. For example, home is thought to be a place of peace and rest;

repose; a shelter against terror, doubt, division; a refuge; and a haven of simple pleasures. It is thought to be synonymous with a freedom from external pressures and responsibilities:

> When the labor is finished, when the journey is complete, when the foes are vanquished, or the guests fulfilled, the wanderer can at last rest, the warrior can afford to take up a defenseless position, be a child, be 'at home' (Frutkin, 1974).

And it holds special connotations for "the good life," in this case, as expressed by a nineteenth century American ambassador to England:

> They have houses in London, in which they stay while Parliament sits, and occasionally visit at other seasons; but their homes are in the country. Their turreted mansions are there, with all that denotes perpetuity--heirlooms, family memorials, pictures, tombs. . . . The permanent interests and affections of the most opulent classes center almost universally in the country (Gill, 1972: 4).

In Crestwood Heights, a classic study of suburban life, Seeley, Sim and Loosley (1956) conclude that 'house' can be understood as a technological item, while 'home' is a concept which refers to the emotional meanings associated with 'house.' The idea that home is an emotional concept is also one of the central issues of Bard's work in training policemen for crisis intervention situations (Bard, 1974; Zacker & Bard, 1973). The conflicts they mediated in people's dwellings were almost always "home" arguments--arguments over money, love, and sex--which were serious enough to require intervention. Policemen who received affective-experiential training were superior in handling these conflicts, and it was especially useful to them to think of the dwelling as an emotional arena.

For some people, then, the most highly charged emotional experiences may take place in the dwelling; surely, the setting is replete with emotional meanings. Bettleheim observed that a doll house was avoided by children when they first came to his institution: "A family home, representative of their own family, evoked emotions that were too difficult" (Bettleheim, 1974: 133). And some authors have concluded that home is perhaps the most important emotional setting in our lives:

> In America the family is the primary area where feelings can be fully expressed; and the emotional, tender, passionate sides of life have become concentrated within our small family circles. Increasingly, the home is where the heart is (Keniston, 1965: 277).

Affect about 'home' is frequently quite positive. Sarason (1972), for example, points out that the process of establishing a home is often accompanied by (romantic) assumptions about how problems will be dealt with easily, and how there will be unlimited resources and an untroubled future. And the range of pleasures, satisfactions, and pastimes which are associated with home also support its positive value. However, the literature also abounds with instances where loss of home or descriptions and recollections about previous homes are intense emotional experiences (Searles, 1960; Cooper, 1971; Gill, 1972; Prescott, 1973). In "Grieving for a Lost Home," Fried describes residents' reactions to relocation:

> for the majority it seems quite precise to speak of their reactions as expressions of grief. These are manifest in the feelings of painful loss, the continued longing, the general depressive tone, frequent symptoms of psychological or social or somatic distress, the active work required in adapting to the altered situation, the sense of helplessness, the occa-

> sional expressions of both direct and displaced anger, and tendencies to idealize the lost place (Fried, 1963: 151).

The home as a stable frame of reference and source of satisfaction is especially valued by some people: "I'm a stick-in-the-mud. I have lived in the same house in New York for just thirty years, and with luck I'll live there for several more" (Lynes, 1974). And not unrelated to these satisfactions are the main motivations that Loewy and Snaith (1967) discuss as being dominant for people when selecting their housing: "children, privacy, convenience; next in order of importance is the combination of individuality and independence, use of time, and investment; the third group comprises possessions, outdoors, and socializing" (p. 30). The personal satisfactions inherent in many of these motivations offer additional support for this conception of home.

The home is also the focus for many hobbies, sources of personally satisfying activity, and desired kinds of social interaction. It can be understood as a haven of personal autonomy; community (Gill, 1972); privacy (Loewy & Snaith, 1967; Laufer, et al., 1973; Wolfe & Laufer, 1974); as a setting allowing freedom of choice; the support of one's sense of self (Cooper, 1971; O'Mara, 1974); a feeling of being settled, embodying a sense of belonging (Franck, et al., 1974; Fried, 1963); and as a familiar environment where people and events are predictable and often controllable.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF CONCEPTS OF HOME: THE NEED FOR RESEARCH

This review of literature has illustrated a range of meanings of home, a range which is at least as diverse as the dictionary definitions and other introductory material. Especially in contrast to some of the introductory material, these categories have been structured in such a way as to propose a framework for the psychological, personal, experiential meanings of home. The earlier distinction between this psychological perspective and a more literal approach (i.e., Webster's definitions) still seems appropriate, although to a great extent these two may converge in some situations.

It has also been pointed out in this review that a number of fundamental questions about psychological concepts of home are quite unresolved. For example, the first question which can be raised is whether or not one should organize the wide range of ideas about home into a system of categories, and having done so, whether the interrelationships among these categories are more overwhelming than their distinctiveness. That is, although the above categories have been presented in some ways as conceptually distinct ideas, one should recognize that they also co-occur and appear to be quite interrelated. In one example it was suggested that the 'self identity' and 'locus in space' categories might be inseparable in some circumstances. Likewise, it seems unreasonable to suggest that the remaining categories are in any way mutually exclusive. While a physical territory might be home, some portion of its meaningfulness is surely contributed by the social and cultural identity

of the area, as well as by its cognitive and behavioral relationship to some locus in space. However, the notion that each idea is related to every other one becomes an especially confusing paradigm to investigate without some conceptual framework. Thus it seems useful to discriminate some aspects of meaning from others, and these categories--although not independent--present a satisfactory approach to a conceptual framework for the variety of overlapping ideas about home.

Second, one can ask whether or not these categories of meaning accurately reflect the ways in which people think about home: do these categories constitute the best framework for concepts of home, or should some other set of categories be used? Presumably, some of these categories are generally perceived as important aspects of home, although some may have been formulated in a way which is unique to the perceptions of researchers, or particular professions, or particular social groups. One must also allow for the possibility of other categories of meaning in addition to the ones which have been suggested by this analysis.

Third, it is unclear from this review of literature whether some categories are more important than others in developing the meaning of home, or whether all categories contribute equally, or whether some categories are more important to some people in some circumstances. It does not seem likely, for instance, that each of these categories is equally meaningful for an executive as well as for a homemaker, for a young adult as well as for a middle-aged parent, or for an urban apartment dweller as well as for a suburban house owner.

The present research was undertaken in order to address some of

these fundamental questions about psychological concepts of home. It was conceived as an exploratory investigation, the purpose of which was to identify phenomena, and to explore the meanings and conceptual relationships among ideas about home. The need for a comprehensive conceptual scheme regarding psychological issues in housing has been directly expressed by a number of researchers. Morris and Winter (1975), for example, point out the need to understand how people perceive their housing in order to advance the study of residential mobility and residential adaptation. Craik and Zube (1975), in a research agenda for perceived environmental quality, articulated several needs, including: a taxonomy of perceived residential environments, and an analysis of "the concept of residential and institutional satisfaction, especially its dynamic properties and relation to psychological needs" (1975: 31). And Ladd (1976b) reported that

> one step toward solving the problems of families and individuals in poor housing and in public housing in the U.S. may be to clarify the psychological dimension of housing, including the psychological factors that influence the development and distribution of housing, the psychological significance of housing choices, and the meanings of homes to their inhabitants (Ladd, 1976b: 3).

Since the present focus on an overview of the meaning of home could present a massive research task, some limits seem warranted regarding the plethora of subject matter which is considered relevant to the idea of home. Specifically, the above meanings of home range from physical environment to self-perception to social processes; each such topic cannot be studied in great depth within a single, finite investigation. Thus, detailed research is not attempted regarding the variables, mea-

sures, and theoretical models within each of the categorical topics presented so far.

In addition, this study does not systematically investigate any of the numerous 'home-related' concepts. Webster's, for example, lists seventy three words or terms which begin with the word 'home'; these additional terms range from home plate to home canning and from homestead to homely. Such an exclusion is not meant to imply that these other ideas are not important, nor that they are irrelevant to the meaning of home. For example, the study of 'homelessness' may present several interesting parallels with concepts of home. However, a thorough statement on this topic merely illustrates the inadequacy of easy definitions:

> In current usage, home does not imply a family (unrelated persons can "make a home" together), a household (a rest home may be much larger), more than moderate fixity (in any given year, more than one in five U.S. families moves to a new home), or exclusivity (a special body of tax law covers taxpayers with two or more homes). Living outside a family, with no permanent address, does not make a priest or a soldier homeless, but the man who occupies the same lodging on skid row for forty uninterrupted years is properly considered homeless (Caplow, Bahr, & Sternberg, 1968: 495).

The exclusion of homelessness and other home-related concepts from this study was based on a conclusion that the meanings of these concepts do not always overlap with the meaning of home, and that the additional topics introduced by these concepts would unnecessarily increase the complexity of the present research task.

GOALS OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The literature review summarized above has raised important and pertinent questions about psychological concepts of home. Therefore, the present research is designed to explore the meanings, significances, associations, other thoughts, reported behaviors, and feelings about home. In a general way, these meanings, associations, and so on, are seen to comprise psychological concepts of home. Although it was expected that there would be many meanings of home, it was also acknowledged that for some people a single meaning may be sufficient to describe their own concept of home.

In general, it was hypothesized that 'home' is a psychologically meaningful concept for most people, and that it refers in some way to one's housing environment. Although actual behaviors and decisions about housing may be wholly or partly influenced by other factors (e.g., a person wants to own a house but cannot afford it), it is concluded--based on support for this idea in the literature--that the study of concepts of home constitutes one important part of the person-environment relationship for housing. The present effort to derive common categories of meaning regarding home should be useful in understanding people's experiences and satisfactions with their housing environment, and it may eventually help in understanding why people choose particular kinds of housing, and what it signifies to them.

It was also hypothesized that psychological concepts of home could be described by some approximation of the content categories which were outlined in the review of literature; obviously, however, such categories

cannot be assumed from a single person's review. Therefore, the present research attempts to:

a. identify the variety of meanings, significances, associations, other thoughts, reported behaviors, and feelings about home;

b. establish categories or dimensions of meaning which can serve as a comprehensible overview for ideas about home; and

c. explore the relative importances of meanings, or categories of meanings, about home--that is, whether or not there is a hierarchy of meanings, or different degrees of importance to individuals across categories of meaning.

Underlying these research goals was the expectation that a general investigation of concepts of home could reveal some coherent and circumscribable core of meaning which is roughly shared, known, and recognized by many people. However, it was not expected that all people would conceptualize home in identical ways. Therefore an additional and important component of this research was directed toward potential differences in people's evaluations of meanings of home. That is, within the sample of people studied, there was an attempt to analyze the relationship of selected demographic variables and experiential factors (i.e., sex, role in household, building type, and length of residence) to the meanings of home for this population. Such analyses were thought to be crucial in laying the groundwork for comparative studies of concepts of home, after a general overview was developed. A brief rationale for each of several comparative analyses serves to expand this line of thought:

Sex. Based on the literature review and popular stereotypes it

seemed reasonable to expect that there might be differences in concepts of home between men and women. The rationale for this choice centered on the widespread belief in sex differences generally, and in particular, on the likely situational, everyday differences between conventional sex-role behaviors as related to "the home" (Oakley, 1974; Lopata, 1971; Michelson, et al., 1973). That is, at least among the middle class, women have often spent more time at home, and sometimes their achievements and skills have been circumscribed by or confined to the home; men have often spent their working days away from the home, and their achievements may be measured in terms of career-development rather than in home-related ways. Further, this society has often socialized people into believing that it is primarily a woman's responsibility to manage the home, to be at home raising children while the man is out earning money (Janeway, 1971; Garskof, 1971). This comparative analysis raised the question of whether or not these popular beliefs were manifested in different concepts of home for one sex as compared with the other.

Role in Household. It was expected that people would differ in the kinds of responsibilities which they would assume in their household. With more than one adult in a household there can be a division of labor in terms of who does the housework, who earns the money, who makes the decorating and furniture decisions and who takes care of the children. Differences in these roles may result in different attitudes or conceptions of the home environment. For example, a person who does no housework, and makes no decorating decisions, may not subscribe to the idea that one's self-image is involved with one's concept of home. For a

person who does all the housework and makes all the decorating decisions, the home may be intimately intertwined with self-image (Lopata, 1971; Gilman, 1903).

Residential Building Type. It also seemed reasonable to assume that there might be differences in concepts of home which could be traced to the nature of the physical building in which a person resided. Since this research focused on a sample of urban families (a decision which will be discussed in the next chapter), it was limited to three building types: brownstone buildings (4 or 5 story row houses, converted into several apartments each), "medium rise" buildings (12 to 16 stories), and high rise buildings (25 to 30 stories). It seemed likely that people living in brownstone buildings would have a greater sense of the building as home (Hughes & Bleakly, 1975), whereas people living in a 30 story building would de-emphasize the physical structure as an important part of their concepts of home (Prescott, 1973).

Length of Residence. Another comparison focused on the length of time that people had lived in their present dwelling. If stability and familiarity are indeed important aspects of home, then one's dwelling would become 'home' over time, rather than becoming 'home' by definition as soon as one starts living in it (Franck, et al., 1974).

Thus, the major goal of the present research was to identify ideas about home, establish common categories of meaning, and order such categories in order to understand the variety of psychological meanings and associations to home. The addition of various comparative analyses was intended to explore possible differences in concepts of home among different groups of people, and to generate hypotheses for future research.

Chapter II

METHOD

Overview

The primary method which was used to investigate psychological concepts of home was a card sorting task, involving eight-five different meanings of home (derived from pilot work), each of which was displayed in a separate index card. The sorting task required respondents to create categories of meanings about home: cards (meanings) which expressed the same kind of idea about home were to be grouped together. This task was supplemented by subsequent evaluative ratings, to assess the extent to which each of the eighty-five meanings was similar to each respondent's own ideas about home.

This method evolved from several exploratory pilot studies which employed a wide range of methods and some variety in terms of sample populations. Such pilot studies were necessary in order to bring speculation about concepts of home into the realm of empirical investigation. Less than a handful of the references cited earlier had initiated investigations of concepts of home; rather, the majority of the relevant literature was anecdotal, speculative, theoretical, peripherally relevant to home, or not explicitly related to concepts of home.[5] Thus, al-

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[5]Some typical research questions about home include:
a. "Which neighborhood, this one or any other place, do you think of as your real home, that is, where you feel you really belong?" (Fried & Gleicher, 1961; Fried, 1963).
b. "Do you consider your apartment (or room) your home?" "When did you feel this way?" "Why then?" (Franck, et al., 1974).

though there are many speculations about the meaning of home, there are practically no precedents for empirical research on the topic. The pilot work allowed an in-depth exploration of appropriate questions, types of data, and schemes for conceptualizing psychological concepts of home. It also allowed an exploration of appropriate methods, formats, procedures, and instructions to respondents. Finally, the pilot work was needed to determine the degree of correspondence between individualized personal concepts of home, as contrasted with generalized concepts drawn from literature, and as an opportunity to identify meanings of home which may not have been suggested by the available literature.

The more structured final stage of this research was developed as a systematic extension of the pilot work. Specifically, the variety of meanings of home which were identified in the pilot work were then shaped into a structured instrument (the card sorting task) which was administered to a relatively homogeneous sample group, namely, families with young children living on Manhattan's Upper West Side.

In general, the purpose of this research strategy was to identify the variety of meanings of home, explore their relative importance, and ultimately arrive at an appropriate system of representing and conceptualizing the various categories of meaning about home. Since there was no guarantee that the final instrument would fulfill these purposes, the use of a homogeneous sample group was planned in order to minimize the variance among the data from this instrument. Since it was not known ahead of time which, if any, parameters of a mixed sample could introduce systematic (and perhaps unidentifiable) variation in concepts of home, this minimization of variance was thought to be an aid in reducing

the possible interpretations of results from the final instrument.

THE PILOT WORK:
EXPLORING METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION

Seven small pilot studies were conducted in order to expand upon the pool of meanings of home, as well as to explore appropriate empirical methods and procedures for this research. Six of these studies are summarized here; the seventh is then reported in more detail. This summary emphasizes the development of data collection methods, while a later section will focus on the decisions leading to the final sample population.

In the first six studies, a wide range of open-ended and structured questions were developed to ask people about their concepts of home. Respondents were solicited through college classes, a newspaper advertisement, and referrals from friends and neighbors of the investigator. Across these six studies, the total of one hundred seven respondents included single college students; single working adults; adult couples with young children, with older children, and a few with no children; some single women with children; people living in houses as well as apartments; and urban as well as suburban residents.

Representative open-ended questions which were addressed to these respondents included the following:

> Where are you from?
> What do you think of as your home? Why that?
> If you had to name one place where you feel the greatest sense of belonging, where and what is that place?
> Is there any one place that you think of as your home?

Do you think it's important to feel "rooted"?--to feel a stability in your place of residence?
As to your present place of residence, would it be more accurate to call it "a place to live" or "a home"?
What things make a place "home" instead of "a place to live"?
Has your apartment ever been broken into? If so, when you walked in and discovered that this had happened, what were your thoughts?

These open-ended questions stimulated a wide range of responses, and such responses were used to assemble a pool of meanings and ideas about home.

As a different approach to exploring people's concepts of home, some respondents were also asked to check one of five response categories[6] for each of several statements about home (some of which were derived from other respondents' comments). Typical statements included:

Home is a place that reflects my ideas, tastes and preference.
Home is my country.
Home is an emotionally important place.
When I travel, I think about where I am in relation to home.
Home is more of a feeling than a place.
My home is an essential part of me, the two are inseparable.
Losing a home is one of the most traumatic emotional experiences a person can have.
Home is where my parents live.
Home, in one form or another, is the great object of life.

In addition to interviews and questionnaires, other methods and types of data contributed to the wide scope of the pilot work. Some respondents were asked to keep a "diary" of thoughts about home, some were asked to discuss the important features of each room as plan draw-

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[6]The response categories included: (5) very central to my own ideas about home, (4) partly true for me, (3) hard to relate to, but could be true for others, (2) disagree with, and (1) do not understand.

ings were made of their apartments, some completed time budget accounts of their activities, and others made drawings of their childhood homes and/or their present home environments. However, several respondents expressed doubts that this information was equivalent to their concepts of home. Also, while each of these methods provided information about their home environments, or about their opinions of such environments, none provided direct information about the multidimensional structure of concepts of home. Therefore, these methods of data collection were not continued even though they provided a pool of possible meanings about 'home' which went beyond the examples discussed in the earlier literature review.

One of the reasons that this research moved toward a structured instrument was that respondents in interviews found it hard to discuss the complexity of their ideas about home. It seems likely that this difficulty was a consequence of the many ideas about home which they themselves could not put together in a coherent way. Thus, the theoretical interest in the multidimensional nature of concepts of home encountered a methodological stumbling block: it was not clear how each person could be encouraged to report on a variety of dimensions of meaning without the investigator suggesting those dimensions.

In the course of the sixth pilot study, however, a verbally administered list of statements about home was presented to each respondent. For example, some statements were:

> Home keeps my family together as a unit.
> The most intense emotional experiences take place at home.
> Home is a place that reflects my ideas, tastes and preferences.

Home is a place in which someone cares about me.

Some of these statements were used in earlier pilot work, and all of these statements had been made by other respondents when answering previous open-ended questions. As the investigator requested respondents to make a forced-choice evaluation of each statement, respondents frequently balked, complaining that they had already responded to a similar statement. Consequently, the investigator decided to give each respondent the complete list of statements about home and ask that he or she group together any similar ideas before making evaluative judgments. This procedure became the basis of the card sorting task which, by itself, provides data about the multi-dimensional structure of concepts of home.

Pilot Study No. 7. This small study was conducted to explore the feasibility of a card sorting task in assessing respondents' concepts of home. Although a card sorting task seemed to be appropriate for the problem being studied, its use raised two other issues: Does the pool of statements included in this task constitute a representative sample of meaning of home?, and Does the format of the statements influence the outcomes of the card sort? These two issues were also addressed in this additional pilot study.

RESPONDENTS: Twelve respondents (six couples) were interviewed and each person also completed a card sort using the collection of statements about home. All respondents lived in apartments on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, New York City, and all were solicited through neighborhood contacts. All were middle income families with young children.

INSTRUMENT: The main instrument, a card sorting task, was preceded by an introductory interview. Interview questions were open-ended and generally followed the format and content of previous samples. Respondents were asked questions such as:

> Different people have different thoughts about what they call 'home.' What do you think of as your home?
> Have you recently thought about home, what you call your home, or where you would like your home to be?
> Have you ever been confused or undecided about what to call your home?

In the card sorting task, statements about home which appeared on index cards were derived from answers to questions in previous interviews and questionnaires. For example, two of these statements were:

> Home, for me, is where I spent my childhood years.

and

> Home represents an opportunity to get away from the pressures of the outside world.

Initially, respondents were asked to sort index cards which displayed ideas such as these in sentence form. However, the use of sentences became problematic because people formed judgments about statements which then interfered with their attempt to group similar meanings about home. For example, respondents said that some statements were stated too strongly, or some had the wrong emphasis for a particular idea. Since similar objections were raised by most of the initial respondents in this sample, the sentences were changed to phrases. It was hoped that objections would be reduced because relational items such as "Home

should be. . ." and "Home, for me, is where. . ." were eliminated. Thus, the statement

> Home represents an opportunity to get away from the pressures of the outside world

was reduced to: "getting away from outside pressures," and the statement

> Home is inseparable from community

was reduced to: "community."

Initially, the card sorting task consisted of seventy-nine statements about home which were derived from the data of previous samples. To explore the representativeness of this pool of meanings of home, each respondent was asked whether he or she could suggest any additional meanings. Incorporating respondents' suggestions, twelve statements were added and six were deleted during the work with this sample. The twelve additional statements or phrases were usually refinements, or elaborations on one or more of the existing statements, and the six deleted statements were either confusing to several respondents or they yielded identical items when the sentences on each card were reduced to phrases or individual words. A few of the additional items were added by the investigator to supplement meanings which were insufficiently articulated. For example, the term 'privacy' seemed to connote several different meanings, and in an effort to allow ideas about home to be articulated more clearly, two similar meanings were added: "a chance to be by myself" and "where no one can bother me."

PROCEDURE: Interviews were conducted in each couple's apartment. After an initial half-hour interview and discussion, each respondent was given a set of index cards. Each card displayed one statement about home. Respondents were asked to look through the statements and sort them into piles of similar meanings; that is, statements that were expressing the same meaning or idea about home should be put into the same pile. Respondents were allowed to have as many or as few piles of index cards as they thought necessary, with no restrictions on the number of cards in each pile. Several variables were introduced into this procedure: husband and wife were interviewed together in some instances, and separately in others; some respondents completed the card sort while the investigator watched, and some completed it on their own time; and finally, some respondents were allowed to have a "discard pile" for extraneous meanings, while other respondents were requested to use all of the cards (each meaning had to be named as a group by itself, or included in some other group).

After completing the card sort, each respondent was asked a few final questions, primarily what they thought of the interview and card sorting procedure.

CONCLUSIONS: There were various reactions to the card sorting procedure. People usually said something favorable about the completeness of the set of ideas and said that "it was interesting to do." It apparently stimulated them to think about their own ideas about home, and such an influence was useful in this investigation. Several people said that it was "hard work" sorting out the various ideas about home, and that it took more time than they had expected.

Although there were scattered complaints (e.g., it was hard work, some statements were confusing), the ultimate success of this method was based on the fact that it satisfied several of the investigator's requirements:

1. It acknowledged a range of meanings of home. Although almost every respondent suggested more than one meaning of home, it was sometimes unclear to respondents whether they should focus on only the most important meaning, or whether they were expected to discuss a range of meanings. This method made it clear that a range of meanings was appropriate.

2. It standardized the context of the range of meanings of home. This was an important prerequisite in allowing the development of a hierarchy or relative ordering of meanings about home for each respondent. That is, if a person is going to say that certain meanings are the most important for them, it is necessary to know the range of meanings they have in mind when they judge some to be more important than others. With a standard range of meanings presented to each respondent, as made possible by this method, the context of such judgments is known.

3. It satisfied the search for a multidimensional method. Although other methods of data collection (e.g., open-ended interview questions about home, forced choice responses to lists of statements about home) could be analyzed in a multidimensional way, this method focused directly on respondents' perceived categories of meaning. Thus, the opportunity was open for respondents to create a few dimensions, or many dimensions, in creating a framework for their conceptions of home.

4. It satisfied the problem of whose meanings are being discussed.

One possible criticism of this approach is that the meanings under discussion stemmed from the researcher's biases and concepts, and were imposed on the respondents. Since the set of ideas about home for the card sort was derived from other respondents' answers to open-ended (and sometimes spontaneous) questions, this criticism can be countered. Thus this method is compatible with Ittelson's (1960) and Hastorf's (1957) concerns for maintaining the integrity of the perceiver's (respondent's) categories of meaning when studying a cognitive/perceptual topic. As an additional benefit, this method allows the respondent to create his or her own categories of meaning, which should certainly satisfy the effort to maintain the integrity of the perceiver's categories.

5. It did not require respondents to agree with each meaning or idea about home in order to group it with other meanings. Each card was grouped with other cards based on the similarity of meaning, not on the respondent's evaluation of it. Consequently, data can be collected about the structure or dimensionality of concepts of home even when one or two meanings are most important, or when some meanings are evaluated differently from others. This contrasts with interviews, for example, when it was difficult to initiate any discussion beyond a small number of meanings of home. This difficulty was not accounted for by respondents having only one or two ideas about home since additional discussion was possible when the investigator ventured to suggest additional meanings.

Since this method was judged successful, it was prepared for use in a second stage of this research, where it was applied to a larger, homogeneous sample of respondents under standardized conditions. Prior

to the discussion of the main study, however, the rationale for the specific sample population is presented.

THE SAMPLE POPULATION FOR THE MAIN STUDY

As pointed out earlier, a relatively homogeneous sample population was thought to be useful for the purposes of this exploratory research. The choice of such a sample group was based on the possibility that data from the final instrument would not necessarily be sufficient in describing concepts of home. If such data were judged to be insufficient, they could be supplemented by additional information drawn from individuals, or from an understanding of the group as a whole. For example, even during the early pilot work it was clear that people who lived on the Upper West Side tended to share a similar perception of the neighborhood, and to talk about the neighborhood as 'home.' This kind of observation could be used to describe one aspect of concepts of home if the final instrument did not encompass this meaning. Also, within a homogeneous sample population it is possible to use supporting information, or the lack of it, as a rough test of the construct validity of dimensions or concepts which emerge from the research.

For the main study, then, it was decided to choose a sample of married adults with young children living on Manhattan's Upper West Side. The primary reason for this decision was: it was important to choose a sample that could be expected to <u>have</u> well-developed concepts of home. Families with young children were expected to have such concepts of home partly because they were receptive to the topic during

pilot work, but largely because of such suggestions in literature. For example, this point is made in an overview of the concept of 'homelessness':

> In general, homelessness is less acute for families than for individuals. The homeless family may have no place in any community, but its members carry a web of roles and obligations with them wherever they go (Caplow, Bahr, & Sternberg, 1968: 494).

Other sample populations may be strikingly different in "having" a home. For example, there was a tendency among college students to say that they didn't have "a real home" at this time, suggesting that they had such a home when they were younger and still living with their parents, and that they would have such a home when they were older. Also, interviews with a few older couples suggested that 'home' was a more salient idea for them when their children were living with them. This is not to say that college students or older people do not have a conception of what a home is, or what it means to them. Rather, this decision reflects the choice to study people whose everyday experience might be involved with their concepts of home (e.g., families), instead of studying people who were more ambivalent about the topic.[7]

In addition to this general focus on families, some other criteria

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[7]Among college students, a number of respondents gave unusual answers to questions about home. These respondents were all young and single undergraduates, and home for them ranged from their bedroom (which was a common answer for their age group, often given in combination with their house or town) to other places like a bowling alley, a music room at college, the New Jersey shore, and a friend's house. There was also a small number who reported that there was no one place that they thought of as home. One reason that these answers were unusual was that they were apparently not focused on housing environments.

were developed to more narrowly define the sample population. Three additional criteria are identified:

Apartment residents on Manhattan's Upper West Side were selected for two reasons:

(a) It was not clear what they would identify as home. That is, families living in houses would most likely say that their house (and what was in it, and what it represents) was home. An urban family who did not own and live in a house would have to give some other answer about home. Therefore, the choice of this sample was partially prompted by interesting questions about urban life: Would urban families emphasize the identity of their own dwelling or the community of dwellings? Would urban families think of themselves as "homeless" if a two year lease on an apartment was the primary source of security and stability for them? Would they identify some other place or idea as home such as their parents' house or "the city"? If so, this investigation would be an opportunity to clarify those other ideas and relate them to the more expected ideas about home.

(b) A second reason for selecting apartment residents on the Upper West Side was based on the multidimensional nature of home which emerged in the review of literature. That is, the Upper West Side is reputed to be an area where residents identify with the community and where they value community participation (Gratz, 1974). Thus this sample should be aware of several possibilities for what home means to them, including at least family, dwelling and community. If concepts of home are in fact mutidimensional, this sample would be expected to provide a good illustration of that. If, on the other hand, respondents did not express

multidimensional concepts of home in this setting, that would be a surprising result, and would prompt both an evaluation of these research methods, as well as new speculation about an appropriate conceptual framework for concepts of home.

A "middle class" and middle income sample was decided upon because it had been speculated that home is primarily a middle class concept. Rainwater (1966) in particular has concluded that for the lower class the house or dwelling is principally important as shelter and protection from the dangers of the outside world. He speculated that a wider range of meanings and purposes regarding the dwelling would only accrue to a household which could muster more resources, one that could overcome the rather basic issues of shelter and security which are apparently a continuing concern among low income households. Thus, middle income families were expected to have elaborate concepts of home which could be studied.

A third criterion for this sample concerned the relative stability of their place of residence. Other research in progress in the Environmental Psychology Program suggested that people's ideas about their lives and their dwellings were often undergoing change during the process of moving and reorienting to a new residence. Other researchers have also concluded that the process of moving may precipitate, and may be anticipated by, changes in expectations and attitudes about housing (Michelson et al., 1973; Morris & Winter, 1975). If the model of such a moving process proposes that people shift from one set of attitudes and ideas to a period of change

and then again to a relatively more stable set of attitudes and ideas, it is essential to understand the nature of the more stable set of ideas about housing. If the more stable framework can be understood, it can lend clarity to the study of change.

Thus it was decided that this sample should represent people who had not moved recently and who were not planning to move to a new residence in the near future. This rationale was reinforced by the notion that conceptions of home were more likely to apply to a stable residential situation than to a transient one (Lynes, 1974).

Although other characteristics may be used to describe this sample population (and will be introduced later), the above set of criteria was established to guide sample selection.

Identifying Potential Respondents

Initially, respondents were solicited through neighborhood contacts (acquaintences or neighbors of the investigator), and then respondents (including respondents in earlier samples) were asked to recommend other potential respondents. This "snowball" sampling method held several advantages in the willingness of respondents to participate when recommended by an acquaintence of theirs, and in the criteria which could be applied to a respondent's recommendations. Specifically, respondents were asked to recommend as many other families that they could think of who satisfied these requirements: middle class, middle income two-parent households with children under eight years old, living on the upper West Side who had not recently moved and who were not planning to move to a new residence in the near future. Many recommendations stemmed

from cooperative baby sitting arrangements, or neighbors or former neighbors. Occasionally, respondents offered to recommend other families to be interviewed even before the investigator asked for such recommendations.

A major disadvantage of this "snowball" sampling method as compared with random sampling is that it may introduce unknown biases which can be relatively systematic with regard to the sample population. The possibility of systematic biases (such as a shared value orientation, the under-representation of families who do not have a network of friends in the immediate neighborhood, and so on)--which are unknown to the investigator--may severely limit the generalizability of research results from this sample. However, such biases may also complement the goals of this particular study: if they exist, they are likely to increase the homogeneity of the sample population, and to increase the likelihood that this sample embraces the shared value orientation of the neighborhood (participation in the local social life, for example).

Since respondents were not asked why they recommended particular couples for this study, it is not known if any significant self-selection or other-selection processes were operating. However, there was no evident bias in selecting couples whose apartments were especially well decorated or especially poorly decorated, nor in selecting couples who did or did not own their residence, or have a house in the country, or who had grown up in a house rather than an apartment.

There may have been one exception to this general conclusion: one person ostensibly declined to participate because he and his wife were

"busy"; however, because of the low tone and apparent shakiness in his voice when he said, ". . .and it's a tough time for us," some unhappiness was more likely the reason for not participating. In another case a respondent asked the investigator not to follow up with one family whom they had recommended a week earlier because "they may be splitting up." Consequently, there may have been a bias in selecting couples who did not appear to be experiencing overt marital conflicts or other major problems. One could, of course, make the argument that this bias would be present in any study when respondents were experiencing personal problems and did not want to be interviewed, and that it is inconsequential for concepts of home. However, an alternative perspective is that affect among family members is an important part of concepts of home and perhaps acquaintences were not referred for this study if they were experiencing interpersonal and emotional problems, thus affecting their home life. In either case it is probably appropriate to conclude that this sample represents happily married couples and not a random sample of couples, some of who were happily married and some of whom were not.

This probable bias can be viewed as a useful complement to the goals of sample selection for this research: that is, since the goal is to study middle class concepts of home, it is reasonable to study normative situations within the middle class. Nuclear families with young children and happily married parents represent one such normative situation. Willingness to participate in this research was high among the people contacted (88%), and this was probably enhanced by the personal reference from other respondents, and may have been enhanced by

the bias toward happily married couples.

THE MAIN STUDY

RESPONDENTS: Eight-one respondents, from forty-two couples, completed the card sorting task and other associated methods (eighty-six respondents, from forty-three couples, were interviewed, but five respondents did not complete the card sorting task). All respondents lived in New York City, on Manhattan's Upper West Side,[7] and all respondents were parents or guardians in families with young children. In general, the sample was middle class and middle income as indicated by professional occupations, high average educational level, and moderately high average annual income level. Additional information about the respondents in this sample is presented in Tables 2 and 3.

INSTRUMENT: Several instruments were administered, including an introductory interview, a card sorting task, a questionnaire, and a projective drawing task. The card sorting task was the primary instrument.

Interview questions were open-ended and generally followed the format and content of previous samples. Respondents were asked questions such as the following:

> Different people have different thoughts about what they call "home." What do you think of as your home--what's "home" for you?
> Why do you think of that as your home?

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[7]The Upper West Side was defined as the area between West 60th Street and West 100th Street, between Central Park West, and Riverside Drive.

Table 2

Demographic Data about Respondents in the Main Study

Sex	N	Age Range
Male	40	30 to 48
Female	41	26 to 40
	81	

Educational Level	
completed high school	4
completed some college	6
completed college	21
completed some graduate school (max. of Masters degree)	27
completed a medical or law degree	10
completed a Ph.D.	7
no answer	6
	81

Type of Childhood Residence	
lived in a single family house	39
lived in a two family house	4
lived in a small apartment building	12
lived in a large apartment building	6
other (included combinations)	11
no answer	9
	81

Table 3

Demographic Data about Households in the Main Study

Annual Household Income		Number of Children	
$10,000 - 19,999	8	one child	13
$20,000 - 39,999	23	two children	26
$40,000+	6	three children	2
no answer	5	no answer	1
	42		42

Residential Building Type	
brownstone (row house) building	8
medium high rise building (12-16) stories	22
tall high rise building (25-30) stories	12
	42

Ownership Status in Present Residence	
Renter	34
Cooperative Owner	6
Owner	2
	42

Length of Residence in Present Dwelling	
6 mos. - 2 yrs.	9
3 yrs. - 4 yrs.	10
5 yrs. - 7 yrs.	10
8 yrs. - 14 yrs.	10
no answer	3
	42

> Have you recently thought about home, what you call "home," or where you would like your home to be? Could you talk about that?

These questions were used to help the respondents focus on their own thoughts and conceptions of home, including previous conversations or experiences which might be relevant to their concepts of home. These questions were also planned to expose people to a variety of ways of thinking about home by asking different questions and by hearing their spouse's ideas about home. The investigator did not evaluate people's answers as right or wrong, but remained open to their thoughts and ways of thinking about home.

The card sorting task consisted of eighty-five index cards which were to be sorted by each respondent. Each card displayed one meaning of home such as 'apartment' or 'a personal extension of self' or 'a sense of belonging.' The complete list of these items is presented below in Table 4, and a typical card is illustrated in Figure 1. The meanings included in this list were derived from pilot work with previous samples, as described earlier in the discussion of pilot study number seven. In the first part of the card sorting task, respondents were asked to group together or to discriminate the various meanings of home based on their similarity of meaning; in the second part, respondents were asked to evaluate each meaning on a seven-point scale, ranging from "most like my ideas about home" to "least like my ideas about home."

A questionnaire was also distributed to each respondent, asking many of the same questions as those asked during the interview. In addition, the questionnaire was used to collect two additional kinds of

Table 4

Complete List of Eighty-Five Meanings of Home

Included in the Card Sorting Task

1.	home:	apartment
2.	home:	a personal extension of self
3.	home:	a sense of belonging
4.	home:	a country
5.	home:	a chance to be by myself
6.	home:	family
7.	home:	neighborhood
8.	home:	feeling comfortable and happy with myself
9.	home:	where my day starts and ends
10.	home:	permanence
11.	home:	leisure
12.	home:	work
13.	home:	where I sleep and eat
14.	home:	a one family house on its own plot of land
15.	home:	the social unit formed by a family living in one place
16.	home:	a building
17.	home:	a principal place of residence
18.	home:	architectural design
19.	home:	a style of living
20.	home:	privacy
21.	home:	a center around which one's growth and development as a person takes place
22.	home:	a part of me
23.	home:	a room
24.	home:	ownership
25.	home:	a street
26.	home:	peace and rest
27.	home:	a focus of one's social relations with other people
28.	home:	a base of operations
29.	home:	something that reflects one's ideas, tastes and preferences
30.	home:	possessions
31.	home:	refuge
32.	home:	a place to care about
33.	home:	a collection of people other than one's family
34.	home:	where someone cares about me

Table 4 (continued)

35.	home:	a place to get one's thoughts together
36.	home:	where I am safe and secure
37.	home:	a corner of my world
38.	home:	a fixed place
39.	home:	the center of my world
40.	home:	where I spent my childhood
41.	home:	sharing of emotions
42.	home:	a feeling when everyone is present
43.	home:	intense emotional experiences
44.	home:	where a person can return to
45.	home:	community
46.	home:	where I can do what I want
47.	home:	where one's parents live
48.	home:	happiness and well-being
49.	home:	a bed
50.	home:	warmth and security
51.	home:	continuity
52.	home:	where no one can bother me
53.	home:	place of birth
54.	home:	a place that provides a lot of satisfaction for me
55.	home:	near the ground, not 5 or 10 stories up
56.	home:	an emotional attachment
57.	home:	getting away from outside pressures
58.	home:	important for my sense of self
59.	home:	a city
60.	home:	having control
61.	home:	a core of my experience
62.	home:	love and togetherness
63.	home:	a place that is mine
64.	home:	a place to think
65.	home:	where you learn attitudes, values and proper behavior
66.	home:	mutual respect
67.	home:	someplace where you would want to live for a long time
68.	home:	investing time and money in a place
69.	home:	especially meaningful during holidays
70.	home:	the affection that people have for each other
71.	home:	familiar surroundings
72.	home:	feeling welcome

Table 4 (continued)

73.	home:	an extra space like a patio, or balcony, or some outside space
74.	home:	friendly neighbors
75.	home:	spending spare time
76.	home:	feeling free
77.	home:	a feeling inside me
78.	home:	a personal place
79.	home:	changing a place, making it yours
80.	home:	a sense of trust
81.	home:	freedom of choice
82.	home:	where things belong to me
83.	home:	something that feels like it's mine
84.	home:	responsibilities
85.	home:	an idea that helps me cope with the rest of the world

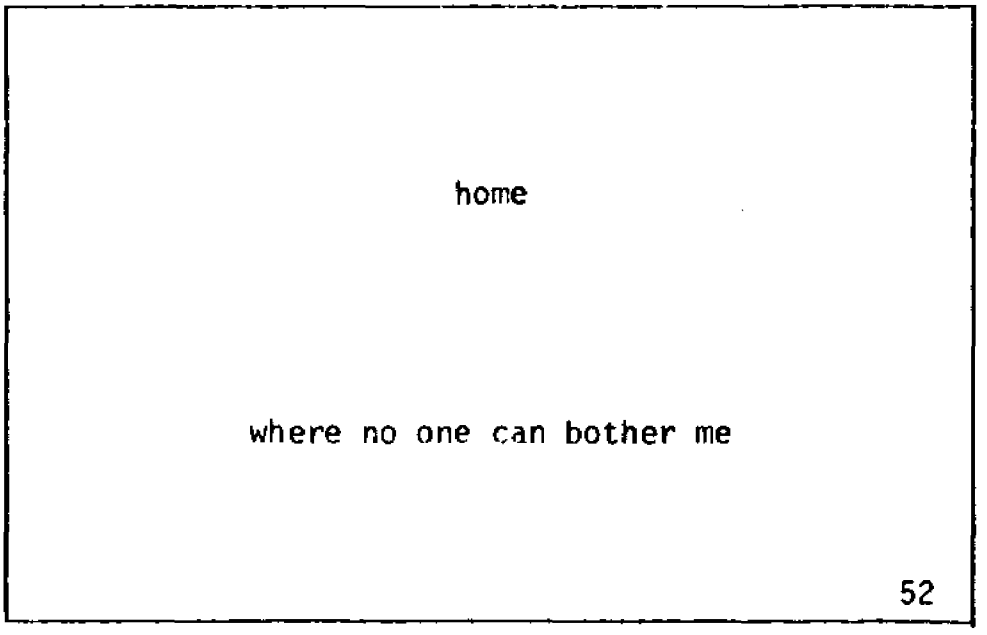

Figure 1. Illustration of typical card from the card sorting task.

data: demographic data about each respondent such as sex, educational level, and household income; and data about each respondent's role in their household in terms of housework, child care, earnings, and decorating decisions. A copy of this questionnaire is included in the Appendix.

There was no formal instrument for the projective drawing task. Respondents used blank sheets of paper to make abstract representations of their ideas about home. This task was included because of its success in pilot work when it was discovered that people usually enjoyed making such drawings. The drawing apparently allowed people to summarize their thoughts and add some creative touch to the mass of data about the meaning of home for them. Consequently, the use of drawings served as a device to end each respondent's participation with some positive experience.

PROCEDURE: The description of procedures for this final sample includes the administration of interviews, card sorting tasks, questionnaires, and projective drawings.

When potential respondents were contacted by phone, they were told who had recommended their name, and asked if they would be willing to be interviewed about "home" and its meaning for them. They were informed that both husband and wife would be interviewed together, that it would take a couple of hours of their time, and that they would be paid eight dollars per couple for their participation. If they were agreeable, an interview was scheduled.

Interviews were usually scheduled within a few days after the respondents had agreed to participate in the research. At the interview,

respondents were told that the interview would probably last for about thirty to forty-five minutes, after which they would be given a set of index cards which they would be asked to keep for about a week; instructions for that part of the study would be given at the end of the interview. Respondents were also told that the investigator would return for a second visit to pick up the cards and ask a few final questions.

At the beginning of the interview respondents were asked if they would object to the use of a tape recorder to record the interview. The investigator explained that the tape recording would be used to help reconstruct the notes from the interview. None of the respondents objected, although a small number requested an assurance that any published quotation from interviews would be referred to in an anonymous way; such an assurance was given.

Interviews lasted for at least twenty minutes and usually longer. At the end of the interview the investigator remarked:

> Well, we've talked about a number of ideas about home and I've found that different people sometimes have different ideas about home. So, another way that I'm dealing with this topic is that I've compiled a list of different ideas about home, and I've put this list on index cards--each card contains a different idea about home. I'd like each of you to have a set of these cards (investigator hands one set of cards to each respondent)--there are eighty-five cards in all--and I'd like you to look them over, get familiar with them and then sort them into piles of similar meaning. That is, cards that are expressing the same idea about home would go in the same pile. You may have as many or as few piles as you want, with as many or as few cards in each pile as you want. The idea is that cards will go together if they express the same general idea about home, and different piles of cards will be expressing different ideas about home.

Then the investigator paused or was interrupted for questions which were answered by repeating some part of the preceding instructions. As soon thereafter as possible, the investigator gave the instructions for recording the data from the card sort, followed by instructions to rate each of the eighty-five ideas on seven-point scales:

> OK, when you finish sorting all the cards into groups, I'd like you to record the data from your sort on these 'data sheets' which I've devised because it's hard to keep piles of cards around the house when you may have spread them out on the dining room table or children may get into them, and so on. (Investigator then handed each respondent a single data sheet and placed an additional twenty-five data sheets on a table or some other surface between the respondents.) Now, you can use one of these sheets for each pile of cards that you've decided on. So, for example, let's say, arbitrarily, that you put cards numbered ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty in the same pile or group because you thought they expressed the same idea about home. Then you would take that group of cards and list the numbers from each card along this column on the left hand side of the sheet, under where it says '99' which is an example using a fictitious card number. And as you list each card number, I'd like to get your opinion about each of the ideas on the cards. So, if the idea on a card is very much like your ideas about home, it's very similar and you feel strongly about that idea in a positive way, then check a "1" or a "2"; if the idea is not at all like your ideas, in fact you may even disagree with it as an idea about home, then check a "6" or "7"; and if, well, yes, this is an idea about home but you don't feel strongly about it one way or the other then check a "3", "4", or "5."

Respondents were asked to give a name to each group of cards, to help identify and interpret their categories of meaning. They were allowed to derive a name from any index card in a particular group if they had not thought of their own name for the group.

In summarizing the instructions for the respondents, it was pointed out that there were two parts to this task: one, sorting the index cards into groups based on similarity of meaning; and secondly, giving

their opinion about each idea on the cards. Respondents were cautioned not to sort the cards based on their opinions, as in "these are the cards that represent how I feel about my home, and these are the cards that used to be my home, and these are different from my own ideas about home." The rating of each card was designed to solicit such opinions and that was to be done after the cards were sorted according to similarity of meaning.

A questionnaire was left with each respondent, which served as a reminder of most of the interview questions. It was designed to give respondents a chance to elaborate or change their answers to interview questions, and to collect specific data about them which may have been awkward or difficult to answer in an interview (such as income, and how much housework each person does).

The investigator returned to the respondents' residences at least one week after the initial interview. At this time, the data sheets and deck of index cards were returned to the investigator and a few questions were asked, mostly dealing with the respondent's evaluation of the method and any influence which it may have had on them.

Finally, respondents were asked to make a drawing of their ideas about home on a blank sheet of paper. It was introduced by contrast to the other instructions where they were asked to respond to standard interview questions, sort a list of ideas about home which were decided ahead of time, and check which of two words better expressed their ideas about home. In this last exercise, they were asked to use the ideas which were most important for themselves and try to represent these ideas in relation to each other. It was suggested that they make an ab-

stract drawing, thus enabling them to represent tangible and intangible ideas; and it was suggested that they use circles to represent the various ideas, thus eliminating the need for drawing skill.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Since the primary purpose of this research was to explore the extent and structure of psychological concepts of home, methods of analysis were sought which would allow multidimensional representations of these data.

The method of analysis used in this research was hierarchical cluster analysis (Johnson, 1967). While most of the multidimensional analyses employ similar mathematical procedures, some were rejected because they are only recommended for situations in which three or fewer dimensions are expected to be satisfactory. Since the review of literature had suggested six dimensions, such a restriction did not seem to be desirable. Johnson's hierarchical cluster analysis does not limit the number of dimensions a priori (except that the number of clusters cannot exceed the number of variables). In addition, hierarchical cluster analysis was selected because it derives clusters (dimensions) in two ways --optimally "connected" and optimally "compact."[8] It also yields solutions which show all variables, in this case eighty-five meanings of home, in some relationship to each other; all variables are included in

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[8]One clustering solution represents a search for long chain-like clusters ("connected"), and the other solution is based on the attempt to minimize the diameter of the clusters ("compact").

the clustering solutions. Thus, this method of analysis is regarded as appropriate for this exploratory research.

Chapter III

RESULTS

The main empirical task of this investigation was to explore the range of meanings of home to determine whether or not these meanings could be described by a limited number of dimensions, or categories of meaning, about 'home.' Therefore, the primary results which are reported here are drawn from the task of sorting eighty-five meanings of home into categories of similar meaning. Prior to the presentation of these results, however, a brief introduction presents data which have a bearing on questions about the variety, appropriateness, and multidimensional nature of the range of meanings which comprised the final instrument for this study of concepts of home.

Many different ideas emerged as meanings of home. The open-ended pilot work with a variety of sample groups had allowed for, and generated, a wide range of these meanings; also, many meanings were thought to be relevant to concepts of home during the main study. In interviews, for example, the range of ideas about home which emerged did not appear to be substantially different from the range of meanings presented in the card sort, although these were not compared in any systematic way. And when, at the end of their participation in the study, respondents were asked to comment on the range of ideas in the card sort (eighty-five different meanings of home), no one reported that those ideas were inadequate or inappropriate in describing concepts of home.

Only two respondents suggested an additional meaning.[9]

Additional evidence for the appropriateness of these eighty-five meanings was apparent from respondents' ratings (evaluations) of each meaning. Table 5 presents the distribution of ratings for each meaning of home, ranging from 1 to 7 (1 = "most like my ideas about home" and 7 = "least like my ideas about home").[10] These data indicate that at least some respondents felt that each of the eighty-five meanings of home matched their own conceptions. For example, item number six, home as 'family,' was "most like my ideas about home" for sixty (60) respondents, it was apparently very similar to eleven (11) other respondents' ideas about home, and a small number of other respondents rated it less like their ideas about home.

From the plurality of similarity ratings, and from generally favorable comments by respondents,[11] it was concluded that there are many valid meanings of home, and that the meanings presented in the card sorting task represent an appropriate and reasonably exhaustive group of meanings of home. Such a conclusion is essential to the development of an overview of concepts of home, as attempted by this research.

The main results and data analysis of this research are presented

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[9]One respondent suggested that the process of making friends is important in making a place 'home'; another respondent said that the style of furniture design relates to the meaning of home.

[10]Card numbers are listed along with each meaning; meanings noted with an asterisk (*) indicate that they were shortened to fit within the space limitations of the table. Zeros indicate missing data.

[11]For example, one respondent said: "I never realized there could be so many different ideas about home; and they all do relate to home."

Table 5

Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Each of the Eighty-five Meanings of Home

		"most like my ideas"						"least like my ideas"	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0[a]
6:	family	60	11	5	1	1	0	1	
3:	a sense of belonging	48	16	8	3	2	2	2	
62:	love and togetherness	46	22	7	3	0	1	2	
34:	where someone cares about me	43	19	7	2	3	4	2	1
50:	warmth and security	41	31	10	3	2	3	0	1
72:	feeling welcome	39	31	8	9	1	0	2	1
80:	a sense of trust	39	18	9	8	3	0	3	1
66:	mutual respect	38	20	3	6	3	4	4	3
78:	a personal place	36	24	13	3	2	2	0	1
70:	affection for each other*	35	16	11	6	4	3	2	4
56:	an emotional attachment	32	20	13	8	4	1	2	1
22:	a part of me	31	18	12	7	3	2	5	3
15:	social unit formed by family*	31	12	8	9	5	9	6	1
32:	a place to care about	30	21	13	7	6	1	1	2
77:	a feeling inside me	30	7	13	12	2	7	9	1
54:	provides satisfaction for me*	29	21	12	9	3	1	2	4
20:	privacy	28	17	17	9	4	2	3	1
48:	happiness and well-being	27	23	15	9	3	3	0	
58:	important for my sense of self	27	18	9	10	7	4	4	2
36:	where I am safe and secure	25	25	13	9	4	4	1	
41:	sharing of emotions	25	25	15	7	4	0	4	1
71:	familiar surroundings	25	19	15	10	4	5	2	1
26:	peace and rest	25	15	15	10	6	5	2	3
51:	continuity	24	20	9	9	7	7	3	2
35:	get thoughts together*	24	19	15	11	3	4	4	1
61:	a core of my experience	24	13	15	9	7	3	10	
43:	intense emotional experiences	23	15	13	6	10	6	6	2
2:	a personal extension of self	22	21	15	7	8	5	2	1
8:	feeling happy with myself*	22	19	13	17	1	5	3	1
84:	responsibilities	22	18	18	10	2	3	6	2
31:	refuge	22	16	19	9	6	2	6	1
29:	reflects one's ideas & tastes*	21	28	15	7	6	1	3	
76:	feeling free	21	21	9	11	7	5	6	1
37:	a corner of my world	21	11	10	14	4	9	9	3

64:	a place to think	20	24	18	9	4	2	1	3
17:	a principal place of residence	20	13	4	13	7	11	13	
21:	a center of growth*	19	18	16	12	7	5	2	2
44:	where a person can return to	19	17	19	14	3	2	6	1
57:	away from outside pressures*	18	16	18	10	5	6	6	2
85:	an idea that helps me cope*	18	8	7	13	6	10	14	5
63:	a place that is mine	17	22	15	11	6	5	5	
5:	a chance to be by myself	17	12	17	16	5	8	4	2
39:	the center of my world	16	12	16	15	5	7	8	2
19:	a style of living	16	10	21	14	7	7	6	
9:	where my day starts and ends	16	10	14	10	5	11	14	1
81:	freedom of choice	15	19	16	12	6	4	8	1
42:	when everyone is present*	15	19	11	12	6	5	12	1
65:	where you learn attitudes*	15	19	10	8	6	8	11	4
83:	feels like it's mine*	15	17	16	8	9	7	7	2
46:	where I can do what I want	15	10	14	22	8	6	5	1
7:	neighborhood	14	23	15	15	4	2	5	3
69:	meaningful at holidays*	14	19	18	8	8	6	7	1
28:	a base of operations	14	10	14	16	10	4	12	1
67:	someplace for a long time*	12	15	18	10	4	10	9	3
82:	where things belong to me	12	14	15	15	8	9	7	1
10:	permanence	12	14	14	12	9	8	11	1
40:	where I spent my childhood	12	13	8	19	6	9	13	1
13:	where I sleep and eat	12	8	8	19	6	9	18	1
79:	changing a place*	11	20	18	15	6	5	5	1
59:	a city	11	11	21	14	6	8	8	2
52:	where no one can bother me	11	10	12	10	13	11	11	3
30:	possessions	10	11	17	11	13	8	9	2
74:	friendly neighbors	9	28	15	14	6	5	4	
45:	community	9	24	18	13	6	4	5	2
27:	focus of social relations*	9	14	15	18	8	5	6	6
60:	having control	9	13	10	13	9	13	10	4
11:	leisure	9	11	18	20	10	3	6	4
49:	a bed	8	13	6	8	9	10	26	1
38:	a fixed place	8	11	12	14	8	10	17	1
47:	where one's parents live	8	9	5	13	11	9	25	1
24:	ownership	8	6	8	15	18	6	19	1
33:	people other than family*	8	4	11	11	3	6	32	6
68:	time & money in a place*	7	11	11	14	15	11	11	1
18:	architectural design	7	8	7	12	7	9	31	
14:	1-family house on own land*	7	5	5	7	6	9	39	3
53:	place of birth	6	6	8	9	9	8	35	
75:	spending spare time	5	13	18	14	9	8	10	4
1:	apartment	5	12	11	14	13	6	17	3
12:	work	5	11	16	9	3	12	21	4
4:	a country	5	9	15	16	11	7	18	
73:	extra space like balcony*	5	4	6	8	5	15	38	
23:	a room	5	3	7	14	8	9	35	
55:	near the ground*	3	5	2	10	4	11	44	2
16:	a building	2	4	9	21	14	7	24	
25:	a street	0	12	20	12	12	9	15	1

[3]Zeros indicate missing data.

in four sections: (1) the card sorting task, (2) analysis of the sorting data by sex, (3) respondents' ratings of the eighty-five meanings of home, and 4) the projective drawings.

THE CARD SORTING TASK

The above wide range of meanings was expected to result in rather complex concepts of home. Therefore, the task of analyzing the data from the card sort, and from the ratings of each card, was focused on multidimensional methods of analysis. Hierarchical cluster analysis (Johnson, 1967) was selected as an appropriate method of analysis for the card sorting task in this study.

Tabulation of the card sort. To begin with, confirmation of the multidimensional nature of concepts of home (supplementing a similar conclusion from the pilot work) is found in the tabulation of results from respondents' card sort data. These results, as presented in Table 6, demonstrate that each individual was able to create several different categories of meaning about home. The number of such categories ranged from three to twenty-one, the mode was seven, and the median number of categories created was 7.25. Although not all of a person's categories were necessarily regarded as integral parts of their concept of home, the wide range of congruent ratings for all meanings of home (as indicated in Table 5) ruled out the possibility that there were many categories of meaning, but only a few categories of meaning about home. Consequently these data confirmed the multidimensional nature of concepts

Table 6

Tabulation of the Number of Categories Created by Respondents during the Card Sorting Task

number of categories	n	number of categories	n
1	---	12	8
2	---	13	3
3	5	14	2
4	7	15	2
5	11	16	---
6	9	17	1
7	12	18	---
8	7	19	---
9	7	20	---
10	4	21	1
11	2		

n = number of respondents

of home.

When respondents created various categories of meaning, they also created their own name or title for each group of meanings of home. Such category names illustrate the nature of concepts of home for the individuals studied. Table 7 presents a sample listing of category names created during the card sorting task by a few respondents. Although respondents were free to create their own name for each group, they were also allowed to create a category name by paraphrasing the wording of one or more items within a group. Titles which have apparently been paraphrased from specific items in a group have been marked with an asterisk (*); however, it should be noted that such category names may be identical to ones which respondents did create or would have created without paraphrasing. In any event, there did not appear to be substantial differences between original category names as compared with paraphrased ones, except that the original names were perhaps more personal and less formal than the paraphrased names.

While the results presented so far include all data from all respondents, the examination of the category names led to the conclusion that some respondents had displayed a different style of categorizing these meanings of home than had been displayed by the majority of respondents. For example, one respondent created categories according to the grammatical structure of the phrase displayed on each card (e.g., "noun + noun"), a few respondents used a style of categorizing based on the subjective/objective or concrete/abstract/intellectual nature of each idea, and a few respondents (in distinct violation of the instructions for the card sort) created categories based on their personal

Table 7

Examples of Category Names Used by Respondents to Describe Their Card Sort

18[a]	refuge*
	ego--extension
	family*
	family of origin
	continuity*
	importance
	places
	freedom*
	activities
	(miscellaneous)
03[a]	personal feelings
	staking out a territory
	structure
	family*
	social
62[a]	just description
	big grave matters
	the friends
	freedom*
	purely mechanical
	the nest
	spiritual and emotional
	me!!
	things
82[a]	relating to other people
	familiar surroundings*
	warmth and security*
	privacy*
	things you do at home
	physical aspects
	childhood and parents*
31[a]	parent/child--my parents and me/me and my children
	(what home means to me, what's important to me, my personal definition)
	emotional and/or cliche definitions
	a second home--i.e., a country place, vacations, and weekends
	(irrelevant data and/or sets)
Example of different style:	
07[a]	(concrete objects)
	(emotional concepts)
	(intellectual concepts)

*title which may have been paraphrased from one of the eighty-five meanings of home.

(title) = categories which were excluded from the cluster analysis of the card sorting task.

[a]respondent identification number

evaluation of the various meanings of home. Since it was thought that these data represented drastically different styles of categorizing the various meanings of home, the data from nine subjects (11% of the sample) were excluded from this part of the analysis. In addition, some respondents created a category entitled "miscellaneous" or "irrelevant" and a few respondents created one extremely large category containing as many as half of the eighty-five ideas about home. These large categories were typically labelled something like "my ideas about my home" and "my home now." Since such categories were essentially expressions of similarity, as reflected in the title and in the ratings of the ideas within the group, and since the card sort was intended to be descriptive while the ratings were to elicit an assessment of the similarity between these meanings and the respondents' conceptions, these few large groups, and the miscellaneous categories, were also eliminated from this analysis (these groups represented an additional 4 percent of the data which were excluded). These various styles of categorizing or conceptualizing were not wrong; rather, they were quite different from other respondents' categories which had been based on the content of the meaning, rather than the similarity of the meaning to the respondent's own conceptions of home. The remaining data to be analyzed represented 85 percent of the data collected from the card sorting task.

Multidimensional analysis of the card sort. In preparation for cluster analysis, the data from the eighty-five item card sort were tabulated. This analysis, like most multidimensional analyses, requires that the data be in the form of a matrix. Therefore, an eighty-five by eighty-five joint occurrence matrix was created to summarize each re-

spondent's card sort; an example of one such joint occurrence matrix is presented on the next page as Table 8. Each position in the matrix represents the pairing of two meanings of home. For example, if card number '1' had been sorted into the same category as card number '2' then this (1,2) position of the matrix was defined as "+1"; if these two cards were not grouped together, this (1,2) position was defined as zero. This same procedure was applied to all (85,85) positions in the matrix; the lower triangular half of the matrix is sufficient to represent the data from each person. In effect, the card sort and joint occurrence matrix had achieved the same result as would have been achieved by 3,570 paired compairsons using the eighty-five meanings of home.

The joint occurrence matrices for all respondents were then added together to form an aggregate matrix representing the frequency with which any one item had been grouped with another. This matrix was then transformed into a joint proportion matrix to compensate for unequal frequencies among some of the items (due to the elimination of some categories, and some missing data). Thus, the final form of this data--prior to analysis--is illustrated by the partial joint proportion matrix in Table 9. Proportions were created by dividing each position in the aggregate joint occurrence matrix by the appropriate diagonal entry (the one which represented the maximum possible co-occurrence among a particular pair of items). In the matrix shown, the entry at (1,2) indicates that item '1' (apartment) was grouped with item '2' (a personal extension of self) by 9 percent of the respondents; the entry at (1,3) indicates that item '1' was grouped with item '3' ('a sense of belonging') by 7

Table 8

Typical Joint Occurrence Matrix,
Summarizing the Data from
One Respondent's Card Sort

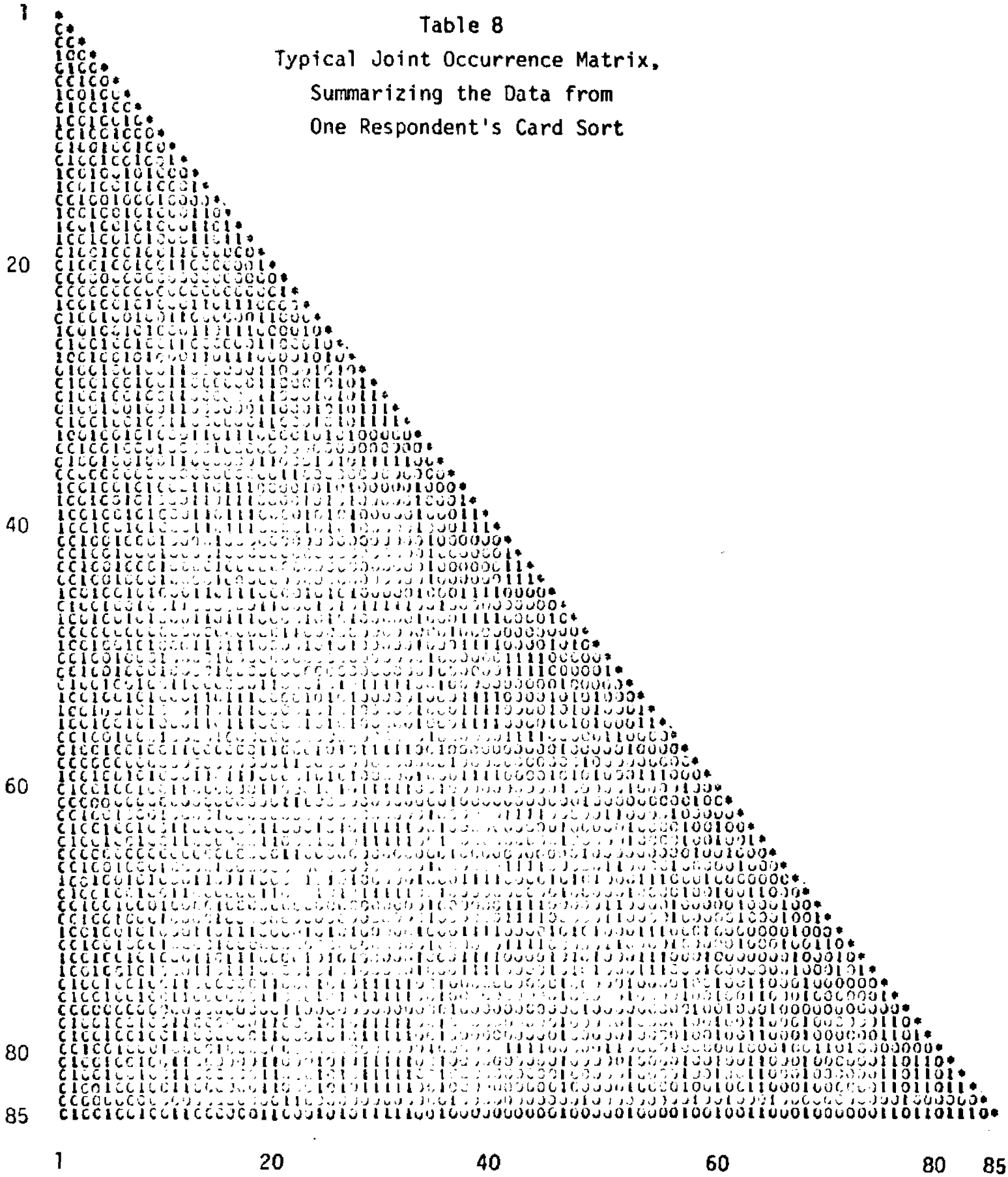

Table 9

Partial Joint Proportion Matrix from the Card Sort Data

		card numbers, representing meanings of home							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
apartment	1	---							
extension of self	2	9%	---						
belonging	3	7%	37%	---					
a country	4	67%	3%	6%	---				
be by myself	5	2%	34%	23%	2%	---			
family	6	13%	18%	49%	10%	11%	---		
neighborhood	7	51%	5%	13%	66%	2%	21%	---	
happy with self	8	8%	47%	42%	3%	53%	25%	9%	---

percent of the respondents; and so on.

Hierarchical cluster analysis. This joint proportion matrix was then analyzed using Johnson's (1967) hierarchical cluster analysis computer program. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this analysis yields two clustering solutions which can be compared for their usefulness; an optimally 'connected' solution (the connectedness method, aiming toward long chain-like clusters), and an optimally 'compact' solution (the diameter method aiming toward compact clusters). According to Johnson, if there are differences between these two solutions, the diameter method will probably be more useful in articulating the various clusters.

The connectedness solution to hierarchical cluster analysis for these data is presented in Figure 2. The cluster analysis solution is presented visually as a bar graph, with the index to the eighty-five meanings of home appearing along the top. The variables are not in numeric order because they have been rearranged to express their various interrelations with each other. A cluster is apparent when a group of variables forms a pyramid or skyscraper image. This is accomplished by using a column of X's to fill in the spaces between related variables. A break between clusters is warranted when a space between variables (a vertical column of blanks) proceeds down toward the base of the bar graph. For example, one cluster near the center of the graph is apparently the largest cluster, consisting of the following items:

38. a fixed place
17. a principal place of residence
7. neighborhood
45. community

Card Identification Numbers for Eighty-five Meanings of Home

(See Table 4, page 63, for a complete list of these meanings)

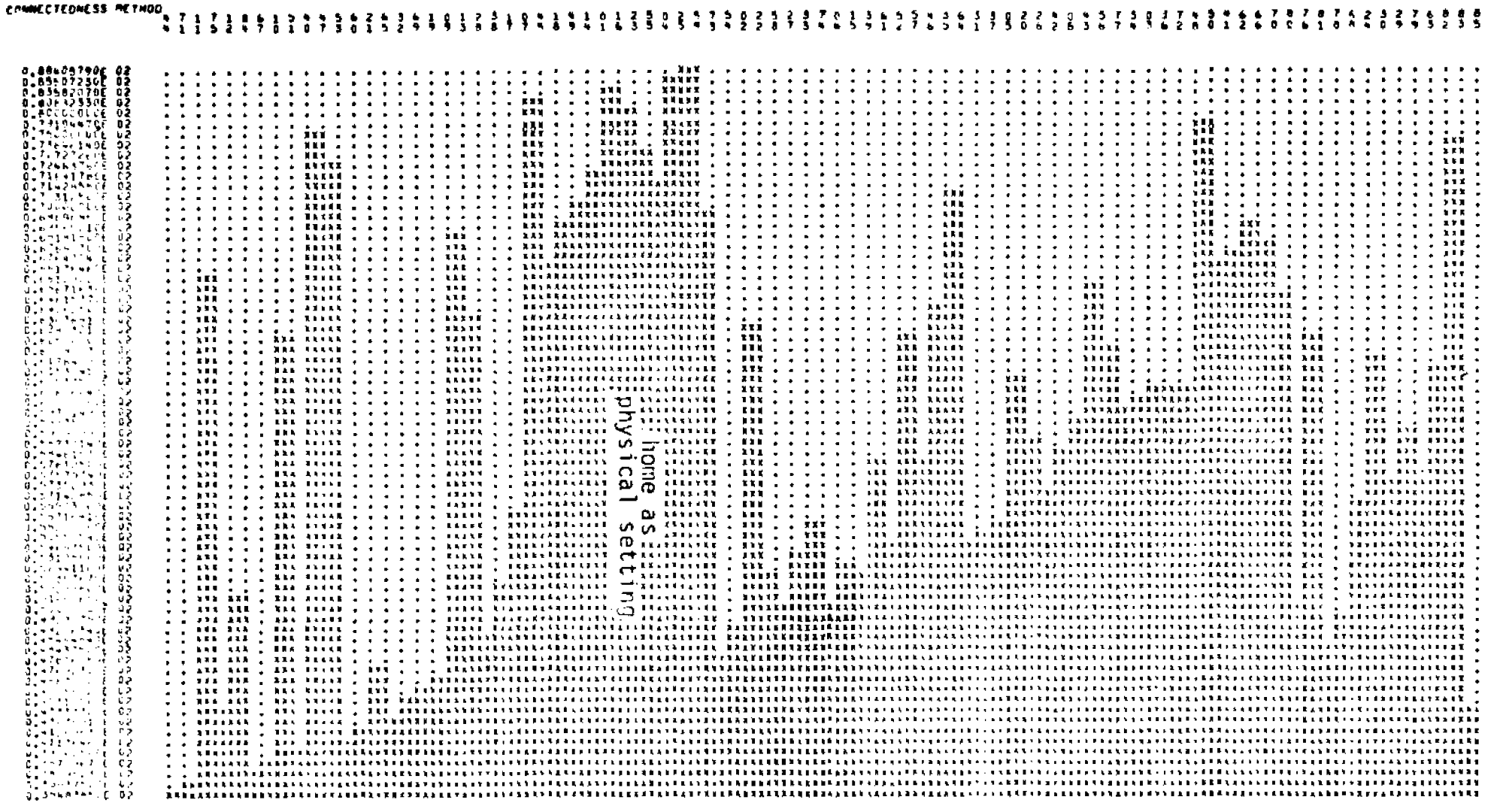

Figure 2. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (Connectedness Method) Solution to the Card Sort Data

18. architectural design
49. a bed
14. a one family house on its own plot of land
1. apartment
16. a building
23. a room
55. near the ground, not 5 or 10 stories up
4. a country
25. a street
59. a city, and
73. an extra space like a patio, or balcony or some outside space

The fact that this group of variables forms a skyscraper image means that the intercorrelations (actually, joint proportions of co-occurrence) among these variables are higher than the general level of interconnectedness among the other variables. A separation of these variables from adjacent variables was warranted by the break at the left between variables 28 and 38, and by the break at the right between variables 73 and 54. Subsequently, this cluster was labeled 'home as physical setting.'

Although additional clusters could be identified from this solution,[12] the optimally compact clusters of the diameter method enable clearer distinctions among the clusters and thus, this second method is used to describe categories of meaning in more detail. It should be noted that there were many similar clusters in these two solutions.

The solution to the diameter method of hierarchical cluster analysis is presented in Figure 3. In this solution, nine clusters have been

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[12]The clusters from the connectedness solution were labeled: (1) activity-related/behavioral aspects of home, (2) permanence, (3) home as childhood home, (4) functional aspects of home, (5) home as physical setting, (6) home as self identity and social unit, (7) home as refuge, (8) home as privacy, (9) emotional aspects of home, (10) home as security and well-being, (11) home as freedom, and (12) home as personalized place.

Card Identification Numbers for Eighty-five Meanings of Home

(See Table 4, page 63, for a complete list of these meanings)

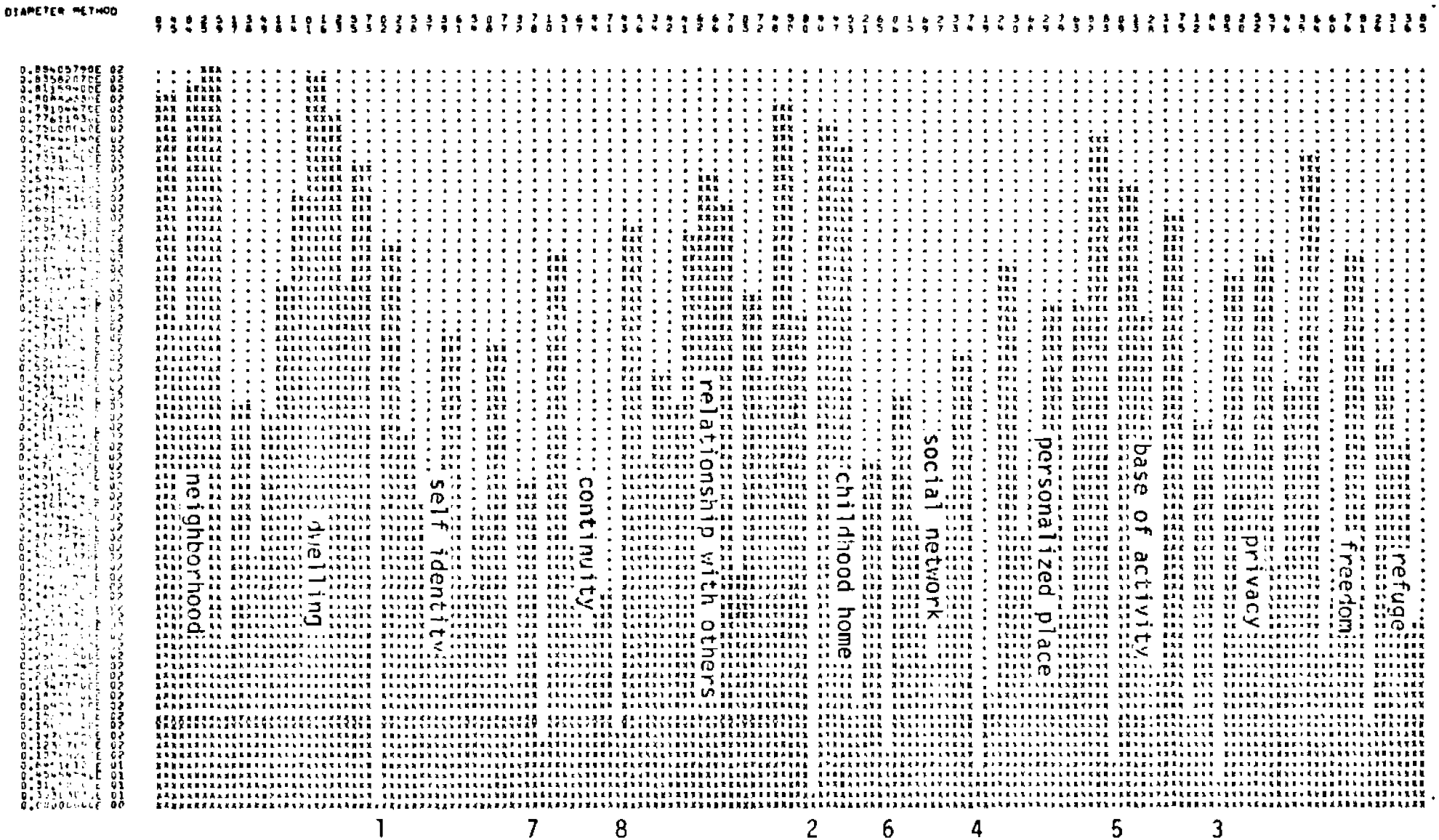


Figure 3. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (Diameter Method) Solution to the Card Sort Data

identified, although some of them were composed of smaller interrelated groups of ideas. These nine clusters were labeled: (1) home as physical structure (1a: neighborhood; 1b: dwelling), (2) home as self identity and personal place, (3) home as continuity in the environment, (4) home as an affective relationship with other people, (5) home as childhood home, (6) home as social unit, (7) home as personalized place, (8) home as a base of activity, and (9) home as a place of privacy and refuge (9a: privacy; 9b: freedom; 9c: refuge). Although the choice of the number of clusters to be interpreted is somewhat arbitrary, these nine clusters are indicated by the eight clearest separations or breaks between groups of variables, as indicated at the bottom of the cluster analysis graph. The separation labeled '1' reaches closest to the base of the graph, and distinguishes the physical structure ideas from other ideas; the separation labeled '3' distinguishes various ideas about privacy and refuge from other ideas; and so on. The order of these clusters is not significant; it is not related to their strength in the analysis nor to their explanatory value. Adjacent clusters, however, are thought to be more closely related to each other than they might be to other nonadjacent clusters.

In the following descriptions of these clusters or groups of meanings, it should be remembered that the best items in each cluster (that is, the items which are most central to the meaning of each cluster) appear at the center of the group. The items at the left and right of each cluster (corresponding to the top and bottom of each cluster when listed in the text) are usually more peripheral to the meaning of the cluster.

Cluster 1, home as physical structure, consists of a collection of ideas about physical structures, places, and design features. The term 'structure' is used because of the mostly objective, descriptive nature of the meanings in this cluster. There were two primary subgroups to this cluster, and they are (a) home as neighborhood, and (b) home as dwelling. In home as neighborhood, the meanings included:

7. neighborhood
45. community
4. a country
25. a street, and
59. a city

The home as dwelling subgroup consisted of meanings such as these:

49. a bed
18. architectural design
14. a one family house on its own plot of land
1. apartment
16. a building
23. a room
55. near the ground, not 5 or 10 stories up, and
73. an extra space like a patio, or balcony, or some outside space

Despite this distinction, it is interesting to note the variety of disparate ideas which were grouped together in this cluster. It might have been expected, for example, that the item about 'house' would not have grouped so well with 'apartment' since these two kinds of dwellings usually represent such different physical environments and styles of living. Their appearance together would seem to indicate that respondents conceived of these dwellings similarly (from the card sort instructions: "as expressing the same kinds of ideas about home"), regardless of their drastically different contexts. While the distinction between

neighborhood and dwelling is potentially an important one, it was not strong enough to result in separate clusters. Consequently this cluster appeared to focus on a rather limited objective conception of physical environment, in which no activities were mentioned and in which no other goals or aspirations were indicated.

Cluster 2 refers to home as self identity. This phrase is used to characterize the who-I-am and sense-of-self ideas which dominate here. In contrast to cluster 1, this cluster is not composed of two distinct subgroups: it is apparently a collection of several different interrelated meanings, including:

2. a personal extension of self
22. a part of me
58. important for my sense of self
39. the center of my world
61. a core of my experience
8. feeling comfortable and happy with myself, and
77. a feeling inside of me

It would appear that the controlling influence among this group of ideas is the theme of self identity and sense of self, which is expressed in various ways here but which does not appear in any other cluster except cluster 9, privacy and refuge, a relationship which is not inconsistent. A 'personal place' aspect of this cluster was peripheral: three items make reference to 'place' and these three have the lowest interconnectedness with the other items in the cluster (these included: 'a place to care about', 'a personal place', and 'a place that provides a lot of satisfaction for me'). Ultimately, it was concluded that the references to 'self' and to a focus of one's feelings about self provided the best explanation of this group of ideas.

Cluster 3 is labeled home as continuity in the environment because of its focus on longer term meanings about home. Specifically, this cluster consisted of ideas about

10. permanence
51. continuity
67. someplace where you would want to live for a long time
44. where a person can return to, and
71. familiar surroundings.

The generality of these items may imply that this longer time sense is related to social ties as well as environmental stability.

Cluster 4 articulates the idea of home as a relationship with others; it signifies that home is also conceptualized as a set of close, warm, intimate interpersonal relationships. There is a minor split in this cluster, indicating two subtle subgroups: the first emphasizes the affect in these relationships, through items having to do with interpersonal relations and interpersonal affect such as:

43. intense emotional experiences
56. an emotional attachment
34. where someone cares about me
42. a feeling when everyone is present
41. sharing of emotions
62. love and togetherness
66. mutual respect, and
70. the affection that people have for each other.

The second subgroup emphasizes the security of these relationships, including

3. a sense of belonging
72. feeling welcome
48. happiness and well-being
50. warmth and security, and
80. a sense of trust.

It is interesting, however, that although the objective referent for the emotions and feelings identified here was a social one, there was no apparent locus of these relationships in this cluster. Was this meant to describe relationships among family members, or among friends and neighbors, or even among parents and other relatives? No answer to this question was apparent from this analysis, since the adjacent clusters refer to continuity and to childhood home (this juxtaposition may imply that home as a relationship with other people is especially meaningful over time). However, despite the fact that ideas about 'family' and social community formed a separate cluster, an inference from other data is possible. That is, although the family seems like the most obvious context for these affective relationships with other people, this group of ideas apparently had a wider context. Many respondents in this sample were ambivalent in their use of the word 'family' during interviews: it clearly referred to spouse and children, but in some cases it referred equally or more so to a person's parents and siblings. And for some people, their friends and neighbors constituted an "extended family" for them. Therefore, it was concluded that the meaning of this cluster applied to one's relationships with family, relatives, and close friends and neighbors.

Cluster 5 centers on ideas which describe <u>home as childhood home</u>. The ideas in this cluster described a kind of heritage, a home of the past, including:

40. where I spent my childhood
47. where one's parents live, and
53. place of birth.

While these ideas are similar to 'home as continuity,' they have instead formed their own group, probably indicating that this childhood home cluster is meant as a relic of the past, although their proximity may indicate a possible tie between the past and present. From another perspective, it seems clear that respondents are conceptualizing the idea of childhood home for themselves as individuals--their thinking of their present home as a "childhood home" for their own children would probably have resulted in this cluster being subsumed by another one, such as home as a relationship with others. An appendage to this cluster serves as a bridge to the next one. This bridge consists of two ideas about socialization and development, and these ideas were: (home as) a center around which one's growth and development takes place, and where you learn attitudes, values, and proper behavior.

Cluster 6, home as social network, was articulated by two related subgroups: 'family' and 'social community.' Although this cluster was adjacent to the socialization items, it remains as primarily a description of social ties and social networks. While 'family' was the most obvious idea in this group, it was fully described by this range of ideas:

6. family
15. the social unit formed by a family living together in one place
69. especially meaningful during holidays
27. a focus of one's social relations with other people
33. a collection of people other than one's family, and
74. friendly neighbors.

This cluster apparently identified the objective nature of one's interpersonal relationships, as contrasted with the qualities of those rela-

tionships which were identified in cluster 4.

Cluster 7 refers to home as a personalized place. It described a group of ideas which transcended the impersonal descriptive definition of environment as found in the first cluster, and it articulated home as a concept which emerges through an active process of creating a personalized place, through a conscious manipulation of the environment. It clearly emphasizes interactions and/or transactions between person and environment. Specifically, this dimension of home was built up from

19. a style of living
24. ownership
30. possessions
68. investing time and money in a place
29. something that reflects one's ideas, tastes and preferences
79. changing a place, making it yours
63. a place that is mine
82. where things belong to me, and
83. something that feels like it's mine.

The interactive or transactive quality which pervaded this cluster was similar to the 'personal place' idea which was peripheral in cluster 2 (home as self identity). However, the strength of this group as a separate cluster probably served to demonstrate the importance of creating and controlling a personalized place. It probably also served to demonstrate the importance of owning--or having the feeling that one owns--the physical place and the possessions in it. That is, this cluster could not be adequately described by the expression: "it takes a heap o' livin' to make a house a home" since it was not primarily the "living" but also the ownership and possessions which emerged as important facets of any such transformation from 'dwelling' to 'home.'

Cluster 8 was described as home as a base of activity. The ideas

in this group apparently shared a different kind of orientation to home: that is, as a place which serves some rather mundane purposes:

9. where my day starts and ends
13. where I sleep and eat
28. a base of operations
11. leisure
75. spending spare time
12. work
84. responsibilities

As points of comparison, it was interesting to note that additional activity-related ideas did appear in other clusters, often fitting in with the intent and content of those groups. For example, 'changing a place' appeared with other ideas about personalizing, and 'getting away' and 'doing what I want' appeared with other ideas about privacy and refuge. Consequently, these functional and behavioral aspects of home were described as a base of activity because they remained unrelated to identifiable goals, satisfactions, or other dimensions of meaning.

Cluster 9, home as a place of privacy and refuge, was composed of three interrelated subgroups; these were 9a: privacy, 9b: freedom, and 9c: refuge. In the aggregate these meanings circumscribed home as contrasting with a larger world which is public, demanding, unsafe and bothersome. That is, the privacy subgroup included ideas such as

5. a chance to be myself
20. privacy
52. where no one can bother me
57. getting away from outside pressures
46. where I can do what I want
35. a place to get one's thoughts together, and
64. a place to think.

The freedom subgroup included

60. having control
76. feeling free, and
81. freedom of choice

The third subgroup, refuge, consisted of ideas about

26. peace and rest
31. refuge, and
36. where I am safe and secure.

These ideas were grouped in a way which suggested that privacy is a positively valued idea, something to be achieved through having control, getting away, and doing "what I want." The emphasis in all of these subgroups was upon the individual: being alone and away from others, or at least, able to control interaction with others. There was also a theme of restfulness and quiet which apparently contrasted with potential noxious aspects of the outside world. Finally, this cluster articulated these ideas in the context of a physical place where they can be achieved: several items referred to the "where" of these ideas, or to "a place" for these ideas to be pursued.

AN ADDITIONAL CARD SORT ANALYSIS: CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO MEN AND WOMEN

This additional analysis was conducted to explore whether or not the above aggregate categories of meaning are equivalent to categories of meaning among subgroups of respondents within the sample population. Specifically, the data from men and women were entered into separate hierarchical cluster analyses.

Figure 4 illustrates the solution to the diameter method of hier-

Card Identification Numbers for Eighty-five Meanings of Home

(See Table 4, page 63, for a complete list of these meanings)

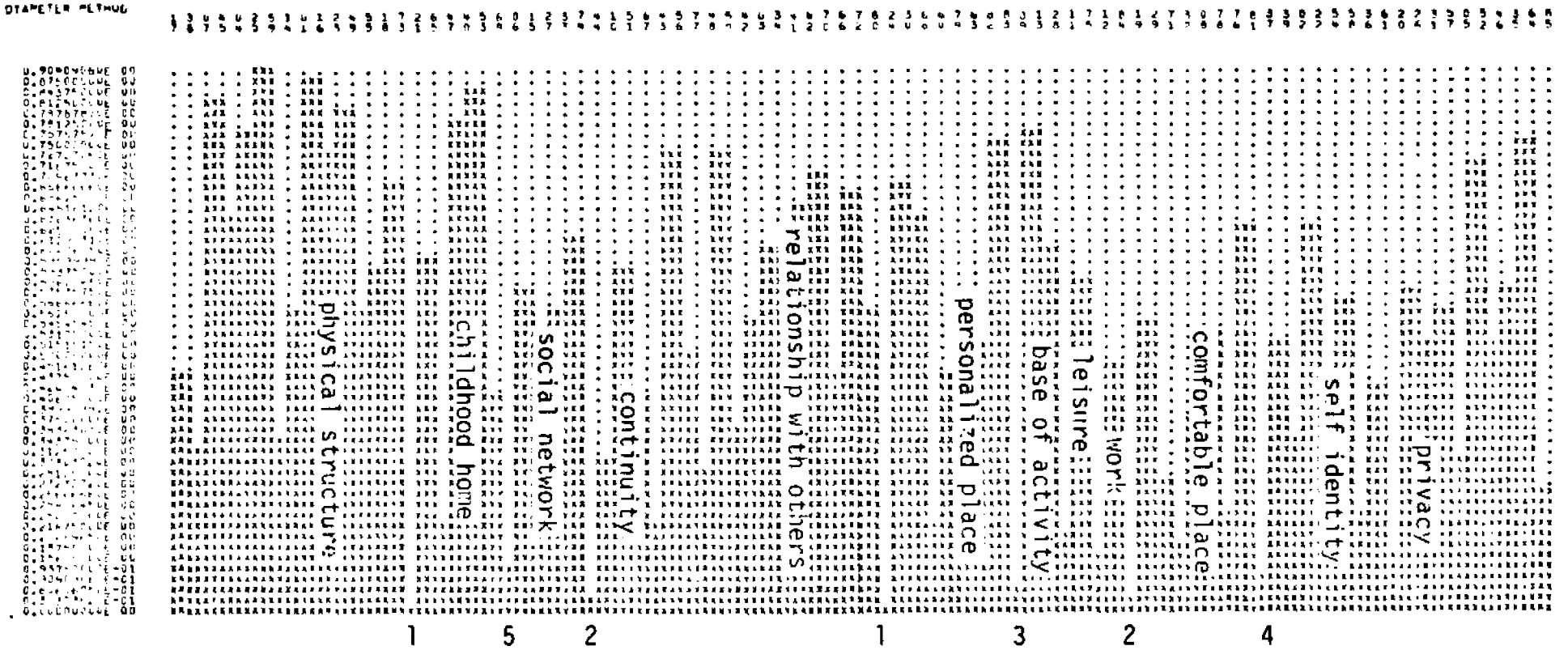


Figure 4. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (Diameter Method)

Solution to the Card Sort Data for Men

archical cluster analysis for men. Seeking to retain a similar number of clusters compared to the aggregate solution, eight clusters were identified and labeled as follows:

1. Home as physical structure
2. Home as childhood home
3. Home as social network
4. Home as a relationship with others
5. Home as a personalized place
6a. Home as a base of activity
6b. Home as work and leisure
7. Home as a comfortable place
8a. Home as self identity
8b. Home as a place of privacy and refuge

While there are many similarities with the aggregate solution, there are three notable differences which appear in this list:

(a) 'Home as continuity' (an aggregate cluster) is now subsumed by 'home as a relationship with others.'

(b) 'Home as self identity' and 'home as a place of privacy and refuge' (two separate clusters in the aggregate solution) are more closely interrelated in this solution, and appear as two subgroups of the same cluster. If a greater number of clusters (i.e., ten or more) had been interpreted, these two categories of meaning would have been described as clusters in their own right.

(c) A new cluster, 'home as a comfortable place,' appears from this analysis. This new cluster includes the following meanings:

19. a style of living
29. something that reflects one's ideas, tastes and preferences
71. familiar surroundings
32. a place to care about
8. feeling comfortable and happy with myself
78. a personal place

76. feeling free
81. freedom of choice

Since these items appear in four different clusters in the aggregate solution (home as self identity--3 items; home as a personalized place--2 items; home as a place of privacy and refuge--2 items; and home as continuity--1 item), two explanations of this additional cluster are possible: (a) it is possible that this is a meaningful category for men, but not as much for women; and (b) it is possible that this mild discrepancy from the aggregate solution is an indication of overlap or interrelatedness between clusters, more so than it is an indication of a separate dimension of meaning. Prior to a decision between these two alternatives, the analysis of data from women is considered.

Figure 5 illustrates the solution to the diameter method of hierarchical cluster analysis for women. Seeking to retain a similar number of clusters compared to the aggregate solution, nine clusters were identified and labeled as follows:

1. Home as physical structure
2. Home as continuity
3. Home as social group
4a. Home as social relations
4b. Home as a relationship with others
5. Home as a personalized place (general)
6. Home as a base of activity
7. Home as work and responsibilities
8. Home as a place of privacy and refuge
9a. Home as a personal place (mine)
9b. Home as self identity

As with the analysis for men, there were many similarities to the aggregate solution, and the following differences are noted:

(a) 'Home as childhood home' (an aggregate cluster) is subsumed

Card Identification Numbers for Eighty-five Meanings of Home

(See Table 4, page 63, for a complete list of these meanings)

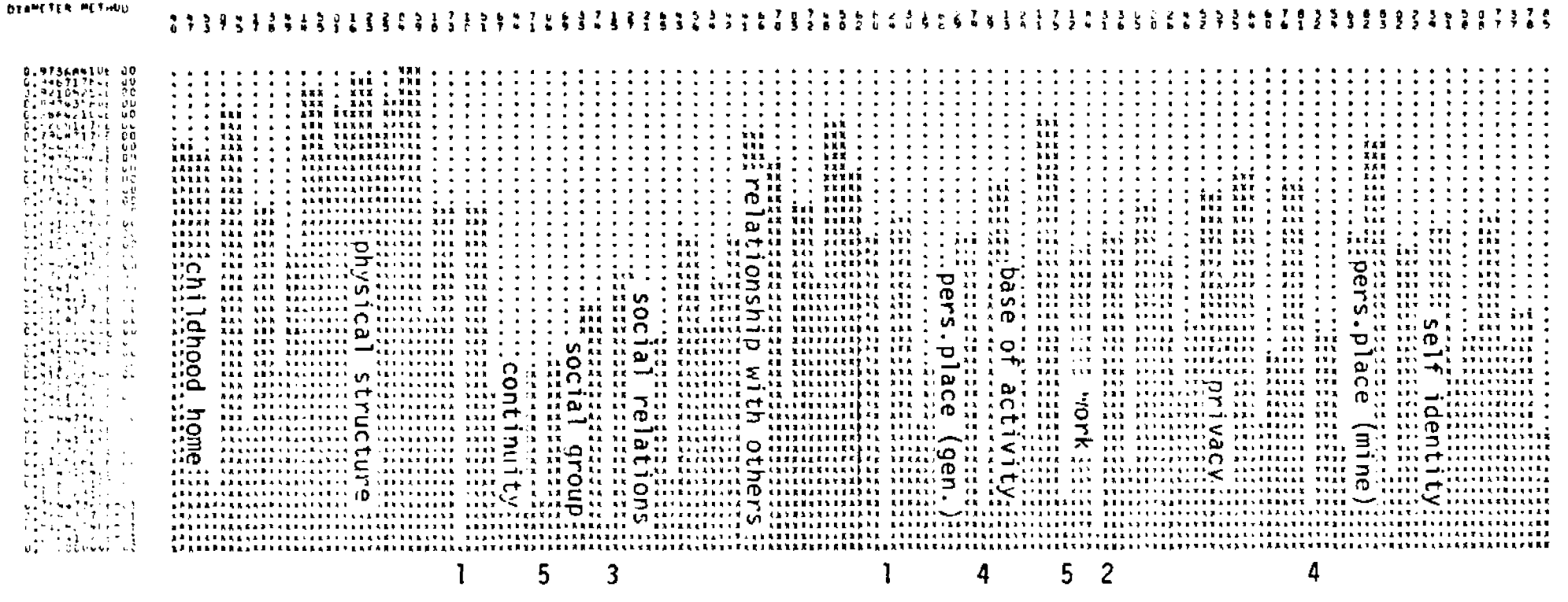


Figure 5. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (Diameter Method)

Solution to the Card Sort Data for Women

in this solution by 'home as physical structure,' although it remains a distinct subgroup and would appear as a cluster in its own right if a greater number of clusters were interpreted.

(b) 'Home as social network' (an aggregate cluster) is divided in this solution into two parts: 'home as social group' and 'home as social relations.' Although these two parts are adjacent in this solution, the latter part, 'home as social relations' appears as a subgroup of the 'home as a relationship with others' cluster.

(c) 'Home as a personalized place' (an aggregate cluster) is divided into two parts in this solution: 'home as a personalized place (general)' and 'home as a personal place (mine).' The effect of this division is that some of the items in the aggregate 'personalized place' cluster have expanded the range of meanings which group together in the 'self identity' cluster from women.

(d) 'Home as a base of activity' (an aggregate cluster) is defined more narrowly in this solution, excluding meanings such as 'work' and 'leisure.' However, these meanings are closely interrelated since they would have appeared within the same cluster if fewer clusters were interpreted.

Comparing the aggregate cluster analysis, and the cluster analyses for men and women, it is concluded that, in most respects, it is fair to report an aggregate solution of categories of meaning about home since many of the categories were defined in equivalent ways by both men and women.

Aside from a consideration of minor variations in adjacent subgroups of meaning, the primary discrepancy among these analyses concerns

the category generally entitled 'home as a personalized place.' In each of the analyses concerning men and women, a substantial portion of the aggregate cluster remains intact, and therefore it is concluded that this cluster is a commonly perceived category of meaning. However, in each of these two additional analyses, some of the items in the aggregate cluster appear in a separate subgroup or a separate cluster. Earlier, in reporting the analysis of data for men, two alternative interpretations of these new groups were offered (a: different meanings for each sex, and b: overlap among categories). Based on the observation that each of these new subgroups--'home as a comfortable place' for men, and 'home as a personal place (mine)' for women--appears adjacent to 'home as self-identity,' it would seem that both of these alternative interpretations may be true to some extent. That is, each subgroup appears to be attached to the 'self-identity' cluster, thus supporting the notion of overlap among clusters (i.e., a close relationship between the 'personalized place' and 'self identity' clusters). However, these new subgroups are not equivalent (some identical items, some different items), thus supporting the idea that they are defined differently by men and women. Taken together, these interpretations suggest that the relationship of 'personalized place' to 'self identity' is defined differently by men and women.

From these cluster analyses it is concluded that several groups of meanings play a role in psychological concepts of home. For the most part, the above dimensions are reasonably clear and understandable as ways of thinking about home, and they offer a comprehensive overview for

such concepts. In particular, it has been shown that they are defined similarly by men and women, although differences in emphasis appear in several subgroups. In the next section, additional data from the same respondents are used to establish a relative ordering among these dimensions, and differences in that ordering are shown to be related to selected demographic and experiential variables.

RESPONDENTS' RATINGS OF THE MEANINGS OF HOME

After sorting eighty-five meanings of home into various groups, respondents assigned a rating to each idea. These ratings were done on seven-point scales where one end of the scale (1) was labeled "most like my ideas about home" and the other end (7) was labeled "least like my ideas about home."

At the beginning of this chapter, the distributions of these ratings were presented in Table 5, illustrating the breadth of congruent ratings ("most like my ideas about home") which were assigned. Subsequent to the card sort analysis, however, these ratings were analyzed to determine which groups of ideas were regarded as more central aspects of respondents' conceptions of home.

Using the nine clusters described above, each respondent's ratings were grouped into nine groups and a mean rating within each cluster was calculated. These mean ratings were assumed to represent each respondent's attitude toward each cluster; a low mean rating reflected a relatively central meaning (i.e., "most like my ideas about home") and a high mean rating reflected a relatively peripheral meaning (i.e., "least

like my ideas about home"). A one-way analysis of variance (repeated measures design: 81 respondents X 9 clusters) indicated that there was a highly significant difference among the ratings which were assigned to different clusters ($p < .001$, see Table 10 for the summary table of this analysis).

To investigate the nature of these differences, the mean ratings of clusters were rank ordered and a Tukey (a) test for wholly significant differences was applied to the differences between means. This ordering of clusters, and the test for significant differences, are presented in Table 10. These data indicated that the cluster which was most similar to people's conceptions of home was 'home as a relationship with others,' and there was a significant difference between this cluster and the ratings of all other clusters. Secondly, there were several clusters which were regarded as central aspects of meaning, but which were not significantly different from each other; this group included the following clusters: 'home as self identity,' 'home as a place of privacy and refuge,' 'home as social community,' and 'home as continuity.' The third group of clusters which was significantly different from the others included 'home as personalized place,' and 'home as a base of activity.' Finally, the remaining two clusters were regarded as least reflecting respondents' own ideas; these were: 'home as physical structure' and 'home as childhood home.'

It was concluded that this order of clusters demonstrated a hierarchy of ideas about home for this sample population. That is, this order was based on the similarity (i.e., "most like"/"least like") of these clusters to respondents' own concepts of home, and some clusters

Table 10

Summary Table for One Way Analysis of Variance

Using Mean Ratings within Clusters

Cluster name	Mean rating of ideas within each cluster	
relationship with others	2.26	
		--- *
self identity	2.84	
privacy & refuge	3.05	
social network	3.09	
continuity	3.09	
		--- *
personalized place	3.50	
base of activity	3.68	
		--- *
physical structure	4.49	
childhood home	4.55	

	SS	df	MS	F
Between Clusters	366.22	8	45.78	44.79 ***
Within Clusters	654.09	640	1.02	
Residual	392.74	80	4.91	
Total	1413.05	728		

*$p < .05$
***$p < .001$

obviously reflected their conceptions better than others.

For example, the most prominent dimension was focused on affective interpersonal relationships; such relationships were thought to be referring to family and close friends. And surprisingly, ideas about physical structure were least relevant indicating lesser salience of this group of ideas in these respondents' concepts of home.

However, individual or group differences within this hierarchy were possible, and additional analyses were performed using these ratings to investigate possible sex differences, role differences, and different relationships to one's physical housing such as length of residence, residential building type, and experience with living in different building types. Ideally, all these variables might have been entered into a multiple regression analysis or a complex analysis of variance to investigate which variables showed the strongest effects. However, the size of the final sample population was too small for these multivariate analyses (there would have been more cells than respondents), and secondly, the use of a homogeneous sample population for the final structured instrument precluded the exploration of some variables such as income, home ownership, and some building types. Therefore, the variables of interest were analyzed one at a time using simple analysis of variance designs (each analysis involved a repeated measures design since a score was calculated for each respondent on each cluster).

Sex. Within each dimension of meaning, mean ratings for men and women were entered into a two-way analysis of variance (2 sexes X 9 clusters). The summary of this analysis is presented in Table 11, showing that there was a main effect for clusters (i.e., people rated clus-

Table 11

Summary Table for Analysis of Variance:

Mean Ratings within Clusters by Sex

Cluster name	men		women
relationship with others	2.46	(*)	2.07
self identity	3.09	*	2.59
privacy & refuge	3.19		2.92
social network	3.05		3.12
continuity	3.10		3.08
personalized place	3.72	(*)	3.28
base of activity	3.65		3.72
physical structure	4.18	*	4.79
childhood home	4.17	*	4.93
n:	(40)		(41)

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Sex	0.03	1	0.03	0.01
Within Sex	392.70	79	4.97	
Between Clusters	363.87	8	45.48	46.28***
Sex X Cluster	32.91	8	4.11	4.19***
Within Cell	621.19	632	0.98	
Total	1410.69	728		

(*) $p < .11$
* $p < .05$
*** $p < .001$

ters differently, a conclusion which was already reported in the previous section), and no main effect for sex (meaning that men did not consistently give higher ratings than women, or vice versa, across all clusters; 'home' was not an idea which was confined to one sex or the other). However, the sex by cluster interaction was highly significant, indicating that there were differences between men and women in how they rated the nine clusters of meaning about home.

Although men and women were in general (rank order) agreement about which dimensions they regarded as central aspects of meaning, *t*-tests on the means for each cluster revealed that for women clusters such as 'home as a relationship with others,' 'home as self identity,' and 'home as personalized place,' were more salient than for men. Women reported less salience than men did for ideas about 'home as physical structure' and 'home as childhood home,' although these clusters were not central aspects of meaning for either group.

These results supported the hypothesis that there were differences in how individuals or groups of individuals conceptualized home. Differences on particular dimensions also supported the speculation that home was a greater source of self identity for women than it was for men, and that women emphasized their relationships with others more so than men did. Of course, these were families with young children, and one can question whether or not these sex differences were attributable to various role differences in each household. Was the emphasis on relationships with others, home as self identity, and personalized place simply a consequence of women being at home with children, while men were away from home during the days?

Role in household. Four measures were taken regarding a person's role in his or her household (housework, child care, earning money, making decorating decisions); for each of these possible roles, respondents were asked if they did all of it in their respective household, or shared in that role, or did none of it. Unfortunately, two of these measures could not be used for further analysis because almost everyone reported having a similar role. Specifically, eighty-one percent (81%) of the respondents reported that they shared in doing the child care, and eighty-four percent (84%) of the respondents reported sharing decisions about furniture and decorating. These data do not mean that respondents shared equally in these roles, only that each person had some part in the role (however small) which led him or her to report sharing, rather than a total split in the responsibilities for these activities. The remaining two measures--earning the money, and doing the housework--are considered in turn.

(a) Who earns the money. This measure was correlated with the sex of the respondent (contingency coefficient C = .54, χ^2 = 31.22, $p < .001$); in half of the families the men earned all the money and the women earned none. In the other half of the families, however, men and women reported that they shared in earning the money for the household. For ease of reference, these groups of people will be referred to as the "men away," "women at home," and "shared breadwinner" roles. A two-way analysis of variance (3 levels of earning money by 9 clusters) is summarized in Table 12, showing a significant role by cluster interaction. Analysis of the means within each cell (using a Tukey (a) test as per Winer, 1971) shows results which parallel the analysis by sex. Specific-

Table 12

Summary Table for Analysis of Variance:

Mean Ratings within Clusters by Who Earns the Money

Cluster name	men away		shared breadwinner		women at home	
relationship with others	2.40		2.36	(*)	1.91	
self identity	3.18		2.93	*	2.21	
privacy & refuge	3.00		3.13		2.87	
social network	3.14		3.07		3.11	
continuity	3.13		3.13		2.85	
personalized place	3.62		3.64	(*)	3.15	
base of activity	3.75		3.53		3.89	
physical structure	4.23		4.43	(*)	4.99	*
childhood home	3.65	*	4.74		5.14	
n:	(18)		(39)		(19)	

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Earnings	1.23	2	0.61	0.12
Within Earnings	377.83	71	5.32	
Between Clusters	309.03	8	38.63	39.92***
Earnings X Clusters	51.62	16	3.23	3.33***
Within Cell	549.63	568	0.97	
Total	1289.32	665		

(*) $p < .10$
* $p < .05$
*** $p < .001$

ally, 'home as self identity,' 'home as personalized place,' and 'home as a relationship with others' were significantly more central ideas for women at home than they were for shared breadwinners or for men away. Also similar to the sex differences, 'home as physical structure' was a significantly less central idea (i.e., "least like my ideas about home") for these women at home, and 'home as childhood home' was more central for men away from home.

(b) Who does the housework. Using contingency coefficients, this measure was also found to be correlated with the sex of the respondent ($C = .42$, $\chi^2 = 16.25$, $p < .001$) as well as being correlated with who earns the money ($C = .38$, $\chi^2 = 12.83$, $p < .02$). In about half of the families, men and women reported sharing in the housework, but in about one-third of the families women apparently did most of the housework while the men did very little of it. These three groups of people will be referred to as the "shared housekeeper," "women at home" and "men away" roles. There were, of course, occasional differences in opinion within households: for example, a few women reported doing all the housework while the men reported sharing in it. Most of the differences, however, showed women sharing in the housework while men reported doing very little, data which were probably accounted for by hired housekeepers in some households.

A two-way analysis of variance (3 levels of doing housework by 9 clusters) is summarized in Table 13, showing that the interaction between clusters and the housework role was not significant. Thus it was concluded that the housework role was not as clearly related to concepts of home as was the role of earning money, or the sex of the respondent.

Table 13

Summary Table for Analysis of Variance:

Mean Ratings within Clusters by Who Does the Housework

Cluster name	men away		shared housekeeper		women at home	
relationship with others	2.57		2.17		2.16	
self identity	3.04		2.87		2.53	(*)
privacy & refuge	3.03		3.14		2.80	
social network	3.38	(*)	2.87		3.31	
continuity	3.49	(*)	2.96		2.93	(*)
personalized place	3.71		3.43		3.48	
base of activity	3.71		3.66		3.55	
physical structure	4.17		4.52		4.86	*
childhood home	4.53		4.38	(*)	4.98	
n:	(20)		(41)		(15)	

Source	SS	df	MS	F	
Between Housework	3.25	2	1.62	0.31	
Within Housework	382.85	73	5.24		
Between Clusters	299.29	8	37.41	36.46***	
Housework X Clusters	21.05	16	1.32	1.28	$p = .20$
Within Cell	599.30	584	1.03		
Total	1305.73	683			

(*) $p < .10$
* $p < .05$
*** $p < .01$

However, a posteriori comparisons (using a Tukey (a) test for differences between means) suggested that 'home as self identity' was probably more central for women at home than for men away from home (the data for shared housekeepers were in between the other two groups, and not significantly different from either of them), and that 'home as physical structure' and 'home as childhood home' were less central ideas for these same women at home. Also, 'home as continuity' was a less central idea for men away from home, and 'home as social network' was a more central idea (i.e., "most like my ideas about home") for shared housekeepers. Except for these last two findings, these results paralleled the earlier sex and role differences.

Since the sex of the respondent and who earned the money in the household showed stronger effects, these two variables were examined further. The following comparisons were performed on possible sex/role combinations: (1) men who earned all the money in the household ("men away") vs. men who shared in earning the money ("men sharing"), (2) men who shared in earning the money ("men sharing") vs. women who shared in earning the money ("women sharing"), (3) women who shared in earning the money ("women sharing") vs. women who earned no money ("women at home"), and finally (4) women who earned no money ("women at home") vs. men who earned all the money ("men away"). The results of these comparisons are highlighted in Table 14, showing only selected clusters. The t statistic was used to evaluate these comparisons (Winer, 1971). As shown, the earlier differences regarding 'home as physical structure' are shown to be accounted for by the sex difference, as the difference between "men away" and "men sharing" was not significant, but "men sharing" was sig-

Table 14. Sex and role differences in mean ratings within selected clusters.

Cluster name	Role[a] differences	mean rating	t		Sex[b] differences	mean rating	t		Sex/Role[c] combinations	mean rating	t	
Home as physical structure	men away	4.23	0.52		men sharing	4.03	-2.24	*	men away	4.23	-2.41	*
	men sharing	4.03			women sharing	4.81			women at home	4.99		
	women sharing	4.81	-0.57									
	women at home	4.99										
Home as a relationship with others	men away	2.40	-0.28									
	men sharing	2.50			men sharing	2.50	0.77		men away	2.40	1.73	(*)
					women sharing	2.23			women at home	1.91		
	women sharing	2.23	1.20									
	women at home	1.91										
Home as self identity	men away	3.18	0.36									
	men sharing	3.02			men sharing	3.02	0.43		men away	3.18	2.77	**
					women sharing	2.85			women at home	2.21		
	women sharing	2.85	1.95	(*)								
	women at home	2.21										
Home as childhood home	men away	3.65	-1.46									
	men sharing	4.42			men sharing	4.42	-1.19		men away	3.65	-2.68	**
					women sharing	5.03			women at home	5.14		
	women sharing	5.03	-0.19									
	women at home	5.14										

(*) $p<.10$
* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$

[a]This role is taken from Table 12: "who earns the money." It is, however, correlated with "who does the housework" ($C=.38$, $X=12.83$, p .02). Thus, the differences here are between men who earn all the money, and men who are "shared breadwinners," and between women who are "shared breadwinners," and women who earn no money.

[b]Differences between men and women who reported sharing in earning the money (and sharing housework).

[c]Differences between men earning all the money in a household (and doing little housework), and women who earn no money (and do practically all of the housework).

nificantly different from "women sharing." A second dimension of interest, 'home as a relationship with others,' does not produce significant differences in these comparisons, except that in the sex/role combination, this category was a significantly more central idea for "women at home" as compared with "men away." A third dimension, 'home as self identity,' is found to show a difference between "women at home" and all other groups, including "women sharing." A fourth dimension, 'home as childhood home,' demonstrates gradual (although non-significant) differences between each of the four groups, and produces a highly significant difference in the sex-role combination of "men away" as compared with "women at home." These role and sex differences will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Residential building type. Two variables were used to assess each respondent's relationship to residential building types; these were: type of building in which the respondent's present apartment was located, and the type of building in which the respondents had lived as a child.

(a) Present residence. Three building types were explored as possible influences on respondents' concepts of home; these included brownstone buildings (5-story row house buildings), medium rise buildings (12 to 16 stories), and high rise buildings (25 to 30 story buildings). Therefore, a two-way analysis of variance (3 levels of building type by 9 clusters) was conducted on respondents' mean ratings within each cluster. Table 15 presents a summary of this analysis, showing that the building type by cluster interaction was not significant. However, a posteriori comparisons (Tukey (a) test) suggested that 'home as a rela-

Table 15

Summary Table for Analysis of Variance:

Mean Ratings within Clusters by Residential Building Type

Cluster name	lives in brownstone		lives in medium rise	lives in high rise	
relationship with others	2.55		2.28	2.05	(*)
self identity	3.23	(*)	2.71	2.82	
privacy & refuge	3.19		3.05	2.98	
social network	3.03		3.14	3.03	
continuity	2.84		3.21	3.03	
personalized place	3.39		3.63	3.33	
base of activity	3.42		3.81	3.63	
physical structure	4.34		4.59	4.40	
childhood home	4.91		4.60	4.25	*
n:	(15)		(42)	(24)	

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Building	3.48	2	1.74	0.35
Within Building	388.72	78	4.94	
Between Clusters	296.35	8	37.04	36.01***
Building X Clusters	13.66	16	0.85	0.83
Within Cell	642.00	624	1.03	
Total	1344.21	728		

(*) $\underline{p} < .10$
* $\underline{p} < .05$
*** $\underline{p} < .01$

tionship with others,' and 'home as childhood home,' were increasingly a more central part of concepts of home among respondents living in larger apartment buildings. Conversely, 'home as self identity' was a less central idea for respondents living in brownstone buildings.

(b) Childhood residence. Since it was also thought that experience with different building types might influence one's concept of home, respondents were grouped according to whether they had grown up in a house, or in some kind of apartment building. A few respondents had lived in several building types as a child, and these respondents were grouped together with those who had grown up in an apartment. A two-way analysis of variance (2 building types by 9 clusters) was conducted on respondents' mean ratings of ideas within each cluster. A summary of this analysis is presented in Table 16, showing that there was a main effect for childhood residence: respondents who had grown up in a house reported several more central aspects of meaning as compared with respondents who had grown up in an apartment. There was also the usual main effect for clusters, and a statistically significant childhood residence by cluster interaction. A posteriori comparisons (Tukey (a)) revealed that for respondents who had grown up in a house, childhood home was more important, and 'home as personalized place,' 'home as continuity,' and 'home as a base of activity' were also more like ideas about home for these respondents.

Length of residence. Respondents were also asked how long they had lived in their present apartments, and this measure was used in a final analysis of possible situational influences on concepts of home. A two-way analysis of variance (4 levels of length of residence by 9 clusters)

Table 16

Summary Table for Analysis of Variance:

Mean Ratings within Clusters by Childhood Residence

Cluster name	Childhood residence		
	house		apartment
relationship with others	2.40		2.21
self identity	2.87		2.87
privacy & refuge	3.02		3.11
social network	2.97		3.25
continuity	2.87	*	3.33
personalized place	3.10	*	3.89
base of activity	3.44	*	3.87
physical structure	4.36		4.61
childhood home	4.16	*	5.05

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Childhood	18.44	1	18.44	3.76 (*)
Within Childhood	343.62	70	4.91	
Between Clusters	324.50	8	40.56	42.64***
Childhood X Cluster	17.05	8	2.13	2.24
Within Cell	532.77	560	0.95	
Total	1236.38	647		

(*) $p < .10$
* $p < .05$
*** $p < .001$

is summarized in Table 17, showing that there was no main effect for length of residence, and the length of residence by cluster interaction was not significant. However, a posteriori comparisons (Tukey (a) test) revealed that people who had recently moved to their present apartment (length of residence = ½ to 2 years) reported that 'home as a relationship with others,' 'home as personalized place,' 'home as social network,' 'home as childhood home,' and 'home as a base of activity' were more central aspects of meaning. Two additional relationships were suggested by these comparisons: 'home as self identity' was a more central idea for people in the second length-of-residence group (3-4 years in their present apartments), and 'home as a relationship with others' was also a more central idea for long term residents (8-14 years in the same place). Therefore, it was concluded that some ideas about home (especially those relating to the dwelling, such as personalized place and base of activity) were more salient for "short term residents" than for people who had lived in the same apartments for longer periods of time.

The results of these exploratory analyses are summarized as follows: Home as a relationship with others was a more central idea (i.e., "most like my ideas about home") for:

"women at home"
residents of high rise buildings
short term residents (½ to 2 years in present apartment), and
long term residents (8 to 14 years in present apartment).

Home as self identity was a more central idea for:

Table 17

Summary Table for Analysis of Variance:

Mean Ratings within Clusters by Length of Residence

Cluster name	length of residence in present apartment (in years) 0.5-2		3-4		5-7	8-14	
relationship with others	1.91	*	2.75		2.47	1.98	
self identity	2.67	(*)	3.34	(*)	2.73	2.67	
privacy & refuge	2.91		3.07		3.21	3.20	
social network	2.80	(*)	3.35		3.16	3.03	
continuity	3.02		3.15		3.06	3.03	
personalized place	3.01	*	3.71		3.63	3.78	
base of activity	3.43		3.52		3.83	4.04	(*)
physical structure	4.27		4.66		4.66	4.51	
childhood home	3.93	*	4.72		5.04	4.86	
n:	(19)		(19)		(19)	(19)	

Source	SS	df	MS	F	
Between Years	23.91	3	7.97	1.65	p = .19
Within Years	346.93	72	4.82		
Between Clusters	361.91	8	45.24	45.32***	
Years X Clusters	22.90	24	0.95		
Within Cell	574.93	576	1.00		
Total	1330.58	683			

(*) $p < .10$
* $p < .05$
*** $p < .001$

"women at home"
people who had lived in the same place for 3 to 4 years, and
residents of non-brownstone buildings.

Home as a place of privacy and refuge was a more central idea for:

shorter term residents as compared with longer term residents (apparent linear relationship).

Home as social network was a more central idea for:

short term residents, and
"shared housekeepers."

Home as continuity was a more central idea for:

people who had grown up in a house, and not
"men away from home."

Home as personalized place was a more central idea for:

"women at home"
short term residents, and
people who had grown up in a house.

Home as a base of daily activity was a more central idea for:

people who had grown up in a house, and
shorter term residents as compared to longer term residents
(an apparent linear relationship).

Home as physical structure was not an especially central idea for any part of this sample population. However, it was regarded even less centrally by:

"women at home."

Home as childhood home was a relatively more central idea for:

people who had grown up in a house
men
short term residents, and
people living in high rise buildings.

These findings should be regarded as tentative since in many cases a larger sample size would have been desirable. However, many of these exploratory comparisons did reach statistical significance, and cannot be discounted as chance findings. Thus, it was concluded that there are many situational influences on concepts of home. The relationship of each of these influences to the meaning of each cluster will be discussed in the next chapter.

THE PROJECTIVE DRAWINGS

The final task in which respondents participated was a projective drawing; respondents were asked to try to represent their ideas about home by creating an abstract drawing. It was suggested that respondents use circles or some other geometric shape (thereby reducing the need for drawing skills) to represent the ideas which they thought were important in their own concepts of home. Although this task was not viewed as a primary source of data, it can be used to provide some supporting information about respondents' conceptions of home.

Unrestricted drawings such as these naturally present problems in reporting their results. No standardized set of ideas was used, and the significance of various diagrammatic results are open to alternative interpretations. However, many drawings appeared to have a focus or a

central idea among the collection of ideas about home (that is, a word or phrase which occupied a geometrically central position in the drawing), and it was decided to use these central ideas as the basis for a general classification of the drawings. Such central ideas were classified into five groups: (1) those which expressed family, or a person's relationships with other people as the central idea, (2) those which represented a physical dwelling as the central idea, (3) combinations of family and dwelling, (4) those which focused on self-related central ideas, and (5) those which focused on feelings and ideas, without reference to a specific social or physical setting. Table 18 summarizes the numbers of drawings which could be classified in these ways, and Figures 6 and 7 illustrate some representative drawings for these groups. There were, of course, other central ideas which were not included in this tabulation due to their uniqueness.

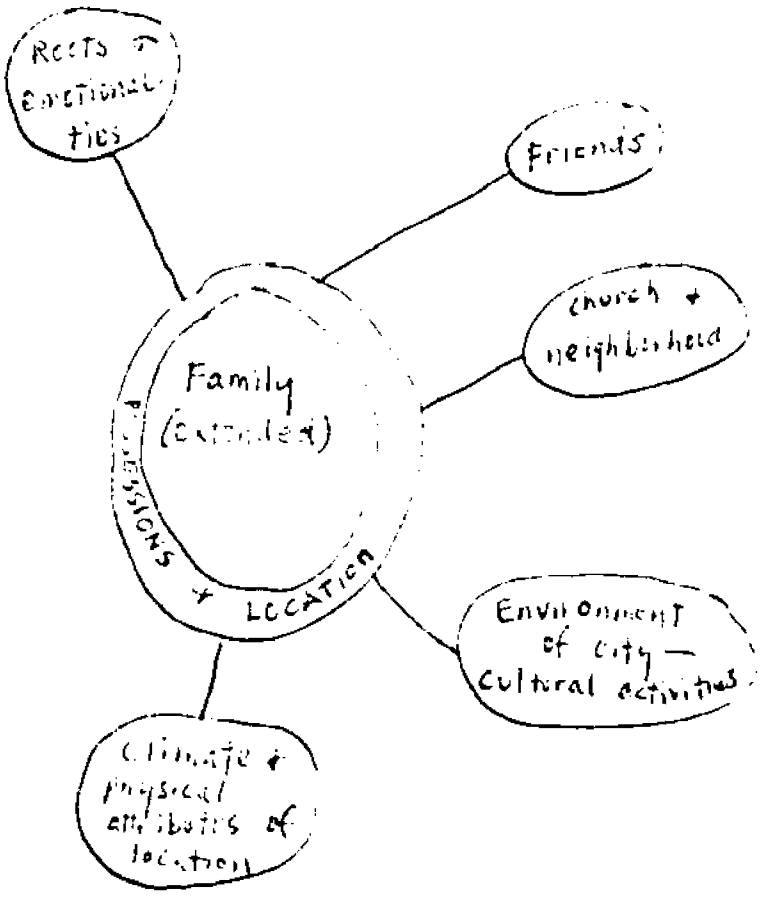
Although these data represent a drastic departure from the experimentally acceptable sources of information from the previous instruments, they do provide a general confirmation of some of the major dimensions of home. Specifically, home as a relationship with others, home as physical setting, and home as self identity were sufficiently common and prominent ideas that they appeared to be central or important ideas in many respondents' concepts of home.

Table 18

Classification of Central Ideas in Respondents' Drawings about 'Home'

Central Idea	n
family or social group	30
dwelling	5
family plus dwelling	14
self-related	10
feelings or ideas	7
other	10
no drawing	5
	81

n = number of respondents



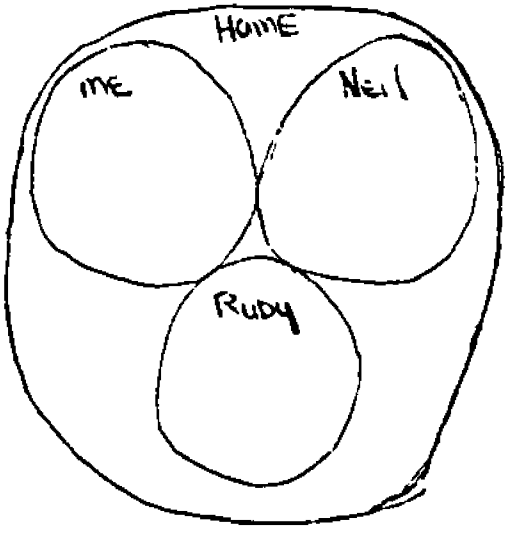


Figure 6. Typical Abstract Drawings about 'Home,'

Illustrating 'Family' as a Central Idea

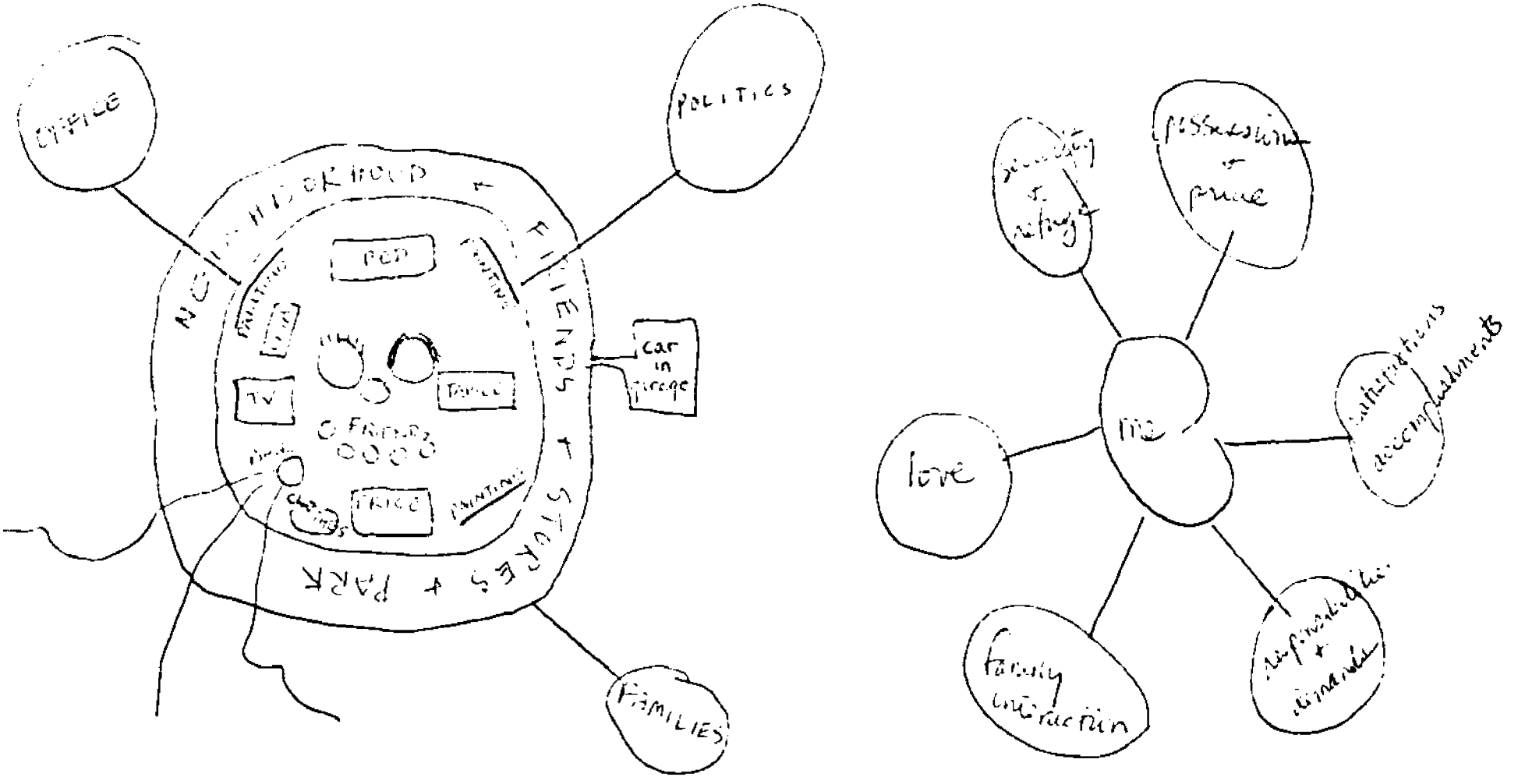


Figure 7. Typical Abstract Drawings about 'Home,'

Illustrating 'Family and Dwelling' and 'Self' as Central Ideas

Chapter IV

DISCUSSION

Home is certainly a valued and meaningful concept in our society. But although it is important in many contexts, potential applications and explorations of this concept within the behavioral and social sciences are inhibited by an inadequate theoretical understanding of its meanings. This research began as an attempt to identify the range of meanings of home and to sketch an appropriate overview of these meanings. It must conclude with the conviction that psychological concepts of home are many faceted, repeatedly embracing ideas about love, security, family, physical environment, self image and sense of self, social networks, refuge, and personal expression through transaction with the environment. Although this range of meanings portrays a rather complex concept, the range is similar to the six categories of meaning postulated earlier. Further, the emphasis in concepts of home appears to be on descriptions of a person's relationship with the various aspects of his or her residential environment--an interpretation which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Prior to a detailed discussion of findings and implications of the present research, it seems useful and appropriate to discuss the general context in which this research is cast. First, the physical and social setting will be discussed, followed by a discussion of the nature of the sample and its implications for generalizability of results. Then, a third kind of context is presented--one which focuses on the nature of meanings and meaning systems as one kind of perspective on the results

of this study.

THE UPPER WEST SIDE OF MANHATTAN

One striking feature of this research is that it was conducted within a relatively small geographic area known as the Upper West Side in the borough of Manhattan, New York City.[13] The Upper West Side is a notable residential area in Manhattan; in name, it is as prominent as the East Side, Greenwich Village, and Harlem (although these latter two are probably more prominent names outside the city). This study area is bordered by Central Park to the east, and Riverside Park and the Hudson River to the west. Its southern boundary fades into another part of "the West Side" around Lincoln Center and Columbus Circle (located at West 65th St. and West 60th St., respectively), where the activity and the land use resemble the Midtown area, standing in contrast to the slower pace and smaller scale of the residential streets of the West 70's, 80's and 90's. At the northern boundary of this area is the area of Columbia University (located at West 116th Street), which has an identity of its own--a distinct association with college life, rather than the diversity of city life which takes place in the area of this study.

As an integral part of the densely populated New York metropolitan

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[13]This area is sometimes referred to as simply "the West Side"--especially by the people who live there--although in general use, "the West Side" refers to several neighborhoods along the western side of Manhattan, including: the West Village, Chelsea, Hell's Kitchen, and Morningside Heights. Further, "the Upper West Side" sometimes refers to the Columbia University/Morningside Heights area, although it is not used to refer to that neighborhood in this research.

region (more than 200,000 people live in this 2 mile by ½ mile area), this area differs in many ways from most neighborhoods in other towns and cities. For instance, in this study area there are many apartment buildings over twenty stories high; 'low rise' in this context means a five-story building, even though such a building might easily be the tallest structure in many other residential areas.

Another differentiating characteristic of this study area is the heterogeneity of land uses. Although apartment buildings dominate, there are many retail and discount shops, restaurants, movie theatres, bars, grocery stores, parking garages, and other commercial and service establishments that thrive in residential areas. Broadway is an especially important influence here since it provides a popular and accessible strip of commercial and recreational opportunities from one end of this neighborhood to the other.

Of particular interest to this research is the notion that the Upper West Side is perceived in ways which parallel some common meanings of home. For example, there is an expressed focus on the Upper West Side having a unique identity, possibly reinforcing people's ability to identify with the neighborhood. People say things like "I am a West Sider" and "This neighborhood is home for me." It has been said that "More than a community, the West Side is a state of mind. To hear a West Sider speak is to think there is no other place in the city" (Gratz, 1974: 43). Thus there is a special quality--perhaps a uniqueness--which the West Side holds for many of the people who live there.

The question of any relationship between such a strong sense of neighborhood identity and the results of this study cannot be answered

from the present data. However, it seems likely that this sense did have some effect on the results since many of the people studied had similar perceptions of why they liked the West Side and why that was important to them. For example, many people liked the heterogeneity of ethnic groups which they perceive in the neighborhood, and some people said "you don't have to 'put on airs' on the West Side, like people do on the East Side." Also, it was commonly thought that people living in this neighborhood share many of the same values, lifestyle preferences, economic circumstances, and a love of the city. As one effect, perhaps this sense of identification with the community is manifest in the relative centrality of the 'self identity' and 'social network' clusters.

A related but slightly different emphasis to the ways in which the Upper West Side is perceived concerns social life beyond the dwelling. That is, this area is reputed to be an area where residents socialize with each other and where they value community participation. A high degree of socializing may have influenced the aggregate definition and centrality of the 'social network' and 'relationship with others' clusters, but again, although this perspective serves as an important aspect of context for this research, its effect on the results is unclear without comparative data from other neighborhoods.

These factors alone do not, of course, determine the nature of concepts of home for people who live in the study area. However, these general comments about high density, diversity of population and land use, strong neighborhood identity and ongoing social life do portray the nature of the setting in which this research took place. In addition, the conceptions of 'home' which have emerged in this research appear to

be useful in describing the sense of life in this neighborhood, as will be apparent in the remainder of this chapter. However, despite the uniqueness of the neighborhood, and the tendency to view it as a homogeneous whole, there are significant individual differences in concepts of 'home.' It is quite possible that in a less homogeneous sample such differences could be stronger, and could be related to a range of other situational influences.

THE SAMPLE AND THE GENERALIZABILITY OF THE RESULTS

In addition to the focus on a specific neighborhood, this research employed techniques of sample selection which further narrowed the parameters of the sample. That is, the sample consisted of adults in conventional family units (two-parent households) which included young children (under eight years old). Further, these families were not selected randomly, but were identified through a "snowball" sampling technique whereby potential respondents were recommended by people who were already participating in the study.

The major advantage of this narrowness in sample selection is essentially methodological in nature: in an exploratory study such as this one, it is useful to know whether the methods produce the same kind of results among similar people. At the beginning of the main study in this research, it was not clear what would be produced by the card sorting task: if, on the one hand, it produced clear and discrete dimensions of meaning across the sample, then it would be judged useful; but if, on the other hand, it produced seemingly uninterpretable results (with a conclusion like "home means a lot of different things to a lot

of different people"), then the method would be called into question. Although the research goal was to arrive at the former outcome, in the latter case, some conclusions about 'home' would still be possible from an in-depth knowledge of this relatively homogeneous sample, and their present dwelling and neighborhood environment. For example, from interview data one could conclude that 'family' is a primary meaning of home, or that the idea of a 'childhood home' was discussed, but is not perceived as a prominent meaning of 'home' for most people. Thus the use of a homogeneous sample seemed the best way to gain an in-depth understanding of the exploratory subject matter, and to test out the methods in a controlled way.

The major disadvantage of the narrowness in sample selection is essentially a theoretical one: the basis for (and limits to) generalizability of these research results is uncertain. It is not known, for example, whether or not these respondents typify other adults, other families, and/or other apartment dwellers. Further, it is not known whether or not the respondents in this study typify the general population of families on the Upper West Side, although it seems likely that they do at least embrace the popular conceptions of the area, thus capturing the spirit of the middle class stratum of the Upper West Side community. Consequently, this research is largely a case study of concepts of home among a sample of urban families with young children, and does not necessarily represent results which might be obtained from other populations in other neighborhoods. However, the (largely predictable) directions of the individual differences would seem to indicate that the results are not narrowly circumscribed, and may indeed be generalizable to

other populations.

One additional point of discussion seems warranted on this topic. Specifically, there are two main parts to these results: an overview of the meanings of home, discussed as clusters or dimensions of meaning; and secondly, a ranking of these clusters according to evaluative ratings from people in this sample. One can speculate that the generalizability of this study's results is different with respect to these two parts. Although there is no conclusive evidence to support this claim, the results pertaining to the overview (i.e., the nature of the clusters) may in fact be quite generalizable while the ranking of the clusters may be specific to the parameters of this sample population.

The claim of a generalizable overview is based on two observations. First, the dimensions of meaning which emerged from the cluster analysis are not unique kinds of meanings--many of them are similar to the categories postulated in the review of literature. Considering that those categories grew from a variety of sources representing conceptions of home among other authors and other research samples, the present overview appears to have a great deal in common with other general statements about the meanings of 'home.' Secondly, it will be noted through the remainder of this chapter that many of the dimensions of meaning compare rather favorably to other theoretical constructs which have been and are being used in environmental psychology. In other words, the ways in which these dimensions or clusters have been defined in this study parallel other definitions of (or assumptions about the meaning of) these constructs in other situations. The most striking example of a parallel development occurs in the case of the 'privacy and refuge'

cluster wherein the meanings within that cluster are practically identical to the definitions of privacy developed by Wolfe, Schearer, and Laufer (1976) in their work with children's concepts of privacy and private places. In addition, there are other clusters which appear to be well grounded in existing research literature. Consequently, there seems to be some evidence that the overview of concepts of home made possible through this research can be understood as a general overview, and is perhaps not limited to this particular sample population.

This same claim for generalizability cannot be applied to the ranking of the clusters. For one thing, several analyses of variance have shown that different living situations (e.g., roles, duration of residence in one place) are systematically related to these ratings. Clusters are not rated the same by all people. Secondly, these ratings are not comparable to any existing data on this topic. The ratings were described in the results as a measure of "centrality" (on a seven-point scale ranging from "most like my ideas about home" to "least like my ideas about home"), and therefore this approach differs from the more common use of semantic differential word pairs in studying the conceptualization of environments (Lowenthal & Riel, 1972) and attitudes toward housing (Canter, 1969; Canter & Thorne, 1972). In retrospect, it would have been useful to have solicited ratings on two other scales: how well each particular meaning is satisfied by one's present circumstances, and how important each meaning is "ideally" (i.e., irrespective of one's present circumstances, is this a meaning that one would strive to satisfy, or is it a relatively inconsequential idea?). The inclusion of such scales might have provided evidence for situational or stereotypical

rankings (discrepancy between the two sets of ratings would be evidence for situational attitudes about home, similarity would be evidence for stereotypical attitudes).

Despite these arguments for situation-specific ratings of the meanings of home, it is interesting to note that the data reported by Loewy and Snaith (1967), as cited in Table 1 of the present report, provide some parallels to the present results. Specifically, the first cluster here--'home as a relationship with others'--focuses on meanings which are similar to the most frequent meanings of 'home' in their study: namely, meanings such as 'a place to raise children/family,' 'a place for love/warmth/understanding,' and 'security.' Further, the 'physical structure' cluster is not portrayed as a central dimension in the present study, and similarly, a very small proportion of the Loewy and Snaith sample reported these meanings of 'home': 'a building structure/walls/roof,' 'modern appliances/facilities,' 'a place for investment,' 'lots of work/repairs/expense of upkeep,' and 'a house.' Thus, there may be general patterns involved with these ratings, although situational differences have clearly been demonstrated with the present data.

The third and last kind of context for this research concerns the nature of meanings, and the contrast between these results and a large body of research on semantic meanings.

CONNOTATIVE AND DENOTATIVE MEANING SYSTEMS

The nature of a concept, such as a concept of home, depends on some

kind of meaning system for its explanation (Tzeng, 1975; Osgood, 1971). Meaning systems are comprised of mental representations--ideas--which combine to form conceptual groups having some significance or usefulness in a person's life. While ideas are obviously not limited to the words which are used to express them, social science has focused almost exclusively on semantic meanings as the most available data with which to assess concepts. And since the publication of The measurement of meaning (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957), an abundance of research has relied on the semantic differential technique as the principal tool for investigating semantic meanings.

However, the similarity of meaning systems which has emerged from this mainstream (i.e., the repeated evidence for three primary dimensions: evaluation, potency, and activity) has raised serious doubts that the semantic differential technique is useful for anything other than the identification of general qualities of meaning (Bechtel, 1975) --it does not help identify the meanings themselves. Tzeng (1975), among others, has pointed out that the results of the Osgood-type studies represent purely affective (perhaps 'qualitative' or 'attributional' or 'connotative' would have been a better choice of wording here, without diluting his point) components of the human semantic system. That is, whether ideas are good or bad, strong or weak, and active or passive are components of human judgments which depend on an "emotional reaction system" and affective metaphors (e.g., tornado: fair or unfair?). Tzeng argued that a different kind of meaning system, a denotative one, must also be investigated:

> While affect reflects a person's feelings about (including attitude toward) an object, denotation reflects a person's implicit semantic 'theory' about (modes of categorizing) the object. Measurement of these two aspects of meaning is basic to the social sciences (Tzeng, 1975: 979).

Others have called this a distinction between connotative and denotative meaning (e.g., Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957; Bechtel, 1975).

The dimensions of meaning identified through this research represent a different kind of meaning system than the dimensions usually derived through the semantic differential approach.[14] Therefore if the implication of separate kinds of meaning systems is correct, it would appear that the connotative/denotative terminology provides the desired emphasis in distinguishing the Osgood-type results from the present results.

Thus, the dimensions of meaning being discussed in this chapter are tentatively described as denotative dimensions of meaning, they will be also discussed later in this chapter as possible "modes of categorizing" ideas and experiences relevant to environmental concepts.

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[14]As a peripheral part of this study, respondents were asked to rate the idea of 'home' using seventeen semantic differential word pairs. A principal components factor analysis yielded three factors which closely resembled the common evaluation, potency, and activity dimensions found in most other research with semantic differential instruments. According to these three factors, 'home' is a concept which is thought to be good rather than bad, fairly strong, and calm and relaxed rather than agitated and tense. The factor scores and mean ratings of the semantic differential pairs are presented in the appendix.

NINE DIMENSIONS OF CONCEPTS OF HOME

Although various dimensions of meaning from the card sorting task were discriminable from each other, they were not independent (nor were they expected to be). Thus the interpretation of these results relies on the interrelationship among meanings as well as their discriminability. In this section, the sense of each group of ideas about home is discussed, their interrelationships are probed, and these groups are compared with previous interpretations in related literature. The order of these dimensions was taken from the one-way analysis of variance by clusters, which used mean ratings within clusters as a measure of respondents' attitudes towards each of these denotative dimensions. Thus the first few dimensions were rated "most like my ideas about home" and the last few were most often rated "least like my ideas about home." The order of the nine dimensions is listed here as an aid to the reader in grasping an overview of concepts of home:

1. Home as a relationship with other people
2. Home as social network
3. Home as self identity and sense of self
4. Home as a place of privacy and refuge
5. Home as continuity
6. Home as personalized place
7. Home as a base of activity
8. Home as childhood home
9. Home as physical structure

Home as a relationship with other people was the primary dimension of meaning to emerge from this research. It was a well-defined cluster from the card sort, and as a group, it was perceived as the most central aspect of meaning by most respondents. Exemplary ideas within this dimension included a sense of belonging, love and togetherness, where

someone cares about me, warmth and security, mutual respect, and feeling welcome. Interestingly, two subgroups which were identified in the cluster analysis indicated that affection and security were primary characteristics of this group of ideas about home.

As reported in the previous chapter, the focus of this interpersonal relationship dimension was not always clear. Most prominently and consistently, it referred to family, although it also referred to people other than family such as social contacts in the community. Supporting this broader perspective was the knowledge that during the interviews 'family' was used to refer to the household group (a "nuclear" family), to close friends and neighbors (an "extended" family), and to one's parents and siblings (an "original" family).

There was abundant evidence that this kind of dimension of meaning was at the forefront of respondents' ideas about home. Responses to the first interview question ("What do you think of as home?") frequently focused on family and a person's relationships with family and friends:

> Mr. D: Home is where my family is and my family is my home.
>
> Ms. S: It's where your family is, where you live, where your friends are.
>
> Ms. T: Well I've been thinking about that since you called, and you know, I've realized something: home is wherever <u>we</u> are, me and Steve and Jason.

And beyond the first question there was usually some indication of affectionate and emotional meanings which were implicit in references to 'family' and 'friends':

> Mr. K: Funny, they keep running together in my own mind:

the feelings that I have about, you know, my life, my wife and my kids, and what we mean by 'home.'

Ms. M: My husband and I have discussed, repeatedly, why Atlanta, the city and the suburban house we were living in, never became a home for us. I can only guess that not being sincerely welcomed (except for one couple) by our neighbors and the staff where my husband was working was a significant problem.

Ms. L: . . .basically I don't relate to New York City as home, I relate to the people here. And I feel 'at home' in any place where I'm with people that--like, this feels more like a home to me, the place we're living in, when people are here, that we're enjoying, and--I wasn't brought up in a 'warm' house (in a neighborhood where I knew people), and it was cold, and it was, you know--so I guess it's a concept that's foreign to me.

Evidence for this dimension of meaning was also abundant in people's abstract drawings about home wherein the modal drawing used some central reference to interpersonal relationships, for instance 'family' or 'family, friends, work' or 'me, husband, children.' Almost all drawings indicated that interpersonal relationships were a meaningful and important part of their ideas about home.

While the idea of home as a relationship, or a set of relationships, is clearly understandable, this dimension was not anticipated from the literature in the same way that it is described here. Essentially, the literature which had been reviewed (Bott, 1957; Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968) prompted a rather sociological perspective on this kind of dimension: it was anticipated as 'home as social unit'; it was a perspective on the household group from the outside looking in, emphasizing the group of people as a social classification. The dimension which emerged from this research, however, was distinguished as a psy-

chological dimension by its personal and affective meanings. It was a perspective from individuals based on meanings salient to themselves personally. Building as it does on intimate feelings and emotions realized through personal relationships, it harks back to expressions such as "home is where the heart is" more so than it does to most research literature about families. Indeed, as Rubin (1973) has noted, such personal and affective meanings are often neglected in research about interpersonal relationships. Another interpersonal dimension, home as social network, was more similar to the anticipated category of meaning, and it will be discussed later in the chapter.

Despite this variation in perspective, there is some precedent for the primacy of interpersonal relationships in the context of a residential environment. For example, Beyer, Mackesey, and Montgomery (1955) identified four groups of values which were thought to be important in assessing home buyer motivations. It is the "family value group" which is of interest here:

> In contrast to families who emphasize price and economy, families of this type emphasize those things that will hold the family together and make for happy family relationships. Sociologists describe them as families in which there is considerable loyalty, love, and common concern over family problems. They accept one another unconditionally, and they are more devoted than the average family to in-laws, grandparents, aunts, and so forth. They invite their relatives to their homes more than the other groups of families do. They are alert to influences that might affect the physical and mental well-being of family members (Beyer et al., 1955: 3-4).

In Crestwood Heights (Seeley, Sim, & Loosely, 1956), the differentiation between "house" and "home" was seen as a distinction between the technological item and its emotional and interpersonal connotations.

And Fried and Gleicher (1961), studying a working class neighborhood in Boston prior to urban renewal, concluded that "the common core lies in a widespread feeling of belonging someplace, of being 'at home' in a region that extends out from but well beyond the dwelling." Despite the explicit focus on a definable social group in these examples, each one has chosen to emphasize a range of relationships and affective connotations as the central theme of their results. The present dimension, home as a relationship with other people, demonstrates the same kind of emphasis.

On a related topic, Rubin's (1973) study of liking and loving identified affection and respect as two related dimensions of liking; this research compares favorably with that distinction since two subgroups, affection and security, were identified as characteristics underlying this cluster of ideas about home.

Although this was the most central aspect of meaning for most respondents, it was an especially central idea for "women at home"--women who earned no money and did most of the housework and childcare. For these women who have assumed a conventional sex role in their households, the prominence of this dimension probably reflects the fact that much of their life is taken up with relations to others--training and developing the children, tending to their needs for attention and supervision, and relating to a husband (who may be tired, preoccupied or excited when he arrives) for a few hours at night. While other people have jobs away from home, these women are at home much of the time; their work <u>is</u> the home--getting it together, sus-

taining it, and doing things to make it enjoyable for everyone in the family. This dimension is not emphasized by all women; it apparently becomes important through an interactive set of circumstances wherein the man of the household is working somewhere else, earning money, doing little of the housework and sharing nominally in other household roles.

'Home as a relationship with others' was also important in two environmentally-related ways: it was more likely to be emphasized by people living in high rise apartments, and it was favored by people who were relatively new to their apartments (½ to 2 years) as well as by people who had lived in their apartment for a much longer time (8-14 years). The first of these findings suggests that the larger the building, the more a person tends to focus on personal relationships within it as a primary source of meaning for home. The second finding suggests that the so-called "honeymood period" of satisfaction after moving to a new dwelling may be quite an appropriate name--it is apparently manifest in an increased emphasis on relationships with others as well as several other dimensions. This dimension is also important for people living in the same place for a long time; perhaps close personal relationships have been a way of sustaining people's concepts of home over time.

A second dimension of concepts of home, similar to the first one, was <u>home as social network</u>. In contrast to the first, however, this dimension emphasizes the wider social context of "home": it does include close personal relationships, but its meaning also derives from social ties and patterns of casual interaction among neighbors, family members, and even familiar shopkeepers and community groups. Thus, this cluster

included ideas such as family, friendly neighbors, and a focus of one's social relations with other people.

Respondents were very aware of their own tendency to think of the neighborhood as home. During pilot work some people suggested that the neighborhood was home for them because they had moved around so much in the same general area that the neighborhood, and social ties in the neighborhood, became a source of continuity, familiarity, and relative permanence which could not be equalled by any one apartment. For most respondents, however, that kind of recurring change was not necessary to establish the significance of the community for them:

> Ms. T: I think it means being part of a community, very much to be involved. For instance, we have our children in the local public school--which is very much 'home' instead of sending them somewhere else. And they play with children in the neighborhood, we have our--most of our friends are here in the neighborhood, we've got people who live around here that we do things with--and I feel that way because sometimes when you walk down Broadway around here, it becomes like a village where you know the people, it's a fantastic thing. They say it's an empty--a city where people don't get to know anybody, but around here on the West Side, you can't walk outside without meeting someone you know and someone to talk with, which is very important.
>
> Mr. R: (Home is) a community of family and friends on the West Side of New York City where we relate, have fun, support and enjoy each other.
>
> Ms. M: I feel that I'd like to live in Springfield, Massachusetts, or a small town, where I would feel, you know, more a sense of community. It's that thing that we had with Shopson's in the Village, where you know the storekeepers, you know the people who walk down the street, that sort of makes you feel--not that really the place you live so much, but the whole environment, walking down the street, meeting people you know, neighborhood kids, you know, that's all like--we're gonna try to construct that wherever we live.

These comments illustrate the meaning of home in a way which was fairly well anticipated in the review of literature. In that review, 'home as social unit' consisted of ideas about family and community; the present dimension has the same emphasis.

There are many examples of studies of community life which could be used for comparison with these results (Young & Wilmott, 1957; Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968). However, while many of these studies emphasized the meaningfulness of neighborhood and community, few devoted any attention to the community as home. The notable exceptions stemmed from the study of Boston's West End area prior to urban renewal in the early 1960's. For example, Fried and Gleicher (1961) concluded that

> For the great majority of people, the local area was a focus for strongly positive sentiments and was perceived, probably in its multiple meanings, as home. The critical significance of belonging in or to an area has been one of the most consistent findings in working-class communities both in the United States and in England. . . . Quite consistently, we find a strong association between positive feelings about the West End and either extensive social relationships or positive feelings about other people in the West End (Fried & Gleicher, 1961 (1970: 337)).

And elsewhere, Fried (1963) characterized residents' dissatisfaction with moving as "grieving for a lost home." Interestingly, that research highlighted the sentiment for the local area as well as the meaningfulness of local social relationships, suggesting that these "multiple meanings" contributed to the labeling of the West End as home. In the present research, one might have expected a distinction between 'neighborhood' as physical setting and 'community as social setting'; however, these two items were more likely to have been grouped together than to

have connoted physical and social settings separately. In interviews too, no sharp distinctions were drawn between the uses of these two terms. The separation of physical and social aspects of community (namely, their appearance in two different clusters) has probably resulted more from the desire to identify different aspects of meaning than it has from a pervasive distinction in meaning between these two ideas.

The significance of this dimension is that it expands the scale of reference for the first cluster, home as a relationship with other people. Relationships among friends, neighbors, shopkeepers, and acquaintances in the neighborhood are obviously a source of satisfaction for the people studied. These other relationships have been included in respondents' concepts of home, rather than excluded as might have been the case if the apartment-as-home was thought to serve as a refuge and fortress against the world. Even prior to this research, a more outward orientation was expected from this sample, based on the local conception of the West Side as a satisfying residential neighborhood and on the perception that there were many community-oriented activities and settings in which local residents participated.

In discussing neighborhoods and human needs, Mead (1966) concluded that these wider social contacts (i.e., beyond the household group) comprise a basic human need for affiliation and socialization. Indeed, 'home as social network' was an idea which was valued by men away from home as well as by women at home; by people living in brownstones, medium rise and high rise apartments, and by people who grew up in a house as well as people who grew up in an apartment. However, it may also be

true that people vary widely in the amount of outside social contacts which they seek, and in the kind of community which satisfies those needs (e.g., social networks based on proximity of residence, or on kinship, or based on occupational contacts). Even if everyone felt that they were a part of some community, it seems likely that not everyone would define their community as part of their home. Thus, further research might use the ideas in this dimension to evaluate the extent of the sense of community in any residential setting, and to evaluate whether or not the local social community is a meaningful source of satisfaction among individuals.

These results suggest that the idea of community as home is perfectly appropriate for the middle class despite the popular stereotype that community is primarily an ethnic working class phenomenon. Although both of these first two dimensions were evaluated as central aspects of meaning (i.e., approaching: "most like my ideas about home") by this sample, a conceptual distinction does exist between social networks and affective interpersonal relationships. Based on some research literature (Fried, 1974; Jackson, 1968; Young & Wilmott, 1957), one might hypothesize that this distinction would not be so apparent among less affluent urban neighborhoods.

These results also indicated that home as social network was a more central idea for the "shared housekeeper" role. It may be that the ability to pursue social networks requires some kind of freedom from other responsibilities--for the woman who is responsible for all household chores, and for the man who is away from home most of the day, opportunities for outside social contacts are probably limited. In those

families where husband and wife share the household chores, each person may have more opportunities to experience life beyond the dwelling.

While the first two dimensions focused on a person's relationships with others, and on social networks, this next dimension, home as self identity emphasized the idea that home is a major focus of experiences and relationships in one's life. One can have "relationships with others" in many contexts, but home is a special setting in which one makes commitments to those relationships; a person is willing to say things like "I am a West Sider; I belong here; people here share my values and interests." This dimension of meaning was expressed in a variety of ways during pilot work resulting in ideas such as: a feeling inside me, important for my sense of self, the center of my world, a part of me, and a core of my experience.

One way of thinking about this dimension was discovered in an undergraduate student's essay, entitled Our Home, which was published in 1883:

> Home is the soul itself; and to a certain extent, is independent of outward circumstances. Of this inward home the outward is but the expression; and yet it is doubtful if the outward is ever a true expression of the inward, inasmuch as men's ideas always transcend their experience. Neither the wretched hovel where vice and hunger dwell, nor the palace where lies the gilded corpse of love can be a true home (Sargent, 1883: 16).

While the analogy to one's "soul" may seem somewhat primitive when compared with modern psychology's more sophisticated concepts, this basic idea of the interrelationship of home and self has not changed. One

example of this idea from the interviews with the final sample points up the centrality of home and self in one person's thinking about events over time:

> Mr. M: (talking about childhood home and present home). . . both have profound associations that involve so many of the strands of my life which pull together, through me--a kind of place which geographically and emotionally was the center, as it was in me.

Other respondents alluded to similar ideas:

> Mr. V: I guess home is me, and then us, and then some of our contacts.
>
> Ms. J: Home is a piece of me. It exists in my mind more than a geographical area; it's many places but one feeling.

In general, this dimension of meaning appeared to be similar to the anticipated dimension--'home as self identity'--which had been derived from related literature. It compares favorably, for instance, with Bachelard's (1969) suggested analogy between home/non-house and self/non-self, and with Searles' (1960) emphasis on the non-human environment as being a large and integral part of the self. Also, it would seem that Schorr's (1966) evidence of the close relationship between housing and self-perception/self-evaluation was further validated by this research.

'Home as self identity' was an expecially central idea for "women at home," and thus it would seem that the home becomes a source of self identity for these women: it is where they live, where they work, it is what they do, and perhaps, how they are thought of by other people. Such an idea

is similar to O'Mara's (1973) discussion regarding the meaning of a place of one's own, and Cooper's (1971) conceptualization of the house (especially the inside) as a source of messages from and to one's self. It is unclear whether the home also acts as a symbol of self identity (or family identity) to others, as houses do (Cooper, 1971). On some level, of course, it must contain a message to others ("No, Mom and Dad, I'm not 'coming home' for Christmas, because this is my home--here, with Steve and the kids," or "You think Manhattan is 'home'? I don't know how you can live there year after year.") but apparently the immediate physical environment--the building, or the front door, or the street block--does not function in the same way as it does for residents of single family houses (with a lawn, a car in the driveway, and a sizeable separation from neighbors). Interestingly, home as self identity was not as central an idea for brownstone residents as it was for others; perhaps this reflects higher expectations for the home as a symbol of self identity when one lives in a brownstone.

This group of ideas about self identity and sense of self apparently subsumed another anticipated dimension, 'home as locus in space.' That is, ideas about home as a center of one's life are apparently inseparable from this who-I-am dimension. Gelwick's (1970) idea of a psychological locus in space, and Eliade's (1959) emphasis on the need for a fixed point thus creating differentiated space in the world, were already accounted for in this group of ideas. Specifically, these were reflected in items such as home as a center of my world, and as a core of my experience. One may speculate, therefore, that a locus in space represents one aspect of a person's self identity. Future research could

address this idea a little more directly.

Of course, 'locus in space' has a more mundane side--a behavioral abstraction of various comings and goings which relate to a person's place of residence. Since this behavioral side is represented by another cluster, 'home as a base of activity,' one can conclude that the idea of a psychological locus is reasonable, but that its importance is as an aspect of self identity, remaining fairly independent of the presumed importance of home as a behavioral locus as cited in the review of literature.

In retrospect, the literature which was used to infer the 'locus in space' idea can be understood as two special cases of self identity: (1) locus in space as the base for an emerging self-concept in children (e.g., Anderson & Tindall, 1972, and other domocentric home range literature), and (2) locus in space as the base for a changing self-concept in newcomers (e.g., people who have recently moved to a new setting: Franck, Unseld & Wentworth, 1974; Bettelheim, 1974; or people who are always moving around: Mead, 1972). Thus, concepts of home could be studied developmentally to investigate the relationship of these (stable, adult) dimensions of meaning to patterns of behavior and psychosocial influences on a person's sense of identity. In the present research, for example, 'home as self identity' was a more central idea for respondents who had lived in their apartment for 3 to 4 years. This apparently represented a second stage of development for their concepts of home since the "newcomers" ($\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 years in their present apartments) emphasized home as a base of activity (a behavioral locus in space), home as a relationship with others, social networks, privacy, and child-

hood home (a tie to a previous identity).

Another dimension of meaning which emerged from this research, home as a place of privacy and refuge, indicated a further connection between one's self and the environment of the home. Implicit in O'Mara's (1974) idea that a place of one's own is important for developing self identity, is the idea that a place of one's own is also a place of privacy and refuge. This cluster emphasized the meaningfulness of home as a place to be alone, where one could take refuge from unwanted influences. Specifically, it was articulated by ideas such as getting away from outside pressures, a chance to be by myself, a place to think, peace and rest, where I can do what I want, and where I am safe and secure. Three subgroups of meaning were identified from the cluster analysis, namely: privacy, freedom and refuge.

While this group of ideas was a consistent part of the card sort data, it was not mentioned very often in interviews, nor did it appear in many of the abstract drawings about home. Perhaps privacy was taken for granted by respondents as a characteristic which naturally accrued to any situation called home. It was not something they had to "create," as they saw it, in the same way that they had to create a personalized place (i.e., privacy was not often mentioned in connection with "making a home"), and neither was it something which described some entity, such as one's self, one's childhood home, or one's neighborhood. And yet, it was an important part of concepts of home, as evidenced by the ratings showing it to be a central aspect of meaning.

There are several considerations which may have a bearing on this paradox. First, it was not strictly true that each person or household

did not have to "create" privacy for themselves; rather, the equating of home with privacy is so deeply embedded in the social norms of this society that it was probably too obvious to discuss. Perhaps respondents were implicitly discussing privacy when they referred to family life or home life. The expression "in the privacy of one's own home" implies that these two go hand in hand; indeed they often do in this society. And yet a smattering of literature has developed indicating that this privacy is created in various situations; it is built up through the control of doorways to rooms (Schwartz, 1968; Altman & Nelson, 1972; Seeley, Sim, & Loosley, 1956), through the use of spaces which are not occupied by others (Wolfe & Golan, 1976; Wolfe, Schearer & Laufer, 1976), and through the regulation of activities and noises which may cause the perception of privacy to decrease among neighbors (Kuper, 1953; Cooper, 1975). In fact, there was a linear relationship between respondents' ratings of this dimension and the length of time that they had lived in their present apartment: it was a more central idea for the "newcomers" than it was for the "stable" households. This finding suggests that people are more concerned with privacy while they are accommodating to a new place--when others around them are strangers. After people have established routines or patterns of interaction they do not need to attend to it as much; it is likely that they know when they will have privacy and when they won't, or how to achieve privacy in situations when they want it.

Secondly, privacy may not have been discussed because of its own multidimensional character (see, for example, Laufer, Proshahsky, & Wolfe, 1973), making it another complex topic which respondents may have

avoided because they could not articulate its many relationships with ideas about home. A third possibility is that privacy, like sex, is something that respondents would not ordinarily discuss with an interviewer. These considerations, however, are probably more important methodologically than theoretically; after all, ideas about privacy were frequently generated in the pilot work and they were well represented in the card sort task. It should still be concluded that the social and physical characteristics of home combine to provide the primary setting in which privacy is achieved.

It is interesting that the concept of privacy as articulated by this dimension is practically identical to the concept of a private place as developed by Wolfe, Schearer and Laufer (1976) using a different method and a different sample. They coded children's answers to interview questions about private places, which defined privacy in these ways:

aloneness	ownership
controlling access	controlling information
no one bothers	a place for other activity
choice	being with others
quiet	physical qualities
a place to think	

The categories in the first column were identical to ways in which privacy was defined in this research; if the categories in the second column had been included in the card sort, they would most likely have been included in this same cluster.

One major function of privacy as a meaning of home was briefly discussed in the previous section on self identity and sense of self; that

is, privacy allows the experience of sense of self. The interrelatedness of these two dimensions of meaning prompts a comparison with an earlier study of family life in a suburban setting:

> The privacy which the house as home offers (or "should" offer) is highly prized by the Crestwooder. In a culture which, on the surface, has largely abandoned the Victorian concept of a carefully graded intimacy, free admittance to the home may still stand as one criterion of intimate friendship. The home tends to become the only or primary means of guarding any inviolability of the private self. This self he may be forced increasingly to deny in the outside social, business, and professional contacts of his daily life, but the home can serve as psychological shelter for whatever fragment of it remains. The Crestwooder may not know of the abstract distinction, but his behavior with regard to admitting people to his home tends to make important its function as the citadel of the private self (Seeley et al., 1956: 53-54).

Thus, privacy does not function as a total exclusion of others, it means the opportunity to be with those who one wants to be with, to have a freedom of activity and expression, and to control the kinds of interruptions, pressures, or other influences which one may want refuge from. There were no sex or role differences on this dimension, a finding which suggests that privacy is desired by men and women alike, and by people working away from home as well as people working at home. Apparently, even with different roles in the household, people are able to obtain privacy in ways which are satisfactory to them.

Home as continuity was the label used to describe a fifth dimension of concepts of home. While other dimensions were assumed to reflect present circumstances (such as personal relationships, social ties, a base of daily activity), this cluster portrayed home as an idea which gains meaning over time. It was articulated by ideas such as perman-

ence, continuity, where a person can return to, someplace where you would want to live for a long time, and familiar surroundings.

Although the idea of a permanent home--someplace where one can return to in times of need, where a person will encounter former friends and familiar places--is an appealing idea for most people, it is the rare person or family which can claim such stability anymore. The closest analogy for some people may be a vacation house, "the lot on the lake," or even a recurring vacation spot. However, the generally central position assigned to ideas in this cluster (i.e., approaching: "most like my ideas about home") indicates that people apparently do value such ideas as a part of concepts of home.

One possible source for such continuity, 'home as childhood home,' was apparently not sufficiently meaningful for this sample, as evidenced by its relatively peripheral meaning from the ratings. Also, many respondents felt their childhood home was "lost" to them (when their parents moved from it, for example, or when a neighborhood had changed physically and socially); therefore, it could not offer a concrete tie to remembered experiences.

Seeley, Sim, and Loosley (1956) suggest that the environment is a source of continuity in a different way:

> Yet the people of Crestwood Heights do not lack sentiment, and are far from nomadic. . .a relatively permanent deposit of material goods remains in that house which at any particular time they call 'home.' Indeed, the presence of these objects in a succession of houses is probably the most important factor in the Crestwood concept of home. It is really the moveables which create the air of homeliness, and which are psychologically immoveable rather than the physically rooted house, which is there to be moved into, grown into, moved out of and left behind--an outmoded shell to be reoccu-

pied by another mobile family (Seeley et al., 1956: 57).

In this perspective it is the possessions and personalizing which are the physical manifestations of home; their significance lies in the fact that they provide an enduring frame of reference for personal and interpersonal experiences. Such an explanation has a strong appeal as one tries to interpret the meaning of continuity for this sample population. They have no permanent house which could serve to represent home; actually they have no "house" at all--they live in apartments which serve as home for a few years at a time. Therefore, it would seem that possessions, one's relationships with others, and the physical and social neighborhood must each play a part in sustaining the meaning of home.

For some single people interviewed during pilot work, however, even these sources of continuity were not meaningful enough: "Home is like something that I carry around on my back" one respondent said. This person was interviewed within months of her move back to New York City, after spending a year as a teacher in Vermont. She seemed to indicate that when (at times) all other accoutrements fail (e.g., she had few possessions; in the interim, friends had moved away from New York; she was living in a new neighborhood), she relied on her own self concept as the bottom line for continuity in her life.

Respondents in the final sample had at least some additional sources of continuity, including spouses, possessions, local social ties (which were occasionally called "roots"), and familiar places in the neighborhood. Consequently, one can conclude that the baseline for 'home as continuity' is a person's self identity, and when possible,

people also derive meaning from their relationships to other sources ranging from family members to childhood places.

Thus, it seems likely that this 'continuity' dimension would be a more central aspect of meaning for older people, considering their available sources of meaning such as children, long term relationships with friends, and previous residences. This point is well illustrated in an excerpt from A National Directory of Housing for Older People:

> Moving is not a new experience for most of us. Who of us can say we grew up, "grew" children, grew older, in the same house or, for that matter, in the same neighborhood? The family homestead which once sheltered generation after generation has all but disappeared. Ours, indeed, has been a portable hearthstone. Before we were forty years old we probably moved four or five times to follow job opportunities, seek more living space for a growing family, or live in a prestige area commensurate with our bettered economic and social position. Some of us were forced to move out of the way of industrial encroachment, public improvements, or deteriorated neighborhoods.
>
> During our migrations, "home" was not a specific physical shelter we happened to occupy, but a concept--a way of life; our privacy; our security; the base for our comings and goings; the milieu through which we refined our values and interests, established the quality of our personal and family relationships, and distilled the meaning of our experiences. By the time we were forty, however, our life patterns tended to become stabilized. Perhaps our children needed continuity of schooling or better job opportunities were fewer. We stayed put long enough to set our roots down (National Council on the Aging, 1969: vi).

Although this dimension was emphasized by people who had grown up in a house (which apparently served to extend the range of available sources of continuity for them), and was not emphasized by people who had grown up in an apartment, there were no other sex, role, environmental or experiential variables which were clearly related to this di-

mension of meaning. However, it should be remembered that people in this sample were chosen because they were not in the process of moving, and studies of newcomers or people moving would presumably be a better context in which to study ideas about continuity.

Home as personalized place was another dimension of meaning which seemed to go hand in hand with 'home as self identity.' However, it also provided a connection with the physical dwelling, as it included ideas such as: ownership; possessions; something that reflects one's ideas, taste and preferences; changing a place, making it yours; and a place that is mine. Thus it confirmed the generally accepted notion that possessions and actions of personalizing are indeed expression of self, and that a person's self image is invested in them over time (as reported before, this dimension was a more central idea for people in new apartments (½ to 2 years), and self identity was regarded less centrally until 3 to 4 years of living in the same place had elapsed).

Although this dimension was not as central an aspect of meaning as 'home as self identity' and 'home as a place of privacy and refuge,' respondents were much more conscious of the role of this dimension in their concepts of home. It was reflected in the interviews with comments like these:

> Ms. K: Home is the place that I transform to make it my own comfortable refuge--at the moment, my apartment. ("Why?") It reflects me--my taste and interests. It's my place to work.
>
> Ms. E: I think of it less abstractly and more concretely in terms of these walls. . .my focus is much more here

than it is, in terms of home, outside this. It has a lot to do with the physical environment that we have, really, that we have created here.

Mr. T: It would mean embellishing a house, in this case, our apartment (with) furnishings, artworks, and bric-a-brac, books, a place for the kids to call their own, a place for them to play, and work--

Ms. H: ("Why is it home?") We have lived here several years, started our family here, and made many changes in it to make it reflect ourselves.

Mr. Y: We have said--Connie said just recently--we're here 5 months and she said just recently: "I finally begin to feel at home here."

Thus the investing of self in the physical environment of one's home is a common theme. It is accomplished through making changes to suit one's tastes, having possessions, and by living in a place over time.

As with privacy, this dimension was not adequately anticipated in the initial review of literature. Ideas such as: a place that is mine; something that reflects one's ideas, tastes, and preferences; where things belong to me; and ownership; were presumed to be incorporated as part of self identity. However, this research indicated that these ideas did not have the same meaning as the self identity dimension since they formed a separate cluster. Consequently a discussion of additional research literature seems warranted in order to probe the significance of this dimension and its relationship to self identity.

One perspective in this dimension was suggested by the previous cluster, home as continuity. According to that discussion the significance of possessions lies in the fact that they provide an enduring medium which people can use to connote a meaningful home setting--possessions and family move together to new places, and the possessions

and personalizing help the new place to carry through some of the meaning of the old place.

A second perspective on the meaning of possessions and a personalized place has been suggested by O'Mara (1974) and Jourard (1966), namely, that a place of one's own is psychologically important in developing and enhancing one's sense of self and self identity. This seems like a reasonable explanation of these results since this dimension was interrelated with the sense of self/self identity dimension (that cluster included items such as: important for my sense of self, feeling comfortable and happy with myself, and a place that provides a lot of satisfaction for me). Also, this explanation was spontaneously reported by some respondents in answering the question about why they thought their apartment was home for them:

> Ms. F: It matters a lot to me that it's a pleasant space that we have made for ourselves.
>
> Ms. L: It's home (because of) ownership, and possession, and surroundings that please me. (This respondent lived in a co-op apartment.)

Additional evidence for this perspective was found in the category titles that respondents gave to this group of ideas. They used expressions such as: selfish--possessions, "interior house--what home does for me, a personal place, possessiveness, personal expression, and possessions. Thus the significance of home as personalized place appears to include at least personal pleasure and satisfaction, and an enhancement of sense of self and self expression.

Finally, a third possible significance of possessions and personal-

ized place is that they might be important symbols of status and achievement. After all, many status symbols are thought of as extensions of self. However, no ideas emerged from the pilot work to indicate that such ideas were a meaningful aspect of concepts of home, and consequently the card sort results cannot be interpreted as confirming or denying this idea. Still, there were many opportunities for this idea to emerge through the various methods and samples which were studied, and it was rarely suggested. A few respondents alluded to status and prestige by giving these titles to a category containing many of the 'personalized place' items: status, decorator's cards and home as showplace. Therefore one must speculate that the idea of home for this group does not rely on status or prestige to achieve its meaning; although these connotations may apply to "the house" (Cooper, 1971), they apparently do not apply to "the home" or to home as personalized place for this sample. This conclusion is especially possible since most status symbols are outward expressions of one's power or identity, but this group of ideas seems to focus on the inside of one's dwelling--an inward reflection of tastes and ideas which serve some purposes for oneself, family, and intimate friends, but which does not serve as a public display of one's social or economic standing. Thus, while the physical housing has been shown to be a vehicle for the expression of status and social values, ideas about home are unaffected (it is possibly the norm on the Upper West Side to deny that status is important). This may be one aspect of the idea that "wherever we are, that would be home--even a campsite if we were staying there long enough" which was expressed by several respondents. Thus, it essentially denies that status through phy-

sical environment is an important part of ideas about home, or if it is an important connection, it was not expressed.

This conclusion could be tested by including ideas about status in a future card sort and then examining respondents' evaluations of those ideas and their relationship to the dimensions of meaning described here. Furthermore, it would be interesting to present respondents with these three different perspectives on the significance of possessions (as connoting permanence and continuity, as enhancing sense of self, and as status), to see whether different significances were chosen by different people. And since each of these perspectives is related to self perception and self identity, this dimension might then serve as a criterion factor in identifying different self/environment relationships.

In the present research, home as personalized place was especially central for people who were still getting settled into their apartments (½ to 2 years in their present residence), and "women at home" and people who had grown up in a house rather than an apartment. These sample populations would be a likely starting point for additional research on the significance of personalizing and possessions.

Similar to home as personalized place was another dimension, home as a base of activity; these two were similar, and yet also different, in that they both highlighted the dwelling as home, but pointed out different ways in which the dwelling was meaningful. While the previous dimension had portrayed the dwelling as an environment which is transformed into a reflection and extension of self, this dimension emphasized

the more mundane conception of the dwelling--as a base of operations, a place for sleeping, eating, relaxing, and working.

In reviewing related literature at the beginning of this investigation, a dimension similar to this one was proposed: home as locus in space. And earlier in this chapter, it was pointed out that such a locus held significance for people who were developing or changing their self identity, for example, children and newcomers. However, regardless of the elaboration of one's self identity, the home is undeniably a base of activity for most people. It is a place where one begins his or her day, where one leaves from and returns to, and a place within which one engages in leisure time activities as well as household chores. And for people who regard their dwelling as a temporary residence (and therefore, not "home"), this part of concepts of home is probably a prominent idea: "Home is where I 'hang my hat'; it's where I can crash (collapse)." Thus, this may be one of the first dimensions of meaning to accrue to any place of residence: upon moving into a new place, the dwelling exists as physical structure without inhabitants, but upon the person's declaration of that dwelling as his or her residence, it also serves as one's resting place; the place where one can receive mail and phone calls, take a shower, eat a meal; the place where possessions can be stored and displayed; the place where one can entertain visitors; and so on. Interestingly, this dimension was more central in the minds of new residents (½ to 2 years in their present apartments), and it was an increasingly peripheral idea for people with a longer period of residence in the same place.

This pattern of decreasing importance over time was similar to the

trend for 'home as a place of privacy,' and 'home as personalized place,' and suggests that these dimensions of meaning may offer their greatest contribution to housing research when studying recently relocated residents. These dimensions apparently offer little that would be useful in studying the housing experiences and concerns of long term residents. It is not clear from the present research whether this conclusion should also be applied to people who have lived in the same general neighborhood for a long time, but who have lived in their present apartments for only a short time. One could speculate, however, that any move to a new dwelling probably precipitates new patterns of daily activity and new strategies for achieving privacy and a personalized place.

Although the remaining two dimensions of concepts of home represented clear groups of ideas from the various card sort analyses, most respondents indicated through ratings that these groups were "least like my ideas about home." During the interviews there were so few comments about these ideas as constituting meaningful ideas about home that these dimensions must be peripheral in the larger view of concepts of home. However, as with privacy, these meanings may have been taken for granted and they may be important, although not highly valued, aspects of home.

Home as childhood home, a dimension which was potentially similar to home as continuity, was a relatively coherent dimension consisting of items such as where my parents live, where I spent my childhood, place of birth, and where a person can return to. However, this coherence did not transfer into a positive evaluation: these ideas were not rated as central aspects of meaning about home.

This dimension was not anticipated in the review of literature, except as it might have related to socialization and family as a part of home; it is a rare piece of environmental research which systematically considers a previous residence or one's relationship to one's parents. Still, this is not such an esoteric idea; Stea's recent work (1976) with housing for Navajo Indians indicates that their housing during the week (when they work on construction jobs or other service jobs in a town) must be understood in terms of their weekend visits to "home"--the farmland which they and their relatives used to live on and which they may still own, "up in the hills." Also, the literature which referred to our recent Presidents (Abramson, 1974) suggested that we draw upon knowledge about someone's childhood home to better understand what he is like as a person. Thus the psychological observation that each person is a product of his or her experience should apparently be expanded to make it clear that this also means their environmental experience.

There was some ambivalence about childhood home in this sample, as some people reported no sense that their childhood environment was home while others reported that their parents' place was an integral part of their ideas about home. While these ideas often stayed in the background, in one interview a husband cautioned his wife about an upcoming visit to her parents' house:

> Now when we go to your mother's, don't tell the children that we're going "home." It may be home for you, but it's not for us.

Thus, some people were struggling to eliminate this dimension from their concept of home (or in this case, from someone else's concept). Such an

effort may reflect a concern for their own independence and self identity, which may be threatened by acknowledging a meaningful relationship with another home, where a different social structure may have consequences for one's autonomy, or where one may have been treated as a child in the past.

There is, of course, a certain nostalgia which pervades this idea of a childhood home. During interviews many respondents reported that they felt a sense of loss regarding their childhood homes since their parents had moved to a different place and they could no longer return to visit that particular dwelling. And although this dimension was not a central idea in most respondents' concepts of home, it was slightly more central for men. Also, is was a relatively more central idea for people who had grown up in a house rather than an apartment, and for people who were living in high rise buildings. Thus it seems possible that the nostalgia for childhood home is actually a nostalgia for a house--those who had one remember childhood more favorably, and for other people, it is not a very important idea.

The idea that previous environmental experiences can be useful in understanding environmental concepts has recently begun to take on new importance in housing research and in other environmental research as well. For example, "residential histories" are now thought to be useful in understanding satisfaction and perception of housing (Ladd, 1976a), and a child's experience with having or not having a room of one's own has been shown to influence the concept of privacy which that child develops (Wolfe et al., 1976). Additional research should be pursued along these lines of thought. One could start with a more directed in-

vestigation of why a childhood house is a more central idea than a childhood apartment in adult concepts of home. Is such a relationship based on the nature of the dwelling (more space, outside places for play), or on the ability to return to the house years later owing to the stability and permanence of most houses. There is no apparent effect of this house/apartment variable on relationships with others, social networks, self identity, privacy or the physical structure as home.

Finally, home as physical structure was another group of ideas to emerge as a consistent dimension of concepts of home. Although it was the first cluster identified in the cluster analysis, it has not been discussed up to this point because of its relatively peripheral position assigned through respondents' ratings. That is, respondents assigned ratings which corresponded to the label "least like my ideas about home" for ideas about home as near the ground, as a one family house, an extra space, a room, architectural design, a bed, and a building. The remaining ideas in this group were rated somewhat more centrally, including: a city, a principal place of residence, a fixed place, a street, a country, and an apartment. Still, none of these ideas received a consensus as a central aspect of meaning (e.g., "most like my ideas about home").

There is no doubt that physical environment is an integral part of concepts of home: home is where the heart is, home is a place to live, it's a house of your own, a place to keep your possessions. And yet, for this sample at least, the physical structure of the dwelling and the neighborhood is not a central idea in concepts of home. It was given very low priority in discussions about home, and it was given a relatively poor position in the ratings.

Such a discrepancy between the obviousness of the physical environment and its relatively peripheral meaning among these respondents has two possible explanations. First,

> it is possible that physical environment is always undervalued as compared with social relations and conceptions of oneself as an independent entity acting in freely chosen ways.

Thus, the physical structure of an environment may be a "given," and for emphasis it can be called a "lower order given" to reflect its relationship to the other dimensions of meaning. This relatively low awareness of the relationship between behavior, attitudes and physical environment has certainly been an issue to contend with in a variety of other environmental psychological research. And although some investigators have concluded that the shelter provided by a dwelling--a physical structure --is the most important meaning for some people (e.g., "Fear and house-as-haven in the lower class," Rainwater, 1966), such an idea seems to be taken for granted among this sample of middle income families.

Another explanation might be that

> this poor evaluation of home as physical structure is a distinct comment on concepts of home among urban families.

Situationally, these families bore little relationship to the physical structure--they lived in small units within larger, more impersonal buildings; they did not own the walls around them, and they had no discernable influence on any condition of the physical environment beyond their immediate dwelling. One would imagine that ideas about the physical structure would be given a higher priority among people who own

and live in single family houses. In the present research, however, there was no effect for building type (ranging only from brownstones to high rise buildings), and there was no effect for the childhood house/ apartment idea from the previous dimension.

The data of this study indicate that there is a relationship between the sex of the respondent and the rating of this 'physical structure' cluster: it was a more central idea for men than it was for women although it was relatively low in the rankings of either sex. It seems likely that this sex difference grows from traditional socialization processes in this society whereby a man is commonly thought to measure himself and his successes by tangible things: his money, his car, his home, and even the attractiveness of his wife. Women, on the other hand, are often socialized to play a more affective affiliative role, managing the household chores and caring for the children and the husband. This relationship might mean that men are more concerned than women are with the structural and spatial aspects of a home environment, perhaps extending to who makes choices about new housing.

Two dimensions of meaning were anticipated in the review of literature regarding the physical environment--'home as physical structure' and 'home as territory'--and these dimensions are fairly similar to the dwelling and neighborhood subgroups within the present dimension. However, it may be argued that these dimensions were overly-anticipated, and that they were much more in the forefront of researchers' minds than they were in the minds of these respondents. Thus the low priority of this aspect of home suggests that one might hold any comparisons with

that literature for use in interpreting concepts of home among house dwellers. In particular, there seems to be little similarity of these concepts of home with concepts of houses as homes, an idea which pervades the architectural literature and much research literature as well (e.g., The house, and the art of its design, Kennedy, 1953; The place of houses, Moore, Allen, & Lyndon, 1973; Evolution of the house, from caves to co-ops, Gardiner, 1974; The house as metaphor, Crowhurst, 1974).

In articulating their concepts of home, the respondents in the present research distinguished between the immediate, changeable, personalized environment of home (personalized place) and the physical structure of that environment (this dimension), thus resulting in two separate clusters. Future research with house owners and house dwellers may discover that these two dimensions are not so distinct, conceptually. Future research should also be aware that home as physical structure was a relatively less important idea for "women at home."

ADDITIONAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY IN ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

There are two general conclusions from this research which have implications for the development of theory in environmental psychology. These are: (1) there are modes of conceptualizing 'home,' and (2) the idea of 'home' refers to a life situation, a set of relationships to the rest of the world, not simply to a physical housing environment.

Modes of conceptualizing home. Once the various dimensions of concepts of home had been established, an appropriate structure or rep-

resentation was sought which would adequately portray the multidimensional nature of these ideas.

Respondents' ratings offered a hierarchy of the nine dimensions of concepts of home. However, a variety of situational differences were shown to play a role in concepts of home: "women at home" emphasized the home as self identity and the home as a relationship with others; people who had recently moved to their present apartments emphasized home as a place of privacy, as a personalized place, and as a base of activity. Therefore, the relative hierarchy of meanings which emerged from this research was not considered to be immutable. It became obvious that there were different emphases--different modes--in rating the various ideas about home. Research with other sample populations (e.g., newcomers, house owners, design professionals, single adults) may discover that the more central dimensions of meaning here are not so central for other people in other situations.

Thus the structure of these dimensions of home was <u>not hierarchical</u>, but <u>multi-modal</u>, meaning that multiple meanings of home were recognized by each individual and that groups of individuals valued some dimensions more highly than other dimensions. The notion of <u>modes</u> of conceptualizing or categorizing ideas about home was especially viable because of Tzeng's (1975) argument that "denotation reflects a person's implicit semantic 'theory' about (modes of categorizing) the object." In environmental psychology, Ittelson (1970) has developed the idea of multi-modal perception of environment, implying that different aspects of environment might be especially salient in different situations or among different people. And Ittelson, Franck, and O'Hanlon (1976),

drawing on an early draft of the literature review for the present research, suggested the idea of modes of environmental experience which included environment as physical structure, environment as social system, environment as self, environment as orientation, and environment as setting for action.

Having conceptualized home as a multi-modal system (each of the dimensions representing one possible mode within the range of ideas about home), a new step in this line of research would be to systematically investigate the kinds of exploratory hypotheses which were suggested by the present study. Also, additional variables which hold some theoretical interest can be studied for their possible relationships to concepts of home. For example, one might compare home owners with renters to test whether they both subscribe to ideas about personalization and home as physical structure. While the physical environment was given relatively little importance by this sample (most of whom were renters), home owners or people living in co-operative apartment buildings would be expected to give greater emphasis to the physical structure as part of their concepts of home. Other interests might lead one to study single adults who intend to remain single in the forseeable future; they may support the primacy of home as a relationship among people (with the focus of those relationships shifting from family to friends) or they may emphasize dimensions such as privacy or personalized place or self identity.

A home is not a house. It has been implicit throughout this research that home is a specific place: a dwelling, or a neighborhood, or perhaps both. Although specific places are undoubtedly called home,

they do not circumscribe what is meant by psychological concepts of home. This perspective was repeatedly emphasized by respondents who said that "Home is wherever we are" and "Home is not necessarily a specific place; I could actually make my home anywhere as long as certain people were there with me." Thus it would seem that the reference to one's dwelling as home, which is so pervasive in the research literature about housing, is a simplistic representation. The dwelling may be the easiest or most tangible manifestation of home, but it is not the essence of it; the dwelling may be viewed as a necessary, but not sufficient, component of home.

At this point it is appropriate to return to the observation from Crestwood Heights (Seeley, Sim, & Loosley, 1956) that "the house" is an incidental aspect of "the home": "the house. . .is there to be moved into, grown into, moved out of and left behind--an outmoded shell to be reoccupied by another mobile family." Although the physical structure may indeed be more important for other samples, respondents in the present research frequently described home as a set of relationships, as a situation which met certain of their criteria for home. The following conversation, for example, illustrates how one person's concept of home was not defined by the structure of the physical or social environment, but rather by her relationships to the environment:

> Ms: It would mean two things for me: and one would be the physical part of creating the environment, here, uh, which I have spent time in the past doing, and occasionally still do, and I take pleasure in that. But for me also it very much has to do with making friends, reaching out, the people--uh, because I could not be happy--
>
> Mr: But you'd reach out and make friends no matter where you

are.

Ms: But in terms of 'making a home,' the term 'making your home' means making friends--

Mr: You'd make a home for yourself no matter where you were.

Ms: Yeah, but he didn't ask me that, he asked what it meant. Right? Because once I'd finished creating a nest I wouldn't be home unless I had the people, the rest of it. Fred would stay here with his books and his music just minding his--

Mr: I'd be happier in a nest, just staying in the nest--

Ms: Well, once I chased him out of it!

Mr: She wants to fly out of it.

Ms: No, no I don't. (. . .) I didn't. And as--a lot of my pleasure, perhaps my (. . .) pleasure, and living here on the West Side now, and with a lot that's bothering me (. . .) still here.

Despite the conflict in this situation, this person reports that home is "still here"--as if to say: this is my relationship to physical and social environment--for better or worse--and I don't intend to change it right now.

Following this line of thought, it would be possible to revise the phrasing of the various dimensions of concepts of home, as follows:

1. Home as a statement of close relationships with other people,

2. Home as a statement of relationship with a wider social group (e.g., community or home town),

3. Home as a statement of relationship with one's self image and sense of self,

4. Home as a statement of relationship with other social situations (i.e., that privacy, refuge, and controlled interaction are possible),

5. Home as a statement of continuous relationship with some of the other sources of meaning about home,

6. Home as a statement of relationship with the immediate physical environment (i.e., personalized place),

7. Home as a statement of relationship with everyday activity,

8. Home as a statement of relationship with one's parents (i.e., childhood home), and

9. Home as a statement of relationship with the physical structure in which one resides.

Therefore, it seems fair to conclude that 'home' is a label applied to situations in which some of these relationships can be pursued. Perhaps this is why some people could state that they had several 'homes'--their apartment, their parents' house, and friends' apartments in the neighborhood; each of those settings provided an opportunity to experience some of the above relationships, although one's own apartment provided opportunities beyond those available elsewhere. Home in its truest sense, then, would be a situation allowing all of these relationships. Such an idea seems akin to a variety of comments from respondents, such as:

Mr. L: My principal home is where my family is--my wife and children--and where my things are, our friends are--presently in a Manhattan apartment. But we have other "homes"--where our parents are, where we grew up, or in my case, where I worked among good friends as a single person. Southern California is a home; so is Hyushu in Japan; so is Minnesota, where both my wife and I grew up.

Ms. L: Home is place and experience coming together through you in your daily living situation.

Mr. X: Home is wherever you make it: I think of home as a place of warmth and security, family and happiness--

a place that is our very own (whether in an apartment or in a house)--no matter how far, a place to come back to, at the center of our lives.

Mr. H: (Have you recently thought about home?) Constantly--home is very often a metaphor for one's life--we define one by the other.

Ms. F: (It's) where I live with my family and also my parent's house. (Why do you think of that as your home?) It's a center of home life, familiar things, etc.

Mr. J: We seem to be describing in part a geographic and in part an emotional, uh, territory. And, if there is some complex of attitudes and feelings, associations with a place called home, it's--actually both come together within my very own geographic set-up right here, in my house. Aside from that, places in which I have the same feelings. . .as I do in my own house, about the people, the place, the events, that are in one way or another associated to that feelings.

This perspective of the "coming together" of a person's various relationships to the rest of the world also appears to explain what was meant when respondents said that they had "suspended" the idea of home when they were single or when they were between marriages. In other words, the prominence of the first dimension, 'home as a relationship with others,' suggests that these respondents were in effect saying that they had "suspended" previous relationships with other people (their parents, or a spouse). However, they were often suspending other relationships as well: relationships to friends in the previous neighborhood; relationships to a personalized place--a room, for instance, that they may have lived in since early childhood; relationships to familiar, everyday places and activities; and they were even suspending some aspects of their self identity. And when people move to a new place of residence, they have to set up new relationships in

order to have a home again.

This conception of home as a set of relationships also seems to provide a solution to the persistent problem of what to do with people who said that they did not have a home right now. It is not that they did not have an environment (a dorm room, for example), it is that their situation at that time did not allow them to build up the variety of relationships that they would need to have a home.

THE POSITIVE, IDEALISTIC NATURE OF CONCEPTS OF HOME

In the previous chapter it was suggested that there may have been a bias toward happily married couples in that they were apparently more willing to be interviewed than couples who were "splitting up" or who were "having a tough time right now." Of course, this bias may apply to almost any field study involving interviews with a husband and wife together. However, it raises the question of whether or not the results of this research lean towards idealistic or especially positive concepts of home.

From the available evidence, the likely answer to this question is that affect is an extremely important part of ideas about home, and that it was mostly positive affect which was associated with home by this sample. Respondents in the final sample were generally happy with their life situations, and overwhelmingly, they reported that home was a positive, satisfying idea (as measured by semantic differential items). It is notable that there were many affective ideas about home which emerged from the pilot work, and the card sort analysis showed that these ideas

formed the first and most prominent dimension of meaning about home.

These findings parallel a common perspective on families and home life:

> In much contemporary writing on the individual and the family, there is assumed some not-too-unhappy confluence, not to say preestablished harmony, between nature and nurture. Some adjustments may have to be made on both sides, but all things work together for good to those who want only security and identity. . . . There is frequent reference to security, the esteem of others. What one is supposed to want, to live for, is "gaining pleasure from the esteem and affection of others" (Laing, 1967: 63).

Laing's point in referring to the literature of families was to point out the tendency to immortalize this normative conception of positive affect and home life. For some mental health professionals, deviance from these ideals may suggest a variety of clinical disorders or maladaptive relationships: being rootless, unable to develop lasting relationships, the product of a "broken" home. Thus it would be advantageous to keep in mind various possibilities about the nature of affect which is associated with concepts of home. A teenager may report hostile feelings towards his or her parents, but those relationships and their dwelling may still be "home." Variations in one's concept of home may also develop in such situations, such as reported by a few young college students in the pilot work for this research: some thought of their own room as home, and said it was the place where they felt most comfortable, and "most like myself;" the remainder of the dwelling was sometimes called "my parents' house."

Using this and other examples, one could speculate that people strive to organize their life--their relationships to people and to phy-

sical environment--in such a way that they have something which is satisfying which they can call "home." And if a situation becomes less and less satisfying (e.g., a child alienated from the rest of the family, or a couple who are not getting along with each other, or a person whose apartment is becoming more and more dilapidated, or someone who is experiencing social pressure to move out of a neighborhood), then there would be a point when that situation was no longer "home" for the individual. The alternatives may lead to a focus on a room, or on some relationships which are satisfying, or on a neighborhood which is supportive.

Therefore, the perspective which seems appropriate here is that while there are various dimensions of meaning about home, some of these must provide some kind of satisfaction or personal pleasure for the individual; otherwise, the individual would define home differently. For this sample of families, positive interpersonal affect among family members clearly plays a central role in their concepts of home.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This study represents an exploratory attempt to define the meanings of 'home' and to draw an overview of those meanings. It is, however, only one step and it has left a number of unanswered questions. For example, without comparative data of some kind, it cannot be determined whether this overview represents a general pattern of the meanings of home, or whether it only represents an aggregate set of dimensions for this particular sample. Similarly, the ordering or ranking of the nine

dimensions within the overview may represent a general hierarchy or it may turn out to be a way of characterizing concepts of home among the people in this sample. This research also leaves open the question of whether or not there are differences between a "current" and an "ideal" conception of home, and what significance such differences might have. Finally, although concepts of home are systematically influenced by at least several factors which were explored in this study (e.g., sex, roles in household, building type), the nature of these influences--including potential causal relations--needs to be explored further. Also, the range of variables which can be considered as influences ought to be expanded and studied more carefully.

To address these questions, two studies are proposed as future extensions of this research:

Future Study A: House Owners and House Renters. One of the surprising results of this research was that the 'physical structure' cluster was rated as a very peripheral part of concepts of home. Since that result was attributed to circumstances related to apartment living, it is proposed that a replication of the present study be carried out with a sample of house owners. Such a study should focus on the same life cycle stage as was used in this research--adult couples with young children--and it should, if possible in the same neighborhood, select two groups of respondents representing house owners and house renters so that the effects of ownership can be partialled out from the effects of living in a house. It is hypothesized that the 'physical structure' cluster will be more narrowly defined, focusing on 'house,' and that this cluster will be a more central dimension of meaning than it was here.

It is also hypothesized that the 'physical structure' and 'personalized place' dimensions will be more closely interrelated. It is suggested that a sample of at least one hundred people in each of the two groups should be studied, so that analyses such as multiple regression and factor analysis could be used to advantage. Such analyses could provide information about the interrelationships among clusters (for example, the intercorrelations which would be reported in an oblique rotation of factors using factor analysis).

Future Study B: Sex and Role Variations. It has been shown in this study that the sex of the respondent and his or her roles in the household are systematically related to the meanings of home. However, although some attempt was made to identify the nature of some of these relationships (cf. Table 14), sex and role variables were confounded to some extent. Men either earned all the money for the household, or shared in earning it; and they either did some of the housework, or did none of it. This led to two role categories for men: "men away" and "men sharing." Women, on the other hand, either shared in earning the money, or earned no money; and they either shared in doing the housework, or did all of it. This led to two role categories for women: "women sharing" and "women at home." To better understand the influences of sex and role variables, it is proposed that a future study be conducted to include sex/role combinations beyond those which existed in this study. Specifically, two other groups should be included: "men at home" and "women away." Although these two categories are not as prevalent in the general population, it is possible that with current unemployment and changing roles these may be found in many neighborhoods

and socioeconomic levels. They may also present an interesting study in and of themselves: What happens when conventional roles in the household are changed, perhaps contradicting years of socialization and experience under different conceptions of the home environment? It can be hypothesized that the role variable will be a better predictor of the meanings of home especially if these roles have been established for at least nine to twelve months (e.g., McGrady, 1975). However, some sex/role interaction effects can also be hypothesized owing to the conventional socialization of women toward home responsibilities and men toward outside employment.

In addition to these specific studies, three research directions seem useful in continuing the sense of this research on psychological concepts of home.

A developmental perspective. One appropriate extension of this research could be focused on children's concepts of home. It has been suggested by the present results that categories such as 'home as self identity' may be interesting developmentally, and that the earlier 'locus in space' category may be an approximation to the home/identity relationship for children. Other results indicate that concepts of home change over the length of time a person lives in one particular dwelling; it would be interesting to compare these differences with developmental/maturational differences in children to see whether similar processes are operating.

An architectural perspective. Initially, this research was directed toward people's concepts of their housing environments in order to

discover what aspects of such environments are meaningful. However, it would seem useful to have an extension of this research focus on the relationship of these concepts of home to particular aspects of housing design. One clear design parameter is the apartment/house comparison which would be possible through 'future study A' above; that might afford a better perspective on the 'physical structure' cluster. Another likely area of interest concerns the 'personalized place' cluster, and the extent to which different interior designs (space, arrangement, materials) influence the meaningfulness of this cluster or other clusters. One could also select people who rate this kind of cluster as a central part of their concepts of home, and then search for common features of their dwellings, and investigate any processes which were particularly useful for those people in decorating or arranging things in their residence. A comparison group could consist of people who rate this cluster as a peripheral part of their concepts of home.

A behavioral perspective. The results of this study indicate that there is a relationship between what people do (as measured by household roles) and how they think about home. This represents an interesting topic for additional study. While this interest could apparently tie in with other studies on housework (Oakley, 1974; Lopata, 1971; McGrady, 1975), it also suggests that a range of behaviors could be studied: the amount of time a person usually spends in the dwelling, the extent to which a person spends time and money in decorating or personalizing the dwelling, how often a person has moved from one dwelling to another, how often a person invites friends to his or her dwelling for socializing or "home entertaining," and the extent to which a person participates in

neighborhood activities and/or organizations. An exploration of relationships between these and other behaviors would be useful in further understanding concepts of home, and it might also be useful in identifying behavioral factors to be considered in housing design.

SUMMARY

This attempt to develop an overview of concepts of home began with the speculation that categories of meanings could be used to understand different aspects of such concepts; six such categories were proposed in a review of literature. Through various exploratory methods, a card sorting task was developed to study the kinds of categories which people would use in describing some meanings of home. Nine dimensions of meaning ("modes of categorizing") were interpreted from the analysis of the card sorting task, and these included: home as a relationship with others, home as social network, home as self identity, home as a place of privacy and refuge, home as continuity, home as a personalized place, home as a base of activity, home as childhood home, and home as physical structure.

Briefly, then, this research has shown that it is possible to construct an overview of the concept of 'home,' illustrating that there exists a core of meaning which can be called upon to understand the meaning and significance of housing environments. It has also shown that the concept of 'home' involves social and psychological as well as physical meanings, suggesting that research which focuses only on housing design, or only on social factors, constitutes a limited approach. Fin-

ally, although 'home' is objectified as an environment, as a dwelling, a physical structure, it was concluded that a person's concept of home is better understood as a relationship to such an environment, rather than the environment itself. This conclusion reiterates the importance of satisfactory and successful family and community life, and the ability of people to create a residence which reflects favorably on their self image and which can also serve as a place of privacy and refuge. In other research, it has been demonstrated again and again that each of these kinds of issues is permeated with physical design considerations, with issues of personal abilities and resources, and with social influences, simultaneously.

It is hoped that research of this kind can lead to a better understanding of the psychological issues and conceptions which are relevant to the role of housing environments in people's lives.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

1. If you had to name the place where you felt most like yourself, what would that place be, and where is it? (you may name more than one place)

2. If you had to name the place where you felt that you "belong," what would that place be, and where is it? (you may name more than one place)

3. Is there any one place that you think of as your home? If there is one place which is a home for you, where is that?

4. How old are you?_____

5. Are you: married_____ single_____

   have been married_____ never married_____

   currently living with children_____

   currently living with other adult(s)_____

   currently living alone_____

6. Where do you live? (give street, but not building number)

   _____

7. Is this an apartment building?_____ or a house?_____

8. How long have you lived at this address?_____

9. Do you have any plans to move in the near future?_____

   If so, when?_____

   and where will you move to?_____

Listed below are some statements that people have made to define the nature of "home." I would like you to look over this list and check one of the columns at the right for each definition listed. In responding to these statements you should be guided by your own definition, feelings, and thoughts about home.

Put your check in column 5 if you feel that the listed statement is very central to your own definition or thoughts about home.

Put your check in column 4 if you feel that the listed statement is partly true for you.

Put your check in column 3 if you feel that it is hard for you to relate to the listed statement although it might be true for some people.

Put your check in column 2 if you disagree with the definition as it is stated.

Put your check in column 1 if you do not understand the statement.

	very central	partly true for me	hard to relate to	disagree	do not understand
	5	4	3	2	1
1. Home is my country.					
2. Home is a place of happiness and well-being.					
3. Home in one form or another is the great object of life.					
4. Home is a room of my own.					
5. Home is a center or base of operations.					
6. Home is a place which is emotional territory.					

very central

partly true for me

hard to relate to

disagree

do not understand

	1	2	3	4	5
7. Home is the social unit formed by a family living together in one dwelling.					
8. Home is the residence that I will have for most of my adult years.					
9. Home is the place where I feel most like myself.					
10. Home is a place of refuge and safety.					
11. Home is a place of privacy.					
12. Home is a village or town, a collection of dwellings.					
13. Home is my neighborhood, the area around the dwelling.					
14. Home is the house and grounds with their appartenances habitually occupied by a family.					
15. Home is where I can have a style of living which appeals to me.					
16. Home is the place where I feel a sense of belonging.					

very central

partly true for me

hard to relate to

disagree

do not understand

1 2 3 4 5

17. Home is the seat of domestic life and interests.

18. Home is a principal place of residence.

19. Home is where I spent my childhood years.

20. Home is the family environment to which one is emotionally attached.

21. Home is the psychological center of my world.

22. Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in.

23. Home is my place of birth.

24. Home is a feeling which I carry around with me.

25. Home is a place to find rest and peace.

26. Home is a focus of my social relationships with other people.

very central

partly true for me

hard to relate to

disagree

do not understand

1 2 3 4 5

27. Home is wherever I am living for a period of a couple of years or more.

28. Home is where the heart is.

29. Home is where my parents live.

30. Home is where I can do what I want.

Are there any definitions of home which characterize what you think of when you think of home, and which are not included in these statements? If so, please add these additional definitions in the space below:

31. Home is _____

32. Home is _____

1. Different people have different thoughts about what they call "home". What do you think of as your home, and where is that?

2. Why do you think of that as your home?

3. Are there other places or areas or situations that you might think of as "home at times, or are there places that, in conversation, you might refer to as hom If so, what and where are they?

4. Have you recently thought about home, what you call your home, or where you would like your home to be? If so, please describe what you were thinking about, where you were, and how it came up.

5. Where did you grow up?

6. Do you think of that place as a "childhood home"?

7. What kind of a building did you live in there?
_____single family house
_____row house
_____two family house
_____small apartment building
_____large apartment building
_____other _____

8. Have you ever been confused or undecided about what you think of as home? If so, what were you deciding between, or thinking about?

9. Ideally, what would you like to think of as home for you? Where and what would home be for you if there were no constraints on it?

10. What is your role in your household now? _____

---

11. Your age? _____ 12. Your sex? _____female _____male 13. Your occupation? _____

14. The last year of school you completed?
(please specify the year or grade in the blank)

_____high school _____college _____graduate school

15. Your total household income? (check one)
_____ $0 - $9,999
_____ $10,000 - $19,999
_____ $20,000 - $39,999
_____ $40,000 - $69,999
_____ $70,000 or more

16. Please list the age and sex of each of your children: _____

_____ _____ _____ _____

17. Type of building currently living in: _____ brownstone

_____ tenement-type building _____ high rise building

18. Is your apartment: _____ a rental? _____ a co-op? _____ we own the building

19. How long have you lived there? _____

20. How long do you expect to live there? _____

21. Do you:
_____ do practically all of the housework
_____ share in doing the housework
_____ do very little of the housework

_____ handle almost all of the child care
_____ share in child care
_____ do very little of the child care

_____ earn almost all of the money
_____ share in earning the money
_____ earn no money

_____ make most of the decisions about how the place will look
_____ share in decisions about this (e.g., decorating, furnishing, rearranging)
_____ make very few of these decisions

GROUP # ________ General name or description of group: ____________________

CARD # RATING (1=most like my ideas about home; 7=least like my ideas about home)

EXAMPLE 99 ____ : ✓ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

______ ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____

______ ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____

______ ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____

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______ ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____

HOME

calm	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	agitated
weak	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	strong
vague	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	distinct
satisfying	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	frustrating
clean	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	dirty
dark	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	bright
fair	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unfair
simple	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	complex
dislike	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	like
sociable	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unsociable
near	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	far
large	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	small
sad	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	happy
tense	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	relaxed
comfortable	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	uncomfortable
ugly	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	beautiful
good	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	bad

APPENDIX 5

Mean Ratings and Factor Analysis[a] of Data from Semantic Differential Word Pairs

word pair 1.....7	order of factors 1[b]	2[c]	3[d]	mean rating
satisfying-unsatisfying	.85	-.20	.23	2.51
sad-happy	-.77	.08	-.11	6.00
sociable-unsociable	.74	-.12	-.06	1.94
good-bad	.70	-.33	.19	1.67
comfortable-uncomfortable	.68	.01	.32	1.50
clean-dirty	.63	-.18	.30	3.01
dislike-like	-.50	.38	-.29	6.42
weak-strong	.05	.82	.09	5.60
near-far	.08	-.69	.13	2.51
vague-distinct	-.47	.68	.23	5.46
simple-complex	.04	.04	.83	4.94
calm-agitated	.32	-.03	.74	2.92
tense-relaxed	-.62	-.02	-.65	5.29

[a]This analysis used the principal components method with orthogonal rotations of the factors.

[b]Factor 1 was named 'evaluation.'

[c]Factor 2 was named 'potency.'

[d]Factor 3 was named 'activity.'

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