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LIFE SATISFACTION OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS**

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OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS**

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Abstract

The federal government has begun to move homeownership to the center of US housing policy. Economic recovery and minority homeownership programs have increased African-American homeownership to an all-time high in 1999. A primary assertion of homeownership advocates is that the life satisfaction of owner-occupiers is greater than that of renters. However, there is little literature to support this assertion, and little is known about whether homeownership is related to life satisfaction among African-Americans. This study tests that hypothesis and evaluates whether the impact of homeownership on life satisfaction is mediated by housing quality, residential stability, perceived neighborhood safety, and neighborhood social relations. A path analysis indicates that homeownership has direct impacts on the life satisfaction of African-Americans, but that indirect relationships do not exist. Homeownership does, however, have positive impacts on housing quality, residential stability, neighborhood safety and social relations. Implications of these findings for housing policy and research are provided.

I. Introduction

One of the most pronounced indicators of racial inequality in the United States is that of black-white differences in homeownership rates. At present, while 73% of all white households are owner-occupied, only 47% of African-Americans own their homes (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1999). This disparity is due to long-standing patterns of discrimination in real estate, mortgage lending, and mortgage insurance markets (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995; Yinger, 1995). Social scientists and policy analysts who study this issue express concern that differential access to owner-occupation is exacerbating economic, social, and psychological inequalities between racial groups. The federal government is currently making efforts to increase the homeownership rate among racial minorities through the Community Reinvestment Act and through the promotion of minority and low-income homeownership programs (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995). These programs, combined with the economic boom of the 1990's, have raised African-American homeownership rates from 43% in 1995 to the current rate of 47% (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1996; US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1999). Many policy makers support such programs not because they address racial injustice, but because of beliefs that homeownership promotes beneficial household and community outcomes. Former US Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, for example, advocated for the development of the HOPE programs for homeownership by arguing that homeowners are better property managers, neighbors, citizens, and community participants (DeParle, 1993; Rohe & Stegman, 1994b).

A frequently stated claim is that homeownership promotes greater life satisfaction for residents than does renting. This assumption is rooted in our nation's conception of home

owning as a central part of the achievement of the American Dream, and it provides one rationale for homeownership programs--that the contentment and happiness of poor and minority residents will be enhanced by homeownership. However, the empirical research regarding the relationship between housing tenure and life satisfaction for African-Americans is somewhat sparse. Further, only the direct relationship between homeownership and life satisfaction is examined in existing research. It is plausible that indirect relationships between homeownership and life satisfaction may exist as well. For example, homeownership effects on life satisfaction may operate through other variables such as housing quality, housing structure, and neighborhood conditions (Scanlon, 1998a; 1998b).

This study examines the relationship between housing tenure and African-American life satisfaction. In addition to modeling a direct relationship, it also examines the hypothesis that mediating variables exist between homeownership and life satisfaction. Using the National Survey of Black Americans, this study asks two questions. First, does housing tenure have direct effects on the life satisfaction of African-Americans? And second, are there indirect effects of housing tenure on African-American life satisfaction through neighborhood conditions and housing quality? By examining both direct and indirect relationships, this study attempts to clarify the differential experiences of African-American homeowners and renters.

Homeownership programs presently enjoy a measure of bipartisan political support that is unusual among housing programs, which frequently engender polarized debate. This political viability, combined with the potentially positive impacts of homeownership, make the study of tenure effects an important topic for scholars and activists who are committed to social justice issues.

II. Review of the Literature

Life Satisfaction Studies

Recent literature has examined the effects of social, demographic, and psychological factors on the life satisfaction of African-Americans. Studies have demonstrated impacts of age (Parker & Calhoun, 1996; Thomas & Holmes, 1992), gender (Thomas & Holmes, 1992), marital status (Parker & Calhoun, 1996; Thomas & Holmes, 1992), religious involvement (Levin, Chatters & Taylor, 1995), education (Parker & Calhoun, 1996), and social and family relations (Billingsley, 1992; Donnenwerth, Guy & Norvell, 1978; Parker & Calhoun, 1996). Findings regarding socio-economic status have been mixed (Levin et al., 1995; Thomas & Holmes, 1992). Studies of the measure's validity have found that factors of physical safety and community relations are part of the domain of life satisfaction (Cummins, 1996), providing support for the idea that housing and neighborhood variables are related to life satisfaction.

Indeed, life satisfaction has been linked to several dimensions of residence, including housing tenure, housing quality, and neighborhood conditions. The findings regarding housing tenure generally have demonstrated that homeowners report higher levels of life satisfaction (Potter & Coshall, 1984; Rohe & Stegman, 1994a). In studies of housing aspirations, US citizens have consistently reported a desire to become homeowners (FannieMae, 1996). However, a study of the housing aspirations of African-Americans found that most respondents aspired to "...a decent home in a safe neighborhood," which indicates that housing quality and neighborhood safety may be valued over homeownership (Huttman, 1991). These tenure studies, as noted previously, have not examined indirect relationships with life satisfaction.

Empirical research has generated evidence that higher levels of housing quality--generally measured by the extent to which housing is in need of repair--promote life satisfaction

(Birtchnell, Masters & Deahl, 1988; Christensen, Carp, Cranz & Wiley, 1992; Golant, 1985; Homel & Burns, 1989; Paulus, Nagar, Larey & Camacho, 1996). Similar findings have been found for neighborhood quality, with greater satisfaction experienced in neighborhoods that are perceived as offering safety (Adams, 1992; Jirovec, Jirovec & Bosse, 1985), greater distance from poverty (DeFrances, 1996), and access to greenery and parks (Jirovec et al., 1985). Finally, housing structure has been linked to life satisfaction, with US citizens more likely to be satisfied with residence in single family dwellings than those in multi-family units (Jagun et al., 1990).

Tenure Effects on Housing Quality and Neighborhood Conditions

The dimensions of housing and neighborhood quality that are correlated with life satisfaction have also been correlated with housing tenure. Homeowners have been found to have higher levels of housing quality and appear more likely than either renters or landlords to engage in property upkeep and investment (Galster, 1983, 1987). Residential mobility research has suggested that homeowners are less likely than renters to move, providing evidence that homeownership may increase neighborhood stability (Forrest, 1987; McHugh, 1985; Rohe & Stewart, 1996). Homeownership studies have also examined the relationship between housing tenure and the quality of relationships with neighbors. Findings in this area have been mixed; some studies have suggested that owner-occupiers are more likely to know and help neighbors, while others have found that renters are more neighborly (Guest & Oropesa, 1986; Perkins et al., 1990; Rohe & Stegman, 1994b). This literature, then, provides evidence that homeownership may be linked to life satisfaction through intermediate outcomes by improving housing quality, decreasing residential mobility, and strengthening relationships with neighbors. The conceptual model offered below elaborates hypotheses about the relationships between housing and life satisfaction.

III. Research Questions and Conceptual Model

Two research questions are central to this study. First, does housing tenure have direct effects upon the life satisfaction of African-Americans? And, second, does housing tenure have indirect effects on the life satisfaction of African-Americans through increased housing quality and improved neighborhood conditions? This study tests a model derived from asset-based social welfare theory, in which Sherraden (1991) suggests that asset holding has positive behavioral, psychological, and social impacts on households. Sherraden argues that when wealth is accumulated, individuals become stakeholders in the social system and experience beneficial changes in their social and psychological functioning. These stakeholders are likely to be more involved citizens and neighbors, and are more likely to take care of property and invest in a neighborhood. It is plausible that as homeowners engage in these investment behaviors greater life satisfaction will occur. Therefore, it is hypothesized that both direct and indirect effects will be demonstrated, but that the total effects will be stronger than the direct effects, indicating that a mediating relationship exists.

The following conceptual model, presented in Model A, will be tested in this study. Housing tenure is hypothesized to have direct effects upon African-American life satisfaction, and to have indirect effects through increased housing quality and improvements in neighborhood conditions (increased perceptions of safety, decreased residential mobility, and increased interaction among neighbors). Housing quality and neighborhood conditions are also hypothesized to have direct effects on African-American life satisfaction. These effects are hypothesized to occur while controlling for age, gender, income, employment status, marital status, education, and urban vs. rural residence.

IV. Data Set and Sample

The study uses the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA), a data set developed to improve the quality of behavioral and social science research with African-Americans which includes variables regarding neighborhood, religion, mental and physical health, employment, family relationships, racial identity, and demographic information. The NSBA consists of four waves of interviews with a national probability sample of 2,107 African-American respondents, 18 years of age and older, conducted in 1979-1980, 1987-1988, 1988-1989, and 1992. The interviews were conducted by a mostly Black female professional interviewing staff, trained and supervised by the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. The data used in this study are obtained from Wave I. This wave is selected because the primary causal variable, housing tenure, appears only in the first wave. The respondents were randomly chosen from among all adults in selected households within the continental US. Response rate for the survey was 67% and required an average of 3.4 callbacks for completion. The sample is slightly biased in terms of urban residents due to the clustering of African-Americans in those areas. The sample contains a slight disparity in the proportion of women to men, and slightly under-represents younger people of both sexes. Older women are slightly over-represented (Jackson & Gurin, 1996).

V. Measures

Variables used in this study are operationalized below. Their univariate distributions are presented in Table A.

Independent Variable

Housing Tenure. Housing tenure is a categorical measure. The survey question is worded “Do you own your home, are you buying it, do you pay rent, or what?” Respondent categories were dichotomized and include: 0) renters or 1) owners.

Control Variables

In order to eliminate alternative explanations for variance in the outcome of interest, a number of demographic variables are included as controls. These include age, gender, marital status, family income, education, urbanicity, and employment status. These variables are operationalized as follows.

Age. Respondent age is coded continuously. Responses range from 17-101.

Gender. Gender is coded as either: 0) female or 1) male.

Marital Status. Respondents are asked: “Are you married, divorced, separated, widowed or never married?” Responses are coded as: 1) married, 2) divorced, 3) separated, 4) widowed, 5) never married and 6) common law marriage. The variables are recoded as 0) unmarried or 1) married.

Family Income. Family income is available only as a categorical variable. The variable is described as “Total Family Income 1978.” Responses are coded from 1-17, in \$1,000 dollar increments.

Education. The NSBA measures education in several ways. For the purpose of this analysis, a continuous education variable is used. “Respondent’s Education” is worded “How many grades of school did you finish?” Responses range from 0-17+.

Urbanicity. Urbanicity is the type of city or town in which the respondent resides. Responses are coded as: 0) urban or 1) rural.

Employment status. Employment status refers to whether or not the respondent is currently participating in the labor market. Responses are coded as: 0) unemployed or 1) employed.

Mediating Variables

Housing Quality. Housing quality is an index with two indicators. These questions are completed by the interviewer rather than the respondent. The first, housing upkeep, asks: “Are the structures in need of repair?” with responses coded as: 1) no repairs needed, 2) minor repairs needed, and 3) major repairs needed. The second indicator of housing quality, yard upkeep, asks: “How well kept and cared for are the yards in front of the structures?” Responses are coded as: 1) very well, 2) fairly well, 3) poorly, and 4) very poorly. The latter indicator also has a response category of “No yard”; these cases (7.4%) are deleted for regression analyses purposes. These variables are reverse-coded and then summed to derive a score that ranges from two to seven; those with higher scores report fewer repair needs and better upkeep of property. Factor analysis indicates that these two items load on a single factor (Eigenvalue=1.41).

Neighborhood Conditions. The conditions of the neighborhood are measured by three variables: perceived safety, neighborhood social relations, and residential permanence. The first measure of neighborhood conditions is the perceived safety index, which is comprised of two indicators. The first asks “How often are there problems with muggings, burglaries, assaults or anything else like that around here?” Responses are coded as: 1) very often, 2) fairly often, 3) not too often, 4) hardly ever, and 5) never. The second indicator asks “How much of a problem is the selling and using of drugs around here?” Responses are coded: 1) very serious, 2) fairly serious, 3) not too serious, and 4) not serious at all. The variables are summed to derive a score

that ranges from 2-9. Those respondents with higher scores perceive safety to be higher. Factor analysis indicates that these two items load on a single factor (Eigenvalue=1.46).

The second measure, residential permanence, asks: "Have most of the people in this neighborhood lived here more than 10 years, from 5 to 10 years, from 2 to 5 years, or less than 2 years?" Responses are coded as: 1) more than 10 years, 2) 5 to 10 years, 3) 2 to 5 years, and 4) less than 2 years. It is reverse-coded for analytical purposes.

The third measure of neighborhood conditions is the neighborhood social relations index. This index consists of two indicators. The first indicator asks: "How many of your neighbors do you know well enough to visit or call on?" Responses are coded: 1) many, 2) some, 3) a few, and 4) none. The second indicator asks "How often do you get together with any of your neighbors?" Responses are coded as: 1) nearly everyday, 2) at least once a week, 3) a few times a month, 4) at least once a month, 5) a few times a year, and 6) never. The two indicators are summed to derive a score which ranges from 1-8. The variable is reverse-scored; higher levels of neighborhood social relations indicates greater sociability with neighbors. Factor analysis indicates that these two items load on a single factor (Eigenvalue=1.25).

Dependent Variable

Life Satisfaction. The life satisfaction index is a single item designed to measure global life satisfaction. The item is worded: "In general, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" Responses are coded as: 1) very satisfied, 2) somewhat satisfied, 3) somewhat dissatisfied, and 4) very dissatisfied. For the purpose of analysis, the item is dichotomized with response categories: 0) not satisfied or 1) satisfied. Andrews and Withey (1976) have determined this measure to have both a high construct validity score (.80) and test-retest reliability coefficient (.71).

VI. Analytic Methods

In order to test for mediating effects, a path analytic model is executed. First, the data is entered in the PRELIS statistical package and, because several of the variables are ordinal or dichotomous, a polychoric correlation matrix and an asymptotic covariance matrix are created. A weighted least squares estimate (WLS) is used to test the model. The path analysis tests the direct effects of housing tenure on life satisfaction while controlling for age, gender, marital status, education, income, urbanicity, and employment status. The model simultaneously estimates the indirect effects of housing tenure on life satisfaction through the variables housing quality, neighborhood social relations, perceived safety, and residential permanence. Model fit is analyzed, and standardized direct and indirect effects of housing tenure on life satisfaction are calculated.

V. Findings

Results of the path analysis are presented in Table B. Model fit is adequate [$\chi^2(30)=342.05, p=.00$]. While this is a large chi-square, it is acceptable given the large sample size used in the model (Yadama & Pandey, 1995). The other fit indicators fall within acceptable limits. Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), also sensitive to sample size, is .08. Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Incremental Fit Index (IFI) are .98. The Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) and Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) are .99 and .98, respectively. Parsimony Normed Fit Index (PNFI) is .38, while the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual is .55.

In Table C, the direct and indirect effects of the predictor variables are presented through Standardized Effects and t-values. First, significant positive direct effects on life satisfaction are found for housing tenure ($B=.40, t=12.09, p=.03$). Second, housing tenure has significant direct

effects on the mediators housing quality ($B=1.24$, $t=52.59$, $p=.02$), perceived safety ($B=1.26$, $t=35.8$, $p=.04$), residential permanence ($B=1.06$, $t=54.21$, $p=.02$), and neighborhood social relations ($B=1.16$, $t=25.82$, $p=.04$). Third, the direct effects of the mediators on life satisfaction are insignificant for housing quality ($B=.06$, $t=.89$, $p=.07$), perceived safety ($B=.02$, $t=.24$, $p=.07$), residential permanence ($B=.00$, $t=-.01$, $p=.42$), and neighborhood social relations ($B=.07$, $t=.53$, $p=.14$). The total indirect effect of housing tenure on life satisfaction ($B=.18$, $t=.24$, $p=.72$) is also insignificant.

VI. Discussion

The path analysis indicates support for two of the three hypotheses that guide this study. First, housing tenure does have a positive direct effect on life satisfaction. Second, housing tenure has positive direct effects on each of the proposed mediator variables--housing quality, perceived safety, residential permanence and neighborhood social relations. However, the mediator variables do not have significant impacts on life satisfaction, so the criteria necessary for establishing mediation are unmet (Baron & Kenney, 1986). Thus the hypothesis that indirect effects of housing tenure on life satisfaction occur through housing quality, perceived safety, residential permanence and neighborhood social relations is disproven.

The finding that housing tenure has direct impacts on life satisfaction parallels frequently cited work (Potter & Coshall, 1987; Rohe & Stegman, 1994a), as well as commonly held assumptions. This is consistent with the idea of homeownership being a valued social good and marker of personal success and achievement (Perin, 1977; Rakoff, 1977). It is likely, as Dreier (1982) has noted, that the desire to achieve the status of owner-occupation is deeply imbedded in US tax law, housing policy, and cultural norms. This finding may be a reflection of those social

and cultural processes, as well as a reflection of the investment and wealth accumulation advantages of homeownership (Saunders, 1990).

The impact of housing tenure on the mediating variables has also been demonstrated in previous literature, although the effects have not been demonstrated using an exclusively African-American sample. It is important to remember that the path analysis includes demographic background variables as controls for the effects on life satisfaction only. The model does not include these controls for the mediating variables, and caution should be taken in interpreting their significance.

The positive impact of homeownership on housing quality is likely a result of the greater investments typically made by homeowners interested in increasing their housing equity through property upkeep, enhancement and repair (Saunders, 1990). Such investments have been fairly widely documented, although some scholars have suggested that these impacts may be less pronounced in lower-income or distressed neighborhoods (Rohe & Stewart, 1996). Again, the caveat regarding the possibility that the control variables may have had impacts on housing quality should be included. However, if confirmed by further analysis, this finding would be especially heartening given the lower quality of housing conditions facing US blacks.

Expanding ownership opportunities for African-Americans may be a mechanism to improve US housing quality.

The finding that housing tenure impacts perceived safety is less well documented, although we can speculate on reasons why homeowners might feel safer. Homeowners are more rooted in neighborhoods and know neighbors better, making observation and reporting of crimes more likely to occur (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Further, research indicates that homeowners are more likely to engage in household protection strategies, such as installing special locks and

bars, and marking personal belongings with identification numbers (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). As this study controlled only for the impact of demographic background variables on life satisfaction, it is also plausible that some of the impact of housing tenure on perceived safety may be related to the higher incomes generally held by homeowners. If homeownership does reduce crime in neighborhoods, the implications are important given the extraordinarily high levels of crime faced by African-Americans.

The impact of housing tenure on residential permanence is also consistent with previous literature indicating that renters are more likely than homeowners to move (Forrest, 1987; McHugh, 1985; Rohe & Stewart, 1996). It is also likely that homeowners live in neighborhoods surrounded primarily by other homeowners and would perceive their neighborhoods as more residentially stable. Again, the strength of this relationship would likely be reduced if control variables such as age and income were included in the model.

The impact of housing tenure on neighborhood social relations should also be interpreted with caution. Previous literature in this area reports mixed findings, with some studies finding homeowners to be more likely to know neighbors, and others finding homeowners to be less likely to do so (Guest & Oropesa, 1986; Perkins et al, 1990; Rohe & Stegman, 1994 b). The social, political, and neighborhood involvement of homeowners is difficult to assess, and likely requires more qualitative, open-ended study in order to understand the context and nature of these associations. Further, the same caveat regarding control variables applies to this relationship.

The fact that none of the mediators themselves had significant positive impacts on life satisfaction is an unexpected and puzzling finding. One would expect from theory, previous literature, and general reasoning that these variables would enhance life satisfaction. One

explanation for this is straightforward--that homeownership is simply a more important influence on life satisfaction than are these other dimensions of housing and residence. This would provide support for the claims of homeownership advocates (Johnson & Sherraden, 1991), who argue that increasing homeownership for minorities and low-income people should be the centerpiece of US low-income housing policy. It is also possible that the measure of life satisfaction used is simply too crude to capture effects from these mediating variables, or that the measures of the mediating variables themselves lacked validity.

VII. Implications for Housing Policy and Research

This study provides some empirical support for expanding housing policy to promote homeownership for low-income and minority populations by adding to the scant literature that connects homeownership and life satisfaction. Clearly, the enhancement of the satisfaction and contentedness of minority citizens is of value to politicians and policy-makers. Increases to minority homeownership could occur through increased federal financing of HUD's HOME and HOPE programs, self-help programs such as Habitat for Humanity, and efforts of local Community Development Corporations. Further, this work provides support for the continuation of the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA), which mandates that lenders provide loans and services to under-served low-income and minority communities. With HUD facing inequitably large funding cuts (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 1999), and with the CRA under attack by the GOP (Day, 1999), it is imperative that research demonstrating the link between housing and household well-being be presented to key policy-makers.

Further, this study provides some limited evidence and support for the role that homeownership may play in stabilizing communities. The findings regarding the relationships between African-American homeownership, housing quality, and neighborhood conditions

suggest that community development organizations may meet neighborhood stabilization goals by diverting some funding from rental properties to homeownership. The idea that community development and the expansion of homeownership may be enhanced by one another has been suggested previously (Scanlon, 1998). Such a shift in policy priorities has been suggested by Johnson and Sherraden (1992), who are critical of the over-emphasis on rental housing by community developers.

A cautionary note should be included here. Homeownership programs targeted to the poor have been under-researched, and little is known about the degree to which they have achieved their goals, or about the factors that contribute to their success. A variety of factors, including the income adequacy of those purchasing homes, the quality of homes purchased, and the safety and desirability of neighborhood location all may have impacts on the efficacy of homeownership programs (Meyer, Yeager, & Burayidi, 1994; Scanlon, 1998). Negative neighborhood conditions may result in negative equity for homebuyers, and income shortfalls due to tax increases or unexpected repairs could overwhelm some households. The quality of unit siting, the quality of housing units, and the readiness of potential homebuyers all should be carefully considered in the planning and implementation of such programs.

Additional research in this area is indicated and could address the limitations of this study. Time-series studies might help researchers to determine whether there are temporal effects on outcomes--that is, whether longer periods of time are necessary in order to demonstrate outcome effects. Longitudinal studies would also allow us to model causality and to explore whether homeowner-renter differences may be attributable to selection effects. More nuanced measurement of constructs such as life satisfaction would also strengthen work in this area. Finally, as much of our understanding of tenure effects comes from the use of large-scale,

nationally representative data sets, policy makers could benefit from studies focused on the experiences of minority homeownership program participants. This would help us understand whether the positive benefits experienced generally by homeowners are found among program participants as well.

VIII. Conclusions

This study demonstrates that homeownership has direct impacts on the life satisfaction of African-Americans and appears to have positive impacts on their perceptions of housing quality, neighborhood safety, social relations, and residential stability. Social policy advocates can seldom point to proposed expenditures that will have positive outcomes at both the community and household level, but the expansion of owner-occupation may be a policy that generates such multi-level benefits. Homeownership programs targeted to under-served populations appear to be both politically viable and efficacious, and scholars should engage with activists attempting to promote greater equality in owner-occupation. In an era of social policy stagnation and continued racial inequality, homeownership offers tangible hope to African-American citizens and neighborhoods struggling to maintain viability under extraordinarily difficult circumstances.

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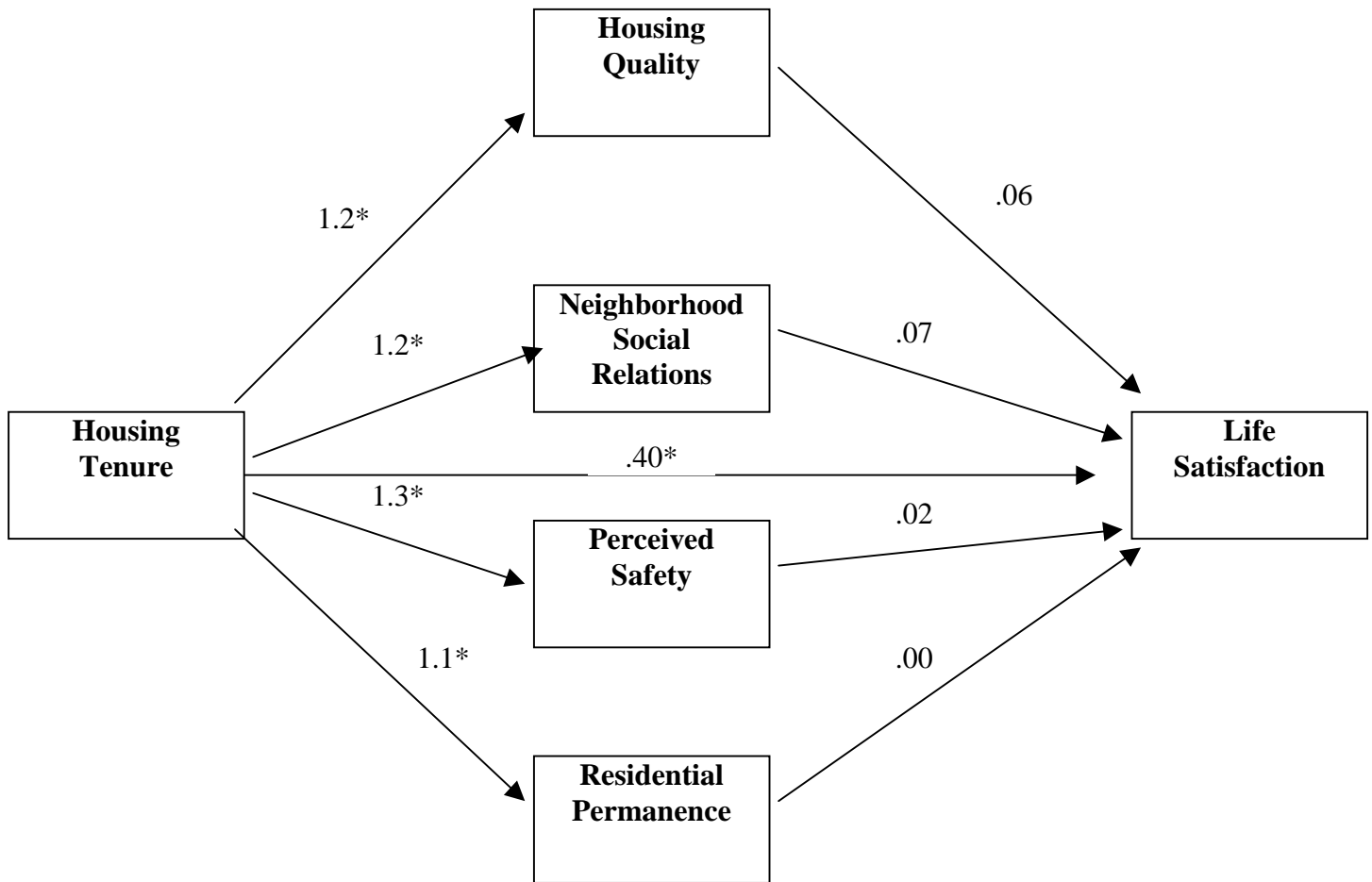
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**Table A: Description of Categorical and Continuous Variables
(Total N=1,771)**

Variables	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	667	38%
Female	1104	62%
Marital Status		
Unmarried	1106	57%
Married	755	43%
Employment Status		
Employed	1021	58%
Unemployed	750	42%
Urbanicity		
Urban	1390	78%
Rural	381	22%
Housing Tenure		
Owners	895	50.5%
Renters	876	49.5%
Life Satisfaction		
Satisfied	559	31.6%
Unsatisfied	1212	68.4%

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age	43	17.7
Education	10.9	3.4
Income	10.8	4.3

Table B:
Path Coefficients and Fit Measures
(N=1,771)



Chi-Square=342.05; df=30; p=.00
Root Mean Square Error of Approximation=.08
Comparative Fit Index=.98
Incremental Fit Index=.98
Goodness of Fit Index=.99
Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index=.98
Parsimony Normed Fit Index=.38
Standardized Root Mean Square Residual=.55

*p<.05

Table C: Standardized Effects and t Values

Path	Standardized Effect	t value
HT→LS (B1)	.40	12.09*
HT→HQ (B2)	1.24	52.59*
HT→NSR (B3)	1.16	25.82*
HT→PS (B4)	1.26	35.80*
HT→RP (B5)	1.06	25.82
HQ→LS (B6)	.06	.89
NSR→LS (B7)	.07	.53
PC→LS (B8)	.02	.24
RP→LS (B9)	.00	-.01
Total Indirect Effect of HT→LS	.18	.24

*p<.05

Key

HT=Housing Tenure LS=Life Satisfaction HQ=Housing Quality

NSR=Neighborhood Social Relations PS=Perceived Safety RP=Residential Permanence

Model A: The Effect of Homeownership on Life Satisfaction: Direct and Indirect Effects