

## **Help-Seeking: A Review of the Literature<sup>1</sup>**

**Nancy Gourash<sup>2</sup>**

*University of Chicago*

*Help-seeking encompasses a complex set of issues. The present survey appraises the empirical work covering three topics: the people who seek help, the role of the social network in the help-seeking process, and the outcome of the helping interaction. Included are reviews of where people turn for assistance, the type of problems for which they seek help, the kind of aid provided, and conditions influencing satisfaction with help received. Future research directions are presented with special emphasis on implications for effective delivery of services.*

Most adults are occasionally confronted by problems or troublesome events that demand more resources than they alone can provide. The efforts of people to seek help in such situations have been studied from several perspectives. Anthropologists and sociologists have focused on the exchange of goods and services within the social network and delineated "help-seeker" and "helper" as institutionalized roles. Medical sociologists and social service administrators have emphasized the use of medical and mental health services, distinguishing help-seeking — the search for professional assistance — from communication with friends, relatives, and neighbors which precedes professional contacts. Psychologists and sociologists concerned with stress and adaptation have conceived of help-seeking as one of many coping mechanisms.

Previous reviews of help-seeking have surveyed empirical work on the use of health services (Gottlieb, 1976; McKinlay, 1972) and help-seeking following bereavement (Walker, MacBride, & Vachan, 1977). The present paper considers a wider array of stressful life events but with special attention to the role of the social network in help-seeking behavior. Consequently, help-seeking

<sup>1</sup> This study was supported by grants from the Administration on Aging, #90-A-644, and from the National Institute on Aging, NIA 5-PO1-AG 00123.

<sup>2</sup> All correspondence should be sent to Nancy Gourash, Department of Behavioral Sciences, The University of Chicago, 5848 S. University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

will be defined as any communication about a problem or troublesome event which is directed toward obtaining support, advice, or assistance in times of distress. Help-seeking thus includes both general discussions about problems and specific appeals for aid. In addition, it encompasses requests for assistance from friends, relatives, and neighbors as well as professional helping agents.

This survey appraises empirical work concerning three basic topics: Who seeks help? How does the social network influence the type of help sought? What are the outcomes of the helping interaction? Under these main rubrics, articles are reviewed on such specific topics as where people turn for assistance, the type of problems for which they seek help, the role of the structure and function of the social network in the help-seeking process and the type of help given under varied conditions. Research on conditions influencing satisfaction with the help received and the effectiveness of the assistance provided are also reviewed.

### WHO SEEKS HELP

To understand help-seeking it is essential to know the characteristics and problems of those who seek various types of assistance. Epidemiological studies have established that the majority of people who report experiencing troublesome life events do seek help for their problems (Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960; Lowenthal, Thurnher, & Chiriboga, 1975). The key factors that differentiate those who do and do not seek help are age and race. Help-seeking has been shown to decline consistently with age (Gurin *et al.*, 1960) and to be more prevalent among whites than blacks (Baker, 1977; Gurin *et al.*, 1960, Rosenblatt & Mayer, 1972).

People who solicit help are usually looking for comfort, reassurance, and advice (Gurin *et al.*, 1960; Weiss, 1973; Zimbardo & Formica, 1963). They tend initially to turn to family and friends and contact relief agencies or professional service organizations only as a last resort (Booth & Babchuk, 1972; Croog, Lipson & Levine, 1972; Litman, 1974; Miller, 1973; Quarentelli, 1960). The sole use of professional services occurs much less frequently than either exclusive reliance on family and friends or help-seeking from both the social network and professional sources (Rosenblatt & Mayer, 1972).

Although people who seek help within the social network appear to represent a cross-section of the general population, those who eventually go to human service agencies are readily identified by a common core of characteristics. Investigators of discretionary medical and dental care, mental health, social service and legal facilities, and self-help groups have found repeatedly that users tend to be young, white, educated, middle-class, and female (Beck, 1961; Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958; Kadushin, 1969; Kammeyer & Bolton, 1968; Katz & Bender, 1976; Kravits, 1972; McMichael & Hetzel, 1974; Srole,

Langner, Michael, Opler, & Rennie, 1962; Sue, McKinney, Allen, & Hall, 1974). More recent investigations, however, suggest that social class may no longer differentiate those who do and do not use professional services. In studies of people experiencing emotional distress, education and income were not found to correlate with the use of mental health facilities (Baker, 1977; Tischler, Henezs, Myers, & Boswell, 1975). These authors suggest that the success of efforts to link public services and lower class consumers accounts for the lack of association between socioeconomic variables and help-seeking behavior.

No one type of problem invariably precipitates the search for assistance, but there appear to be some common linkages between certain types of problems and sources of help. The social network is the primary resource for general worries and unhappiness, with spouses being the focal helpers for worries and friends the major resource for unhappy emotions (Gurin *et al.*, 1960). Family, friends, and neighbors are the predominant source of aid in national (Quarentelli, 1960) and family crises (Boswell, 1969; Croog *et al.*, 1972). Within the middle and working classes, the social network is a major provider of economic assistance (Burchinal, 1959; Sussman, 1960). Professional help is sought for problems ranging from severe emotional distress (Gurin *et al.*, 1960; Kadushin, 1969) to discrete strains suffered under the press of work or family roles (Beck, 1961; Kammeyer & Bolton, 1968; Levine & Preston, 1970; Lurie, 1974); strains which frequently arise from problems with network members.

## SOCIAL NETWORK

In addition to its role in directly providing assistance, the social network has received much attention in the last decade as a possible mediating factor between stressful events and help-seeking behavior. The social network was first described by Bott (1957) as "all or some of the social units (individuals or groups) with whom a particular individual or group is in contact" (p. 320). Further refinement was provided by Mitchell (1969) when he defined the social network as "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved" (p. 21).

These definitions have proven difficult to operationalize, and studies attempting to link help-seeking patterns to various network characteristics have yielded inconsistent findings. Size and proximity (Baker, 1977; Horowitz, 1977; Kammeyer & Bolton, 1968; Martinez, 1977), relative amounts of contact with friends as opposed to family (Horowitz, 1977; McKinlay, 1973), centrality with regard to provision of economic and emotional support (Hammer, 1963; McKinlay, 1973), and the number of reciprocal relationships (Ferber, Kligler, Zwerling, & Mendelsohn, 1967; Tolsdorf, 1976) were found to predict both use and nonuse of professional services. As a consequence, subsequent investigations

considered the functions of networks in attempts to account for whether and from whom help is sought. It has been hypothesized that members of the social networks can affect help-seeking in a number of ways: (a) by buffering the experience of stress which obviates the need for help, (b) by precluding the necessity for professional assistance through the provision of instrumental and affective support, (c) by acting as screening and referral agents to professional services and (d) by transmitting attitudes, values, and norms about help-seeking.

The social network appears to serve as a natural support system that counteracts the effects of stressful life events. The proportion of network members providing emotional support and the frequency of contact with network members were found to be inversely related to psychological distress among college students (Liem & Liem, 1976) and residents of low-income housing (Hessler, Kubish, Kong-Ming New, Ellison, & Taylor, 1971). Among women who experienced multiple life changes prior to and during their first pregnancy, only those with minimal social resources developed serious medical complications (Nuckolls, Cassell, & Kaplan, 1972). The most direct evidence for the neutralizing effects of strong social supports is provided in a laboratory experiment (Kissel, 1965) which showed that individuals with high test anxiety, who were accompanied by a friend while performing an unsolvable perceptual reasoning task, experienced less stress (as measured by the Galvanic Skin Response) than subjects who were required to work alone or in the presence of a stranger.

Most people perceive their social network as a major source of help (Litwak & Szelenyi, 1969; Wellman, 1973, 1976). Empirical evidence suggests that these perceptions are generally accurate (Croog *et al.*, 1972; Quarentelli, 1960). In many instances, people turn to professional agencies only when assistance is not available within the network (Kasl, Gore, & Cobb, 1975; Quarentelli, 1960).

A parallel body of research has demonstrated the central role of the social network in decision-making and referral to formal services. Investigations in which respondents named the people who influenced their decision to seek health care from a new medical facility (Booth & Babchuk, 1972), to request treatment at a psychiatric hospital (Lieberman, 1965), and to have an illegal abortion (Lee, 1969) revealed that family members, friends, or co-workers comprised at least 75% of the people named as influential. In addition, these same individuals were reported to be instrumental referral agents once the decision to seek professional assistance had been made. In a study of informal community care-givers, Leutz (1976) reported that one of the most frequent forms of assistance supplied to help-seekers was referral to human service agencies.

The fourth function of networks is the transmission of values and norms that facilitate or discourage the use of professional services. Freidson (1960) suggests that many people (accountants, lawyers, teachers) participate in a network characterized by values and norms congruent with those of people who deliver services. Such people may consequently use professional services re-

ardless of the availability of a supportive social network. This mechanism of network influence, however, has received scant empirical attention. Kadushin (1969) found that urban adults entered psychoanalysis by meeting people actively involved with psychotherapy or by making contact with local "sophisticated" cultural circles. In an epidemiological study of psychological well-being, Gurin *et al.* (1960) found that the elderly comprised the one subgroup of the general population most likely to prescribe to norms of self-reliance. In addition, they were a group that tended not to seek assistance for their problems.

### OUTCOMES OF HELP-SEEKING

It is apparent that people's decision to seek help and their choice of a specific helper depends on a variety of factors — most of which are only marginally understood. But another question looms in the literature on help-seeking; that is, "what are the outcomes of seeking help?" More specifically: What types of assistance do people get? How satisfying are helping interactions? Under what conditions does help-seeking prove to be an effective means of mitigating stress or resolving problems?

Although help-seekers receive a wide array of services and support, there is some indication of systematic variations among different types of helpers. Horowitz (1977), for example, found that relatives tended to offer "lay" solutions (take vacation, quit job) to psychiatric problems, whereas friends gave referrals to professional helpers. Help obtained from service agencies tends to be more action-oriented and directed toward fulfilling specific needs (Martinez, 1977; Weiss, 1973).

The majority of people who seek help from professional services are satisfied with what they obtain (Gurin *et al.*, 1960; Hill, 1969). In fact, Rosenblatt and Mayer (1972) found that, for educated women needing assistance with family problems, the help received from professionals was more satisfying than that received from friends and relatives. The work of Mayer and Timms (1970), however, suggests that this finding may be artifactual, since only those who are dissatisfied with the advice and assistance of network members bother to go to professionals.

The effectiveness of help seems to be more of an open question. Since the large literature on change induction in psychotherapy has been adequately reviewed elsewhere (Bergin, 1971; Lieberman, 1976), this section focuses on the outcomes of other forms of help. Research suggests that help-seeking within the social network is an effective strategy for coping with stress. Help provided by the network has been shown to be effective in a variety of stressful situations; enhancing parent-child interactions following divorce (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976), contributing to successful negotiation of doctoral exams (Hall, 1968), mitigating psychiatric symptoms arising from job-related stress (Burke & Weir,

1977), and improving the health status of heart attack victims (Finlayson, 1976). The research on professional sources of help is not quite as favorable. In a review of 13 investigations evaluating the effectiveness of casework, Geismar (1972) concluded that "results reveal a range of outcomes the curve of which is skewed at the negative end of the distribution" (p. 37). Only seven studies reported positive outcomes and the findings were frequently described as modest.

Although one can conceivably conclude from these research efforts that for most people the help received from network members is beneficial — possibly more so than that obtained from social service agencies — a word of caution is in order. Methodological and conceptual problems limit the strength of these findings. Investigators frequently relied on retrospective self-reports for data, thus confounding possible effects of successful adaptation (greater ability or willingness to report help-seeking efforts) with actual help-seeking behavior. The severity of distress precipitating help-seeking from professional services may have reduced the probability of observing significant positive gains from casework in evaluation studies comparing clients with those not receiving professional assistance. In addition, the types of measures used to assess outcomes (observations of parent-child interactions, self-reports of symptoms) may not have been the most appropriate indices of the effectiveness of help.

## DISCUSSION

As with most behavioral science research, investigations of help-seeking are plagued by a plethora of problems in sampling, method of comparison, and data analysis. Difficulties with the sources of data, however, deserve special attention. Most of the data of help-seeking are derived from fallible sources: records of service agencies, intake interviews, surveys, or questionnaires. Service records restrict analyses to those who have sought a particular kind of help at a specific point in time. Unless record-keeping is extensive, it is impossible to differentiate nonusers, multiple-users, those who rely on a specific agency, and those who seek help solely from natural support systems. Kadushin (1969) suggests that clients' anxiety or their attempts to please the interviewer or facilitate acceptance into the helping system often reduces the validity of intake interview data with respect to presentation of the problem, source of referral, and help preferences. Some investigators have demonstrated that reports of troublesome events and the subsequent use of services tend to be underestimated in data collected through research surveys (Feldman, 1960; Simmons & Bryant, 1962; U.S. National Health Survey, 1965). Anderson, Gunter, and Kennedy (1963), however, found that low-income adults accurately reported the history of their health care when asked specific questions about disease and their efforts to seek medical help. This technique may have a special advantage for it focuses memory on a specific event and resulting behavior rather than requiring unprompted recall of all illnesses and help-seeking efforts.

Despite methodological weaknesses, some generalizations about help-seeking can be made. More than half of the adults who experience troublesome life events seek help initially from friends, relatives, and neighbors and finally from professional service organizations. No one kind of problem has been found to precipitate help-seeking; rather, a wide variety of events result in the engagement of a diverse set of helping resources. A certain predictability does emerge, however, in help-seeking patterns for professional services. Those who are young, white, educated, middle-class, and female seek assistance from self-help groups and professional facilities more often than do males, minorities, the aged, people with less than a high-school education and the working and lower classes. It is likely that those who turn to professional helping agents will be satisfied with the action-oriented assistance provided. The picture is not as clear for those choosing to restrict their helping interactions to the social network. The probability that the help-seeker will receive moral support, financial aid, and a variety of services is quite high. Indeed, for some individuals, seeking help from friends and relatives may prove to be so successful that it becomes a frequently employed coping mechanism in times of stress. Nevertheless, people may find that advice given is inadequate or just plain unacceptable and that services provided are not sufficient to solve the problem. Dissatisfaction with the network may then expedite the use of professional agencies. More detailed investigations of the social network's role in help-seeking have identified functions other than provider of support and services. In some cases the social network buffers the effects of potentially stressful life events, thereby obviating the experience of distress and the need for assistance. Networks also serve as active screening and referral agents to professional sources of help. Finally, the social network may transmit cultural values and norms encouraging the use of professional services.

Despite the breadth of these findings, certain issues remain to be illuminated. Do people who refrain from help-seeking successfully help themselves? If so, community agencies should direct their efforts toward providing more effective services to populations that presently use them rather than attempting to broaden their clientele. If not, attempts to identify why people fail to seek help can inform strategies for bolstering social supports or increasing the availability of services. For example, it has been suggested that norms about help-seeking influence the search for assistance. Investigators, however, have not attempted to delineate such norms or determine whether they vary consistently across populations. An understanding of help-seeking norms can orient educational campaigns and outreach programs toward counterbalancing those that impede the use of professional services. In order to maximize the effectiveness of such strategies, individual programs can be created for specific audiences.

One fact that consistently emerged in the literature is that the social network plays a vital role in determining who seeks help and where they turn for assistance. What remains unclear is how network influences interact to explain different patterns of help-seeking behavior. Certain interrelationships are im-

plicated in the general findings, but because studies usually have been limited to identifying single correlates of help-seeking, it remains the task of future research to identify the significant interactions. For example, four network functions have been delineated: (a) buffering the experience of stress, (b) providing support and services, (c) referring helpers to professional services, and (d) transmitting values and norms about help-seeking. Are they mutually exclusive or can one network exert its influence in a variety of ways? If a network can serve more than one function, what factors determine which will operate in a given situation? Can different mechanisms of influence act simultaneously or do they proceed in a singular or simultaneous fashion?

In addition to providing some explanation of the help-seeking process, integrative research strategies can also supply much-needed information to those involved in service delivery. It is known that the social network adequately provides a wide variety of services. Knowledge of where the network fails, however, can allow agency administrators to concentrate limited manpower and economic resources on these areas rather than duplicating services that are already received within the network. If the absence of a natural support system is found to be the most salient factor in frequent use of professional services, service deliverers may want to direct efforts toward facilitating interaction and the formation of bonds among community residents. Such a strategy could allow help-seekers to take advantage of the personalized, low cost, readily accessible help available within a social network and subsequently free agency resources to serve a greater number of people. Finally, studies illuminating the interactions among structural characteristics of the network and its various functions can inform planning for services designed to efficiently and effectively meet the needs of particular subgroups of the general population. For example, among the elderly, values of self-reliance may interact with network structure (small, comprised largely of relatives) to inhibit help-seeking despite health-related or economic needs. The aged may feel reluctant to burden the limited number of network members with many requests for assistance or may not want to appear incapable of coping with their problems. Agencies could then act upon this information and provide services that maximize the autonomy of the client. Economic assistance and supplementary services, as well as training in symptom-recognition and treatment, could be provided to people who wish to care for elderly network members. Such a strategy could obviate the need for professional services and alleviate fears about burdening family and friends.

## REFERENCES

- Anderson, R. L., Gunter, M., & Kennedy, E. J. Evaluation of clinical, cultural and psychosomatic influences in the teaching and management of diabetic patients: Study of medically indigent Negro patients. *American Journal of Medical Science*, 1963, 245, 682-690.



- Baker, O. V. *Effects of social integration on the utilization of mental health services*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, September 1977.
- Beck, D. F. *Patterns of use of family agency service*. Paper presented to biennial meetings of the Family Service Association of America, 1961.
- Bergin, A. E. The evaluation of therapeutic outcomes. In A. E. Bergin & S. L. Garfield (Eds.), *Handbook of psychotherapy and behavior change: An empirical analysis*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971.
- Booth, A., & Babchuk, N. Seeking health care from new resources. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 1972, 13, 90-99.
- Boswell, D. M. Personal crises and the mobilization of the social network. In J. C. Mitchell (Ed.), *Social networks in urban situations*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1969.
- Bott, E. *Family and social network: Roles, norms and external relationships in ordinary families*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1957.
- Burchinal, L. G. Comparisons of factors related to pregnancy-provoked and non-pregnancy-provoked youthful marriages. *Midwest Sociologist*, 1959, 21, 92-96.
- Burke, R. J., & Weir, T. Marital helping relationships: The moderators between stress and well-being. *Journal of Psychology*, 1977, 95, 121-130.
- Croog, S., Lipson, A., & Levine, S. Help patterns in severe illnesses: The roles of kin network, non-family resources and institutions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1972, 34, 32-41.
- Ferber, A., Kligler, D., Zwerling, J., & Mendelsohn, M. Current family structures: Psychiatric emergencies and patient's fate. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 1967, 16, 659-667.
- Feldman, J. J. The household interview survey as a technique for the collection of morbidity data. *Journal of Chronic Disease*, 1960, 11, 535-557.
- Finlayson, A. Social networks as coping resources: Lay help and consultation patterns used by women in husbands' post-infarction career. *Social Science and Medicine*, 1976, 10, 97-108.
- Freidson, E. Client control and medical practice. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1960, 65, 374-382.
- Geismar, L. L. Thirteen evaluation studies. In E. J. Mullen, and J. R. Dumpson (Eds.), *Evaluation of social intervention*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1972.
- Gottlieb, B. H. Lay influences on the utilization and provision of health services: A review. *Canadian Psychological Review*, 1976, 17, 126-136.
- Gurin, G., Veroff, J., & Feld, S. *Americans view their mental health*. New York: Basic Books, 1960.
- Hall, D. The impact of peer interaction during an academic role transition. *Sociology of Education*, 1968, 42, 118-140.
- Hammer, M. Influence of small social networks as factors on mental hospital admission. *Human Organization*, 1963, 22, 243-251.
- Hessler, R. M., Kubish, P., Kong-Ming New, P., Ellison, D. L., & Taylor, F. Demographic context, social interaction and perceived health status: Excedrin headache #1. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 1971, 12, 191-199.
- Hetherington, E. M., Cox, M., & Cox, R. Divorced fathers. *Family Coordinator*, 1976, 25, 417-428.
- Hill, J. A. Therapist goals, patient aims and satisfaction in psychotherapy. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 1969, 25, 455-459.
- Hollingshead, A., & Redlich, F. *Social class and mental illness*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958.
- Horowitz, A. The pathways into psychiatric treatment: Some differences between men and women. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 1977, 18, 169-178.
- Kadushin, C. *Why people go to psychiatrists*. New York: Atherton, 1969.
- Kammeyer, K., & Bolton, C. Community and family factors related to the use of a family service agency. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1968, 30, 488-498.
- Kasl, S. V., Gore, S., & Cobb, S. The experience of losing a job: Reported changes in health symptoms and illness behaviors. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 1975, 37, 106-121.

- Katz, A. H., & Bender, E. I. Self-help groups in Western society: History and prospects. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 1976, 12, 265-282.
- Kissel, S. Stress-reducing properties of social stimuli. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1965, 2, 378-384.
- Kravits, J. *Attitudes toward and use of discretionary physician and dental services by race controlling for income and age*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972.
- Lee, N. *The search for an abortionist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Leutz, W. N. The informal community caregiver: A link between the health care system and local residents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1976, 46, 678-688.
- Levine, F., & Preston, E. Community resource orientation among low income groups. *Wisconsin Law Review*, 1970, 1, 80-113.
- Lieberman, R. Personal influence in the use of mental health resources. *Human Organization*, 1965, 24, 231-235.
- Lieberman, M. A. Change induction in small groups. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 1976, 27, 217-250.
- Liem, J. H., & Liem, R. *Life events, social supports and physical and psychological well-being*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, September 1976.
- Litman, T. J. The family as a basic unit in health and medical care: A social-behavioral overview. *Social Science and Medicine*, 1974, 8, 495-519.
- Litwak, E., & Szelenyi, I. Primary group structures and their functions: Kin, neighbors and friends. *American Sociological Review*, 1969, 34, 465-481.
- Lowenthal, M. F., Thurnher, M., & Chiriboga, D. *Four stages of life*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975.
- Lurie, O. R. Parents' attitudes toward children's problems and toward use of mental health services: Socioeconomic differences. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1974, 44, 109-120.
- Martinez, T. *Alternative mental health resources for the Spanish-speaking: Latino helping networks*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, September 1977.
- Mayer, J. E., & Timms, N. *The client speaks: Working class impressions of casework*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970.
- McKinlay, J. B. Some approaches and problems in the study of the use of services: An overview. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 1972, 13, 115-152.
- McKinlay, J. B. Social networks, lay consultation and helpseeking behavior. *Social Forces*, 1973, 51, 275-292.
- Mitchell, J. C. The concept and use of social networks. In J. C. Mitchell (Ed.), *Social networks in urban situations*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1969.
- Nuckolls, K., Cassel, J., & Kaplan, B. Psychosocial assets, life crises and the prognosis of pregnancy. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 1972, 95, 431-441.
- Quarentelli, E. L. A note on the protective function of the family in disasters. *Journal of Marriage and Family Living*, 1960, 22, 263-264.
- Rosenblatt, A., & Mayer, J. E. Helpseeking for family problems: A survey of utilization and satisfaction. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1972, 28, 126-130.
- Simmons, W. R., & Bryant, G. G. An evaluation of hospitalization data from the health interview survey. *American Journal of Public Health*, 1962, 52, 1638-1647.
- Srole, L., Langner, T. S., Michael, S. T., Opler, M. K., & Rennie, T. A. C. *Mental health in the metropolis*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1962.
- Sue, S., McKinney, H., Allen, D., & Hall, J. Delivery of community mental health services to Black and White clients. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 1974, 42, 794-801.
- Sussman, M. B. Intergenerational family relationship and social role changes in middle age. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1960, 15, 71-75.
- Tischler, G. L., Henez, J. C., Myers, J. K., & Boswell, P. C. Utilization of mental health services: Patienthood and the prevalence of symptomatology in the community. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 1975, 32, 411-415.

- Tolsdorf, C. Social networks, support and coping: An exploratory study. *Family Process*, 1976, 15, 407-417.
- U.S. National Health Survey. *Health interview responses compared with medical records, vital and health statistics, data evaluation and methods research*. Washington, D.C., 1965, Series Z, No. 7.
- Walker, K. N., MacBride, A., & Vachan, M. L. S. Social support networks and the crisis of bereavement. *Social Science and Medicine*, 1977, 11, 35-41.
- Weiss, R. S. Helping relationships: Relationships of clients with physicians, social workers, priests and others. *Social Problems*, 1973, 20, 319-328.
- Wellman, B. Community ties and support systems: From intimacy to support. In L. Bourne, R. McKinnon, & J. Simmons (Eds.), *The form of cities in central Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- Wellman, B. *Urban connections (research paper #84)*. Toronto, Canada: Center for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1976.
- Zimbardo, P., & Formica, R. Emotional comparison and self-esteem as determinants of affiliation. *Journal of Personality*, 1963, 31, 141-162.