RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION

and

LIFESTYLES

by

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ABSTRACT

Residential differentiation can be studied at a variety of scales, depending upon the objectives of the investigator. The premise for this study is that the basic factors involved can be more precisely isolated when examined at the level of residential units. When differentiation is regarded as the outcome of households seeking to satisfy very specific and personal needs and preferences, a more accurate basis can be established upon which decision makers can form policies concerning the creation of residential environments required in today's urban settings.

It is evident from a review of literature that differentiation has not been very systematically analyzed at this level --- the ecological approach having been traditionally favored over the behavioral approach.

With the support of only a few essentially descriptive studies, the basis of the argument is that when selection from alternatives is possible, households will attempt to choose their dwelling to "match" their present or intended pattern of living. Increasingly, a variety of dwelling types and tenure arrangements is possible in the market. Also, households are presented with increasing numbers of alternatives for the expenditure of their time and money.

Through a process of comparative evaluation of perceived and real needs and wants, and the relative merits of competitive dwelling types, a selection is made. At the "city scale", the repetition of this process by numerous households yields a pattern of differentiation which is considered to be identifiable in terms of residential structures.

The activity pattern or "way-of-living" of a household was regarded as an overt expression of its needs and wants, and referred to as its "lifestyle". This term was operationalized in terms of the dwelling or non-dwelling-unit orientation of the household's activities. Competitive conventional single-family houses and condominium townhouses were chosen as the sample units. Empirical research was undertaken to determine if residential differentiation by lifestyle and dwelling type would occur in a predictable manner.

Structured interviews were conducted with a random sample of pre-qualified households in Greater Vancouver using time-activity budgets for recording and categorizing their activities (either "dwelling" or "non-dwelling" unit oriented). The data collected were analyzed using percentage tables and graphs. It was revealed that no clear relationship existed between a household's activity orientation and its choice of a particular dwelling type. The hypothesis was therefore rejected.

Further refinement in definition and operationalization of the variable "lifestyle", the use of a much broader sample, and more comprehensive use of time-activity budgets will be necessary in subsequent research to properly conclude whether differentiation does occur in the terms set forth here.

From the study it was learned that personal attitudes toward such matters as "ownership and equity", and "control over personal physical environment" may be even more critical than actual behavior in effecting choices among dwelling alternatives (economic factors being constant). The investigation of psychological and social (overt behavior) traits combined is recommended to gain a fuller understanding of voluntary spatial differentiation among households.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Appendices

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. THE CONCEPT OF RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION

1. Alternative Emphases

Residential areas have held the interest of numerous researchers, both in academic disciplines and professional groups. While most studies concentrate either on (1) residential land use in terms of its location relative to other uses (e.g. land economics), (2) the physical structures (e.g. planners, architects), or (3) the inhabitants (e.g. sociology), urban geographers have attempted to examine the spatial relationships between these elements.

In the very broadest sense, this study is concerned with the spatial manifestation of urban household characteristics. This is essentially what residential differentiation is; difference in residential settings (e.g. urban and suburban areas, communities, neighborhoods or dwelling units in terms of economic, cultural, social, behavioral or other characteristics).

According to Timms (1971, p. 250), no general theory of residential differentiation has yet been formulated. Nor is he optimistic that a general theory would be successful. Differentiation is simply too complex an interchange of forces --- some static, some dynamic. He states,

> "attempts to understand the differentiation must span a wide range of systematic levels and must transgress many traditional disciplinary boundaries."

In accounting for differentiation, an investigator must realize that economic, social and psychological factors are involved and each deserves consideration.

2. The Importance of Understanding Processes

A major objective of studies dealing with residential differentiation should be to understand those factors most critical in effecting the observed spatial patterning of households. Where geographic studies are concerned, Harvey asserts that this has not always been the case. He claims that,

> "Most research in geography, until recently, has tended to be concerned with the collection, ordering and classification of data..." (Harvey, 1969, p. 78).

It should not be assumed, however, that such research orientations have been fruitless. Studies of this nature could be regarded as having provided a 'cataloguing' or 'stocktaking' contribution, from which subsequent studies could draw data and insight with respect to locational differences in social and physical characteristics.

In moving away from essentially observation and description, geographers are pursuing the more complex task of 'understanding through objective analysis'. While an accurate description of physical and social characteristics at one location or a set of locations is essential, an understanding of various types of processes which have worked and are working together to produce observed patterns of differentiation must be sought.

The processes may be historic, cultural, social, economic, behavioral or any of these in combination. When the objective of a study of differentiation has pragmatic overtones, as in the case of establishing residential development policies in a metropolitan area (e.g. decisions regarding the mixture of densities, dwelling types, etc.), a thorough knowledge of those processes which sort out households is especially critical.

3. <u>The Role of the Household</u>

It is contended that in residential studies generally, the household has usually been cast in a passive role. A host of external social and economic influences or forces are portrayed as determining its location and dwelling. Probably this is most apparent in the human ecological approach, which will be contrasted with the behavioral approach in the literature review.

Considerably less frequently, the household has been regarded as an agent actively affecting the process of residential differentiation by revealing its preference for one residential situation over another. Johnston (1971, p. 197) points out that the industrialization and urbanization experienced by this and other developed societies has meant that,

> "...for the first time, individuals and family groups could choose from various methods of organizing their lives."

It seems reasonable to assume that the manner in which one chooses to organize his life is somehow related to the physical and social setting in which one chooses to reside. In the pursuit of knowledge regarding the relationship between social characteristics and the physical setting, Rushton

(June, 1968, p. 361) claims that geographers are becoming more aware of the influence of human decisions. He states they are,

> "...becoming increasingly interested in describing behavioral processes and the spatial patterns which they generate. One such behavior pattern which contributes to spatial structure is the way people make choices between alternatives over an area."

B. SELECTED APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF DIFFERENTIATION

1. Behavioral Rather Than Human-Ecological

Since the human-ecological approach contends that observed differentiation in residential areas is essentially regulated by involuntary constraints (e.g. economic factors only), it cannot be sensitive to the effect which individual preference and choice has upon the spatial pattern. Hence, the research undertaken here will approach differentiation from the behavioral position, which to date has received the least amount of attention.

2. The Lifestyle Concept

Recognizing that differentiation has been demonstrated at the macro-urban scale in terms of socio-economic and cultural dimensions generally, the question to be researched here is: "Can the urban population be spatially differentiated according to lifestyles?" Fuller treatment of this concept will be reserved for the following chapter, but some introductory notes regarding its context of usage are needed here.

Although this term has been treated in a variety of descriptive ways in social science work, it has seldom been used as a concept for systematic research. Michelson (1970, p. 2), one of the pioneers in the application of this term as an independent variable in urban studies, suggests the following reason for this:

> "A style which is recognizable in ideal-typical terms may be difficult to identify objectively or definitively. It is not easily quantifiable. And because it has traditionally been employed as an evaluative and classificatory (i.e. descriptive, not analytical) concept, it has been assumed to have little utility as an independent variable in accounting for other behavioral phenomena."

a. context of usage

The first cautionary note is that 'lifestyle' must not merely be a substitute for the general term 'socio-economic characteristic'. It must refer to a unique arrangement or set of characteristics which allow it to be independent of the above term, else, differentiation attributed to life-styles may in fact only be differences in socio-economic status, family status or some other construct. Michelson (1970, p. 19) offers direction here. He suggests lifestyle is,

> "...the configuration of roles (and concomitant predisposition to behavior) which individuals choose to emphasize from a larger number of possibilities."

This suggests a 'pattern-of-living' definition which should be able to go beyond the traditional and more objective differentiating criteria, although it would embrace the economic, social and cultural factors of an individual or household.

Essential elements of the living pattern are money and time-spending behaviors, which, over time, assume relatively consistent patterns. In order that such behaviors can have relevance to the problem of residential differentiation for the geographer however, they must have spatial referents.

b. <u>scale of application</u>

Data on lifestyles must necessarily come from individuals and have relevance to a specific physical setting. The choice here is to examine the use of time by households with respect its expenditure in and around the dwelling unit or elsewhere. While the allocation of money is also considered to be of great importance, the envisaged task of dealing with the problem of disclosure seemed too complex to handle within the limitations of this study.

c. <u>objective</u>

The aim of this study then, is to show by empirical research that when households have real choice alternatives among dwelling types (i.e. are capable of affording more than one specific type in one given location), they will be differentiated by the emphasis they place on one or another set of activities, being their lifestyle. Given the problems of selecting an appropriate general and operational definition for the lifestyle concept, this research will be more of a pilot study providing new insights, rather than one which produces firm conclusions.

C. <u>METHOD OF STUDY</u>

Selected suburban households throughout Greater Vancouver found in neighborhoods where surrounding development was of similar age, quality and price, but dissimilar in terms of the types (single-family house versus the condominium townhouse), have been chosen for investigation. The inherent characteristics of the condominium-owned dwelling makes it a unique alternative to a conventional house, and the possibilities of it meeting the needs of a different market segment make it most suitable for a comparative analysis such as this.

The argument to be supported is this: discretionary time expenditures (i.e. on non-work, non-chore activities) of households in the conventional type will be dwelling unit oriented, and non-dwelling unit-oriented in the other. The survey method was selected for the collection of biographical and time expenditure data, using the personal interview technique.

D. ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

Selected literature pertaining to the two contrasting approaches in studying residential differentiation is presented in the following chapter. Discussion and supporting material dealing with the lifestyle concept is incorporated into the section which examines the behavioral approach to understanding differentiation.

Studies on condominium residential development, the housing form which presumeably will evoke new styles of living, are critically reviewed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four presents the methods used in determining the sample of households to be studied, as well as the techniques and instruments used in data collection.

An analysis of the findings is made in Chapter Five, while Chapter Six presents the conclusions drawn and suggestions for refining future work concerning residential differentiation and lifestyles.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW: DIFFERENTIATION LITERATURE

introductory remarks

As stated earlier, residential differentiation studies have not primarily concentrated on the household but on economic and social conditions enveloping it. These have been depicted in such a manner that households appeared to become sorted in accordance with some predetermined scheme.

The writer contends that the increasing popularity of the behavioral approach has in large part been a reaction to the insensitivity of the human-ecological or any economic oriented approach which downplays the importance of the individual's tastes and preferences in the spatial distribution of households. In order to show the behavioral approach as a clearly contrasting viewpoint on the subject, as well as display its relevance for use here, the human-ecological approach is presented first. The manner in which this approach is supported by spatial analysts is also indicated.

Discussion of the behavioral approach follows. It will argue that the 'fine grain' residential pattern is largely the result of an individual search and decision process initiated by the household unit.

Included in this section is the examination of the lifestyle concept. Arguments concerning its theoretical bases and relevancy to empirical research in geographic studies are presented, as are research antecedants using this concept.

A. HUMAN-ECOLOGICAL APPROACH

1. Theoretical Treatment

First popularized during the 1920's by the Chicago school of ecologists, the basic notion regarded human locational behavior as analagous to the differentiation and distribution behaviors exhibited among plant and animal species. Locational aspects of each were characterized by the same factor or 'sorting mechanism' --- impersonal competition. Hollingshead (1939, p.62) states that,

> "Human ecology deals with society in its biological and symbiotic aspects, that is, those aspects brought about by competition and by struggle of individuals in any social order, to survive and perpetuate themselves."

The development of pattern, structure and organization are among those aspects resulting from competition and struggle among individuals in a given social order.

Specifically referring to residential differentiation, Hawley (1944, p. 403) supports the view that pattern, structure, and organization are direct results of economic competition among households of particular locations. He asserts that,

> "Rent, operating through income, is the most important factor in the distribution and segregation of familial units. Those with comparable incomes seek similar locations and consequently cluster together in one or two selected areas within the community."

Timms (1971, p. 89) argues that, in practice

> "...the classical ecologists were by no means as guilty of reifying the biological analogy, and of using it as the sole explanation of ecological structure, as some of the critics have claimed."

Evidence to support this defence may be found in a statement by Park (1925, p. 29):

> "...in human society, competition is limited by custom and culture. The cultural super structure imposes itself as an instrument of direction and control upon the biotic sub-structure."

Undoubtedly, there has been a certain amount of disagreement over the extent to which the urban physical and social differentiation pattern is a consequence of competition, referring of course to economics. Murdie (1971) notes that this approach has become identified as 'economic determinism'. In its application, the practitioners have paid very little attention to the role which human behavior (a derivative of custom and culture) plays in the distribution and differentiation process.

2. <u>Application to the Urban Landscape</u>

The ecological approach to understanding urban spatial structure is found in Burgess' Concentric Zone Model of urban structure. Based primarily on observations of Chicago, it showed that with population increases the ecological factors of competition, dominance, and succession operated so as to produce an outward, concentric arrangement of land uses and population characteristics.

This was essentially a crude, descriptive model, seeking to explain the organization of the urban framework in terms of ecological processes. Households became located according to their socio-economic status. (see Rees, 1970, p. 307 for a good elaboration on the resultant pattern of households).

Perhaps seeking to add a sense of dynamism to this theory, Colby (1933) explained that ecological balance in the structure is maintained by the functioning of centrifugal and centripetal forces. With reference to households, certain features near the centre are initially attractive (e.g. employment, the location of 'like' individuals, suitable rental housing, etc.), but later other features there may seem unattractive (e.g. noise, population density, air pollution, etc.). Thus, the households are spun outward to a suburban residence.

Hoyt's Sector Theory (1939) also received its energizing force from deterministic economic factors with regards to residential differentiation. On the basis of census data from 142 United States cities, he showed high and low status residential areas were sectorally ordered around the C.B.D. (The Park and Burgess model showed a concentric arrangement of household characteristics). Focusing on high-class households, he indicated that they chose those areas for establishing their homes which were the most desireable in all respects. The less-competitive households acquired the remaining sites. Johnston (1966, p. 23) notes that, according to this model,

> "...the high-status area becomes the pivot of the city's residential structure."

Hoyt did observe that the use of such devices as deed restrictions by high income households could serve to maintain the character of an area. However, the somewhat mechanistic nature of his model was not able to accommodate such behavioral considerations.

Only in an implicit way did Harris and Ullman's (1945) work deal with the urban social topography generally, and the location of residential areas in particular. Concentrating on economic activities, the two geographers proposed a Multiple-Nuclei model, recognizing that certain functions will tend to cluster. Rather than one point being entirely dominant, several focal points would evolve, around which the city would develop. Presumeably, the criteria for residential differentiation would become more complex. Any single household characteristic would not be so readily geographically associated with any specific factor, such as economics.

a. <u>support from spatial analysts</u>

Insofar as the 'spatial analysts' share the economics-biased theme in their explanations of urban structure, they could be said to provide support for the human-ecological viewpoint. A brief look at some of the factors they stress as instrumental in effecting residential differentiation will reveal their relationship.

In reviewing Wingo's work, Chapin (1964) points out that the organizing concept of these analysts is the 'market mechanism'. Households with particular abilities to pay rents become distributed among those locations demanding corresponding rents. Muth (1961, p. 215) stresses this point:

> "The most important variable affecting the average household consumption of housing in a metropolitan area is income."

Since land prices usually decrease with distance from the dominant centre, he would assert, land consumption per unit increases. This is evidenced by the general density-decline gradient outward from the C.B.D. (see Clark, 1951; an excellent example is Chicago --- see Berry and Horton, 1970, p. 444). Typically, the spatial analysts differentiate household characteristics and locations in the following manner: wealthy households occupy large tracts on the fringe, and poorer households maintain small quarters near the center.

Clearly, the factor of accessibility is involved here since high accessibility is regarded as a costly 'good'. The remote, wealthy households trade it off for expansive residences, while others must live closer to their workplaces --- typically the C.B.D..

Stegman (1969) takes exception to models which stress the notion that households place a high value on accessibility, and allow it to become a dominant consideration in their location choice. With respect to mover households, data collected from 841 units in the United States between 1960 and 1966 showed that only an average of 5% (central as well as suburban households) of the moves were attempts to increase accessibility to their work. Most were related to dwelling needs, neighborhood conditions and more personal reasons.

To say then that residential differentiation occurs as regularly as theorized strictly in terms of income and distance from city center, is difficult to support when we consider the suburbanization of work places and shopping facilities. Furthermore, it should be remembered that decisions concerning the location of one's residence are always tempered by non-optimizing human behaviors. The extent to which they are involved can only be determined by adopting an intensive, individual-focused research approach.

b. opposition from a socio-cultural view

Firey (1947) was the most noteable opponent of the ideas embodied in the ecological approach. Drawing on his study of Boston's history of growth and development, he claimed that economic factors did not determine its pattern. Sentiment and symbolism attached to particular locations (e.g. Boston Common, prestigous Beacon Hill) and buildings (e.g. downtown churches) were cultural factors of great importance in establishing its form. The operation of such factors overshadowed the profit or savings-maximizing notions of urban land economics.

Perhaps the severity of Firey's criticism was unjustified, for he sought to challenge very general models on the basis of what may have been a unique case indeed. However, his contribution was valuable in terms of bringing attention to the fact that cities are not solely products of the interplay between economic factors.

3. Summary and Conclusions

It is apparent that the human-ecological approach has its maximum utility when one chooses to examine differentiation on the scale of an entire city, or more precisely, an urban area. There can be little doubt that at this level, the major determinants of land use locations will also serve to spatially organize households. Typically, these are economic factors operating through the 'market mechanism'. Certainly, a household's income will establish the broad limits of its actual location choice. Consequently, distinct spatial divisions may be found to approximate the patterns suggested by the models.

From this approach, however, little can be learned of the factors which produce the fine-grained differences among residential locations which we observe daily as we move throughout the city. They are supposedly not soley economic, nor even entirely based on class positions. To understand differentiation at the scale of our experiences, the households themselves must serve as the units for analysis. We must take into account individual's personal characteristics, and the approach which must be adopted for this type of research is reviewed next.

B. BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

1. Background

Pred (1967/1969, p. 10) stated that until recently, geographers have

> "...failed or refused to regard any spatial distribution, or array of economic features on the landscape, as the aggregate reflection of individual decisions."

A partial explanation of this, he suggests, may be the influence which Sauer (1941, p. 7) had on geographers by making such statements as,

> "Human geography, ...unlike psychology and history, is a science that has nothing to do with individuals but only with human institutions or cultures."

Harvey (1969) pointed out however, that for a long time some geographers have recognized geographic patterns to be the 'end products' of many different decisions made for as many reasons. He notes that even as early as 1912, Bruhnes (1920) challenged his 'environmental deterministic' contemporaries by stressing that the psychological influences of geographical phenomena upon humans was the subtle and distinguishing factor in human geography.

Regardless of the length of history of this approach, only recently has it attracted the interest of researchers seeking to use it in an analytical fashion. Generally, the objective for its use is to not only describe but derive explanations for spatial structure in terms of

> "...antecedant decisions and behaviors which arrange phenomena over space."
> (Cox and Golledge, 1969, p. 2.)

With respect to the geographical inference problem of form and process as Olsson (1969) notes, this approach infers spatial patterns from analyzing behavior rather than the reverse --- the approach of ecologists and spatial analysts.

2. <u>Postulates of the Approach</u>

In the article cited above by Cox and Gollege (1969), it is pointed out that research is carried on at two complementary levels; the basic level is the search for appropriate postulates and models for dealing with behavior independent of its spatial component, and the next level is the application of these to the study of actual behavior in real space.

Postulates in use are primarily derived from the disciplines of economics, sociology and psychology. Again, in the same writing, these researchers assert that economics has had the greatest influence to date. Their example is the work of Brown and Longbrake (1969), who view the outcome of intra-urban migration decisions as maximization of the utility of a selected place to a household. This, of course, assumes optimizing behaviors.

Hagerstrand (1953) looked to sociology for assistance in analyzing migration behavior in Sweden, recognizing that information about possible destinations was facilitated by interpersonal relations with former migrants.

Perception studies such as Kates' (1967) research on storm hazards along the United States east coast, Lynch's (1960) investigation of mental images of urban landscape, or Petersen's (1967) work on preferences for residential neighborhoods, have drawn directly and heavily from psychology in the realization that overt behavior is largely a consequence of learning, motivation and other psychological constructs (see Wood, 1967, for a concise review of perception studies in geography).

While research adopting the behavioral approach is concerned with numerous and diverse emphases, they have unity in their mutual focus on the individual or household. An excellent collection of articles may be found in Cox and Golledge (1969).

3. Application to the Study of Residential Differentiation

The behavioral approach takes the position that differentiation results from each household making a variety of decisions concerning its housing needs and wants, and then acting upon them. That 'act' for some would in fact be to remain in their present location. The majority of households arrive at some higher degree of satisfaction by making a move.

Differentiation is consequently a function of intra-urban mobility, itself occuring as a result of households engaging in behavioral processes such as, (1) housing need and want assessment, (2) search and evaluation, and (3) choice.

While certain of the components of the process have been conceptualized in the context of interurban migration studies, they are of relevance here in that they are related to individuals and households.

4. The Differentiating Process

a. role of the 'place utility' concept

In discussing various aspects of his proposed migration model, Wolpert (1965) points out that an understanding of the process is based on the acceptance of the notion that man is 'intendedly rational', or 'boundedly rational'. In accepting this, one avoids overlooking the important fact that man is limited in his ability to perceive, acquire, and assimilate information. However, he is able to differentiate between various types of action to take in terms of their usefulness (utility) or anticipated usefulness for him.

Every realm of his experience can be subjectively weighted with respect to the satisfaction it gives him. When experience indicates that an anticipated level of satisfaction is not being attained, a process is set in motion to adjust the experience to reach the minimum satisfaction threshold.

While this 'utility' concept may be adapted to a variety of stayer-mover decisions (e.g. a person's job), concern here is with its application to a household's residence. Again, on the basis of experience, a place either 'measures up' to some minimum satisfaction level or does not. Distant locations are not so easily assessed, for they have not been experienced. The potential mover must determine their utility for him on the basis of whatever knowledge he has or is able to receive about them. The degree to which anticipated housing needs and wants are ever satisfied at some new location is a consequence of the efficiency of (1) their correct assessment, and (2) the search process.

b. basic factors in the moving decision

Wolpert (1965, p. 163) states that stimuli responsible for setting the process in motion are either objective or subjective, and originate in the potential mover's 'action space', being

> "...that part of the limited environment with which the individual has contact."

'Limited environment' includes both real and perceived space.

In developing a model of the migration decision, Wolpert (1966, p. 93) suggests that the root cause can be regarded as 'stress', defined as

> "... 'noxious' or potentially 'noxious' environmental forces pressing upon the individual."

He cites a more comprehensive definition given by Engel:

> "... a stress may be any influence, whether it arises from the internal environment or the external environment, which interferes with the satisfaction of basic needs or which disturbs or threatens to disturb the stable equilibrium."

An individual's reaction to stress is what Wolpert refers to as 'strain'. The manner in which these function to effect a move, and thereby affect residential differentiation, can be seen in the example which follows:

Concerning migration and social status, Rossi (1955, p. 179) stated that

> "Residential mobility...plays a role in 'vertical' social mobility. The location of a residence has a prestige value, and is to some degree a determinant of personal contact potentials. Families moving up the 'occupational ladder' are particularly sensitive to the social aspects of location and use residential mobility to bring their residences into line with their prestige needs."

First of all, note that the household here is considered as placing great value on social prestige. It does so to the point where it may even be perceived as a need which must be properly housed (this relates to Engel's 'internal' environment). In this case, a job promotion is associated with greater prestige. Both the household's present location in the city, and dwelling within its neighborhood ('external' environment) may suddenly be out of balance with that need. To the status-conscious, the situation grows stressful. The household strains to re-adjust the disequilibrium by searching for a more satisfactory residence (greater place utility).

More frequently the stress is related to the dwelling unit itself. The underlying reason for this has almost always been attributed to the process of a household progressing through a family-life-cycle. Rossi's (1955, p. 150) study on intra-urban mobility was expressed in terms of this cycle, and in his conclusion stated,

> "...the major function of mobility is the process by which families adjust their housing needs that are generated by shifts in family composition which accompany life cycle changes."

Lansing and Mueller (1964) found that past and anticipated moves of households surveyed were primarily based on dwelling unit characteristics also. Clark's (1968) study of suburban Toronto emphatically asserts that the stimulus to move was a need for the type of accommodation only a house in the suburbs could provide. Gans' (1967) study of Levitt-owners revealed that 84% had moved to that city for similar reasons.

Each of these studies indicated that households which are entering the child-bearing and child-rearing stages are especially sensitive to interior space shortage. This is the stress in their environment which they attempt to overcome through search behavior.

Certainly, the number of stimuli or factors which induce households to consider moving are numerous. Simmons (1968, p. 627) points out that

> "The preponderance of movers in the age group fifteen to twenty-five weights the overall pattern towards their particular needs and dissatisfactions, but other subpopulations, such as the aged or the residents of a particular part of the city, may move for quite different reasons."

c. <u>the search</u>

Assuming that the household's location and particularly dwelling satisfaction would be increased by moving, the act of searching commences. Brown and Moore (1968, p. 205) suggest the first step involves making explicit the specific requirements for the new location. An abridged list of their examples of categories to consider is as follows:

> "(1) Accessibility (to major routes, service centres), (2) Physical characteristics of neighborhood (condition, design, quietness), (3) Services and facilities (public safety, education), (4) Social environment (socio-

> economic status, minority groups, community outlook), (5) Individual site and dwelling characteristics (values, lot sizes, architecture),..."

Timms (1971, p. 110) strikes a sombre note by claiming that,

> "Aspirations and behavior rarely coincide."

He elaborates on this pointed comment:

> "The attempt by a household to bring its residential location into congruence with its ... aspirations may be frustrated by a variety of intervening considerations. Particularly important in this regard is the range of information possessed by or available to the household, the amount of money it can devote to housing, and the range of houses and locations which are available at the relevant time."

The next major step is to acquire information about places which might be searched. Discussing the Field Theory approach to searching, Wolpert (1965, p. 163) points out that of the wide geographical space for which the searcher may potentially obtain information, in reality only

> "...some rather limited portion of the environment is relevant and applicable for his decision behavior."

As noted earlier, this limited portion of the environment is what he refers to as the searcher's 'action space'. It extends over that area about which the searcher has knowledge.

In reality, this space takes on dimensions as a result of personal experience with places, contact with people who have knowledge of still other places, and the selection of indirect media (e.g. newspapers, television, radio, etc.) which provide information about places. In the article quoted above, Wolpert further states that the type and source of information used will produce a biased search pattern, since all information is itself biased in substance.

The household's search space will consequently be somewhat predefined from the outset. Supposedly, while some locations may be geographically close, they may be perceptually distant and will thus be excluded as possible destinations.

Timms (1971) refers to this subject by stating that searchers are guided by their own 'mental maps'. These are image constructs, and one's image of a particular urban location may be favorable or otherwise. Whether they match with reality is not so important to the potential mover. Areas conjuring up unfavorable images will be ruled out as possibilities. (e.g. residential areas designated as "working class", for some, "snobhill", etc.).

Elsewhere Timms (1971, p. 115) shows from research carried out in Brisbane, in which a sample of residents was asked to respond to the names of five suburbs, that

> "On the whole, the pattern of responses provides a close parallel with the existing population characteristics of the five suburbs."

This serves to illustrate that the reliance upon mental maps can aid in reinforcing existing patterns of residential differentiation (see Lynch, 1960, for related work). Thus we can assume mental maps serve as subjective guides to the search process and the subsequent patterning of household characteristics.

Obviously, a household considering relocation does not necessarily commence with isolating his stressful stimuli, detailing specific location requirements, nor embarking on a search for a new residence as methodically as suggested here. Both the number and order of stages in the process are highly varied among households. However, it appears that some underlying ordering mechanisms are operating, and produce relatively consistent patterns of differentiation over time.

5. Spatial Outcomes of the Process

Upon making reference to migration generally, Simmons (1968) observes that both the distribution and characteristics of the population remain amazingly the same --- in-migrants and out-migrants in most areas tend to resemble each other. This same observation could be made for many intra-urban locations. Cooper (1971) was able to demonstrate this stability by empirically studying household characteristics among residents in two elite sub-communities in Greater Vancouver. The basic reasons that allow for this phenomenon, Rees (1970, p. 375) postulated, are:

> "...like choices of like individuals or families, catered to by like outputs of the housing market, would produce a set of communities homogeneous

> with respect to the characteristics of their inhabitants, the nature of the housing stock, and by implication with respect to the way people lived within the community."

Presumeably, households with similar characteristics would identify similar stimuli as stressful, and, through undertaking a similarly structured search process and arriving at like decisions, would produce the postulated residential differentiation. Judging this presumption to be an acceptable one, in that it provides a reasonable picture of the outcome of the entire process, we should be able to empirically observe geographical association between particular housing types and household characteristics.

C. COMPARING THE TWO APPROACHES

a comment

By this point the contrast between the two approaches is evident. It is primarily related to the scale of differentiation being considered, and secondary to the critical elements of the differentiating process.

The human-ecological approach appears to have its greatest relevance at the scale of the entire city. On this level, economic factors underlying the notions of space competition, succession and invasion (encroachment), and spatial segregation (e.g. ethnic clustering) are most directly applicable to differentiating the urban fabric. These factors become less meaningful when the scale of observation is reduced to the residential sector alone.

Depending upon factors such as: (a) proximity to the core of an urban area, (b) access to public transportation, schools and major shopping centres, (c) nearness to limited amenities like parks, rivers and waterfronts, and (d) views, elevation, as well as presence or absence of uniquely distinct natural settings, the values of residential areas vary across the urban landscape. Logically, the price attached to particular locations will be prohibitive to those households with insufficient incomes to either buy or rent there. Hence, on a very broad scale, households should be differentiated in accordance with their financial capabilities.

The behavioral view maintains that income is a necessary but not sufficient factor for explaining differentiation, as it has generally been depicted by the human ecologists. Differentiation in the behavioral view occurs more voluntarily than involuntarily. Thus, human behavior must be an integral part of the whole subject, since numerous other factors are realistically considered alongside economic considerations in the matter of choosing one's residence.

In the final analysis, the type of questions one wishes answered will determine the choice of the approach. Questions concerning the influence of lifestyles on the spatial differentiation of households must begin at the level or scale of individual dwelling units.

To adopt a behavioral approach for studying urban structure is to accept the idea that the spatial arrangement of urban functions is essentially the aggregate manifestation of numerous individual decisions. We can readily see that an understanding of human behavior as reflected by lifestyles will provide much valuable insight into the formation of spatial patterns.

D. LIFESTYLE

1. Introducing the Concept

The many aspects of everyday life in contemporary society have created diverse behavior patterns across the population. These reflect different ways of life and are now commonly referred to as 'lifestyles'.

Discussions in the literature have centered not only around personal lifestyles, but on those of groups and cultures. Such references have largely tended to use lifestyle as a general, all-inclusive term with no attempt at precise definition. As the contexts of its use vary, so do the elements of which the term is composed. Consequently, any definition of the term is usually broad, vague and imprecise.

The widespread use of the term by the broadcast media and writers gives some indication of its familiarity and its potential usefulness in distinguishing among members of society. Any examination of the urban population reveals that residents segregate themselves in various ways. This phenomenon is reflected in the choice of residential dwellings and locations. There are many factors which influence each decision and it is argued that the various elements of lifestyle have some effect. The immediately identifiable problems are those of defining lifestyle as an operational concept, and then assessing the nature and extent of its role in residential differentiation through the use of some measurement device. The manner in which these problems are tackled is discussed in a later chapter.

The objectives at this point are: (1) to examine the different uses of the term in the literature to determine its components, (2) to estimate its utility as a concept for use in studying urban populations in the light of general changes taking place in our society, and (3) to reveal the extent to which the concept has been used in recent residential surveys.

2. Treatment in the Literature

Lifestyle has been referred to in a diversity of contexts (formal as well as informal) and has therefore encompassed a wide range of variables. Included among these are group and personal values, socio-economic status, stage-in-the-family-life-cycle, patterns of consumption, and patterns of activity. A graphic portrayal of the various components which have been cited in the literature as constituting lifestyle is shown in Figure 1. The composite of variables which lifestyle represents has largely been determined by the orientation of analysis used.

Three different focuses for analysis have been identified in the literature: (1) cultural, (2) group, and (3) individual. The first is generally referred to vaguely as the characteristic way of life of a whole society (e.g. 'American lifestyle'). The latter two are more explicitly treated. Consequently, only these two orientations are dealt with here.

a. focus on individuals

Psychologists were the first to deal with lifestyle as a unique individual phenomenon. Adler's (1931) definition is perhaps one of the earliest. For him, lifestyle was a "definite and characteristic technique for combatting the environment in order to maintain one's life and goal". This was seen to vary in accordance with each person's physical constitution, his immediate environment and the era in which he lived. In these terms, lifestyle was generally a concept to be used in connection with studying the behavior of abnormal individuals, and not all types of behavioral dispositions.

Subsequent research looked at lifestyle in a far broader context regarding it as any individual's character

COMMONLY CITED LIFESTYLE COMPONENTS

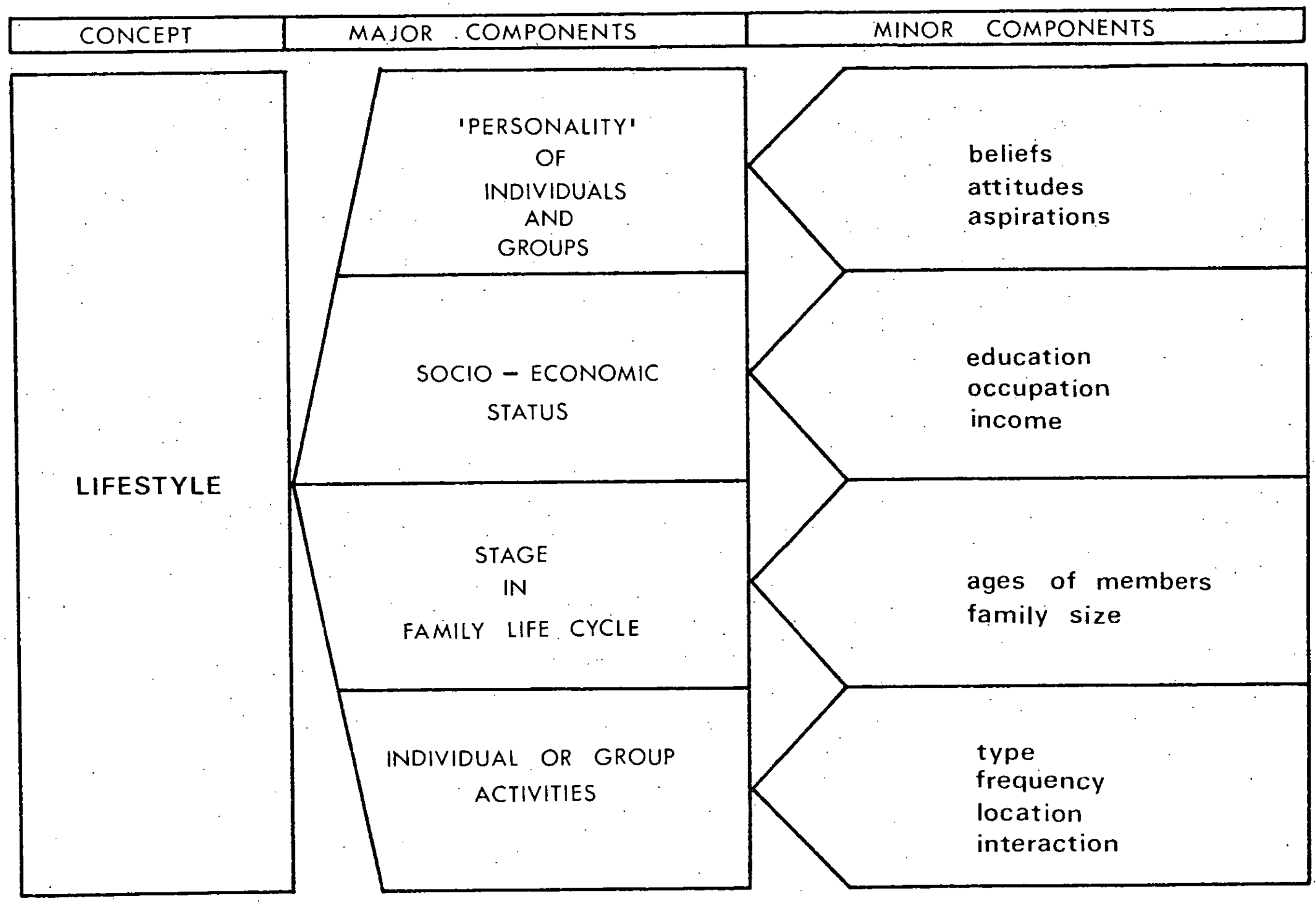


FIGURE 1

which reflected a unique combination of behavioral traits. Coleman (1960), in attempting to achieve some precision in defining the term so that it could be operationalized, spoke of lifestyle as a "characteristic way of doing, thinking, reacting and growing that tends to distinguish persons from each other". Thus, it is considered a predictable (and by implication measureable) form of behavior.

A slightly different approach to lifestyle relating to the individual focused on the various roles that one played in everyday life. Havighurst (1957) and Feigenbaum (1959) rated performance of middle-aged persons in roles of parent, spouse, homemaker, worker, citizen, friend, club member and user of leisure time. Aggregate ratings by several judges on the 'level' of role performance were categorized as: (1) balanced-high, (2) home-centred high, (3) home-centred medium, or (4) home-centred low. Similarly, Ginzberg (1966) concentrated on an individual's orientation to different roles (e.g. occupation, interaction with others, etc.) as a reflection of one's value system. His attempt to generate a related lifestyle typology was limited to a subjective assessment of role emphasis as "individualistic", "supportive", "influential" or "communal".

More recently Michelson (1970) suggested a definition of lifestyle as the aggregate of roles integrated into an individual's activities. He has developed a time-activity budget to determine the emphasis placed on the various roles through examining daily and weekly activities. Subsequent factor analysis of the data obtained from many individuals in a sample of Toronto households is to provide an objective typology of lifestyle types.

By taking a more rigorous approach to understanding and defining the concept, Michelson's work is clearly a pioneering effort. Hopefully it will lead to greater clarity of the term, which will in turn render it more applicable to research into urban living.

Quite understandably the lifestyle concept has been of interest to a variety of industries, which are concerned with defining consumer profiles so that their products are developed with a certain market in mind. The consumer psychology literature is pertinent here, and indicates still another type of definition in use. Levy (1967) stated that one's lifestyle was "one large, complex symbol in motion... composed of symbols and...an individual's self-image which he portrays through his consumption habits and patterns."

Where the focus has been on the individual, lifestyle has tended to be discussed in broad and highly descriptive terms. Usually the entire spectrum of the individual's characteristics are considered together as one unique 'package'. Emphasis on role performance appears to hold a great amount of potential for empirical work, since only those characteristics relevant to a particular context (e.g. household head, community worker, etc.) are dealt with at any one time.

b. focus on groups

Much of the literature refers to the lifestyles of groups or collectivities of people, such as the household or persons living in the same neighborhood or community. Weber (1962) was a pioneer in this respect in his early analysis of social stratification. To him, 'styles of life' described a pattern of behavior exhibited collectively by a group or subgroup. Different styles were demonstrated by those in various positions of social honor. This resulted from their differential treatment by others according to the perceived amount of honor. Consequently, one's evaluation as a member of a certain status group necessitated demonstration of the corresponding style of life.

Inasmuch as social status was generally contingent on educational background, those with similar training were considered to have similar lifestyles. Thus, any particular occupational group constituted a status group, and portrayed a common style of living. Weber noted still greater diversity in styles of living as the distinguishing feature among classes when social status rather than economic factors became the primary basis for stratification. In this sense then, lifestyle was regarded as a manifestation of group attitudes and actions, and not basically the display of material possessions.

More recent discussions regarding the differences between lifestyles of sub-groups (e.g. occupational groups, age cohorts in the family-life-cycle) have given attention to consumption patterns as indicators of their lifestyles, however. In particular, much of the literature centres on the selection of a residential location and dwelling. Many studies were no doubt prompted by the phenomenon of sub-urbanization which "came to life" during the 1940's and 1950's. This stimulated researchers to examine the 'personality' of the suburban sub-group. A brief look at a selection of the literature should reveal the manner in which lifestyle has been considered in the study of residential differentiation.

It has often been suggested that two major styles of living adequately differentiated metropolitan populations. These are labelled 'urbanism' and 'suburbanism'. That some clear-cut lifestyle distinction is evident is suggested by Goldston's (1970) reference to suburbia as a state of living which approximates civic denial. Assuming suburban residents to be conformers and primarily members of the middle class, their lifestyles were not surprisingly unlike urban dwellers'. Due to their physical separation, Goldston claimed suburbanites deprived the urban milieu of their talents and capacity for involvement by their social separation.

This attitude paralleled Wirth's (1964) comments on urbanism as a way of life (contrasted with suburbanism), which spawned numerous articles by later researchers concerning the marked distinctions between urban and suburban living. Such distinctions may have been the case in the late 1940's and 1950's but this has greatly changed, largely as a result of (1) improved transportation networks, (2) public attitude toward city living and community involvement, (3) the distribution of housing types, and a variety of other factors relating to education and communication.

Possibly only in a few contexts are there valid claims that explicit urban-suburban differences truly exist. Kstanes and Reissman (1959-60) argued that suburbs were not necessarily homogeneous, and therefore did not show evidence of similar lifestyles. Rather, aside from similarly-priced houses and families of similar ages, households in new developments had very little in common.

Donaldson (1969) suggested that the more variables descriptive of a household that one examined, the less homogeneous a suburb would appear. By including an array of factors to understand lifestyle differences, Bell (1968) isolated three major lifestyle types: (1) familism (is most strongly represented in suburban areas given that it relates to child-centredness and home-based activities), (2) careerism and (3) consumership (these two are most frequently characterized by urban dwellers primarily involved in the pursuit of more education related to their jobs, or in experiences and entertainment which are purchased downtown). Even in this typology however, Bell noted that while certain residential areas may be more condusive to carrying out one pattern of living than another (e.g. raising children in low-density rather than high-density areas), any lifestyle may be practised in any area. Also, any household may at times stress one style of living over another in the same area, depending primarily on its stage in the family-life-cycle.

While Lansing and Mueller (1954) as well as Rossi (1955) have empirically demonstrated that the choice of a suburban residence was highly associated with a desire to better facilitate child-rearing, Mowrer (1968) argued that although this may be the initial choice factor, the 'familism' lifestyle probably best applied only during the early stages of settlement into the new surroundings.

Some investigators have found economic considerations to dominate over the pursuit of a particular pattern of living in the choice of a home. Clark's (1966) Canadian study indicated that the selection of a suburban location is almost entirely house-related, with emphasis on its price. Any change in observed lifestyles was entirely secondary. Kstanes and Reissman (1959-60) supported this view in stating that there is really no such phenomenon as a suburban lifestyle. Choosing to live in a suburb is a matter of acquiring the 'best house for the dollar'.

Suburban areas typically have the greatest concentration of modestly-priced new dwellings, as well as the greatest percentage of young families. These younger homeowners are restricted as to their purchase (due primarily to lack of equity build-up), and find opportunities greatest in suburban areas. In spite of limitations on dwelling choice, however, they are not necessarily as restricted in selecting a daily living pattern. In fact, great diversity in styles is usually evident.

On the basis of this then, no one lifestyle is necessarily typical of any one residential location, whether a neighborhood or community. Berger (1966) claimed that one's style of life is a function of age, income, occupation, education, rural or urban background and previous life experiences. It is the 'summary statement' of all that an individual is and has. Further, his study of California working-class suburbs showed that lifestyles could be and were transplanted from one location to the next.

Dobriner (1968) identified two lifestyle types in a supposedly homogeneous New York suburb as 'local' and 'cosmopolitan'. His pilot research showed that marked distinctions did occur in accordance with the degree of involvement in the immediate community. Gans' (1967) classic Levittown study also revealed how heterogeneous a suburban community may be, by identifying 'profiles' (or lifestyles) for three distinct sub-groups based on socio-economic class differences. These were the working class, lower-middle class and upper-middle class. Elsewhere Gans attempted to distinguish lifestyle differences between urban and suburban areas. Such variations as were found related primarily to the availability of dwellings in a certain price range. Some lifestyle groups were found in urban areas which would generally not be found in suburban settings (e.g. ethnic villages or ghettos, deprived slum dwellers, etc.). Aside from such minority groups as these, urban-suburban variations were of minor importance.

Essentially then, as Greer (1962) points out, lifestyles cannot be adequately distinguished in the 'group' fashion since this requires relating styles to social class, general location in an urban area, or some other broadly defined criteria. Since most lifestyles apparently can be found at each status level and residential location, the distinguishing factors must relate to individual and household behavioral characteristics.

3. Lifestyle Trends and Utility of the Concept

Studying urban dwellers in terms of their lifestyle differences may at one time have been a relatively uncomplicated task. During the early years of this century one's pattern of living was largely determined at birth. To a large extent, life was a daily ritual of working and resting, with the emphasis on working. Opportunities for achieving higher levels of education, and by association, income, were few. Social divisions were clear and impenetrable. Consequently, upward social mobility and its usually attendant physical mobility (i.e. residential change) were restricted. Membership in a particular stratum on the socio-economic scale would generally correspond with adherence to a given lifestyle.

At this imaginary point in time past, the type of tenure and location of one's residence was very strongly related to one's social and financial position. This was apparently sufficiently evident to induce the early human ecologists to portray the marked divisions of households in their models of urban structure. Use of the concept with a focus on groups seemed appropriate at that time.

Except for scattered enclaves of rich and poor neighborhoods, today's urban social and physical structure is less segregated. Upon considering the near future, Toffler (1970) boldly envisions our trend toward a highly transitory society. Human relationships, places of living and working, and all manner of personal possessions are regarded as 'non-permanent'. 'Change' and 'exchange' become the by-words of this super-mobile approach to living, and the idea of stable or even slowly-changing patterns in physical and social structure will greatly decline in relevance.

Although this imaginary future date appears very real in some areas, our present patterns of living are generally not as 'open' or 'loose-ended'. However, with an increasing emphasis on the liberalization of once-accepted roles by different members of society, and consequently the norms of behavior for social relationships, it is understandable how the social division between various sub-groups are even now being eroded. One major consequence of this encroachment --- one group on the social domain of the other --- is the physical encroachment upon one another experienced by many groups.

That higher levels of education and income are being attained by a wider spectrum of society is of major significance. The attendant higher living standard allows an increased freedom of what to do and where to live. Of the growing number of 'competitors' for a household's or an individual's disposable income are non-basics such as leisure activities (e.g. travel, recreation, entertainment), and educational and cultural experiences (e.g. extension study programs, crafts courses, the arts, etc.).

The individual has increased capability for satisfying preferences among goods and services, thereby expressing his individuality to a far greater extent than ever before. Moreover, a person has larger portions of non-work or leisure time in which to do so.

It is in this context that the lifestyle concept has its greatest utility in the study of urban populations. Each individual assembles his own pattern or way of living by selecting from the alternative activities and behaviors which are open and acceptable to him.

An individual's residential choice is considered here to be the best physical indicator of the style of living a person (or household) is engaged in or intends to pursue. There is a limited range of residential arrangements (meaning the dwelling and location) which will allow or encourage a given lifestyle to function. Thus it is contended that the lifestyle concept is appropriate in the study of residential choice and, when used in comparative analysis, residential differentiation.

The degree to which the concept is presently being utilized in actual research is revealed in the review of studies concerned with residential choice and satisfaction in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW: CONDOMINIUM STUDIES

introductory remarks

The introduction of condominium ownership to urban North America definitely brought economic advantages to households wishing to be homeowners. By virtue of this being a quasi-communal approach to ownership and, since the unit types and project layouts were designed to almost eliminate the need for exterior maintenance by individual households, it was argued that this new housing alternative would also encourage owners to explore new living patterns or lifestyles.

If the lifestyle concept would be dealt with in specific terms anywhere then, it was believed that it should appear in studies related to condominium living.

As many studies as possible were consulted spanning the 1964 to 1974 period. Surprisingly, only a few mentioned the term, although most discussed certain reasons for purchasing and buyer preferences which may be regarded as 'characteristics descriptive of particular lifestyles.'

It must be remembered that almost all were essentially 'market surveys', and as such usually do not intensively question or examine the facts they bring to light. Most were geared to be of direct use to the professional decision-maker, whether an investor, developer, city planner, social planner or politician.

These studies will be reviewed and examined to see whether the lifestyle concept has been a specific research issue, as well as to see if 'lifestyle satisfaction' has relevance either to developers planning projects or to the buyers.

A. 1964 U. S. SELECTED AREA STUDY

The objective of this report by Plum (1964) and other members of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration was to present advantages and disadvantages of condominium living, and to suggest to concerned professional groups means for ensuring success in projects. Their research covered developments in California, Illinois, New York, Florida and Puerto Rico --- these being the "pioneer areas" for this type of development in North America. Considering that the concept was extremely new even in the U.S., it is not surprising that a strong marketing bias was evident. Stress was placed on the features of qualities condominium projects should offer in order to make them successful ventures (e.g. all forms of privacy, design individuality, etc.).

Reference to condominium living as providing a 'new lifestyle opportunity' is noticeably absent from the report. It concluded by stating that condominium is an excellent 'form of occupancy', in that it combines three separate social trends in America: (1) rapidly increasing population, (2) urbanization of the population with large cities experiencing the greatest share of housing demand, and (3) desire of American families to own their own homes.

Each of these so-called 'trends' is related to economic factors. The possibility of an emerging 'trend' by urban dwellers to be less tied to their dwellings, allowing them to freely pursue leisure interests and yet enjoy a continuing build-up in equity, has completely escaped the authors. It is this 'trend' that the research here hopes to identify.

B. 1969 CMHC REPORT

Being the first comprehensive report on condominium development in Canada, this report by the Central Mortgage Housing Corporation consists of a collection of articles outlining the history and reasons for the introduction of this 'new' approach to housing, reports on enabling legislation in each Province, and the views and experiences of lenders, developers and owners. Information from developers and owners was obtained by interviewing a pre-selected sample representing all the major urban areas and several major developments west of Toronto. Each developer reported he had undertaken one or more condominium projects because of its economic advantages in the market place. By 1969, urban residential land costs had inflated to a point where lower income buyers ($15 - 18,000. unit price range) could no longer qualify for single family homes. Most builders felt they were losing these potential purchasers, and gladly welcomed the legislation in their Provinces permitting this form of ownership.

When questioned, most builders agreed that the communal or 'shared' approach to home ownership would also be attractive to the higher income market, provided that quality was of a high standard and that an exclusive location was provided. Largely as a result of lender hesitancy towards financing this new form, 'better class' projects were slow in appearing. Interestingly enough, most comments concerning the 'appropriateness for supporting a new way of living' were made by Vancouver Area developers. They recognized that the success of this housing type was first a factor of its lower price on a per-square-foot basis of comparison with traditional homes, but that acceptance would increasingly be related to the freedom it offers from exterior maintenance, garden tending, lawn cutting and other chores. The elimination of expenses related to these tasks would result in added savings and be an additional factor ensuring success.

Other comments regarding 'new lifestyle opportunities' related to the increased community or neighborhood 'spirit' which would ensue from joint responsibility and co-operation in managing the project. Also, the tighter design pattern was envisaged as heightening opportunities for getting to know neighbors and developing new social patterns and activities.

These claims must be regarded partly as 'positive marketing attitudes' which clearly stem from biases adopted by developers anxious to promote this concept to the general public and lenders. However, the important point is that in spite of the appeal to the middle and lower income bracket, developers were aware that inherent in their product were features which at least provided the framework for a new and different way of living. What remains is the need for research into the actual behavior changes which this new form encourages or produces. Only a few owners were interviewed, several being from the same projects. As expected, the entire range of purchase reasons was represented - young marrieds and singles buying primarily for economic reasons, a working couple buying for accessibility and convenience reasons, an 'empty-nester' couple desiring to spend their free-time on themselves rather than their single-family house and yard, and one young couple buying so as to 'maximize' their free time.

One suspects a bias in the interviews presented, since only one household did not express satisfaction. All others planned to buy a condominium again, even considering that for some, a single-family house was in range. This attitude was found to be inconsistent with all other studies examined up to 1973. Generally, the majority has clearly expressed an intention to buy a house as soon as possible.

For the respondents interviewed, condominium ownership was the 'ideal housing solution', but their experience with it was too brief for this writer to conclude that 'choice' was primarily governed by households trying to satisfy particular lifestyle preferences.

C. 1969 ONTARIO SURVEY

Prepared by the Associate Consultants Committee for the Urban Development Institute's workshop sessions, this report was designed to summarize current thinking about problems and the potential of condominium development in Canada generally and Ontario specifically.

No mention was made regarding the information sources, and the reader is left to presume that it was based on data collected through systematic survey techniques.

Few condominium projects were in existence in Canada by 1969, inasmuch as the first project was completed only a couple of years before. However, by drawing upon this brief "Canadian experience" plus studies of condominium development in the U.S., the authors were able to identify two specific socio-economic market sectors: the 'lower-middle income group' and the 'well-to-do older or childless couple'.

The first group was found to select their unit entirely for economic reasons. Probably for most it was their first home, and the low down payment and monthly payments --- relative to buying a single-family house --- were obviously important.

Reportedly, the second group chose their units more for reasons related to personal taste and convenience. Unlike the almost exclusively suburban-located lower-middle class group, these buyers preferred closer-in projects which perhaps impart the prestigousness of an 'executive' city home, while excluding the drawbacks of exterior building and yard maintenance.

The authors pointed out that 'central area' projects were geared toward the luxury market, consisting of "single and childless families who have money and highly value cultural attractions and accessibility to downtown". (Urban Development Institute 1969, p. 7). Surely this observation lends support to the argument that for groups with some financial flexibility, the relationship between a household's 'dominant' lifestyle and the characteristics of the dwelling unit is an important one. At least that is the conclusion of a University of California study to which the authors made reference.

A survey of condominium owners carried out by the Centre for Real Estate Economics at Berkeley found that <u>more free time</u> was the <u>most important reason</u> for buyers choosing condominium ownership over buying a house. Obviously the increased discretionary time is a direct benefit of 'no exterior maintenance' required by the owner. Undoubtedly this feature alone was important to the resident types which were identified in this particular survey, being elderly people and young, mobile professionals.

Comparing the merits of condominium ownership with owning a conventional single-family dwelling, the authors contended that this latest residential alternative would more precisely accommodate the diversity in households' living patterns. They asserted that:

(I) The condominium unit is ideal for homebuyers who prefer not to tie up all their assets in their house. Lower downpayments and monthly payments 'frees up' greater equity for investment in stocks, private businesses, etc. Clearly this specific 'lower cost' advantage is also what makes it possible for lower income or 'small savings' buyers to graduate from being renters to homeowners.

(II) A mobile society demands residential flexibility. Mobile professional and executive families exhibit lifestyles which are not compatible with being tied down to "landscaping and furnishing (or equipping) a new property", when it may have to be left behind at any time. Their major investments are mobile (e.g. boats, cars, camping trailers). A condominium dwelling is ready to move into when first acquired, can simply be 'locked up' when travelling, and is readily disposed of when a move is necessary.

(III) Each owner in a strata corporation has a clearly defined 'stake' in his community --- the project. Therefore, a 'greater degree of control over and a more direct chance for involvement in community affairs will be possible than would normally occur in a single-family suburb.

(IV) Condominium apartment projects, with their inward-looking unit layouts, provide the nucleus of an effective micro-community by reason of their inter-linking communal spaces and facilities. Suburban housing tracts, with street-oriented siting arrangements, are less-qualified for offering the basis for a sense of community. (for an elaboration of these points, see Urban Development Institute, 1969, pages 11, 12, 13).

While each of these assertions is most interesting and offers stimulation to pursue even a wide range of questions concerning lifestyle and dwelling type relationships, their validity can only be established through empirical research.

Concerning the potential of this housing form, the authors stated:

> "As education and skill levels develop together with increased leisure time, and as the cost of serviced land rises sharply, there will tend to be greater rationalisation of housing choices. In this climate, the condominium with its promise of 'more free time' will considerably widen the range of alternatives". (Urban Development Institute, 1969, p. 20)

While it is unfortunate that no evidence was offered to substantiate these claims, it must be agreed that if the housing development and marketing industry recognizes the importance of providing dwellings geared to differing consumer behaviors, then an attempt to identify lifestyle - dwelling type relationships is valid.

D. 1970 CANADIAN NATIONAL SURVEY

This survey, carried out by a private firm for the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, constituted the first major Canadian research project into the "condominium subject". Its purpose was to discover WHO the purchasers were, WHY they bought, and WHAT their condominium living experience had been to date. Using both the mailed questionnaire and personal interview technique, data was used from 1,114 qualifiable returns out of a sample of 3,133 respondents. It was statistically established that the sample was large enough to be representative of the Canadian condominium population, and tests showed that no regional or project biases existed.

From biographic data collected, the authors learned 'WHO' the typical purchaser was, both in condominium townhouses as well as apartments. As a group the households were quite homogeneous in socio-economic characteristics. Household heads were in their early thirties, about 40% had some university education, which was reflected in the large percentage holding professional, managerial or technical jobs (44%). Females also were more highly educated than the average Canadian, which also was reflected in the finding that 50.7% worked full or part time in professional and other highly skilled occupations.

Average family incomes were consequently high ($11,809.) and, since their families were small (1.2 per household) and young (6.8 years old), they presumably had more to spend on non-basics such as the 'mobile goods' referred to in the U.D.I. report.

Condominium apartment owners differed mostly from the norm. Many were single with no children, older, had a longer previous place of residence (5.1 years compared with 3.4 years) and purchased smaller units. Even though these few differences were found, the owners viewed condominium living in a relatively uniform manner. The authors state:

> "Correlations show an overall lack of any strong, systematic influence of a socio-economic nature upon condominium owners' evaluations of their housing." (Condominium Research Associates, 1970, p. 31)

Not only did the sample regard the features of their units and merits of their neighborhoods in a uniform manner, but they also chose their units largely for the same reasons. "Easy Maintenance" was cited by 29.5% as a critical factor, which was particularly relevant to the older age group. The remainder bought for economic reasons (e.g. lower total price, lower downpayments, etc.).

In spite of the homogeneity observed on most variables, the authors stated that inasmuch as three groupings appeared when asked about 'sociability' (measured by frequency of visits with neighbors), three 'lifestyles' were represented. They claimed that:

> "The fact that each of these three groups of people is represented in large numbers among the respondents indicates that several alternative lifestyles and patterns of neighborhood relations are available within condominium projects." (Condominium Research Associates, 1970, p. 56)

This writer does not consider 'frequency of visiting' to be an adequate indicator of lifestyle, but probably is an important component of the concept in the context of residential settings.

An important finding was that 70% of the sample (both those in townhouses and apartments) regard a <u>single-family</u> house as their ultimate choice. Presumably, condominium tenure is a 'transitory situation' - the best substitute before acquiring 'the real thing'. It is important to remember, however, that when the study was carried out, owners were still new to this experience and were the 'Canadian pioneers' in it. Even considering this caution, it appears safe to conclude from the study that Canadian homeowners very much desire to have their <u>own</u> house on its own property.

They are not yet prepared to totally welcome the 'communal approach' to home ownership, preferring perhaps to retain something of the traditional independent lifestyle which is rapidly vanishing.

B. 1971 GREATER VANCOUVER SURVEY

This was the first comprehensive review of the condominium market situation in the Vancouver area. It was carried out under the auspices of the B. C. Real Estate Council, with data sources being CMHC statistics and interviews conducted in the field. Facts gathered relate to financing, marketing, managing and consumer characteristics.

The most critical finding in this writer's opinion was that in 1971 the local housing industry had not specifically oriented this product toward any particular market segment. Projects were almost exclusively suburban orientated, which provided no clear locational advantage relative to owning a conventional house. The authors point out that the 20% or less price differential did not provide adequate compensation whether in terms of unit space and amenities, privacy, or access to major commercial or retail centres and transportation.

At that time, condominium development was directly associated with low-income housing in the eyes of the general public. This was not without some justification, as the authors stated:

> "The distribution by price range substantiates the popular opinion that condominiums are being cited as a solution to the moderate income housing problem. At the time when the bulk of condominiums are appearing in the \$20 - 24,000. bracket, new single-family homes are being constructed in the \$26 - 32,000. range." (Hamilton, 1971, p. 16)

Socio-economic and biographic data collected during the Canada-wide survey which was conducted the previous summer are reflected in the information gathered by these authors. Typically, the home buyers were young couples below 34 years of age who formerly were renters. For most this was their first purchase, but by no means were they the 'modest' or 'low income' sector as suspected. It was found that 68% had family incomes exceeding \$10,000. per year, and only 3% earned less than \$7,000. per year. This was understandable upon learning that 48% of all wives worked (52% of all households had <u>no</u> children), and a large percentage held professional (25%) and managerial jobs (16%).

Upon finer analysis, three consumer groups were identified:

1. young professional/managerial couples (68%) having good incomes with high salary increase potential, 'over-consuming space' now in anticipation of their family growing.
2. 35-49 year-old couples (22% of sample) with the largest incomes, families, and involved in 'high mobility'

occupations of management and sales.

3. 50 year-old-and-over owners (10% of sample), most of whom were in the low-wage bracket, had never owned before and had few or no children at home.

Unfortunately, reasons for choosing this dwelling-type were apparently not probed. One is left to deduce from the above categories that except for the middle or near-middle income group, economic considerations were uppermost in spite of high average incomes.

It is significant to note that the authors point out that,

> "If the projects were to offer more amenities more young buyers might be attracted. The product could be marketed as a new lifestyle package with the emphasis on freedom and leisure-time utilization. This would include day-care centres; maid and laundry services, indoor and outdoor adult's and children's recreation facilities with full-time administration." (Hamilton, 1971, p. 34)

Therefore it may be concluded that this new dwelling alternative could potentially offer the opportunity for pursuing a lifestyle less attached to 'home and hearth'. As experience with this dwelling type and ownership form increases, the author implies that a distinct 'condominium lifestyle' should emerge.

F. <u>1972 GREATER VANCOUVER BUYER SATISFACTION STUDY</u>

Undertaken as a planning research project, this study was designed to assess the satisfaction of condominium unit owners. Based on a questionnaire and interview survey, and drawing from a growing amount of material on the condominium concept, the study reaches several conclusions about owner satisfaction but only briefly touches on the matter of lifestyle.

Of the three hypotheses to be tested, the one most relevant to this research sought to establish a link between housing expectation and actual experience. If the experience of residents in their condominium was satisfactory, it should follow that the developer succeeded in designing according to market tastes and not just for speculative sales.

Like Hamilton, Ito recognized that clear market identification was generally absent. However, he did find developers who had begun to realize the importance of catering to specific tastes, and perhaps unwittingly, lifestyles. Typical responses from these particular builders were:

> "...if you are building for young families you can't use the same thing that you would for retireds..."
>
> "...the emerging trend is one of directing a specific condominium project to a specific group of people based on stage in lifecycle or income level..." (Ito, 1972, p. 16)

The word 'emerging' is most appropriate since developers are only in the early stages of acquiring an understanding of which components are critical for reaching a specific market, and acting on this knowledge. The view of Michelson (1970) is that residents with 'cosmopolitan' life-styles (non-child centred households) and the aged have specific preferences which differ from other social sub-classes, and which should be accommodated if these sub-classes are to be satisfied with their residential environments.

Ito's research discovered that, overall, the owners tend to find condominium living better than expected. That satisfaction, however, was clearly related to socio-economic variables. He observed that satisfaction was more assured for households with:

(a) highest average incomes,

(b) the above average priced unit,

(c) maximum of 3 persons,

(d) the head being less than 40 years old,

(e) the head having post-secondary education, and,

(f) the head having a professional or managerial job.

This finding should almost be expected, since the group possesses the various resources enabling them to reach 'sound conclusions based on sound analysis', and the financial wherewithal to act accordingly. Their choice of a condominium unit may therefore be a conscious decision to select the correct setting for a particular and unique way of living. Collecting evidence to support that hypothesis was not an objective of Ito's study, but is central to this research project.

G. 1972 GREATER VANCOUVER MEDIUM DENSITY HOUSING STUDY

Another study carried out at about the same time as Ito's research was that of the United Way of Greater Vancouver. The researcher's purpose was to explore variations in consumer satisfaction with housing. Its objective was similar to Ito's study, but the approach differed.

As a result of increasing numbers and diversity in medium and high density family housing in the Greater Vancouver Region (G.V.R.D.), and considering that very little research existed at the time on user's perceptions of needs as well as likes and dislikes, the authors developed a unique research tool. Using a stratified random sample of 755 respondents from a wide cross-section of households and 19 projects throughout the G.V.R.D., they administered a questionnaire survey including the 'Housing Game'. Readers may consult the study for more details, but essentially the object of the 'Game' was for respondents to indicate their desired housing situation by allotting a limited amount of money to various residential components (e.g. structure, location, common facilities, room sizes, etc.).

Particular attitudes and preferences of households were regarded as being the result of lifestyle choices. With respect to 'location', the authors state,

> "Location preference seems to be a function of lifestyle --- whether a person feels socially comfortable with his neighbors and whether the housing stock approximates that which his value system deems acceptable may be more important than availability of shopping or transportation or proximity to work". (Bell and Constantinescu, 1974, p. 15).

Further, they suggested that the maintenance of a desired lifestyle is important even when location trade-offs are necessary.

> "In the housing game, 90% of suburban residents <u>ideally</u> prefer to live in the suburbs. Many Vancouver residents, when unable to purchase their ideal suburban single family dwelling unit, choose a <u>more expensive</u> urban location with a <u>moderately priced</u> townhouse or apartment (<u>unit</u>). This suggests that lifestyles may be the underlying factor influencing consumer choice of location." (Bell and Constantinescu, 1974, p. 16).

Concerning satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their dwellings, it is clear that multiple dwelling units of any type are simply not capable of catering to the needs --- or lifestyles --- of each group. Although most were moderately satisfied regardless of their stage in the family life cycle, most settled for ownership of a townhouse in the game. This particularly applied to families with young children.

Males were found to be significantly more dissatisfied than females with their dwelling and project. The authors suggested:

> "It may be that the design of multiple dwelling complexes currently frustrates the expression of traditional male roles such as mending a fence or fixing a car." (Bell and Constantinescu, 1974, p. 7)

It was revealed in the game that 71% of all respondents ideally chose a single family house. Whether this predominantly reflects the male's desire to act out his 'traditional role', which may be a 'hangover' from our North American rural past when 'maleness' was partly measured by one's handyman abilities, can only be properly discovered through some psychological testing methods. The price of such a dwelling is now out of reach of most homebuyers, and has consequently taken on 'status value' as the authors discovered. For the majority (69%) the townhouse is the best and most desired substitute.

While lifestyle was regarded as an influential independent variable in making certain decisions regarding dwelling types and locations, no attempt was made to define it such that it could be used for empirical research. This is the singlemost important task for advancing it to an 'operational' level. Hopefully the study at hand will contribute in that direction.

H. 1973 GREATER VANCOUVER SURVEY

The most recent comprehensive review of condominium living in the Vancouver Region was carried out by Hamilton (1973) on behalf of the Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver as an 'up-date' of his earlier 1971 survey. Aside from learning of buyers' likes and dislikes, the authors probed reasons for purchasing a condominium townhouse or apartment over a single-family house. This was not covered in 1971.

Data from a total sample of 513 households (represented about 10% of the universe) were obtained by the questionnaire technique. Distribution was made to approximately 17% of all residents in developments of ten units or more. Concerning the reliability of findings, Hamilton stated that the average age of household heads surveyed was 36.55 years as compared with 36.23 years from CMHC records for all NHA - financed projects, and,

> "Thus, it can be concluded that the results of the survey are significant." (Hamilton et.al., 1973, p. 26)

Whether the significance of the results is directly a factor of age is questionable, but in any event the findings from the survey and comparison of these to the 1971 survey reveal both interesting and critically important information.

It must be remembered that during 1972 housing prices began to escalate at a rate which did not apply from 1968 to 1971. By the time of Hamilton's survey, drastic price inflation had set in and unit prices were quickly outpacing the average homebuyer's ability to keep up.

This occurrence was most noticeable in the age profile. In 1973, 59.5% were under age 35, 26.8% were in the 35-49 bracket, and 13.6% were over 49 years old. In 1971, the percentages were 67.5%, 23.2% and 9.4% respectively. The shift to somewhat older buyers points to a marked housing cost increase. Younger buyers were now having difficulty in raising an adequate downpayment (1973: townhouse average downpayment - 12.3%, 1971: 5-7%). Family sizes were only slightly larger due to the age difference in buyers, and developers still predominantly sought out the moderate-income, first-time buyer. That income had now moved almost $2,000. to the $12,000. bracket!

Inflation since 1971 had already begun to effectively take dwelling type and location choice out of the picture for most buyers. It was found that most respondents had still been renters previously, but this also dropped drastically (1973: 67.4%, 1971: 86.3%). Housing purchases now required substantial cash equity. Young homemakers were forced to buy the cheaper condominium option --- the standard apartment unit. Townhouse prices had reached and passed 1971 suburban single-family house price levels!

All studies reviewed to this point have consistently shown that the majority of buyers want to acquire a single-family unit and have the unique independence which is not obtained in any type of condominium development. Hamilton referred to this as 'the common belief'. But condominium buyers, being of less affluent means cannot afford this choice, and buy a multi-dwelling unit in hopes of building up the necessary equity to later buy a house. He argued that,

> "If it can be assumed that the majority of purchasers whose first choice was a house would look at houses before buying their condominiums, then this common theory is refuted....Only about 44 per cent of condominium purchasers looked for a single-family house before buying their condominium, which leaves 56 per cent who appeared to be disinterested in owning a house." (Hamilton, et.al., 1973, p. 37)

It may be that this was true for apartment purchasers (averaging 49 years of age), the majority of whom were former homeowners. Hamilton's claim that they "were apparently interested in changing their lifestyle" is acceptable, in that the children of this group are now leaving home, and less space means less maintenance and more free time for long-awaited leisurely pursuits.

To claim disinterest in owning a house for condominium buyers generally, however, seems untenable. The high downpayments and mortgage payments simply made houses non-choices for this group. Serious house-shopping was literally 'an exercise in futility'. This was supported by Hamilton's own finding when buyers were asked why they chose a condominium unit over a single-family unit. Categorized by reason, with percentages showing frequency, they were:

1. No maintenance 25.9%
2. Value (meaning lower full price) 23.8%

3.	Lower downpayment	16.4%
4.	Location	13.2%
5.	Lower monthly payments	11.0%
6.	Recreation facilities (amenities)	9.7%

Inasmuch as reasons 1, 3 and 5 are all economic considerations, he regrouped the list in order of significance, being:

1. Price
2. Freedom from maintenance
3. Location
4. Recreation facilities

(Hamilton et.al., 1973, p. 38)

Although the price advantage was regarded originally as the basic criterion to condominium sales success, it has taken on special significance for even the 'solid' middle income group since late 1972. While previous studies found that 65-70% of all condominium townhouse purchasers intended to move on to a single-family house, this survey revealed that only 42 per cent bought with this intention (Hamilton et.al., 1973, p. 40). Against this reflects their awareness of the high cost of such a unit. Unless they are able to acquire additional cash, their unit appreciation will only be offset by that of houses and the 'single-family home dream' may conceivably never be fulfilled in a similar location.

Hamilton's 1973 findings reflect a 'mood of pessimism' concerning a households' capability of including the conventional house in their choice from housing alternatives in a given location. From the writer's experience in the residential development industry in 1973, this mood was apparent during discussions with prospective home buyers, as well as among various builders, and became increasingly obvious as the year progressed.

The same lack of opportunity was less evident during data collection for the research at hand. It must be recognized from Hamilton's findings that the matching of housing preferences with actual choices is directly tied to prevailing economic conditions. Correspondingly, the importance of lifestyle satisfaction in the residential selection process may be pertinent to a more restricted range of households than is hypothesized in this research.

I. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Any conclusions concerning these studies must be made against a backdrop of the reality that the appearance of condominium ownership was a direct result of rapidly escalating residential land costs in Canada's major urban centres.

Whatever else its success was attributable to at the outset, the principle reason was the desire for ownership. In a very real sense, this is a critical element in the cultural value system of most North American households. For any household with low incomes or meager savings, this housing alternative allowed ownership. For households wishing to reduce space requirements after children had left home, 'condominium' meant an opportunity to pursue a more leisurely lifestyle or activity pattern, and enjoy ownership simultaneously. With the majority of prospective homebuyers being in the first group, it is no surprise that most researchers reported 'economic factors' as being basic to the purchase decision.

'Lifestyle satisfaction' is recognized by researchers as being an important concern in the dwelling selection process, but inasmuch as systematic study of the term 'lifestyle' itself has only recently been related to urban environments, reference to it has been in very general terms (e.g. "more free time", "increased community involvement", "career and physical mobility", "sociability", "prestigous neighborhood status", etc.).

The Urban Development Institute survey (1969), simultaneously recognizing that the condominium dwelling expands the range of alternatives for rational housing choice, and then, listing types of new lifestyle opportunities that are possible under this form of ownership, indicates that the concept merits more formalized attention. From the market researchers' studies it was learned that a lack of clear market identification contributed to slow sales in the earlier projects. Indeed, this problem is present even in the current market. This lack of identification reflects a lack on the developers' part of knowing the style or pattern of living of his intended buyer. Consequently, dissatisfaction with his product results, which in the more extreme cases produces tension and an un-co-operative spirit in the mini-community.

In the final analysis, concern about the 'lifestyle-dwelling choice' relationship has real significance only when several options are open to the buyer wishing to make a 'rational choice'. Typically, such options were shown to be open only to households of the highest income and education categories, and then usually only for those in the 'empty-nest' stage of the family life cycle.

The Bell-Constantinescu (1974) study showed how critical the 'user-activity-density-design' relationship is in fostering socially healthy residential environments. It follows then that the lifestyle concept must be properly defined, adapted to research in order to determine how it is related to specific dwelling types and households, and then physically translated into corresponding residential settings. It is to this task that the study now turns.

"No geography can properly
be regarded as 'social'
unless it draws its material
from the active study of men
and women in their work and
homes."

T. W. Freeman
1967

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD OF RESEARCH

introductory remarks

The objective of this chapter is to give a detailed account of the manner in which the entire research was carried out, beginning with a statement of the hypothesis to test and ending with the data collection procedures.

Sections concerned with the selection of study units and the selection of a research technique are of necessity treated in some depth. The former section looks at a relatively new concept in housing as one of two household settings considered, and its uniqueness deserves more than brief comment. The latter section discusses the use of a seldom adopted device for data collection, and therefore requires special attention.

A. STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis to be tested here states that,

> "Households purchasing dwelling units of different structural types and ownership arrangements, but similar age, price and location, exhibit different lifestyles. Activities engaged in during discretionary time by single-family dwelling households will be dwelling unit-oriented, and non-dwelling unit-oriented for households in condominium households."

Various of the terms here require clarification, which follows.

B. DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. household For purposes of this study, this refers to a husband and wife unit, with or without children. Single person households often result from the death of one partner, divorce or separation. The choice of remaining in a house or townhouse is thus likely to be involuntary rather than voluntary. In the interest of keeping the sample as uniform as possible in terms of its composition, single person households were excluded.

2. structural types Households in the following dwelling-unit types only are to be compared: (a) single-family detached houses (hereafter referred to as SF units) and (b) townhouse units (hereafter referred to as TH units).

3. ownership arrangements Rental SF and TH units do exist, but for the purposes of this study only the ownership form of tenure is considered. The form of ownership varies and is of critical importance to this study. SF units are owned in fee simple, in that the purchaser owns both his dwelling and the property surrounding it in its entirety. The TH units studied here are owned in condominium. The purchaser owns the interior space of his unit in its entirety, but shares the exterior ownership plus all the adjacent property in the development with all the other homeowners.

4. lifestyle In simplest terms, lifestyle here refers to the manner in which an individual or household carries out

its day-to-day living. Particularly, activities engaged in during non-work hours (discretionary time) are examined. Obviously, such factors as beliefs, attitudes and values are involved. It is contended that overt behavior is a reasonable expression of these.

Lifestyle thus defined is suggested as having one of two specific orientations: (1) dwelling unit: discretionary activities are primarily centered on or related to the dwelling unit and, (2) non-dwelling unit: discretionary activities are not focused on the dwelling unit and more frequently occur elsewhere than at home. Measurement indices for each orientation will be the amounts of time spent in activities of each type.

C. SELECTING STUDY UNITS

The two dwelling types to be selected for comparative analysis here, as has been noted, are SF and condominium TH units. The accompanying photos show representatives of the sample drawn for each type.

single-family dwelling:

1972

condominium townhouse dwelling:

1972

Since the traditional single family dwelling is undoubtedly familiar to the reader, emphasis here will be on the newly introduced alternative.

As recently as 1966, the condominium TH concept was accepted by the government of British Columbia. ("The Strata Titles Act, being Chapter 46 of the Statutes of British Columbia, 1966, came into effect on September 1st., 1966, and was amended by Chapter 42 of the Statutes of British Columbia, 1968.") (Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1969, p. 10)

Primarily, this concept was regarded as an alternative to ownership of the traditional SF dwelling. Its appearance was largely a reflection of increasing housing costs, which reflected rising land costs, within metropolitan areas across Canada as well as the United States. Through its inherent capability of economizing on land use, the price per dwelling was to be reduced to a level within the reach of a growing percentage of the population which valued private ownership but could not afford the SF unit.

Once introduced (referring here to the Canadian situation only), and following a brief period of hesitancy on the part of the public to accept it, it became evident that its potential was not only among those who found it difficult to buy housing, but also among those who sought to pursue a carefree or leisurely pattern of living.

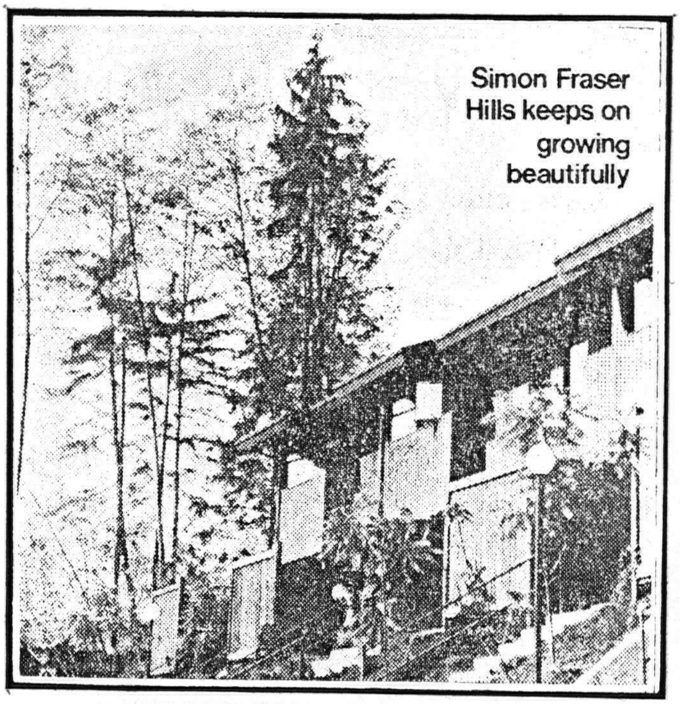
The critical factor to note is that while TH households are free to re-arrange their environment within the unit (providing it does not interfere with attached neighboring units or the structural characteristics), there are clear-cut restrictions regarding both the use and manipulation of exterior space. Contrastingly, owners of SF units are free to arrange and use their interior and exterior spaces in a comparatively unrestricted fashion.

This difference was believed to have specific implications for the type of activities a household would be involved in both inside and outside their dwelling. Consequently, it was surmised, this would serve to partially sort out households placing varying degrees of importance on the ability of their dwelling unit to accommodate certain lifestyles.

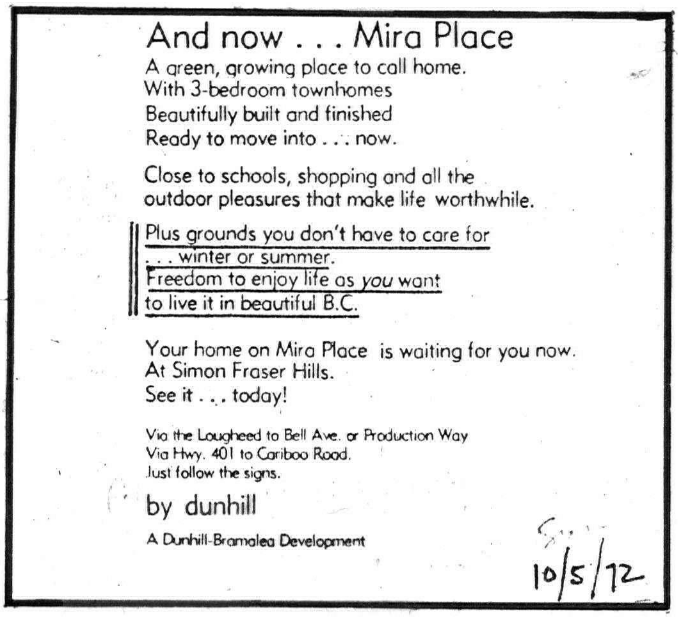
While the 'image makers' and the real estate developers may not be entirely certain of how the consumers of each dwelling type differ, there is a noticeable attempt to appeal to the different interests in the case of each type.

Often the economic advantage of buying rather than renting is pointed out, and is expressed as "building up equity." This appeal is directed towards readers of TH as well as SF dwelling advertisements, particularly when the units offered are in the lower price range ($20,000 to $25,000 --- 1972 prices). As both types of unit move up the price scale (e.g. \$30,000 to \$35,000), the appeal is more to 'luxury living'.

The conscious effort to attract households perceived to be interested in different lifestyles is evidenced by the accompanying advertisements.



Source: Vancouver Sun, October 5, 1972



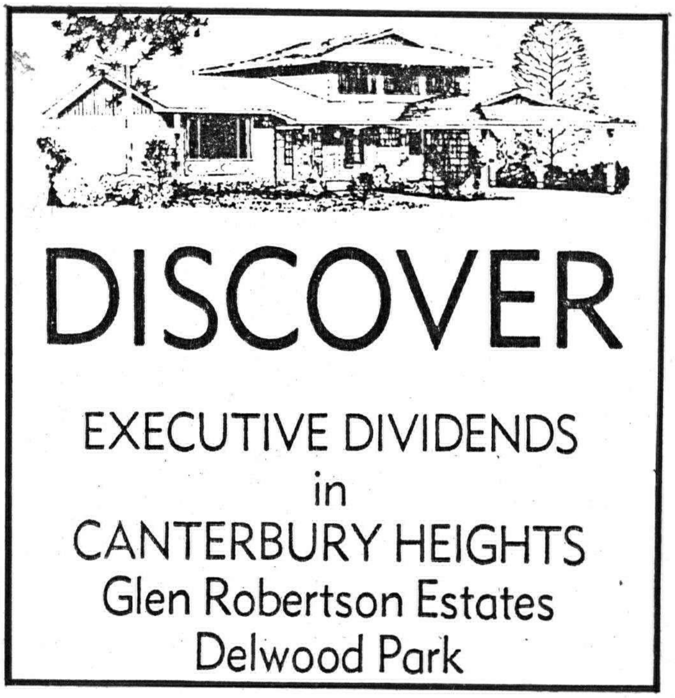
An easy, carefree way of living is offered here. No chores all year long! Enjoy life as you like it; no need to be tied down. Move into ready-made comfort!

Source: Vancouver Sun, October 5, 1972

This is ... Condominium Townhouse Living, 1972!

*

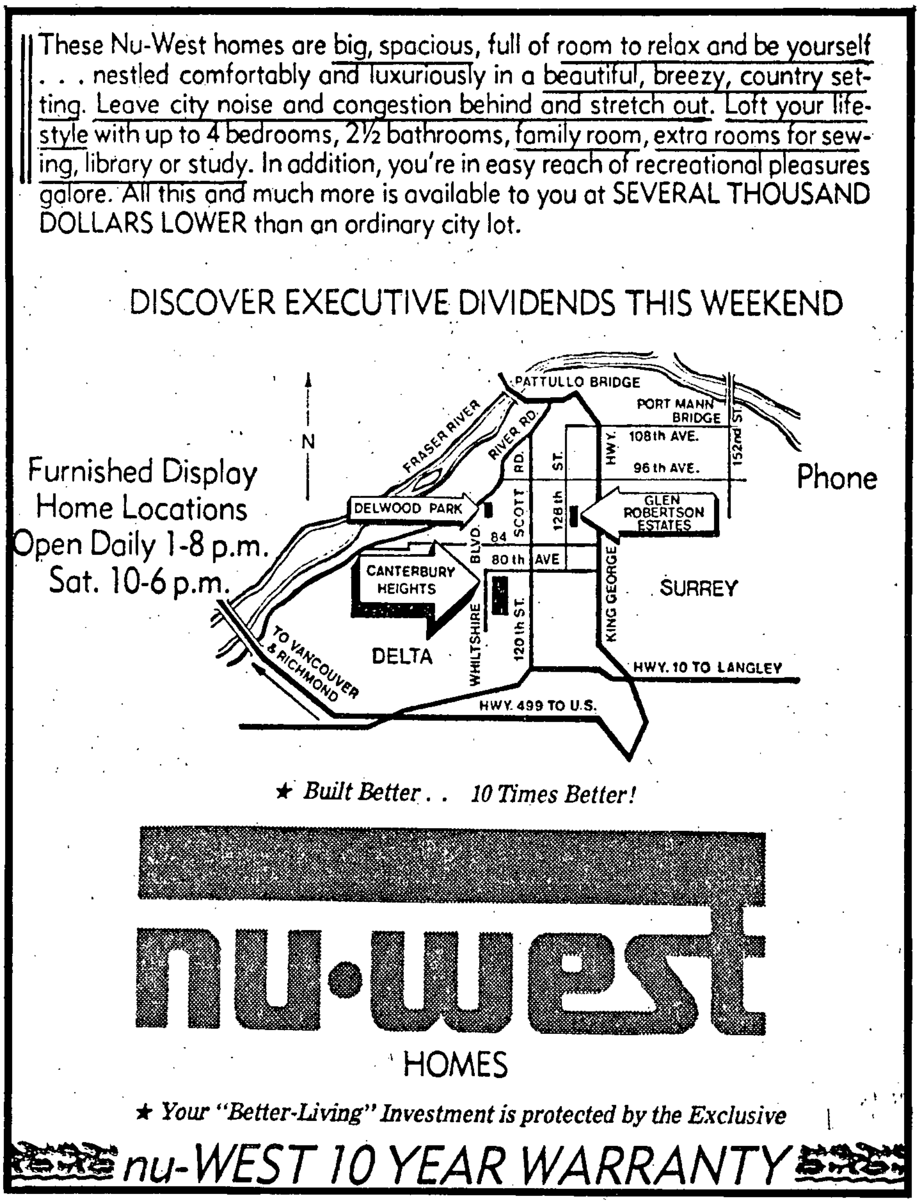
The Single-Family Home is credited with offering casual, unhurried living in the pastoral settings of the urban periphery. Even outside a person can escape the pressure of being surrounded by people. An expansive setting allows one to loll about, feeling free and unfettered.



Source: Vancouver Sun, October 5, 1972

Commodious interiors encourage family activity. There's room enough for each to enjoy his or her particular diversion, and somehow feel temporarily removed from the 'urban pace'.

Some liberty has been taken here to heighten the differences between the intention of these advertisements. Selected from among those most informative, they indicate an awareness of market differences.



Source: Vancouver Sun, October 5, 1972

D. DETERMINING STUDY AREAS

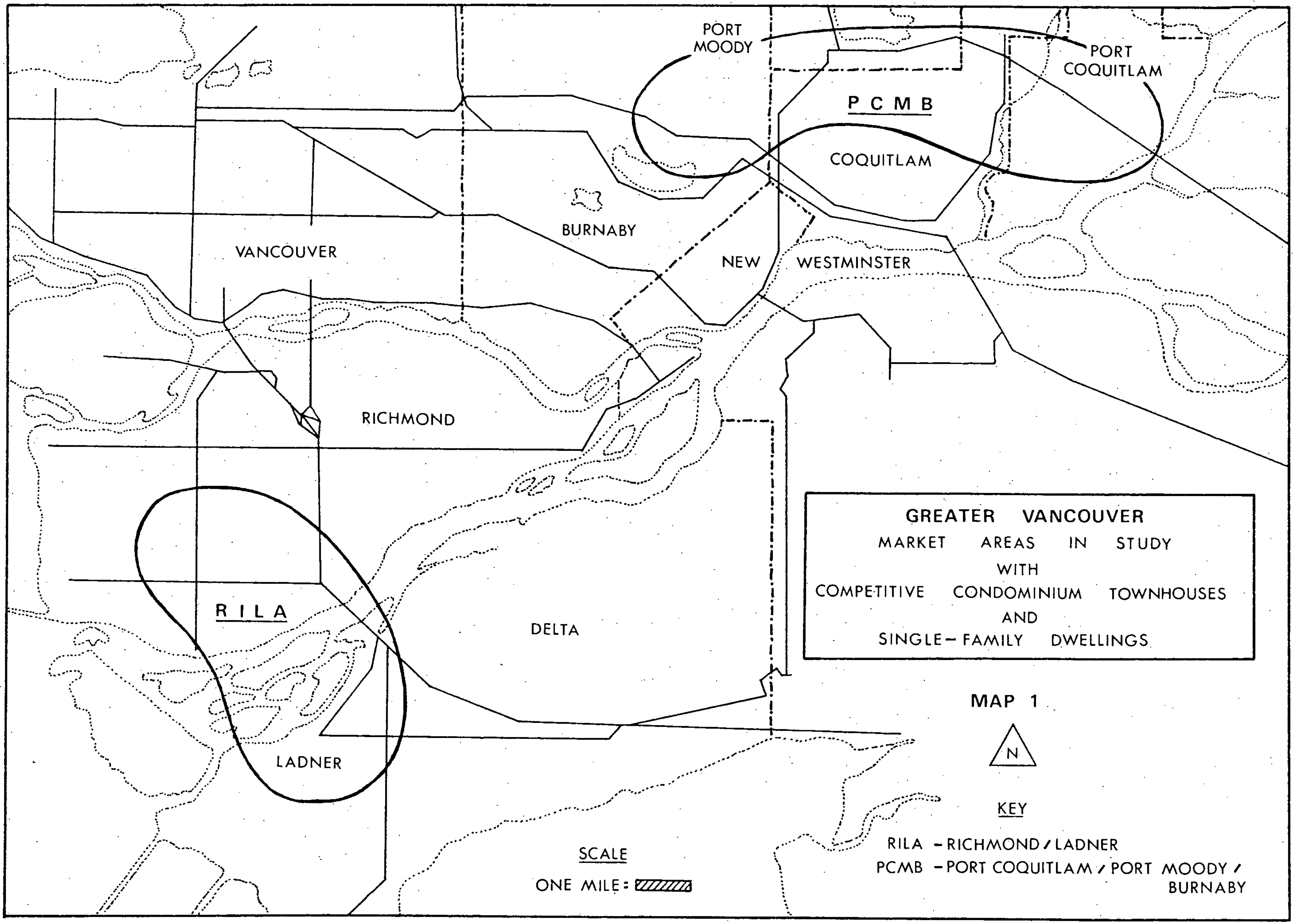
In the broadest sense, Greater Vancouver constitutes the study area. However, the areas of relevance to this study are smaller in scale, and are referred to here as 'market areas'. Only those areas offering condominium TH units and SF units, which were considered by realtors and developers alike to be in competition with each other, were studied.

A survey of condominium owners in Greater Vancouver conducted during the summer of 1970 indicated that units of each type priced within 20% of each other could be regarded as competing for the same economic sector of the housing market (Hamilton et.al., 1971, p. 33).

As of January 1972, neither New Westminster nor Coquitlam District had any TH developments. Only a few such units were available in North Vancouver City as well as Vancouver, and these were low income projects subsidized under the Federal Government's housing assistance scheme. One small, rather expensive, development existed in West Vancouver, but was not considered to be in competition with new SF dwellings there.

The North Shore generally, and the District of North Vancouver in particular, can be considered as a single market area. Since SF dwellings built there during the 1970-1972 period were greater than 20% above the average price of a TH unit, this area was excluded from the study.

Clearly then, at the time of this study, TH developments were located almost exclusively in the suburbs. Further, the majority were in close proximity to new SF subdivisions. By elimination, the following locations were considered suitable for study purposes and identified as market areas: (1) Richmond-Ladner, (2) Surrey-North Delta, and (3) Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby. The Surrey-North Delta area was excluded from the study when the sample for interviewing was drawn, however. Reasons for this are explained later. Map 1 shows the two market areas which constitute the universe.


PORT MOODY
PORT COQUITLAM
P C M B
COQUITLAM
BURNABY
VANCOUVER
NEW
WESTMINSTER
RICHMOND
R I L A
DELTA
LADNER
SCALE
ONE MILE:
GREATER VANCOUVER
MARKET AREAS IN STUDY
WITH
COMPETITIVE CONDOMINIUM TOWNHOUSES
AND
SINGLE-FAMILY DWELLINGS
MAP 1
N
KEY
RILA - RICHMOND / LADNER
PCMB - PORT COQUITLAM / PORT MOODY / BURNABY

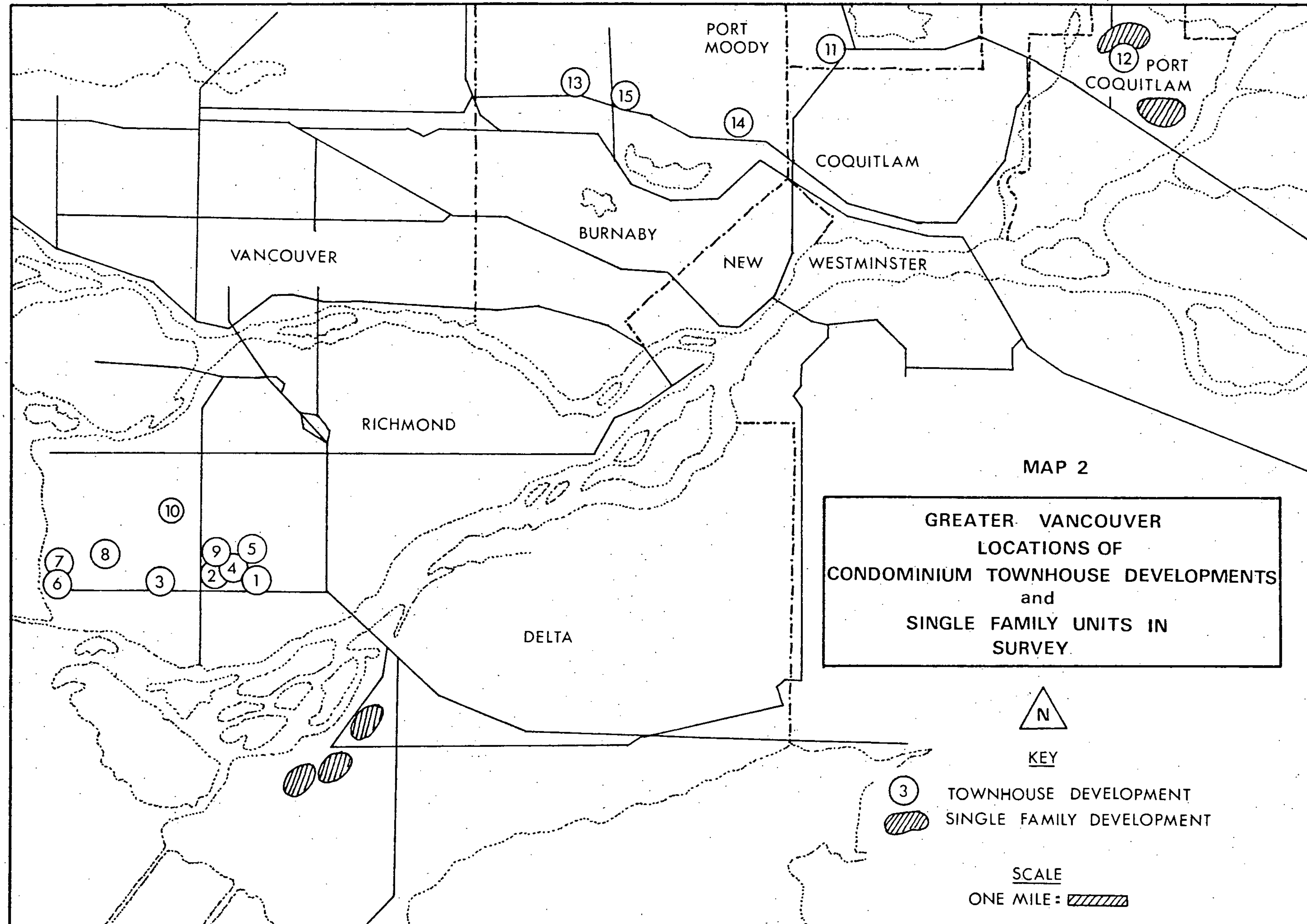
E. DETERMINING THE UNIVERSE

1. Accounting for Qualifiable Condominium Units

The locations and basic descriptions of the TH developments were obtained primarily through advertisements in local newspapers. In an attempt to keep the study manageable, only those developments with units still for sale during the 1970-1972 period could be included. This eliminated one development in Port Moody (Hi-View Estates) and one in Richmond (Glen Acres). As has already been implied, only developments not established as subsidized housing were suitable for comparison.

Some individual units were disqualified on the grounds of 'construction type' or design. While the most common form had only one unit occupying the entire space from the ground to the roof, the unacceptable types were of the 'over-and-under' variety. These least resembled a SF dwelling, it was concluded, in that one unit was placed above two side-by-side units, with access to the top dwelling via a stairway. Examples of these were found in Burnaby (Brentwood Village, all of Brentwood Gardens) and Richmond (Manoah Village). Table I lists the developments which qualified, and which constitute the universe of TH households. Map 2 shows the locations of these.

In order to obtain a count of suitable units, each development was visited and a site plan obtained. Even those


PORT
MOODY
PORT
COQUITLAM
COQUITLAM
BURNABY
VANCOUVER
NEW
WESTMINSTER
RICHMOND
DELTA
MAP 2
GREATER VANCOUVER
LOCATIONS OF
CONDOMINIUM TOWNHOUSE DEVELOPMENTS
and
SINGLE FAMILY UNITS IN
SURVEY
N
KEY
TOWNHOUSE DEVELOPMENT
SINGLE FAMILY DEVELOPMENT
SCALE
ONE MILE :
1
2
3
4
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8
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10
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12
13
14
15

Table 1

CONDOMINIUM TOWNHOUSE DEVELOPMENTS

QUALIFIED FOR SAMPLING PURPOSES

Market Area and Development	Map Number	Number of Units
RICHMOND LADNER		448
Edgemere Gardens	1	89
Country Club Estates	2	56
Garden Manor	3	40
Cambridge Place	4	46
Ramage Giants	5	9
Springfield Court I	6	32
Springfield Court II	7	30
Manoah Village	8	46
Sharon Gardens	9	70
Chelsea Place I	10	30
PORT COQUITLAM-PORT MOODY-BURNABY		367
Evergreen II	11	98
Woodside Estates	12	52
Brentwood Village	13	54
Simon Fraser Hills I/II	14	132
Sperling Townhouses	15	31
TOTAL		815

units not sold were included in the universe, on the premise that they may be sold and occupied by the time the sample was taken and data collection begun. The universe thus determined totalled 815 units.

2. Accounting for Qualifiable Single-Family Units

The basic consideration here was twofold: (1) only those units in competition with condominium TH units could qualify, the maximum price being no more than 20% greater than the average price of TH units, and (2) only new single family houses offered for sale during the January, 1970 to January, 1972 period would be considered. Further to this, it was thought that since potential buyers of condominium TH units were able in most instances to 'shop and compare' the variety in each market area, only SF houses situated in subdivision tracts of at least 10 units would be included in the universe.

Having set down the guidelines, a search was conducted for suitable units. Initially, it was assumed that most houses could be located through one source, particularly the multiple listing service of the Greater Vancouver Real Estate Board. However, it was learned that perhaps only two-thirds of all houses for sale would be in the M.L.S. listing, and this included both new and used houses. The amount of time required to select only qualifiable units from the listings quickly proved to be too cumbersome a task.

Another avenue investigated was the use of building permits for each municipality. This too proved to be an overwhelming task for several major reasons. First, the filing of permits is generally ordered by date, and not usually sorted out according to building type. Secondly, a number of months may lapse between date of issuance and date of construction. Thirdly, each unit would have to be located on a house numbering map, and in the case of recent (i.e. one year old) subdivision approvals, the maps would likely not be up-to-date.

While the approach finally settled upon required a great deal of time (approximately 1½ months), travel (approximately 2,000 miles), and cost, it did prove to yield a great deal of insight and knowledge where <u>SF</u> (as well as <u>TH</u>) development is concerned.

To initially locate new <u>SF</u> developments, a search was made of real estate advertisements in every Saturday edition of the Vancouver Sun, the Province and the Columbian newspapers for the time period mentioned earlier. Each relevant advertisement was noted, and where possible, located on a map. Numerous phone calls and visits were made to real estate agencies and developer's and planning offices to obtain more complete information such as prices, number of units and subdivision plans. Having completed a general map for each market area, house numbering map sections were obtained from municipal offices.

Following this, a visit was made to every qualifiable housing development, and units for sale, sold or occupied were indicated on the section maps, with notes as to their price range. Once this stage was completed, a total count was made for each category (ranging from \$20,000 to \$30,000 broken into \$2,000 intervals) within each market area. By this means a total of 1,167 units were identified as suitable for comparative purposes.

F. <u>SELECTING A RESEARCH TECHNIQUE</u>

A variety of data collection techniques has been used in lifestyle studies, including direct and indirect observation, mailed questionnaires, and the personal interview. The choice of one over another or in combination with another largely depends upon the type of information sought, purpose of the study, and time, money and personnel availability.

The choice here was essentially between the mailed questionnaire and the personal interview. The former was ruled out for a variety of reasons. First, many of the <u>SF</u> units did not have their addresses displayed and house numbering maps were often too incomplete to use in the newest areas. As in the case of the <u>TH</u> units also, it proved too time consuming to determine the correct address for each unit. Second, all units ready for occupation were designated as the universe, since it became too difficult while driving through developments to ascertain which were presently or shortly to be occupied. Thus, there was no simple procedure to follow whereby questionnaires would be sent only to occupied units.

Although the choice of the personal interview technique resulted in many problems during the period of arranging interviews, it was considered to be the better means for obtaining household activity information. However, the interview schedule contained sections which could have been adequately served by the mailed questionnaire technique (e.g. biographical data, previous housing experience data).

1. The Interview Schedule

As Michelson has noted, the lifestyle concept has been treated both in "scientific and popular circles" more in "descriptive and simplistic terms than in an objective and analytical fashion" (Michelson, Sept., 1970, p. 21). Consequently, extremely few precedents are available to draw upon for a valid, or even comprehensive operationalization of the term.

While the single hypothesis to test here would only require information as to the amount of activities which were of each orientation, it was felt that additional information may help to clarify the orientation revealed.

The first of four sections in the schedule dealt with 'previous housing experience' since marriage as well as during childhood and adolescence (see Appendix 2). It was hoped that this section would reveal the husband's and wife's degree of physical mobility as well as familiarity with different residential situations. Together with the second section on 'anticipated housing over the next five years', it was expected that some pattern would emerge which could reveal the significance or importance attached to a given dwelling type, and presumeably, a particular lifestyle.

To complete the household description, biographical data on age and family status, education, occupation and income was sought. This would primarily serve to confirm that the households selected within each dwelling type were sufficiently similar for comparison, and should not be the major differentiating factors with respect to lifestyles.

a. <u>the time-activity budget</u>

The most critical portion of the entire schedule is the time-activity budget. Judging from the literature, it appears to have been put to very limited use. Meier (1959, p. 27) has proposed that it be used in developing "social accounts" which may be helpful for better allocating funds and facilities for the enrichment of urban society. Chapin and Hightower (1965) as well as Meier, have also suggested that it has great potential in urban land use and transportation planning. Empirical studies using it, however, are virtually non-existant.

Chapin (1968, p. 123) elsewhere remarks that it can be of great assistance in understanding houshold location decisions. He states:

> "It is a premise ... that location decisions ... are instrumental forms of behavior for accommodating the day-in-and-day-out activity patterns of individuals and families. Recurrent activities in a time sense and repetitive activities in a spatial sense are seen to have a strong relationship to the household's choice of residence."

Michelson (1970, pp. 211-12) defines it as

> "...a technique for eliciting accurate descriptions of behavior, not opinion."

He favors its use since,

> "...it can serve as the basis for extremely fine environmental comparisons in time and space..."

Essentially, it focuses on, (1) types of activity, (2) time(s) activity occurs and its duration, and (3) the location of each activity. Where applicable, it can be used for recording social interaction as well as the strength of the relationship.

The time-activity budget is very definitely in an experimental stage in all respects, and this can probably best be illustrated by considering the analysis of data recorded. With regards to the spatial and temporal components, there are relatively few problems since such data is given in precise units. Admittedly, unless the interviewer is very thorough in his questioning, the time and duration of certain activities may be given in very imprecise terms. Often however, as in cases where the interviewee has problems recalling such information about his or her activities, this problem can only be hoped to 'average out' over a large number of cases.

Concerning the proper or valid labelling of activity by type however, the problem is great. Chapin and Hightower, (1968) offered a general classification of household activities, but it appears not to have been refined through challenges from other researchers and empirical application (see Appendix 'B'). An example of this problem could be made of "watching T.V." as the reported activity. Short of probing for the name of the program, and the reason for watching it, one can only subjectively assign that activity to either a "Recreation-Relaxation" or "Educational-Intellectual Development" category.

Since many of the classification decisions will have a large subjective element, hence strong personal bias, inter-rater reliability across the same set of interviewees would be very low. Hence the statement above that the formulation, use and analysis of this 'tool' is very much in an experimental stage and in need of considerable refinement through empirical study.

The problems just mentioned have little <u>direct</u> bearing on its application to the task at hand. Activities need only be identified as dwelling unit-oriented or non-dwelling unit-oriented to satisfy the requirements of the lifestyle definition adopted here. Each activity can very easily be assigned to one category or the other, and it is on the basis of this simple dichotomy that the null hypothesis is rejected or accepted. This section in particular required an interviewer to be present. Difficulties in recalling past activities and their locations could often be overcome by the interviewer asking probing questions.

G. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Most basic to the choice of a final sample size was the selection of a data collection technique. The choice of the personal interview made the problems of time, distance and manpower particularly critical, considering the size of the area to be covered during the study. Each interview was estimated to require 1½ hours to complete, and since responses were needed both from husbands and wives, interviewing would essentially be an evening job.

At the outset, it was thought that a total of 48 units for the three originally identified areas could be covered in a six to seven week period. Following the first week of arranging and conducting interviews, it was realized that data collection would require much more than the available time and money. The first total was reduced to 40, which appeared to be manageable by a single interviewer. The decision was made to choose those market areas most geographically distant. Thus, the midway Surrey-North Delta market area was excluded.

While a sample of this size was considered to be rather small to make generalizations to the universe (2% sample), it was considered sufficiently large to yield valuable insight into the hypothesized relationship between lifestyle and dwelling selection.

1. The Sampling Technique

In order that comparisons might be made within market areas as well as between, a sample of eight units of each type, stratified by area, was required. Each unit was assigned a number, commencing with unity for each type in each area. Using a random numbers tape, eight numbers were selected from each range, with an additional four which would serve as substitutes. Random numbers were then matched to the pre-numbered units, thereby locating those households to be interviewed.

H. DATA COLLECTION

Since it proved to be too difficult to obtain phone numbers and addresses, each unit had to be contacted directly. Units were chosen from the substitute lists when a vacant dwelling was selected, when no one was home on two visits, or when an interview was refused. After exhausting these lists largely due to refusals (particularly among TH residents --- suggests "over survey"), subsequent alternate units were chosen in close proximity to the originally sampled dwelling.

Households agreeing to an interview were given a brief review of the entire schedule. Therefore, only those who agreed to supply complete information were actually interviewed.

All interviews were conducted by the writer during the months of March, April and May in 1972.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

introductory remarks

All data was collected, coded and analyzed by the writer for reasons of time and financial limitations. Understandably, this allows for the introduction of personal bias. This was not considered to be a problem where factual biographical data and housing experience information was sought. However, it was recognized that it would partially influence the assignment of household activities into categories which served as indicators of lifestyle, as well as determining the precise duration of each activity.

The analysis is descriptive in form, with data being presented for comparative purposes in tables and graphs.

ORGANIZATION of ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION on CONTENT

As indicated in the previous chapter, comparability of households in each type of dwelling was sought by assuring that the unit prices were within an acceptable range. However, it is likely that at best this would only limit the economic differences among households. It is reasonable to assume that lifestyle differences which may be found are attributable to numerous factors such as age, occupation, education, income, preferred residential situation, past housing experience, personal aspirations and interests, and others.

1. Section One

To this end, Section 1 of the analysis is an examination and comparison of household characteristics for both the TH and SF groups. It is believed this procedure will indicate the extent to which the groups resemble each other, and should provide assistance in explaining any differences which may appear with regards to the activity orientations revealed.

This section begins with the presentation of biographic data. Such information reveals the amount of similarity among the samples in terms of basic variables, such as age structure of household, education levels, income and occupation.

An account of housing experience during childhood and adolescence (up to age 18) follows. This data was gathered to obtain more thorough knowledge of the respondent's backgrounds. The presumption was made that such experience over the most formative period in an individual's development could have a strong influence on choices made later in life when independent households were being established. Housing experience since marriage is considered next. This information provides the immediate backdrop to their present situation. Recent specific experiences as tenants or owners are presented and give indications of how their present residence was selected from alternatives.

Finally, households are analyzed with respect to their anticipated housing during the next five years. This time span is presently recognized throughout urban North America as the approximate average period a household remains at one address. Particular interest here is in whether the households appear to be satisfied with their dwelling choice, and whether they consider it as a type of residential situation to be continued or strictly as "need-fulfilling" for the present.

Appendix "C" corresponds with this section, for it provides household comparisons by dwelling type and location. Using the same format, its detail serves as reference material only and indicates the degree of similarity which households reflect in a given dwelling type and location. In so doing, it helps clarify the comparability of the selected samples, which was earlier hinted at as a potential source of error for the interpretation of findings.

Section Two

In this section, only one aspect of the Time-Activity Budget is analyzed. That is the orientation of household activities. Only this data is of immediate relevance to the hypothesis as stated and defined, and could be categorized and measured without considerable additional input from the respondents.

Other questions concerning the specific nature of activities, or the network of activity locations or social contacts could be asked of the data. Interest here is essentially in the relationship between respondent and dwelling, rather than respondent and others. It is not denied however, that the matter of investigation here is not related to and affected by such factors as friendship patterns and preferred leisure activities.

It should also be noted that only activities engaged in on the workday and Sunday previous to the time of interview are examined. In so doing, all activities for extended non-work periods (e.g. long weekends, vacations, etc.) were excluded from scrutiny.

The approach adopted is limited in representativeness for those households which reported for days that did not provide a 'true' indication of their activity pattern. At the time of surveying, no straightforward means could be devised by which individual cases could be treated without disrupting the attempt at keeping reporting procedures equitable for all respondents. It is presumed that consequent 'injustices' done to data quality will be averaged out over the total sample.

The hypothesized relationship between households' dwelling types and activity orientations is tested against the findings of the analysis. Discussion follows, bringing the chapter to a close by pointing out the limitations within which the outcome of the test is to be received.

SECTION ONE

I. HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTIC COMPARISONS

1. Biographical Data

a. age and child distributions

When all SF households are 'lumped' together and compared with all TH households, which also have been formed into one group in spite of their 'within group' differences (refer to Appendix "C"), age and child-ratio differences diminish considerably. TH households are only slightly older, and interestingly enough have slightly fewer children.

Table II

AGE AND CHILD RATIO COMPARISONS

GROUP	N	PARENTS		ELDEST CHILD Mean Age	CHILDREN per HOUSEHOLD
		H	W		
TH	16	34	30	4	.88
SF	16	30	27	4	.94

TH: townhouse SF: single-family house

While the child-ratio difference is not great, the lower ratio combined with higher average ages in the TH group may be presumed to reflect delayed marriage and family formation as a result of pursuing higher levels of education. Generally, it can be stated that all households share a similar stage in the family life-cycle.

b. level of education

In Appendix "C" it can be seen that the RILA TH sample most closely resembled the PCMB SF sample in terms of having the greatest amount of post-secondary education. Nevertheless, educational differences within the TH and SF groups are such that they generally averaged out when examining between-group differences. Table III shows that the greatest dissimilarity exists between wives (more university education in the TH group than in the SF sample). Husbands, on the other hand, are similarly distributed among the three education categories.

Table III

PERCENTAGE REACHING DIFFERENT EDUCATION LEVELS

LEVEL	TH (N=16)		SF (N=16)	
	H	W	H	W
High School Grad or less	31	50	37	50
Technical Training	19	12	12	31
University Grad or less	50	38	51	19

A higher total percentage of husbands and wives with university training in the TH group should be reflected again in income differences, which presumably could in turn stimulate and support a more varied and dispersed activity pattern.

c. household income

As anticipated from characteristics revealed thus far, the TH group has a noticeably higher income level with the largest amount of difference in the $11-15,000 range. Explanation for this stems not only from their having attained higher education, but also from the fact that the older mean ages of husbands and wives has allowed them extra time to obtain increased salaries.

Table IV shows a mean income difference of only $1,000. While this amount does not appear sufficiently large to say the two groups are not comparable economically, it could be sufficient to help separate them in terms of their non-dwelling oriented leisure pursuits.

Table IV

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN DIFFERENT INCOME BRACKETS

GROUP	N	$7-11,000	$11-15,000	$15,000+	Mean $
TH	16	12	58	30	14,000
SF	16	30	45	25	13,000

d. occupations

The higher level of income shown above for the TH group can now be seen in Table V to relate strongly to the large percentage of TH wives in professional occupations.

Table V

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATION CATEGORY

OCCUPATION CATEGORY	GROUP			
	TH		SF	
	H	W	H	W
	N=16	N=7	N=16	N=7
Professional	19	43	37	14
Business	63	-	13	43
Technical	6	14	20	14
Clerical	-	29	6	29
Skilled Trades	12	14	13	-
Unskilled	-	-	12	-

Of particular interest here is the distribution of husband's occupations. When their education levels are compared (see Table 3), it appears that their differences are not great. A considerable number of TH husbands have found their way into some type of business, while the SF sample shows heaviest representation in the professional and technical categories.

e. work locations

While all households surveyed are definitely suburban, it is obvious that their economic activity centers on downtown Vancouver. The work location distribution shown in Table VI is interesting to observe, particularly with respect to the heavy focus on downtown Vancouver by TH husbands and wives, as well as the percentage of TH husbands working throughout the Lower Mainland and other areas of B.C.

Table VI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
WORKING IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS

LOCATION	GROUP			
	TH		SF	
	H	W	H	W
	N=16	N=7	N=16	N=7
Vancouver downtown	70	72	65	57
Burnaby	6	-	19	14
Richmond	6	14	-	-
Port Coquitlam	-	14	-	14
Surrey	6	-	-	-
Delta	-	-	8	14
Lower Mainland	6	-	8	-
elsewhere in B.C.	6	-	-	-

Most of these respondents are salesmen. While it could not be concluded solely from this study, it may be that preference for a particular dwelling type has a certain degree of connection with 'occupation of household head'. This possibility may be particularly appropriate to investigate in connection with condominium ownership because of the inherent characteristics of certain careers and professions (e.g. those requiring frequent or prolonged absence from one's residence), and the offerings of condominium living.

2. Housing Experience

a. during childhood and adolescence
(i) country of origin and sizes of communities lived in

An almost identical percentage of TH and SF husbands were born and raised in Canada (69% and 63% respectively). Among wives, 81% of each group grew up in Canada. This uniformity suggests that, if experiences from youth do influence housing decisions later in life, then they are likely to be of little concern here.

The majority of the sample experienced urban living since childhood, as is shown in Table VII. TH households appear to have had the greatest amount of experience with city living, while SF husbands and wives have had a large percentage of their experience in smaller, semi-rural communities. Whether the ownership of an SF house in a neighborhood of similar dwellings is in part an attempt to 're-capture' some of the 'small-town-ness' while living in a major city is a question which could well be asked from observing such statistics.

Table VII

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS
LIVING IN DIFFERENT SIZES OF COMMUNITIES

GROUP	N	H			W		
		town under 5,000	5,000-25,000	25,000 plus	town under 5,000	5,000-25,000	25,000 plus
TH	16	-	25	75	18	12	70
SF	16	31	12	57	31	12	57

Further remarks on this conjecture are reserved for the concluding chapter.

Regarding geographic mobility, both groups (except for the SF husbands) are remarkably similar and stable. Over 90% spent their first 16 years in the same community, as compared to 63% for SF husbands. Of these, two came from families in the Armed Forces and moved five or more times during their youth.

(ii) dwelling types and tenure arrangements experienced

Table VIII reveals that the greatest percentage of all households grew up in family-owned SF dwellings. Roughly corresponding with a larger percentage of the TH group having grown up in large cities to the proportion of this same group which experienced living in rented accommodation---particularly apartments.

Table VIII

DWELLING TYPES AND TENURE ARRANGEMENTS EXPERIENCED

GROUP	N	% HUSBAND				% WIFE			
		APT	DX	SF		APT	DX	SF	
		rent		own	rent	rent		own	rent
TH	16	18	6	64	12	18	6	70	6
SF	16	12	8	72	8	-	12	80	8

APT: apartment DX: duplex SF: single-family house

b. housing experience since marriage

(i) dwelling types experienced and mobility

Where experience with different dwelling types since marriage is concerned, no particular bias is shown. As would be expected for most young couples, a considerable amount of time is spent living in apartments until increased income allows for the purchase of a dwelling, or the arrival of children hastens such a decision. Table IX shows the groups are quite similar, aside from mean months of occupancy which can partially be explained by recalling the older mean age of TH respondents.

Table IX

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS OCCUPYING DIFFERENT DWELLING TYPES AND LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY IN EACH

GROUP	N	APT %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN	DX %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN	SINGLE FAMILY %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN
TH	16	80	23	4	1	60	32
SF	16	81	15	19	18	44	22

Since marriage, the TH group has been the most mobile, with 20% living in more than 8 dwellings. Of the SF group, 70% lived in 4 dwellings or less, corresponding with 58% for TH respondents.

(ii) search behaviour prior to making choice

That 13% of TH households actively 'searched' only in the development they decided upon is again indicative of the limited location (and dwelling) choice with respect to this type of unit. While each group showed a similar degree of 'curiosity' concerning different locations, there is a remarkable difference in terms of their pre-selection interest in each dwelling type (see Table X).

Table X

MEAN NUMBER OF LOCATIONS SEARCHED
AND
PERCENTAGE OF TIMES DWELLING TYPE WAS CONSIDERED

GROUP	N	X NUMBER OF LOCATIONS SEARCHED	% TIMES CONSIDERED	
			TH	SF
TH	16	6.5	52	48
SF	16	7.0	6	94

TH households reveal a similar amount of interest in each type prior to purchase, which may indicate a greater degree of willingness to 'experiment' with their residential setting. Contrarily, the SF group almost gave exclusive attention to the detached dwelling. Their residential bias is clear and is supported by other data for the group.

With regards to the duration of their active search, no pattern could be discerned for either group. However, the limited selection for the TH group is again apparent in that 75% of these households actively compared and deliberated over their selection in 3 months or less. Of the SF group, 57% of the respondents had purchased within the same time frame.

When comments were solicited regarding the importance the 'privacy' factor may have been in their decision, numerous and diverse responses were received. Curiously enough, the TH group more often responded with "desire to build up equity in real estate", than with reasons related to "opportunity to avoid having to do outside maintenance"---which were fully anticipated.

Comments from SF respondents clearly reflected their predisposition to that specific dwelling-type. Privacy in terms of 'isolation' or 'seclusion' from others was not regarded as important. However, "control over use of outside space" was often cited. This response embraces reasons relating to "freedom to landscape and garden", "freedom to keep pets", "large playing space for children" which could be supervised directly from the house.

(iii) length of occupancy in present dwelling

Both groups had occupied their dwellings for a similar period at the time the survey was taken, being 12 months for the TH sample and 16 months for the SF group. Presumably, the average household in each case will have had sufficient time to adjust to the particular characteristics and responsibilities associated with its particular residential situation. Therefore, the slight difference should have no bearing on activity orientations or patterns revealed.

(iv) purchase price, down payment and ability to spend more

At the time the sample of dwelling units was taken, every precaution possible was observed in order to ensure that TH and SF units would be similarly-priced. Slight variations did occur in spite of this, as is indicated in Parts A and B of Appendix "D". However, average prices for both types are very close as Table XI indicates.

Table XI

MEAN PURCHASE PRICE AND DOWN PAYMENT

GROUP	N	PURCHASE PRICE	DOWN PAYMENT
TH	16	$23,700.	$1,600.
SF	16	$24,400.	$2,300.

Required down payments on new dwellings often equal 10% of purchase price, and in this area the groups are different. Being a new concept, TH developments were often promoted with lower down payments than one would normally expect. No doubt this attracted potential home buyers whose earning power was sufficient to meet mortgage requirements, but whose savings had not yet built up to the 10% of purchase level.

When asked about their ability to spend more on a purchase, the majority of the TH group claimed they could do so, while only one third of SF respondents were in the same position. Table XII shows the extra amount as a percentage of their purchase. One suspects that households are referring to the relationship between purchase price and earning power, rather than cash available for down payment.

Table XII

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS
CAPABLE OF SPENDING MORE AND AMOUNT EXTRA

GROUP	N	% CAPABLE	% EXTRA
TH	16	69	16
SF	16	31	26

If this is not the case, then TH households chose their units in spite of rather than because of the low down payment required.

3. Anticipated Housing During Next Five Years

a. dwelling location and choice satisfaction

Some concern over their choice of accommodation and its location is shown for the TH group in Table XIII. The difference between the two groups relates closely to their expressed preferences when they were actively engaged in their dwelling search.

Table XIII

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS
SATISFIED WITH DWELLING AND LOCATION

GROUP	N	DWELLING	LOCATION
TH	16	88	88
SF	16	100	100

SF home buyers were 94% certain that they wanted such a dwelling, and, approximately 16 months later still unanimously regard their choice as the correct one.

Malcontents in the TH group levelled almost every complaint at some feature of the dwelling unit, equally dividing them among interior and exterior problems (primarily storage space and visual privacy respectively). Minor grumblings by SF households generally centered on property taxes --- which is a complaint commonly aired by most suburban home owners --- and the lack of good accessibility in terms of public transit to downtown Vancouver.

b. anticipated moves, dwelling types and preferred locations

Both with respect to their location and dwelling choice, the TH group anticipates the most change. Table XIV shows that 62% of these households expect to have changed locations by the end of five years. For the SF group, 81% anticipate 'staying put' voluntarily for 10 years.

Table XIV

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS ANTICIPATING A MOVE AND DWELLING TYPE PREFERRED

GROUP	N	NUMBER OF YEARS BEFORE MOVE EXPECTED			APT	TH	SF
		2	5	10+			
TH	16	18	44	38	-	-	100
SF	16	-	19	81	-	-	100

In the case of the former group, one could try to explain the high degree of anticipated mobility in terms of the nature of the occupations of household heads. Since many are in some type of business, with many being sales representatives, promotion and relocation is possible. Such occupational 'mobility' may have had some influence on TH households making the choices they did, but it may be safer to presume that since each of these households claimed their next dwelling would be an SF unit, the present choice is truly only an 'equity-builder' and not a preferred living environment.

Location preferences for the future are in sharp contrast with each other. Of the TH sample, 33% wish to locate in Vancouver City. Including possible North Shore locations, the total increases to 49%. This compares with 37% of the SF group considering the same areas.

A smaller enclave (25%) of the TH respondents show an interest in a more 'rural' setting, generally naming Surrey as the destination. No less than 50% of all SF households expressed a definite interest in acquiring a home (preferably a small acreage outside Greater Vancouver in the rural fringe communities such as Langley City, Haney-Maple Ridge and Abbotsford area).

A. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This section of the analysis is admittedly lengthy and detailed, but necessarily so. The intention was to provide a very sharp 'image' of each household group. Presumably this would allow for a more straightforward comparison of their activity patterns, and will provide the background against which their particular orientation may be understood. A few concluding notes on major contrasts will suffice.

With respect to their biographic characteristics, the two groups are considered sufficiently similar so as to reasonably make comparisons of other characteristics. While minor differences do exist in their family sizes and ages, they are within the same stage of the family-life-cycle. This is perhaps the most important consideration when an investigator wishes to compare activity orientations. Such variations as may be found will likely best be attributed to differences in income and possibly education levels - both of which are higher among TH households.

Although both groups have shared similar housing experiences while growing up and following marriage, the SF sample has established a clearer 'relationship' with that particular dwelling type. One begins to suspect this when discovering a greater number of this group with small-town living experience (imputing importance to 'sentiment'), and receives full confirmation upon finding that almost every household was determined to settle on an SF dwelling choice prior to purchase.

The TH group lacks a straightforward approach in their housing-choice behavior. Having experienced more rental tenure during their formative years (which in itself could encourage a more flexible attitude toward the dwelling unit), and a higher amount of intra-urban mobility after marriage, one suspects their vacillation over a dwelling choice relates to concerns about being 'tied down' to maintaining property. Their choice of a TH largely frees them of this concern.

In spite of present differences, both groups aspire to the same dwelling type, albeit in different locations of the urban area. Both unanimously stated their next dwelling choice would be an SF unit. There exists, however, a fundamental difference. The SF sample is certain about the importance of such a unit to the way they choose to live, and intend to derive such benefit from the earliest point in time possible. TH households, while certain of their eventual choice, have in the interim opted for a more flexible mode of living which simultaneously allows them to build up equity in real property.

SECTION TWO

I. HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITY ORIENTATION COMPARISONS

At the outset it was hypothesized that TH households would spend the largest percentage of their discretionary time outside the confines of their dwelling, while SF households would choose to spend the greater portion of such time enjoying their homes. A few comments are needed at this point concerning the actual assignment of activities to one category or the other.

1. Assignment of Activities to Categories

Labelling any activity either 'dwelling-unit-oriented' or 'non-dwelling unit-oriented' was almost as straightforward as the designations would imply. Any non-work, non-chore activity that was carried on within the dwelling or on the property outside was termed 'dwelling unit-oriented'.

It became evident almost from the outset that some more reasonable physical boundary should be established outside of which activities would be considered "non-dwelling oriented". The problem arose in cases where respondents reported "playing cards with neighbours across the street" as an activity, or "helping the next door neighbour lay sod". While these activities were not centered on the respondent's home, they did occur within their immediate neighbourhood. This then became the 'dividing line' for activities, based on the rationale that they would occur largely as a result of being home sufficiently often to establish close relations with neighbours. The physically close group of homes is consequently regarded as an 'extended dwelling environment' for the household.

2. Presentation of Findings

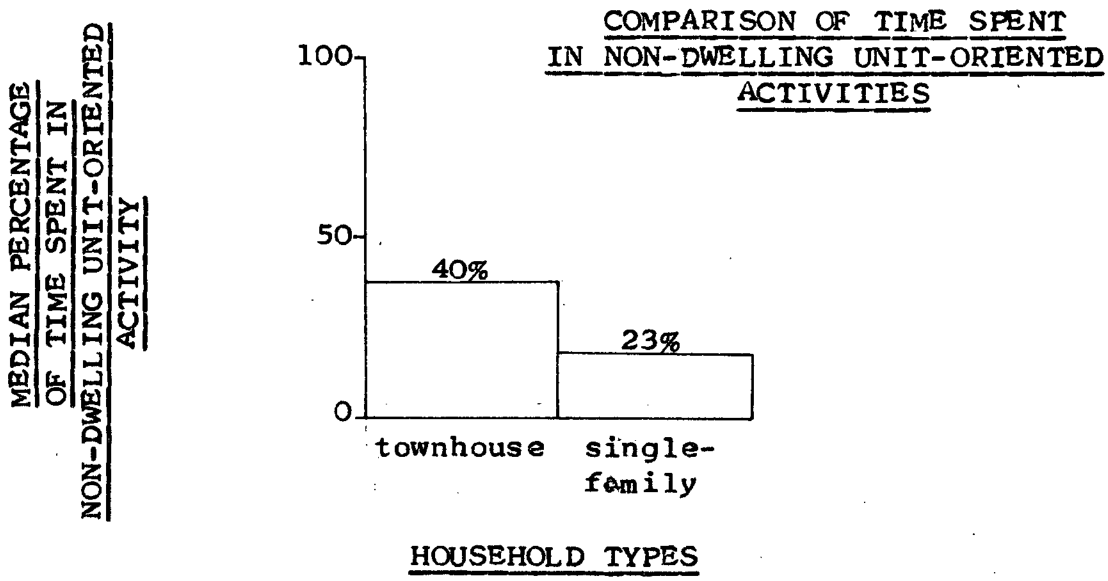
Each activity was assigned to one category or the other, and the percentages of hours engaged in activities so assigned were used to test the hypothesis. Findings for the two groups are presented first. Discussion and attempts at explaining the outcome follow, drawing on the findings for each market area sampled.

Median rather than mean percentage values are used since the samples are small and extreme cases of time expenditure were found. Mean values are sensitive to such extremes and would reflect a statistic not sufficiently representative of the entire distribution.

a. townhouse (TH) and single family (SF) activity orientations

Figure 2 graphically portrays the median percentage of hours each group spent in non-dwelling unit-oriented activity. It is evident that each household group spends less than 50% of its non-work, non-chore time away from home. This was hypothesized for SF households, while the opposite was expected of TH owners. Therefore, the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

Figure 2



b. discussion of households by activity orientations and dwelling type

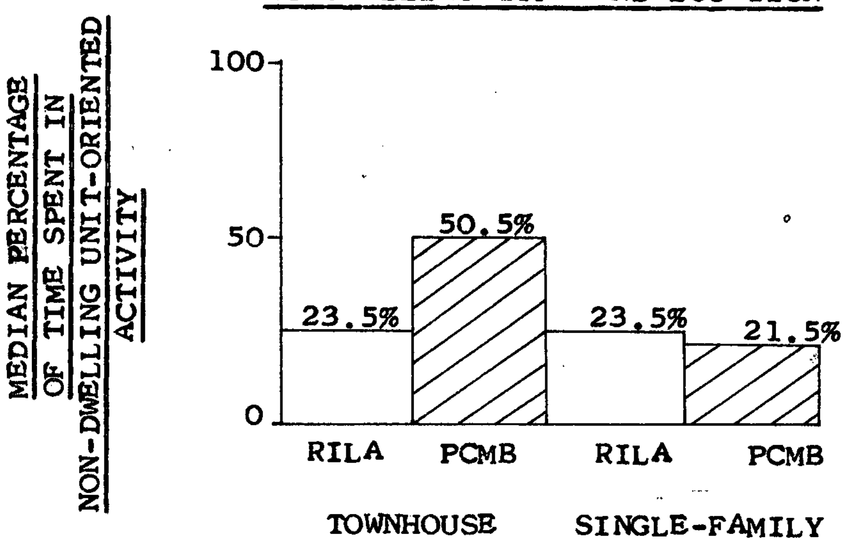
(i) townhouse sample

This group is definitely not homogeneous with respect for its activity orientation. Early indications of this were obtained by calculating standard deviations from the mean for each group, which are: TH - 26; SF - 22.3. The greater the standard deviation the greater the heterogeneity among members in a given set. Striking evidence of this is revealed in Figure 3.

The graph indicates that conclusions made about the relationship between the total SF and TH samples must eventually relate back to each component group. We can see that the net difference between the two groups' activity orientations is entirely attributable to the difference

Figure 3

COMPARISONS OF TIME SPENT IN NON-DWELLING UNIT-ORIENTED ACTIVITY BY DWELLING TYPE AND LOCATION



HOUSEHOLD DWELLING TYPES AND LOCATION

between the Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby TH households and all other households.

Differences observed must be related to factors other than simply 'dwelling type'. Observation of both Richmond-Ladner and Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby characteristics (presented in Appendix D) shows most differences relate to education, income and family ages and sizes. However, differences on these variables cannot be regarded as sufficiently large so as to produce the observed variation in activity patterns. In fact, since the Richmond-Ladner group has a larger household income and higher education level, it was fully anticipated that they would show greater involvement in activities removed both from their dwellings and immediate neighborhood. Moreover, they have fewer children which should allow them even more opportunity to have a highly varied and dispersed activity pattern.

(ii) single-family sample

Activity orientations for this group are as expected --- clearly centered on their homes. It must be borne in mind, however, that the only data used here is for the work day and Sunday previous to the time of the interview. On such days, it was argued, the normal day-to-day activities could best be observed. Furthermore, the total discretionary time would probably not be great for any household, and particularly not for SF households which have additional chores to perform related to the maintenance of their property. Presumably the time remaining would often not be sufficient to merit spending it in places other than at home or very near to their residence.

Conversely, a larger number of usable leisure hours would be available to the TH group, which would make it more practical to spend them in activities which took them away from their neighborhood. Therefore, the percentages recorded for the SF sample are likely somewhat biased from the outset in the direction of the hypothesized relationship.

3. Summary and Conclusions

Upon commencing this study, it was recognized that in order to make meaningful comparisons between households, information other than that concerning dwelling-type and location would be needed. To that end, a variety of personal characteristics was obtained from each individual.

The areas of greatest dissimilarity were education and income, and to a lesser extent, family structure and previous housing experience. These differences were used to help account for variations observed in household activities.

In terms of location similarities and differences, the Richmond-Ladner TH sample has a close resemblance to the Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby SF group where biographic data are concerned. The opposite applies to the Richmond-Ladner SF and Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby TH group, especially with respect for education and income levels.

These differences within the two dwelling-type groups were not shown to be of such proportions that they would affect the hypothesized activity orientations. It is consequently a considerable surprise to discover that all activity patterns are essentially the same except for the Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby TH group.

In addition to this, the percentage of time spent in activity away from home by the Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby sample is so great that it leads to concern over the representativeness of these households. Either it is an anomaly or in fact does typify similarly-situated households. Only a more extensive survey could clarify this.

Since clear-cut activity-orientation differences are not indicated for the two groups, it must be <u>concluded that there is insufficient evidence to support the thesis which claims an identifiable relationship exists between a household's lifestyle and its dwelling-type choice</u>.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

introductory remarks

This chapter discusses the problems which follow from the use of certain concepts and the research design. Conclusions made are about the project in general, since conclusions about specific findings are presented in the previous chapter. Recommendations are offerred as guidelines to indicate how the major problems may be approached in subsequent related studies.

A. PROBLEM AREAS: A LOOK BACK AND LOOKING AHEAD

1. Timing of Research

a. unfamiliarity with condominium concept and recency of purchase

The basic premise of the thesis was that households chose their dwelling because of and not in spite of the opportunities each dwelling type offerred. Correspondingly, each group was presumed to represent a different market sector.

The data in Table X however, show that 48% of the townhouse respondents had considered a single-family dwelling, while only 6% of the single-family group had looked at townhouse units prior to their final choice. Even more revealing is the fact that when questioned about their next purchase, every household indicated a single-family dwelling preference.

One must therefore conclude from the data that the townhouse sample was not drawn from a distinct market sector, and by inference, lifestyle group.

This said, it must be pointed out that deductions or conclusions made from the findings must at all times be related to the timing of the research. It must be borne in mind that the comparison was between households in the very familiar single-family dwelling (almost every child was experienced with this style of living from childhood), and those in the unfamiliar townhouse unit living within the even more unfamiliar context of condominium ownership.

It may be possible that by simply demonstrating greater willingness to be flexible and experiment with their first acquisition (which might indicate a different emotional attachment to the traditional 'house and home'), the TH group does represent a different lifestyle group but has not experienced this new form of ownership sufficiently long to exhibit a definite non-dwelling activity orientation.

Probably the only accurate means of testing this would be to repeat the same type of research at one year intervals. If it could be found over perhaps a five year period that those households which remained in their TH dwellings did adapt to their new environment and showed a non-dwelling activity pattern, then one would have evidence that residential areas can be differentiated in terms of life-styles.

The advantages of repeating a study of this type at reasonable intervals are apparent in the condominium studies of the Greater Vancouver Area by Hamilton et.al. (1971 and 1973). Both as a result of refining their methodology and benefiting from increasing condominium development which is being accepted and better understood by the purchaser, they were able to show that dwelling type and lifestyle congruency is being attained for some.

Their 1973 study (p. 37) indicated that 67% of 152 respondents deliberately chose this form of ownership because of its inherent advantages. One difficulty in interpreting such findings, the researchers confess, is that among the deliberate choosers, there was no indication of how many did not even consider buying a single-family unit simply because they knew beforehand that at the time they could not afford to do so.

A recent survey of condominium units on the North Shore carried out by the writer for development and marketing purposes revealed an interesting finding regarding this matter. It was discovered from conversations with other developers, management companies and owners themselves that the 'dwelling-type - lifestyle relationship' is really only apparent in the more expensive developments.

b. <u>effect of inflationary trend in real estate values</u>

At the time the survey for this study was carried out the inflationary trend in real estate prices was just beginning its rapid ascent to the present level. However, as is shown in data gathered here, in mid-1972 potential buyers could still choose between a single-family house and a condominium townhouse unit. Undoubtedly the real choice between unit types would have even been greater in terms of unit costs if the study was conducted around 1969-1970.

From mid-1972 to the present prices have escalated so rapidly and to such a level that for the majority of buyers there is almost no choice. Average single-family units in the remote suburban areas (e.g. south Langley) now commonly sell in the $55,000 range. The few townhouse units which have been built over the past 12 months, relative to all other types of housing, consistently sell in the $55,000 range or higher.

Households capable of buying a new unit in the $25,000 to $40,000 range must now select from condominium apartment units in 3-storey frame buildings. For the majority of purchasers the choice is now between a condominium suite or townhouse. Presently, and perhaps for several years to come, all but the most affluent sector of the home-buying market will make purchase decisions based almost exclusively on economic factors and not according to preferences governed by an interest in pursuing a particular lifestyle.

Thus, if the objective of subsequent research would be to obtain meaningful data from a wide cross-section of households, it should be carried out in an urban setting where market conditions are more stable and price variations more uniform than applies at this time in Greater Vancouver (e.g. Edmonton or Calgary).

2. Data Collection With Time-Activity Budgets

The techniques employed here in gathering and analyzing data are generally those commonly used in the field of social science research. The use of budgets is not widely practised and presented some major difficulties. At the time of data collection, little information about budgets could be found. However, lack of precedent should not necessarily deter one from using a technique which appears to have utility in a specific task.

The manner in which budgets were able to be used proved to be too restrictive to allow any recurring pattern of activities to reveal itself. Gathering data for the respondent's previous work-day and non-work-day allows only a narrow glimpse into the time-activity schedule of that respondent. Among the hazards of relying entirely on data gathered in a 'one-shot' interview session are the problems of recall and the liklihood that days reported are not typical with respect for their activity pattern.

The preferred approach to obtaining more reliable data is time-consuming and may be costly. The method used by Michelson (1970) is to have respondents keep daily diarys of their activities and other pertinent information. This requires full and consistent co-operation from the subjects and may even require some financial inducement to encourage proper record-keeping. While there still can be no real assurance that the diary is kept regularly and not filled in just prior to mailing or pick-up, this approach does theoretically reduce problems of recall and perhaps even bias which sometimes occurs as a reaction to a 'one-shot' interview session.

Regardless of which means is used to obtain budgets, the difficulty of classifying and categorizing data remains. For reasons already discussed, activities reported were labelled either dwelling or non-dwelling unit-oriented. Understandably, a fuller treatment of the lifestyle definition would require a more complex approach to analysis, such as the factor analytic technique used by Michelson (1970).

3. Independent Variable: LIFESTYLE

From the outset the objective was to demonstrate that differentiation among households occurred for other than strictly economic reasons. Drawing support from the behavioral viewpoint which relates the patterning of urban phenomena to collective decision and choice behavior, it was contended that households would sort themselves out by their lifestyles.

First of all, how does one meaningfully define 'lifestyle'? Certainly sufficient evidence exists showing that people have different styles of living. People pursue a diverse range of daily activities, hold to different value systems, earn different incomes and exhibit different consumer behaviors --- to name only the more obvious attributes of the concept. These are displayed in a variety of distinctive combinations and are indicative of particular lifestyles.

For research purposes the concept must be capable of being used for more than description only. It must be capable of being operationally defined, such that certain lifestyles belong to certain groups or individuals, while others do not. Even more critical than this, a selected definition must be appropriate to a particular research problem. Since the operationalization of a definition requires that it be reduced to its most basic essentials, only particular elements may be included.

Here, the 'activity location orientation' determined the household's lifestyle. Either the style was home-oriented or non-home-oriented. Upon testing this definition however, there was insufficient correspondence between lifestyles and their "assigned" dwelling types to clearly support the hypothesis.

Subsequent work in this area will have to deal with the problem of refining the selected definition. Perhaps a relationship similar to the one hypothesized here does in fact exist, but will not be evident unless a more comprehensive definition is found.

B. MOVING BEYOND THE BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

1. Behavioral Bases of Differentiation

Some evidence has been gathered which points to elements other than those essentially economic which are responsible for the observed spatial patterning of households. These are behavioral bases of residential differentiation and have been incorporated here into the lifestyle concept.

While certain hypothesized behavior did correspond with particular dwelling choices, the evidence gathered was not conclusive. In part this can be explained by pointing out that households interviewed had not occupied their dwellings for more than two years (the average occupancy was only 14 months), and probably had not yet settled into an identifiable lifestyle pattern in that particular setting.

Further explanation for this relates to error in the dwelling search process. Many of the townhouse respondents indicated they would not choose that dwelling-type again. Presumably this group would not take full advantage of the freedom from outside chores which townhouse living provides, and this would of course bias the results.

Although information was not deliberately solicited concerning people's feelings about their residential situation, sufficient comments were offerred to cause the writer to believe that the most basic differentiating mechanism is "personal attitude" toward one's type and place of residence.

2. Attitudinal Bases of Differentiation

On the strength of only partial evidence this appears to be a reasonable position to take. All single-family households showed a definite interest in their dwelling-unit and its setting. It was not simply a house, and the majority of respondents appeared to attach considerable emotional value to their "dwelling place". Both their search behavior and comments about present and future housing intentions indicated such an attachment. Of the townhouse group, only the Port Coquitlam-Port Moody-Burnaby sample gave any indication of such congruence between the dwelling they lived in and their lifestyle.

The above observations would suggest that subsequent research using the lifestyle concept explore how "pride of ownership", "desire for control over one's residential environment" or even "sense of territoriality" might be incorporated into an operational definition.

It is conceivable that in situations where people are able to exercise choice between alternative dwelling arrangements, the bases of differentiation may only be disguised as being related to overt behaviors while actually stemming from fundamental personal and cultural differences.

In pursuing the more fundamental bases of choice behavior, a researcher commences with the supposition that where choice among items exists, an individual makes a selection according to his personal preference or disposition toward each alternative. Such dispositions are reflections of one's cultural heritage, which embraces attitudes, beliefs, values and sentiments. The single-family house is often considered by urbanists to be the last major physical link in the city with our rural past. The TH owned in condominium fashion has arrived to take its place. It is totally urban, and as yet is not totally acceptable.

Research into personal dispositions toward one's environment is in its embryonic stage. McKechnie (1970, p. 320) has developed a research instrument called the Environmental Response Inventory (ERI), whereby he may discover and assess "environmental dispositions which are personalogically meaningful and which possess predictive utility in forecasting significant environment-related behavior". By identifying personality traits and attitudes toward a variety of issues he is attempting to determine their disposition toward their environment. By establishing this, he can more thoroughly understand an individual's use of his environment, as well as more precisely forecast such use in the future.

This approach to understanding human response to the environment appears to have validity to the study of residential differentiation. Subsequent studies relating such differentiation to lifestyle differences would benefit greatly by incorporating both behavioral and attitudinal characteristics in the concept.

C. A NOTE ON VALUE AND APPLICATION

The findings are believed to have value in the study of residential differentiation through identifying and reinforcing the importance of non-economic factors in the process of dwelling-unit selection.

Lifestyles described and dwelling types compared in this pilot study were selected primarily for reasons of managability. Subsequent studies must go well beyond this, refining the lifestyle concept and applying it to all types of research questions about urban population differentiation.

Of particular interest to urban geographers should be the relationship between lifestyle differences and choice behavior among all types of spatially distributed urban places or events. Although the term 'lifestyle' has only recently been used in common parlance where urban design problems are concerned, it is now a well-used (if not understood) term in discussions among planners and developers regarding residential development proposals. Trusting that the common objective now is to produce urban places in which to have one's home, work and recreation (e.g. False Creek, hopefully), and which are not stereotyped and dull, it is important that serious attempts are made to better understand the lifestyle concept as well as accommodate its many variations.

D. A PARTING WORD

Hopefully this study will stimulate further research into questions not only about lifestyle differences and residential differentiation, but also the relationship of lifestyle differences to other spatially distributed activities and phenomena which reflect human choice among alternatives. If this much is accomplished, then for the writer this work will have been rewarded.

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APPENDIX 'A'

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

u r b a n l i f e s t y l e s t u d y

A SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLDS
IN METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER
REGARDING THE SELECTION OF
DWELLING TYPE AND LOCATION

mr. marty schmidt

DEPARTMENT of GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY of BRITISH COLUMBIA

march, 1972

LOCn________
SF________
CTH________

HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

HOUSING EXPERIENCE

A. Since Marriage

1. How many different dwellings have you lived in, including this one? ________

2. For your previous 5 dwellings, please indicate:

TYPE	LOCATION	TIME OCCUPIED	OWNED	VALUE	MONTHRENT less $100	$100 -175	$175 plus

3. How long have you lived in this dwelling? (months) ________

4. What was the approximate purchase price? $ ________

5. What was the requested downpayment? $ ________

6. Could you have spent more on a dwelling unit? (yes) (no)

   ...if 'yes', state the approximate maximum range. $ ________

7. In which other municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver did you seek to purchase a dwelling?

LOCATION	TYPES	PRICE RANGES

8. Had you thought of renting rather than buying? (yes) (no)

9. Approximately how long had you been actively searching for a dwelling to purchase? (months) ________

10. What comments do you have on the matter of 'PRIVACY' as a factor in your final choice?

____

____

____

____

B. During Childhood and Adolescence

1. Where were you raised? (up to age 18) Country: H _____ W _____

2. Were you raised

	H	W
(a) on a farm?		
(b) town under 5000?		
(c) town 5000 - 25,000?		
(d) city 25,000 plus?		

3. While growing up at home, with what type of dwelling and tenure arrangement were you most familiar?

	H	W
(a) owned house		
(b) rented house		
(c) owned other form ( )		
(d) rented semi-detached		
(e) rented apartment (TYPE:)		
(f) other		

4. If you spent several years in different types of dwellings, please indicate:

	SIZES OF COMMUNITIES	TYPES OF DWELLINGS	OWNED	RENTED
H				
W				

ANTICIPATED HOUSING DURING NEXT FIVE YEARS

A. Dwelling

1. Does this dwelling meet your household's present needs? (yes) (no)

2. If your answer is 'NO', what feature or features do you consider unsatisfactory?

____
____
____
____

B. Location

1. Does the <u>location</u> of your dwelling meet your household's present needs? (yes) (no)

2. If your answer is 'NO', what feature or features do you consider unsatisfactory, and for whom?

FEATURE	UNSATISFACTORY FOR:	REASON

C. Possible Moves

1. Do you anticipate moving from this unit in the next:
   (a) 2 years? ____
   (b) 5 years? ____

2. If you plan to move, what type(s) of dwelling would you look for?

TYPE	OWN	PRICE RANGE	RENT
single family house			
single family semi-detached			
townhouse (rowhouse)			
apartment (TYPE:)			
other			

3. To what location(s) in the Lower Mainland would you consider moving? (begin with most preferred)

LOCATION	REASON(S) FOR CHOICE

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

A. Age

Husband	years
wife	"
1st. child	"
2nd. child	"
3rd. child	"
4th. child	"
other ( )	"

B. Education

LEVEL	H	W
some high school		
high school graduate		
technical training		
some university		
university degree(s)		

C. Occupation

1. What is the primary occupation of the husband?__________

2. If the wife works, what is her occupation? __________

3. If the wife works, is it: (a) full time?______
   (b) part time?______

4. What is the location of the husband's work?
   ADDRESS __________________

5. What is the location of the wife's work?
   ADDRESS __________________

D. Income

1. Which income range most nearly approximates the income of:

HUSBAND	WIFE	HOUSEHOLD	INCOME RANGE
			less than $5,000
			$5,000 - $7,000
			$7,001 - $9,000
			$9,001 - $11,000
			$11,001 - $13,000
			$13,001 - $15,000
			more than $15,000

2. What would you anticipate your HOUSEHOLD INCOME RANGE to be in 5 years time (1977)? $________ - ________

TIME - ACTIVITY BUDGET

◯ husband ◯ wife
◯ previous day other than Sat. or Sun. ◯ previous Sunday

TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY	TYPICAL
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00 12:30						
1:00 1:30						
2:00 2:30						
3:00 3:30						
4:00 4:30						
5:00 5:30						
6:00 6:30						
7:00 7:30						
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00						

TIME- ACTIVITY BUDGET

◯ husband ◯ wife
◯ previous day other than Sat. or Sun. ◯ previous Sunday

TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY	TYPICAL
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00 12:30						
1:00 1:30						
2:00 2:30						
3:00 3:30						
4:00 4:30						
5:00 5:30						
6:00 6:30						
7:00 7:30						
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00						

1. What activities are you involved in that occur

(a) each week but not on the 2 days described here:

DAY	TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY

(b) each month (or bi-monthly) but not in the week described here?

WEEK	DAY	TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY

2. What major activities or events do you engage in each year (perhaps major seasonal events, e.g. ski vacation, business, club or church convention, holiday season excursions, conventions, big game or bird game hunting, fishing trips, etc.) but have not accounted for so far?

MONTH	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	DURATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP

****

R E S P O N D E N T ' S   C O M M E N T S

TIME - ACTIVITY BUDGET

○ husband ○ wife
○ previous day other than Sat. or Sun. ○ previous Sunday

TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY	TYPICAL
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00 12:30						
1:00 1:30						
2:00 2:30						
3:00 3:30						
4:00 4:30						
5:00 5:30						
6:00 6:30						
7:00 7:30						
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00						

TIME - ACTIVITY BUDGET

○ husband ○ wife
○ previous day other than Sat. or Sun. ○ previous Sunday

TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY	TYPICAL
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00 12:30						
1:00 1:30						
2:00 2:30						
3:00 3:30						
4:00 4:30						
5:00 5:30						
6:00 6:30						
7:00 7:30						
8:00 8:30						
9:00 9:30						
10:00 10:30						
11:00 11:30						
12:00						

1. What activities are you involved in that occur:

(a) each week but not on the 2 days described here:

DAY	TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY

(b) each month (or bi-monthly) but not in the week described here?

WEEK	DAY	TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP	OTHER ACTIVITY

2. What major activities or events do you engage in each year (perhaps major seasonal events, e.g. ski vacation, business, club or church convention, holiday season excursions, conventions, big game or bird game hunting, fishing trips, etc.) but have not accounted for so far?

MONTH	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	DURATION	WITH WHOM	RELATIONSHIP

****

R E S P O N D E N T'S C O M M E N T S

APPENDIX 'B'

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION of PRINCIPAL CLASSES of HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

Class	Description
Income Producing	On-the-job activity, moonlighting Professional activity (union, society) Activity to improve income-producing potential (evening classes, inventing, writing)
Child-raising and Family Events	Overseeing and participating in play Overseeing children's study, practice Outings with children Family outings (weekend trips)
Education and Intellectual Development	Attending school, college, adult classes, etc. Attending meetings for improvement of education, arts (PTA, Art Guild, etc.) Participating in drama, orchestra, book clubs, etc. Attending plays and exhibitions
Spiritual Development	Attending and participating in church activities Taking part in organizations concerned with human welfare (missions, etc.)
Social Activities	Attending and participating in organized social activities (country club, city clubs, athletic club, etc.) Engaging in informal types of socializing (visiting friends, dating, parties, outings in groups to movies, etc.)
Recreation and Relaxation	Attending spectator events (games, races) Participating in activities alone or with others (golf, swimming, bowling, etc.) Individual forms of physical and mental relaxation (T.V., naps, gardening, reading, hobby, etc.)

Appendix 'B' continued

Class	Description
Club Activities	Taking part in special interest clubs (Garden Club, Stamp Club, etc.) Attending Luncheon or Dinner Clubs Attending meetings of patriotic groups (Legion, etc.) Attending fraternal groups (Elks, Kinsmen, etc.)
Community Service and Political Activities	Attending and/or participating in civic improvement activities (Ratepayer's Association, etc.) Serving on City Council, Planning Commission Political action activities Fund-raising activities and similar volunteer efforts
Activities Associated with Food, Shopping, Health, and similar needs	Meals at home, or restaurant Shopping (convenience, specialty, and major consumer goods) Visits to doctor, dentist, hospital Home and yard maintenance

SOURCE:

Chapin, F. Stuart Jr., and Hightower, H.C., 1968, Household Activity Systems: A Pilot Investigation, Chapel Hill, N.C.; University of North Carolina, Institute for Research in Social Science, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies.

APPENDIX 'C'

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTIC COMPARISONS

BY MARKET AREA AND DWELLING TYPE

CONTENTS

A. SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS IN TWO SUB-MARKETS --- RICHMOND-LADNER (R I L A) AND PORT COQUITLAM-PORT MOODY-BURNABY (P C M B).

1. Biographical Data

a. age and child distribution

As shown in Table 1, there is not a large difference in the ages of wives. While the four year spread between the husbands' mean ages is not large, it may have a noticeable effect on the household's income. Ages of the eldest children are very close, and the higher child-per-household ratio in PCMB could be a reflection of slightly older parents.

Table 1

AGE AND CHILD RATIO COMPARISONS

GROUP	N	PARENTS		ELDEST CHILD Mean Age	CHILDREN per HOUSEHOLD
		H	W		
RILA	8	28	26	4	.5
PCMB	8	32	27	5	1.4

b. level of education

On this variable, there seems to be very little common ground for the two submarkets. Table 2 reveals that while 45% of husbands and wives combined in PCMB have had some university education, only 19% of the RILA sample have experienced this. This difference is largely due to the number of husbands receiving university education, being 76% in the PCMB sample as opposed to 26% in the RILA group.

c. household income

The higher average age of the husband and higher education level of husbands and wives in the PCMB group is clearly reflected in household income. Table 3 shows that while 50% of the RILA group earn less than $11,000 per annum, only 12% of the PCMB sample are in that category. Over twice as many PCMB households are in the $11-15,000 bracket, which reflects in the average annual income being $1,000 more than the RILA households receive.

Table 2

PERCENTAGE REACHING DIFFERENT EDUCATION LEVELS

LEVEL	RILA (N=8)			PCMB (N=8)		
	H	W	H/W	H	W	H/W
High School Grad or less	62	50	56	12	50	31
Technical Training	12	25	12	12	37	25
University Grad or less	26	25	19	76	13	45

Table 3

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN DIFFERENT INCOME BRACKETS

GROUP	N	$7-11,000	$11-15,000	$15,000+	Mean $
RILA	8	50	25	25	12,000
PCMB	8	12	62	26	13,000

d. occupations

To the extent that the households are dissimilar in terms of level of education and income, they are dissimilar in their occupations. Table 4 shows the actual numbers found in six work categories which embrace all occupations reported. As expected, a higher number of husbands and wives in PCMB than in RILA are found in professional occupations and careers requiring formal post-secondary education. Where work patterns among wives is concerned, an almost identical number worked full-time and part-time in each location.

e. work locations

From Table 5 it appears that living in close proximity to work was not the major factor in house selection. The RILA group shows a stronger orientation to downtown Vancouver than the PCMB group, but considering the entire sample, (N=23), 65% worked in that area. It should be noted here that commuting distance in time is approximately the same for each group (30 minutes).

Table 4

ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION CATEGORY	GROUP			
	RILA		PCMB	
	H	W	H	W
	N=8	N=4	N=8	N=3
Professional	1	-	5	1
Business	2	2	-	1
Technical	2	-	1	1
Clerical	1	2	-	-
Skilled Trades	2	-	-	-
Unskilled	-	-	2	-

Table 5

WORK LOCATIONS OF RESPONDENTS
(actual numbers)

LOCATION	GROUP			
	RILA		PCMB	
	H	W	H	W
	N=8	N=4	N=8	N=3
Vancouver downtown	6	3	5	1
Burnaby	-	-	3	1
Delta	1	1	-	-
Port Coquitlam	-	-	-	1
elsewhere	1	-	-	-

2. Housing Experience

a. during childhood and adolescence

(i) country of origin and sizes of communities lived in

In order to determine whether the residential experience occurred in similar cultural contexts, households were asked to state where they spent most of their 'growing-up' years (agea 1 through 18). In each case, except for the RILA wives of whom 100% grew up in Canada, 62% of the husbands and other wives were raised in Canada with the remainder raised in western European countries.

Over 50% in both areas came from cities with populations over 25,000. The same percentage of husbands spent their formative years in one community. Wives came from less mobile backgrounds, with more than 80% reporting having lived their first 18 years in one place.

(ii) dwelling types and tenure arrangements experienced

The choice of a single family dwelling for these households appears that it might be associated with their 'at-home' living situation. Table 6 shows that in total, the majority lived in family-owned homes. The PCMB group had the least amount of such experience, and also proved to have had more inter-community mobility during this period.

Table 6

DWELLING TYPES AND TENURE ARRANGEMENTS EXPERIENCED

GROUP	N	% HUSBAND				% WIFE			
		APT	DX	SF		APT	DX	SF	
		rent		own	rent	rent		own	rent
RILA	8	-	-	100	-	-	-	100	-
PCMB	8	25	12	50	13	-	25	63	12

APT: apartment DX: duplex SF: single-family house

b. since marriage

(i) dwelling types experienced and mobility

Both groups showed a considerable degree of similarity in their housing experience since marriage. The RILA households occupied an average of 3.9 units from marriage to the time of interviewing, and the PCMB group occupied an average of 3.4. Table 7 shows that while a similar number of households in each group had experienced the different housing types shown, the higher total percentage of RILA households trying the different types indicates their living pattern had been slightly unsettled. The longer periods of residence in the case of the PCMB group should in part reflect the slightly older average age of husbands.

Table 7

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS OCCUPYING DIFFERENT DWELLING TYPES AND LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY IN EACH

GROUP	N	APT %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN	DX %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN	SINGLE FAMILY %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN
RILA	8	75	1.3	25	1.0	50	1.2
PCMB	8	87	1.5	12	2.0	37	2.3

(ii) search behavior prior to making present choice

None of the single-family households interviewed looked only in their chosen location for a suitable dwelling. The majority searched three other locations before buying, and final choices were most often made because of the particular features of one of the units.

The mean number of months spent actively searching by the PCMB group was longer than for RILA households (5.6 as compared with 3.1 months), but this was largely due to two PCMB households searching for longer than five months.

Both groups are remarkably similar in terms of their preference for the chosen dwelling type right from the outset. Of all locations where both dwelling types were available, RILA respondents gave particular attention to the single-family unit in 94% of the cases, while 93% applies to the PCMB sample.

Each household was asked to comment on the importance of 'privacy' in making a decision. Understandably, this term has a wide variety of interpretations, each depending on a household's needs and wants. Almost every response was qualified, and in the majority of cases for each group, was taken to mean "one's ability to control his outside space without interference from neighbors". More specifically, these households wanted to be completely independent as to their use of space and control over children's activities around their home. Other responses considered noteworthy were related to 'sound privacy' and 'opportunity for gardening and landscaping'.

(iii) <u>length of occupancy in present dwelling</u>

Perhaps the variable on which the <u>RILA</u> and <u>PCMB</u> group is most dissimilar is in their length of occupancy of their home. The average period for the former group is only 10 months, as compared with 22 months for the latter.

(iv) <u>purchase price, downpayment, and ability to spend more</u>

Table 8 shows that both groups have purchased similarly priced dwellings and made similar downpayments (probably the minimum).

Table 8

MEAN PURCHASE PRICE AND DOWNPAYMENT

GROUP	N	PURCHASE PRICE	DOWNPAYMENT
RILA	8	$23,200	$2,100
PCMB	8	$25,500	$2,400

While each household is committed to similar mortgage payments, it is important to note in Table 9 that the PCMB group could have purchased more expensive housing if they had planned to do so.

Table 9

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS
CAPABLE OF SPENDING MORE AND AMOUNT EXTRA

GROUP	N	% CAPABLE	% EXTRA
RILA	8	37	22
PCMB	8	25	39

This relates directly to and confirms the differences reported in household incomes for the two groups (see Table 3).

3. Anticipated Housing During Next Five Years

a. dwelling location and choice satisfaction

All households except one expressed satisfaction with their dwelling and its location. It is possible that such unanimity would be reduced if one probed into the usual problem areas like 'construction defects' and 'neighbor relations', but as this was to be a completely free response, these topics were not suggested. The single complainer divided all problems equally between high property taxes, poor public transportation to downtown Vancouver, and his concern over what he considered a 'low social status neighborhood'.

b. <u>anticipated moves, dwelling types and preferred locations</u>

Table 10 confirms the general satisfaction of the respondents with the conventional house. All households stated that they would choose to live in another such dwelling, but the majority do not plan to make that move 'voluntarily' for another 10 years.

Table 10

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS ANTICIPATING A MOVE AND DWELLING TYPE PREFERRED

GROUP	N	NUMBER OF YEARS BEFORE MOVE EXPECTED			APT	TH	SF
		2	5	10+			
RILA	8	-	25	75	-	-	100
PCMB	8	-	12	88	-	-	100

If the household could be free to determine its next location, 37% of each group expressed a desire for a more rural setting --- either in the outer fringes of Greater Vancouver or in the Okanagan region. Of the remainder, a similar percentage of the <u>RILA</u> and <u>PCMB</u> groups opt for other

Richmond and North Vancouver locations respectively. A third, smaller group desired 'good quality' and 'quiet' neighborhoods in Vancouver's west side or other better quality and close-in locations.

4. Summary and Conclusion

Most of the difference is found in age, education and income characteristics, and to a lesser extent their previous housing experience. Such differences are not great however, and are not considered sufficient to offset their uniform expressions of preference for their chosen dwelling-type and anticipation of continuing on in similar accommodation.

It appears to be appropriate to regard these households as members of an identifiable market sector or a 'dwelling preference cohort'.

B. CONDOMINIUM TOWNHOUSE HOUSEHOLDS IN TWO SUB-MARKETS: RICHMOND-LADNER (R I L A) AND PORT COQUITLAM-PORT MOODY-BURNABY (P C M B).

1. Biographical Data

a. age and child distribution

For both husbands and wives, the age difference between the groups is very striking. The mean difference of 13 years between husbands and 8 years between wives as shown in Table 11 is reflected in the child-ratio figures. RILA households are just entering the child-rearing stage while those in the PCMB group have already had some experience in that phase.

Table 11

AGE AND CHILD-RATIO COMPARISONS

GROUP	N	PARENTS		ELDEST CHILD MEAN AGE	CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD
		H	W		
RILA	8	27	36	1	.38
PCMB	8	40	34	7	1.30

b. level of education

The RILA group, while younger, has had considerably more post-secondary education as is evident in Table 12. In spite of the fact that the PCMB respondents have been in the labor force longer, the more educated RILA group should show higher family earnings.

c. household income

The relationship between higher education and household income is evident in Table 13. The young, better-paid professionals in the RILA sample earn the most, while the PCMB group, engaged in more service, clerical and non-technical jobs earn the least.

These households are not homogeneous in terms of their earnings yet they are committed to similar amounts of housing expenditure. What must be remembered is that the younger households have only been earning their income for a short time, and their older counterparts have had a longer opportunity to save.

Table 12

PERCENTAGE REACHING DIFFERENT EDUCATION LEVELS

LEVEL	RILA (N=8)			PCMB (N=8)		
	H	W	H/W	H	W	H/W
High School Grad or less	25	37	31	37	63	50
Technical Training	12	25	19	25	-	12
University Grad or less	63	38	50	38	37	37

Table 13

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN DIFFERENT INCOME BRACKETS

GROUP	N	$7-11,000	$11-15,000	$15,000+	Mean $
RILA	8	-	50	50	$15,000
PCMB	8	25	62	13	$12,000

d. occupations

Much of the difference in income between the RILA and PCMB samples is reflected in the breakdown of occupations shown in Table 14. RILA households have the greatest number of full-time working wives (recall the child-ratio) and, combined with their higher education, help to create high household incomes. PCMB members are largely represented in technical jobs and skilled trades. Combined with fewer working wives, the annual household incomes are understandably lower.

Table 14

ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION CATEGORY	GROUP			
	RILA		PCMB	
	H	W	H	W
	N=8	N=5	N=8	N=2
Professional	2	3	1	-
Business	6	-	4	-
Technical	-	1	1	-
Clerical	-	1	-	1
Skilled Trade	-	-	2	1
Unskilled	-	-	-	-

e. work locations

Downtown Vancouver is the location of employment for most husbands and wives in each sample as can be seen in Table 15. It is not certain whether these households would have chosen townhouses in Vancouver City if they had been for sale in the same price range. Their choices having to be made from among the suburbs, one location had little more to offer than another in terms of shortening the common 30 minute journey to work.

Table 15

WORK LOCATIONS OF RESPONDENTS
(actual numbers)

LOCATION	GROUP			
	RILA		PCMB	
	H	W	H	W
	N=8	N=5	N=8	N=3
Vancouver downtown	6	4	5	2
Richmond	1	1	-	-
Burnaby	-	-	1	-
Surrey	1	-	-	-
Port Coquitlam	-	-	-	1
elsewhere	-	-	2	-

2. Housing Experience

a. during childhood and adolescence

(i) country of origin and sizes of communities lived in

Approximately 70% of all husbands and 85% of all wives grew up in Canada (ages 1 through 18). Also, 70% of all respondents spent their formative years in cities with populations of 25,000 or more.

Both groups showed remarkable geographic stability while young. All respondents except for one couple in the PCMB sample grew up in only one community.

(ii) dwelling types and tenure arrangements experienced

Of the two groups, only the RILA husbands had all their housing experience in single-family dwellings --- most of which were owned by their parents. PCMB husbands most frequently experienced rental accommodation. The wives closely resemble each other in their backgrounds, as is seen in Table 16.

Table 16

DWELLING TYPES AND TENURE ARRANGEMENTS EXPERIENCED

GROUP	N	% HUSBAND				% WIFE			
		APT	DX	SF		APT	DX	SF	
		rent		own	rent	rent		own	rent
RILA	8	-	-	75	25	25	-	63	12
PCMB	8	37	13	50	-	12	12	76	-

APT: apartment DX: duplex SF: single-family house

b. since marriage

(i) dwelling types experienced and mobility

Upon examining this data it must be remembered that the groups differed considerably in average age, and presumably, length of time married. This is reflected in the average number of units occupied --- 3.6 for the RILA group and 6.2 for the PCMB households. There does exist, however, similarity between the groups where dwelling type is concerned. Table 17 shows that only apartments or single-family dwellings were lived in, with the PCMB group having done a greater amount of 'experimenting' with different single-family units.

Table 17

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS OCCUPYING DIFFERENT DWELLING TYPES AND LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY IN EACH

GROUP	N	APT %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN	DX %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN	SINGLE FAMILY %	$\bar{X}$ YEARS LIVED IN
RILA	8	75	1.6	-	-	37	2.6
PCMB	8	75	2.3	-	-	75	2.8

(ii) search behavior prior to making present choice

It should first be noted that townhouse developments were not as widely distributed as new single-family tracts. Therefore, it is not surprising to learn that most households in each group did search more than two other locations prior to buying. In both RILA and PCMB, one household chose the first development it visited.

RILA households spent considerably more time in their dwelling search than did their counterparts (7 months and 4 months respectively). Since specific questions were not asked, it can only be assumed that this partially reflected their uncertainty about such matters as possible job transfers, desirability of the dwelling and neighborhood for beginning a family, commuting to work, and the idea of becoming the owner of a 'new' and 'strange' form of housing. Longer experience with homeowning and family living applicable to the PCMB households may have helped to eliminate considerable fruitless searching. It must be noted here also that two PCMB households searched for even less than one month.

Of all specific areas investigated where a dwelling might be purchased, both the RILA and PCMB groups appeared to be uncertain about their preference. The RILA group considered the townhouse in only 53% of the possible locations, and the PCMB group seriously considered the townhouse in 50% of the locations searched.

When respondents were asked about the importance of 'privacy' in their dwelling choice, the majority in both groups claimed it was of little importance. A frequent comment from the RILA group was that they "looked forward to increased opportunities for meeting with neighbors". Young mothers anticipated a good sense of "community" developing from interaction with other young mothers. Comments from the PCMB sample related less to matters of "community" and "interaction" and more to the benefits of building up equity.

(iii) length of occupancy in present dwelling

Although the RILA group had spent an average of five more months in their present dwelling than the PCMB sample (14 months versus 9), the difference was not considered significant to household activity behavior. In each case the time is considered sufficient to get 'settled in' and familiar with the immediate neighborhood and community. Certainly nine months would be ample for 'joiners' to become active in affairs and events outside their homes.

(iv) purchase price, downpayment, and ability to spend more

Differences in purchase price and downpayment between the RILA and PCMB groups are not large, as is seen in Table 18. At the time the sample was taken, the RILA area contained most of the townhouse units on the market, with average prices slightly below those being sold in the major PCMB development of Simon Fraser Hills.

Table 18

MEAN PURCHASE PRICE AND DOWNPAYMENT

GROUP	N	PURCHASE PRICE	DOWNPAYMENT
RILA	8	$22,400	$1,200
PCMB	8	$24,900	$2,000

That the PCMB group has a larger representation in the lower income brackets is evident upon examining Table 19. The difference in "% EXTRA" appears small however. This relates to the finding that the PCMB group is least homogeneous in terms of income and education.

Table 19

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS
CAPABLE OF SPENDING MORE AND AMOUNT EXTRA

GROUP	N	% CAPABLE	% EXTRA
RILA	8	87	19
PCMB	8	50	14

3. Anticipated Housing During Next Five Years

a. dwelling location and choice satisfaction

In the RILA as well as the PCMB samples, 87% expressed satisfaction with their dwelling unit and location. Regarding their unit, the complainers stressed 'lack of inside storage space' and 'inadequate sound-proofing'. All location complaints were directed at poor accessibility to downtown Vancouver, which is a problem common to many suburban dwellers and not unique to this group.

b. anticipated moves, dwelling types and preferred locations

Table 20 reveals a remarkable inconsistency with earlier responses by almost all townhouse households. The entire sample stated that when it was necessary to move, a single-family dwelling would be the preferred unit. Therefore, the earlier finding of "all households happy" where dwelling satisfaction was concerned must be regarded as a response to their immediate situation rather than with the total dwelling concept itself.

In each of the RILA and PCMB samples, 63% anticipated moving by the end of five years. This in itself partly indicates a lack of interest in drawing on the benefits offerred by a 'carefree' living situation.

Table 20

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS ANTICIPATING A MOVE AND DWELLING TYPE PREFERRED

GROUP	N	NUMBER OF YEARS BEFORE MOVE EXPECTED			APT	TH	SF
		2	5	10+			
RILA	8	13	50	37	-	-	100
PCMB	8	25	38	37	-	-	100

The majority of both groups wished to move closer in to Vancouver City itself, or at least be no further away than the North Shore. Only 25% of all households expressed a definite interest in moving 'deeper' into the suburbs in the pursuit of a more 'ex-urban' way of living.

4. Summary and Conclusion

The RILA sample appears to be sufficiently different from their PCMB counterparts to warrant caution in the interpretation of their characteristics and activities when analyzed as a single group. Perhaps the most critical differences relate to stage-in-family-life-cycle, education, and correspondingly income potential.

Taken in turn, it is noted that the RILA sample has not yet been forced to structure the daily activity pattern around children. Presumably, the PCMB households will have begun to do so. With higher education levels and more trained, working wives, household incomes are larger. It is presumed here that this would allow for a more intense activity pattern outside the home.

Biographic data aside, the groups are similar in terms of their choice behavior and at least on this basis can be treated as a 'group'. Neither group appeared too anxious to select the townhouse over the conventional house, and in fact most plan to buy a traditional unit when they move. Nevertheless, they appear to be equally willing to 'experiment' with their residential environment for the present, and so chose the 'latest innovation' in housing.

This dwelling-type sample is the least homogeneous of the two overall, and is least likely to show similarity in household activity patterns.