ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

William Michelson

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Department of Sociology and
Centre for Urban and Community Studies

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Introduction

This is a long term study, begun in March, 1969, of new residents in four basically different residential environments to assess the social attractions and consequences of residence in environments with major physical differences of relevance to urban policy and planning (single dwellings vs. high rise multiple dwellings and proximity vs. distance to the city centre). The differential demand for and use of lower-level aspects of urban environment (i.e. consumer services, public facilities, aesthetic sites) is also assessed. Some specific questions on which the study focused are as follows:

1. To what extent does a particular residential environment tend to attract a particular type of resident? Do people envisage when selecting a new home how they will lead their lives after moving?

2. To what extent does a particular way of life become pronounced in a particular physical setting? Do aspects of the environment influence what people do, with whom they do it, and where they do it, or all else being equal, do they merely repeat the round of life which they formerly pursued in a physically different environment? What relation is there between expectations and subsequent experience?

3. If a typical way of life emerges in a particular setting, what happens to the new resident who fails to adopt it? Does he tend to move? Does he tend to develop problems of varying degrees of seriousness? Or, on the other hand, are typical patterns only a statistical phenomenon, unrelated to successful adjustment to the residential environment?

4. What effect does the passage of time have on people's adjustments to their environment? Does it take longer for people to adjust to some settings than to others? What problems typically emerge in specific settings during particular time periods after settlement, and could they be remedied if anticipated? Do people change their wants and desires about housing apart from their current settings.

Families were sampled on a 100 per cent basis according to the design of a natural experiment; they entered the sample immediately upon the decision to sign an agreement to buy or lease to rent specified dwelling

units and locations over an eighteen month period as necessary to fill the sample cells.

When sampling, we limited eligible families to married couples within the child bearing years not occupying their first marital dwelling, some of whom were to have children and some of whom were not within each category.

We limited the sample as well to persons affluent enough to demonstrate some degree of choice when selecting housing, by the criterion of putting specific minima and maxima according to the month and year on the monthly costs of the housing rented or purchased. This procedure was successful in that median family income was about $13,000 with about 40% over $15,000 (although only 16% over $20,000); only about 12% were under $9,000.

Interviews were held at all times of the year so as to eliminate the possibility of an interaction between seasonal influences and the behaviour reported by persons in any one subsample cell (c.f. Michelson, 1971). Within a family, interviews were held with the wife as the primary respondent, but also the husband, and one child, if present, between the age of 10 and 17.

In Phase I of the study, held immediately upon signing of the lease or agreement to buy, 761 families were interviewed. Of these, 687 were successfully reinterviewed two months after the move, and 593 again exactly one year later (i.e. one year and two months after moving). Those dropping out of the sample in successive phases did not distort the cells of the study design, and their loss was a consequence of refusal in about half the cases and a miscellany of factors including failure to consumate the move,

a second move outside the greater Toronto area, or simple unavailability in the remaining half of the dropouts.

This is an interim report. It does not aim to present conclusive findings on this project. It does not attempt systematic documentation of the points cited. It does not discuss in detail the procedures followed.

A comprehensive report will be forthcoming in the future. However, results from a study of this magnitude take considerable time to reach their eventual product, and anything less than an adequate final report would ill befit the aims of the project.

In the meanwhile, however, policies must be formed and decisions made at various levels of government. On a subject such as this, opinions are far stronger than facts. Hence, we felt that, having been immersed in our study and data for four years, we had an obligation to report the major findings and trends of our study as they appear to us at that point when we first feel clear about the emerging results.

Such a "notion" as to our findings is obviously helpful to us in planning for the orderly completion of our analysis and writeups. We feel that making it available in this form will help fill a partial vacuum of facts on the social effects of various residential environments - provided that it is taken as no more and no less than the interim report it is. The final report may well qualify or change some of these findings, as well as provide considerably more points and evidence. It is unlikely, however, that the general pattern of findings will be altered to any major extent. While the present report includes tables and graphic material to illustrate selected points and to demonstrate on handling of study data, it must be

emphasized that our present aim is only one of communicating the essence of the results, as we understand them, from our work to date. Reactions to this interim report will be welcomed, in the interests of a fair and accurate final report.

The report is organized according to the nature of these findings. It starts with 1) the elaboration of a perspective which relates to all of the specific points which follow. The more focused areas following this perspective are 2) pre-move characteristics as input to residential change, 3) the significance of pre-existing characteristics in specific housing contexts and 4) the transformation of human input into post move differences. This last section (#4) involves viewing patterns of social contact, leisure, daily activity, and commerce, as well as features of the micro-environment, with respect to their relation to expectations, their pattern of change and their implications. 5) A short section indicates differential ways in which these people found their housing. The report concludes with a few general implications we draw from the study.

As the principal investigator is a social scientist, the organization and presentation of the results may reflect his interests. The scientific reader is, in any case, urged to read the report as presented. Any reader will find the complete research and analytic <u>context</u> only by reading the whole text. However, there are persons and groups representing differing sections in the housing market whose interests may be more focused. Since these persons may desire to isolate only those findings of direct import to themselves, a listing below makes some suggestions as to where they might look. No set of suggestions, however, can totally predict the interests of a given reader, and the points isolated may be out of context. None-

theless, since we do aim to "communicate", these suggestions are offered with positive intent.

1. Apartment Developers	2. Home Builders	3. Governmental policy makers and planners	4. Local Ratepayers Associations and Tenants Groups	5. Realtors
1.4-1.4.3	1.4-1.7	1.4-1.4.1	1.4-1.6	1.4
1.5-1.7.1	1.8-1.10	1.4.2-1.14	1.8	1.4.1-1.7
1.8-1.14	1.13	2.3.1-2.3.2	1.12-1.14	1.9
2.3.1-2.3.5	1.14	2.3.4-2.3.5	2.2.5-2.3.2	2.3.1-2.3.2
2.4.3	2.3.1-2.3.2	2.4.2	2.3.4-2.3.5	2.4.2
2.5.3-2.5.6	3.2-3.3	2.4.4	2.4.2-2.4.4	2.6.3-2.7
2.8.1-2.8.7	4.2.12	2.5.3-2.5.4	2.5.2-2.5.4	2.7.3
3.2-3.3	4.2.14	2.5.6	2.5.6	4.2.12
4.2.11	4.2.15	2.7	2.8.1	4.2.14-4.2.15
4.3.1-4.3.2	4.3	2.8.1-2.8.7	2.8.3	4.3
4.4.2	4.3.1-4.3.2	3.2-3.3	2.8.7	4.3.1
4.4.8-4.4.9	4.3.10	4.2.5-4.2.12	3.2-3.3	4.3.10
4.5.5	4.5.1	4.2.14-4.2.15	4.2.12	4.5.1
4.5.10-4.5.12	4.5.4	4.3-4.3.3	4.2.15	4.5.4
4.5.16	4.6.1-4.6.2	4.3.5	4.3	4.5.18
4.5.18	4.7.1	4.3.9-4.3.16	4.3.1-4.3.2	4.6.1-4.6.2
4.6.1-4.6.2	4.8.2-4.8.4	4.4.2	4.3.10	4.7.1-4.7.2
4.7.1	4.8.6	4.4.9	4.4.1-4.4.2	4.8.8
4.8.6-4.8.7	4.9.1	4.5.1	4.5.1	4.9.4-4.9.8
4.9.1	4.9.3	4.5.4-4.5.5	4.5.4	4.11.2-4.11.3
4.9.5	4.9.5-4.9.8	4.5.7	4.5.18	4.11.6
4.9.7-4.9.8	4.11.2-4.11.3	4.5.10-4.5.12	4.6.1-4.6.2	4.12.4-4.12.6
4.11.2-4.11.5	4.11.6	4.5.16	4.7.1-4.7.3	4.12.8
4.11.7	4.12.5-4.12.6	4.5.18	4.8.2-4.8.9	4.12.10-4.13.1
4.12.2-4.12.3	4.12.8	4.6.1-4.6.2	4.9.1-4.9.5	5
4.12.6	4.12.10-4.13.1	4.7.1-4.8.9	4.11.6	6
4.12.8-4.13.1	5	4.9.3-4.9.5	4.12.2-4.12.4	
5	6	4.11.7	4.12.6-4.12.8	
6		4.12.2-4.12.4	4.12.10-4.13.1	
		4.12.6-4.13.1	6	
		6		

1. The 'Family Mobility Cycle' as a General Perspective

The current study is an attempt to document in considerably more detail than in the past the social consequences for a family of living in some of the polar choices in housing available to them in comtemporary metropolitan areas. Specifically, we sought to investigate the impact of high rise living in comparison with single family house living both in city centre locations and at far peripheral locations. To do this, it was necessary to investigate a wide range of behaviours and attitudes in appropriate settings at several standardized points in people's adjustment to and experience in their housing context.

Furthermore, to understand whatever role specific elements of the physical environment actually play in the lives of these people, apart from incidental relations of behaviour and spatial setting, it is necessary to understand why people choose these settings. Most Canadians have some degree of discretion in where they are to live, unlike societies in which housing is a totally random consumer item, where the consumer owes his destination to his place on a list. To understand what happens in a choice situation, one must understand what the family brings to it.

(1.1) The study data soon made apparent that the customary idea of why people move is one which has been theoretically limited in its view, and, in this regard, misleading as a basis for understanding people's experience based evaluations of their housing. Most people studying the subject have focused on the move as the main item to be explained. At different points in the historical development of cities and with differing disciplinary backgrounds these people have pursued what appear to be the most prominent reasons for all moves, as viewed on a frequency basis, and then applied

them as principles guiding all moves. Hence, at one point in time and at one place, a researcher might point to the status - conferring aspects of residential mobility. Another would discuss change of residence as a function of family life cycle. Others would focus on mobility as an answer to achieving desired social homogeneity with neighbours or the ability to fulfill a desired life style in hospitable spatial surroundings. Still others have for years focused their views of residential selection and subsequent movement on such clear-cut factors as the journey to work and ability to pay.

Although anyone who deals with housing realizes that certain life cycle events generally tend to precipitate movement, it was not until recently that theories of residential mobility took into consideration the fact that mobility may be dynamic and sequential, re-occurring without the necessity for anything as dramatic as a life cycle event.

(1.2) The perspective supported by the data in the current study is one that stresses a break from the focus on the act of moving itself. The data suggest, rather, that we focus, <u>within a given life cycle stage,</u> on where a family falls within its own successive pattern of residential movements - "family mobility cycle".

(1.3) Understanding of where a family stands within its mobility cycle adds to previous perspectives, because it accounts for the possibility of differing motives for different types of movements, for the presence or absence of satisfaction in the context in which the family experiences it (apart from the kind of absolute judgments only an outsider can make), and the ability to reconcile current opinion from long range aspirations. The

utility of this formulation is that it does not equate simple disutility with mobility, nor does it equate moving to only certain periods of life. Identification of dysfunctional situations without reading in social value is a first step to understanding the incidence and distribution of mobility.

(1.4) It is the family within the child bearing years which served as the focus for this study. This is a group whose housing welfare, not to speak of numbers, is of concern with respect to housing policy. While it is unwise to propose a perspective involving a substantive pattern which all people could be thought to follow or one containing the implication that time units are anything but highly variable from family to family, there is nonetheless some residual utility in conceiving the family mobility cycle as comprising three general stages: a. Baseline, b. Incremental Change and c. Approximation of the Ideal. Let us examine these one by one.

a. Baseline Stage

(1.4.1) That the baseline stage is the initial one it is true by definition, but this fact also has implications as to its character and to the elements of environmental choice that might be thought to take place within it. While not initial in the life of a person, it is the first one either in the formation in a family or with respect to a family's arrival within a given metropolitan area. It would be impossible for the family to benefit from the experience either of their married life together, in the one case, or of their life in the particular metropolitan area, in the other case, as guides in the selection of this stage of housing. Hence, one could conceive that the effective factors in residential choice at this stage in the family's mobility cycle are ones which would be largely dependent on non-experiential criteria: economics, contacts, and obvious place utility (such as the trip to work). There is much in the literature, for example, to indicate the importance of easy purchase and resale of homes among persons entering a metropolitan area for the first time, as well as the importance of pre-existing social contacts in the selection of initial accommodation.

(1.4.1.1) Data from this study indicates strongly that location of the work place is the major locational determinant of this stratum of persons moving to Toronto at present from out of town.

That non-experiential factors may play a larger part at this stage does not rule out other factors in any absolute sense; obviously there is always a mixture of motives at every stage. However, experiential factors may be thought to play a larger role at other stages.

b. Stage of Incremental Change

(1.4.2) At any time most people have a sense of the ideal. Ideals are frequently culturally derived and shared. Yet, most ideals are out of the range of short run attainment for most people. More typical is the goal that makes "striving for a lifetime" a frequently heard cliche.

For some years, no North American housing study has failed to show that the ideal among all subgroups of the population, no matter how defined, is the self-contained single family house, frequently in low density areas. Yet, large segments of the population do not live in such a residence now. This separation of the ideal from the current actual does not retard intermediate mobility, though. There is no reason why people cannot and do not maintain their aspirations (which the cynic might be tempted to call illusions) while making changes which incrementally satisfy pragmatic questions and problems which have arisen.

Stage II, thus, can be seen to include a number of successive strains and resolutions from the baseline stage, continuing either indefinitely or until such time as Stage III is reached. Indeed, successive iterations of Stage II can be, but do not have to be, steps in the direction of Stage III. An earlier study of mine indicates that this may be in fact the case. What Stage II suggests is that people may make a considerable number of moves over either short or in fact extremely long periods of time with serious and pragmatic intent, but without the necessity for direct bearing on those things they hold most important in housing.

c. Approximation of the Ideal

(1.4.3) While Stage III may never occur in the experience of some families, its possibility is extremely important. The chance of achieving some approximation of one's ideal is something which permits relative satisfaction with the various iterations of Stage II, even at the same time the latter may not be satisfactory in an absolute sense. Since, in fact, ideals are seldom characterized in ironclad detail, approximations of them generally tend to suffice for those in the population without previous direct contact with their ideal. One may suppose as well, that if by definition the ideal reflects those elements of habitation which people consider most important, these will be emphasized in attaining the ideal, at the possible expense of some of the important but nonetheless real factors which underly housing choice at other stages in the family mobility cycle. This would imply that some of the factors contributing to housing choice at Stages I and II will be compromised if necessary in order to achieve an approximation of the ideal in Stage III. For example, the tradeoff of travel time, which can be a major factor in Stages I and II, in order to obtain a self-contained house in Stage III, is so well known as to defy further elaboration.

The juxtaposition of Stages II and III following Stage I is highly important for several reasons. First, it may help to explain why people may operate on different rationales at different points in time.

It may also help to explain the apparent contradiction between lack of attainment of a strongly held ideal and concurrent short term satisfaction. Third, it can explain the basis for extreme and uncharacteristic (vis-à-vis the rest of the population) frustration and unhappiness among those segments of the population whose characteristics indicate to themselves a futility of ever attaining their ideal; indeed these groups may find it impossible even to consider further iterations in the Stage II cycle. This group, for example, would include many residents of public housing whose physical or occupational disabilities indicate to themselves that the public housing conferred on them to satisfy some of the major problems in their lives is in fact the end of the road in housing mobility. Under these circumstances, one can expect (and one certainly finds) any initial satisfaction replaced by strain incapable of either the Stage II incremental amelioration or the Stage III approximation of the ideal, which is available to the rest of the population. Swedish work demonstrates this point with considerable clarity.

(1.5) The importance of differentiating between Stage II and III is illustrated by a central finding in our study. Contrary to much popular opinion, the overwhelming majority of families who have moved to high rise apartments report over a year later that they are satisfied with their housing as well as with their neighbourhood and location, with only a mere handful of people reporting dissatisfaction. They are "even" well satisfied with building maintenance and credit their landlord for this. The degree of this satisfaction, as seen by the respective percentages choosing between the possible responses "very satisfied" and "mostly satisfied," is not

as strong as among those who have moved to single family homes, but it is unambiguously clear from these data that our apartment dwellers are not unhappy. It is not just a function of our particular sample, as similar sentiments were reported by the recent Social Planning Council of Metropolitan study.

(1.6) Yet, very few of them expect to remain in their dwelling units for very long. Even at the time they chose to live in high rise apartments, the great majority of them did not believe that this would be more than a temporary abode. And later, after having been subjected to the experiences which produced these statements of satisfaction, they still indicate no less resolve to move again. And their ideal move would take them to the suburban single family home serving as the public ideal for so long. In fact, 5 per cent of downtown apartment families moved to low-rise suburban housing within the year--the largest single group of movers within that time.

(1.7) The housing industry wonders whether younger apartment residents are more inclined to countenance high rise living as a more permanent venture. These data do not support this contention. If anything, the younger working couples give even stronger support to the suburban house ideal than do somewhat older families in high rise.

(1.7.1) Of relevance to other trends of thought within the housing industry is the finding that persons buying condominium apartments feel no less likely to retain their unit any longer than renters (the condominium apartment is not the solution to their ultimate needs and aspirations; it is simply a better economic deal in the interim).

(1.8) What these data indicate is that high rise apartments may serve families very well for interim periods of time, satisfying certain requirements which are quite independent from ultimate aspirations. The latter may be set aside for a period of time without prejudice or unhappiness if families know that they may eventually have the possibility of achieving them. In short, many families do not find high rise bad as long as they know it is temporary. They are in Stage II of the family mobility cycle. The reasons which bring them to high rise and which satisfy them while they are there are different reasons from those which define their aspirations and which will probably take them away from high rise. What high rise and other residents were seeking and what they found specifically contributing to their satisfaction and dissatisfaction will constitute the bulk of this report.

(1.9) In contrast, people in our study buying single family homes represent the Stage III approximation of the ideal. While these people could nonetheless identify compromises they were making (and many of these compromises were in areas where high rise movers were not compromising), as well as large numbers of post-move dissatisfactions, whose remedies are worthy of pursuit, these families were by and large <u>extremely</u> satisfied and intended to move <u>only</u> when demanded by personal and job changes, in any case in the distant future. If they anticipated moving again, it was seldom if ever to an apartment, but rather to single family homes in other locations: to a different city or to rustic splendor. While home buyers did not necessarily share identical conceptions of the ideal, as their locational and neighbourhood criteria

differed greatly along predictable downtown-suburban lines, the house represented an approximation of the societal ideal very much more than did the apartment.

(1.10) It takes the perspective of the family mobility cycle to understand how both groups of movers could be reasonably satisfied while maintaining basically the same housing aspirations, but while living in very different objective situations.

(1.11) The preceeding perspective and data suggest strongly that the provision of types of housing and location be evaluated on grounds of where they fit into a pattern of family mobility. What serves a short run purpose for that segment of the population which occupies a given housing type and location at one point in time should not be assumed as suitable for them at later points in their lives. That X number of people currently occupy, for example, high rise downtown apartments and that a cohort of Y persons with comparable characteristics will appear on the scene in ten years does not necessarily justify X plus Y number of units. In fact, in ten years, group X might be expected to be elsewhere, vacating their places for group Y.

(1.12) X plus Y units might be needed if the original X units were allowed to deteriorate. The stress placed on maintaining high rise apartments is well known. Yet, if the demand for a particular <u>type</u> of housing does not expand radically, it would seem to make much greater sense with respect to <u>urban structure</u> and <u>neighbourhood stability</u> for an emphasis to be placed on unusually high maintenance standards within existing buildings. Who wants to have families without legitimate

needs for high rise housing living there in great numbers simply because they may become the currently available slums?

(1.13) The perspective and data suggest that no single type of residence or location is suitable for the entire population or should be built in the absence of suitable numbers of alternative types. As the model suggests, the ability to reach Stage III of the mobility cycle or to think that one can is an essential requirement for potential satisfaction in Stage II, based as it is on very much more pragmatic and less value laden rationales.

(1.14) Furthermore, the perspective and data suggest that while we may justifiably consider some types of housing and location inappropriate on some grounds, the substance of which may be universally applauded, these types of environment may nonetheless fulfill certain purposes that people have of them. Families, for example, do seek downtown high rise apartments for valid reasons, despite the fact that they themselves as well as others find this form of living an abomination for child raising. The point is to take these units for what they are worth, and not to pretend that they fill some other function, even for the person selecting them for an interim period for indisputable purposes.

What people wanted from different housing types and locations and what they found while adapting to them on either a temporary or on a permanent basis are discussed in the following sections.

2. Pre-Move Characteristics as Input to Residential Change

It took the theoretical work of sociologists Wendell Bell and Herbert Gans to make clear that much of the behavior and activity which we observe in new residential settings such as suburbs may be attributable as much to the pre-existing characteristics and habits of the particular people attracted to live there as to the spatial dimensions of the setting. While the two are not unrelated to each other, indeed the opportunities of the setting serving as an attraction to the people, it is imperative to understand the particular input which people make to a residential setting, infact potentially defining the life there. Data concerning what people were like and what they both intended and expected are necessary to understand what subsequently occurred, as well as how the residents evaluated their new homes.

(2.1) The data gathered before people moved illustrates that there were distinct, qualitative differences among the people moving to the four primary categories of housing and location: apartments downtown, homes downtown, suburban apartments, and suburban homes. The distinction was not merely that of one category wanting a little more than another or of some people representing a little more of certain characteristics than others; no continuum is involved. The differences are of kind rather than amount.

(2.2) Although the major differences are among these specific residential categories, nonetheless some milder differences occur on more general house-apartment and downtown-suburb distinctions.

(2.2.1) People buying homes, for example are largely interested in increasing their amount of usable space and in either achieving or maintaining home ownership.

(2.2.2) While, by and large, they are people who feel personally similar to their neighbours, who are friendly and active with them, and who wish to move to a residence where more of the neighbours are like themselves, a noticeable minority of these people make the move in an effort to enhance their own status (i.e. they think their new neighbours are superior to themselves).

(2.2.3) Women moving to houses already spend more of their time on child care and housework than do those moving to apartments, and they expect to do more housework still in the new home; part of this difference, however, is due to the fact that fewer "house wives" hold jobs.

(2.2.4) People moving to homes are generally more fond of gardening (fortunately!).

(2.2.5) People moving to homes, even downtown homes, generally have more automobiles in the family than do people moving to high rise apartment.

(2.3.1.) In contrast, people moving to apartments (temporarily, as noted under Section 1) are primarily seeking homes with more space than they had previously; the desire for more space is not something satisfied only by single family housing, and most of our respondents satisfied needs for more residential space as a consequence of their moves, whether they moved to houses or to apartments.

(2.3.2) What those moving to apartments did not by and large satisfy was the desire to own their unit, a desire held virtually as strongly by apartment renters as by home buyers.

(2.3.3.) Although families choosing high rise apartments exhibited no unusual interests or prior participation in leisure pursuits or organizational activities, sporting facilities on the premises of most of the high rise complexes studied were important attractions to these families.

(2.3.4) While families moving to high rise apartments are every bit as social as anyone else, seeing friends as frequently and entertaining them just as much in their own homes, these friends are nonetheless not chosen among immediate neighbours, but rather are made through non-local communities of interest: school, workplace, and mutual acquaintances.

(2.3.5) This friendship pattern, as well as such attributes as less time spent on housework, is a function of the fact that many more wives living in high rise apartments hold jobs than in single family homes. Nonetheless, the particular patterns by which friends are made is one typical of men moving to high rise apartments as well. This phenomenon helps account for the anti-social image of high rise apartments. People do not associate them with friendship formation, even though these people have friends. It is just that the daily routines of the people are conducive to <u>non-local</u> friendship formation.

(2.4.1) With respect to the second general dimension, people choosing downtown locations are generally more highly educated, and both husband and wife are likely to be professionals. Even within relatively high levels of social economic status, there is a clear cut division between professionals seeking downtown locations and managers seeking suburban locations.

(2.4.2) Associated with this major difference is a set of cultural influences. Families choosing downtown locations are much more interested in cultural pastimes congruent with those physically located in downtown Toronto, in contrast to suburbanites. The latter, for example, exhibit little interest in plays.

(2.4.3) Suburbanites are normally drawn from the ranks of those already living in suburbia, from those living downtown, as well from in between areas. In contrast, few people already resident in suburban areas choose to live downtown; downtown residences are normally filled from those already downtown, from adjacent intermediate areas, and from out of town.

(2.4.4) A further characteristic of suburbanites is a high rate of automobile ownership.

As suggested earlier, however, more specific profiles may be drawn concerning the specific combinations of housing types and location.

(2.5) For example, families moving to downtown high rise apartments are relatively distinctive in several ways.

(2.5.1) Within our general range of families within the child bearing years, they are clearly younger. Although we excluded newlyweds from the sample, downtown high rise families are much less likely to include children and very much more likely to have both husband and wife at early stages in their respective careers. Our evidence indicates that the wife is more career oriented than her husband. The husbands income is relatively low, although his future prospects are good.

Although the wife's income contributes to a healthy family income, it did not count at the time of our first survey for mortgage purposes and hence toward the purchase of a home more in agreement with these people's ultimate aspirations. The recent surge in the purchase of single family homes by young childless couples, as well as the buoyant affect this has had on selling prices, is possibly related to the abolition of this discriminatory mortgage restriction.

(2.5.2) As mentioned above with respect to apartments more generally, the friendship patterns of these families are a direct function of the wife's employment, as well as the general absence of children, who frequently lead neighbours into personal contact with each other. Furthermore, in contrast with those moving to single family homes, those moving to downtown apartments feel that while their new neighbours will be economically similar to themselves, their personal characteristics will be quite different from their own; in addition to all other barriers to local friendship, this feeling is one which can be a self-fulfilling prophesy.

(2.5.3) Location is very important in the choosing of a downtown high rise apartment by these relatively affluent families. They are least likely of all the groups to own automobiles and most likely to use public transportation. Since in most cases two members of the family are employed, decent aecess to the place of work is a special consideration.

(2.5.4) Our analysis shows, furthermore, that as a consequence of their predilection for public transportation, the wives in particular have vastly higher travel times to work than do women moving to any other category of housing and location, a situation remedied by this choice of housing.

(2.5.5) Families moving to downtown apartments also seek the increased internal space and the desirable leisure facilities sought by the more general apartment moving group.

(2.5.6) Even before moving to downtown high rise apartments, the wives spend a great deal of time <u>away</u> from their homes, but this is a function not of their housing but of their employment status.

In short, families moved to downtown high rise apartments, even at the same time as aspiring toward and planning for residence in suburban single family homes, largely because these former residences were expected to satisfy a cluster of specific, time-based requirements; they gave additional space to people wishing to redress deficits concerning travel to work and active leisure activity and for whom the market was not structured to satisfy these requirements in other ways.

(2.6) Families moving to downtown single family homes have a different set of considerations.

(2.6.1) The husband is generally older and more advanced in his profession, and the wife does not work in three out of four cases.

(2.6.2) High family income is a function of the husband's earnings, which at the time qualified fully in mortgage computations.

(2.6.3) Although the usual desires for internal space and for home ownership were satisfied by downtown houses, locational elements were of considerable importance. Travel to work is somewhat less critical than it was for the downtown high rise group, since only one member of the family typically works; but nonetheless, both husband and wife are concerned in the present case with the husband having relatively easy access to his job.

(2.6.4) The families are typically drawn from elsewhere in the downtown area, somewhat more than half of them having taken the leap from rental accommodation to home ownership.

(2.7) If the familes moving to downtown homes put priority on locational requirements (although having fulfilled basic housing requirement), those moving to single family houses in the suburbs would seem to put a priority on their homes and on the characteristics of their neighbours.

(2.7.1) Most of them are moving from situations where they feel socio-economically superior to their old neighbours and to one where they feel that their neighbours are equal or superior to themselves and are personally compatible.

(2.7.2) This apparently matters, because they spend significantly more time with their neighbours and in various forms of organizational life, particularly civic groups.

(2.7.3) The status enhancing quality of the suburban single family home as compared to its purely spatial and tenure-oriented considerations, is brought out by the fact that most persons buying these homes are already homeowners in suburban and intermediate locations. The new home represents a larger dwelling in a more socially acceptable neighbourhood.

(2.8) The suburban high rise apartment represents still another contrast.

(2.8.1) The apartments are generally larger and with more bedrooms than those in the downtown areas. As should be expected, many more families with children live in these units than in downtown high rise units.

(2.8.2) These families anticipate that these units will satisfy their needs for a greater amount of space.

(2.8.3) Yet the choice of these units is generally made over such alternatives as older low rise housing units in more central areas of the city on the ground that suburban neighbourhoods are more suitable for raising children.

(2.8.4) While they do appreciate the leisure time facilities in the homes to which they are moving, these facilities may be a necessary cause of housing choice while the suitability of the neighbourhood for children may be considered a sufficient cause.

(2.8.5) Although families moving to suburban high rise apartments do see this as temporary place of residence (condominium buyers as well as renters) they are somewhat less certain than the downtown apartment renters as to how soon they will be moving.

(2.8.6) This basically reflects the low family income prevalent in this group, which in turn has narrowed (to a greater extent than is the case in the other housing and location categories) the range of alternatives in family housing available to these people.

(2.8.7) The suburban high rise is hence a compromise whose future amelioration is less certain than among our other respondents. For this reason, our suburban high rise movers were the least happy on a number of measures. They illustrate to the greatest extent possible in a sample with the characteristics of the present one the attitudes of families in Stage II of the family mobility cycle, whose movement into Phase III is potentially blocked.

(2.9) We have also assessed whether these logically apparent clusters of characteristics and expectations in fact coalesce statistically around the categories of housing and location, through the use of a rotated factor analysis, with these many variables as input data.*

The factor analysis strongly bore out what we had concluded from the use of simpler methods, even though it required reducing some variables to far simpler form. For example, among the first six factors which emerged from the analysis, five of them represented the significantly positive environmental distinctions just discussed. Factors identified families moving to 1. houses vs. apartments, 2. suburbs vs. downtown, 3. downtown houses, 4. downtown high rise apartments, and 5. suburban houses. The sixth factor was one including various elements of the husband's life style, but it did not include any aspects of housing or location in it.

While with the sheer multitude of input factors to the factor analysis, there was no expectation that any one factor would account for much variance, it is significant that an assortment of factors emerged which is fully consistent with the picture gained from two-way and three-way analyses. The one category which did not fully emerge was that describing the suburban apartment dweller, and this is not suprising due to the need on the part of these families to compromise even their interim housing expectations in all but a few respects.

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*June Steele deserves special mention in the development of the factor analysis and the statistical advice of Prof. J.C. Ogilvie, Institute of Applied Statistics, University of Toronto, is appreciated.

3. The Significance of Pre-Existing Characteristics in Specific Housing Contexts

Clearly, what people are like in a given housing context may owe a great deal to what they were like previously. This alone, however, does not mean that this is of any relevance to the physical context itself. Hence, before investigating the eventual pattern of behaviour emerging in the new residences and locations of these people, we might assess whether people who fit the main patterns among those moving to similar categories of housing and location found this related in any way to their eventual satisfaction with their new environment. Only then can we hazard whether the attraction of people with similar characteristics and attitudes was anything more than a matter of indifference with respect to the physical context of the new environment.*

(3.1) Although difficult in terms of data manipulation, it was quite simple conceptually to investigate whether people who fit the prevailing characteristics of those making a particular kind of move differed from those who did not have those characteristics, in terms of subsequent satisfaction in the new environment. This procedure

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* However, even if this were shown to be a matter of indifference in the attraction of people to a new site, knowledge that people in a particular place had certain characteristics in common and acted in certain ways is of decided relevance to future design, social planning, and the handling of problems which emerge there.

tended to validate the significance of these pre-existing differences. Metephorically, oranges were more satisfied living in orange country than were apples, and apples grew better in apple growing country than did oranges. Furthermore, some of the central motives for moving were strengthened as the consequence of their apparent place in subsequent satisfaction.

(3.1.1) For example, within families who moved to downtown high rise apartments, wives who worked (i.e. the subgroup of wives distinguishing the downtown high rise apartment families) demonstrated considerably more satisfaction with their housing after somewhat more than a year in it than did those wives without employment.

(3.1.2) Similarly, men with professional occupations were happy from the start with downtown single family homes and remained so through the period studied, in contrast to those with other occupations. Furthermore, both husbands and wives expressing a pre-existing interest in play-going demonstrate higher satisfaction with their downtown homes than do those not interested in this type of cultural pursuit, indicating that selection and subsequent appreciation of housing are not unrelated to certain aspects of life style.

(3.1.3) With respect to those moving to suburban single family homes, there was considerably higher subsequent satisfaction among both husbands and wives who at the time of their move showed that they were personally close to their old neighbours and expected to find their new neighbours even more congenial, than among those who were not "neighbourly".

(3.1.4) As the discussion in the preceeding section suggested, those moving to suburban apartments had few compellingly positive reasons for selecting their environment; they were not maximizing career, culture or contact - only decent living space in an ambiguously "suitable" location for children. It is perhaps, then, no surprise that the one major characteristic of those moving to suburban apartments related to subsequent satisfaction is interest in watching television, generally considered a residual activity; husbands and wives enjoying T.V. to a great extent before their move were subsequently more satisfied with the suburban apartment environment, in contrast to those without this interest.

(3.2) That some of these defining characteristics of those moving to different settings are in fact related to subsequent satisfaction in those settings is entirely consistent with the theoretical framework with which the study began. We argued that if the spatial characteristics of a residential setting were "congruent" with what people who live there want to do with their time and with their lives, much more satisfaction will be exhibited than when these two types of phenomena are "incongruent" with one another. The price of incongruence is dissatisfaction, but what this means in a larger context will be explored later.

(3.3) The fact that pre-existing characteristics and activities within a family are significant with respect to eventual satisfaction implies that they reflect some deeply seeded beliefs on their part.

(3.3.1) For example, in downtown high rise apartments, working wives were supported in their choice of this environment as desirable by a strong belief in achievement values.

(3.3.2) Their lack of necessity for intense neighbour relations is supported by a high rating on individualism; they hold out for compatibility rather than sheer proximity in their friendships.

(3.3.3) Within single family homes in downtown locations, husbands with professional occupations, predominantly do not believe in the widely held attitude that modern transportation developments enable suburbanites to be as close to everything one needs as anyone else. Those husbands in downtown houses most interested in culture feel similarly. Although those living in downtown homes reject the notion of high suburban accessibility rather generally, consistent with their major reasons for selecting downtown houses, this attitude is rejected most pointedly by those with the central characteristics of downtown home movers.

(3.3.4) There is similar support in the realm of values for the rationale of those moving to the two types of suburban residence. Quite apart from rationales for their specific choices, both the suburban apartment and the suburban single family people agree strongly with the attitude that children require suburban spaces for proper upbringing.

(3.3.5) Furthermore, those buying suburban single family homes demonstrate even more strongly than others the values of familism, usually operationalized in terms of the need for socially compatible neighbours.

In short, then, people's characteristics and expectations upon arrival are relevant to their satisfaction, not the least because they are supported by some of their values. That this is buttressed by spatial parameters in certain cases (e.g. the physical access to jobs and culture downtown) is highly relevant. That in other cases, major factors reflect the absence of alternative spatial opportunity (i.e. the need for social homogeneity and friendliness among suburban house dwellers who by and large are isolated from everything else) is not irrelevant.

4. The Transformation of Human Input into Post-Move Differences

That there are in fact identifiable pre-move differences among those moving to several categories of home and environment and that these pre-existing differences are in fact meaningful vis-à-vis subsequent living make the subsequent development of the pre-existing pattern certainly important to explore.

(4.1) In a nutshell, the pre-existing differences and expectations develop into patterns of behavior and adjustment with even greater differentials.

That initial patterns develop and strengthen detail with time requires breaking down our view of post move differences into a number of subsections. These include: a) social contact, (b) daily activity, leisure, and commerce (c) microscopic elements of the residential environment. All of these will be assessed with respect to their relation to expectations, their pattern of change, and their implications.

a) social contact

(4.2) Patterns of social contact expected after the move on the basis of pre-move characteristics were found in accentuated form. Noteworthy, however, is the extreme accentuation of social contact patterns among the suburban home group, which in this case is very much a function of their spatial circumstances.

(4.2.1) As expected, most families, regardless of destination housing type, found that their new neighbours were more similar to themselves than old neighbours on socio-economic criteria. Perhaps reflecting this degree of similarity, a somewhat lower socio-economic level was indicated among the neighbours of those living in apartments than among those people living in single family homes. This type of difference particularly reflects the suburban apartments dwellers themselves. For example, while neighbours of housedwellers are referred to as upper, upper middle, and middle class, only the term middle class is used to describe the neighbours of apartment dwellers. In any case, however, this does not differ from expectations.

(4.2.2) Families in single family homes turned out to be much more likely both to feel that they know what their neighbours are like and to see similarities between their neighbours and themselves with respect to personal, non socio-economic characteristics. Husbands, particularly in suburban houses, were very close in this respect with their neighbours.

(4.2.3) While, as expected, both husbands and wives feel more similar to new neighbours than old with respect to their interests, the nature

of these interests differed from setting to setting, and the only one without a pronounced pattern was the suburban apartment group, no surprise due to its lack of positive prior expectations. For example, both wives and husbands living in downtown apartments felt that they shared interests with their neighbours with respect to leisure and social life, while, consistent with their values, suburban house dwellers felt that they shared interests with their neighbours in homes and families. Consistent again with pre-move expectations, husbands living in downtown houses reinforced their emphasis on their own jobs by the fact that they felt that they shared interests with their neighbours in work; they were not aware, however, of a common interest in culture.

(4.2.4) What do these confirmations of pre-existing trends mean for actual contact? Families living in suburban houses become considerably more involved with their neighbours than do people in the other residential categories, quite consistent with the social science literature. They have much more actual contact with their immediate neighbours, and they met them there on the spot - not through other circumstances, such as the job or via mutual friends.

(4.2.5) Neighbours play a very much more important part in people's lives than mere friendship. Certain services as well are supplied by neighbours which would be embarrassing, difficult, or even impossible to receive from other persons or bodies. For example, advice, emergency

resources such as money, food, or tools, emergency babysitting, and casual companionship are frequently sought in neighbours. Suburban home dwellers received these types of assistance much more from neighbours than did the other categories of persons. Conversely, downtown apartment dwellers were typically low in turning to neighbours for these functions, while the downtown homeowners and suburban apartment residents ranged somewhere in-between, depending on the particular function in question.

(4.2.6) Although, after somewhat more than a year in their new home, most families, regardless of their type of residence, felt at ease and did not expect further changes in their habits or behaviours, families moving to homes generally took longer to adjust than did those moving to apartments, and families to suburban locations took longer to adjust than those moving to downtown locations. As this would imply, suburban house movers took the longest time to adjust, and downtown apartment movers took the least time to adjust.

(4.2.7) Neighbours are the single most helpful source of help when families attempt to adjust to their new homes.

(4.2.8) It is not surprising, then, that those moving to single family homes establish relationships with their new neighbours much <u>sooner</u> than all the others, in an effort to alleviate their more difficult adjustments.

(4.2.9) For most people, pre-existing patterns of mutual aid are very seriously disrupted by the move and largely absent at the time of the first interview following the move (2 months after). Family and friends frequently substitute for neighbours during this interim period when they can; but, by the time of the Phase 3 interview, the initial patterns were restored.

(4.2.10) The evidence indicates however, that those moving to suburban homes had worked somewhat harder in Phase 2 to reinstitute mutual aid with neighbours than did others, and in Phase 3 their patterns emphasize neighbours more than those of the families living elsewhere. That the suburban house adjustments were slow despite this kind of aid says something about their spatial situation.

(4.2.11) Although in comparison, the percentages are relatively small, those moving to apartments received some meaningful assistance in their move and adjustment from recreation centres on site.

(4.2.12) Our findings, then, are that in every respect, the residents of suburban houses parlay their own prior neighbourliness, and their expectations of the same among new neighbours, into intense and mutually beneficial friendship patterns. This does not, however, mean that those living elsewhere do not receive the same benefits from other possible sources. Those living in downtown apartments, for example, seem closer to their relatives than are other people. Those living

in downtown houses, for example, care to rely much more on friends, not neighbours.

(4.2.13) The extent of neighbourly sociability among suburban homeowners extends even to the strongest pattern of missing former neighbours following the move of record.

The importance of neighbours in the suburban house context is not unrelated to the spatial isolation of these people. This will be shown in the next section, concerned with daily activity, leisure, and commerce. That section indicates both isolation which is noted and disliked by most of the suburbanites, as well as dependence on activity which keeps women "out in the sticks" most of the time and men there during their leisure hours. Hence, the fact of interdependency among neighbours in suburban homes is a very important point, with at least several implications.

(4.2.14) First, that contact and compatibility with neighbours is something sought and realized by the suburban homeowners, who are in fact isolated and who also think themselves so, but is not emphasized to the same extent by the downtown homeowners, who value their neighbourhoods for their locational characteristics, suggests differing requirements for the social homogeneity of neighbourhoods in different gross locations vis-à-vis city centre. Neighbourhood homogeneity in suburbia may be functional, not just factual.

(4.2.15) Second, while we typically worry more about how neighbours might make more contact in apartments, the fact to be developed much more in the next section that apartment dwellers generally have more options outside their dwelling units than do suburban homeowners, indicates the need for social and design policies to alleviate suburban isolation, boredom, and the accompanying social costs. Although suburbanites turn to neighbours sooner and develop their ties stronger, their relatively high isolation from other sources of companionship and help suggests their vulnerability, as well as the extreme importance of neighbour relations. This is not the time to develop in depth the various approaches for alleviating the situation, but they include at least two opposite ways of handling the situation (which are not mutually exclusive): 1) introducing structural assistance to bring about the development of mutual aid even earlier in the process of settlement and (2) bringing other activities and land uses <u>into</u> the typical suburban neighbourhood to a greater extent than at present.

(4.2.16) I have focused on the intensive neighbouring in the suburban single house setting as a sign of vulnerability, more evidence for which was to come in the next section. This is, of course, a very different perspective taken than that of people who usually point to the absence of neighbouring in high rise apartments as an unhealthy attribute. The difference between home owners and apartment dwellers on this score is confirmed, but not with any degree of alarm with respect to residents of high rise. The latter do have close friends, do see them

just as frequently, and even entertain them in their own homes to the same extent.

Furthermore, the need to have large numbers of proximate friends is hardly clear among people who expect to change residence in the near future. In any case, their work and family situations have led them in paths that lead to friendship farther than the local, child-centred neighbourhood. While it is possible that redesigned high rise apartment buildings, which could bring people together through the provision of space symbolically regarded as neither entirely private nor entirely public (the two glaring extremes in most buildings) might be entirely desirable, it may not be as necessary as additional ways of providing for contact in the suburban home settings might indeed be, particularly in the winter.

b) daily activity, leisure, and commerce

(4.3) In Phase 3, a year and 2 months after the move, we asked people to rate on a scale from 1 to 10 how satisfied they were with the way they spent their time. Ironically, the suburban wives came out very much the lowest on this score while their husbands came out the highest. A finding like this makes us examine the round of life with a special emphasis on the spatial aspects of housing and location.

Since the suburban homeowners were seen in the last section to be of some interest in terms of physical isolation, this section on daily activity, leisure, and commerce might well start with an examination of this group. However, some elementary facts about the people

choosing to live in these different housing types must be reintroduced. Few of the wives moving to single family houses hold jobs, compared with about three quarters of those moving to downtown apartments and about half of those moving to suburban apartments. At the time they moved, the downtown apartment families were unique for the scarcity of children in their families. Hence, there were differential expectations of what people would do with their days.

Nonetheless, when considering what people "would" do with their time, we must suggest what people "could" do. In other words, to some extent the use of time, space and public facilities is affected by major life decisions (i.e. job and children) as well as by more peripheral life style components, but what is actually done must be seen through the lens of what is possible under the constraints imposed by housing type and location.

(4.3.1) We expected that the spatial constraints of high rise apartment buildings would limit the number of loud or active pursuits normally undertaken within the dwelling unit as well as the percentage of the day in which the unit is occupied, while downtown locations were thought to offer more extra-household leisure activities, compared to the typical suburban location. The specific recreational facilities of most of the generation of high rise apartments in this sample were noted as positive potential for residents of high rise.

(4.3.2) What was not taken into consideration at the outset, which bears on the unique position of the suburban single family home dweller is that the recent generation of apartments whether suburban or downtown is very likely to be accompanied by nearby or on-site commercial facilities. Although these do not offer more than convenience goods, in the typical case, this tends to make a big difference in the lives of the people who live there. For example, in the purchase of food and sundries, apartment dwellers are considerably more likely to be able to walk; forty per cent of the people moving to apartments of this study walk for their groceries, while 66% of them walk to buy sundries. Even for such convenience items, the suburban homeowners and to a much more partial extent the downtown homeowners rely on the automobile. Suburban apartment dwellers complain about certain aspects of location, but not about the convenience of their neighbourhood, while the suburban homeowners, particularly the wives, find lack of convenient local facilities a major contribution to dissatisfaction. In any case, the suburban homeowners drive the <u>furthest</u> in order to get even these most basic items.

(4.3.3) With respect to other typical trips, such as for clothing, restaurants, public entertainment, or churches, people go further afield, but with the same relative degree of difficulty. The suburban homeowner is bound to his car, while others have varying degrees of choice and in all cases less distance.

(4.3.4) Perhaps as one consequence, homeowners utilize mail order catalogues more frequently than do apartment dwellers, and their use and their use of them increases.

(4.3.5) Virtually all facilities were changed following the move, and new shopping and travel patterns had to be established by these families. Furthermore, much experimentation was done during the year, as the facilities utilized in Phase 2 interviews were only infrequently the same ones utilized a year later. Only in the case of churches did people experiment with a new facility and then to any extent go back to their pre-move facility.

(4.3.6) This generalization, of course, does not apply to those facilities which are nearly one of a kind, such as the major cultural institutions.

(4.3.7) The degree of adjustment involved is shown by a considerably higher degree of dissatisfaction with the location of commercial facilities utilized in Phase II, as compared to Phase III.

(4.3.8) In any case, dissatisfaction with distance in general and with respect to downtown, recreation, and job is markedly higher among the suburban home dwellers although it does occur to the extent cited among the suburban apartment dwellers.

(4.3.9) Oddly enough, this situation was not foreseen to any extent before the move. The selection of the suburban single family home was on the basis of space and social aspects of the neighbourhood. It fulfilled cultural housing aspirations for most of these respondents and hence fell in Stage III of the family moving cycle. In contrast,

while the downtown apartment dwellers were not satisfying their ultimate aspirations, they were choosing housing on the very grounds which the suburban home buyers were choosing to ignore.

This confirms that the selection of the ideal in a complex market may involve compromising some lower level housing requirements in order to achieve the major components of the ideal. Conversely, when families are in Stage II of the family moving cycle, they may set aside the ideal, but move in order to achieve still other criteria.

(4.3.10) The data show, for example, that suburban housewives are increasingly satisfied with the social characteristics of their neighbourhood and increasingly dissatisfied with the locational aspects of the very same neighbourhood over time. In contrast, their husbands, who expect to be out of the neighbourhood every day, and who have the added social benefits of their family's extensive contact pattern within the neighbourhood when they return, remain very pleased with their location. Although differences in overcoming the "friction" of space helps explain the situation of the individual family, of greater relevance to urban policy is the actual direction which people take. What do the paths of travel taken by these families show us about the structure of the city and its use by people living in different physical situations?

(4.3.11) Displays which show travel patterns graphically rather than statistically, indicate that people living in centre city concentrate their trips for such purposes as have been mentioned to traditional downtown destinations, with the occasional exception of a trip to a not

very outlying shopping centre such as Yorkdale.

(4.3.12) Suburbanites, particularly those living in houses, not only travel further to get to anything, but once underway are very likely to go all the way downtown. At the least, suburbanites exhibit a far greater diversity in the locations where they choose to shop for clothing or to seek entertainment. But while they may travel a healthy distance to the central core, they are not willing to travel any great distance from east to west or the reverse; disproportionately few trips cross Yonge Street.

(4.3.13) Suburban homeowners demonstrate clearly the proposition that if you are forced to use your automobile for any given function, you are likely to be selective in the choice of that function, not relying on that which is closest. These people, for example, are more likely to bypass the closest supermarket than are downtown apartment, downtown home, and suburban apartment residents, who have reasonably high access to particular stores.

(4.3.14) Similarly, the former churches to which suburban homeowners frequently return are more centrally located.

(4.3.15) Automobile-based mobility means that suburban public and commercial establishments without overwhelming immediate access to significant numbers of customers must have something special and relevant to offer, less they suffer an absence of "expected" patronage.

(4.3.16) Downtown apartment dwellers were seen to move because of a gross discrepancy in the time it took them to go to work, particularly the wives, in contrast to the others. The move satisfied this deficit, but it merely put these people into a situation where their travel times were roughly equal to (though slightly below for the wives) those of the other types of movers. Those moving to the downtown typically reduced their travel times, while suburban movers, particularly to houses, almost always increased their travel time to work. Nonetheless because of their differing modes of transportation and because of the discrepant amounts of time they took to get to work prior to the move, the end pattern is one of relative equality in travel time, even though suburban wage earners generally travel further in distance.

(4.3.17) Only a handful of people changed their jobs to fit their new residential locations.

(4.4) These kind of differences as well as their spatial referents, are further exemplified by leisure data.

(4.4.1) Among the wives, for example, organizational attendance fell off among the suburban housewives largely, they say, because of the distance from their existing organizations. They have not in the first year been as likely to locate replacement organizations in the newly developed neighbourhood, although this is something that occurs with time.

(4.4.2) In contrast, membership among those moving to apartments goes way up, largely due to the facilities available and the structures frequently established within new high density settings.

(4.4.3) Among the typical pastimes, suburban housewives are considerably higher than their downtown counterparts in their interest in playing of card games; one possible interpretation is that these games offer people who are commonly isolated the chance to while away their time.

(4.4.4) Gardening is another pattern which grows over time and which, for obvious reasons, applies to homeowners; as it affects the suburban homeowners, it is a still another force to keep them busy around their homes and not elsewhere.

(4.4.5) Suburban housewives increase the time they devote to sewing as well, not inconsistent with the foregoing.

(4.4.6) In contrast, those downtown increase in their attendance at the theatre, as their motives for moving would have suggested.

(4.4.7) The somewhat younger families in downtown high rise apartments attend extension courses more frequently, and they keep up this participation even at the same time that the percentage of persons moving to other locations decreases in this respect.

(4.4.8) One response to the hypothesized deficit of opportunity to do active work within one's own dwelling unit is the clear and marked increase in photography by those in high rise apartments over time. While not participants in other such activities as mechanical and

electrical work, or the playing of musical instruments, neither of which are terribly suited to apartment life, the appeals of photography are recognized by high rise dwellers.

(4.4.9) One major question vis-à-vis leisure is whether the attraction of on-site recreation facilities in apartments, which tenants found extremely attractive before moving, played a part in their lives thereafter.

The data show that these facilities were intensely utilized in the months immediately succeeding the move, but such usage tapered off throughout the ensuing year to a point comparable to where the people in the apartment category, particularly the downtown apartment category, were vis-à-vis the other categories of movers prior to moving.

This cannot be construed as a failure of these facilities, for the residents took the chance to satisfy what they felt had been a deficit in their lives previously; satisfying a perceived deprivation, however, does not require that one continue the redressing behaviour indefinitely. Someone not used to athletics may find a taste of it sufficient, not necessarily becoming an athlete.

(4.5) The discussion to this point has centred on specific leisure activities and on travel to typical public places. While specific activities and land uses are of interest because they are typical, widespread, and symptomatic of a family's spatial context, even more light is shed on people's experience in their residential settings by referring to their total daily life pattern.

To get at this, we solicited from the families interviewed so called "time-budget" data - a detailed accounting of what familes did on a selected weekday and Sunday, where this occurred, and with whom. Such data is helpful in gathering a simultaneous expression of human activity, its spatial parameters, and its social context.

This information indicates some of the behavioural concomitants of the conditions of varying macrospacial opportunity already noted.

(4.5.1) Suburban women in single family homes, whose life pattern does not include whatever sociability is offered through employment and who are usually physically distant from other than residential land uses, spend substantially more time by themselves during the average weekday.

(4.5.2) A longitudinal look at their use of time through the three phases of our study indicates substantial increases not only in time spent alone, but in time spent at home and watching television.

(4.5.3) Similarly, suburban housewives show increases over time in time spent in casual conversation, in visiting, and at the homes of neighbours.

(4.5.4) Spending time alone and sharing it with neighbours are both related to conditions of isolation. There is some indication however, that those women finding companionship in this situation are more satisfied with their housing situation than are those primarily going it alone. The satisfaction of their husbands, to the contrary, does not vary the same way, as employment patterns force the men to

overcome initial barriers of space; where the family does not have more than one car, he gets first crack at it.

(4.5.5) In the suburban apartment setting, in which compatibility of neighbours was not a factor in the selection of housing, where commercial distractions are more typically close at hand, and where the residents already show a strong predilection toward television in their prior life patterns, the singular noteworthy time-budget emphasis is watching T.V. It is not only high compared to all other residential categories, but it has increased substantially over time.

(4.5.6) Homeowners living downtown were maximizing their location both with respect to the husband's job (without, however, an initial disadvantage in travel), and in order to achieve the cultural benefits of downtown residence. Our data show that in Phase III those living downtown, particularly those in downtown single family homes do in fact patronize places of public entertainment most frequently, and our downtown homeowners show a considerable increase in the amount of time they spend in public places.

(4.5.7) The men in downtown houses are the only such group who, when dissatisfied, do not cite travel to work as a typical problem.

(4.5.8) In addition, husbands in downtown homes show an increase in the time they spend eating out, as compared to a similarly significant increase among the wives in downtown apartments, each reflecting the relevance to the respective sex of the respective housing choices.

(4.5.9) Those in downtown apartments show trends after a year in their new home in several respects. As expected, they are out of their dwelling units much more than the others, not the least due to the fact of the wife's employment.

(4.5.10) The fulfillment of their expectation to participate more actively in sports pursuits is not reflected in the Phase III time-budgets, because this activity was largely pursued in the early months following the move and declined steadily thereafter. Great amounts of activity were indicated in this early period by the Phase II time-budget.

(4.5.11) The downtown apartment dwellers demonstrate the greatest fulfillment of pre-existing expectations of any group with respect to pastimes (and the initial expectations were high too), with still additional families who had not indicated such expectations reporting life changes subsequently in this area.

(4.5.12) The other change which is noteworthy among the apartment downtown families is a sharp increase in time devoted to infant care. In the year following their move, it is they who had the infants and not primarily the families in other housing categories.

(4.5.13) Before leaving this section, there are several other differences in daily time usage more generally differentiating people in houses from apartments and in differing locations from each other. As one would expect, homeowners spend more time on repairs and in gardening. Contrary to their own expectations, however, these people did not end up

devoting more time to housework following the initial few months after their move, but rather the time spent in such routine domestic chores is more a function of the time that people have available to give it; working wives simply devote less time to it.

(4.5.14) Homeowners also spend more of their time shopping, although this might also be a function of greater time available due to the absence of employment.

(4.5.15) Some general differences in housing type and location apply to Sunday activity as well. Families living in homes are more likely to attend church; although their participation is not all that high, such participation is almost non-existent among the apartment dwellers, even though the latter generally find a church close to their home when they go, in contrast to the homeowners.

(4.5.16) Wives in high rise apartments (although not, for some reason, their husbands) are more likely to take excursions away from home than are other people; this is, of course, consistent with the limited opportunity for activity possible within these units, satisfied during the week days by employment, by dining out, and by television.

(4.5.17) On weekends, suburbanites seem to entertain more, while those living downtown more frequently leave their homes to window shop (on foot).

(4.5.18) In sum, the particular combination of housing type and location is important in defining the opportunities for daily activity

present in the home situation. Given the result of certain life decisions such as whether or not to work, people are exposed to conditions which enrich or impoverish their lives. The downtown-suburban difference on this score is neatly summed up in the results of two questions, in which people were asked to rank the importance of their home as opposed to their location, on the one hand, and their location as opposed to their neighbourhood on the other. Those living downtown chose the location as the more important in both cases, while those living in suburban locations chose the home in the former question and the neighbourhood in the second.

(4.6.1) It would appear that the primary benefits intended and realized by the respective environmental choices focus on the wife for the downtown apartment (to alleviate her travel time, in the perspective of her career pursuits and the postponement of children), on the husband in the downtown house (reflecting his emphasis on his job and on cultural pastimes, usually shared by his wife, but not as strongly), and on the husband for the suburban single family home (he is the one believing most strongly in the virtues of the suburban location as desirable for his family while at the same time suffering few obstacles in escaping this location to reach his daily place of employment, leaving his wife to encounter the negative aspects of this setting); just as there seemed few positive benefits presented by suburban apartment category, so too, I am unable to identify the primary beneficiary within the family.

(4.6.2) The family member who is not the primary beneficiary typically expresses more dissatisfaction with the home environment.

(4.6.3) The view of primary benefit by sex is supported by respondents' views of what personal traits best characterize themselves. It is the downtown high rise wife, not her husband, who feels "wrapped up in work" and "future oriented". It is the husband, not his wife, in downtown homes who feels "cultural", "wrapped up in work", "efficient" and "going up in the world", yet "child-oriented" and "family oriented". It is the suburban house husband, not the wife, who feels "child-oriented" "family oriented", "fashionable", "modern", "ready to help", and "easy going"; although many husbands and wives in this category feel "outgoing", a significant number of wives only feel "withdrawn".

(4.7.1) Since the apartment downtown group chose their residences with regard to leveling off (but not reducing to near zero) the wife's travel time, since the initial choice of housing was related to the curious lack of correlation between husband's income and family income (which disappears as the husband advances in his profession and as wives may take time off to raise children), since the use of on-site recreational facilities satisfied the situation of relative derivation without leaving a long term desire for such activity, since children start to arrive, and since in any case the long term aspirations of the downtown apartment residents are along the line of the suburban single family home (both as a place in itself and as a place for both grownups and children to live), then it is clear that there is very little binding these people to remain very much longer in their apartment units.

(4.7.2) This contrasts greatly with the situation among their home-owning neighbours downtown. These people have not only the housing unit which corresponds with their ultimate aspirations (as well as the desired tenure in it), but also a committment to the location based on long range interests. For example, while the downtown apartment group agrees with attitudinal statements to the effect that access in suburbia is just as convenient as anywhere else and that suburban space is superior for the purpose of raising children, downtown home-owners are unique in their disagreement with both statements.

(4.7.3) The implication of this particular difference in orientation is clear. There is no basis for expecting tenants and homeowners in the same downtown neighbourhoods to reflect common interests or even to attempt to work together for a common goal in the grass root planning receiving increasing support. They are at different stages in the family mobility cycle and their locational aspirations are different. Their concern for the future of the area in which they live is hence immensely different.

(4.8) Improvements to the problematic aspects of such macroscopic questions are apt to be general in character.

(4.8.1) Suburban wives may be encouraged (witness women's liberation) to change their life situation, so as to provide for a richer daily routine. But this avenue is of no particular interest, unless it occurs on a widespread basis, to CMHC.

(4.8.2) Second, with respect to routine convenience goods, and perhaps increasingly to others, increased communication may decentralize the commercial disadvantages of the suburban housewife (although not affecting her face to face social needs). Noteworthy here, even in advance of the implementation of wired city concepts, is the enormous increase the suburban housewives made in the use of mail order services following their move.

(4.8.3) However, with regard to neighbourhood design, plans which make it routine and easy for household members to do something, particularly of a low level commercial or recreational nature, at the least putting people into contact with others, without the use of an automobile or the need to consume time (in a predominantly cold climate) or money, to get there would make a big difference in the life of the suburban housewife. Suggestions along this line have been implemented in several recent new town projects, although only in a very few cases have the requisite services been in operation in the time right after the first residents moved, which is when they are most in need for companionship and assistance.

(4.8.4) Furthermore, at an even lower environmental scale, anything which makes it easier for neighbours in that type of setting to get together and give each other the companionship they need is bound to help. Common space (i.e. not sold or allocated for a household's exclusive use) for desired purposes (such as expensive, shared types of recreation equipment), particularly spaces which are protected from the northern climate which forces neighbours to be even more dependent upon each other for companionship in the winter months than in the

summer, while making it at the same time difficult for them to find this companionship informally in typical existing outdoor locations, would prove most helpful.

(4.8.5) Good transportation from suburbs to common downtown locations would serve a major purpose regardless of the seemingly endless proliferation of suburban commerce. Suburbanites still go to town to a great extent, particularly for recreation.

(4.8.6) Trends toward commerce in and around high rise apartments, as well as recreation facilities, should be continually encouraged. People genuinely appreciate the commercial facilities, and the importance in people's lives of the recreational facilities is greater than their apparent long term usage. Nonetheless, one should not overexaggerate the importance of these facilities in keeping a permanent clientele, particularly in downtown apartment buildings.

(4.8.7) The importance of a central location for a limited period in the family mobility cycle for downtown apartment families certainly justifies the existence of these buildings in central locations. What one must question, however, is the absolute size of the submarket for the buildings, as the need for such units on locational grounds among married couples is apt to be short, with these tenants replaced by others moving into a period of locational need. Demographic analysis may indicate, in addition, that the current cohort of users has been inflated by the wartime and postwar baby booms.

(4.8.8) Among downtown homeowners, however, these locational needs are not only more permanent, but more paramount. With an increase

in the general educational and occupational level in society, and particularly large cities, one should expect the number of people seeking such units to increase. Hence the necessity to take seriously the cause for preservation of existing downtown housing. The need to channel the development of downtown high rise into outmoded commercial or manufacturing areas is crucial. While downtown apartment residents have just as much right as homeowners to live in what they consider a good location, even for a short period of time, and while much good is done by their living there,since they minimize rampant automobile pollution of the city, their restriction to areas of commercial redevelopment is a necessity since the ability to construct any major number of new single family homes or even townhouses near the centre is most limited. Only preservation and rehabilitation of the older stock offers any hope of a reasonable number of units available to that subsegment of the population placing a strong value on both low rise housing and on central location.

(4.8.9) All measures which enhance the vitality of the downtown area for commerce and for recreation should be encouraged. This may be good for local taxes, but it is much more as well. It provides an attraction for a stable residential population, and it continues to serve as a magnet for a much more dispersed population, whose numbers in downtown areas help provide for vitality and safety on the streets. These data make clear that suburbanites do go downtown, despite the distance involved.

While the concentration on social contact and on leisure, daily activity, and travel deal with the macroscopic elements of housing, we must turn to a longitudinal analysis of the expectations and the evaluations of our families in order to ascertain information about microscopic elements of the home, as well as the ultimate relevance of this level of user needs in the larger scheme of things.

c) microscopic aspects of the residential environment

(4.9) The preceding discussions have dealt with environmental change and its relationship with major behavioural components of the lives of family members. Satisfaction in housing, however, may be made up not only of effects of major activities which interrelate with spatial opportunities, but also in more direct reaction to the particular internal components of the dwelling unit. Hence, we investigated the relationship of people's reactions to microscopic components of the housing unit, and we compared them to those they expected before their move. We investigated as well the importance attached to specific elements of the micro-environment and their place in people's overall patterns of mobility.

(4.9.1) First, there was a major difference in the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with specific components of housing according to a division between those living in downtown apartments as opposed to everyone else. Families living in downtown apartments, for example, were uniquely likely to complain that their dwelling unit was too small, that they had too few bedrooms, that they had too little storage space, that the size of the existing rooms was too small, and that the layout

of the rooms was not optimal. That they felt this way did not mean that people in other categories did not feel the same way; simply a significantly higher percentage of people living in downtown apartments complained about their unit on these grounds.

(4.9.2) Those in suburban apartments joined their counterparts downtown in complaining about interior noise and management practices, although they were by and large satisfied with the managements' maintenance activities. The suburban apartment group were also most likely to complain about the quality of construction of the unit as well as about the adequacy of the mechanical features of their buildings, such as lighting, laundry and kitchen facilities (those in downtown single family homes which tended to be older agreed on this latter point.) Although these were the complaints most identifiable as applying primarily to the suburban high rise, those living there were most likely to complain. This may be related to their greater degree of blocked mobility in part.

(4.9.3) The major complaints of suburban single family home residents had to do with the exterior of their homes, in that they preferred larger plots of land and more pleasing neighbourhood aesthetics. Most of their complaints were related more to their location.

(4.9.4) The only complaint of any distinction voiced by those living in downtown single homes was difficulty in finding adequate parking space.

(4.9.5) Satisfactions tended to complement dissatisfactions. People living in single family homes generally found them large enough , as did many living in suburban apartments. All but the downtown apartment residents were relatively well satisfied with the number of bedrooms, with the amount of storage space, with the room size and layout, and with the appearance of their building, although the first three are leading sources of complaint among the dissatisfied clients.

(4.9.6) Those in suburban homes were generally most satisfied with the number of baths in their dwelling units, followed by downtown homes and suburban apartments relatively equally, and downtown apartments somewhat less again.

(4.9.7) Although some suburban apartment dwellers had expressed dissatisfaction with the mechanical equipment in their buildings, many others were satisfied with it; only those buying downtown houses did not express any great amount of satisfaction with mechanical equipment in their homes.

(4.9.8) People living in apartments expressed satisfaction with the lack of need to make repairs themselves.

(4.10) For the most part, there was considerable agreement between husbands and wives on the satisfactoriness or unsatisfactoriness of these elements of the micro-environment.

(4.11.1) Comparing pre-move expectations to post-move satisfactions indicates an extremely high degree of success in satisfying pre-move spatial demands. One must remember that pre-move data indicated that

most families had matters of internal space underlying their move at least in part, regardless of whether they were choosing to live in homes or apartments. Data gathered after they made these moves indicates that those persons who had expected a change for the better having to do with internal space in the dwelling units almost all expressed subsequent satisfaction along those lines. This "success" was realized already in Phase II immediately following the move. Only the husbands in families moving to downtown high rise apartments did not find the improvements in interior space which they expected, though their wives, whom we expect were the primary instigators of the move, did find them.

(4.11.2) In addition, many other people who had not stated prior expectations about unit interiors found aspects of the space and layout worthy of positive mention following the move. Regardless of the type of housing or location involved, interior space was a source of positive reaction shortly after the move.

(4.11.3) In the case of the wives within these families, appreciation for many of these aspects of interior space continues through to the time of our interview a year and 2 months following their move. Their husbands, on the other hand peaked in their appreciation of interior elements of the housing during the period right after the move; only in the case of the suburban home did elements of the interior serve as a constant satisfaction past the period of immediate adjustment to the home. This contrasts, for example, to their appreciation of the social characteristics of their neighbourhood which grew in time.

(4.11.5) Reactions to the more external features of the dwelling units (i.e. grounds, recreation facilities, etc.) differed more sharply by housing types. As was indicated by their leisure behaviour, residents of apartments found that their expectations of on-site recreational facilities were highly satisfied (although not as highly as were their demands for internal space), but in the longer perspective, they lost interest in these facilities.

(4.11.6) The wives in single family homes, perhaps due to an immediate preoccupation with the larger interior they had to cope with, began to express satisfaction with various aspects of the exterior only over a longer span of time, and their initial level of satisfaction was not as high. Husbands in downtown homes followed the same pattern, but their counterparts in the suburbs were less likely to express satisfaction with the exterior aspects in the longer range perspective.

(4.11.7) In short, interior facilities and spaces are a <u>short run</u> source of great satisfaction, as are the more external facilities in high rise apartments. This would tend to validate the emphasis which apartment developers feel they must place on these elements as part of their <u>promotion</u> activities. This finding also indicates why, together with all of the considerations apparent in the family mobility cycle, these elements are irrelevant to the <u>retention</u> of tenants in a building.

(4.12.1) That expectations were by and large fulfilled does not mean that people had not made compromises at the time of their housing choice or that their subsequent expressions of dissatisfaction were unimportant.

In fact, most post-move dissatisfactions were not pre-move compromises, and they tend to increase in number with time.

(4.12.2) Almost half the families in downtown apartments, for example, claim that the storage space in their dwelling units is inadequate, and over 80% of those who expressed this dissatisfaction feel that this is an "important" problem. Likewise, more than 20% of the people in this category cited problems with respect to the size of their dwelling unit, the number of bedrooms, the size of the rooms, noise transmission, and cost, and more than 50% feel that these problems are important.

(4.12.3) Among suburban apartment families, storage space, cost, and noise transmission, were again problems as was the nature of in-home equipment, and again more than 50% of these people feel these matters are important (in fact upwards of 60 to 75%).

(4.12.4) While persons who had moved to single family homes downtown also cited problems, they were somewhat less apt to think them as important as the apartment residents thought their problems. For example, adequate parking space and small outside grounds were both found unsatisfactory but not thought terribly important by most people. Inadequacy in the number of bathrooms and with respect to in-home equipment were only considered important by only about half of those mentioning them. Only housing costs and storage space were considered important problems by those in downtown houses.

(4.12.5) Among the suburban homeowners, microscopic dissatisfaction was found commonly with respect to storage, cost, size of grounds, internal noise transmission, and the neighbourhood; but only cost was found important by any great majority of people.

(4.12.6) The major contrast between homes and apartments is seen in the potential disposition of these problems by those who find them important. Those living in apartments feel that they cannot do anything about any of the problems they identify without moving. In contrast, those living in single family homes feel that they can indeed remedy most of these problems themselves, with the sole exceptions of cost, grounds, and neighbourhood.

Looking at these problems one by one, one may ponder the fact that so little flexibility is present in apartments. It is, of course, not guaranteed that tenants would chose to make alterations if they had the chance; it may well be easier to move, and it is evident that they have no great intention to stay. Nonetheless, the point is that few physical adjustments can be made by apartment tenants to ease what dissatisfactions they may have, while homeowners are largely free to alleviate their problems.

(4.12.7) Parallel to the greater dissatisfaction we have discussed as present among those whose housing mobility is blocked, the higher level of importance attributed to common problems by people who feel they cannot remedy them is perhaps understandable.

(4.12.8) Nonetheless, difficulties with macroscopic aspects of housing cannot on the basis of this evidence be construed as major problems. No sizable proportion of homeowners feel that they would move as a consequence of any of these problems. None of these microscopic problems experienced by suburban apartment dwellers would lead very many of them to move.

(4.12.9) Only among the downtown apartment residents did any of these problems seem a reason for moving to as many as 50% of those who identified the problem as important. Furthermore, since the husband was less likely to have these considerations meet his expectations than his wife, it is not surprising that he is the one more likely to consider making a further move. He would do so on grounds of the size of the dwelling unit, the number of bedrooms, and the size of the rooms, while his better half would do so only on the size of the dwelling unit. This intrafamilial difference is particularly significant in the light of the wife's major influence in selection of the dwelling unit.

(4.12.10) The relative insignificance of these microscopic factors in the larger picture of residential change and mobility is indicated by the fact that while only some of the apartment dwellers would consider moving on the basis of some of the dissatisfactions they had with elements of their dwelling units, most of them had intended to move again in the first place. In other words, it did not take these dissatisfactions to make them want to move and most of these dissatisfactions do not have that effect.

While facilities should be as good as we know how to make them for all who use them and while every effort should be made to produce features which will provide for continual satisfaction among those families, however few, who choose high rise apartment living for the long run, these data do not indicate frightening or unbearable inadequacies at present concerning the internal features of new housing units.

(4.12.11) The terrible difficulties would occur if the residents had no hope of further mobility. Then the high rise residents, quite able to identify problems of importance, would have the "natural" solution to these problems removed, and the existing dissatisfactions would become intolerable.

(4.13.1) For most of those living in apartments the intention to change residence again is not one focused in the long run on remedying specific internal dissatisfactions, but rather, as stated at the beginning of this report, it involves the change both of housing type (to the single family home) and of tenure (to buy this unit). Hence, we should predict that those in downtown apartments who beget children will by and large move to suburban locations and toward detached homes, provided that the husband's earning capacity increases normally. If both partners are professionals, or if they already have children, they are likely to move to a <u>downtown</u> single family home.

(4.13.2) Among those in suburban apartments, repeat moves are not expected to the same extent as quickly in time, but such moves would be expected strictly within the suburban location among those whose incomes advance more rapidly than the average; others would remain in high rise or in an economical form of alternative suburban housing.

(4.13.3) Moves among those who have bought new suburban single family homes would be expected only in the cases of persons moving to other cities or whose job has so decentralized within the Toronto area that they could live in a truly pastoral setting without great inconvenience; a few moves might be expected among those disliking the social composition of their new neighbourhoods.

(4.13.4) Mobility would be expected in the same amount and for the same reasons among those who have purchased "used" suburban houses, as well as by those of them who have increased in income enough to be able to buy larger housing in more prestigious areas.

(4.13.5) We would expect mobility among the downtown homeowners only to another city or to an adjacent neighbourhood within downtown Toronto (but to a similar type of housing with perhaps greater space).

(4.13.6) Dramatic changes in a family's major characteristics or in their behavioural priorities would lead to unexpected types of moves.

5. How People Found Their Housing

(5.1) People spend longer, on the average, in deciding to look for new housing than they do in actually searching for, inspecting, and choosing it.

(5.2) Searches for housing were generally short, although in a few cases they lasted up to two years or more. Apartments are generally chosen quickly, regardless of the current type of residence. Those taking the greatest time are those moving from a multiple dwelling to a house.

(5.3) Those choosing houses confine their search largely to houses, not high or low rise apartments. Those eventually choosing high rise inspect both houses and low rise apartments as well.

(5.4) The primary sources of information when searching for housing were newspapers, real estate agents, and simply driving around. Less than five per cent of all movers mentioned the reputation of developers and builders as a point of reference in housing choice, despite extensive advertising.

(5.6) With regard to the effective sources of information (that leading to the choice itself), real estate agents were somewhat more effective in the discovery of single houses than were either newspapers or driving around, although they did not speed up the search process. Newspapers were highly effective in apartment selection, particularly among those crossing over from houses. Driving around is particularly salient among suburban movers.

6. Some General Implications

In sum, the most frightening element emerging at present is not so much how developers are building their projects today, but rather the distribution of different types of housing units which are being completed. Condominium high rise apartments are not substitutes for the spatial components of single family homes. If the annual number of housing starts continues to include a higher and higher percentage of high rise housing and a smaller and smaller percentage of single family housing, then not only will much of the new housing be inappropriate, but that high rise housing which already exists will be considered more and more negatively by those who live within them.

In short, high rise housing as currently chosen and utilized by many of its family residents serves a limited purpose for a limited period. Should the Government and the housing industry not realize the context within which this product falls and continue to be guided by free-market induced land values, toward the unlimited production of high-rise apartments in metropolitan areas as the major answer to the need for more dwelling units, then it will be sowing the seeds of its own destruction. Government land banks which allow land to inflate and merely offer different terms for its eventual allocation do not attack the problem.

Right now, much of the shrill criticism against high rise may be unfounded when applied to groups with some degree of rational choice and whose mobility from Stage II to Stage III of the family moving

cycle is unimpeded. Should this situation change, and the complex arrangement whereby people sort themselves into appropriate housing for appropriate lengths of time break down, then increasing verity may underly the accusations made against high rise. We may need a higher percentage of single family houses than current trends indicate if only to enable people more satisfaction in their apartments.

If CMHC wishes to, it can control the percentage distribution of types of new housing constructed. The stakes are great for all concerned.

APPENDIX

A Light Sampling of Typical Documentation

Wife's Feelings About Present Home by Current Housing Type and Location in Phase 3

	Definitely Satisfied	Mostly Satisfied	Not Satisfied Not Dissatisfied	Definitely or Mostly Dissatisfied	(100% =) Number of Wives
Apartment Downtown	23.8	64.2	6.0	6.0	67
House Downtown	54.7	42.9	0.0	2.4	78
Apartment Suburbs	26.8	56.9	12.4	3.9	198
House Suburbs	50.6	45.7	3.1	0.6	218
TOTAL					561

Husband's Feelings About Present Home by Current Housing Type and Location in Phase 3

	Definitely Satisfied	Mostly Satisfied	Not Satisfied Not Dissatisfied	Definitely or Mostly Dissatisfied	(100% =) Number of Husbands
Apartment Downtown	20.4	64.7	11.1	3.8	54
House Downtown	54.8	42.9	0.0	2.4	42
Apartment Suburbs	26.8	56.9	12.4	3.9	153
House Suburbs	50.6	45.7	3.1	0.6	162
TOTAL					411

Possibility of Wife's Moving Within Next Five Years By Current Housing Type and Location in Phase 3.

	Very Great	Possible	Not Likely	Don't Know	(100% =) Number of Wives
Apartment Downtown	75.0	18.8	3.1	3.1	64
House Downtown	9.0	25.6	64.1	1.3	78
Apartment Suburbs	52.1	36.6	9.8	1.5	194
House Suburbs	13.3	26.1	60.1	0.5	218
TOTAL					554
No Answer and Not Applicable					39

Wife's Expectation of Moving In Next Year By Current Housing Type and Location in Phase 3.

	Yes	No	Don't Know	(100% =) Number of Wives
Apartment Downtown	50.8	44.6	4.6	65
House Downtown	4.1	93.2	2.7	74
Apartment Suburbs	37.0	57.7	5.3	189
House Suburbs	6.6	91.9	1.5	197
TOTAL				525
No Answer and Not Applicable				68

Possibility of Husband's Moving Within Next Five Years By Current Housing Type and Location in Phase 3.

	Very Great	Possible	Not Likely	Don't Know	(100% =) Number of Husbands
Apartment Downtown	83.6	14.5	1.8	0.0	55
House Downtown	15.6	37.8	46.7	0.0	45
Apartment Suburbs	57.0	31.0	12.0	0.0	158
House Suburbs	14.6	29.3	54.3	1.8	164
TOTAL					422
No Answer and Not Applicable					169

Husband's Expectation of Moving In Next Year by Current Housing Type and Location in Phase 3.

	Yes	No	Don't Know	(100% =) Number of Husbands
Apartment Downtown	48.1	50.0	1.9	54
House Downtown	9.3	88.4	2.3	43
Apartment Suburbs	38.2	60.5	1.3	152
House Suburbs	7.2	91.4	1.3	152
TOTAL				401
No Answer and Not Applicable				192

Reasons the New Home was Chosen by Destination Environment, Husband, Phase I

	Unit Interior	Unit in Immediate Exterior Setting	Dwelling Unit	Neighbourhood and Intermediate Environment	Home as Household Terminal	Number of Responses
Apartment Downtown	14.4	21.2	12.6	23.4	28.4	222
House Downtown	22.0	12.6	11.9	31.4	22.0	159
Apartment Suburbs	18.2	26.1	13.2	19.9	22.6	522
House Suburbs	40.5	11.1	8.3	24.5	15.6	350
Suburban Resale	27.8	15.7	21.3	26.9	8.3	108
TOTAL						1361

Reasons the New Home was Chosen by Destination Environment, Wife, Phase I.

	Unit Interior	Unit in Immediate Exterior Setting	Neighbourhood and Intermediate Environment	Home as a Household Terminal	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	22.9	24.0	26.2	26.9	279
House Downtown	26.4	21.9	30.6	21.1	265
Apartment Suburbs	26.2	28.4	21.9	21.3	729
House Suburbs	46.3	13.8	21.1	18.8	536
Suburban Resale	36.5	24.1	22.4	17.1	170
TOTAL					1979

Travel Mode to Work of Wives by Current Location (Phase 1)

	OWN CAR	PUBLIC TRANSPORT	CAR & PUB. TRANSPORT	WALK	OTHER	NUMBER OF RESPONSES
Downtown	25.0	53.1	3.1	10.4	8.3	96
Suburbs	77.8	7.9	6.3	3.2	4.8	63
Other Metro	50.0	29.2	7.5	8.3	5.0	120
Out of Metro	65.6	12.5	6.3	3.1	12.5	32
TOTAL						311

Travel Mode to Work of Husbands by Current Location (Phase 1)

	OWN CAR	PUBLIC TRANSPORT	CAR & PUB. TRANSPORT.	WALK	OTHER	NUMBER OF RESPONSES
Downtown	55.8	27.3	4.1	9.3	3.5	172
Suburbs	85.2	6.0	3.3	0.5	4.9	182
Other Metro	79.8	15.1	1.6	1.6	2.0	252
Out of Metro	73.0	15.3	4.5	3.6	3.6	111
TOTAL						717

Present Tenure of Wife By Destination Environment
Phase I

	Own	Rent	(100% =) Number of Wives
Apartment Downtown	3.7	96.3	109
House Downtown	43.0	57.0	93
Apartment Suburbs	12.1	87.9	280
House Suburbs	63.5	36.5	208
Suburban Resale	54.0	46.0	63
TOTAL			753
No Answer and Not Applicable			8

Percentage of Working Wives' Satisfaction Compared to Non-working Wives' Satisfaction Phase 3, for Apartments Downtown

	Number of Satisfactions					
	0	1 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	over 20	(100% =) No. wives
Working wives	6.6	21.3	27.9	23.0	21.3	61
Non-Working wives	5.6	33.3	38.9	16.7	5.6	18
TOTAL						79

Percentage Satisfactions of People Living in Houses Downtown Who Have Above Average Interest in Watching Plays, Theatre Compared To Those With Below Average Interest.

Wife	Number of Satisfactions (Phase 2)				(100% =)
	0	1 - 10	11 - 20	over 20	No. of Wives
Below Average Interest	43.3	10.0	36.7	10.0	30
Above Average Interest	18.0	8.0	44.0	30.0	50
TOTAL					80

Husband	Number of Satisfactions (Phase 2)				(100% =)
	0	1 - 10	11 - 20	over 20	No. of Husbands
Below Average Interest	39.6	8.3	33.4	18.8	48
Above Average Interest	9.4	9.4	53.1	28.1	32
TOTAL					80

Percentage of Responses Showing People's Ratings Of the Value Familism, by their House and Location Type.

Wife

	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	67.9	8.9	23.2	203
House Downtown	65.8	9.2	25.0	240
Apartment Suburbs	67.1	9.4	23.4	594
House Suburbs	74.9	7.4	17.8	651
TOTAL				1688

Husband

	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	60.8	11.7	27.5	171
House Downtown	68.7	9.7	21.6	134
Apartment Suburbs	75.9	7.8	16.3	477
House Suburbs	75.0	9.1	15.9	504
TOTAL				1286

Percentage satisfactions of people in suburban apartments with above average interest in watching T.V. compared with those with below average interest.

WIFE

	Number of Satisfactions			
	1-10	11-15	16 and over	(100% =) No. of Wives
Below Average Interest	20.4	22.4	57.2	147
Above Average Interest	15.6	20.8	63.7	77
TOTAL				224

HUSBAND

	Number of Satisfactions (Phase 3)				
	1-10	11-15	16-20	over 20	(100% =) No. of Husbands
Below Average Interest	21.7	17.8	27.9	32.6	126
Above Average Interest	20.8	12.5	20.8	45.8	48
TOTAL					174

Number of Traits held in Common with New Neighbours by Current Housing Type and Location. (Phase 3)

WIFE

	1 - 3 Traits	4 - 5 Traits	6 - 7 Traits	Over 7 Traits	Number of Responses
Apartment Downtown	46.2	29.2	18.5	6.2	65
House Downtown	39.7	20.5	12.3	27.4	73
Apartment Suburbs	42.0	19.7	16.0	22.3	188
House Suburbs	19.2	23.0	18.3	39.4	213
TOTAL					539

HUSBAND

	1 - 3 Traits	4 - 5 Traits	6 - 7 Traits	Over 7 Traits	Number of Responses
Apartment Downtown	63.5	19.2	9.6	7.7	52
House Downtown	57.5	15.0	5.0	22.5	40
Apartment Suburbs	50.7	18.8	13.0	17.4	138
House Suburbs	21.5	27.6	16.0	35.0	163
TOTAL					393

Could You Expect Advice About a Job From Your Neighbours in Phase 3 by Current Housing Type and Location?

	Wife			Husband		
	Yes	No	No. of Responses	Yes	No	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	16.4	83.6	55	13.5	86.5	37
House Downtown	23.1	76.9	52	11.4	88.6	35
Apartment Suburbs	27.0	73.0	137	23.0	77.0	100
House Suburbs	31.6	68.4	158	24.6	75.4	122
TOTALS			402			294

Could You Expect to Borrow Cash From Your Neighbours in Phase 3 by Current Housing Type and Location?

	Wife			Husband		
	Yes	No	No. of Responses	Yes	No	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	38.2	61.8	55	39.1	60.9	46
House Downtown	60.4	39.6	53	63.9	36.1	36
Apartment Suburbs	51.3	48.7	158	49.3	50.7	136
House Suburbs	66.2	33.8	148	68.1	31.9	116
TOTALS			414			334

Could You Expect to 'Shoot the Breeze' with Your Neighbours in Phase 3 by Current Housing Type and Location?

	Wife			Husband		
	Yes	No	No. of Responses	Yes	No	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	44.1	55.9	59	43.8	56.3	48
House Downtown	43.4	56.6	53	50.0	50.0	36
Apartment Suburbs	66.4	33.6	146	66.4	33.6	122
House Suburbs	74.5	25.5	145	85.0	15.0	107
TOTALS			403			313

Could You Expect to Borrow Food (Wife) or a Tool (Husband) From Your Neighbours in Phase 3 by Current Housing Type and Location?

	Wife			Husband		
	Yes	No	No. of Responses	Yes	No	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	71.9	28.1	32	62.8	37.2	43
House Downtown	81.8	18.2	33	82.1	17.9	28
Apartment Suburbs	76.9	23.1	108	76.4	23.6	106
House Suburbs	95.1	4.9	103	97.8	2.2	90
TOTALS			276			267

Could You Expect Your Neighbours to Ever Take Care Of Your Children in Phase 3 by Current Housing Type and Location, Wife?

	Yes	No	No. of Responses
Apartment Downtown	17.3	82.7	52
House Downtown	36.5	63.5	148
Apartment Suburbs	39.4	60.6	462
House Suburbs	40.7	59.3	555
TOTAL			1217

Length of Time to Feel at Ease After Moving by Current Housing Type and Location (Phase 3)

	ONE WEEK	ONE WEEK TO ONE MONTH	ONE - THREE MONTHS	FOUR MONTHS-YEAR	(100% =) NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS
WIFE					
Apartment Downtown	32.3	30.6	22.6	14.5	62
House Downtown	31.0	16.9	23.9	28.2	71
Apartment Suburb	25.5	27.7	20.2	26.6	188
House Suburb	20.5	18.5	22.0	39.0	200
TOTAL					521
No Answer					70
HUSBAND					
Apartment Downtown	24.5	34.7	24.5	16.3	49
House Downtown	25.6	25.6	20.9	27.9	43
Apartment Suburb	30.8	29.4	22.4	17.5	143
House Suburb	28.8	24.1	16.3	30.7	153
TOTAL					388
No Answer					203

Wife's Mode of Transport for Groceries by Current Housing Type and Location (Phase 3)

	Own car	Walk	Other	Number of Responses
Apartment Downtown	48.8	40.9	10.2	127
House Downtown	75.6	15.0	9.5	127
Apartment Suburb	59.9	38.1	2.0	362
House suburb	93.2	5.2	1.6	366
TOTAL				982

Could the Place Be Better Located for Groceries, Sundries, Clothes, Church, Restaurants, and Public Entertainment by Current Housing Type and Location, Wife, Phase 3

	Groceries			Sundries			Clothes		
	Yes	No	Number of Responses	Yes	No	Number of Responses	Yes	No	Number of Responses
Apartment Downtown	10.3	89.7	126	5.1	94.9	98	10.7	89.3	122
House Downtown	25.6	74.4	125	17.0	83.0	94	10.9	89.1	129
Apartment Suburbs	20.1	79.9	358	13.7	86.3	262	24.9	75.1	345
House Suburbs	24.2	75.8	359	22.3	77.7	274	20.7	79.3	381
TOTAL			968			728			977

	Church			Restaurants			Public Entertainment		
	Yes	No	Number of Responses	Yes	No	Number of Responses	Yes	No	Number of Responses
Apartment Downtown	10.5	89.5	19	8.4	91.6	107	7.8	92.2	102
House Downtown	21.2	78.8	33	6.1	93.9	99	11.4	88.6	88
Apartment Suburbs	27.4	72.6	73	17.6	82.4	273	22.2	77.8	207
House Suburbs	35.1	64.9	111	13.0	87.0	324	13.5	86.5	260
TOTAL			236			803			657

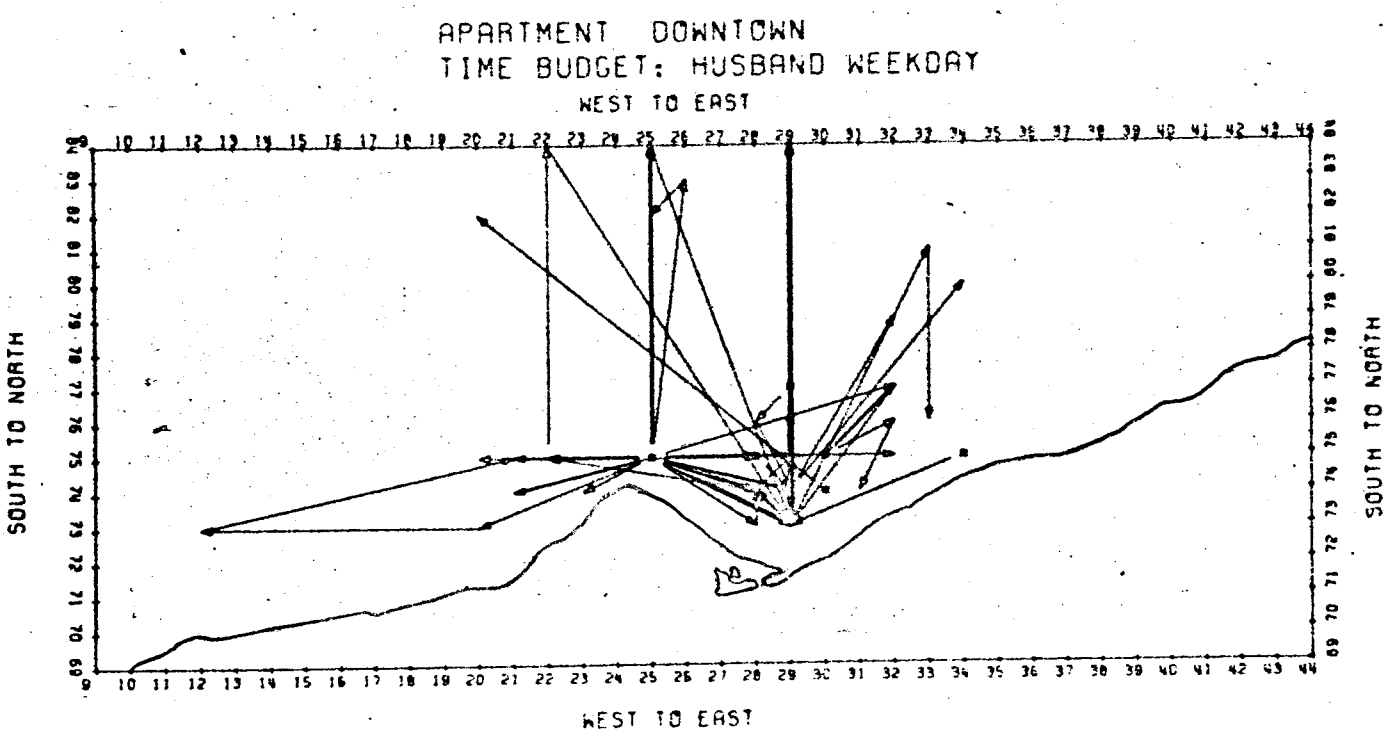
Frequency With Which Wife Placed Mail or Telephone Orders by Current Housing Type and Location - Phase 3

	Once/Wk or More	Several Times /Month	Once/ Month	Several Times /Year	Once/Yr or Less	No. of House-holders
Apartment Downtown	4.3	5.8	18.8	13.0	58.0	69
House Downtown	16.7	11.5	16.7	14.1	41.0	78
Apartment Suburb	2.5	11.6	19.3	14.1	52.4	198
House Suburb	11.9	23.3	21.0	16.7	26.7	210
TOTAL						555
No Answer or Not Applicable						38

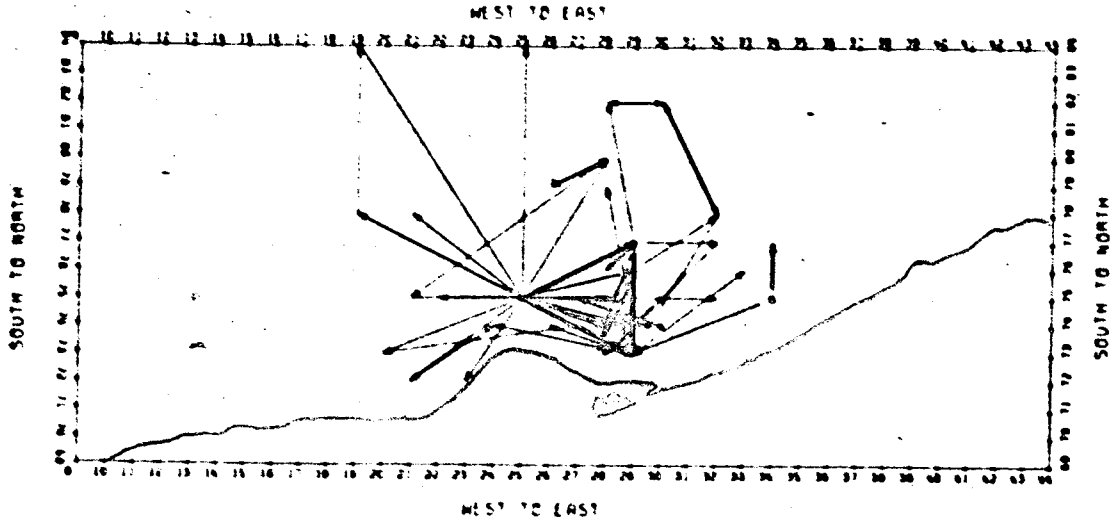
Direct Line Travel Paths

(Xeroxed from photographic copies of microfilm records)

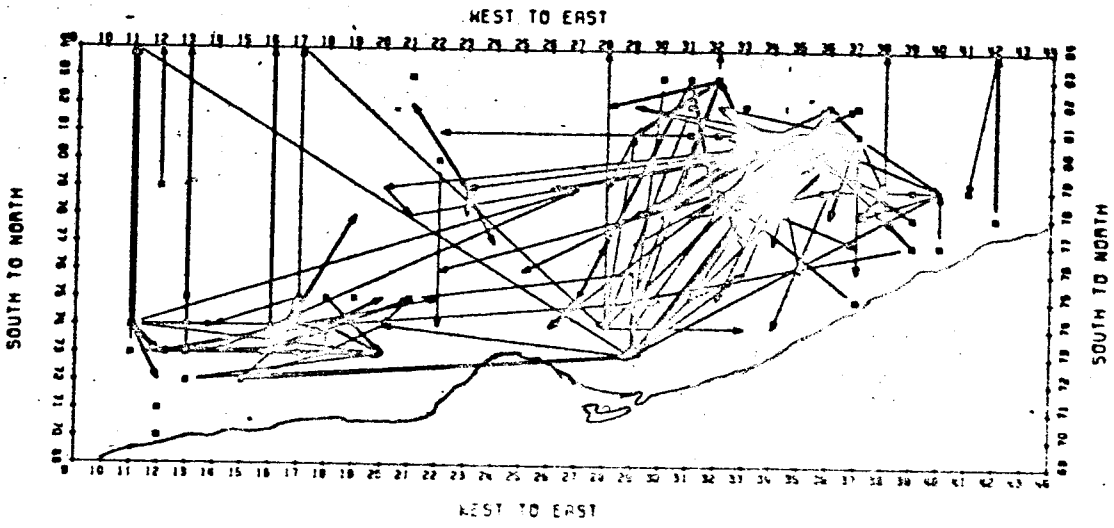
The following displays are but a small sample of maps, indicating only a few findings on general use of city territory, computed with the assistance of a Cal-Comp plotter. The darker the travel path, the origin, or the destination on these displays, the more common they were. A final report will utilize a wider range of materials, presented by a more appropriate process.



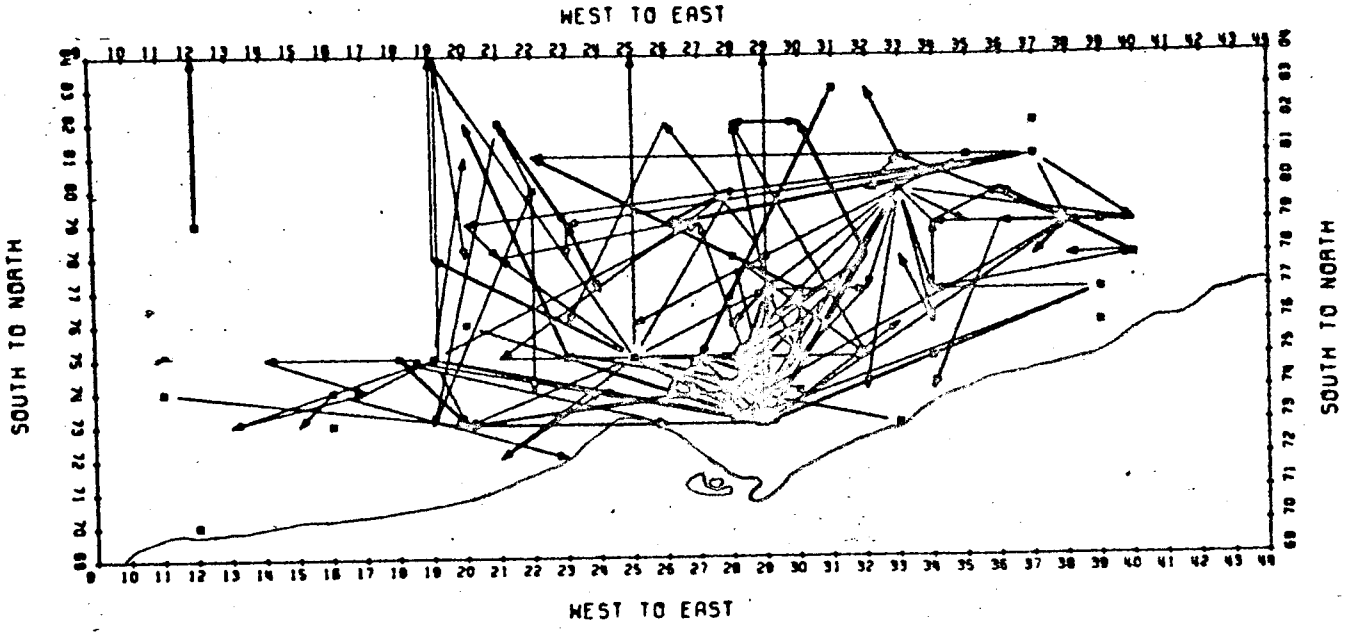
APARTMENT DOWNTOWN
TIME BUDGET: WIFE WEEKDAY



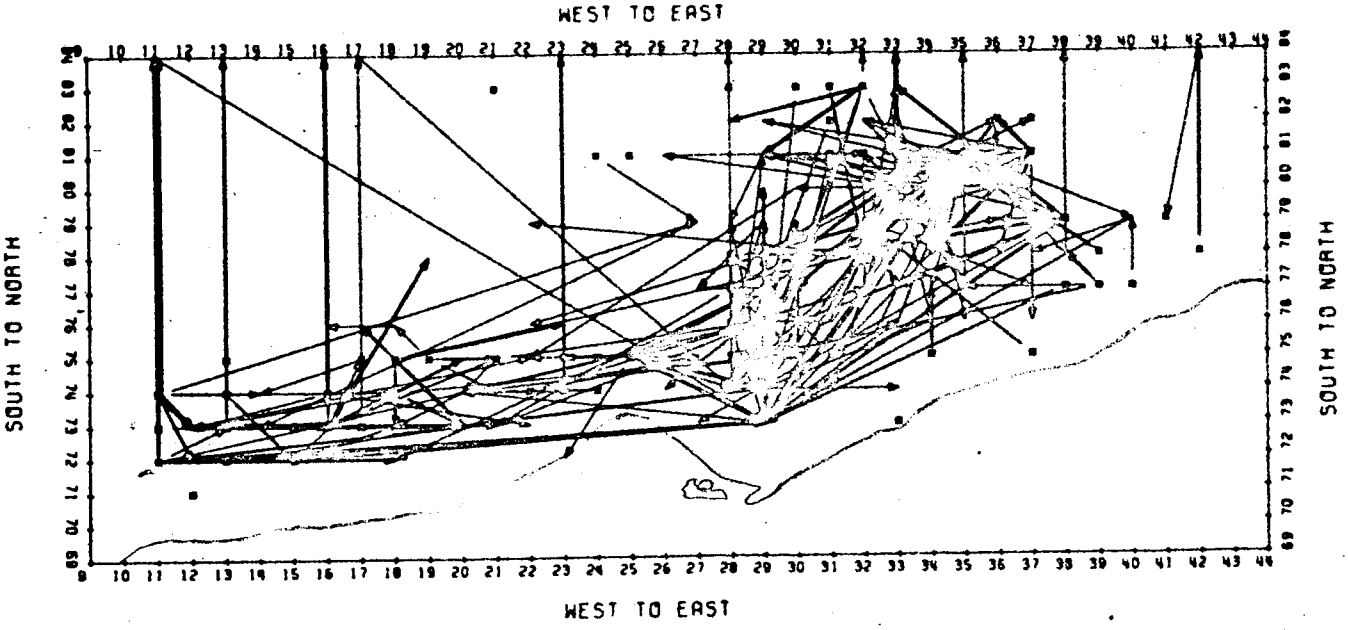
HOUSE SUBURBS
TIME BUDGET: WIFE WEEKDAY



FAMILIES WITHOUT CHILDREN
TIME BUDGET: WIFE WEEKDAY



FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN
TIME BUDGET: WIFE WEEKDAY



Change in Time Spent Alone by Current Housing Type and Location, Wife, Weekday (in per cent).

	Cessation	minus (50-99)	minus (10-49)	minus (0-9)	No Change	plus (0-9)	plus (10-49)	plus (50-99)	plus (100 plus)	Commencement
Apartment Downtown	1.5	32.3	9.2	4.6	0.0	3.1	7.7	4.6	27.8	9.2
House Downtown	0.0	23.8	17.5	0.0	1.3	0.0	12.5	6.3	29.8	8.8
Apartment Suburbs	1.5	28.1	20.9	1.5	1.5	1.0	7.7	3.6	26.0	8.2
House Suburbs	0.5	17.2	12.1	3.7	1.9	2.3	6.5	5.1	36.3	14.4

Change in Time Watching T.V. by Current Housing Type and Location, Wife, Weekday

	Cessation	minus (50-99)	minus (10-49)	minus (0-9)	No. Change	plus (0-9)	plus (10-49)	plus (50-99)	plus (100 plus)	Comm-encement
Apartment Downtown	12.4%	9.2	7.7	0.0	27.8	0.0	1.6	1.6	10.4	29.2
House Downtown	21.3%	2.5	2.5	0.0	43.6	0.0	3.8	0.0	5.0	21.3
Apartment Suburbs	19.4%	2.6	8.7	0.5	16.8	0.0	3.1	4.6	13.3	31.1
House Suburbs	17.2%	5.6	4.2	1.4	26.5	0.9	4.7	4.2	10.7	24.7

Summary of Personal Traits for Households With High Level of Satisfaction

	Apartment Downtown		House Downtown		Apartment Suburbs		House Suburbs	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Friendly		+	+	+				
Lively		+	+		+			
Fashionable	+					+	+	
Ready to help	+		+	+	+	+	+	
Withdrawn	-	-	-		+			+
Child oriented			+	-		+	+	
Flexible			+	+	+	+	+	
Proud Property Appearance	+	+	+		+			
Lazy	-		-	+		-	+	
With it	+	-					+	+
Serious		-	-					
Sloppy								
Outgoing	+		+		+	+	+	+
Live for present	-	-			+	+		+
Do things as a Family			+		+		+	
Meat	+		+		+	+	+	
Expensive tastes				-		-		
Thrifty		+	+		-		+	+
Easygoing			-	+			+	
Individualistic	-	-				-		
Efficient		+	+		+			
Wrapped up in work		+	+	-		+		
Handy	+						-	
Cultural			+				-	
Concerned with future	-	+	+	-			-	-
Going up in the World	+		+	-				+
Modern				-		-	+	

+ = Positive Relationship
- = Negative Relationship

Prevalent Dissatisfactions Among the More Dissatisfied People
(ie. those with above average dissatisfaction (Phase 2))

	Apartment Downtown		House Downtown		Apartment Suburb		House Suburb	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Floorspace	*	*		*	*	*		
# bedrooms	*	*						
# bathrooms	*			*				
In-unit facilities			*	*		*		
Storage	*	*	*	*	*	*		
In-unit privacy	*	*			*	*		
Maintenance	*	*		*	*	*		
Size of Plot			*	*			*	*
Privacy re adjacent units	*	*	*		*	*		
Parking			*	*				
Management					*			
Convenience of N'hood								*
Amount Open Space	*	*	*	*				
N'hood Aesthetics					*		*	*
Public Transit							*	*
Distance to Work	*				*		*	
Distance to Friends	*	*			*	*	*	*
Distance to Relatives						*		*
Shopping				*			*	*
Distance to Leisure Facilities								*
Distance to Downtown					*	*	*	*
Cost	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Length of Action in Search by Change in Housing Type

CHANGE IN HOUSING TYPE	LENGTH OF ACTION: % of total for each change in housing		N
	one month or less	over one month	
house to house	53.4	46.6	202
house to apartment	73.1	26.9	67
low-rise to house	31.0	69.0	87
low-rise to apartment	68.5	31.5	89
apartment to house	40.3	59.7	62
apartment to apartment	69.8	30.2	222
TOTAL			729
NO ANSWER			32

Comparison of all Sources Consulted in Housing Search with Effective Sources Consulted.

EXTENT OF USE	TYPE OF SOURCE: % of total sources of each extent of use						N
	news-papers	real estate agents	driving around	reputation of builder	friends	relatives	others
one of all sources used	28.7	17.9	27.2	3.1	11.5	7.2	1705
effective source	24.0	22.6	25.4	5.0	9.2	10.2	978

Pre-move Expectations and Post-Move Satisfactions of Unit Interior by Current Housing Type and Location. (Expressed in per cent).

Wife	None	Phase I	Phase II	Phase III	Phases I & II	Phases I & III	Phases II & III	All Three	Number of Households
Apartment Downtown	21.5	2.8	22.9	8.5	11.4	2.8	12.9	17.2	70
House Downtown	1.2	1.2	13.7	3.7	17.6	6.2	27.6	28.8	80
Apartment Suburbs	8.9	1.9	20.2	6.4	10.8	2.6	23.8	25.3	202
House Suburbs	1.8	0.0	5.0	2.3	9.5	4.1	23.1	54.1	216
TOTAL									568
No Answer									23