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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL SPACES  
OF MOBILE HOME DWELLERS IN WINNIPEG

by

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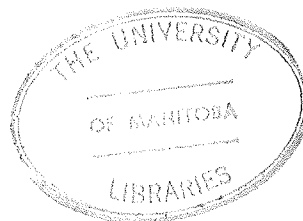
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## ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to examine the social spaces of mobile home dwellers in an urban environment. The areas chosen for this study are two mobile home parks in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The specific objectives are: (i) to determine whether the properties of social space are related to length of residence; (ii) to determine whether the properties of social space are related to socio-economic status; (iii) to determine whether the properties of social space are related to age; and (iv) to determine whether the number of social contacts made within and outside a mobile home park is related to the degree of proximity to the built-up area.

Data are elicited concerning the respondents' demographic characteristics, the number and location of social nodes that they contact in Winnipeg, and the number of social contacts that they make within their mobile home park. Analysis of variance and the z-test for differences between two proportions are used to test the research hypotheses. The findings indicate that age has a significant influence upon the number of social nodes contacted by a mobile home dweller in Winnipeg. The effects of length of residence and socio-economic status upon the variations in the properties of social space are found to be minimal. However, the proximity of the mobile home park to the built-up area is revealed to be an important indicator of proportion of social contacts occurring within the park. Some implications for the planning of mobile home parks are suggested.

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

The basic aim of this dissertation is to examine the social spaces of mobile home dwellers in an urban environment. Social space is defined as the area delimited by an individual's most frequently visited sources of voluntary social contact. Social space comprises two basic types of social contact nodes: (i) informal contact nodes (the homes of friends and relatives), and (ii) formal contact nodes (church, sporting, recreational or community clubs, entertainment, parks and grocery stores). In other contexts, social space has been characterized in terms of both involuntary (e.g., schools, the work-place, hospitals, etc.) and voluntary (community clubs, entertainment facilities, church, etc.) nodes of social activity. However, in this study, social space is defined in terms of voluntary nodes only. A social space has two properties: (i) intensity (measured by the number of social nodes contacted), and (ii) areal extent (measured by distance travelled to nodes).

A mobile home, in this study, is defined as a portable dwelling, built on a chassis and connected to utilities without permanent foundation but designed for year-round-living (Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, 1970). This should be distinguished from a travel trailer which does not possess interior sanitary facilities and is designed for overnight or short-term use (recreational or vacational) (Bair, 1965). A mobile home park is any plot of ground upon

which spaces are rented for two or more independent homes, occupied and used as dwellings. A mobile home occupant (dweller), in this study, is thus a person residing in a mobile home, which is located in a mobile home park.

The specific objectives of the thesis are:-

- (i) To determine whether the properties of social space are related to length of residence;
- (ii) To determine whether the properties of social space are related to socio-economic status;
- (iii) To determine whether the properties of social space are related to age;
- (iv) To determine whether the number of social contacts made both within and outside a mobile home park is related to the degree of proximity of the park to the built-up area.

The following hypotheses are formulated in relation to these objectives:-

Hypotheses concerning length of residence:

- I The number of social contacts of mobile home park occupants increases with length of residence in the mobile home park;
- II The mean distance travelled to social nodes by mobile home park occupants increases with length of residence in the mobile home park.

Hypotheses concerning socio-economic status:

- III The number of social contacts of mobile home park occupants increases with socio-economic status;
- IV The mean distance travelled to social nodes by mobile home park occupants increases with socio-economic status.

Hypotheses concerning age:

- V The number of social contacts of mobile home occupants decreases with age;
- VI The mean distance travelled to social nodes by mobile home occupants decreases with age.

Hypothesis concerning degree of proximity of the mobile home park to the built-up area:

- VII As the distance of the mobile home park from the built-up area increases, a greater proportion of social contacts will take place within the park.

The hypotheses are tested using statistical inferential procedures. Results show that, in the context of mobile home dwellers, age significantly influences the intensity of social space, although not the areal extent. None of the hypotheses concerning length of residence or socio-economic status is supported. However, the proximity of the mobile home park to the built-up area is found to be an important indicator of proportion of social visits occurring within the park.

The thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter I is a basic introduction. The objectives and hypotheses are briefly identified and the role of social space research in cognitive-behavioural geography is discussed. Chapter II presents a review of relevant literature to this study, while Chapter III offers a more detailed discussion of the hypotheses and a description of the data sources utilized. In Chapter IV, the data are analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. Chapter V contains

a summary of results and policy implications which may be derived from the results.

It is important to demonstrate where the present study may be placed in the field of cognitive-behavioural geography. This field evolved in response to the inadequacies of spatial models based on classical economic theory (e.g., Central Place Theory (Christaller, 1933)). These models employed the standard assumptions of micro-economics; i.e.: that there is free competition amongst suppliers and consumers; a homogeneous environment within which all individuals possess identical tastes and perfect knowledge about all spatial phenomena; and that all decisions made by an individual are rational on strict economic grounds (Gold, 1980). However, such models failed to acknowledge that people do not possess perfect awareness of spatial opportunities but learn to select and organize critical subsets of information from the mass of experience available to them, i.e. they cognize the environment (Golledge, 1981). Behavioural geography thus 'recognizes the need to specify those psychological attributes which mediate the relationship between the objective spatial environment and overt spatial behaviour' (Smith, 1974, p. 12).

Specifically, the behavioural approach has three main characteristics. Firstly, it is process-oriented: variation in overt behaviour is analyzed in terms of processes such as learning, perception, cognition and preferences. Secondly, the approach is concerned with activity observed at the macro-space level (e.g., a city or region). In contrast, the work of an environmental psychologist would take place within a

micro-space (e.g., a laboratory or classroom) where environmental conditions could be controlled. Finally, attention is focused upon the individual, whose behaviour will be unique in view of his/her personalized image of the environment.

The present study appears to be 'behavioural' in terms of two out of three of the above criteria. Firstly, it focuses on behaviour at the macro-scale. Secondly, similarities in dimensions of social behaviour are identified at the level of the individual. However, the present study does not focus directly upon cognitive or mental processes. Socio-spatial preferences are not actually measured. Instead, there is an underlying assumption that mental constructs (e.g., perception, preferences) mediate the relationship between three specific profile variables and overt socio-spatial behaviour. Mobile home parks are generally located in zones at the periphery of the urban area (Foster, 1981a). Such locations isolate park residents from essential urban services and other city dwellers (Nutt-Powell, 1982). Thus the influence of proximity to the built-up area of a mobile home park upon the socio-spatial behaviour of its' residents is also tested.

### Summary

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the social spaces of mobile home dwellers in an urban area. The specific objectives are:

- (i) To determine whether the properties of social spaces are related to length of residence;

- (ii) To determine whether the properties of social spaces are related to socio-economic status;
- (iii) To determine whether the properties of social spaces are related to age;
- (iv) To determine whether the number of social contacts made both within and outside a mobile home park is related to the degree of proximity of the park to the urban built-up area.

Hypotheses are formulated relating directly to these specific objectives. The nature of the sub-field of behavioural geography is briefly discussed and the place of social space analysis within this sub-field is demonstrated.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The extensive amount of research examining the concept of social space would indicate that it has become an important sub-field in Cognitive-Behavioural geography. The concept appears to have been derived from sociological studies of the 1950s and early 1960s. The literature review will first involve a brief overview of this sociological work. The second section constitutes a critique of the contributions from behavioural geography. The third section will involve a review of recent literature concerning mobile home living. Finally, the scholarly contribution of this particular study will be outlined.

#### 2.1 The Sociological Contribution

Although few of these studies are explicitly spatial in nature (and therefore not of primary concern to this thesis), they do provide a basis for hypotheses formulated in geographical contexts. A fundamental distinction should be made between literature dealing with 'informal social contacts' (Smith, Form and Stone, 1954; Caplow and Forman, 1950; Schacter, 1946; Gans, 1961) and those concerned with 'formal' social contacts (Bell and Force, 1956; Bell and Boat, 1957; Babchuk and Edwards, 1956). Informal contacts may be defined as social visits made to friends and relatives whilst formal contacts incorporate membership in organizations, use of recreational/sporting clubs, attendance in

churches, etc. Within this set of studies a further distinction can be made. First, some work has attempted to measure the amount of informal or formal social interaction taking place. Caplow and Forman (1950), for example, measured the amount of interaction between families and each of their neighbours within a single sub-area of the city, while Axelrod (1956) assessed the degree of attendance in urban associations. Secondly, other studies have attempted to explain the varying levels of informal contact or facility use in terms of the subject's socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Broadly, the results obtained from this group can be classified into relationships established between firstly, the number of contacts, and secondly, the distance travelled to contacts, and the various profile variables. It is these conclusions which have provided a discursive basis for later 'behavioural' research in urban social space.

#### 2.1.1 Number of Contacts

The number of contacts is found to vary inversely with length of residence (Gans, 1961) and positively with socio-economic status (Bell and Force, 1956; Axelrod, 1956). The number of contacts also increases with a rise in family status, particularly when combined with higher socio-economic status (Bell and Force, 1956). Age grading also has a linear relationship with participation increasing from young adulthood until 50 or 60 years of age when it declines (Babchuk and Edwards, 1956). Gans (1961), in a suburban



housing development and Byrne and Buehler (1955), in a psychology classroom, demonstrate how propinquity influences friendship formation, for next-door-neighbours are more likely to become friends with each other than with persons placed further from them. However, Gans (1961) clarifies his statement on propinquity by demonstrating how more intensive forms of social interaction depend on homogeneity of background and of interests and values of the potential contact. Gans has inadvertently introduced a perceptual dimension (image of the potential contact) - a dimension previously neglected by the sociological work. This idea is developed by Laumann (1966) who specifies that it is perceived "socio-economic compatibility" which is most important in explaining the number of contacts between persons. Babchuk and Edwards (1965) demonstrate the importance of community size to the social interaction equation. In larger communities, for instance, voluntary groups are less visible and as a consequence, affiliation and participation are lower.

### 2.1.2 Distance travelled to Social Contact Nodes

Smith, Form and Stone (1954) demonstrate that the intimate relationships of city residents are both locality-centred and spatially diffuse, an idea later developed widely in social space literature. Foley (1950) had previously presented similar results in terms of formal social contact. His study revealed that 30% of reported uses were within  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from home while 33% were at least 3 miles from the residence. He concluded, therefore, that large-

city living involves an intricate balance between the relative use of local and non-local facilities. Foley (1950) further emphasizes that food stores, churches, schools and movie theatres comprise the most 'local facilities'. His subjects travelled beyond the local area for specialized facilities. Smith, Form and Stone (1954) found that social class varied inversely with distance travelled to contacts in the city. Diffuse working-class relationships are attributed to the greater level of residential mobility of this group. Gans's (1961) results contradict this. He shows that the 'higher-class' resident is able to travel further in view of his greater mobility and financial resources. Foley's (1950) results demonstrate a negative relationship between age (adults twenty years and older) and median distance travelled. In addition he found that females made greater use of local facilities than males.

Broadly speaking, this early sociological approach provided a basis for the understanding of urban social interaction. However, the approach fails to identify the underlying behavioural processes involved, although Gans (1961) and Laumann (1966) do indirectly address these.

## 2.2 The Behavioural Approach to Social Space

The need to measure social interaction within a specifically spatial framework became apparent by the 1970s. Relatively few sociologists investigated the distance travelled to nodes of social contact as a measure of social interaction and thus a geographical contribution was required

to define the areal extent of social activity. Yet, there has been considerable difficulty in finding a unified concept of urban social space (Caruso and Palm, 1973). It is the intention here to outline the various approaches to this concept. The framework of Buttner (1969) which divides social space into firstly 'objective' and secondly 'subjective' categories is found to be highly appropriate and is hence utilized. Thus, theoretical work attempting to define each category of 'social space' will first be outlined. Empirical tests of these concepts will then be reviewed.

### 2.2.1 Objective Social Space

Objective social space may be considered 'the spatial framework in which groups live; groups whose social structure and organization has been conditioned by ecological and cultural factors' (Buttner, 1969, p. 490). In other words, this is the overt socio-spatial behaviour of an individual which can be measured in terms of such attributes as distance travelled to a social node, or the areal extent of spatial activity. Application of this concept can be identified in studies concerning the 'Garden City Movement' (Howard, 1902), the British New Town Plans (e.g. Gibberd, 1952) and in North American university settlements described by Lee (1968). Emphasis was strictly on localized social interaction - all informal and formal social contacts were predicted to occur within the limits of the neighbourhood area. This interpretation of objective social space has been criticized by Webber (1964) and Everitt (1976) on the grounds that it is

too restricting: the modern city dweller is highly mobile and his behaviour is no longer routed in local territory. The neighbourhood unit is therefore considered superfluous as an arena for socialization. Webber has succinctly described the situation with the term 'community without propinquity' (Webber, 1963) and 'Non-place urban realm' (Webber, 1964). In fact the idea does not appear to be dissimilar from McLenahan (1929)'s labelling of the non-local community as 'communality' which includes a group of people with some common identity of character or fellowship in which there is communication (Hillery, 1955, p. 112).

A number of behavioural geographers have evidently found these former interpretations unsatisfactory (Wheeler and Stutz, 1971; Athanasiou and Yoshioka, 1973; Buttner, 1972). In response, many studies have attempted to measure objective social space in order to ascertain the precise nature of this concept. Moreover, explanation of variations in activity has been a central focus in this work.

Most studies in objective social space have examined activity of individuals within single groups. Athanasiou and Yoshioka (1973) focus upon 427 dwellings in a federally-supported cooperative townhouse development. They investigate the influence of a range of physical (e.g., density of housing) and subject variables of the individual upon friendship formation. The response format is rather unique. Respondents are asked to specifically plot their sources of friends on survey maps. Deriving locations of

contact nodes in this way is an apparently sophisticated compromise between requesting street locations to be named on a questionnaire and elicitation of perceived boundaries. A Cartesian coordinate system is used to calculate distances to friend's houses via the 'city-block' algorithm and nested-zone configurations. Athanasiou and Yoshioka's main findings are that firstly stage in the life cycle (a composite variable incorporating marital status and number of children) was more important than age in explaining friendship choices regardless of distance to friends' homes. Propinquity, however, did have an important independent effect since 46.1% of next-door-neighbours were chosen as high intensity friends compared to 12.6% of those 3-4 doors away.

At a larger scale of study environment, Wheeler and Stutz (1971) aimed to derive the dimensions describing interaction patterns in census tracts. Using data elicited from 4,500 households in a previous Home Interview Survey (Michigan Tri-Country, 1965), they performed a factor analysis with varimax rotation on 63,000 trips and the test revealed 6 factors (identified as (i) East Lansing-suburban; (ii) South Lansing sector; (iii) Holt suburban; (iv) Lansing city; (v) West Lansing sector (Negro); (vi) rural-suburban) representing distinctive patterns of social interaction. These factors explained 40% of the variance. The standard scores were then correlated with distance travelled, and number of trips made. Positive relationships were found between social class and distance travelled, yet weak negative relationships were

revealed between number of reported trips and median income, occupational status and car ownership. Further, a weak positive linear relationship was concluded between the number of trips and age, specifically small increases were noted in the mid 20s and early 50s groups and large increases from 65-70 followed by a rapid decrease. This was one of the few studies to test the effect of age.

Use of factorial analysis to depict a contrasting type of social space has been made by Caruso and Palm (1973). These two researchers followed the methodology of earlier workers from the Chicago School of Sociology and Shevky and Bell (1955) who delimited partially homogeneous social areas on the basis of a battery of socio-demographic variables. Caruso and Palm's study used 270 Minneapolis residents, yet their results demonstrate the inefficacy of the taxonomy of census variables to delimit persons in a social space defined by shared norms and interests: there may be other areas of great social importance to residents of those sub-areas that are not accounted for by the physical measures employed. In short, the approach may be considered as static as the 'neighbourhood' conceptualization of social space.

Buttimer (1972) has argued that an individual's 'activity space' is a more effective indicator of objective social space than the results of a social area analysis. Activity space has been defined as 'the subset of all urban locations with which the individual has direct contact as the result of day-to-day activities' (Horton and Reynolds,

1971, p. 37). The concept has been used in the context of intra-urban residential migration research by Adams (1969) and in discussions of 'Action space' by Higgs (1975) and Moore (1970). Action space is defined as 'the collection of all urban locations about which the individual has information and the subjective utility or preference he associates with these locations' (Horton and Reynolds, 1971, p. 37).

Buttimer (1972) elicited information concerning the location of and number of visits to various social nodes from Glasgow residents. She then used the 'standard deviational ellipse', a centographic technique, to describe various dimensions of the derived activity space. Her results indicate that the majority of residents (83%) displayed territoriality in the area immediately surrounding the home, for they travelled limited distances to social contacts. Furthermore, formal activities were displaced towards the work place: sectoral bias of this kind has been found to characterize the 'kinetic field' by Adams (1969), Johnston (1972), Donaldson (1973), Donaldson and Johnston (1973). Buttimer (1972) maintains that the greatest advantage of deriving objective social space through 'activity space' is that it subsumes subjective social space and therefore avoids the methodological problems of cognitive mapping. In addition, it is overt activity dimensions which are elicited, not dimensions which are perceived to exist. However, it would appear that if the optimum definition of objective social space is sought, the activity space is in fact unsatisfactory. In particular,

the inclusion of the place of employment is dubious for it is not a voluntary contact (one is obliged to attend and very often this is the only job option). Distortions in direction and distance created by the journey-to-work do not necessarily represent spatial variations in social activity.

Chapin (1974) introduces a phenomenon which in many ways resembles activity space, except that it has a less explicit spatial context. The urban activity system is a model which includes (as inputs) all possible variables in human social activity. Characterized by a series of complex feedback mechanisms, the model calculates mean distance travelled to social activities (termed 'mean locus') and shows how this varies with number of social trips and several socio-demographic (e.g. age, ethnicity, religion, etc.) and attitudinal characteristics (e.g. degree of satisfaction with amenities/facilities, etc.). Hanson (1976) describes the 'mean locus' measure as crude, the use of which obscures the utility of the results to planning. Nevertheless, Chapin's results based on Washington D.C., show that the form of social interaction may be conceptualized as a hierarchical structure: the work place, on average is located 10.8 miles from the home, eating and drinking activities take place at a mean locus of 7.8 miles and shopping trips at 6.0 miles. Thus employment is a diffuse and multinucleated activity, but entertainment less so. Informal and recreational activity occurs even closer to the



place of residence. Chombard de Lauwe (1952) had previously deduced a hierarchical base for social activity, for he argued that when viewed horizontally, it comprises a network of roughly concentric bands or sectors that circumscribe the orbits of daily, weekly or occasional circulation.

An extensive study by Earickson (1970) bears some similarity to the approach of Chapin (1974) in that it presents a socio-spatial model. This is constructed to combine all determinants specifically relevant to hospital-patient travel. Data are derived from patients in 206 'health care areas' of Metropolitan Chicago. The simulation model allocates patients to physicians on a gravitational basis and then introduces religious preferences and race barriers to show inequalities in distances travelled to essential medical services. Spatial proximity is concluded to be overshadowed by cultural differentiation in functioning as a stimulus for social interaction, for perceived (racial) barriers are often stronger than physical barriers (such as distance, mountains, etc.).

A final study specifically concerning objective social space represents a further methodological variation. In order to record the activity of Musqueam Indians in Vancouver, Weightman (1976) used participant observation and informal talks with 20 reserve members (having been advised against a formal survey by the band leader to minimize animosity to the 'external' interference). Weightman observed that Musqueam social activity is particularly 'non-place-oriented',

contrary to popular belief about isolated reserve life. Musqueams participate in non-reserve activity, (e.g., Roman Catholic churches and the local Parent Teacher Association). Travel beyond the reserve is attributed to lack of institutional provision inside it, besides the need to associate with others of the same ethnic group on other reserves. However, environmental stress (threat of interference from the media, and discrimination towards the Indian) is one reason for a decline in the extent of Musqueam social space.

### 2.2.2 Subjective Social Space

In contrast to objective social space which is observed by an outsider (e.g., a researcher), subjective social space may be defined as 'space as it is perceived to exist by members of particular groups' (Buttimer, 1969, p. 417). Specifically this is voluntary social space viewed as a territory without predetermined limits for social activity which will vary among individuals. This inconsistency in perception may be attributed to variations in the degree to which a person 'knows' an area, the degree to which he 'feels at home', his ability to define a 'home area' and his desire to move away (Everitt, 1980; Lee, 1968; Buttimer, 1980). By 'subjective', therefore, it is the 'city of the mind' that is used to explain overt spatial patterns.

Two important studies have employed cognitive mapping techniques to record subjective social space. The cognitive map may be defined as 'a simplified mental image of the

landscape which the individual builds up selectively, editing the mass of stimuli impinging upon him from an environment of potential sensory overload' (Porteous, 1973, p. 131). Everitt and Cadwallader's (1972) means of recording this mental image was by requesting that their Los Angeles subjects outline on a base map the area in which they 'felt at home'. Their main test revealed differences in perceived social spaces between the sexes: males recognized a smaller 'home area' than females. In a later study, a t-test was used to reveal a positive relationship between length of residence and size of the 'perceived home area' (Everitt and Cadwallader, 1977).

It may be argued that variations in drawing ability among individuals present a serious form of bias in cognitive mapping techniques: respondents with little or no sense of map scale may produce grossly inaccurate representations. Secondly, subjects may have no conception of a neighbourhood area until the investigator requests that they sketch one. Furthermore, it is unrealistic to expect an individual to map his complete 'knowledge space'. Nevertheless, Stea (1969a) has maintained that composite maps can be expected to represent group biases reasonably well. Yet in terms of a cognitive map representing a social space, a more serious problem is encountered. Whereas extent of social space is adequately portrayed, the intensity (number of trips) contained by a social space is not represented. In addition, it is assumed that the area outlined is characterized by an

equal amount of familiarity. In fact, a social space consists of a contour surface of frequently and less-frequently visited nodes. In view of the pitfalls of cognitive mapping, Buttner (1969) has suggested other indicators of subjective social space. For example, 'territoriality' (discussed by Altman, 1971) and 'proxemic behaviour' (Hall, 1966) are both processes whereby individuals and groups claim spaces which they organize and defend in culturally prescribed ways.

Erickson (1970) propagates an alternative indicator of subjective social space he terms 'life space'. This is the psycho-social area within which each individual lives and of which he is aware. On the life-space surface is a branching system of paths, the borders of which are determined by the extent of the individual's experience and familiarity. Some of the life-space is perceived as inaccessible (i.e., a social or economic barrier exists, cutting off certain paths). Acknowledgement of this intermittent 'inaccessibility' confronts the problem of unequal space familiarity identified with cognitive mapping techniques. Yet, the life-space includes both voluntary and involuntary social activities and is, therefore, comparable with objective activity space. Subjective social space, the arena defined solely by voluntary social activity, is therefore a subset of the life-space. Unfortunately, Erickson (1970) only operationalizes the life-space concept with 'objective' methodology, using distances travelled to nodes and the profile variables of the respondents as basic input data.

Action space has also been recognized as an index of subjective social space (Buttimer, 1969). This may be equated with the 'awareness space' of Brown and Moore (1970). The visually or physically contacted day-to-day nodes (e.g., the work place and schools) delineate the activity space component of Earickson (1970)'s 'life-space'. Action space will indicate perceived social space for an individual's choice of social nodes are likely to be those he/she comes into contact with in the course of his day-to-day movement.

The validity of the Cognitive-Behavioural approach employed by the above analyses has been questioned by Buttimer (1980). She argues that the cognitive image is not in fact, the key to explaining socio-spatial behaviour. Specifically, Buttimer contends that since the individual is not consciously aware of subjective social space, it cannot be meaningfully elicited in graphic form. She further argues that social space is rather a 'Life world ... the unique taken-for-granted living pattern of any person' (Buttimer, 1976, p. 279). The researcher should thus immerse him/herself in an individual's 'life world' and elicit personal experiential accounts from him/her, to truly understand the determinants of social activity. A collection of studies (Buttimer and Seamon, eds., 1980) have attempted to examine social space in this way. All emphasize the importance of experiential dimensions (for example, feelings and fantasies in relation to a place) in explaining socio-spatial patterns. The merit of this humanistic approach is

that it helps gain an understanding of spatial behaviour at the individual level. Yet the approach lacks general applicability. Furthermore, biases are introduced when the researcher interprets experiences as he feels them and not as they really are (Wood, 1982).

### 2.2.3 Objective and Subjective Social Space

Researchers have seldom attempted to bring the objective and subjective perspectives on social space together in one definition, although Sorre (1957) did advise that the 'substrat social' should incorporate both, when he introduced the term 'social space'.

Most studies have attempted to elicit both objective and subjective spaces from the same group of respondents in order to ascertain the degree of coincidence among them (Lee, 1968; Porteous, 1973; Everitt and Cadwallader, 1977).

Lee (1968) represents relationships between activity data and facets of the mental map in terms of the 'Neighbourhood Quotient'. This index expresses activity behaviour as a ratio of the cognitive map of the neighbourhood and thus constitutes one attempt to combine the measures of objective and subjective social space in one indicator.

Everitt's (1976) main task is to clarify the form of objective and subjective social spaces in Los Angeles. His results indicate directional biases in formal activity towards Downtown and Beverly Hills. A similar pattern is observed in the cognitive mapping exercise where respondents showed 'greatest knowledge' of these areas. A decrease in

objective activity at a distance of 4-6 miles from the centre of the study area, followed by an increase beyond this point, indicated that urban residents do not possess homogeneous knowledge of city areas nor do they patronize social nodes with equal frequency. This finding provided support for Everitt's 'site recalcitrance' hypothesis.

Porteous (1973) attempted to explain the intensity and spatial extent of gang vandalism and shoplifting. The respondents were allowed to name their own 'meeting places' rather than being asked if they patronized predetermined ones in the manner of Everitt (1976) and Lee (1968). Both objective and subjective gang spaces included the Gang 'core' and a peripheral zone. A degree of coincidence was therefore concluded to exist. A positive relationship between length of residence and size of the home area is also revealed.

Everitt (1980) attempted to compare the social spaces of Hutterites and non-Hutterites in southern Manitoba. Using an approach similar to that of Porteous (1973), respondents were requested to name their own sources of social contact. The results indicated that Hutterites travelled shorter distances (mainly only within their colony) than non-Hutterites. Barrett (1976) found that Southern European immigrants conformed to a similar pattern, socializing only within their own ethnic ghetto. In addition, a degree of correspondence was apparent between the patterns of overt behaviour and cognitive maps elicited for both groups: Hutterites' subjective spaces were 'nodal' in nature and in comparison non-Hutterites had a more extensive knowledge

of the rural area.

It could be argued that in view of the recurring similarity between the forms of objective and subjective spaces, the latter could be used as a convenient substitute since it is easier to elicit. In fact Johnston's (1971) research in New Zealand is based on such an argument. He derived the aggregate mental map of a group of respondents and maintained that this represented a satisfactory substitute for the aggregate activity space. However, Johnston fails to acknowledge that in fact the mental map is only a tentative surrogate, because an individual may be aware of a far greater area of the city than he actually frequents on a social basis.

### 2.3 Studies concerning Mobile Home Dwellers and Mobile Home Park Development

A large volume of literature has emerged in the last forty years devoted to describing aspects and problems of mobile home living. Contrasting definitions of the term 'mobile home' are propagated in these various studies which reflect the varying approaches of the researchers. There is a distinctly temporal trend to be identified among these approaches. Earlier studies demonstrate a more negative attitude to mobile homes than recent reports which have stressed the relative advantages of this form of housing. The trend corresponds to the evolution of the mobile home from a cramped recreational vehicle suitable only for temporary residence and overnight parking, to the highly sophisticated



semi-permanent dwelling of the 1980s. It is within this evolutionary framework that this literature will be classified. The first section therefore contains a discussion of studies presenting negative and positive approaches. Studies representing a compromise between these two extreme positions will also be reviewed. The second section summarizes a collection of recent reports which examine the socio-demographic statistics of mobile home residents. The final section offers a review of the limited literature concerning the social activity patterns of mobile home residents.

### 2.3.1 Approaches to the Investigation of Mobile Homes

The early literature presented a distinctly negative image towards mobile home parks and their dwellers. It consistently used the term 'trailer' to describe this form of housing (Rhyne, 1941; Duke, 1953). Rhyne (1941 p. 3) defines a mobile home as 'a miniature house ... which does not rest on a foundation but wheels ...'. The absence of a permanent foundation has remained a unique characteristic of the mobile home and has been the object of several studies. Duke (1953) argues that without a foundation, the mobile home is 'unfit' for permanent or semi-permanent residency and is only suitable as 'emergency housing'. He emphasizes that the majority of the American mobile home population would prefer to settle in a single dwelling if the housing industry could supply one to them at a price they could afford. Similarly, Bates (1971) shows how mobile homes in Chicago have been used for distinctly 'temporary' purposes, for

example, to accommodate displaced persons in urban renewal zones. A similar observation is made by Liddell (1970) in the context of the British caravan.

The temporary nature of the mobile home has encouraged other researchers to stress the 'transiency' of mobile home residents and the problems arising from this. Borth (1952) attributes this transiency to the occupational structure of mobile home residents. These tend to be persons in relatively footloose occupations (e.g., enlisted men, construction workers, etc). Interestingly, less than 1% of 'trailerites' are reported to be vacationists. Rhyne (1941) stresses that in view of his/her transiency, the mobile home resident is not taxable by a United States municipal authority, yet has the benefit of the health service, police, schools, highways and other public facilities provided by the tax payers of that particular jurisdiction. Furthermore, Duke (1953) describes how trailer children create a strain for the school systems when they are registered and withdrawn at erratic intervals without giving warning to the school boards. It is suggested that these children should be made to pay an extra tuition fee.

Other studies have specifically criticized the mobile home park by describing the problems created for any community when one is located in its immediate vicinity. Duke (1953) accuses 'trailerites' of being frequently involved in scandals and of corrupt morals, i.e., undesirable members of any community. Further, Borth (1952) and Liddell (1970)

describe park developments as 'eye sores' characterized by cramped and densely located trailer housing, unsanitary conditions without proper sewage facilities and inadequate fire-fighting equipment. In short, mobile home living has been described as 'deplorable evidence of the rootlessness of the American people' (Borth, 1952, p. 61). Duke (1953) concludes that city planners are probably justified in legislating against trailers on grounds of protecting the health, morals and general welfare of the public.

The negative approach to mobile homes and their residents is not entirely absent from the recent literature as is demonstrated by Cornett (1980) and Audain (1975). Nevertheless, a collection of studies has recently emerged to present a positive view towards mobile home development. Some research has concentrated on stressing that the trailer vehicle of twenty years ago has been subjected to considerable physical improvements and is now suitable for permanent living (Everitt, 1979; Wells Fargo Bank, 1972; Foster, 1981a). Firstly, construction size has radically changed. Units range from 52.40 and 190.63 square metres (Wells Fargo Bank, 1972). Twenty years ago the average mobile home had approximately half the living space of today's single width models. Size was previously restricted due to construction techniques which did not allow for the building of large transportable units and also highway regulations which did not permit the transportation of larger units. Manufacturers today build mobile homes of a sufficiently solid construction to enable

them to be towed at speeds of 90 kilometres an hour (Foster, 1981a; Wells Fargo Bank, 1972). However, the role of mobility has now become questionable in itself. Everitt (1979) suggests that 85-95% of Canadian mobile homes remain on their initial sites even though they may have changed ownership. This is attributed to the increased size of the vehicle, transportation costs and the installation of service cables, tanks, etc. The mobile home does not therefore make use of its potential mobility. In appearance, the unit also contrasts radically with the earlier trailer. Wheels are now very rarely present for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (C.M.H.C.) requires solid supporting foundations of concrete piers or piles, and after the mobile home is sited the tow bar is usually removed. Unit extensions to double-width size are possible in addition to elaborate exterior and interior decor, e.g., porches and large bay windows. Furthermore, the unit lot is now maintained as a semi-permanent site: fencing is erected and flower and vegetable gardens are cultivated (Everitt, 1979). In view of the physical improvements of the mobile home Nutt-Powell (1982) has stressed that criticisms such as 'flimsy', 'ugly' and 'cheap' are no longer applicable to contemporary units, which are as stable, durable and in some ways as attractive as other forms of housing.

The mobile home unit has been the focus of other studies which stress the suitability of mobile homes as alternatives to conventional permanent housing (Drury, 1972; Everitt, 1979).

From 1967-1974 mobile homes increased from 4 to 13% of Canadian housing. Surprisingly, however, between July 1st 1981 and June 1st 1982 mobile homes contributed only about 2.2% to the total new housing in Canada (Archer, 1982). Wells Fargo Bank (1972) conducted a comparative study concerning financial aspects of mobile home and conventional home living. It concluded that a double-width mobile home of 12 feet by 60 feet (including delivery and assemblage) would cost about half the price of a conventional home on a 6000 square foot plot of land. Mobile homes have the added advantage of arriving furnished, including curtains, carpeting, etc. However, the mobile home depreciates in value whereas a conventional home appreciates.

Other literature has stressed that the physical and social problems previously associated with mobile home parks have been alleviated. Ring (1966) stresses that zoning requirements in the United States now limit the density of units, while taxes in many areas have been equalized by statutory action. Services are provided such as electrical cables and water tanks and these are buried underground to maintain the park's aesthetic value. Foster (1981a) notes that in Winnipeg, the mobile home occupant is now subject to a monthly licencing fee in lieu of property taxes.

Some studies have stressed the advantages of mobile home life in general, by presenting positive perceptions elicited from contemporary residents. Fletcher (1982) interviewed two occupants of Southglen mobile home park in

Winnipeg, who favoured life there due to the 'sense of community'. Similarly, the Mobile Home Manufacturers Association (1970) found that 67% of a sample of residents from 8 United States cities planned to remain in their respective parks longer than 5 years and 34% of them permanently.

Other research has defended mobile home living in an indirect manner by isolating aspects of planning legislation which discriminates against mobile home owners. Nutt-Powell (1982) criticizes the American classification of mobile home parks as a 'commercial' land-use because this has created problems for the residents. Foster (1981a) has isolated the reasons accounting for the location of mobile home parks on peripheral urban sites with specific reference to Winnipeg. Firstly, parcels of land at the fringe are extensive enough for large developments and the rental is also substantially lower than for plots of land closer to the city centre. A second reason relates to the legacy from the past when trailer camps were located at the urban periphery to attract incoming tourists. Thirdly, the negative attitudes to mobile home occupants persist and are displayed by the public and urban planners who have relegated parks to the fringe.

In contrast to the negative and positive approaches to mobile home development, other studies have assumed a compromise position. This acknowledges both the merits and limitations of this dwelling type. Engstrom (1972) describes how Pemton Inc. has developed mobile home parks in Minnesota

to provide an efficient and economic form of housing for emergency conditions. The temporary nature of these units is, however, stressed and it is recommended that they are utilized for limited periods only after which the land should be cleared and redeveloped to avoid physical deterioration. A report by the City of Calgary (1971) recommends that contemporary mobile home living can offer an attractive 'way of life' if the legislation which presently designates the park as a commercial land-use is modified. However, the report includes reservations, advising that mobile homes be confined to park lots as opposed to individual sites. Foster's (1980) study of Dacono, Colorado, also adopts a compromise approach to mobile home park development. Information was derived via personal interviews with long-time residents. It was observed that, although development of 'The Glens' mobile home subdivision created a 2000% population increase in Dacono, allowed the construction of new facilities (a pool, service station, a store, etc.) and created an increase in tax revenues, negative outcomes also resulted from the operation. The mobile home park became the dominant feature of the town's cultural landscape and the expansion in population meant the need for increased municipal services (e.g., fire protection and educational facilities). Moreover, the anticipated union between the old settlement and the new subdivision did not materialize and very little social interaction occurs between them. Foster therefore concludes that future mobile home park planning in small towns should be more fragmental to allow

slower absorption into the existing community.

Foster (1981b) isolates reasons for changing perceptions towards mobile homes. He identifies four stages in the evolution of the urban mobile home park of the last 60 years during which an increasingly positive attitude towards them has emerged: (i) the 1920s, when the mobile home park was essentially a tourist camp; (ii) the Depression era, when the mobile home became a cheap housing alternative; (iii) the Second World War period when units were occupied by defense workers; and (iv) the contemporary period during which the mobile home park has been perceived to represent an alternative to conventional housing.

A compromise position has also been pursued by studies which have isolated problems associated with specific mobile home parks and then offered policy recommendations to alleviate these problems. The Edmonton Regional Commission (1968) surveyed seven parks and identified three main problems. Firstly, there has been a failure by planners to accept units as a form of permanent housing due to their association with transient oil-field workers. Secondly, very poor environmental conditions exist within the parks, and thirdly, the peripheral location of developments renders essential services inaccessible to residents. The report recommends that parks be considered a permanent urban residential land-use and hence be situated in a zone suitable to that status. Westdal (1977) makes similar recommendations with respect to Winnipeg, where parks have also been restricted to peripheral or isolated



sites due to the lower revenues received from them. In addition, The Social Policy and Research Centre (1971) report recommends that lower densities for parks in Vancouver be made statutory to alleviate overcrowding. Two recent Federal advisory documents also offer recommendations to alleviate current problems associated with development. The Joint Study Team (1977) recommends that the mobile home industry exists in a capacity to produce affordable housing for the Canadian consumer. The government should take the necessary action to resolve performance differences between the standards of the mobile home industry (C.S.A. Z.Z.40) and the C.M.H.C. requirements for site-built housing. In response to the recommendations expressed in this report, the C.M.H.C. document N.H.A. 5480 (1982) was published representing the manual for improving mobile home construction in line with the standards stipulated in the National Housing Act. This document may be seen as the culmination of the progressively more positive attitude towards mobile home development, for it affords mobile homes equal status with conventional housing.

### 2.3.2 Socio-demographic Characteristics of Mobile Home

#### Dwellers

It is the intention of this section to review recent studies which have elicited information concerning personal characteristics of mobile home dwellers.

Nelson (1972) distributed 376 mailed questionnaires to homes in 4 of the 7 mobile home parks existing at that time in Winnipeg. The

results characterized the occupants as a predominantly younger age-group (56% were between 20 and 34). The occupational level was found to be surprisingly high with over 70% identifying themselves either as 'skilled', 'salesworkers' or 'professional', whilst only 14% were apparently 'unskilled'. (Nelson does however admit that misinterpretation of the title 'professional/administrative' may have produced an unreliable result, particularly in view of the relatively low income levels which were recorded). Furthermore, only 15% of the sample reported having higher education and probably due in part to necessity in reaching essential services from the rather isolated mobile home parks, only 2.8% did not own at least one car. Interestingly, 83% of respondents had lived in Manitoba prior to living in their present home and 66% within metropolitan Winnipeg. The survey also attempted to elicit residents' perceptions to mobile home living: "economy" and "mobility" were the two most frequently cited advantages of park residency. Two other particularly interesting results were that most residents (94.8%) were satisfied with the parks' proximity to schools but 52% considered the social acceptance of mobile home dwellers by the rest of Winnipeg was limited.

Similar demographic profiles were elicited by the Lakehead Planning Board (1976) in Thunder Bay and Liroy (1973) in Vancouver. However, one difference among these studies' results was the older age structure identified in Liroy's sample (70% were older than 58 years of age). Broadly it would appear that the predominant age-group has varied with

geographic location. This may be attributed to climatic variation, with parks in milder climatic environments being more attractive to retirees than those in other areas (e.g., the Prairies) (Social Policy and Research Dept., 1971). Socio-economic status also appears to be relatively low (Lioy, 1973; Lakehead Planning Board, 1976). This corresponds to the Canadian national figures which classify 37% of all households as 'professional' but only 24% of mobile home households. Moreover, 50% of mobile home occupants are 'unskilled' compared to only 43% of all households (C.M.H.T.T.A, 1974). Mobile home owners are not particularly mobile in general, yet potential 'mobility' of the unit is still an attraction for obtaining one. Thus, the popular image of the mobile home occupant as a 'poor season worker, moving all the time' appears to be, at least in part, a fallacy, in view of these demographic studies.

### 2.3.3 Social Activity Patterns of Mobile Home Dwellers

In view of the considerable amount of literature which has emerged concerning mobile home dwellers and park development, there has been remarkably little attention focused on the socio-spatial behaviour of the occupants.

A report by the Regional municipality of Waterloo (1980) stresses the potential in a mobile home park for an active community life-style when a variety of recreational facilities are offered and social activities are organized to bring the park residents together (for example, dances, bingo, a swimmingpool, lawn bowling, etc.). However, the report makes

no reference to actual parks where provision of such facilities has stimulated social interaction between residents.

One anthropological study by Johnson (1971) did examine patterns of social participation within a single retirement mobile home community called 'Idle Haven' in the San Francisco Bay area. Information was derived by a formal interview survey with the occupants and observations of social events in order to 'get the feel' of the mobile home way of life. Limited social activity was found to occur beyond the park limits: only 20% were members of clubs and 21% attended church. In contrast, a high degree of social communication was found to occur within the park: 59.2% of the sample identified their present 'best friends' as their next-door neighbours. The most common method for forming non-neighbour friendships was through participation in park activities. Variation in degree of social participation was found to be related to the socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., length of residence of the individual) and position of the home in the park.

Finally, other research has attempted to compare the degree of social interaction exhibited by mobile home dwellers to that of conventional single-family home dwellers. Carneval's (1969) samples consisted of only 15 mobile home families and 15 'fixed-home' neighbourhood families. However, her results indicate that mobile home families exchanged 139 visits with other residents of the park, whilst conventional

home dwellers exchanged only 44 with other persons in their neighbourhood. It was thus tentatively concluded that a mobile home park is more of a social unit than the fixed home neighbourhood. Similarly, Gillies (1965) found that mobile home residents were more extroverted and friendly than other groups because of closer social contact found within a park and furthermore they are more 'respectful' towards, and 'less prejudiced' against, their neighbours than conventional housing occupants. Finally, Edwards, Klemmack and Hatos (1973) compared the degree of urban integration of random samples of 60 mobile home dwellers with 55 residents of conventional single-family homes. The results revealed that the latter participate to a greater extent in organizations and associations than mobile home dwellers, although the former know a greater number of neighbours on a first name basis. It is thus apparent that degree of social activity is affected by residence in a mobile home park.

#### 2.4 Summary and Place of the Study within the Literature

The review of literature which analyzes urban social interaction is divided into the sociological and behavioural-geographic approaches. A separate section reviews the research concerning mobile homes and their occupants. The sociological contribution includes research which (i) measures the dimensions of both informal and formal social interaction; (ii) attempts to explain variations in these dimensions in terms of socio-demographic characteristics of

the individual. The behavioural approach is concerned with (i) objective social space analyses which describe the overt geographic dimensions of social activity and explain variations in these on the basis of personal characteristics of the individual; (ii) subjective social space analyses which measure the social activity arena in terms of dimensions of the mental map of groups of individuals, (i.e., perceived social space). The literature concerning mobile homes involves (i) studies offering negative, positive and compromise evaluations of park developments and their residents; (ii) surveys presenting socio-demographic characteristics of residents, and (iii) research concerning residents' social activity patterns.

It would appear that objective social space analysis is the most detailed and accurate method of recording dimensions of activity. The greatest merit of objective social space analysis is that it elicits social space as it actually exists and not as it is perceived to exist by the respondents. Although subjective social space portrays the individual's image of his social arena, it has been argued that the overt behaviour pattern subsumes the perceived space (Buttimer, 1972). In addition, the 'intensity dimension' may be derived through 'objective' methods but this is not possible with subjective social space analysis. Furthermore, cognitive mapping procedures (used to elicit subjective social space) have been criticized in view of the variability of respondents' drawing technique and their inability to reproduce their

complete 'knowledge space' (Everitt, 1976). Although the humanistic approach to social space allows the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of determinants of the individual's unique social pattern, it is rejected on the grounds that it lacks general applicability and that biases may be introduced when the researcher interprets experiences as he feels them and not as they really are (Wood, 1982). This study therefore attempts to elicit objective, as opposed to subjective, social space.

Most objective analyses record visits to both voluntary and involuntary nodes. Yet it is disputable whether involuntary nodes (e.g., the work place, schools) do in fact constitute important sources of 'social' activity for contacts made are generally (by definition) obligatory. Trips to involuntary nodes are more frequent and regulated in a specific direction. Spatial distortions created by these trips do not necessarily represent desired patterns of social activity (recreational or leisure-time pursuits). This study, therefore, measures voluntary social contact only.

Researchers have frequently measured the social spaces of members of geographically concentrated groups in society (e.g., gang members restricted to the urban core, Musqueam Indians restricted to the reservation, etc.), in order to empirically test the degree of spatial integration of these groups with the surrounding environment. There has been no apparent attempt to elicit the social spaces of mobile home dwellers, even though the extent to which these residents

socialize beyond the limits of the mobile home park is a problem requiring investigation: Mobile home dwellers have been characterized by the 'negative' approach as 'transients' who do not remain in an urban community long enough to establish extensive social networks. However, the 'positive' approach has maintained that mobile home dwellers are semi-permanent residents who frequent social nodes in the manner of conventional home occupants. Furthermore, a number of studies have emphasized that mobile home parks are generally located in peripheral urban sites remote from essential urban services and other urban dwellers, thus causing acute problems of social inaccessibility for residents. However, no study has empirically examined the influence of the location of a mobile home park upon the socio-spatial activity of its occupants.

Studies specifically concerned with social activity of mobile home dwellers have either failed to measure social interaction in a spatial context or have neglected to measure the dimensions of social space beyond the limits of the mobile home park. Moreover, there has been no attempt to explain variation in socio-spatial activity between mobile home dwellers.

It is argued, therefore that the behavioural approach is the most appropriate analytical framework within which to measure the social spaces of mobile home dwellers. Firstly, this approach allows study of the individual mobile home dweller, yet facilitates analysis of his/her activities



at the lowest level of aggregation. Secondly, by definition, behavioural geography demands the examination of the cognitive processes responsible for spatial behaviour, rather than a mere description of elicited dimensions (Golledge, 1981). Unlike subjective social space, which specifically focuses upon the perceived social arena, objective social space may not be considered to be 'cognitive-behavioural', since mental constructs are not actually measured. However, the derived social spaces are nevertheless presumed to reflect variations in leisure-time tastes and preferences and in degree of awareness of available social opportunities. There is an underlying assumption that mental constructs mediate the relationships between particular profile variables and overt spatial behaviour.



## CHAPTER III

## THE HYPOTHESES AND DATA SOURCES

The hypotheses are presented and discussed in detail in this chapter. The data sources which are used to test the hypotheses are then described.

### 3.1 The Hypotheses

#### 3.1.1 Hypotheses concerning Length of Residence

The purpose is to examine the relationship between the dimensions of the social spaces of mobile home residents and length of residence in that mobile home park.

Previous research has revealed positive relationships between these variables. For example, Smith, Form and Stone (1954) in Lansing, Michigan found that the number of informal visits made was directly proportional to length of residence in that city. Gans (1961) observed that as the length of residence in a suburban housing development increased so too did the distance travelled to social contact sources. Furthermore, Everitt and Cadwallader (1977) in Los Angeles use variance estimates to reveal a positive relationship between length of residence and extent of subjective social space indicated by the cognitive map. Everitt (1976) has postulated that the cognitive map is an appropriate indicator of objective social space, to which these findings should relate. The above results support the contention of Horton and Reynolds (1971) that the dimensions of the action space (and hence the activity space) will vary as a function of a complex learning process. This process consists of 3 stages.

In the 'Distance bias stage' a new in-migrant to a community will first become acquainted with and will use a limited number of social nodes near the residence and work place. During the 'Community socialization stage' the individual has learned about other satisfactory social nodes (via personal contact and the mass media) in the city and hence patronizes these. Finally, in the 'Spatial equilibrium' stage the individual's socio-spatial behaviour has become routinized and habitual (i.e., the activity space is stable), for the activity space is in spatial equilibrium with the action space.

On the basis of these arguments two hypotheses are formulated:

Hypothesis I: The number of social contacts of mobile home park occupants increases with length of residence in the mobile home park.

Hypothesis II: The mean distance travelled to social nodes by mobile home park occupants increases with length of residence in the mobile home park.

### 3.1.2 Hypotheses concerning Socio-economic Status

The purpose is to examine the relationship between the dimensions of the social spaces of mobile home residents and socio-economic status. Positive relationships between measures of social interaction and socio-economic status have been presented in earlier studies. For example, Babchuk and Edwards's (1965) research in Lincoln, Nebraska disclose a positive relationship between socio-economic status and participation in voluntary associations. Earickson (1970)

propounds that members of higher socio-economic groups travel further to indulge in formal urban activities than those in lower status groups, particularly with respect to the use of entertainment facilities (theatre, restaurants, etc.), recreational and sporting clubs. Similar observations as these are made by Johnson (1971) in the context of occupants of a single mobile home park in the San Francisco Bay Area. She reveals that residents of higher social status make a greater number of social trips within the wider community (i.e., outside the park) than residents in lower social status groups. This pattern is attributed by Johnson primarily to variation in taste for leisure pursuits between social status groups. Mobile home park facilities and activities (swimming pool, dances, handicraft classes) and the homes of other residents of the park community are considered more attractive sources of social contact to the working class residents than to those in higher social status groups, who require more cultural pursuits to satisfy their interests and tastes (e.g., the theatre, sporting events, golfing, the symphony, ethnic restaurants, etc.). Thus, lower class mobile home dwellers are less likely to use social nodes within the wider urban community than residents in higher social status groups, who are able to spend a greater percentage of their personal budget on urban social activity.

In view of these arguments two hypotheses are formulated:

Hypothesis III: The number of social contacts of mobile home park occupants increases with socio-economic status.

Hypothesis IV: The mean distance travelled to social nodes by mobile home park occupants increases with socio-economic status.

### 3.1.3 Hypotheses concerning Age

The purpose is to examine the relationship between the dimensions of the social spaces of mobile home residents and age.

Previous research has revealed inverse relationships between the dimensions of social space and age. Axelrod (1950), examining 749 households in Detroit, discloses that club participation is greater among younger men than older men and that participation declines in the oldest age-groups. Foley (1950), working with 400 families in North West St. Louis, reveals that young adults (18-34 years of age) make the least use of local facilities and that older persons (i.e., over 60 years) use them most frequently. Peace (1982) found that between 20-50% of a group of 226 individuals over the age of 65 in Swansea, Wales exhibited restricted activity spaces.

In the specific context of a mobile home park, in the San Francisco Bay Area, it was revealed that residents between 50 and 70 years accounted for the lowest degree of informal and formal social participation beyond the park limits (Johnson, 1971).

The findings suggest that as the individual ages, the number of opportunities for social interaction available to him/her is reduced, due to a decline in that person's access to environmental information. As a result, preferences for certain types of social contact are therefore repressed (Eyles, 1970). This problem is accentuated by the limited financial and physical capabilities associated with increasing age. To compensate for established links which are forcibly abandoned in the wider community, the elderly may adopt a new pattern of socio-spatial activity focused mainly within the mobile home park. This would be consistent with the 'activity theory' (Cavan et. al., 1949).

In accordance with these arguments, two hypotheses are formulated:

Hypothesis V: The number of social contacts of mobile home park occupants decreases with age.

Hypothesis VI: The mean distance travelled to social nodes by mobile home park occupants decreases with age.

### 3.1.4 Hypothesis concerning the Degree of Proximity of the Mobile Home Park to the Built-up Area.

The purpose is to examine the relationship between the proportion of contacts made within the mobile home park and proximity of that park to the built-up area.

Previous research has demonstrated that physically isolated sub-areas exhibit more frequent internal social interaction than other areas. Weightman (1976) describes social participation in a geographically remote Indian reserve, and Everitt (1980) reveals that neighbourly visiting within a Manitoba Hutterite colony was more frequent than between farmsteads in the surrounding environment. In the context of mobile home parks, it has been argued that the peripheral urban location of developments renders essential urban services and facilities inaccessible to residents. The physical proximity of a mobile home park to social nodes is thus postulated to be a determinant of residents' amount of social interaction (Edmonton Regional Commission, 1968; City of Calgary, 1971; Westdal, 1982; Nutt-Powell, 1982). Such patterns may no longer be explained in terms of traditional distance-decay models (see Berry and Horton, 1970) which postulate that patronization of social facilities is directly proportional to propinquity, due to costs of travel and time. The 'westernized' individual

is highly mobile and is enabled to communicate with extensive areas with limited inconvenience (Webber, 1964). However, Horton and Reynolds (1971) maintain that the spatial environment is still important in explaining interaction patterns. They postulate that through personal observation, individuals become more familiar with the area in the vicinity of the residence, than places at greater distances from the home about which information is limited. Due to this restriction of the action space therefore, activity space is also restricted to the immediate locality. Accordingly, residents of Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park, which is isolated from the built-up area and hence from social nodes, will have relatively limited awareness of available social contacts in the City of Winnipeg area. Occupants will therefore depend largely upon nearer park facilities and neighbours for intensive social interaction.

In view of these considerations, it is desirable to formulate:

Hypothesis VII: As the distance of the mobile home park from the built-up area increases, a greater proportion of social contacts will take place within the park.

### 3.2 The Data Sources

The Winnipeg mobile home parks which constitute the main data sources are first discussed. The questionnaire survey is then outlined. Finally, the measurement of distance and socio-economic status is discussed.



### 3.2.1 The Areas of Study

Two mobile-home parks in the Winnipeg area were chosen for specific study. It was decided for ease of data collection to use two parks as opposed to making a random sample of residents from all of the mobile home communities in Winnipeg. Selection of parks was thus made from all those in the immediate Winnipeg area:

- (i) Downs Village Mobile Home Community;
- (ii) Northgate Trailer Park;
- (iii) St. Vital Trailer Park;
- (iv) Southglen Mobile Home Community; and
- (v) Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park.

The location of each park in Winnipeg is given in Figure 1. Southglen Mobile Home Community and Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park were eventually chosen. The rationale for their selection is three fold. First, they are located at significantly different distances from the built-up area. Specifically, Southglen is located at 0.5 kilometres from other urban developments, while the corresponding distance for Pineridge Villate is 9.1 kilometres. Figure 1 demonstrates that proximity of a mobile home park to the Winnipeg built-up area indicates proximity to essential Winnipeg urban facilities. Social nodes are mostly located within the urban fabric. Accordingly, residents of Pineridge Village must travel further distances than Southglen residents to obtain the use of important social facilities. This contrast in degree of proximity of the park to the built-up area (and thus urban facilities) was required to test Hypothesis VII (see page 48). Second, if all the respondents for the survey are to be drawn from just two mobile

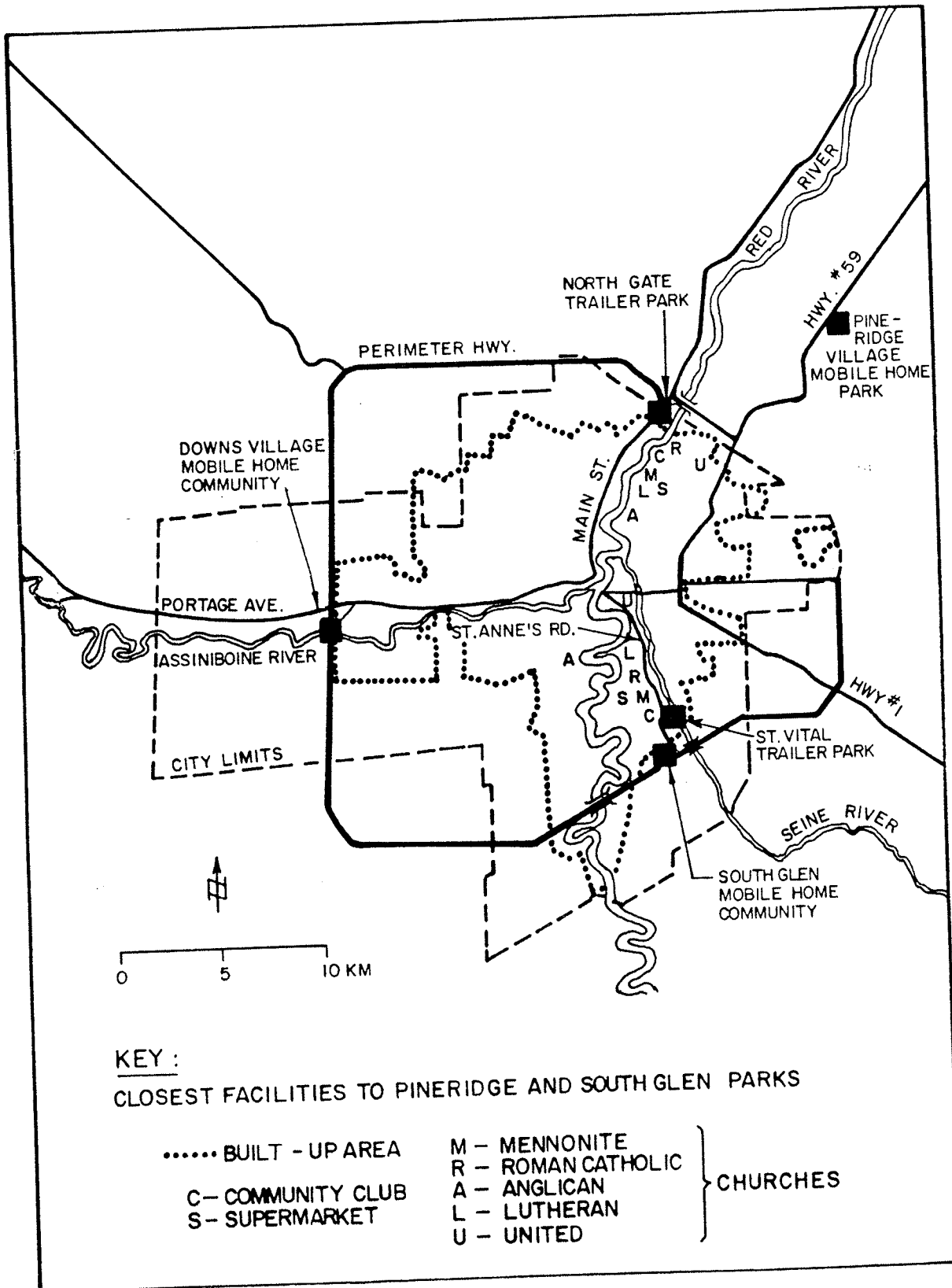


FIGURE 1: MOBILE HOME PARKS IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

home parks, these communities had to be of sufficient size in terms of total home lots (sites) to ensure that the samples were large enough. Thirdly, both Southglen and Pineridge Village parks are located on the eastern fringe of the city making them more accessible to the researcher than those parks in the north and west. In order to minimize research costs, these parks were therefore chosen.

Table 1 displays the number of total mobile home lots contained in each park and also the number of those lots occupied in January 1982. Statistics for this table were provided via personal contact with the respective park managers. As seen in this table, Southglen Mobile Home Community encompasses 365 sites, of which 325 were occupied in January 1982 (McGonigal, 1982). Pineridge Village comprises 201 lots, 171 of which were occupied in February 1982 (Kuharsky, 1982). In contrast, Northgate Trailer Park contains only 74 lots and St. Vital Trailer Park only 24. Although Downs Village contains over 200 trailers, accessibility to the park was considered to be lower and hence Pineridge was designated in preference. They are next described in greater depth to provide background for the data-collection procedure.

#### 3.2.1.1 Southglen Mobile Home Community

The park (Figure 2) is located two hundred metres from the intersection of Southglen Boulevard and St. Anne's Road. Its site, on the bank of the River Seine, consists of land considered unsuitable for major residential development. Except for one field (which is still farmed), the park area

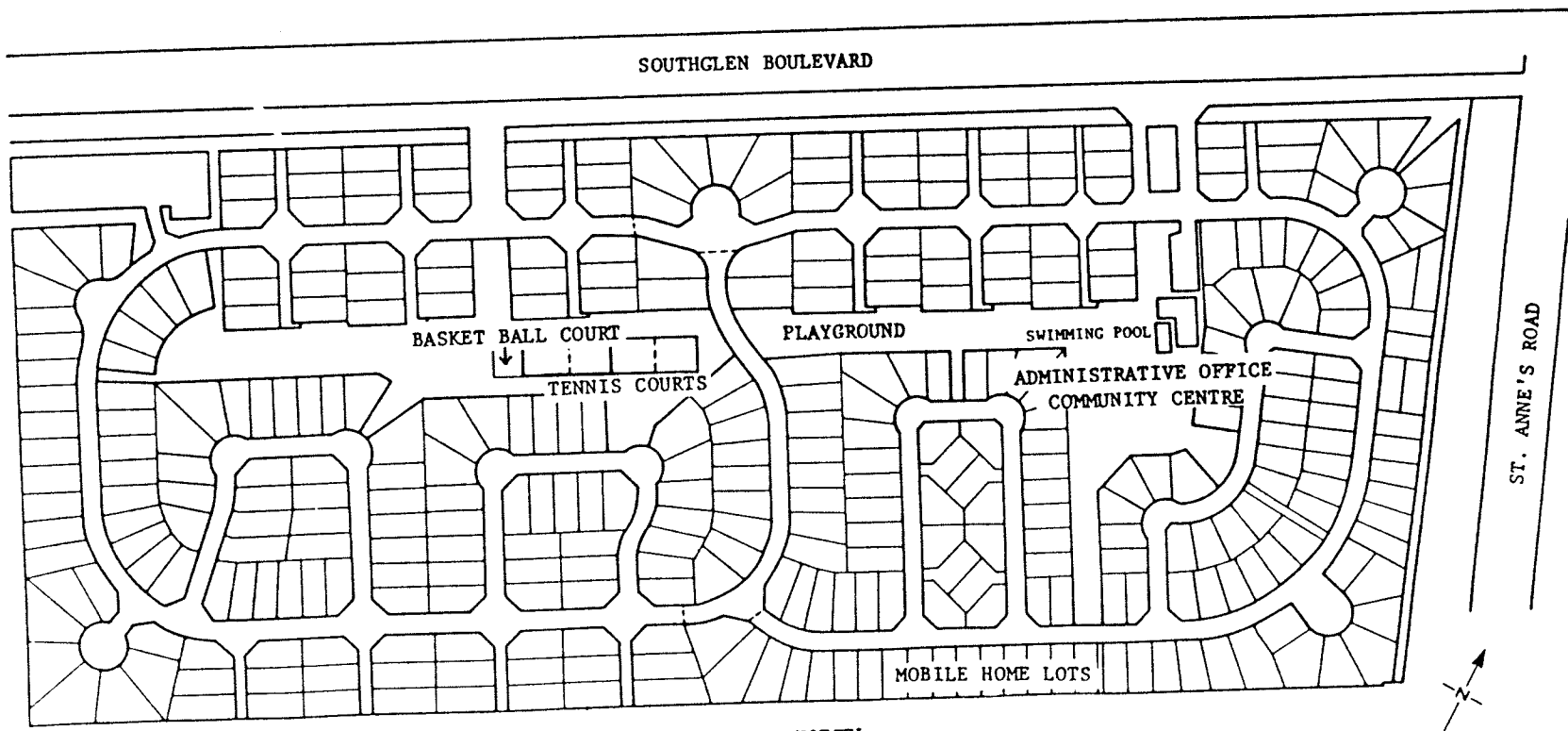


FIGURE 2: PLAN OF SOUTHGLEN MOBILE HOME COMMUNITY.

TABLE 1  
MOBILE HOME LOTS AVAILABLE AND OCCUPIED  
IN WINNIPEG MOBILE HOME PARKS

Mobile Home Park	Number of Mobile Home Lots Available	Number of Lots Occupied (1982)
Downs Village	214	193
Northgate	74	updated statistic unavailable
St. Vital	41	29
Southglen	365	325
Pineridge Village	201	171

is adjacent to other residential development and thus represents the most physically integrated mobile home park in Winnipeg. The sizes of the lots vary from 13 x 15.2 metres to 15.2 x 30.5 metres. The park has an unconventional plan comprising bays, crescents, streets and cul-de-sacs. This plan gives rise to a more aesthetic environment than is found in the average mobile home community. The lots are fully serviced including sanitary sewer, storm sewer, gas, power, street lighting and paved roads, etc. (McGonigal, 1982). The monthly rental amounts to \$101.65 per lot (1982). Rules and regulations are fairly rigid. For example, dogs are only allowed with management permission and fencing around a lot is absolutely forbidden. Finally, community facilities are fairly abundant and well-organized, for example, there exists a swimming pool, tenant association, tennis courts, entertainment in the community club, a playground, etc. (McGonigal, 1982 and personal observation).

#### 3.2.1.2 Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park

Pineridge Village (Figure 3) is situated beyond the Perimeter Highway, 1½ kilometres south of Bird's Hill Provincial Park. In contrast to Southglen, therefore, Pineridge Village is physically isolated from the continuously built-up area and from social facilities located within it. Two of the park's four bays are hard-surfaced, the other consist of gravel although plans have been made for hard surfacing. The average lot size in Pineridge approximates 15.5 x 26 metres, slightly less than the mean

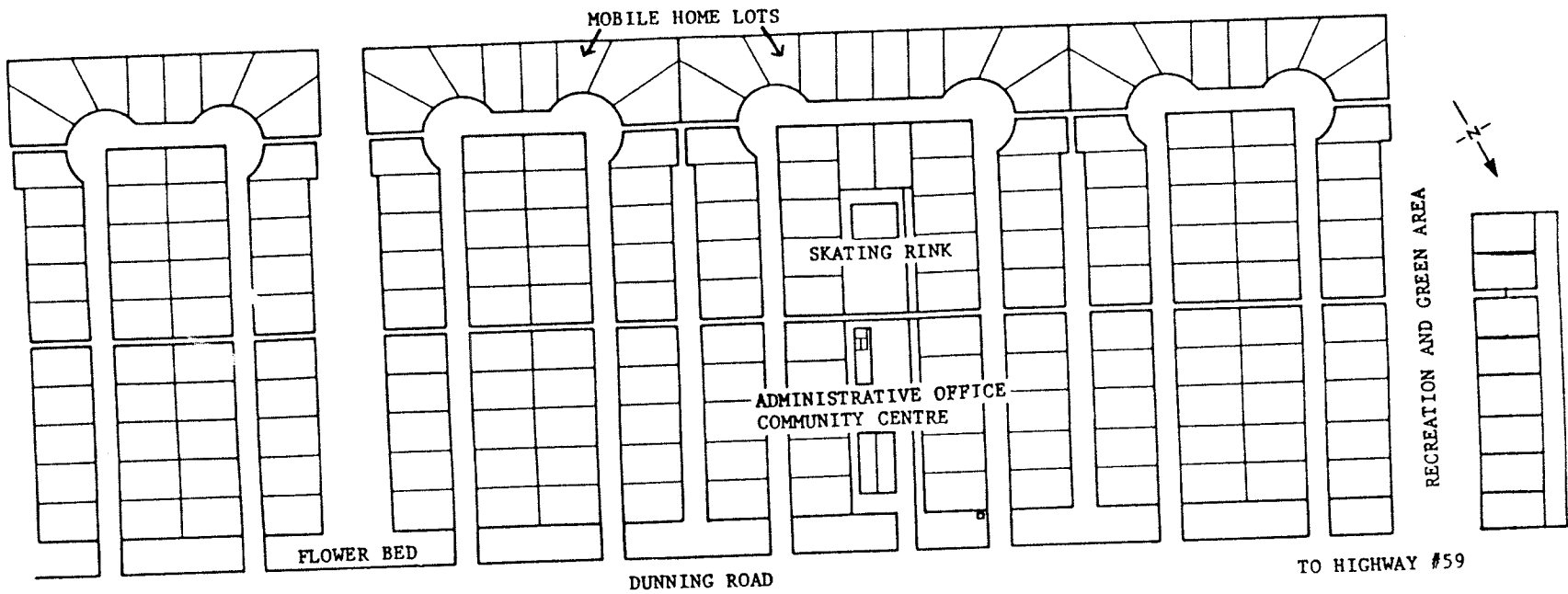


FIGURE 3: PLAN OF PINERIDGE VILLAGE MOBILE HOME PARK.

area for a Southglen lot. The monthly rental at Pineridge (\$95.00 (1982)) per lot includes municipal taxes, water and sewer, while other utilities are the responsibility of the tenant. The regulations appear to be less rigid, for example, dogs are allowed although there is a size restriction and the fencing of tenant's sites is encouraged. However facility provision in the park is more limited: there are no pools or tennis courts, although large areas are designated for recreational purposes (there is a ball diamond, skating ice and swings). The active community club runs 'Bingo', games and sports as well as a cable television channel.

### 3.2.2 The Questionnaire Survey of the Mobile Home Households

The purpose of administering a questionnaire survey to the mobile homes was to obtain two data sets: (i) subject (profile) characteristics of the head-of-household; (ii) information concerning the number and location of social nodes contacted by mobile home residents (see Appendix 2).

Section A of the prepared questionnaire includes personal profile questions on length of residence, age, occupational status, level of education, automobile ownership, levels of head-of-household/total household income, country of birth and religious affiliation. In order to gain an accurate record of occupational titles, an unstructured answer was requested. This required the respondent to describe his/her occupational title, as opposed to indicating the 'occupational category' to which the job title belonged. For all other questions, structured response formats were used.



Sections B and C request the respondent to indicate whether or not he (or she) uses specified social facilities in Winnipeg (i.e., community clubs, churches, sporting or recreation clubs, entertainment facilities, parks and grocery stores) and whether he/she has friends or relatives in the urban area who are visited at least once a month. The respondent is also requested to indicate the physical location of all his/her social nodes in terms of street location, the nearest street intersection and the area of Winnipeg. This information enables the indicators of social space to be measured. In cases where a social node is not contacted, the respondent is requested to provide a reason for failing to participate.

Questions in Section D are concerned with activities within the mobile home park (i.e., the use or non-use of the community club, tennis courts, swimming pool, entertainment facilities, tenant association meetings and organized park facilities, and the number of visits made to other park residents). It was requested that the head-of-household complete the questionnaire. A letter of explanation introducing the survey aims, organiser and completion instructions was attached to each questionnaire (Appendix 2).

A pre-test to establish the effectiveness of the method was undertaken on the evening of Monday June 7th, 1982 (see Appendix 1). Respondents were encouraged to constructively criticize the draft questionnaire particularly in terms of questions they found difficult to answer. Fifteen mobile homes in the north-eastern sector of Southglen Mobile Home

Community were directly contacted. The occupants were briefed on the purpose of the survey. Ten showed an interest in the survey and they were each asked to complete the questionnaire. Eight questionnaires which had been fully completed were returned within 7 days. The only criticism made by respondents was that there should have been questions included concerning degree of resident satisfaction with park amenities. Pursuance of this, however, would have been incompatible with the thesis objectives. The questionnaire was thus left unmodified.

The main survey involved distributing 371 questionnaires. Two hundred homes in the northern and western sectors of Southglen Mobile Home Community were selected for distribution (see Figure 13). They were located along the main park street (and in cul-de-sacs adjoining this) and were thus the most physically accessible units to the researcher during delivery and collection trips. There is no reason why this sample should not be considered representative of all occupants in the park as the lot rental is the same for all sized lots and there is no other obvious indicator of within-park socio-demographic variation. A total of 171 questionnaires were delivered in Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park (i.e., one to every park home). All Southglen homes possessed 'conventional' mail boxes wherein the questionnaires were deposited. Mail boxes were generally absent from Pineridge homes, however, and the questionnaire was therefore personally delivered to the occupant. All cover letters included

'pick-up' dates and times. In both parks questionnaires were collected in person within five days of delivery between the hours of 6 p.m. and 9 p.m., or at weekends. Residents planning to be absent at the stated time were requested to leave their questionnaires at their respective park administrative office. This proved to be a valuable means of questionnaire retrieval, particularly in Pineridge Village, where over 25% were held by the manager. After repeated call-backs, 74 questionnaires were returned from Southglen and 73 from Pineridge Village, representing response rates of 37% and 42% respectively.

### 3.2.3 The Measurement of Distance and Socio-Economic Status

#### 3.2.3.1 The Measurement of Distance

The information concerning location of social contact nodes was utilized to calculate distance travelled in the following way. The node (or nearest intersection to the node) was located on a base map, namely the 'City of Winnipeg Street Guide, 1981' (Scale: 2.25 c.m. to 1 k.m.). In each park, it was decided to designate a common point to act as a residence control mainly because the scale of the base map was too small to distinguish individual residence locations. For both parks, the entrance of the community area was designated as the control point (Figures 13 and 14). Using the base map, measurements were made to social contact nodes in terms of airline distances expressed in kilometres.

### 3.2.3.2 The Measurement of Socio-Economic Status

Occupational titles provided in unstructured form by the respondents were categorized into groups through use of a socio-economic index devised by Blishen and McRoberts (1976). This study presents an extensive list of 480 occupational titles with their respective socio-economic indices. The researchers calculated these indices in two main stages. First, a sample of occupational titles, and the respective income and education levels of those persons holding them, were derived from the 1971 Canadian census. A score was assigned to each occupational title according to the Pineo-Porter (1967) scale (which ranks job titles in terms of the prestige associated with each). Two regression analyses were then performed. The weights obtained indicated how accurately occupation may be predicted using education and income respectively. The weights were then used to perform the second stage of the analysis. Indices for 480 occupational titles were calculated on the basis of the following regression equation:

$$y = a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2$$

where  $y$  = occupational status score;

$X_1$  = income level (percentage of persons in that particular occupational category in 1970 with incomes greater than \$6,500)

$X_2$  = education level (percentage of persons in that particular occupational category in 1970 who had completed at least the penultimate year of high school)

$b_1$  = regression weight for income (.2640)

$b_2$  = regression weight for education (.3619)

a = intercept term (13.985)

The Blishen-McRoberts' socio-economic index is used in the present study because it combines three socio-economic indicators into a single rating and this avoids the need to incorporate the income or education values (derived from the questionnaire) into the present analysis. Job titles disclosed in the survey questionnaires were matched as closely as possible with titles on the Blishen-McRoberts' scale. The related scores for each title were then arranged into six categories according to the socio-economic index (displayed in Table 2). Each of these categories was then defined in terms of the general occupational classes recognized by Hall-Jones (1950). These categories are used to measure the level of occupation in this study.

### 3.3 Summary

The seven hypotheses to be tested are presented. The rationale for constructing each hypothesis is discussed and previous related empirical studies are cited. The data sources are then discussed. The two mobile home parks which are the main study areas are described. This is followed by an outline of the questionnaire survey. Finally, the methods used to measure distance and socio-economic status in this study are explained.

TABLE 2

MEASUREMENT SCALE FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Blishen and McRoberts categorization (1976)	Hall-Jones' scale (1950)
Socio-Economic Index	Occupational Category
70+	I <u>Professional</u> /managerial and executive.
60.00 - 69.99	II <u>Inspectional</u> and other non-manual higher grade.
50.00 - 59.99	III <u>Supervisory</u> and non-manual lower grade.
40.00 - 49.99	IV <u>Skilled-manual</u> and routine non-manual workers.
30.00 - 39.99	V <u>Semi-skilled</u> manual workers.
< 30	VI <u>Unskilled</u> manual workers.

CHAPTER IV  
THE ANALYSIS

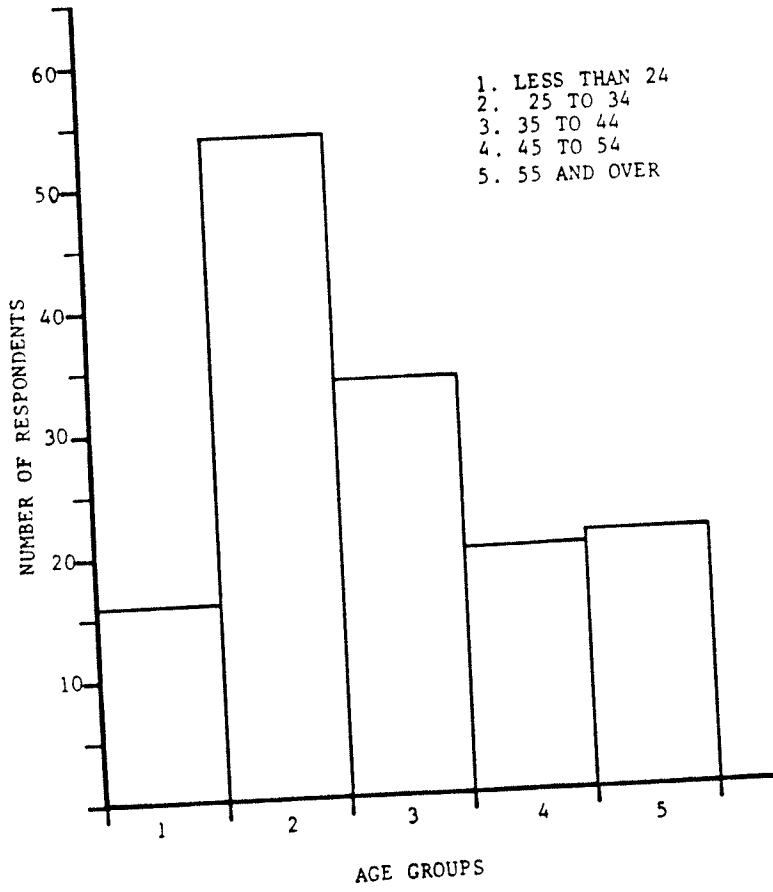
This chapter is concerned with the analysis of the data derived through the questionnaire. The socio-demographic characteristics of the mobile home residents are first outlined. Results indicating the form of social space of these residents are then presented. Finally, the hypotheses are each tested using statistical inferential procedures and interpretations of the results are offered.

4.1 The Personal Characteristics of the Entire Sample

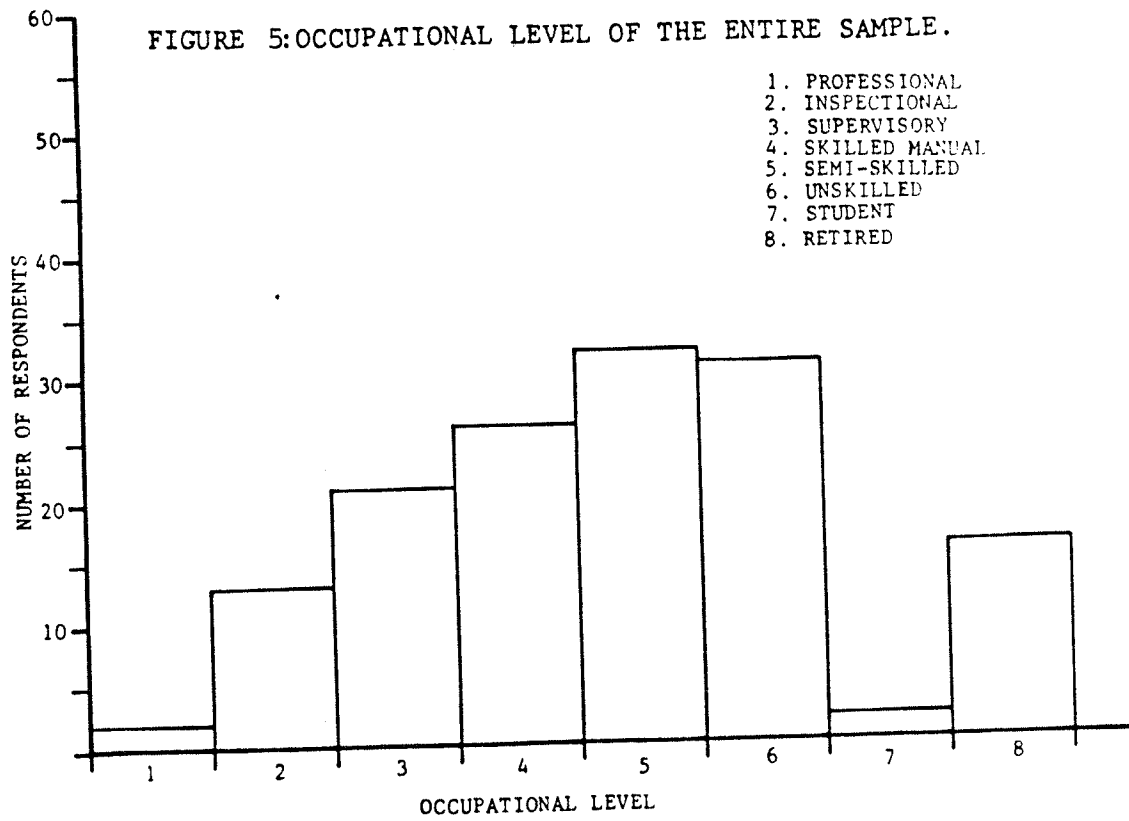
The data relating to the profile characteristics of the respondents are summarized in the form of histograms (Figures 4-11). In addition to these, data concerning (i) the degree to which a household considers the mobile home park its permanent home, and (ii) the number of years that each household expected to remain in that park are also presented (Figures 12-13).

The frequency distribution for age of the head of household (Figure 4) suggests a broadly heterogeneous structure for the sample, although a slight positive skewness is evident. The occupational distribution (Figure 5) reveals a predominance of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. It is notable that few professional and inspectional (socio-economic categories I and II) employees reside in the two mobile home parks. This tendency generally supports the findings of previous work in other parts of Canada (Lioy, 1973;

FIGURE 4: AGE GROUPS OF THE ENTIRE SAMPLE.





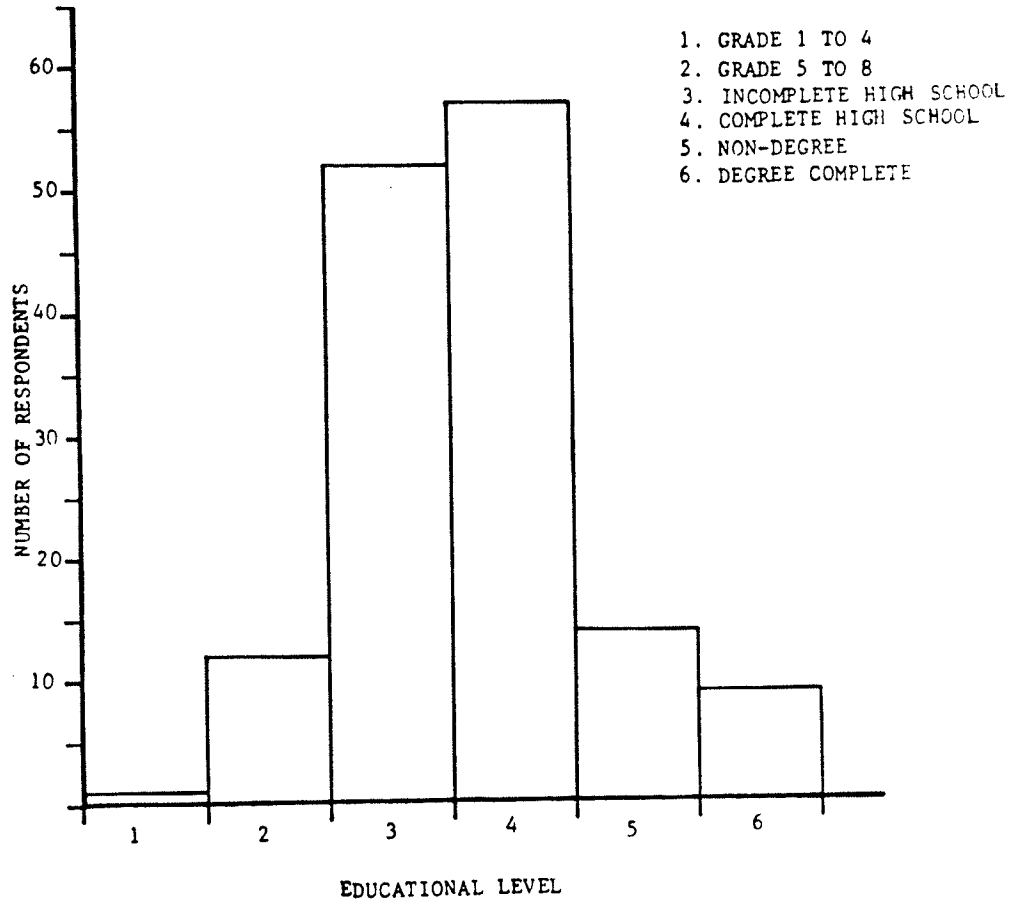


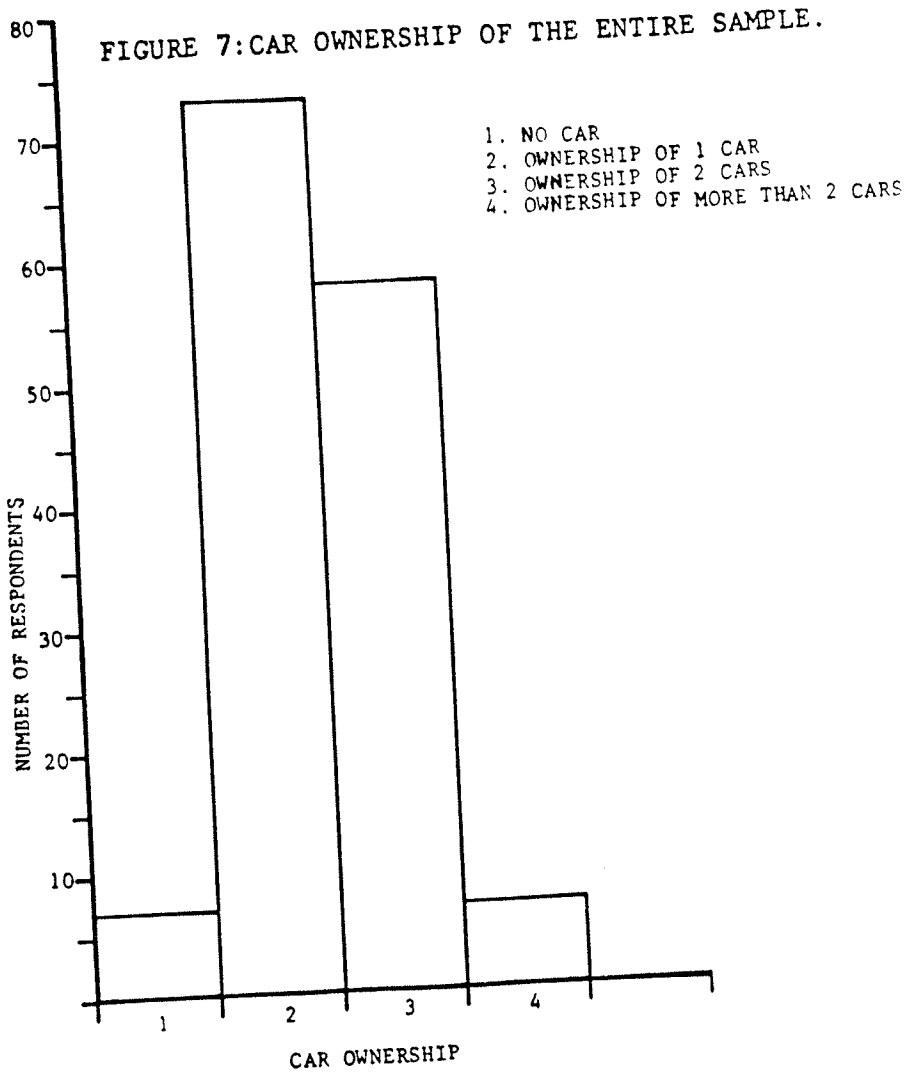
Lakehead Planning Board, 1976). The notable discrepancy between the results of this survey concerning occupational status and those of Nelson's (1972) work in Winnipeg is attributed to inaccuracies recorded by that researcher (see page 34). The distribution of educational level of the head of household (Figure 6) is approximately normal with the majority of respondents (38.8%) having graduated from high school, although very few from university (6.1%). The results indicate slightly lower levels of educational achievement than the residents of all of the Winnipeg parks surveyed by Nelson (1972), 15% of whom had received 'higher education'. The small number of persons, in this study, having only received education to grade 8 may be attributed to the overall younger age profile (Figure 4). The statutory school leaving age for most residents was 16 years and over, i.e. Grade 10. The data concerning automobile ownership (Figure 7) reveals that whilst 7 households possess no car at all, an equal number has at least one vehicle. In view of the perceived necessity to own a car whilst residing in an isolated mobile home park,<sup>1</sup> it was believed that this variable constituted an inaccurate indicator of socio-economic status. It was therefore excluded from subsequent analysis. A total of 34 respondents was found to have omitted the question concerning total household income. It was thus decided to use head of household income for which only 13 missing cases were cited.

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<sup>1</sup> Pineridge Village, in particular, is not even connected to Winnipeg by Transit bus service.

FIGURE 6 : EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ENTIRE SAMPLE.





The survey data for head of household income (Figure 8) is approximately normally distributed, with 74.1% of the sample earning between \$10,000 and \$29,999. This moderate income profile does not appear to correspond to the 'lower socio-economic' characteristics associated with mobile home dwellers in early studies (section 2.3.1). Figure 9 provides information concerning length of residence in the mobile home park. The data indicate that 48.6% have resided there less than 3 years and the remainder longer than this. The percentage of persons in this sample residing there longer than 5 years (26.5%) exceeds that registered in other surveys. For example, Nelson's (1972) study found that only 12% of respondents had resided for this time period. The data collected revealing country of origin (Figure 10) indicates that 66% of the entire sample were born in Canada, whereas the remainder were equally distributed between other English-speaking nations (e.g., Great Britain, The U.S.A., and Australia) and non-English speaking countries (e.g., Italy, France and Germany). Diversity in country of origin is perhaps not as high as would at first be expected in view of studies concerning Winnipeg's ethnic structure, (e.g., Turnbull, 1974). However, it is noteworthy that these studies were based upon census data including older immigrants from Europe, etc., whereas only head of household responses are utilized here. Due to the younger age structure (Figure 4), therefore, it is not surprising that the majority of respondents are Canadian born. Finally, the diversity of

FIGURE 8 : INCOME LEVEL OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD  
(ENTIRE SAMPLE).

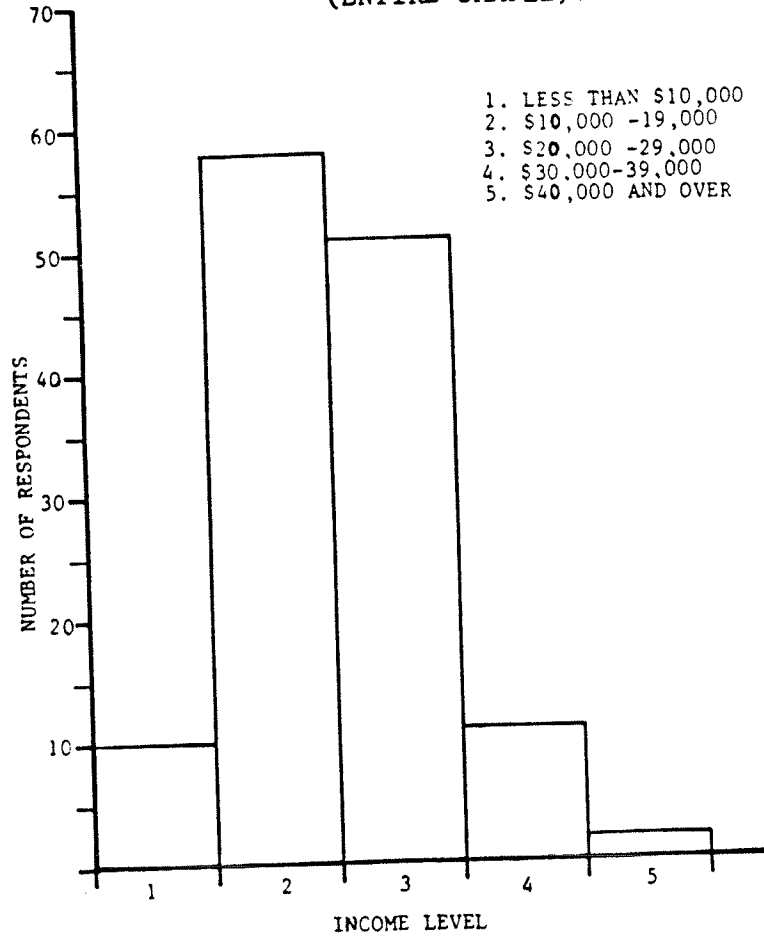


FIGURE 9 :LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN MOBILE HOME PARK  
OF THE ENTIRE SAMPLE.

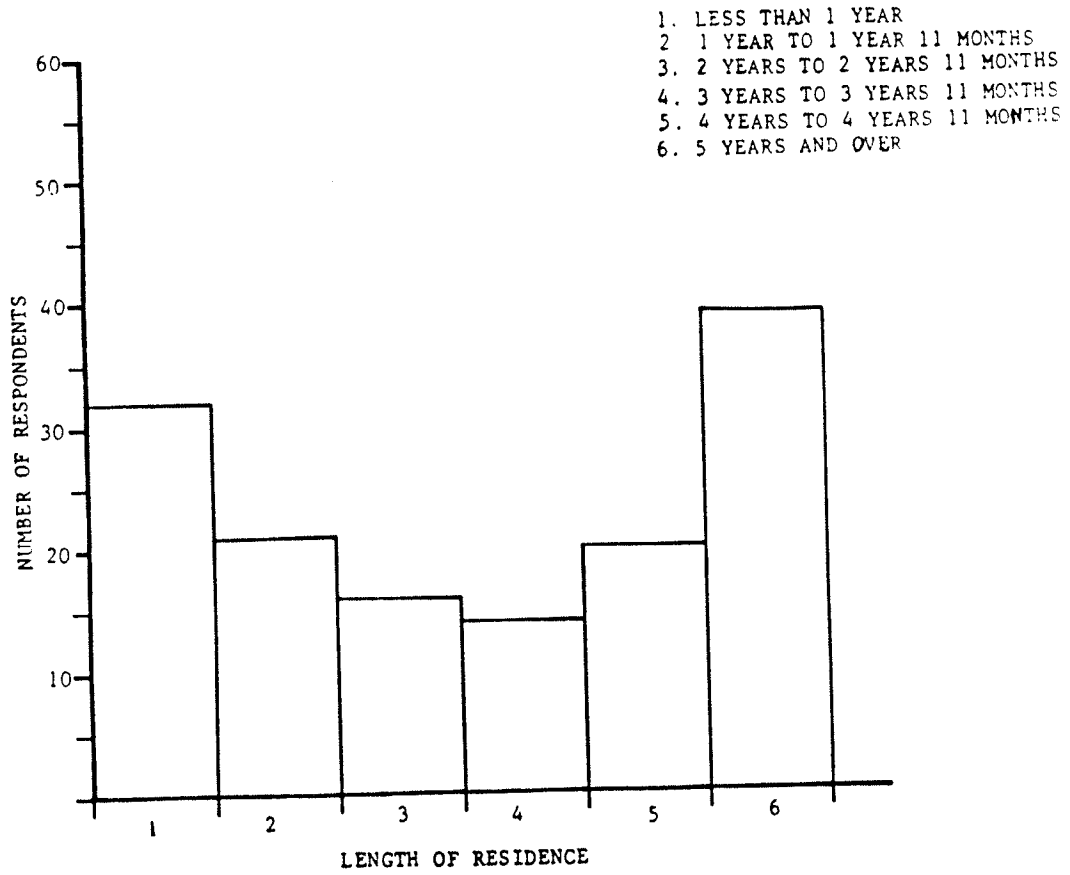
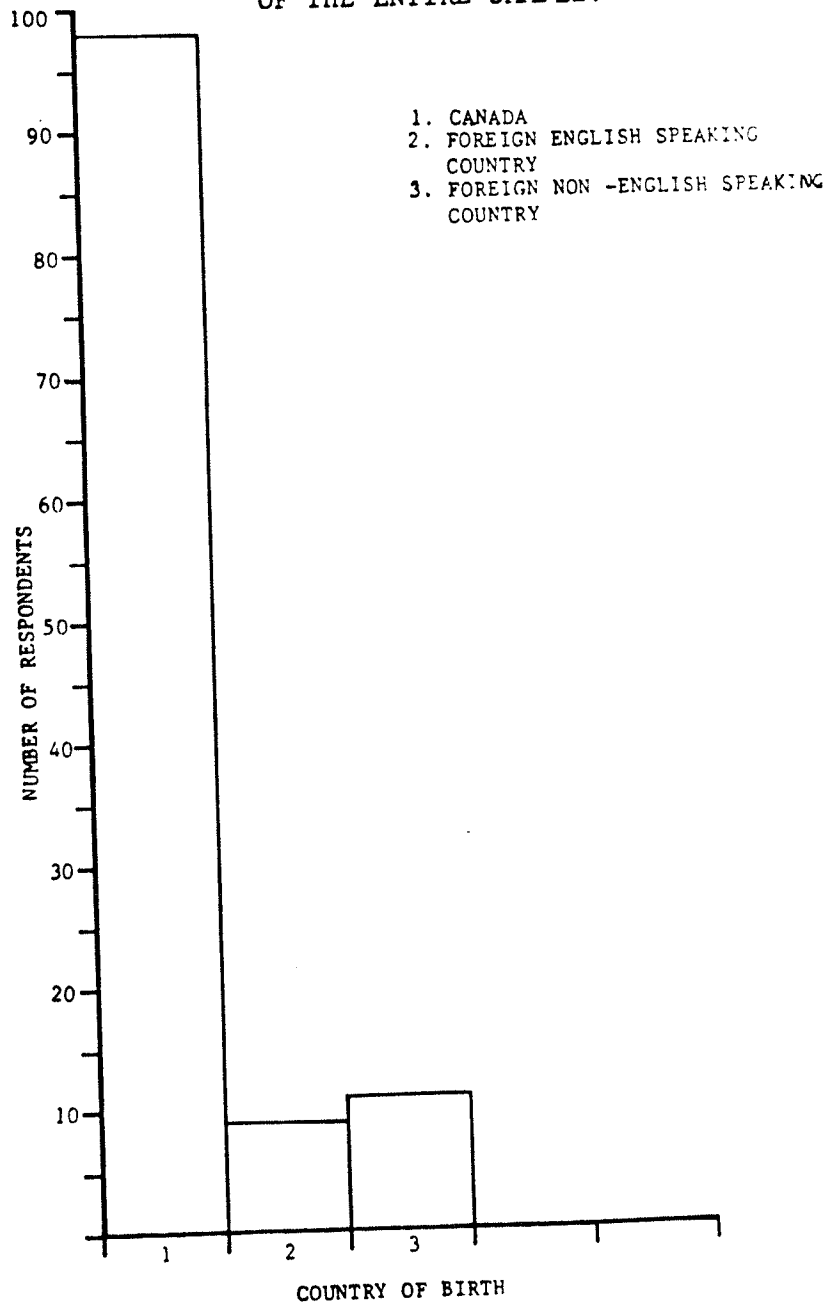


FIGURE 10 COUNTRY OF BIRTH  
OF THE ENTIRE SAMPLE.





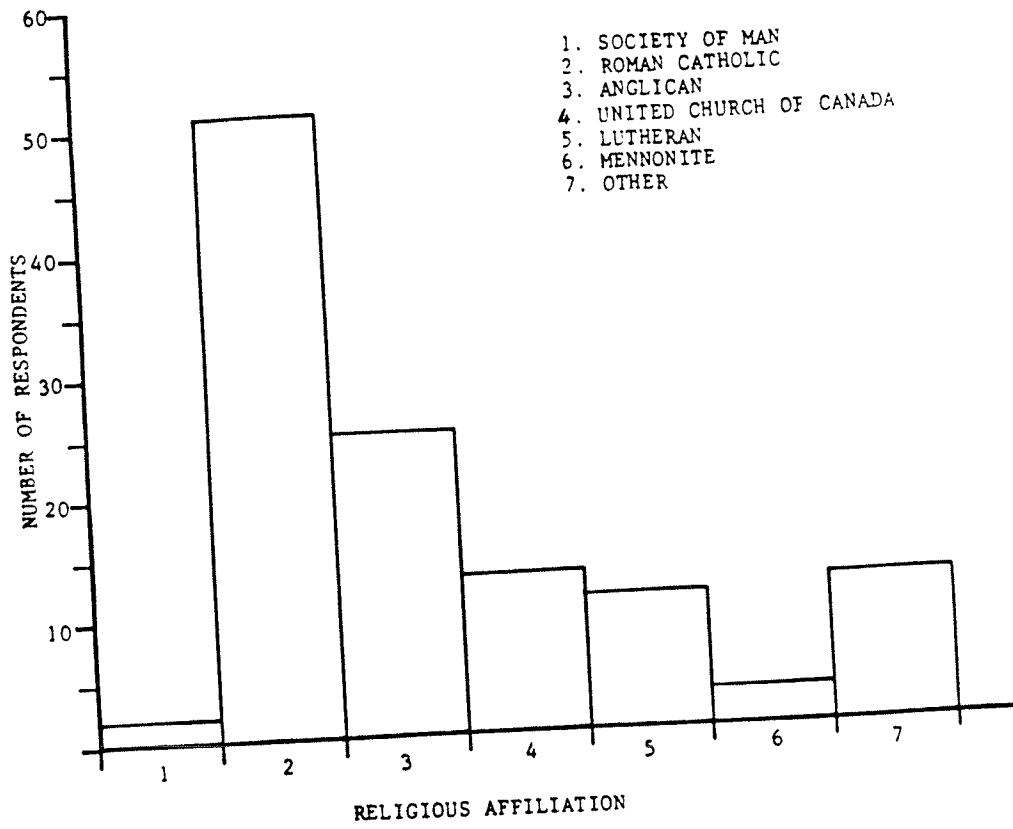
religious affiliation is fairly evident from the frequency diagram (Figure 11). Although 35% of the sample identified themselves as Roman Catholic, the remainder is divided between eleven other denominations.

The large number of respondents (99) who considered their particular mobile home park as a "permanent home" is illustrated in Figure 12. This reaffirms conclusions drawn in Vancouver (Lioy, 1973) that the mobile home dweller is certainly no longer a 'transient'. In order to gain more specific insight into the plans of those who did not consider the park a 'permanent' home, respondents were asked how long they expected to remain. (Figure 13). Although 24 (17%) only intended staying for a maximum of 3 years, 11 (7.5%) planned on remaining between 3 and 7 years. Furthermore, 63.9% of the respondents expected to remain in the park 'indefinitely'. This discrepancy between these data and the number considering the park a 'permanent' home (apparently synonymous questions) could have occurred due to the ambiguity of the word 'permanent' (unforeseen during questionnaire design and pre-test stages). Some occupants could have interpreted this as a question concerning the difference between their main or second home, as opposed to their intention to remain settled there.

#### 4.2 The Form of Social Space of the Entire Sample

The form of an individual's social space is defined in terms of two properties: (i) the number of nodes regularly contacted by the individual; and (ii) the distance travelled by the individual to those social nodes.

FIGURE 11: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE ENTIRE SAMPLE.



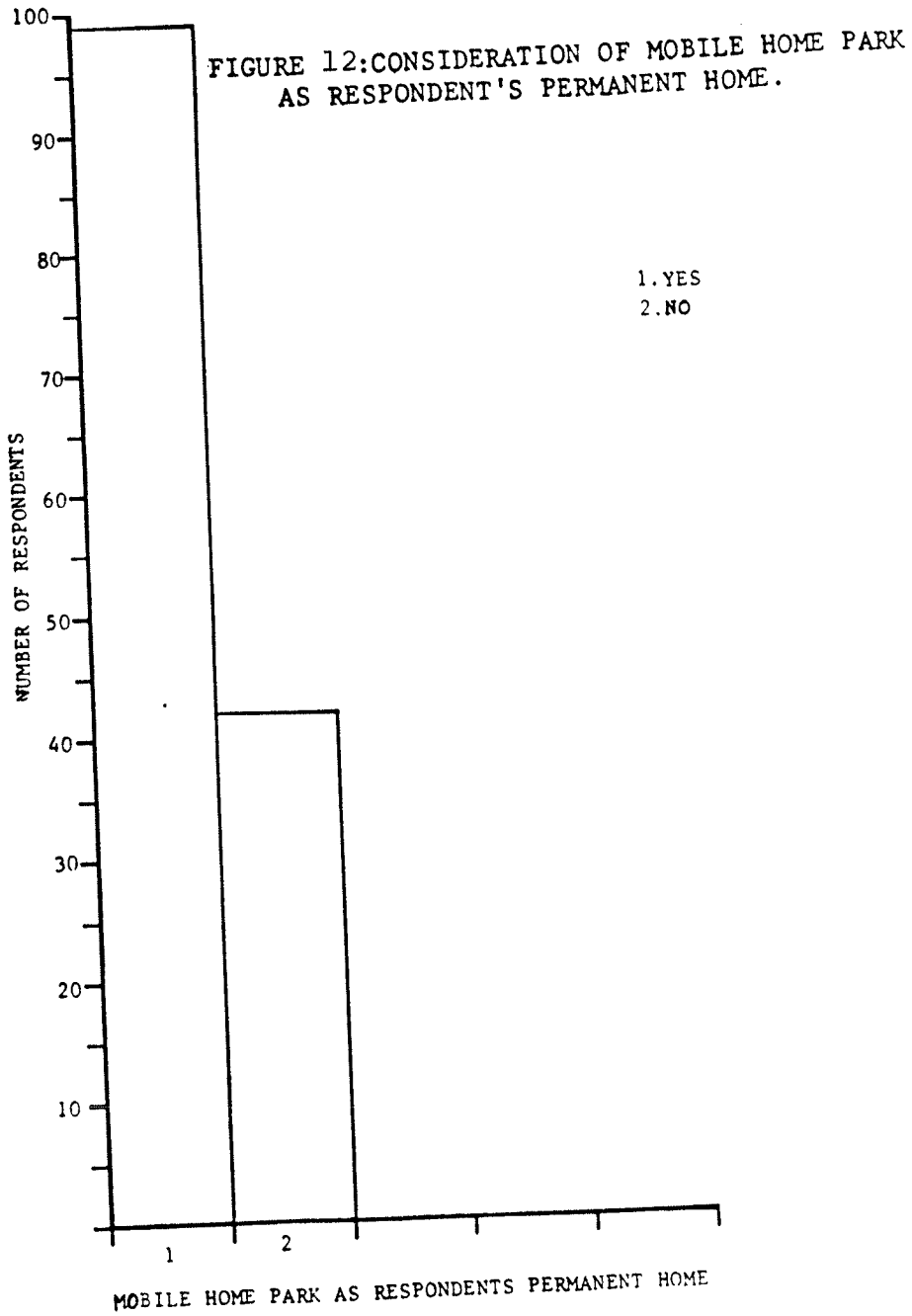
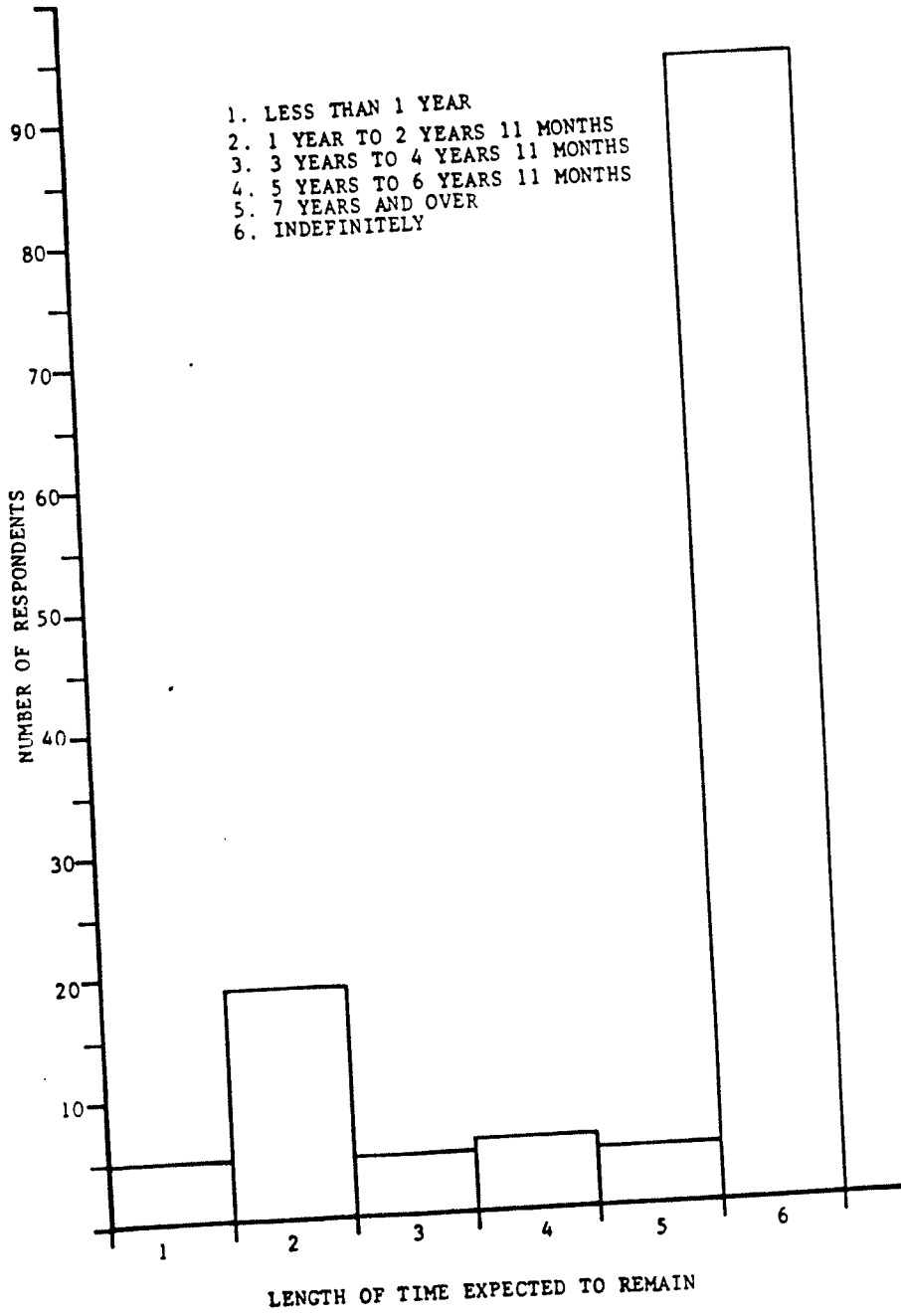


FIGURE 13: LENGTH OF TIME EXPECTED TO REMAIN IN MOBILE HOME PARK.



In order to describe the aggregate social space for the entire sample, a group mean distance to each separate social node was calculated. In effect, this represents the overall mean of each individual's mean distance to a particular node. In addition, the total number of persons patronizing each type of node was also calculated. These results are displayed in Table 3. A fairly distinctive distance-decay pattern is apparent from the table. An imperfect inverse relationship appears to exist between the mean distance travelled to a social facility or node and the number of persons making use of it. A total of 138 respondents (93.9% of the sample) make use of a grocery store in Winnipeg. The group mean distance travelled to a store is correspondingly short (4.69 kilometres). A smaller number of persons make use of sporting or recreational facilities in the city (34 respondents or 23.1% of the sample), and as might be expected the mean distance travelled is greater (7.02 kilometres). The least patronized facility is a community club in Winnipeg used only by 33 individuals (22.4% of the sample). The group mean distance to community clubs is the highest to any facility (10.21 kilometres).

The aggregate social space of the entire sample is represented diagrammatically in Figure 14. The figure discloses that the aggregate social space conforms to a series of concentric bands of activity. The most proximate band to the home area is the zone of daily (or most frequent) visits and includes the grocery store and homes of close friends. Beyond this is a zone representing weekly or monthly visits to homes

TABLE 3  
THE FORM OF SOCIAL SPACE OF  
THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

Social Contact Node in Winnipeg	Group mean distance travelled to each node (km)	Number of Respondents making use of node	
		Number	% of entire sample
Community club	10.21	33	22.40
Church	6.32	40	27.20
Sporting or recreation club	7.03	34	23.10
Entertainment facility	7.05	94	63.90
Urban park	5.11	54	36.70
Grocery store	4.69	138	93.90
Relatives' home	5.72	106	72.10
Friends' home	4.98	90	61.20

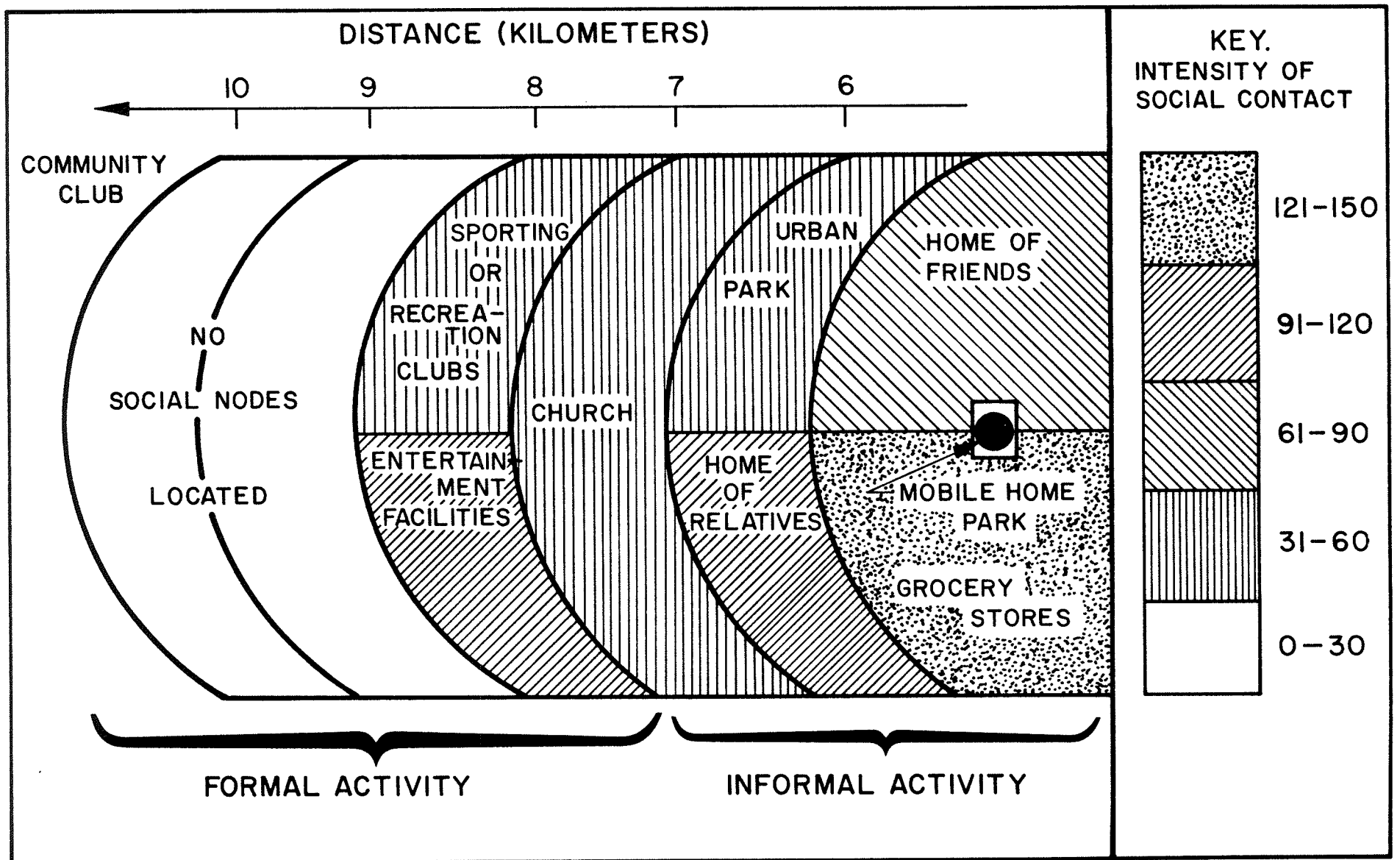


FIGURE 14 : THE AGGREGATE SOCIAL SPACE OF MOBILE HOME RESIDENTS IN WINNIPEG (ENTIRE SAMPLE).

of relatives and urban parks. The highest band in the hierarchy of social space is a zone of general urban activity characterized by occasional visits due to the increased distance from the home node. This includes visits to church, sporting clubs, entertainment facilities and community clubs.

These findings are broadly congruent with the hierarchical model of social space constructed by Chombart de Lauwe (1952) and later by Everitt (1980) (see p.17). The main deviation in pattern from these other studies is the absence of an 'economic' activity band incorporating the location of the work place and less frequently visited services such as a lawyer, an accountant, etc. The explanation for the difference lies in this study's concentration upon voluntary social contact, as opposed to both voluntary and involuntary contact measured in this previous research. The distance-decay relationship found in this study is also imperfect for three activities. Firstly, although a greater number of respondents make regular visits to relatives than to friends, the location of friends' homes are more proximate to the place of residence. It is suggested, therefore, that friendship choice is partially based on propinquity whereas obviously respondents cannot choose the location of their relatives (Gans, 1961; Johnston, 1974). Secondly, although entertainment facilities are located in the social space band furthest from the place of residence, 63.9% of the sample nevertheless make regular visits to them. This may be explained in terms of the large number of regular visits made by dwellers to the



Arena in west Winnipeg, involving long-distance trips for residents of both Pineridge Village and Southglen mobile home parks. Hockey games, rock concerts, circuses, etc. are thus presumably perceived to be worthwhile and satisfying forms of entertainment justifying the extended costs of travel. Thirdly, Table 3 reveals that community clubs attended in Winnipeg are the least proximate sources of social contact to the place of residence. Yet Everitt (1980) defines community clubs as local or neighbourhood nodes. This apparent inconsistency may be attributed to the presence of a community club within both Pineridge Village and Southglen mobile home parks: participation in these is not included in the measurement of social space. Those city clubs which are patronized may be located in areas of previous residence where the respondents wish to remain involved. Failure of social space intensity to decrease directly with distance may also be explained in terms of Everitt's (1976) theory of 'site recalcitrance' (see p.23) in which nodes of familiarity (indicated by frequently visited nodes, e.g., entertainment facilities) are surrounded by less well-known areas (indicated by less frequently visited nodes, e.g., sporting or recreation clubs).

#### 4.3 Tests of Hypotheses

The tests of the hypotheses are divided into three sections. The first section concerns the analysis of number of social contacts, while the second section focuses on the analysis of mean distance (of the social nodes from the park). The third section offers analysis of proximity of a mobile

home park to the built-up area.

#### 4.3.1 Analysis of the Number of Social Contacts

The number of social contacts is defined as the total number of social nodes contacted outside the mobile home park by a mobile home dweller. This analysis involves the tests of hypotheses I, III and V.

Hypothesis I: The number of social contacts of mobile home occupants increases with length of residence in the mobile home park;

Hypothesis III: The number of social contacts of mobile home occupants increases with socio-economic status;

Hypothesis V: The number of social contacts of mobile home occupants decreases with age.

The hypotheses are tested within the framework of Analysis of Variance. This analysis is used to test the significance of the differences between the means of different populations (e.g., groups). In effect, the group means represent values of a dependent variable, while the groups themselves are categories of an independent variable. The total variation observed among the sample observations comprising the groups is the sum of squares which may be divided into two additive and independent parts: (i) a within-group sum of squares and (ii) a between-group sum of squares (Freund, 1967). The analysis of variance model makes three assumptions about a data set to which it is applied. A preliminary examination of the research data revealed that each of the assumptions was satisfactorily adhered to. Firstly, the observations

of the dependent variables (number of contacts and mean distance travelled to nodes) within each of the independent variable groups were plotted on arithmetic probability graph paper. In each case, the data approximated a straight line. The first assumption, that the group data are normally distributed, is therefore satisfied. The second assumption, that the data are measured at the interval scale is clearly adhered to. Thirdly, it is desirable that the group variances are approximately equal. This condition was also found to be satisfied by the sample data when the group variances were visually compared. Three one-way classification models are used to calculate the amount of variation in the number of social contacts attributable to each of three independent variables: length of residence, socio-economic status and age. The group mean values of number of social contacts for each of these independent variables provide an indication as to the directionality of the relationship. The degree of significance of the amount of variation among the means is indicated by the F-ratio level of the variance estimate. However, this only indicates the overall degree of heterogeneity of a set of means. The Duncan Multiple Range Test is therefore applied to each significant range of group mean values in order to specify those pairs of means which are significantly different (Duncan, 1955).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A two-way classification analysis of variance was initially carried out to identify the interaction effect between length of residence and age for number of social contacts. The two-way interaction effect reveals the amount of variation in the dependent variable explained jointly by the two independent variables, after their separate effects have been accounted for. No significant relationship was revealed and it is therefore assumed that the one-way results for number of social contacts by age and length of residence may not be explained in terms of an inter-correlation between these variables.

Specifically, three null hypotheses are formulated in accordance with the main hypotheses.

- (i)  $H_0$ : There are no differences between length of residence groups in terms of the number of social contacts;
- (ii)  $H_0$ : There are no differences between occupational groups in terms of the number of social contacts;
- (iii)  $H_0$ : There are no differences between age groups in terms of the number of social contacts.

If the null hypotheses can be rejected then it may be concluded that significant differences do exist between the independent variable groups in terms of the number of contacts. Table 5 presents the results of the one-way analyses of variance of number of social contacts by length of residence; socio-economic status; and age.

#### 4.3.1.1 Length of Residence

The variance ratio test for the number of social contacts by length of residence (Table 5) indicates that the calculated F ratio (1.49) does not exceed the critical value of (2.21) at the 0.05 level. The null hypothesis cannot therefore be rejected and it must be concluded that no significant differences exist between length of residence groups in terms of number of social contacts. Thus no support is offered for Hypothesis I. The mean values of number of social contacts (see Table 4) do, however, decrease with increasing length of residence, although this decrease is not consistent. Thus a weak relationship is suggested, even if this is not significant.

TABLE 4  
MEAN NUMBER OF CONTACTS  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE;  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS;  
AGE

Variable groups	Group code	Mean value
<u>Length of Residence</u>		
<u>(years/months)</u>		
0-0.11	01	4.47
1-1.11	02	4.09
2-2.11	03	4.50
3-3.11	04	3.57
4-4.11	05	3.45
5 years and over	06	3.87
<u>Occupation</u>		
Inspectional	02	3.84
Supervisory	03	3.44
Skilled Manual	04	4.31
Semi-Skilled	05	4.35
Unskilled	06	3.80
Retired	08	4.25
<u>Age (years)</u>		
Less than 24	01	4.25
25-34	02	4.20
35-44	03	3.70
45-54	04	3.87
55 and over	05	7.39

TABLE 5

ONE-WAY ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF NUMBER OF SOCIAL CONTACTS  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE;  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS;  
AGE

Independent Variable	Source	d.f	Sum of Squares	Variance Estimate	F-ratio	H <sub>0</sub>
Length of Residence	Between groups	5	20.42	4.08	1.49	Accept
	Within groups	136	370.52	2.72		
	Total	141	390.94			
Occupation Level	Between groups	5	15.74	3.15	1.21	Accept
	Within groups	122	317.19	2.60		
	Total	127	332.93			
Age	Between groups	4	60.61	15.15	6.04	Reject
	Within groups	142	356.33	2.51		
	Total	146	416.94			

\* NOTE: 0.05 level of significance is adopted

These results thus indicate that the length of residence of a mobile home dweller in that mobile home park has no significant effect upon the number of social contacts he/she makes in Winnipeg. Yet a weak negative relationship does exist: There is a tendency for persons of shorter length of residence to make a slightly greater number of contacts than those in longer length of residence groups. Therefore, the results dispute the relationship postulated by Hypothesis I. Furthermore, these results are surprising in view of former research which has demonstrated to the contrary (e.g., Lee, 1968; Form and Stone, 1954). These former studies utilized samples of residents from conventional urban areas. The failure of the present study to also reveal a positive relationship is possibly due to the influence of the mobile home 'community'. Degree of involvement in social activities may, in fact, be positively related to length of residence. However, mobile home residents display increasing involvement within the mobile home park as opposed to within the wider community. It is suggested therefore, that as length of residence in a mobile home park increases, a person 'feels more at home' and thus becomes more involved with the internal park community. Hence, fewer trips are made outside the park due to the uptake of available opportunities within it. As the resident develops new friendships and begins to take part in park community activities, less of his/her time is expended in visits to his/her previous nodes of activity.

#### 4.3.1.2 Occupation

Figure 2 reveals that occupation groups 01 (professional) and 07 (students) each contain only a single mobile home occupant. These group sizes are too small to draw meaningful inferences from them; i.e. it is highly unlikely that the number of social contacts of a single resident will represent those of an entire sub-group. Occupation groups 01 and 07 are therefore excluded from the analysis of variance. No significant differences between occupation groups in terms of number of social contacts are revealed by Table 5 ( $F = 1.21$ ;  $d.f = 5,122$ ;  $n.s.$ ). The null hypothesis cannot therefore be rejected and no support is thus offered for Hypothesis III. However, Table 4 indicates a slight increase in mean value of contacts with decreasing occupational status from class 02 (inspectional) to class 05 (semiskilled). The value of 4.25 for group 08 (retirees) is not classifiable on the socio-economic scale. Thus a weak negative relationship is suggested.

There is no clear explanation for these results. However, it is suggested that use of a different measure of socio-economic status in the present study may explain the inconsistency with previous research. For example, Axelrod (1956) utilizes data concerning household income and education levels to represent social status. When tested individually, these variables may have separate effects upon number of contacts to those revealed when the variables are combined with occupation into a single indicator (see use of Blishen-McRoberts scale p. 59). In greater contrast, Johnson's (1971) observations



concerning the relationship between social status and degree of social interaction appear to be mostly qualitative. Results congruent with those of the present study may have been obtained if Johnson had employed more rigorous analytical procedures. Broadly, it would appear that, from the present findings, inherent variations between social classes in terms of preferences for type and amount of social participation do not significantly influence the intensity of social space. Furthermore, the weak negative relationship suggests a tendency on the part of lower occupational groups to desire more intensive spatial interaction than park residents of higher social status. This finding may be attributable to the failure of the mobile home park to provide sufficient facilities to satisfy the leisure-time needs of lower status occupants. In contrast, residents of higher status may have chosen park occupancy specifically for the isolation and freedom from 'hectic suburban living' that it offers. Certainly 'economy' is unlikely to be this group's major reason for mobile home ownership which suggests that the latter proposition is acceptable. Higher class residents do not, therefore, desire as intense involvement in city social facilities as residents of lower social status.

#### 4.3.1.3 Age

Table 5 indicates that significant differences exist between age groups in terms of number of social contacts ( $F = 6.04$ ;  $d.f = 4,142$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ). Thus the null hypothesis may be rejected. The mean values of number of social contacts

TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF NUMBER OF SOCIAL CONTACTS BY  
AGE: DUNCAN MULTIPLE RANGE TEST FOR THE EQUALITY  
OF MEAN VALUES

a) Shortest significant Ranges (d.f = 142) at 0.05 level					
P:	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Rp:	2.22	2.34	2.41	2.46	
b) Results					
Group code:	03	04	02	01	05
Means:	<u>3.70</u>	<u>3.87</u>	<u>4.20</u>	<u>4.25</u>	<u>7.39</u>
N.B. Any two means <u>not</u> underscored by the same line are significantly different. Any two means underscored by the same line are not significantly different.					

for the age groups (Table 4) do not indicate any obviously consistent pattern of directionality. However, the existence of a significant relationship warrants the application of the Duncan multiple range test to the means (Table 6). The results disclose two relatively homogeneous subsets of means. The first subset comprises groups 03, 04, 02 and 01, for which no pair of means are significantly different. The second subset includes group 05 only (persons older than 55 years). The mean value for group 05 (7.39 contacts) is significantly greater than values in the first subset, since the differences exceed the shortest significant ranges at the 0.05 level.

The results indicate that the age of the mobile home dweller has a significant influence upon the number of social contacts he/she makes in Winnipeg. Specifically, residents older than 55 years make a significantly greater number of contacts in the wider community than members of other groups in the sample. Thus although a significant relationship exists, no support is offered for Hypothesis V. Instead, the social nodes in the wider urban community are evidently patronized to the greatest extent by persons over 55 years. It is suggested, therefore, that the personal social requirements of older park occupants are not sufficiently fulfilled by opportunities in the mobile home community: The range of facilities/activities provided in the two mobile home parks (e.g., a swimming pool, tennis courts, tenant association meetings, basket ball contests, community socials, etc.

(Kuharsky, 1982; McGonigal, 1982)), and the predominance of residents between 25-44 years (see Figure 4) suggest that both parks constitute 'youth-oriented' environments. It is thus possible that the types of social opportunity available in Winnipeg mobile home parks are unsuited to the recreational tastes of the elderly, who choose therefore to maintain frequent contacts with nodes in the city. In contrast, Johnson (1971), upon whose findings Hypothesis V is partly based, describes the park facilities in "Idle Haven" as ones designed specifically to accomodate the tastes of the elderly. The park is also predominantly of retirement age. These factors minimize the need of older residents to search beyond the park community for satisfying sources of social interaction.

#### 4.3.2 Analysis of Mean Distance

Mean distance is defined as the mean straight-line distance travelled by a mobile home resident to social facilities outside the mobile home park. This analysis involves the tests of Hypothesis II, IV and VI.

Hypothesis II: The mean distance travelled by mobile home occupants to social nodes increases with length of residence;

Hypothesis IV: The mean distance travelled by mobile home occupants to social nodes increases with socio-economic status;

Hypothesis VI: The mean distance travelled by mobile home occupants to social nodes decreases with age.

The hypotheses are tested within the framework of Analysis

of Variance. Three separate one-way classification analyses of variance are carried out to calculate the magnitude of variation in mean distance attributable to each of the independent variables (length of residence; socio-economic status; and age).<sup>3</sup>

Specifically, three null hypotheses are formulated in accordance with the main hypotheses.

- (i)  $H_0$ : There are no differences between length of residence groups in terms of mean distance;
- (ii)  $H_0$ : There are no differences between occupational groups in terms of mean distance;
- (iii)  $H_0$ : There are no differences between age groups in terms of mean distance.

If the null hypotheses can be rejected then it may be concluded that significant differences do exist between the independent variable groups in terms of mean distance.

Table 8 presents the results of the one-way analyses of variance of mean distance by length of residence; socio-economic status; and age.

#### 4.3.2.1 Length of Residence

No significant differences between length of residence groups in terms of mean distance are revealed by Table 8 ( $F = 1.78$ ; d.f = 5,136; n.s.). The null hypothesis cannot therefore be rejected and no support is offered for Hypothesis

<sup>3</sup> A two-way analysis of variance was initially carried out to identify the interaction effect between length of residence and age for mean distance. No significant relationship was revealed and it is therefore assumed that the one-way results for mean distance may not be explained in terms of an intercorrelation between these variables.

TABLE 7  
GROUP MEAN DISTANCE  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE;  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS;  
AGE

Variable groups	Group code	Mean value
<u>Length of Residence</u>		
<u>(years/months)</u>		
0-0.11	01	14.66
1-1.11	02	12.22
2-2.11	03	12.07
3-3.11	04	11.85
4-4.11	05	12.72
5 years and over	06	11.77
<u>Occupation</u>		
Inspectional	02	12.40
Supervisory	03	11.77
Skilled Manual	04	12.53
Semi-Skilled	05	13.28
Unskilled	06	13.35
Retired	08	14.35
<u>Age (years)</u>		
Less than 24	01	11.70
25-34	02	13.28
35-44	03	14.01
45-54	04	11.91
55 and over	05	10.97

TABLE 8  
ONE-WAY ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF MEAN DISTANCE  
TRAVELLED TO SOCIAL NODES BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE;  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS;  
AGE

Independent Variable	Source	d. f	Sum of Squares	Variance Estimate	F-ratio	H <sub>0</sub>
Length of Residence	Between groups	5	803.48	160.69	1.78	Accept
	Within groups	136	12313.18	90.54		
	Total	141	13116.66			
Occupation Level	Between groups	5	746.02	149.20	1.54	Accept
	Within groups	122	11776.43	96.53		
	Total	127	12522.45			
Age	Between groups	4	753.00	188.25	1.89	Accept
	Within groups	142	14153.22	99.67		
	Total	146	14906.22			

\* NOTE: 0.05 level of significance is adopted

II. However, the group mean values (Table 7) do decrease with increasing length of residence although the trend is not consistent. The results thus suggest that the length of residence of a mobile home dweller has no overall significant effect upon the mean distance he/she travels to social contact nodes in Winnipeg. The areal extent of socio-spatial activity is therefore similar for all park occupants regardless of their duration of residence. However, the weak inverse relationship suggests that occupants, who have moved to the park most recently, travel slightly greater distances to nodes than those of 3 years length of residence and above. These results are inconsistent with previous research which has found strong positive relationships between length of residence and areal extent of activity. For example, Everitt and Cadwallader (1977) use a t-test to reveal a significant positive relationship between length of residence (defined by 2 groups) and the mean size of the cognitive 'home area'. There are two possible reasons for the failure of the present findings to agree with those of previous research. First, other studies have utilized samples of conventional urban dwellers (e.g., Gans, 1961; Everitt and Cadwallader, 1977). The awareness of social opportunities of these residents increases with duration of residence in an urban sub-area. Mobile home dwellers fail to conform to this pattern, possibly due to the influence of the park community environment. As length of residence increases the mobile home dweller becomes more acquainted with his/her park neighbours and



involved in the social activities organized by the mobile home park. Consequently contacts made with entertainment/recreation nodes in the wider community are minimized, as the resident's social needs are satisfied within the park community. The majority of trips which are made in the city are probably to more proximate nodes to the mobile home park, whose functions are not served by the park community (e.g., grocery store, church). This would explain why mean distance travelled to nodes by persons of longer length of residence is considerably shorter than for new arrivals to the park. A second suggestion for the inconsistency in results is that many mobile home occupants were possibly previously resident in other Winnipeg communities (an observation made by Nelson, 1972): For an initial period after moving to the mobile home park, they may have continued to patronize stores, facilities, etc., and visit friends in their former areas, only later becoming acquainted with people and facilities in the park vicinity.

#### 4.3.2.2 Occupation

The population sizes of occupation groups 01 and 07 (Figure 2) are considered too small to make representative inferences from them concerning mean distance to nodes. Groups 01 and 07 are therefore again excluded from the analysis of variance. It is revealed by Table 8 that no significant differences exist between occupation groups in terms of mean distance travelled to social nodes ( $F = 1.54$ ;  $d.f = 5,122$ ; n.s.). The null hypothesis cannot therefore be

rejected and no support is offered for Hypothesis IV. Furthermore, the group mean values for occupation level (Table 7) indicate no obvious pattern of directionality.

These results indicate that occupational status of a mobile home dweller has no significant effect upon the mean distance travelled to social contact nodes in Winnipeg. This finding is inconsistent with the results of previous research, which has found positive relationships between socio-economic status and distance travelled to social nodes (see p. 44). There is no clear explanation for this ambivalence. However, the different measure of socio-economic status used in this study could again partly explain the disagreement. For example, Smith, Form and Stone (1954) examined the location of informal social nodes patronized solely on the basis of weekly income of the individual. Income may have unique effects upon distance travelled due to the related variations in car ownership and mobility, and availability of financial resources for leisure pursuits. Broadly, it is apparent that the overt social behaviour of Winnipeg mobile home dwellers does not reflect the usually disclosed variations in socio-spatial preferences between social classes. Instead, the activities of higher social status occupants are equally propinquitous to the home as those of lower status occupants.

#### 4.3.2.3 Age

Table 8 reveals that no significant differences exist between age groups in terms of mean distance travelled to nodes ( $F = 1.89$ ;  $d.f = 4, 142$ ;  $n.s.$ ). The null hypothesis

cannot therefore be rejected and no direct support is offered for Hypothesis VI. Furthermore, no clear pattern of directionality is indicated by Table 7. However, it is noteworthy that an increase in mean distance up to 14.01 kilometres occurs for residents between 35-44 years but then decreases to 10.97 kilometres for residents of 55 years and over. This is partly consistent with previous research which has found inverse relationships between age and distance travelled. For example, Foley (1950) found that median distance from the home to a facility was highest in the age group 18-24 (i.e., 2.29 miles) and that this decreased to 0.68 miles for residents 65 years and older. The trend displayed suggests that a mobile home dwellers' social space increases in areal extent until middle age but that it will decline as the individual approaches retirement. Results are consistent with both 'activity' and 'disengagement' theories (see Peace, 1982). The areal extent of activity of the elderly is shown to be smaller than that of residents of working age. The more distant locations of younger residents' social nodes are possibly influenced by the places of employment, however this suggestion is purely speculative.

#### 4.3.3 Analysis of Proximity of a Mobile Home Park to the Built-up Area

The proximity of a Winnipeg mobile home park to the built-up area is defined as the relative nearness of its location to the outer periphery of Winnipeg urban development. Pineridge Village and Southglen mobile home parks are respectively

located at 9.1 and 0.5 kilometres from the built-up area. Analysis of the effect of proximity on the location of social contacts involves testing Hypothesis VII.

Hypothesis VII: As the distance of the mobile home park from the built-up area increases, a greater proportion of social contacts will take place within the park.

The hypothesis is tested by determining whether residents of Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park make a greater proportion of their social contacts within the park (internal contact) than residents of Southglen Mobile Home Community. Specifically, the hypothesis is tested using the z-test for differences between two proportions (Freund, 1967). Formally, the following null hypothesis and alternative hypothesis are tested:

Null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ): There is no difference between the proportion of social contacts made within the park by Pineridge residents and the corresponding proportion made by the Southglen residents.

Alternative hypothesis ( $H_1$ ): The proportion of social contacts made within the park by the Pineridge Village residents is greater than the corresponding proportion made by the Southglen residents.

The alternative hypothesis is constructed in this way so that rejection of the null hypothesis will indicate that Pineridge Village residents exhibit a greater proportion of contact within the park than Southglen mobile home residents. Hence, the possible influence of park proximity to the built-up area

TABLE 9  
Z-TEST FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO PROPORTIONS  
FOR NUMBER OF SOCIAL CONTACTS  
MADE WITHIN EACH MOBILE HOME PARK

Mobile home park	Number of respondents	Contacts within park	Contacts made outside park	Total number of contacts
Southglen	74	161 (.33)	329 (.67)	490
Pineridge Village	73	201 (.44)	260 (.56)	461

\* NOTE: The proportion which each value represents of the total number of contacts is indicated in parentheses.

on the location of social contacts will be demonstrated.

The result of the z-test for differences between two proportions is displayed in Table 9. The computed z-score for the test concerning the proportion of contacts made within the mobile home park is 3.66. Since this value exceeds the critical value of 1.64 at the 0.05 level, it may be considered significant. Thus the null hypothesis may be rejected. Furthermore, the value is positive indicating that the proportion of contacts made within Pineridge Village is significantly greater than the porportion made within Southglen Mobile Home park. This finding offers support for Hypothesis VII.

It is concluded that the proximity of the mobile home park to the built-up area is a significant influence upon the degree to which occupants will socially interact within it. Residents of Pineridge Village exhibit more intensive social interaction within the park community than Southglen residents, as a result of their more isolated location. In contrast, occupants of Southglen Mobile Home Community make a greater proportion of their social contacts within the wider urban community than the residents of Pineridge Village. This is due to the greater proximity of Southglen to the urban built-up area and hence to essential Winnipeg urban facilities.

Within the context of Winnipeg mobile home parks, physical distance is thus an important indicator of degree of social interaction within the city. A possible explanation for this relationship is that residents of physically isolated

parks possess less accurate and detailed knowledge concerning the location of social nodes in the city than residents of parks which are physically integrated within the urban fabric. This may be due to lower levels of intra-urban travel as a result of such isolation. Residents become more reliant upon the local 'community' as a main source of social activity. A greater proportion of social contacts thus takes place within the mobile home park.

#### 4.4 Summary

The profile characteristics of the mobile home residents are first described. The results pertaining to the form of social space are then outlined. The seven hypotheses are then tested using parametric statistical procedures.

The findings indicate that age is an important indicator of the number of social nodes contacted in the city, although not of the mean distance travelled to these nodes. The hypotheses concerning length of residence and socio-economic status are not supported. However, the proximity of a mobile home park to the built-up area is found to significantly influence the amount of social contact occurring within the park.

CHAPTER V  
SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The main objective of this thesis is to examine the social spaces of mobile home dwellers in an urban environment. The specific objectives are to determine whether the properties of social space are related to length of residence; to determine whether the properties of social space are related to socio-economic status; to determine whether the properties of social space are related to age; and to determine whether the number of social contacts made within a mobile home park is related to the degree of proximity of the park to the built-up area.

Chapter I offers a statement of the problem and how social space analysis relates to the sub-field of cognitive-behavioural geography. A review of literature concerned with socio-spatial activity in an urban environment and mobile home parks is presented in Chapter II. At the end of this chapter, the contribution of the present study to the body of literature is indicated. Chapter III contains a more detailed discussion of the hypotheses and a description of the data sources utilized. In Chapter IV, the hypotheses are tested using statistical inferential procedures and the results are presented together with specific interpretations for each test. The purpose of the present chapter is to provide an overview of these findings. The research design is first evaluated. Implications concerning (i) the form of social space; and (ii) analysis of this form; are then



presented. Finally, some policy recommendations are made with respect to these implications.

### 5.1 The Research Design

The basic assumption underlying the research is that similarities in the socio-spatial activity of mobile home dwellers may be identified at the level of the individual. Variations in the properties of social space are examined in terms of variations in three socio-demographic variables (i.e., length of residence; socio-economic status; and age). In addition the influence of physical distance (i.e., the proximity of the mobile home park to the city centre) upon the location of social nodes contacted is also analyzed. Specifically, variations in leisure-time tastes and preferences and in degree of awareness of available social opportunities associated with these independent variables are hypothesized to explain the observed variations in social space. A similar theoretical basis is propounded by other studies employing social space analysis (Everitt, 1976 and 1980; Porteous, 1973). A limitation of this design is that cognitive processes are not actually measured; they are merely inferred through the measurement of the independent variables. Thus conclusions drawn from the results are basically speculative with respect to the relationship between overt activity and environmental cognition. The data pertaining to length of residence and occupation are collected at the interval-scale level and subsequently classified into groups. The data concerning age are derived on an ordinal scale. Two

properties of an individual's social space are measured: (i) number of social nodes contacted outside the mobile home park; and (ii) mean distance travelled to social nodes. The number of social contacts made by an individual within his/her mobile home park is also measured. These three sets comprise interval-scale data.

The hypotheses are formulated and presented in accordance with the specific objectives of the thesis. The hypotheses concerning length of residence, socio-economic status and age are analyzed within the framework of analysis of variance, while the hypothesis concerning degree of proximity of the mobile home park to the built-up area is analyzed by using the z-test for differences between two proportions. The tests of hypotheses are organized into three parts: (i) hypotheses concerning number of contacts; (ii) hypotheses concerning mean distance; and (iii) the hypothesis concerning the location of social nodes contacted. However, the following section, concerning the implications of the tests, is structured in accordance with the specific objectives of the thesis. The implications of the derived aggregate social space are first discussed.

## 5.2 Implications of the Findings

### 5.2.1 The Form of Social Space

A major finding of this thesis is that the social spaces of Winnipeg mobile home dwellers extend beyond the limits of their mobile home parks. Specifically, a hierarchy of concentric

social spaces may be identified based upon various social functions, (e.g., a home-area zone consisting of frequently patronized grocery stores, a zone of informal trips to friends and relatives, etc.).

These results imply that mobile home park dwellers are "Winnipeggers", i.e., the majority of respondents consider their particular mobile home park to be their 'permanent home'. Furthermore, these individuals exhibit extensive patterns of socio-spatial interaction beyond the immediate home area, suggesting a demand for services and facilities in the manner of any conventional city dweller. They therefore appear to be a stable portion of the urban population, desiring integration with the remainder of the metropolitan area.

Future research could contribute to these findings and determine the aggregate subjective social space (i.e., the area in which the park residents 'feel at home'). This exercise would examine whether the derived objective space is a preferred social arena to the dwellers, and not merely a zone in which they are obliged to interact in order to obtain the use of important social facilities.

### 5.2.2 The Analysis of the Form of Social Space

Hypotheses I and II (p. 43) concern the influence of length of residence in a mobile home park upon the properties of the social space of a park resident. No substantive evidence is found to support either of these hypotheses and it is concluded that length of residence is not a main determinant

of the form of the mobile home dwellers' social arena. However, occupants of lower length of residence appear to exhibit slightly more intensive and spatially extensive social spaces in the wider community than higher length of residence occupants. The latter are presumed, therefore, to have established new sources of social contact in and around the park community during their occupancy of the park. Future research might aim to clarify such an argument by investigating the relationship between the 'sense of community' within the park and length of residence.

The main implication for urban planning is that occupants of lower length of residence are no less spatially integrated into the city than those of high length of residence. Arguments in previous literature that excuse mobile home occupants from paying urban property taxes in view of the supposedly 'temporary' nature of occupation and the classification of home-units as 'motor vehicles' (p. 26) are therefore found to be unsatisfactory. The mobile-home is a semi-permanent residential unit and the occupants make substantial use of urban public utilities and social facilities (e.g. parks, shopping centres).

Hypotheses III and IV (p. 44) concern the influence of socio-economic status upon the properties of the social space of a park resident. No significant evidence is found to support either of these hypotheses. It is thus concluded that socio-economic status is not a major determinant of the form of a mobile home dwellers' activity arena. However,

further research should repeat this test whilst employing other indicators of socio-economic status (e.g., income or education level) to investigate whether these individually explain variation in the properties of activity space. For example, level of income might be a more effective predictor of financial availability for leisure pursuits while education level could influence the socio-spatial learning process of the individual. More importantly, the result implies that the urban planner should anticipate a social arena of equal intensity and areal extent for occupants of all socio-economic groups.

Hypotheses V and VI concern the influence of age upon the properties of social space of a mobile home resident. Although neither of these hypotheses is directly supported, evidence is revealed to indicate that the intensity of social space in Winnipeg will significantly increase with age. This is attributed to the possible unsuitability of park amenities for the tastes of older people. Further research should attempt to clarify this assumption by eliciting the attitudes of residents to social opportunities in the park and to investigate possible variations of attitude with age groupings. The areal extent of social space is not, however, concluded to be significantly affected by the age of the park occupant, although a weak negative relationship is suggested.

These findings have three main implications for urban planners. First, park residents of greater than 55 years may be expected to have a greater demand for social facilities

in Winnipeg than younger occupants. In view of their physical deterioration, the elderly prefer to travel shorter distances to facilities. Nevertheless, they probably desire the maintenance of an active social life. Thus social nodes which they patronize will be more propinquitous to the mobile home park than those visited by younger occupants. Secondly, it is doubtful whether the mobile home park in Winnipeg constitutes the setting for an active retirement community, for persons over 55 years display the most intensive interaction in the wider community. Thirdly, the smaller number of contacts in Winnipeg and greater mean distances travelled by persons of younger than 44 years suggests that the place of employment may influence the location of city social nodes. However, they otherwise prefer to spend leisure time within the mobile home community. This is possibly due to the greater ties to the home caused by the possession of younger children.

Hypothesis VII (p.48) concerns the effects of the proximity of a mobile home park to the urban built-up area upon the number of social contacts made within the park community. Substantial support is offered for the hypothesis and it is concluded that as proximity of a park to the built-up area declines, the probability of social interaction within the park increases. This pattern is attributed to the influence of physical distance upon the mobile home dweller's urban cognitive image. Specifically, residents of a park physically-integrated into the city acquire accurate knowledge concerning social opportunities in the city as a result of the greater proximity of the park to the social nodes. They thus make a greater

proportion of social contacts in the wider community than residents of a more isolated park, who have acquired less information concerning opportunities. The less-integrated park occupants, however, are encouraged by their relative isolation to make a greater proportion of their contacts within the mobile home park.

One implication to be drawn from this result is that the degree of physical integration of a mobile home park is an important indicator of residents' social integration within the metropolitan area. Wheeler and Stutz (1971, p.371) maintain that 'A major function of an urban area is to ... promote linkages or interaction among its areally disparate parts at a relatively low aggregate level of cost or effort'. It is possible that, in the context of Winnipeg, the urban area is only partially fulfilling its role to stimulate interaction between mobile home park residents and the wider urban community.

A second implication of this finding is that spatial design (i.e., the conscious "steering" of a mobile home park to a specific zone by a developer, an urban planner, or an elected official) is an important determinant of the dimensions of social activity of mobile home dwellers. In general terms, it has been argued that the choice of a suitable physical design can never be achieved in a 'value-free and dispassionate rational manner' (Gold, 1980, p. 232). Thus inherent biases of the developer, planner or elected official will automatically influence the aesthetic and social dimensions of the built environment. Negative attitudes,

prevailing from the early years of unsightly temporary trailer developments, are still a guiding influence upon the planned location of mobile home parks in isolated, peripheral areas (Foster, 1981a). Accordingly, these inherent biases may be seen to be an influence upon the degree of spatial interaction within the urban community displayed by mobile home dwellers.

Thirdly, internal park interaction is intensified when distance of that park from the built-up area is increased. Thus, an active mobile home community is more likely to develop, when the park is located in a physically isolated area. Westdal (1977) has acknowledged the advantages of living within an active park environment. In order to stimulate such an atmosphere, physical isolation may be considered a key factor. An attempt should be made by future research (i) to compare the relative degrees of satisfaction with park amenities between residents of physically-integrated and physically-isolated parks; (ii) to elicit the social spaces of residents of mobile home parks within small towns situated in the Winnipeg commuter belt (e.g., Stonewall; Lockport; etc.). This would enable the further examination of the influence of proximity to Winnipeg upon dimensions of social activity.

### 5.3 Policy Recommendations

In view of the above discussion, recommendations may be suggested for future planning policy. It is currently believed that the City of Winnipeg (Dept. of Environmental Planning) does not intend designating further mobile home parks



in the metropolitan area (Foster, 1981a).<sup>4</sup> Within this static framework, it is recommended that the Winnipeg mobile home park is a semi-permanent residential land-use. Park occupants exhibit a considerable demand for socio-spatial interaction and should therefore be afforded accessibility to urban facilities, equal to people in other residential situations. Specifically, five suggestions for policy are made.

- (i) Important amenities (e.g., community clubs, grocery stores, restaurants, churches, etc.) should be planned within the vicinity of the mobile home parks. This would provide park residents with accessibility to essential social services. To help facilitate the economic viability of these new social amenities, sites which are exposed to other urban residents are considered preferable. Each of the Winnipeg parks is located along a major thoroughfare (e.g., Pineridge Village along Highway #59; Downs Village along Portage Avenue, etc.). These sites are potentially profitable 'strips' for new commercial ventures, in view of their exposure to in-coming and out-going urban traffic.
- (ii) Mobile home park operators should be encouraged to provide more substantial sources of social contact within their respective parks, (e.g., organized entertainment including socials and movies, children's sporting events, a small store, summer barbeques, bar facilities). Furthermore,

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<sup>4</sup> Southglen Mobile Home Community, designated in 1972, is the most recent park in the Winnipeg area.

the range of entertainments provided should be planned to suit the tastes of all age groups, to relieve the elderly of their search for satisfying leisure pursuits in the wider community. Possible entertainments for the aged include "Bingo", handicraft classes, "Bridge" clubs, "pancake breakfasts", etc. Investment of this kind on the part of the operator would be justified, in view of enhancing the attractiveness of the park for potential clients (e.g., new mobile home owners).

- (iii) Size extensions to existing parks should be considered by operators and the City of Winnipeg in order to satisfy the demand for sites and create a viable basis for the provision of new facilities.
- (iv) The City of Winnipeg should extend the Transit bus service to Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park on a limited schedule. (This could be coordinated in the summer months with the link to Birds Hill Provincial Park, 1.6 kilometres north of Pineridge Village on Highway #59).
- (v) The quality of roads connecting mobile home parks to the city (specifically, Dunning Road and Southglen Boulevard) should be improved to facilitate the extensive communication between residents and urban social nodes. At present these connector roads comprise gravel surfaces.

Finally, in the unlikely event of new mobile home parks being designated in the Winnipeg area, it is recommended that isolated locations are inappropriate if social interaction between park and other city dwellers is desired. Sites in

existing residential areas with good accessibility to essential facilities are the most desirable. However, public opinion from surrounding housing areas concerning development proposals should also be considered, in an attempt to satisfy both members of the urban community and mobile home dwellers.

#### 5.4 Concluding Remarks

The problems associated with the social spaces of mobile home dwellers are of considerable interest to the urban geographer. However, solution of these problems is dependent upon coordination between academics and policy makers. Only with this coordination will the mobile home park become a more desirable residential feature for both park occupants and conventional urban dwellers. The main role of the geographer is to test the influence of environmental and social factors upon the spatial behaviour of park occupants. It is hoped that the present study has made a contribution toward this objective.

APPENDIX 1

PRE-TEST LETTER OF EXPLANATION

Department of Geography,  
University of Manitoba.

June 1982.

Southglen Mobile Home Community,  
38B, Springwood Drive,  
WINNIPEG,  
Manitoba. R2N 135.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a Geography student at the University of Manitoba and I am in the process of compiling a questionnaire directed at Mobile Home occupants. This will hopefully obtain information concerning their social activities, both within Winnipeg and within their Park communities.

In order that the final draft be as comprehensive as possible, I would be grateful of your assistance in a PRE-TEST. Would you therefore, please complete this preliminary copy (attached) and on the final blank page, make any constructive criticisms you feel are warranted; You should particularly note any questions that were difficult to answer.

If you have any problems you would like to discuss with me about the questionnaire, please feel free to phone the Department Of Geography on: 474-993

Many thanks for your help,

Yours sincerely,

*Elizabeth J. Hookham.*

ELIZABETH J. HOOKHAM. (MISS)  
(DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY).

APPENDIX 2

FINAL SURVEY: LETTER OF EXPLANATION  
FIELD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Geography,  
University of Manitoba.

July 1982.

Southglen Mobile Home Community,  
38B Springwood Drive,  
Winnipeg, Manitoba. R2N 1B5.

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am a Graduate Student at the University of Manitoba. This Questionnaire is part of a survey, currently in progress in the Geography Department, which is attempting to measure the Day-To-Day Trips of Mobile Home Occupants into Winnipeg. This will include Grocery-Shopping Trips, Trips to Sporting Clubs and Visits to friends and relatives.

The Results of this survey will show how far Mobile Home Dwellers socialize in Winnipeg and furthermore suggest some reasons explaining the results. It is possible that Occupants make FEWER Trips because the Mobile Home Park is too REMOTE from the rest of the City. Until this Survey, this problem has been totally ignored in Winnipeg. I feel it is important that this problem therefore be investigated. If you take an interest and a pride in the affairs of your Community, then please help make this Survey a success.

It is requested that each HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD complete this Questionnaire privately, for it is necessary to obtain as full and individual a statement of each person's activities as possible. The Questionnaire will be collected from you on:

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If you plan to be out at that time, please leave it at the Park Administrative Office on that day and I can collect it from MR CUMMINGS.

If you would like to check on the Validity of the Survey, then please phone the Department Of Geography on: 474-9256  
474-9939

The information derived will be treated as strictly CONFIDENTIAL and will remain within the Department of Geography. A Summary of Results of the Survey will be available at the Park Administrative Office after its completion.

Thank You in advance for your help and cooperation,

Yours sincerely,

*Elizabeth J. Hookham.*

ELIZABETH J. HOOKHAM.

Department of Geography,  
University of Manitoba.

July 1982.

Pineridge Village Mobile Home Park,  
Box #6, Group #550,  
R.R.5., Winnipeg, Manitoba.  
RZC 222.

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am a Graduate Student at the University of Manitoba. This Questionnaire is part of a Survey which is currently in progress in the Department of Geography. It is attempting to measure the Day-To-Day Trips of Mobile Home Occupants into Winnipeg. This will include Grocery Shopping Trips, Trips to Sporting Clubs and Visits to friends and relatives.

The results of this Survey will show how far Mobile Home Dwellers socialize in Winnipeg and furthermore suggest some reasons explaining the results. It is possible that Occupants make fewer Trips because the Mobile Home Park is too REMOTE from the rest of the City. Until this Survey, this problem has been totally ignored in Winnipeg. I feel it is important that this problem therefore be investigated. If you take an interest and a pride in the affairs of your Community, then please help make this Survey a success.

It is requested that the HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD complete this Questionnaire privately, for it is necessary to obtain as full and individual a statement of each person's activities as possible. The Questionnaire will be collected from you on:

---

If you wish to check on the validity of the Survey, then phone the Department of Geography on: 474-9939  
474-9256

The information derived will be treated as strictly confidential and will remain within the Geography Department. A summary of Results of the Survey will be available at the Park Administrative Office after its completion.

Thank You in advance for your help and cooperation,

Yours sincerely,

*Elizabeth J. Hookham.*

ELIZABETH J. HOOKHAM. (DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY).



PLEASE COMPLETE ALL QUESTIONS IN THE SPACES PROVIDED.

1. How long have you been a resident of this particular Mobile Home Park?  
Years,  Months.

2. Do you consider  Mobile Home Park your permanent home?  
Yes.  No.  PLEASE PLACE CHECK MARKS IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX.

3. How long do you expect to remain in this Mobile Home Park?  
Indefinitely.  Years.  Months.

4. State the age of the Head - Of - Household.

Less than 20.	<input type="checkbox"/>
20-24.	<input type="checkbox"/>
25-29.	<input type="checkbox"/>
30-34.	<input type="checkbox"/>
35-39.	<input type="checkbox"/>
40-44.	<input type="checkbox"/>
45-49.	<input type="checkbox"/>
50-54.	<input type="checkbox"/>
55-59.	<input type="checkbox"/>
60-64.	<input type="checkbox"/>
65-69.	<input type="checkbox"/>
70 and over.	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Are you presently employed?  
Yes.  No.

6. Are you retired?  
Yes.  No.

7. What precisely is the occupation of the Head - of - Household?

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8. What Educational standard has the Head- of - Household attained?

No schooling.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pre-Grade.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grade 1-4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grade 5-8.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Question continued on page# 2.

High-School incomplete.  
 High-School complete.  
 Non-Degree.  
 Degree complete.


} College.

N.B. "College Non-Degree" category includes Degree courses presently incomplete.

9. How many automobiles are owned by members of your household?  
 0  1  2  3  More than 3 (State how many)

10. In which of the following categories is the Gross annual income of the HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD and the TOTAL HOUSEHOLD?

	Head-of-Household.	Total Household income.
Under \$5,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$5,000-9,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$10,000-14,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$15,000-19,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$20,000-24,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$25,000-29,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$30,000-34,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$35,000-39,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
\$40,000-44,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Greater than \$45,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. State country of birth if not Canada. \_\_\_\_\_  
 12. State your religious affiliation/church. \_\_\_\_\_

PAGE # 3  
SECTION B.

THE QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE CONCERNED WITH YOUR SHOPPING AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN WINNIPEG.

1. Are you a member of a community club located in the Winnipeg area?

Yes.  No.

If you answered "No", then please give reason.

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If you answered "yes", then please state the street in which each community club is located.

	CLUB/SOCIETY.	STREET LOCATION.	NEAREST INTERSECTION.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.
1.				
2.				
3.				

N.B. "AREA OF WINNIPEG" REFERS TO DISTRICTS SUCH AS ST. VITAL; FORT GARRY; NORTH KILDONAN e.t.c.

2. Do you attend a Church or any other place of worship on a regular basis?

Yes.  No.

If you answered "No", then please give reason.

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If you answered "yes", then please state the street on which the church is located.

NAME OF PLACE OF WORSHIP.	STREET LOCATION.	NEAREST INTERSECTION.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.

3. Are you an active member of any Sporting or Recreation clubs in Winnipeg?

Yes.  No.

If you answered "No", then please give the reason why.

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If you answered "yes", then please give the street in which the club is located.

	NAME OF THE CLUB.	STREET LOCATION.	NEAREST INTERSECTION.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.
1.				
2.				
3.				

4. Do you regularly use Winnipeg's entertainment facilities (Once a month or once every two months) ?

N.B "ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES" INCLUDES CINEMAS, THEATRES, THE WINNIPEG ARENA, THE STADIUM, RESTAURANTS, e.t.c.

Yes.  No.

If you answered "No", then please state the reason.

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If you answered "Yes", then please give the street in which the facility is located.

	NAME OF FACILITY.	STREET LOCATION.	NEAREST INTERSECTION.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

5. Do you regularly visit Winnipeg's Urban Parks?(Once a month)

Yes.  No.

If you answered "No", then please give reason.

---

If you answered "Yes", then please state which Park you most frequently visit.

NAME OF PARK.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.

6. Do you do your WEEKLY GROCERY shopping in Winnipeg?

Yes.  No.

If you answered "No", then where do you shop?

\_\_\_\_\_

If you answered "Yes", then please give the street locations or shopping centres of the shops you use.

	SHOP NAME.	STREET LOCATION.	NEAREST INTERSECTION.	SHOPPING CENTRE.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

SECTION C.

THE QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE CONCERNED WITH VISITS YOU MAKE TO FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN WINNIPEG(OUTSIDE THE MOBILE HOME PARK).

1. Do you have any close relatives living in the Winnipeg area, that you visit at least once a month on average?

N.B "TYPES OF RELATIVE" ARE: FATHER/MOTHER/SISTER/BROTHER/AUNT/UNCLE.

Yes.  No.

If you answered "Yes", then where do they live?

	TYPE OF RELATIVE.	STREET LOCATION.	NEAREST INTERSECTION.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.
1.				
2.				
3.				

2. Do you have any friends living in the Winnipeg Area, that you visit at least once a month on average?

Yes.  No.

If you answered "yes", then where do they live?

	STREET LOCATION.	NEAREST INTERSECTION.	AREA OF WINNIPEG.
1.			
2.			
3.			

SECTION D.

THE QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE CONCERNED WITH YOUR SOCIAL ACTIVITIES WITHIN YOUR MOBILE HOME PARK.

1. Please indicate if you make use of the following Park amenities/facilities on a regular basis (Approx. once a month).

	YES.	NO.
COMMUNITY CLUB		
TENNIS COURTS.		
SWIMMING POOL.		
ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES.		
TENANT ASSOCIATION MEETINGS.		
ORGANIZED PARK ACTIVITIES.		

If you answered "No", please give your reason for not making use of a facility.

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2. How many residents of your Mobile Home Park do you know on a first name basis?

Number.

3. How many social visits do you make in a month to other residents of your Park, whether this be to the same neighbour or to different ones?

Number.

If you make no social visits, then please give reason.

---

THIS IS THE END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

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