

CHAPTER 5: IDENTIFICATION WITH NEIGHBOURHOOD

Identification with a particular geographic locality or place has long been considered important to people. This chapter examines the extent to which respondents recognised a definable area as their “home patch” and how they related to that area. Identification with neighbourhood was considered by firstly assessing area size, using cognitive maps produced by respondents (Question A).

Identification with a particular area is only one facet of community sentiment, and should not be equated with attachment to place, which is more appropriately conceptualised as an emotional bond (Hummon 1992), an issue dealt with in later chapters. Rather, neighbourhood identification seems to be related to familiarity with an area, its structures and boundaries (albeit self-designated ones), the services and facilities it offers, and personal associations that are formed. With this in mind, opinions about the neighbourhood as “home” (Question B2) were examined, as were thoughts and plans on having to move away from the neighbourhood (Question B5 and B6), neighbourhood-based common interests (Question B7), and travel away from the neighbourhood (Questions B8 and B9). (A summary showing values before and after responses were condensed for analysis is presented in Appendix 6.)

Within this and subsequent chapters that present the results of the research, the effects that profile characteristics of the final sample have on dependent variables are, by and large, treated separately. Where inter-relationships that were identified in Chapter 4 between profile variables appear responsible for shaping results, this will also be noted. As pointed out in Chapter 3, due to the nature of the CWP hypothesis, profile characteristics relate to not only socio-economic status but also to respondent use of computers and mobile phones for communication.

5.1 Neighbourhood area

Because the dimensions of individuals’ home patches understandably vary, each respondent was asked to define the boundaries of their neighbourhood area on a locality map. Appendix 7 presents composite cognitive mapping of respondent boundaries for each of the six survey locations. All areas were subsequently calculated using techniques

identified in Chapter 3. The profile characteristics influencing size of neighbourhood areas were levels of education and, to a lesser extent, income (statistically significant differences, $\chi^2 = 25.615$, $df = 8$ and $\chi^2 = 15.804$, $df = 8$ respectively). Examination of the sample profile has shown these factors to be highly inter-related such that respondents with high levels of education also had significantly higher incomes than others and, conversely, low education levels were associated with low income. Influences of education and income were most conspicuous in the category for areas smaller than one square kilometre (km^2) (Table 5-1).

Table 5-1: Neighbourhood area by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Neighbourhood area %</i>					<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	<i>1 - 2 km²</i>	<i>2 - 4 km²</i>	<i>4 - 8 km²</i>	<i>8 km² or larger</i>	
<i>Education:</i>						
<i>Year 12 or below</i>	47.8	23.9	14.9	6.0	7.5	100 (67)
<i>Trade certificate or diploma</i>	35.3	22.1	10.3	17.6	14.7	100 (68)
<i>Bachelor degree or higher</i>	13.6	27.3	25.8	22.7	10.6	100 (66)
<i>Total responses</i>	32.3	24.4	16.9	15.4	10.9	100 (201)
<i>Gross weekly income:</i>						
<i>\$1,000 or more</i>	23.0	32.8	18.0	21.3	4.9	100 (61)
<i>\$500 – \$999</i>	30.8	15.4	21.2	11.5	21.2	100 (52)
<i>Less than \$500</i>	38.2	23.5	11.8	16.2	10.3	100 (68)
<i>Total responses</i>	30.9	24.3	16.6	16.6	11.6	100 (181)
<i>Internet use at home:</i>						
<i>Yes</i>	24.8	26.3	17.3	18.0	13.5	100 (133)
<i>No</i>	43.5	23.2	14.5	11.6	7.2	100 (69)
<i>Total responses</i>	31.2	25.2	16.3	15.8	11.4	100 (202)
<i>Own/access to motor vehicles:</i>						
<i>Yes</i>	29.2	26.0	17.2	15.6	12.0	100 (192)
<i>No</i>	66.7	13.3	6.7	13.3	–	100 (15)
<i>Total responses</i>	31.9	25.1	16.4	15.5	11.1	100 (207)
<i>Age:</i>						
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	21.2	28.8	19.2	17.3	13.5	100 (52)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	33.7	21.1	18.9	16.8	9.5	100 (95)
<i>60 years or more</i>	36.2	29.3	10.3	12.1	12.1	100 (58)
<i>Total responses</i>	31.2	25.4	16.6	15.6	11.2	100 (205)
<i>Length of residence:</i>						
<i>Less than 10 years</i>	30.9	25.9	18.5	18.5	6.2	100 (81)
<i>10 – 29 years</i>	31.5	19.2	19.2	15.1	15.1	100 (73)
<i>30 years or more</i>	34.6	30.8	9.6	11.5	13.5	100 (52)
<i>Total responses</i>	32.0	24.8	16.5	15.5	11.2	100 (206)

Persons with lower levels of education were more likely to have very small neighbourhood areas compared with those with higher education qualifications. For example, 47.8% of persons who had not gained additional qualifications past Year 12 had neighbourhood areas smaller than one km^2 compared with 35.3% of those with trade certificates or

diplomas. Furthermore, only 13.6% of university-educated respondents had an area less than one km². The converse did not apply to the same extent at the other end of the size range for neighbourhood area, although a conspicuously smaller proportion of respondents who had no tertiary education, by comparison with others, recognised areas greater than four km². With respect to income, a similar pattern shows for the smallest area category, in that respondents with lower incomes were more likely to have neighbourhood areas smaller than one km² than persons with higher incomes. Costs of transportation, both private and public, and the numbers and types of trips that are affordable, as well as expenses associated with pursuing certain types of activities, could restrict the size of neighbourhood areas for those at the low end of the income scale.

In other words, low levels of education and income influenced neighbourhood areas at the smallest end of the size scale by constraining area, although high education and income levels did not necessarily indicate the largest neighbourhood areas. These results emphasise the critical relationship between income and education qualifications detailed in the previous chapter.

A notable result became apparent when neighbourhood area was cross-tabulated against internet use at home, a profile characteristic that was highly inter-related with education and income. People who accessed the internet at home were more likely to have larger areas than those who did not (Table 5-1). For example, for those in the category for smallest size of neighbourhood areas (less than one km²), 43.5% did not use the internet at home by comparison with only 24.8% who did. Conversely, 13.5% of respondents with internet access at home identified with the largest area category (eight km² or larger), whilst this applied to only 7.2% who did not use the internet at home.

Perhaps not unexpectedly, those who did not own or have access to motor vehicles generally had smaller neighbourhood areas than those with private transport; none had areas of eight km² or larger (Table 5-1). Thus it seems that their perceptions of neighbourhood area are limited and activities are spatially constrained, with possibly a concomitant reduction in the types of activities in which they are able to participate. For those without motor vehicles, geographical proximity to services, facilities and friends, and thus place of residence, is likely to be important if general levels of wellbeing are not lessened by choice constraints.

Interestingly, when size of area was cross-tabulated against age and length of residence, significant differences did not become apparent. Nevertheless, results for age shown in Table 5-1 indicate that there was an increased tendency for people less than 40 years, by comparison with older age groups, to have neighbourhood areas that were larger than one km². Also worthy of note is the smaller proportion of short-term residents (less than 10 years) who had very large neighbourhood areas (eight km² or more) by comparison with those who had been resident for 10 years or more. These results suggest that, for most people, the size of neighbourhood area does not significantly expand or contract due to increased familiarity gained through length of time spent in the neighbourhood. This does not mean, of course, that the imagined location of boundaries that define neighbourhood areas remain unaltered.

In summary, size of neighbourhood area is an important element of community affiliation. Clearly some people identify with quite small areas whilst others relate to seemingly large areas. Comparatively small areas are apparently associated more so with people who have low levels of education and income. Because some questions in the survey instrument ask respondents about types or intensities of activities that usually happen within neighbourhood areas, varying responses might sometimes be directly related to the fact that people had different sized neighbourhood areas.

The next section shifts the emphasis away from a predominantly physically identifiable component and more towards conscious thoughts by exploring characteristics of the sample profile that influenced how people felt about the neighbourhood areas within which they lived.

5.2 Feelings about “home”

Most respondents thought that where they currently lived was home. Expected differences were apparent when cross-tabulating against length of residence and age, with longevity for both profile variables associated with greater propensities to think of home as the place where they currently lived (statistically significant at $\chi^2 = 32.182$, $df = 3$ for length of residence; $\chi^2 = 7.028$, $df = 2$ for age). Table 5-2 shows important inter-relationships between feelings about home and key profile characteristics. (Those who said that where they grew up, their place of birth, or somewhere else was home, as well as those who were “not sure”, were categorised as thinking of home as “elsewhere or not sure”.)

Table 5-2: Location of home by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Where is home? %</i>		<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Where they live now</i>	<i>Elsewhere or not sure</i>	
<i>Length of residence:</i>			
<i>Less than 2 years</i>	52.6	47.4	100 (19)
<i>2 – 5 years</i>	72.0	28.0	100 (25)
<i>5 – 10 years</i>	91.9	8.1	100 (37)
<i>10 years or more</i>	94.4	5.6	100 (124)
<i>Total responses</i>	87.3	12.7	100 (205)
<i>Age:</i>			
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	80.4	19.6	100 (51)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	85.1	14.9	100 (94)
<i>60 years or more</i>	96.6	3.4	100 (58)
<i>Total responses</i>	87.2	12.8	100 (203)
<i>Employed in paid job:</i>			
<i>Yes</i>	85.8	14.2	100 (127)
<i>No</i>	68.0	32.0	100 (25)
<i>Retired</i>	100.0	–	100 (52)
<i>Total responses</i>	87.3	12.7	100 (204)
<i>Own or purchasing a home:</i>			
<i>Yes</i>	92.3	7.7	100 (181)
<i>No</i>	47.6	52.4	100 (21)
<i>Total responses</i>	87.6	12.4	100 (202)

These results support earlier research which has shown that the longer people live within a locality, the more likely they are to identify with it (Hunter 1975; Kasarda & Janowitz 1974). Based on the survey data, the critical number of years of residence seems to be five years. This reflects previously recognised associations in contemporary Australia and elsewhere between high levels of individual or household mobility and low levels of identification with the residential neighbourhood (Hassan, Zang & McDonnell-Baum 1996; Newton & Bell 1996).

In addition, age is clearly implicated as a factor in people's determination of what place they consider home. Thus, for one in five respondents aged under 40 years, a stronger place attachment had not developed for the neighbourhood in which they lived compared with elsewhere (specifically, where they grew up) even though the results show that they had left the family home for marriage or cohabitation, and in some instances had young children of their own.

The results lend some support to the argument that a sense of belonging established as a biological response and cultural creation during childhood is so strongly developed for

some individuals that it either subdues or overwhelms its development in a different location, at least for a time (Hayden 1995; Tuan 1980). Perhaps a new set of life's experiences and maturity in years are essential ingredients for replacing strong bonds established with the place where childhood was spent but it is not clear from the data presented here why some people should accomplish this more slowly than the majority of the population.

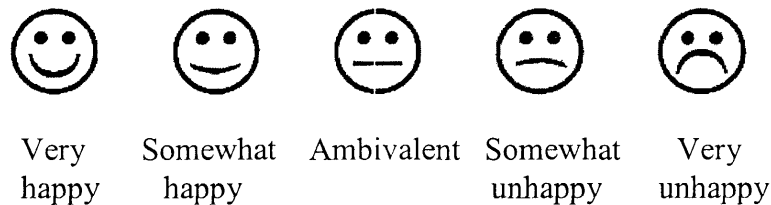
All respondents who were retirees thought home was where they now lived. As would be expected, retirees were generally senior in age and had either lived at the same address or within the same neighbourhood area for many years (Table 5-2). Many who were not in paid employment did not experience this same level of attachment. For example, almost one third of those not in paid work thought of home as somewhere else. For some, dissatisfaction with current lifestyle due to economic and social constraints imposed by their employment status could be a reason for a continued sentimental attachment to a previous place of residence.

Most homeowners identified home as the place where they currently lived (with 92.3% of those who owned or were purchasing a home identifying that location as home). The large proportion of homeowners among the respondents to the survey (87.9% of the total) was most likely in part due to the predominantly single-dwelling suburban composition of areas surveyed but it might also be that different levels of preparedness to participate in the survey were linked with housing tenure. In this survey, non-home owners were most likely to be either tenants or young adults still living in the family home. As such, perhaps their current situation was regarded as impermanent, with aspirations to move to another location within the foreseeable future. Alternatively, enduring ties that held them to another place had not been superseded by identification with a new place of residence.

It is not surprising that factors linked with thinking of home as the current residence (length of residence, age, employment status and home ownership) were also identified as inter-related profile variables. However, it is important to stress that survey respondents overwhelmingly considered where they currently lived as home. More light is shed on potential reasons for such feelings in the following section where thoughts of, and plans about moving from, the neighbourhood are examined.

5.3 Thoughts and plans on moving from the neighbourhood

In order to gain a measure of feelings about neighbourhood, respondents were asked to mark a face (as shown below) to indicate how they would feel about having to move away from their neighbourhood. The majority did not view the prospect favourably, with 62.1% indicating they would be “very” or “somewhat” unhappy.



Education level was the only profile characteristic that significantly influenced feelings about the prospect of moving (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 9.527$, $df = 4$) (Table 5-3). A comparatively large percentage of respondents with trade certificates or diplomas, by comparison with the others, were very or somewhat happy with the idea of relocating elsewhere. Further analysis suggested that this was to some extent gender-derived. Of those females with these qualifications ($n = 37$), 29.7% preferred relocation compared with 16.1% of males ($n = 31$). Whether this might be associated with female respondents spending less time in the paid workforce than males (as identified in Chapter 4) and, quite possibly, more time at home and within their neighbourhoods, or whether instead it is linked with the female role in influencing and planning for life choices, or other factors altogether, is not clear from these results.

In addition, the results illustrate most of those who owned (or were purchasing) their own homes felt unhappy about the prospect of having to move elsewhere, whilst 50.0% of non-home owners were ambivalent (Table 5-3). Home ownership is variously credited with benefiting the neighbourhood through social stability, sense of responsibility, freedom and pride (Hassan, Zang & McDonnell-Baum 1996). In addition, home ownership implies vested interest and may therefore foster local affiliation and social interaction.

Table 5-3: Feelings about moving by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Feelings about moving from neighbourhood %</i>			<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Very or somewhat happy</i>	<i>Very or somewhat unhappy</i>	<i>Ambivalent</i>	
<i>Education:</i>				
<i>Year 12 or below</i>	9.1	62.1	28.8	100 (66)
<i>Trade certificate or diploma</i>	23.5	57.4	19.1	100 (68)
<i>Bachelor degree or higher</i>	7.6	65.2	27.3	100 (66)
<i>Total responses</i>	13.5	61.5	25.0	100 (200)
<i>Own or purchasing a home:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	12.7	65.2	22.1	100 (181)
<i>No</i>	9.1	40.9	50.0	100 (22)
<i>Total responses</i>	12.3	62.6	25.1	100 (203)

Respondents were also asked to indicate if they were contemplating a move from their neighbourhood within six months and also (looking further into the future) within five years. Although participants were specifically asked to respond for both timeframes, some treated the two parts of the question as optional, resulting in low response rates (see Table 5-4). Understandably, more respondents nominated the “don’t know” category when contemplating the likelihood of a move within five years compared with the shorter timeframe of six months, perhaps regarded as the foreseeable future for which actions were more predictable or for which plans were already in place.

Table 5-4: Plans to move by home ownership

<i>Plans to move</i>	<i>Own or purchasing a home %</i>		<i>Total responses</i>
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	
<i>Within 6 months:</i>			
<i>Definitely or probably no</i>	87.4	60.0	84.2
<i>Definitely or possibly yes</i>	9.9	35.0	12.9
<i>Don't know</i>	2.6	5.0	2.9
<i>Total (n =)</i>	100 (151)	100 (20)	100 (171)
<i>Within 5 years:</i>			
<i>Definitely or probably no</i>	57.6	11.1	53.0
<i>Definitely or possibly yes</i>	27.3	72.2	31.7
<i>Don't know</i>	15.2	16.7	15.3
<i>Total (n =)</i>	100 (165)	100 (18)	100 (183)

Smaller proportions of homeowners were planning a move by comparison with non-homeowners at both the six-month and five-year time intervals (Table 5-4). Different intentions about staying at the same address applied particularly with respect to the extended timeframe, with homeowners about five times less likely to be contemplating

relocation compared with non-homeowners. Respondents who were tenants or who were young adults within the family home possibly have aspirations for home ownership, a different housing situation or, alternatively, freedom from parental constraints. Such individuals might anticipate that benefits would be associated with moves to other locations.

When plans to move from the neighbourhood within, firstly, six months and also in five years were cross-tabulated against gender, there was very little difference in responses between males and females at the six months interval. For the longer timeframe of five years, a greater proportion of females than males had plans to move (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 6.111$, $df = 2$) (Table 5-5). Further examination of the results showed that different views on relocation were most pronounced for those aged between 40 and 59 years. For males in this age group ($n = 40$), 72.5% said they would definitely or probably not move within five years, whereas for females ($n = 49$), only 40.8% thought they would not be relocating. This distinction provides some additional support for the notion that women are more inclined to plan ahead and make life choices (Martin 1967). Contemplated change could be influenced for some by the empty nest syndrome or, with advancing years, the desire for a smaller and more easily managed property, as well as other factors relating to different stages of the life course.

With respect to motor vehicle ownership (or having access to the use of one), a large proportion of non-car owners, by comparison with owners of cars, were in the *don't know* category (Table 5-5). The future for them is presumably less predictable, with a greater range of constraints influencing choice of suitable residential localities than for those with motor vehicles. Improved mobility (through acquisition of, or ability to use, a motor vehicle) could encourage relocation and expand choice options. Alternatively, reduced mobility (possibly age- or illness-related) might mean that more convenient access to essential shops, services and facilities, which can be fostered by propinquity, is desirable if not essential.

Table 5-5: Plans to move by other key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Plan to move within 5 years %</i>			<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Definitely or probably no</i>	<i>Definitely or possibly yes</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	
<i>Gender:</i>				
<i>Male</i>	63.0	23.5	13.6	100 (81)
<i>Female</i>	45.1	38.2	16.7	100 (102)
<i>Total responses</i>	53.0	31.7	15.3	100 (183)
<i>Own/access to a motor vehicle:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	54.1	32.6	13.4	100 (172)
<i>No</i>	36.4	18.2	45.5	100 (11)
<i>Total responses</i>	53.0	31.7	15.3	100 (183)
<i>Live with a partner:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	55.8	30.8	13.5	100 (156)
<i>No</i>	34.6	38.5	26.9	100 (26)
<i>Total responses</i>	52.7	31.9	15.4	100 (182)
<i>Computer use skills:</i>				
<i>Computer literate</i>	52.5	35.5	12.1	100 (141)
<i>Just learning or not used</i>	54.8	19.0	26.2	100 (42)
<i>Total responses</i>	53.0	31.7	15.3	100 (183)
<i>Internet use at home:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	52.9	35.5	11.6	100 (121)
<i>No</i>	54.2	22.0	23.7	100 (59)
<i>Total responses</i>	53.3	31.1	15.6	100 (180)

Furthermore, the results suggest that a greater proportion of people who are single do not plan to be at the same address within five years by comparison with those who live with a partner. The growing number of single-parent families (many headed by women), and people living alone (often females because of greater life expectancy), possibly also influenced the gender-influenced results previously discussed.

Webber had predicted that users of modern forms of communication would be more likely to be members of CWP's and place less importance on the area where they lived. It could be argued that these results provide limited support for this view in that users of computers and the internet (at home, but not at work) were significantly more likely to be planning to move within the longer term ($\chi^2 = 7.007$, $df = 2$ and $\chi^2 = 6.107$, $df = 2$ respectively) (Table 5-5).

In summary, education was the single significant influence with respect to feelings about moving from the neighbourhood, with results pointing to people with trade certificates or diplomas being more likely to be happy about the prospects of a move than those with lower or higher education levels. This might also be linked to gender differences. With respect to planned moves, apparently more females than males and people without private

transport, as opposed to car owners, have plans to relocate away from neighbourhood areas in the medium-term. In addition, single people are less committed to staying in the same location than those who live with partners. Tenants are substantially more likely than homeowners to have plans to move and to not have strong feelings one way or the other about the prospect of relocation. Home ownership, it seems, provides some people with not only a financial stake in their neighbourhood but also with other forms of commitment. The next section examines whether sharing common interests with neighbours was more likely to occur with some types of residents than others.

5.4 Neighbourhood-based common interests

Age and employment status significantly influenced whether respondents shared common interests with others in their neighbourhoods (statistically significant; $\chi^2 = 19.367$, $df = 6$ and $\chi^2 = 16.897$, $df = 6$ respectively). Respondents who were at least 60 years of age were more likely to share common interests than people in younger age groups, with a majority doing so “quite often” (Table 5-6). There were only minor differences in tendencies to share common interests in results for groups of people less than 60.

Table 5-6: Shared common interest by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Share a common interest with neighbours %</i>				<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Never or not sure</i>	
<i>Age:</i>					
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	25.0	38.5	19.2	17.3	100 (52)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	31.6	32.6	21.1	14.7	100 (95)
<i>60 years or more</i>	59.6	19.3	17.5	3.5	100 (57)
<i>Total responses</i>	37.7	30.4	19.6	12.3	100 (204)
<i>Employed in paid work</i>					
<i>Yes</i>	32.0	33.6	20.3	14.1	100 (128)
<i>No</i>	20.0	32.0	28.0	20.0	100 (25)
<i>Retired</i>	59.6	21.2	13.5	5.8	100 (52)
<i>Total responses</i>	37.6	30.2	19.5	12.7	100 (205)
<i>Length of residence:</i>					
<i>Less than 10 years</i>	25.9	35.8	21.0	17.3	100 (81)
<i>10 – 29 years</i>	38.4	31.5	20.5	9.6	100 (73)
<i>30 years or more</i>	54.9	21.6	15.7	7.8	100 (51)
<i>Total responses</i>	37.6	30.7	19.5	12.2	100 (205)
<i>Computer use skills:</i>					
<i>Computer literate</i>	31.2	33.8	20.8	14.3	100 (154)
<i>Lust learning or not used</i>	56.0	20.0	16.0	8.0	100 (50)
<i>Total responses</i>	38.3	30.4	19.6	12.7	100 (204)

Of course, most people aged 60 years and over were retirees and, not surprisingly, a majority of respondents in this group also quite often shared common interests with neighbours (Table 5-6). Available leisure time and length of residence have probably afforded retirees more opportunities to seek or sort out neighbours with whom they can share common interests. Respondents not currently employed were least likely to quite often or even occasionally share common interests by comparison with retirees and people in paid work. The results suggest that employment differentiations as well as age are potentially important elements in assessment of the CWP phenomenon.

An expected notable difference was apparent when the propensity to share common interests was cross-tabulated against length of residence (Table 5-6). For example, longer-term residents were more likely to share common interests with neighbours than shorter-term ones. In addition, there was a significant difference when cross-tabulated against computer skills. In addition, respondents who were not computer literate were significantly more likely to share common interests than those with computer skills (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 10.210$, $df = 3$). However, these associations are quite possibly a function of age (age, length of residence and computer use were highly inter-related). Whether levels of neighbourhood identification seem to be influenced by travel patterns for work or for the pursuit of particular interests are explored next.

5.5 Travel outside the neighbourhood

Although 128 respondents indicated that they were in paid work, a total of 158 respondents stated work travel patterns. It appears that some participants, instead of using the “not applicable” option in relation to the question about where they travelled outside their neighbourhood for paid work, chose the response of “sometimes” or “never”.

Alternatively, some might have recorded past travel patterns whilst now temporarily unemployed or retired. When results were examined to include only those in paid employment at the time of the survey, Chi-squared assumptions could not be met in order to test levels of statistical significance. In spite of this, some patterns warrant comment.

Of those in paid employment ($n = 126$), 85.7% travelled outside their neighbourhood for paid work. In addition, income seemed to be an important influence on travel outside the local area for paid employment, with those with high income levels most likely to travel outside their neighbourhood for work compared with those on lower incomes (as shown in

Table 5-7). This relationship has additional relevance when it is remembered that high income earners are apparently less likely to have small neighbourhood areas than those on low incomes.

Table 5-7: Travel for work by income

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Travel outside neighbourhood for paid work %</i>		
	<i>Always or mostly</i>	<i>Sometimes or never</i>	<i>Total (n =)</i>
<i>Income per week:</i>			
<i>\$1,000 or more</i>	92.3	7.7	100 (52)
<i>\$500 – \$999</i>	87.2	12.8	100 (39)
<i>Less than \$500</i>	75.0	25.0	100 (28)
<i>Total responses</i>	86.6	13.4	100 (119)
<i>Size of neighbourhood (km²):</i>			
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	96.9	3.1	100 (32)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	93.5	6.5	100 (21)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	84.0	16.0	100 (35)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	79.2	20.8	100 (24)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	57.1	42.9	100 (14)
<i>Total responses</i>	85.7	14.3	100 (126)

Travel outside neighbourhood areas was not unexpectedly related to neighbourhood size, with those who had larger areas less likely to be outward bound than those with smaller areas (Table 5-7). This points to location of work being of little consequence in perceptions of neighbourhood area.

Besides determining whether people were, with respect to neighbourhood areas, inward or outward bound for travel to work, information was sought about *distances* usually travelled from home for mainstream pursuits. For employed people, this question specifically related to work travel. However, for retirees and those not in paid employment, it might represent normal travel patterns for a variety of other types of activities. The results point to distances generally travelled away from home, whether for work or other activities, not varying to a significant extent when cross-tabulated against neighbourhood size (Table 5-8). The importance of these inter-relationships is that, because similar proportions of people travel similar distances for mainstream activities irrespective of size of neighbourhood area, the location of such pursuits seemingly does not influence perceptions of neighbourhood boundaries.

Table 5-8: Distance travelled for mainstream pursuit by key profile variables

Profile characteristics	Distance usually travelled for mainstream pursuit %				Total (n =)
	In n/hood or < 5 km from home	5 – 10 km from home	10 – 15 km from home	15 km or more from home	
Size of neighbourhood (km²):					
Smaller than 1 km ²	31.6	21.1	17.5	29.8	100 (57)
1 – 2 km ²	32.7	26.5	18.4	22.4	100 (49)
2 – 4 km ²	27.3	15.2	27.3	30.3	100 (33)
4 – 8 km ²	28.6	32.1	10.7	28.6	100 (28)
Larger than 8 km ²	36.4	18.2	9.1	36.4	100 (22)
Total responses	31.2	22.8	17.5	28.6	100 (189)
Income per week:					
\$1,000 or more	13.6	18.6	28.8	39.0	100 (59)
\$500 – \$999	27.5	27.5	11.8	33.3	100 (51)
Less than \$500	42.1	22.8	14.0	21.1	100 (57)
Total responses	27.5	22.8	18.6	31.1	100 (167)
Education:					
Year 12 or below	45.0	23.3	13.3	18.3	100 (60)
Trade certificate / diploma	31.7	23.3	11.7	33.3	100 (60)
Bachelor degree or higher	19.0	22.2	28.6	30.2	100 (63)
Total responses	31.7	23.0	18.0	27.3	100 (183)
Hours worked per week:					
Less than 20 hours	11.1	37.0	18.5	33.3	100 (27)
20 – 39 hours	3.0	18.2	33.3	45.5	100 (33)
40 hours or more	9.1	7.3	20.0	63.6	100 (55)
Total responses	7.8	17.4	23.5	51.3	100 (115)
Employed in paid work:					
Yes	24.8	22.4	20.0	32.8	100 (125)
No	52.4	9.5	23.8	14.3	100 (21)
Retired	38.1	31.0	7.1	23.8	100 (42)
Total responses	30.9	22.9	17.6	28.7	100 (188)
Gender:					
Male	26.6	16.5	25.3	31.6	100 (79)
Female	34.5	27.3	11.8	26.4	100 (110)
Total responses	31.2	22.8	17.5	28.6	100 (189)

Income was apparently the most influential factor when distances people usually travelled for mainstream pursuits were analysed (statistically significant; $\chi^2 = 17.855$, $df = 6$) (Table 5-8). Education level was also statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 15.270$, $df = 6$). Patterns for travelling greater distances were associated with high salaried (\$1,000 per week or more) or university-educated respondents, with the majority travelling at least ten kilometres from their neighbourhood, perhaps to niche jobs that match qualifications and provide satisfaction and monetary reward, whereas most other respondents travelled less than ten kilometres. However, comparatively large proportions of people earning \$500 to \$999 per week or with trade certificates or diplomas also travelled considerable distances, with one third of each group usually travelling at least 15 kilometres from home.

In addition to recognising the relevance of education and income for influencing distances travelled away from neighbourhoods, there was a notable difference involving the number of hours worked per week (Table 5-8). For example, 63.6% of those who worked 40 hours per week or more travelled at least 15 kilometres from their neighbourhood for their mainstream pursuit (presumably work). By comparison, 45.5% generally working between 20 and 39 hours per week travelled 15 kilometres or more and only 33.3% of those who worked less than 20 hours per week travelled that far. High levels of inter-relationship between education, income and hours worked were identified in Chapter 4. These results demonstrate that the occupational profile of an area can have a large influence on the degree of non-local travel.

Those not in the paid workforce (excluding retirees) were constrained with respect to distance travelled from home for mainstream pursuits (Table 5-8). Limited resources (such as time or money) might restrict the geographic dispersal of activities for these people and, as a consequence of narrow networks of associations, also reduce opportunities to be involved in diverse social arenas. In other words, they might have few of Putnam's (2000) "thin ties", which are regarded as beneficial linkages.

Gender was another significant factor influencing distance usually travelled to work or for mainstream pursuits (statistically significant; $\chi^2 = 8.546$, $df = 3$). The majority (61.8%) of females stayed close to home, within neighbourhood areas or at least within ten kilometres of home, whereas this limitation applied to only 43.1% of males (Table 5-8). When profiling the sample, it became apparent that females worked significantly shorter hours than males, with about one third of females working less than 20 hours per week compared with only around one in ten males. Reduced distances travelled by females could indicate a preference by women who are employed in part-time or casual work to work closer to their home so that travel time for comparatively short working hours is reduced. Some mothers' preferences for being home for school-aged children could also be a factor.

There was not a similar distinction in distances travelled according to gender when long trips from home (15 kilometres or more) were examined, with 31.6% of males and 26.4% of females usually travelling these distances. Of those females with tertiary qualifications ($n = 35$), 40.0% travelled 15 kilometres or more compared with only 17.9% of males who had university degrees ($n = 28$). Thus, professional women are apparently more likely to

travel greater distances than professional men. These results further support the contention that the occupational composition of an area impacts upon the level of out-of-area travel.

5.6 Discussion

The results clearly point to location of the workplace as inconsequential for people's definition of neighbourhood boundaries and, therefore, perceptions of what constitutes the neighbourhood area. In addition, distance travelled for mainstream pursuits does not seem to influence perceptions of neighbourhood areas. The relevance of where activities are performed for cognition of neighbourhood boundaries is a topic that is pursued in the next chapter exploring use of neighbourhood areas.

Associations related to socio-economic status are perhaps more influential than most other factors in determining identification with neighbourhood area. Education and income, both closely related, were identified as significant determinants of the size of neighbourhood areas and the extent to which people travelled for work or mainstream pursuits. People with no post-school qualifications or with low incomes were most likely to have small areas (less than one km²) and to pursue mainstream activities close to home. The converse did not apply; people with highest levels of education or income did not necessarily have the largest areas and travel furthest away. In addition, a majority of those who did not own cars identified with small areas. The inter-relationships between use of computer technology, education and income are illustrated to a limited extent in that non-users of computer technology tend to identify with smaller areas and have stronger neighbourhood connections in some respects than users. The important point seems to be that, whilst there are no obvious factors that distinguished persons with neighbourhood areas that ranged in size from at least one to eight km² or larger, small areas are more likely to be linked to people with low socio-economic status (represented by education, income, car ownership and use of computer technology).

The results also point to housing tenure being an important factor, with most homeowners thinking that home is where they now live and being generally unhappy about the prospect of moving elsewhere, whereas most non-homeowners think home is somewhere else and are not unhappy about moving away. Additionally, fewer homeowners have thoughts about moving to another location by comparison with non-homeowners.

Rates of home ownership in metropolitan Australia are, and have always been, high. That this is something that seems to enhance levels of identification with neighbourhood areas is not surprising. Voluntary residential mobility in Australia is largely influenced by a desire for home ownership (from first home buyers), for a changed type of residence (from change-over buyers) or to adjust residential standards to needs of the family or household type (Hassan, Zang & McDonnell-Baum 1996). Other factors of less relevance include the desire to increase house size or housing quality, and environmental factors. Thus, whilst housing tenure apparently encourages identification with a place, at the same time there seem to be a number of human desires and other forces working against long-term tenure as a homeowner within one location.

The results suggest that length of residence does not generally influence the extent to which people identify with neighbourhood areas, with the exception that people with less than five years' residence have lower propensities to think of their current place of residence as home than those who have lived there for longer periods. Within the present study, 21% of respondents had changed their neighbourhood of residence within the past five years (39% within ten years) and 47% were either contemplating a move within the next five years or were undecided. This points to a population that is prepared to be flexible both in terms of residential mobility and their ties with neighbourhood areas. Moreover, actual levels of residential mobility for the total population of the six survey locations was about half as much again as for respondents (33% for 1996 – 2001; ABS 2003). The lower residential mobility rate indicated for respondents, by comparison with that of survey location census populations, might to some extent be ascribed to types of people who were prepared to participate in the survey. For example, it was shown in Chapter 4 that tenants and residents from non-English speaking backgrounds (groups with generally higher mobility rates) were under-represented in the final sample. This suggests potentially lower proportions of the population identify with their neighbourhoods than indicated by these results.

Although clearly most people think that home is the place where they live, older people, particularly retirees, are more likely to be strongly connected to their neighbourhoods in this way. Furthermore, sharing common interests with neighbours is more likely to occur with people who are at least 60 years of age.

Gender appears relevant in some respects in that most males seemingly have no plans to relocate from their neighbourhoods within a five-year timeframe whereas a minority of females have such definite intentions to still be at the same location in five years. Whether this is an indication of stronger levels of identification or attachment by males or whether aspects involving forward planning by females are a consideration is not clear. In addition, females are more likely to pursue their mainstream activities within, or in close proximity to, their neighbourhood areas whereas the majority of males travel at least ten kilometres from home for mainstream pursuits. Number of hours worked per week also has an apparent impact on distances people are prepared to travel from neighbourhoods to the workplace, with those working at least 40 hours per week (the majority seem to be males) significantly more likely to travel 15 kilometres or more.

This chapter has sought to distinguish the extent to which people identify with the areas in which they live and to determine if certain characteristics within the sample profile influence degrees of identification. It has also served to distinguish the “landscape” of the physical neighbourhood area from the “place” of sentimental and emotional attachment. Although identification with a neighbourhood landscape might be a separate sentiment to place attachment, a combination of these bonds is thought to provide a framework for both individual and communal aspects of identity (Brown & Perkins 1992). These results suggest that identification with the landscape of a particular area seems to develop quite quickly for most people, provided some criteria, for example, home ownership, employment, and the mobility and flexibility afforded by owning a motor vehicle, are satisfied. This feature is illustrated by length of residence apparently not unduly impacting upon size of neighbourhood areas, thoughts about relocation or the forming of some types of associations, such as neighbours who share common interests. In accord with the views of Richmond (1990), it seems that identification with a neighbourhood area can seemingly be strengthened by feelings of comfort within recognisable and acceptable aspects of the natural and built environments.

Attachment to place is thought to develop more slowly than identification and so feelings about another place previously called home are, for some it seems, not so quickly displaced. In other words, whilst transformation in place attachment occurs over time within the one location, this tends towards being a gradual process and should not be equated with the apparently relatively rapid process of identification with the physical environment.

Whilst recognising that attachment and identification are different sentiments, the results point to most people having strong propensities to identify with their neighbourhood areas. Counteracting this is the fact that most employed people travel away for work and many people apparently regularly travel considerable distances from home for their mainstream pursuits, quite possibly initiating or maintaining involvement in CWPs in the process.

Worthy of additional consideration is the argument that strength of identification and attachment to neighbourhoods is positively influenced by more affluent social positions (Beggs, Hurlbert & Haines 1996). If levels of education and income, as well as housing tenure, car ownership and use of computer technology, are surrogates for socio-economic status, identification is most likely to be strengthened for Webber's professionals (those on high incomes, with high education levels, users of computer technology, homeowners and car owners). This supposed pull factor for the more affluent could compensate to a degree for the concomitant push towards CWPs ascribed to them by Webber's proposition.

Conclusion

The results point to most people identifying quite strongly with their neighbourhood areas although there seems to be a greater likelihood that this will apply to those who are aged at least 60 years or homeowners. At the same time, mainstream pursuits take many away from neighbourhood areas although this does not seem to affect boundary definitions. Only when diversity and intensity of activities and interests outside the neighbourhood occurs together with removal or large-scale diminution of neighbourhood involvement should the notion of CWP be ascribed to contemporary Australia.

Identification with neighbourhood appears to be associated with how quickly and how well individuals are able to cognitively position their neighbourhood and their activities within it in a personally meaningful way relative to other regularly used parts of the city. Ease of access to some types of shops, services and facilities are perhaps a crucial part of this process. Exploration of the role of the neighbourhood in these respects and the manner in which perceptions of neighbourhood are defined by different types of shops, services and facilities is pursued in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: USE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

Changes in personal mobility as a result of transformations in transport and communications technology over recent decades in particular have facilitated levels of interaction particularly within community groups or structures that are geographically dispersed. However, involvement in CWPs instead of nearby communities might often occur out of necessity rather than choice. When a number of shortcomings with respect to local facilities and work opportunities coincide, people might spend little time within their local neighbourhood areas because they are forced to travel elsewhere. Therefore, local shops, facilities and services – the locations of which are often obvious focal points for community activities – as well as pedestrian friendly environments and public transport, might also influence the places where people choose to become involved in many of their social interactions (Ife 1995). This can become manifest in persons having little identification with local issues and limited opportunities for chance meetings within neighbourhoods. For these reasons, it is important to understand which facilities (if any) located within local areas satisfy the needs of residents and, in the process, contribute to perceptions of neighbourhood (or if, alternatively, people usually travel elsewhere).

This chapter reports on use of neighbourhood areas for types of activities associated with normal daily operations and household management. During interview sessions, immediately after respondents had considered and mapped the perceived boundaries of their personal neighbourhood area, they were asked to gauge the extent to which the shops, facilities, activities and services that they generally used were to be found within their local area or, alternatively, at other named localities (Part A of survey instrument). The results are analysed in the next section.

Additionally, information about *frequency* of use of local areas, by comparison with elsewhere, was collected for seven consecutive days from the Part E trip diaries and social contact diaries. Overall, the three different types of results (types of facilities used, frequency of use for activities and frequency of use for social contact) suggest factors that might influence perceptions of what constitutes neighbourhood areas. The results also permit investigation of levels of activity occurring in place-based communities *vis-à-vis* locations external to neighbourhoods which, in turn, could influence other forms of interaction and involvement within those places.

6.1 Types of activities

In this section, assessment of use of neighbourhoods for different types of activities was based on stated patterns of normal behaviour. Respondents indicated the degree (ranging from “always” to “seldom or never”) to which they gauged that their personal use of different categories of shops, facilities and services occurred within their local neighbourhood by comparison with elsewhere (refer to Table 6-1).

Table 6-1: Rationale for calculation of relative weighting scores for neighbourhood use

<i>How often do you use each category of facilities within your neighbourhood?</i>	<i>Interpreted as:</i>	<i>Scored as:</i>
100% of the time	Always	4
About 75% of the time	Generally	3
About 50% of the time	Quite often	2
About 25% of the time	Occasionally	1
Seldom or never	Seldom or never	0
Facility not used anywhere	Not applicable	Excluded

To determine the overall level of use of local areas for each category of shop, service or facility, average scores were calculated based on the level of use by each respondent and the number of respondents who indicated that they used the different categories. A higher average score indicates greater local use by respondents of a particular type of facility than a lower score; a score of more than two suggests that neighbourhood facilities were used more often (more than 50% of the time) than those at other locations. Table 6-2 shows relative weighting results.

A combined relative weighting of 1.80 was calculated for use of local neighbourhood facilities. In other words, respondents said that they used facilities outside identified neighbourhood areas on a majority of occasions overall – 55% of the time for the different types of activities discussed, by comparison with local area use only 45% of the time.

Table 6-2: Relative weightings for use of local shops, facilities and services

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Category of facility</i>	<i>Score *</i>	<i>% using facility (n = 207)</i>
1	<i>Daily basics</i>	3.03	96.1
2	<i>Schooling for children</i>	2.42	35.7
3	<i>Recreation, sport or hobbies</i>	2.34	85.5
4	<i>General government services</i>	2.29	95.2
5	<i>Church services / spiritual care</i>	1.75	47.8
6	<i>General health services</i>	1.74	98.1
7	<i>Meals to / away from home</i>	1.71	90.8
8	<i>Banking</i>	1.69	94.7
9	<i>Basic household supplies</i>	1.56	93.7
10	<i>Child-, aged-, home- or respite-care etc.</i>	1.52	12.1
11	<i>Other government services</i>	1.43	6.8
12	<i>Personal care</i>	1.41	98.1
13	<i>Small home purchases or services</i>	1.31	98.6
14	<i>Culture or entertainment</i>	0.50	74.9
<i>Combined weighting</i>		1.80	

* See text for details of calculation of scores

The results suggest that the types of shops, services and facilities used do not generally influence perceptions of neighbourhood areas. Possible exceptions are the four categories that had overall weightings greater than two. In other words, the places where people usually access basic daily supplies, school their children, pursue recreation, sport or hobbies and use general government services (such as the library or post office) might be inter-related with people's concepts of neighbourhood areas whereas use of other types of facilities does not suggest a link. Of course, many individuals are not concerned with schooling for children (applicable to only 35.7% of respondents, Table 6-2). In addition, 14.5% of respondents did not pursue recreational or sporting activities or hobbies and, therefore, did not have perceptions of neighbourhood influenced by the location of suitable facilities for these types of activities. Whilst 95.2% included facilities such as the library or post office in neighbourhood areas, many customers might only occasionally use these types of services. Therefore, when overall usage levels are also considered, it seems that the single most important neighbourhood facility is the place where people shop for daily basic supplies.

There were considerable variations in size of nominated neighbourhood areas, ranging from less than 0.01 km² to an estimated 40 km². This needs to be taken into account in the interpretation of results throughout this thesis. (Mean neighbourhood size was 3.77 km², with a median of 1.60 km².) Nevertheless, the important point is that, with the exception of those four types of facilities identified above and, in particular, the "corner shop" or its

equivalent, perception of what constitutes neighbourhood area does not seem to embrace the range of “normal” activities pursued by people.

The types of activities least likely to be accessed within neighbourhoods were related to culture and entertainment, with a score of 0.50. Respondents were asked to exclude informal gatherings, such as visits with friends or relatives, when considering what activities they pursued within this category. The rationale for exclusion was that, whilst it could be argued that such associations are important with respect to cultural exchange and enjoyment, entertainment within the home is not entirely dependent on the provision of independent venues or services by public or private organisations.

These results contribute to an understanding of people’s interpretations of place and space. For some, what constituted neighbourhood area stopped at a standard distance from the home. For others, areas lacked geometric symmetry, with perimeter lines distorted to include certain features. Whilst neighbourhood boundaries were usually drawn to capture some of the more frequently used facilities such as the corner shop, other types of facilities often used (for example, supermarkets, cafés or restaurants) were generally not included. Given the range of sizes for neighbourhood areas, geographical proximity was not, apparently, the major determinant for many. During interviews, volunteered comments indicated that, in many cases, the boundaries of neighbourhoods also corresponded with routes taken during regular walks. This quite possibly contributed to the inclusion of activities related to recreation, sport or hobbies in perceptions of neighbourhood areas.

Where people go to church or for spiritual care was accorded a relatively high ranking. Whilst, overall, preferred places of worship were not included within neighbourhood areas, this type of facility was more likely to be considered part of the home patch than many other activities (ranked fifth with a score of 1.75). This is understandable given the type of service offered. Thus there seems to be a linkage between the community of church and community of place. However, use of that types of facility applied to only 47.7% of respondents, which weakens its level of influence with respect to the total population.

Patterns of travel outside neighbourhood areas were generally apparent for what might be considered less frequently used services. Medical care was usually sourced out of area (score of 1.74), as were purchased meals, either as “take aways” or at restaurants, cafés, clubs or hotels (score of 1.71). Care services (for example, child care, home care and

respite care; score of 1.52) and other government services such as those offered by Centrelink, Veterans' Affairs or Family and Community Services (score of 1.43) were often sourced away, probably associated with a limited number of outlets and, therefore, the geographically dispersed nature of these types of services. Personal care (score of 1.41) and small home purchases or services (score of 1.31) were even more likely to be acquired outside the neighbourhood. Reasons volunteered were often related to preferences for boutique or speciality shopping experiences or because the products and services being sought were not necessarily available within nominated neighbourhood areas.

Banking (including EFTPOS) and the purchase of basic household supplies (such as groceries, fruit and vegetables) were ranked eighth (score of 1.69) and ninth (score of 1.56) respectively. Activities associated with these two categories are usually performed regularly in many households (often on a weekly basis at least) and yet, in general terms, venues for these activities were not within neighbourhood areas. During initial interviews, a number of comments were volunteered with reference to closures of bank branches within neighbourhoods. In spite of some emotive responses, none indicated that they currently experienced difficulties accessing banking services.

Respondents volunteered a variety of reasons for choosing to use (or, alternatively, not to use) a supermarket in one particular shopping complex for basic household supplies rather than in other locations. Reasons included (in no order of priority) ease of parking, price competitiveness, ethnic mix of shoppers and shops, convenience, seeking variety in the shopping experience, and product availability. What was evident in most cases was that people were not constrained by locational choice, with two or more venues usually available for consideration, without access or distance to be travelled perceived as deterrents.

Another element these two types of activities (banking and general purpose shopping) have in common is that both can be accomplished using the internet. The internet was nominated as most regularly used by some respondents (35 or 16.9% for banking, four only for basic household supplies), with convenience generally the main reason.

Use of neighbourhood areas needs to be interpreted in association with profile characteristics to understand which respondent groups were more or, alternatively, less

likely to include different types of shops, services and facilities in their perceptions of neighbourhood areas. Responses for tendencies to include types of shop, services or facilities within neighbourhood areas were condensed into those where use occurred at least 50% of the time within their neighbourhood (always, generally or quite often) and those where neighbourhoods were used less than 50% of the time (occasionally, seldom or never). (Analysis of original response options and condensed responses have been summarised in Appendix 8.)

Types of facilities used in neighbourhood areas are discussed under the sub-headings of “food and household supplies”, “other general services and supplies” and “discretionary activities”. “Schooling” for children was not grouped with any other services due to the distinctive nature of this activity by comparison with others and the fact that schooling was non-elective.

Food and household supplies

The broad classification of food and household supplies incorporates those shopping activities that, in total, arguably consume a comparatively large proportion of disposable household incomes. This classification includes the facility that these results suggest is most closely inter-related with the neighbourhood – the place where daily basic supplies are accessed (milk, bread, newspaper and so on). The classification also applies to other basic household supplies (such as grocery items, fruit, vegetables and protein) and meals purchased away from the home.

Whilst outlets where daily basics were purchased were usually within neighbourhood areas, a large proportion (42.1%) of people who spoke other than English at home did not include these types of facilities within their local areas. By comparison, of those respondents who spoke English only, 19.4% did not include the facility (refer to Table 6-3). Lack of proficiency in English combined with a desire to purchase culturally traditional supplies could explain tendencies for those with languages other than English to travel elsewhere.

Persons employed in the workforce who generally worked short (less than 20 hours) or long hours (40 or more per week) shopped for not only daily basics outside neighbourhood areas to a greater extent than others who were employed but also for other basic household

supplies (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 8.965$, $df = 2$ and $\chi^2 = 7.141$, $df = 2$ respectively). Tables 6-3 and 6-4 show the differences for these types of activities when cross-tabulated against hours worked and other key profile variables.

Table 6-3: Daily basics by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local shops for daily basics %</i>		
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	<i>Total (n =)</i>
<i>Preferred language at home:</i>			
<i>Speak English only</i>	80.6	19.4	100 (180)
<i>Speak other than English</i>	57.9	42.1	100 (19)
<i>Total responses</i>	78.4	21.6	100 (199)
<i>Hours worked per week:</i>			
<i>Less than 20 hours</i>	76.9	23.1	100 (26)
<i>20 – 39 hours</i>	97.1	2.9	100 (34)
<i>40 hours or more</i>	71.4	28.6	100 (56)
<i>Total responses</i>	80.2	19.8	100 (115)

Table 6-4: Basic household supplies by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local shops for basic household supplies %</i>			<i>Type of shop not used at all</i>	<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>			
<i>Hours worked per week:</i>					
<i>Less than 20 hours</i>	29.6	63.0	7.4		100 (27)
<i>20 – 39 hours</i>	55.9	44.1	–		100 (34)
<i>40 hours or more</i>	24.6	63.2	12.3		100 (57)
<i>Total responses</i>	34.7	57.6	7.6		100 (118)
<i>Gender:</i>					
<i>Males</i>	31.8	54.5	13.6		100 (88)
<i>Females</i>	44.9	54.2	0.8		100 (118)
<i>Total responses</i>	39.3	54.4	6.3		100 (206)

For people who worked long hours, it is possibly more convenient to pick up not only daily basics but also other basic household supplies away from their home patch, perhaps in the vicinity of the workplace or somewhere readily accessible along travel routes. The overall tendency for people in part-time work (less than 20 hours per week) to have similar patterns of shopping behaviour to those who work long hours could be a reflection of more leisure hours permitting variety, as opposed to convenience, shopping. As a result, the mix of facilities that might be linked to perceptions of neighbourhood areas appears to diminish. At the same time, perceptions of the importance of places other than neighbourhood might be strengthened.

Gender was apparently influential for determining whether or not people shopped for basic household supplies (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 15.264$, $df = 4$), with 13.6% of males not performing this type of activity at all compared with only one female. However, gender did not seemingly affect *where* they shopped for these supplies (Table 6-4).

Respondents had been asked to consider *if* as well as *where* they purchased meals prepared away from the home, either as take away meals or at restaurants, cafés, clubs, hotels or other venues. The high levels of inter-relationship between age, employment, income and education are clear. For example, comparatively high proportions of persons 60 years or older, retirees, low income earners and people without tertiary education qualifications, by comparison with others, did not purchase meals. The results reflect lifestyle preferences (as volunteered by some elderly participants) and also, to some extent, resources and opportunities (or lack thereof) (refer to Table 6-5). Interestingly, for those who purchased meals, employment status and income levels seemingly have minimal influence on whether this occurs locally or elsewhere. However, amount of disposable income could be expected to impact upon on *types* of meals purchased.

Additionally, it seems people who do not own motor vehicles are more restricted in their consumption patterns than those with access to private transport. One third of respondents without cars indicated that they did not purchase meals at all compared with 7.3% with motor vehicles (Table 6-5).

People with bachelor degrees or higher were more likely than those with lower education levels to purchase meals prepared away from home (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 12.981$, $df = 4$) (refer to Table 6-5). In addition, there was a notable difference for *where* meals were purchased. Respondents with university degrees, by comparison with others, were more likely to include such venues within their local areas. This might also provide comment about neighbourhood facilities, with persons with university degrees perhaps living in more affluent areas that offered a range of eating prospects.

Table 6-5: Meals purchased by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local take aways, cafes, restaurants, clubs etc. %</i>			<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally seldom or never</i>	<i>Meals not purchased at all</i>	
<i>Age:</i>				
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	53.8	42.3	3.8	100 (52)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	49.5	45.3	5.3	100 (95)
<i>60 years or more</i>	46.6	34.5	19.0	100 (58)
<i>Total responses</i>	49.8	41.5	8.8	100 (205)
<i>Employed in paid job:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	53.1	42.2	4.7	100 (128)
<i>No</i>	56.0	40.0	4.0	100 (25)
<i>Retired</i>	39.6	39.6	20.8	100 (53)
<i>Total responses</i>	50.0	41.3	8.7	100 (206)
<i>Gross weekly income:</i>				
<i>\$1,000 or more</i>	50.8	47.5	1.6	100 (61)
<i>\$500 – \$999</i>	55.8	34.6	9.6	100 (52)
<i>Less than \$500</i>	48.5	35.3	16.2	100 (68)
<i>Total responses</i>	51.4	39.2	9.4	100 (181)
<i>Education:</i>				
<i>Year 12 or below</i>	44.8	41.8	13.4	100 (67)
<i>Trade or diploma</i>	39.7	47.1	13.2	100 (68)
<i>Bachelor degree or higher</i>	65.2	33.3	1.5	100 (66)
<i>Total responses</i>	49.8	40.8	9.5	100 (201)
<i>Own or use a motor vehicle:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	51.6	41.1	7.3	100 (192)
<i>No</i>	26.7	40.0	33.3	100 (15)
<i>Total responses</i>	49.8	41.1	9.2	100 (207)
<i>Hours worked per week:</i>				
<i>Less than 20 hours</i>	44.4	48.1	7.4	100 (27)
<i>20 – 39 hours</i>	76.5	20.6	2.9	100 (34)
<i>40 hours or more</i>	43.9	52.6	3.5	100 (57)
<i>Total responses</i>	53.4	42.4	4.2	100 (118)
<i>Preferred language at home:</i>				
<i>Speak English only</i>	52.4	38.5	9.1	100 (187)
<i>Speak other than English</i>	25.0	65.0	10.0	100 (20)
<i>Total responses</i>	49.8	41.1	9.2	100 (207)

The results point to number of hours worked per week as an important influence. For example, respondents who worked between 20 and 39 hours per week purchased meals at venues within identified neighbourhood areas (76.5% usually did so) whereas a minority (around 44%) of others employed in the paid workforce, both part-time workers (less than 20 hours) and ones working long hours (40 hours or more), generally purchased meals elsewhere. Increasing tendencies for people to work short hours (perhaps with minimal notification for casual part-time workers) or long hours (inducing time constraints) could be influencing these patterns towards greater out-of-area activity, perhaps with concomitant reductions in the scope of areas perceived as comprising the home patch.

Another apparent influence on where meals were purchased was preferred language spoken (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 5.862$, $df = 1$), with a majority (65.0%) of respondents who spoke other than English at home usually sourcing purchased meals away from their neighbourhood areas, quite possibly preferring culturally linked experiences (Table 6-5). By comparison, only 38.5% of people who usually spoke English only generally went out of area.

The next classification to be examined relates to respondent characteristics associated with neighbourhood use for consumer activities of a more general nature that are, arguably, less resource hungry, particularly with respect to time.

Other general services and supplies

Banking, small home purchases or services (exemplified by video hire or the purchase of plants or hardware supplies), personal care (such as hair care), general health services (doctor, chemist, dentist or Medicare) and general government services (council library and post office) were categorised as other general services and supplies. This broad classification recognised that many individuals made use of such services or purchased these types of household supplies (refer to Table 6-2) but possibly not as frequently as facilities that offered food and more basic supplies. Also included were care facilities (including child, aged, home and respite care) and specialised government services (such as Centrelink, Veterans' Affairs or Family and Community Services), with these facilities used only to a limited extent by respondents to the survey.

In the main, venues for activities within this classification were excluded from neighbourhood areas, with the exception of general government services. The results pointed to age influencing whether these types of activities were used within the home patch, with respondents aged at least 60 years more likely than younger people to use many of these services locally.

The majority of respondents did not associate banking with their neighbourhood area. However, significant differences became evident when cross-tabulating banking against length of residence, age, employment status and income (statistically significant, $\chi^2 =$

6.595, df = 2, $\chi^2 = 12.945$, df = 2, $\chi^2 = 10.313$, df = 2 and $\chi^2 = 6.179$, df = 2 respectively) (Table 6-6).

Table 6-6: Banking by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local banking facilities %</i>		<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	
<i>Length of residence:</i>			
<i>Less than 10 years</i>	44.2	55.8	100 (77)
<i>10 – 29 years</i>	37.7	62.3	100 (69)
<i>30 years or more</i>	61.2	38.8	100 (49)
<i>Total responses</i>	46.2	53.8	100 (195)
<i>Age:</i>			
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	37.0	63.0	100 (46)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	38.0	62.0	100 (92)
<i>60 years or more</i>	66.1	33.9	100 (56)
<i>Total responses</i>	45.9	54.1	100 (194)
<i>Employed in paid job:</i>			
<i>Yes</i>	38.0	62.0	100 (121)
<i>No</i>	47.8	52.2	100 (23)
<i>Retired</i>	64.7	35.3	100 (51)
<i>Total responses</i>	46.2	53.8	100 (195)
<i>Gross weekly income:</i>			
<i>\$1,000 or more</i>	31.0	69.0	100 (58)
<i>\$500 – \$999</i>	46.0	54.0	100 (50)
<i>Less than \$500</i>	53.2	46.8	100 (62)
<i>Total responses</i>	43.5	56.5	100 (170)

Age was apparently the dominant catalyst for determining if neighbourhood area extended to include banking facilities. Persons at least 60 years of age (many of whom were retirees with long periods of residence within neighbourhood areas) had significantly greater tendencies than others to use a local venue for banking purposes, possibly due in part to length of associations with the area. This might also be influenced by expectations among people more senior in years of a “traditional” association with a bank of choice, combined with most elderly respondents not being in the workforce and, therefore, possibly spending less time away from neighbourhood areas. Another age-related factor could be associated with the way in which people access bank accounts. During interview sessions, many people said that they used ATMs or EFTPOS facilities rather than a particular bank branch or venue. This factor could contribute to the majority of people less than 60 generally banking away from their neighbourhood area. Significantly larger proportions of high-income respondents, by comparison with those on lower incomes, banked away from neighbourhoods, possibly linked to location of work.

A significant difference became apparent when location of shops or services for personal care was cross-tabulated against age (statistical significance, $\chi^2 = 6.966$, $df = 2$) (Table 6-7). Those in the youngest age group (less than 40 years) were more likely than people of other ages to use shops or services away from neighbourhood areas whilst the majority in the most senior age group (60 years or more) generally used local shops. Patterns for respondent travel outside neighbourhood areas might be influential. Previous results showed that participants with a paid job (93.8% of whom were less than 60 years of age) most likely worked outside neighbourhood areas and would probably have access to shops and services in proximity to their workplace.

Table 6-7: Personal care by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local personal care shops and services %</i>		<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	
<i>Age:</i>			
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	33.3	66.7	100 (51)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	41.9	58.1	100 (93)
<i>60 years or more</i>	57.9	42.1	100 (57)
<i>Total responses</i>	44.3	55.7	100 (201)
<i>Education:</i>			
<i>Year 12 or below</i>	41.5	58.5	100 (65)
<i>Trade or diploma</i>	55.2	44.8	100 (67)
<i>Bachelor degree or higher</i>	35.4	64.6	100 (65)
<i>Total responses</i>	44.2	55.8	100 (197)
<i>Gross weekly income:</i>			
<i>\$1,000 or more</i>	35.0	65.0	100 (60)
<i>\$500 – \$999</i>	57.7	42.3	100 (52)
<i>Less than \$500</i>	42.4	57.6	100 (66)
<i>Total responses</i>	44.4	55.6	100 (178)

There were notable differences when location of personal care shops and services were cross-tabulated against education and income. High income, university qualified respondents mostly travelled out of area for these types of activities but so too did low income persons and those without any form of tertiary education (albeit to a lesser extent). Conversely, the majority of middle-income people and those with trade certificates or diplomas accessed personal care services within neighbourhood areas. The apparent pattern for those with low education and low income levels might partly be a reflection of the previously evidenced close inter-relationship between education, income and size of neighbourhood area, with comparatively large proportions of respondents with low

incomes or low education levels having the smallest size category of neighbourhood area by comparison with all others. Their areas might have been so small as to exclude most types of facilities. That the professionals went elsewhere for personal care items and services may point to the mobility of this group.

The strong relationship between length of residence and age is apparent with respect to use of general health services (including visits to doctors, dentists, and chemists and for services such as Medicare). Differences shown in Table 6-8 were statistically significant for both length of residence ($\chi^2 = 6.591$, $df = 2$) and age ($\chi^2 = 6.880$, $df = 2$). Those in the youngest age group who, clearly, had generally fewer years of residence within their neighbourhood areas than persons who were older, were more likely to travel elsewhere to use these services. This might be linked with preferences for continued associations with practitioners of choice or inertia in finding more proximate medical services, combined with generally greater levels of activity away from the neighbourhood for a number of reasons, including employment. For the more elderly and those who possibly have, over time, developed associations with local medical professionals, the general preference was to use neighbourhood services.

Table 6-8: General health services by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local general health services %</i>		
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	<i>Total (n =)</i>
<i>Length of residence:</i>			
<i>Less than 10 years</i>	39.5	60.5	100 (81)
<i>10 – 29 years</i>	56.9	43.1	100 (72)
<i>30 years or more</i>	59.2	40.8	100 (49)
<i>Total responses</i>	50.5	49.5	100 (202)
<i>Age:</i>			
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	36.5	63.5	100 (52)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	51.1	48.9	100 (94)
<i>60 years or more</i>	61.8	38.2	100 (55)
<i>Total responses</i>	50.2	49.8	100 (201)
<i>Preferred language at home:</i>			
<i>Speak English only</i>	52.5	47.5	100 (183)
<i>Speak other than English</i>	30.0	70.0	100 (20)
<i>Total responses</i>	50.2	49.8	100 (203)
<i>Own/access to motor vehicle:</i>			
<i>Yes</i>	48.4	51.6	100 (188)
<i>No</i>	73.7	26.7	100 (15)
<i>Total responses</i>	50.2	49.8	100 (203)

Notable results became apparent when cross-tabulating access of general health services against both languages spoken at home and motor vehicle ownership (Table 6-8). For example, 70.0% of persons who spoke languages other than English at home travelled outside their neighbourhoods, possibly seeking commonality in language or culture with those providing medical care. For those without motor vehicles and, therefore, the less transport mobile, 73.3% used local services by comparison with only 48.4% who owned cars.

There were significantly different levels of use of local general government services (such as the post office or library) in relation to hours worked (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 6.673$, $df = 2$) (see Table 6-9). Respondents who worked 20 to 39 hours per week used local services more than respondents who worked shorter or longer hours. In other words, patterns of usage were similar to activities associated with accessing food and household supplies.

Table 6-9: General government services by hours worked

<i>Hours worked per week</i>	<i>Use of local general government services %</i>		<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	
<i>Less than 20 hours</i>	61.5	38.5	100 (26)
<i>20 – 39 hours</i>	78.1	21.9	100 (32)
<i>40 hours or more</i>	50.0	50.0	100 (54)
<i>Total responses</i>	60.7	39.3	100 (112)

Comments on location of schools are with reference to Table 6-10. No significant differences became apparent when cross-tabulated against profile characteristics, although there was a notable difference for hours worked per week. A larger proportion of respondents who worked 40 hours or more had their children schooled outside neighbourhood areas than parents who worked fewer hours per week. It might be that, for those who work long hours, choice of school is influenced to some extent by location of available after-school care for children. Alternatively, if schooling was private, working longer hours might have been a way of paying fees, although results do not point to location of schooling being a function of income. Weakened links with their children's schools could also be a consequence of long hours in the workforce, with lessened inclinations to consider schools as being within neighbourhood areas.

Table 6-10: Schooling by hours worked

<i>Hours worked per week</i>	<i>Use of local schools %</i>		<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	
<i>Less than 20 hours</i>	75.0	25.0	100 (12)
<i>20 – 39 hours</i>	84.6	15.4	100 (13)
<i>40 hours or more</i>	51.9	48.1	100 (27)
<i>Total responses</i>	65.4	34.6	100 (52)

In summary, it is not surprising that many of the services used within the broad classification of “other general services and supplies” were not located within neighbourhood areas. Levels of specialisation are often associated with many of these types of activities. Thus there are tendencies for them to be concentrated in commercial rather than residential precincts. What is of interest is the influence of age (and, by example and inference, length of residence), employment status and hours worked. Long-term neighbourhood associations tend to concentrate activities within local areas. By contrast, time spent away from the home patch as a function of long hours employed in the workforce seemingly leads to many of these types of activities being carried out elsewhere. Attention now turns to patterns of usage of local shops, services or facilities in the pursuit of discretionary activities.

Discretionary activities

Within this discussion, activities associated with religious worship or spiritual care, recreation, sport or hobbies, and culture and entertainment have been grouped together as discretionary activities. Whilst it is recognised that many functions associated with these are essential for the wellbeing of humans and indeed can influence physical or mental health, these types of activities tend towards the higher end of recognised elements of wellbeing, to be satisfied after other more basic physical needs have been met (Black & Hughes 2001). Within contemporary Australian society, there is generally freedom of choice in how individuals pursue these higher order needs, although the extent to which these activities occur could depend to some extent on available resources. That they be classified as elective activities is supported by these research results, with the three categories grouped as discretionary having comparatively high proportions of respondents, by comparison with other types of activities, indicating that facilities associated with the activity types were not used by them (refer to Table 6-2).

Examination of discretionary activities produced some pronounced patterns with respect to whether or not these services or facilities were used. Recreational pursuits is one of only four categories of activity types where most people linked the activity with their neighbourhood areas. This generally applied irrespective of profile characteristics, with no significant differences apparent, although people without access to motor vehicles were notably less likely than others to participate in recreation, sport or hobbies. The results show that one third of respondents without private transport did not take part in any recreational activities by comparison with only 13.0% of other participants (Table 6-11). Constraints on access to venues imposed by lack of private transport could account for this. In addition, those without cars quite likely access many facilities and services as pedestrians and perhaps are not so inclined as others to regard walking as a recreational activity.

Table 6-11: Recreation by motor vehicle ownership

<i>Own or use a motor vehicle</i>	<i>Use of local facilities for recreation %</i>			<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally seldom or never</i>	<i>Recreation et al. not used at all</i>	
<i>Yes</i>	57.8	29.2	13.0	100 (192)
<i>No</i>	53.3	13.3	33.3	100 (15)
<i>Total responses</i>	57.5	28.0	14.5	100 (207)

A majority of respondents did not pursue activities associated with religious or spiritual beliefs. Of those who did and who also spoke languages other than English at home, most travelled outside neighbourhood areas for these purposes. By comparison, about half whose only language was English indicated that their usual place of worship was within neighbourhood areas. Differences were statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 6.885$, $df = 2$) (see Table 6-12). Clearly, places of worship such as mosques, temples and minority churches are fewer in number and thus more geographically dispersed than organisations with more traditional faiths. Following rituals of faith in a familiar language might not only provide a spiritual link with another country or culture but also offer community interaction and a sense of belonging to its users, leading to out-of-area travel for participation.

Table 6-12: Church or spiritual care by language spoken

<i>Preferred language at home</i>	<i>Use of local facilities for church or spiritual care %</i>			<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	<i>Service not used at all</i>	
<i>Speak English only</i>	23.0	23.5	53.5	100 (187)
<i>Speak other than English</i>	10.0	50.0	40.0	100 (20)
<i>Total responses</i>	21.7	26.1	52.2	100 (207)

Lack of access to motor vehicles apparently reduces participation rates in cultural or entertainment activities. A majority of people without cars did not use these facilities at all; for those who did use them, all such activities were out of area (Table 6-13). The small neighbourhood areas identified in Chapter 5 for respondents without motor vehicles could in part account for these results.

Table 6-13: Culture or entertainment by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local facilities for culture or entertainment %</i>			<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally, seldom or never</i>	<i>Culture et al. not used at all</i>	
<i>Own or use a motor vehicle:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	10.9	66.1	22.9	100 (192)
<i>No</i>	–	46.7	53.3	100 (15)
<i>Total responses</i>	10.1	64.7	25.1	100 (207)
<i>Education:</i>				
<i>Year 12 or below</i>	7.5	47.8	44.8	100 (67)
<i>Trade or diploma</i>	14.7	61.8	23.5	100 (68)
<i>Bachelor degree or higher</i>	7.6	84.8	7.6	100 (66)
<i>Total responses</i>	10.0	64.7	25.4	100 (201)
<i>Gross weekly income:</i>				
<i>\$1,000 or more</i>	6.6	82.0	11.5	100 (61)
<i>\$500 – \$999</i>	17.3	57.7	25.0	100 (52)
<i>Less than \$500</i>	10.3	50.0	39.7	100 (68)
<i>Total responses</i>	11.0	63.0	26.0	100 (181)

Education and income, as well as use of computers, the internet and mobile phones, were linked to involvement in cultural and entertainment activities (Tables 6-13 and 6-14). For example, people with university qualifications, those at the high end of the income scale and also those who can, through communications technology, easily maintain CWP connections – the professionals – are apparently most likely to seek out such activities (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 27.813$, $df = 4$ for education and $\chi^2 = 18.429$, $df = 4$ for income). Whilst a variety of factors might limit people's ability to pursue or desire for cultural and entertainment activities (such as illustrated for car ownership), some

respondents stated that home entertainment, particularly television, satisfied their needs. Computer, internet and mobile phone users were more likely to source culture and entertainment external to the home than others (Table 6-14).

Table 6-14: Culture or entertainment by communications technology

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Use of local facilities for culture or entertainment %</i>			<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>Always, generally or quite often</i>	<i>Occasionally seldom or never</i>	<i>Culture et al. not used at all</i>	
<i>Computer use skills:</i>				
<i>Computer literate</i>	11.7	70.1	18.2	100 (154)
<i>Just learning or not used</i>	5.9	47.1	47.1	100 (51)
<i>Total responses</i>	10.2	64.4	25.4	100 (205)
<i>Internet used at work</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	10.6	73.4	16.0	100 (94)
<i>No</i>	16.3	44.9	38.8	100 (49)
<i>Not applicable</i>	1.8	67.9	30.4	100 (56)
<i>Total responses</i>	9.5	64.8	25.6	100 (199)
<i>Internet used at home:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	12.0	70.7	17.3	100 (133)
<i>No</i>	7.2	52.2	40.6	100 (69)
<i>Total responses</i>	10.4	64.4	25.2	100 (202)
<i>Own mobile phone:</i>				
<i>Yes</i>	10.7	69.8	19.5	100 (149)
<i>No</i>	8.8	50.9	40.4	100 (57)
<i>Total responses</i>	10.2	64.6	25.2	100 (206)

Accessibility

Because it was anticipated that many shops, services and facilities that are generally used would be located out of area, respondents were asked during interviews if they experienced any types of access difficulties. Optional responses ranged from no degree of difficulty to small, considerable or large degree of difficulty, or “not sure”. Most people (95.2%) indicated that they had no degree of difficulty accessing any shops, services or facilities. Of the remainder, six had small degrees of difficulty and another four experienced considerable degrees of difficulty. Of these four, three were without access to motor vehicles. For respondents with motor vehicles, problems with car parking were generally volunteered as the main reason for access difficulties. It seems that most people consider that they are well serviced with respect to shops and facilities, although some who do not have private transport experience access problems.

Discussion

Tendencies to use neighbourhood areas or, alternatively, other named locations for a range of activities were identified during the interview session when neighbourhood boundaries were defined. Results point to most types of activities (excluding shops where basic daily supplies were purchased, schools, recreational pursuits and the library or post office) occurring external to neighbourhood areas. Local areas are used less by people with non-English speaking backgrounds than by those who speak English only. People with languages other than English are more likely to shop away for daily basics, the type of facility most strongly linked with neighbourhood areas. In addition, language spoken seems important in determining where people purchase meals, worship and seek professional health services, with those who speak languages in addition to English normally travelling outside neighbourhood areas, presumably in search of language and cultural compatibility within ethnic communities.

People who work part-time (less than 20 hours) or long hours (40 hours per week or more) appear to have diminished linkages with neighbourhood areas by comparison with those who work between 20 and 39 hours per week. This is because they are more likely to buy basic supplies and access local government services away from their neighbourhood areas. In addition, those who work long hours are more likely to school their children elsewhere than people who work fewer hours.

Results link people who do not work (excluding retirees) or who work greater or fewer hours than 20 to 39 hours per week with greater propensities for accessing other food and household supplies away from the local area. Changing patterns of employment with respect to location of work (in part as a result of economic restructuring requiring increased travelling time to job locations), increased overtime and the growth of part-time work could be having major impacts upon the relevance of neighbourhood areas for a range of activities. People who work from home, for example, those who operate within the electronic cottage industry, eliminate the need for travel to places of employment and might mitigate this effect to a limited extent (Forster 1999).

Some additional profile characteristics influence other types of uses of neighbourhood areas. For example, seniority in age is an important indicator, with long-standing traditions, habits or lifestyles apparently directing choices and patterns of behaviour

towards rather than away from the local area. Household composition seems to impact upon who shops for basic household supplies, but not so much where it is done.

Education and income, as well as other highly inter-related variables (specifically, those associated with use of computers and mobile phones), were relevant indicators of the extent to which meals were purchased, with professionals using the local area more than others, and the degree to which respondents participated in activities related to culture and entertainment. The latter activity type was ranked overall as most likely to take people away from their home patches. To some extent, involvement in such activities would be dependent on available financial resources and results show that the university educated and high-income professionals are significantly more likely than others to pursue these activities.

Clearly, many people still view their neighbourhood areas as being important for some activities, particularly some pursuits that might bring people into casual contact with their neighbours, such as visits to the corner shop or walks around the block. How people use neighbourhood areas and where shops are accessed has relevance within the CWP debate not only because use patterns influence where interactions with other people occur, whether planned or by chance, but also because there is an argument that shopping for some is a surrogate for a sense of community (Hamilton 2003). If this is valid, shopping out of area might further distance people from other forms of involvement in their place-based community.

The overall tendency is apparently for people to be outward bound away from the neighbourhood rather than inward for most activity types, including for work and mainstream pursuits as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, perhaps contributing towards a decline in neighbourhood cohesion and place-based communities. Whilst types of activities explored here cannot by themselves create community, they can help to establish or maintain identification with and a sense of belonging to a particular place. Thus, if these activities are not taking place locally, associations might well be developing in another place or places with a concomitant weakening in feelings about the home patch. Whether people's perceptions of the applicability of neighbourhood areas for various types of activities are supported by actual levels of activity is explored next.

6.2 Frequency of activities

Examination of use of neighbourhood areas based on participants' assessments of their general patterns of behaviour has provided an insight into what types of activities appear to be linked to neighbourhood areas and which are not because they generally occur away from the home patch. Specifically, results have pointed to workplaces being located away from the home patch for about 86% of the population. In addition, around 55% of many other types of functions occur outside identified local areas. This does not take into account the fact that some activities take place frequently, that is, several times a week (perhaps food shopping or, for some, going to work), whilst other activities may happen as seldom as once or twice a year (for example, visits to medical practitioners).

Analysis of the frequency with which activities occur within neighbourhoods, by comparison with elsewhere, can add a different dimension to understanding people's associations with their local areas. Volume of activities that occur might influence connections which form within a place, whether through affirmation of professional, business or household management contacts or through planned or chance meetings with other people. If, for example, many daily activities occur within the neighbourhood area, this might add to local cohesion and strengthen associations. Alternatively, activity levels might be so widely dispersed that their patterns do not contribute to perceptions about any types of communities. These aspects are investigated in this section.

Respondents were asked to maintain diaries over a continuous seven-day period (Part E) so that the intensity of activities both locally and elsewhere could be measured. Activities away from the home, as well as all social contacts made whilst at home, were recorded in diaries. Results are presented independently for the two different sections within the diaries, firstly, for trip diaries dealing with activities away from the home and, secondly, for social contacts that occurred whilst at home. Overall levels of activity are initially considered with respect to location and intensity. Characteristics within the sample profile that are linked to where activities were carried out are also explored.

Activities away from home

Respondents were asked to record each location visited away from the home (even the minutiae of “popping next door”) and the type of activity performed. It had been anticipated that it would be difficult to determine if different activities that occurred in a number of different locations (including different locations within neighbourhood areas) on the same diary day were performed as a single outing away from the home or if multiple trips were required, without over-complicating the survey instrument. For this reason, respondents were simply asked to name the different localities or suburbs visited and, in general terms, the different activities performed at each location. Activities that occurred within their neighbourhood area were to be identified as such. The number of different activities performed in each location was compiled for analysis.

There were only 93 days in total within all respondent diaries when activities away from home did not occur. In other words, over half all respondents had activities away from their home every day of their survey week whilst the remainder went out on about six days out of seven. (Chapter 3 described how details for a total of 201.3 diary weeks were compiled.) Although the length of time away would obviously vary, the results point to high activity levels away from the home. This must have ramifications for the amount of social contact that can occur at home, to be examined in the next section. Furthermore, extension of similar activity patterns to the sample population of the survey locations suggests potential reasons for the low contact levels with residents that were experienced during fieldwork, as reported in Chapter 3.

Based on the total number of diary days on which activities away from home occurred, at least one activity happened within local areas on 51.0% of days (about every second day) (Table 6-15). By comparison, at least one activity occurred in other localities or suburbs within the Sydney metropolitan area on 80.2% of days (four days out of every five).

Overall, this indicates respondents were about 60% more likely to travel out of area to locations elsewhere within Sydney for a variety of activities than to visit locations within neighbourhood areas. (Only a small proportion of activities occurred in places outside the Sydney metropolitan area and hence there is minimal reference to such activities.)

Table 6-15: Summary of trip diary activities

<i>Number of daily activities</i>	<i>Activities % (excluding "at home" diary days)</i>			<i>Total responses (including all diary days)</i>	
	<i>Neighbourhood</i>	<i>Other Sydney</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>		
<i>No activities</i>		49.0	19.8	97.0	6.6
<i>1 activity</i>	26.0		32.5	2.9	26.0
<i>2 activities</i>	13.8		25.8	0.1	26.7
<i>3 activities</i>	6.4		12.9	–	19.3
<i>4 or more activities</i>	4.8		9.0	–	21.4
<i>One or more activities</i>		51.0	80.2	3.0	93.4
<i>Total</i>		100	100	100	100
<i>(n =)</i>		(1,316)	(1,316)	(1,316)	(1,409)

Significant differences were apparent when size of neighbourhood area was cross-tabulated against intensity of activities. This was statistically significant not only for activities within local areas ($\chi^2 = 144.909$, $df = 16$) but also for other Sydney locations ($\chi^2 = 61.039$, $df = 16$) (Table 6-16). Specifically and not unexpectedly, the smaller the neighbourhood area, the more often respondents travelled out of area to perform normal weekly activities. This meant that other parts of metropolitan Sydney external to the local area were visited more often by those with smaller areas by comparison with visits to other areas by participants with larger areas. Conversely, the larger the areas, the more likely it was that functions could be performed within perceived neighbourhood areas and, therefore, other locations were visited to a lesser extent than by those who had smaller areas.

This pattern based on neighbourhood size was clear (refer to Table 6-16). For those with the smallest areas (less than one km²), out-of-area activity took place on all except 22.7% of diary days whereas for those with the largest areas (larger than eight km²), 38.5% of diary days did not record travel away from the home patch. In addition to travelling away from the home patch more often, respondents with smaller areas also performed a greater number of activities when they were outside neighbourhood areas than those with larger neighbourhood areas. For example, 10.5% of those with the smallest areas carried out four or more daily functions away from the local area compared with 6.3% and 1.9% with the mid-range size and largest size neighbourhoods respectively. Furthermore, 9.3% of those with the largest neighbourhood areas performed at least four normal daily activities within their own neighbourhood areas. By comparison, only 4.0% of those with areas in the mid-range size (two to four km²) performed four or more functions within local areas, down to 0.7% of those with the smallest areas.

Table 6-16: Activity patterns by size of local area

Area of investigation	Number of activities %					Total (n =)
	None	One	Two	Three	Four or more	
<i>Neighbourhood:</i>						
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	66.3	18.2	11.2	3.5	0.7	100 (401)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	54.4	27.7	10.7	3.0	4.1	100 (364)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	48.2	26.3	13.8	7.6	4.0	100 (224)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	41.7	28.7	13.9	6.3	9.4	100 (223)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	24.2	27.3	21.7	17.4	9.3	100 (161)
Total responses	51.3	24.8	13.2	6.1	4.6	100 (1,373)
<i>Other Sydney:</i>						
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	22.2	28.7	25.4	13.2	10.5	100 (401)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	21.4	27.2	26.9	13.5	11.0	100 (364)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	21.9	32.6	29.5	9.8	6.3	100 (224)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	32.7	30.0	20.6	11.7	4.9	100 (223)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	38.5	36.6	11.2	11.8	1.9	100 (161)
Total responses	25.6	30.1	24.0	12.3	8.0	100 (1,373)
<i>All locations:</i>						
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	7.0	27.2	30.7	18.0	17.2	100 (401)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	7.4	24.5	25.8	18.7	23.6	100 (364)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	5.4	24.6	28.6	21.9	19.6	100 (224)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	8.5	24.2	26.5	17.0	23.8	100 (223)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	3.1	27.3	16.1	27.3	26.1	100 (161)
Total responses	6.6	25.6	26.7	19.7	21.4	100 (1,373)

If activity levels were a defining factor for cognitive neighbourhood boundaries, these quite distinctive activity patterns linked to size of neighbourhood area would not be evident. In other words, perception of areas would be connected to some extent to numbers of activities performed within the home patch. Because this is clearly not the case, factors other than activity patterns must be more relevant for perceptions of neighbourhood areas. This important feature, discernible from the trip diary entries, supports results presented earlier in this chapter which suggested that only some types of facilities (such as corner shops or schools for children) might be linked to perceptions of what constituted neighbourhood areas whilst the location of others (including, for example, facilities associated with supermarket shopping, banking or culture and entertainment) were to a large extent irrelevant for neighbourhood definition.

It is reasonable to expect that trips outside the neighbourhood area would usually require greater distances to be travelled for those people who identify with large areas by comparison with those who define smaller areas. Longer journeys for the purpose of work or to access high order goods might sometimes be additionally justified by achieving multiple functions with a single outing. In essence, travelling greater distances away from home for a range of activities might inadvertently be the catalyst for additional functions to

be performed. This might in part be through practicalities associated with one-stop shopping but it could also be related to satisfying natural curiosities or desires to shop somewhere different. It is not possible to measure the extent of such opportunistic activities within this study.

A significant difference became apparent when total number of activities (irrespective of where the activities occurred) was cross-tabulated against size of neighbourhood area ($\chi^2 = 29.302$, $df = 16$) (Table 6-16). The results pointed to respondents with the largest neighbourhood areas (larger than eight km²) having higher activity levels overall by comparison with all others. For example, 53.4% of people with the largest areas performed at least three different types of activities per diary day compared with only 35.2% with the smallest areas. There were only limited variations in intensity patterns for those respondents with areas up to eight km². This suggests that the most active people (people who generally perform the most number of different types of activities on a normal day) have the largest neighbourhood areas whilst there is no clear link between activity levels and size of neighbourhood areas for the remainder of respondents. This provides additional support for the assertion that activity patterns do not seemingly influence perceptions of neighbourhood area.

Trip diary inter-relationships

Because normal weekly activity patterns do not appear to contribute in an influential way to definition of neighbourhood areas, it is not relevant to explore inter-relationships between profile characteristics and levels of activity that occurred within and external to neighbourhood areas. However, characteristics that might have influenced overall activity levels warrant investigation, given that higher activity patterns were identified for those with the largest neighbourhood areas. Statistically significant and notable differences have been summarised in Table 6-17.

Table 6-17: Levels of activity by key profile variables

Profile characteristics	Number of activities %					Total (n =)
	None	One	Two	Three	Four or more	
Length of residence:						
Less than 10 years	6.3	25.6	25.8	16.8	25.5	100 (554)
10 – 29 years	6.0	24.1	28.9	21.3	19.7	100 (498)
30 years or more	7.7	28.3	25.1	20.9	18.0	100 (350)
Total responses	6.6	25.7	26.7	19.4	21.5	100 (1402)
Age:						
Less than 40 years	6.1	20.7	26.2	19.6	27.5	100 (363)
40 – 59 years	4.3	24.1	27.6	20.4	23.6	100 (652)
60 years or more	11.0	34.2	25.5	17.1	12.2	100 (392)
Total responses	6.6	26.0	26.7	19.3	21.5	100 (1407)
Household size:						
1 person	10.2	42.9	22.4	19.4	5.1	100 (98)
2 persons	10.1	27.5	29.2	17.2	16.0	100 (407)
3 – 4 persons	5.0	24.2	26.7	21.6	22.5	100 (658)
5 or more persons	3.3	20.1	24.3	17.2	35.1	100 (239)
Total responses	6.6	25.7	26.7	19.4	21.5	100 (1402)
Live with a partner:						
Yes	6.2	23.4	27.7	19.3	23.5	100 (1168)
No	9.0	38.0	22.2	18.8	12.0	100 (234)
Total responses	6.6	25.7	26.7	19.4	21.5	100 (1402)
Employed in paid work:						
Yes	3.1	21.5	28.6	21.8	25.1	100 (882)
No	15.3	28.8	20.0	13.5	22.4	100 (170)
Retired	11.2	35.6	25.2	16.0	12.0	100 (357)
Total responses	6.6	26.0	26.7	19.3	21.4	100 (1409)
Hours worked per week:						
Less than 20 hours	3.2	14.8	23.3	21.7	37.0	100 (189)
20 – 39 hours	2.5	22.7	28.6	25.6	20.6	100 (238)
40 hours or more	3.6	24.6	29.5	19.9	22.3	100 (386)
Total responses	3.2	21.8	27.8	22.0	25.2	100 (813)
Education:						
Year 12 or below	10.6	32.0	25.2	17.6	14.6	100 (444)
Trade or diploma	4.5	19.7	29.3	20.7	25.9	100 (468)
Bachelor degree or higher	5.5	26.4	26.2	20.0	22.0	100 (455)
Total responses	6.8	25.9	26.9	19.5	20.9	100 (1367)
Income per week:						
\$1,000 or more	4.3	25.4	29.0	18.8	22.5	100 (414)
\$500 – \$999	2.7	20.6	23.6	23.1	29.9	100 (368)
Less than \$500	9.8	26.1	27.6	18.8	17.7	100 (468)
Total responses	5.9	24.2	26.9	20.1	22.9	100 (1246)
Own motor vehicle:						
Yes	6.0	24.5	26.8	20.2	22.5	100 (1311)
No	14.3	45.9	25.5	7.1	7.1	100 (98)
Total responses	6.6	26.0	26.7	19.3	21.4	100 (1409)
Computer use skills:						
Computer literate	4.8	23.0	27.8	20.0	24.4	100 (1052)
Just learning/not applicable	12.0	35.6	23.3	16.3	12.8	100 (343)
Total responses	6.6	26.1	26.7	19.1	21.6	100 (1395)

Table 6-17 (continued): Levels of activity by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Number of activities %</i>					<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four or more</i>	
<i>Internet use at work:</i>						
<i>Yes</i>	11.5	32.4	24.9	15.0	16.1	100 (373)
<i>No</i>	4.7	21.7	29.3	19.7	24.5	100 (644)
<i>Not applicable</i>	6.0	29.2	23.8	20.2	20.8	100 (336)
<i>Total responses</i>	6.9	25.5	26.8	18.6	21.3	100 (1353)
<i>Internet at home:</i>						
<i>Yes</i>	4.6	21.3	28.0	20.7	25.4	100 (912)
<i>No</i>	9.4	35.4	24.3	16.2	14.7	100 (469)
<i>Total responses</i>	6.2	26.1	26.7	19.2	21.8	100 (1381)
<i>Own a mobile phone:</i>						
<i>Yes</i>	6.1	23.2	27.3	19.1	24.2	100 (1024)
<i>No</i>	8.2	33.6	24.9	19.0	14.3	100 (378)
<i>Total responses</i>	6.6	25.7	26.7	19.4	21.5	100 (1402)

Expected significant differences were apparent in the case of age (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 56.772$, $df = 8$). Those 60 years or more were less active than younger respondents. The high inter-relationships discussed in Chapter 4 between age and household size, partnership status, employment status, education, income, use of computers and the internet, and mobile phone ownership were most likely influential in contributing to the significant differences that became apparent when activity levels were cross-tabulated against these other independent variables. Additionally, there was a notable difference for length of residence, with residents of ten years or more (therefore possibly older persons) less active than those who had lived in their neighbourhoods for fewer years. In fact, the only profile variables that did not seem influential were gender, languages spoken and home ownership.

According to the results, single people (many of whom were shown in Chapter 4 to be elderly) were less active than people who lived with partners (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 32.684$, $df = 4$); members of one- or two-person households (also linked in Chapter 4 with the elderly) performed fewer functions than others in larger households (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 75.441$, $df = 12$); retirees were less active than others (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 99.775$, $df = 8$); people with tertiary educations or incomes of at least \$500 per week performed more functions than those who had lower education or income levels (statistically significant differences of $\chi^2 = 44.463$ and 40.693 respectively, $df = 8$ in both cases); and non-users of more recent technology (this applied to many elderly people) were less active than those who used computers and

mobile phones. The results point to age as the most important influence on diminished activity levels although this is not necessarily the only defining factor. Whilst some elderly people might have limited activity levels, others apparently do not.

Whether factors other than having a large neighbourhood area are associated with those who are most active in terms of number of different types of functions performed on a daily basis is not so obvious. With respect to household size, the greater levels of activity by members of larger households compared with those in smaller ones might be associated with parents' involvement in some aspects of their children's activities, such as providing transport to venues. For example, persons belonging to large households (five or more people) performed at least four different activities on 35.1% of diary days by comparison with persons who live alone having only 5.1% of diary days with this level of activity.

There was also a significant difference associated with number of hours spent in the paid workforce, with those who worked part-time (less than 20 hours per week) having substantially higher levels of activity by comparison with others in employment, possibly facilitated by increased leisure hours or dictated by other responsibilities, such as those associated with household and family management. Not surprisingly, respondents without access to motor vehicles were considerably less active than those who owned a car. Age and motor vehicle ownership were strongly inter-related.

This section has illustrated that activity levels are seemingly of minimal consequence in the definition of neighbourhood area. This analysis supports earlier discussion in this chapter regarding the limited effect that the types of functions performed have on definition of neighbourhood area. Whether frequency of social contacts that take place when at home, as opposed to during outings *away* from the household dwelling, further validates these interpretations is examined next.

Activities within the home

Social contact diaries represent recordings by respondents of all social contacts made or received during their survey week whilst they were at home (Part E). Entry details showed how contact was made (face-to-face, by phone, by letter, or by email), where the other person was located (within the neighbourhood, in another Sydney metropolitan suburb or elsewhere outside Sydney), and who initiated the contact.

Examination of the social contact diaries suggests types and intensities of social activities that were separate from but in addition to activities in the trip diaries. The entries described types of interactions that occurred with others located not only within metropolitan Sydney but also with others outside Sydney, including international contacts. Non-social contacts such as business, work or job search events, and arrangements for trade or professional services, were excluded from consideration. Presentation of results concentrates initially on overall levels of social contact, followed by the exploration of profile characteristics that influenced results.

Overall, there were 331 diarised days (23.5% of total diary days, or around one in four) when social contacts within the home did not occur at all, except with (it is assumed) other members of the same household (Table 6-18). Of course, time spent away from the home reduced the potential for such contacts.

Table 6-18: Summary of social contact diary activities

<i>Daily exchange frequencies</i>	<i>Location of contacts %</i>				<i>Total responses</i>
	<i>Neighbourhood</i>		<i>Other Sydney</i>	<i>Else-where</i>	
	<i>Including face-to-face</i>	<i>Excluding face-to-face</i>			
<i>Nil exchanges</i>	65.1	82.0	41.2	75.2	23.5
<i>1 exchange</i>	22.1	12.0	25.6	15.3	22.9
<i>2 exchanges</i>	7.0	3.7	15.0	6.0	18.6
<i>3 – 4 exchanges</i>	4.5	1.9	12.8	2.9	19.8
<i>5 or more</i>	1.2	0.4	5.3	0.7	15.3
<i>Total (n = 1,409)</i>	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Number of exchanges</i>	816	394	1,870	572	3,258
<i>As % of total exchanges:</i>					
<i>Including face-to-face (n = 3,235)</i>	25.0	Not applicable	57.4	17.6	100
<i>Excluding face-to-face (n = 2,826)</i>	Not applicable	13.9	65.9	20.2	100
<i>Exchange rate per day</i>	0.58	0.28	1.33	0.41	2.31
<i>Total exchange days</i>	492	254	829	350	1,078
<i>As % of total diary days</i>	34.9	18.0	58.8	24.8	76.5

Rates of exchange were examined based on total number of recorded diary days ($n = 1,409$). Exchanges occurred with others within the neighbourhood area on 34.9% of all days (about once every third day). By comparison, contact was made with people in other localities or suburbs within the Sydney metropolitan area on 58.8% of the days (around

three days out of five). On about one day out of four, or 24.8% of the time, the other person was outside the Sydney metropolitan area altogether.

Social contacts identified as happening within neighbourhood areas included visits by other persons to respondent homes. Reciprocal actions to these (face-to-face meetings with people away from the home dwelling) were recorded in the trip diaries. Presentation of results for social contacts described as happening within neighbourhood areas have, on identified occasions, excluded face-to-face contacts to permit comparisons between equivalent contact methods. When face-to-face contacts with visitors to the home are excluded, the results show that respondents were over six times more likely to contact people who lived outside neighbourhood areas (average of 1.74 exchanges per diary day) than within (0.28 exchanges per day), with the bulk of these persons being located in other Sydney metropolitan localities (1.33 exchanges per day) (refer to Table 6-18).

Of course, as with analysis of the trip diaries, it is important to examine the effects of size of neighbourhood area on propensities to have contacts with others within and, conversely, external to neighbourhood areas. (Visits to the home were excluded for these comparisons.) There were significant differences when neighbourhood size was cross-tabulated against social contacts with neighbours (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 70.793$, $df = 12$) but not for people in "other Sydney". In spite of this, there were similar patterns in the number of contacts as previously described for numbers of activities within these different geographic locations (refer to Table 6-19). In other words, the smaller the neighbourhood area, the more often contact was made with others who were in other parts of metropolitan Sydney, with less contact made with others within the home patch. Conversely, the larger the areas, the more likely it was that people who were contacted were within perceived neighbourhood areas, with concomitant lower contact levels with people who lived in other parts of Sydney.

Table 6-19: Social contacts by size of local area

<i>Area of investigation</i>	<i>Number of social contacts %</i>				<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three or more</i>	
<i>Neighbourhood:</i>					
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	87.3	9.7	2.2	0.7	100 (401)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	83.8	9.9	3.3	3.0	100 (364)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	86.6	3.5	3.6	1.3	100 (224)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	76.7	16.1	5.4	1.8	100 (223)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	61.5	24.2	6.8	7.5	100 (161)
<i>Total responses</i>	81.5	12.3	3.8	2.4	100 (1373)
<i>Other Sydney:</i>					
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	39.7	23.7	14.7	21.9	100 (401)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	41.2	23.9	17.0	17.9	100 (364)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	46.0	26.3	12.9	14.7	100 (224)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	36.8	28.3	16.6	18.4	100 (223)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	47.8	26.7	9.3	16.1	100 (161)
<i>Total responses</i>	41.6	25.3	14.7	18.4	100 (1373)
<i>Elsewhere:</i>					
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	76.8	13.2	6.7	3.2	100 (401)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	70.6	17.6	6.9	4.9	100 (364)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	73.7	18.8	4.9	2.7	100 (224)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	83.4	10.8	4.0	1.8	100 (223)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	67.1	19.3	7.5	6.2	100 (161)
<i>Total responses</i>	74.6	15.6	6.1	3.7	100 (1373)
<i>All locations:</i>					
<i>Smaller than 1 km²</i>	28.2	24.9	15.7	31.2	100 (401)
<i>1 – 2 km²</i>	30.2	19.8	18.7	31.3	100 (364)
<i>2 – 4 km²</i>	33.5	21.9	20.1	24.6	100 (224)
<i>4 – 8 km²</i>	28.3	21.5	16.6	33.6	100 (223)
<i>Larger than 8 km²</i>	22.4	22.4	18.0	37.3	100 (161)
<i>Total responses</i>	28.9	22.2	17.6	31.2	100 (1373)

Differences between numbers of social contacts in the different categories of locations and neighbourhood sizes are shown in Table 6-19. The results do not suggest linkages between neighbourhood size and number of contacts, with the exception that those with the largest areas seemingly have the highest contact levels. For example, there were only 22.4% of days when there was no contact for those with the largest areas compared with around 30% of days for persons with smaller areas (Table 6-19). In addition, at least three contacts occurred on 37.3% of their diary days by comparison with fewer days for others. Thus there seems to be an inter-relationship between those with large areas having not only higher activity levels than others, as evidenced in the previous section, but also higher social contact levels.

A significant difference became apparent when contact levels with other people who were located elsewhere were cross-tabulated against neighbourhood size (statistically

significant, $\chi^2 = 23.596$, $df = 12$) (refer to Table 6-19). (“Elsewhere” describes the location of people who lived outside the Sydney metropolitan area.) There was a tendency for respondents with larger neighbourhood areas to have social contacts more often with people who lived elsewhere than those with smaller areas. For example, for those with the smallest area, there was no contact with people who lived elsewhere on 76.8% of days and contact with four or more people on only 3.2% of days. Persons with the largest category had only 67.1% “no contact” days and a comparatively high 6.2% of days when contact was experienced with at least four people. This suggests that contact levels with people without propinquity (as well as with those who live within Sydney as noted earlier) occur more frequently for those with the largest areas. Again, there are apparently minimal differences for those with areas less than eight km². Having regard for these results and considering of the nature of the CWP hypothesis, “elsewhere” contacts as well as total contacts are the elements that are examined for linkages between profile characteristics and intensity of social contacts. In advance of this and to inform the subsequent discussion, patterns suggested by the results with respect to methods of contact are explored.

The telephone, used by respondents on a statistical average of about seven days out of ten, was overwhelmingly the most popular method of communication (Table 6-20). Not only was this method used on most days but also multiple telephone exchanges usually occurred on the same day. Use of the telephone included text messaging. Future surveys might be expected to produce different results due to rapid recent growth in the use of mobiles phones for short message service (SMS) or text messaging. The use of this form of communication and the apparent attraction to Australians, especially younger ones, of SMS (Telstra 2003) has reportedly increased substantially in the period since fieldwork for this research was carried (Crowe 2003). Whether this has been to the detriment of, or in addition to, other methods of contact is not known.

Table 6-20: Summary of social contacts by method of contact

<i>Daily contact frequencies</i>	<i>Method of social contact %</i>			
	<i>Face-to-face</i>	<i>Phone</i>	<i>Emails</i>	<i>Letters</i>
<i>Nil contacts</i>	79.4	31.6	85.7	96.7
<i>1 contact</i>	14.6	23.7	6.3	2.8
<i>2 contacts</i>	4.0	18.0	2.6	0.4
<i>3 – 4 contacts</i>	1.6	18.4	2.4	0.2
<i>5 or more contacts</i>	0.4	8.3	0.6	–
<i>Total (n = 1,409)</i>	100	100	100	100
<i>Number of contacts</i>	422	2,459	318	59
<i>As % of total (n = 3,258)</i>	13.0	75.5	9.8	1.8
<i>Contact rate per day</i>	0.30	1.75	0.23	0.04

When use of the phone was cross-tabulated against key profile characteristics, the most significant differences were with respect to gender (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 80.978$, $df = 3$) and number of hours worked (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 54.522$, $df = 6$). (Refer to Table 6-21 for results when telephone usage was cross-tabulated against profile characteristics to produce significant or notable differences.) Females used the telephone more frequently than males. In addition, persons who worked less than 20 hours per week were more frequent users than those who worked longer hours.

Significant differences in terms of phone usage occurred in relation to age (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 26.962$, $df = 6$), with persons aged 60 years or more using the phone less than others; education (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 14.792$, $df = 6$), with people without any form of post-school education using the phone less than others; computer use skills (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 9.383$, $df = 3$), with computer literate people using the phone more than others; and users of mobile phones (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 19.710$, $df = 3$), with mobile phone owners using telephoning more than others. These differences are possibly linked with respondent age.

The significant difference in the case of length of residence (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 30.085$, $df = 6$) suggests that longer-term (30 years or more) and shorter-term (less than 10 years) residents use the phone more than others. In addition, persons who did not own motor vehicles used the phone significantly less than those who had access to private transport (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 10.044$, $df = 3$). As previously noted, people without motor vehicles also experienced lower levels of activity away from the home than others, suggesting reduced activity and contact levels for them overall.

There was a notable difference when household size was cross-tabulated against phone usage (Table 6-21). People in large households (at least five persons) used the phone less than members of smaller households, possibly a function of their greater levels of activity away from the home, as suggested earlier in this chapter. Not unexpectedly, those who did not go to work (both retirees and those not employed) had significantly higher levels of phone contact at home than both users and non-users of the internet in the workplace (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 20.532$, $df = 6$).

Table 6-21: Phone contacts by key profile variables

Profile characteristics	Number of phone contacts %				Total (n =)
	None	One	Two	Three or more	
Length of residence:					
Less than 10 years	25.6	23.5	19.5	31.4	100 (554)
10 – 29 years	38.6	24.9	16.7	19.9	100 (498)
30 years or more	30.0	22.6	18.0	29.4	100 (350)
Total responses	31.3	23.8	18.1	26.8	100 (1402)
Gender:					
Male	42.4	25.5	14.9	17.1	100 (596)
Female	23.6	22.4	20.3	33.7	100 (813)
Total responses	31.6	23.7	18.0	26.7	100 (1409)
Age:					
Less than 40 years	24.0	23.1	18.5	34.4	100 (363)
40 – 59 years	33.4	26.2	18.4	21.9	100 (654)
60 years or more	35.2	20.2	17.1	27.6	100 (392)
Total responses	31.5	23.7	18.1	26.7	100 (1407)
Household size:					
1 – 2 people	29.3	24.2	18.2	28.3	100 (505)
3 – 4 people	29.9	24.3	19.0	26.7	100 (658)
5 or more people	41.0	20.5	15.1	23.4	100 (239)
Total responses	31.6	23.6	18.0	26.7	100 (1402)
Hours worked per week:					
Less than 20 hours	16.4	22.8	19.6	41.3	100 (189)
20 – 39 hours	31.5	30.3	22.3	16.0	100 (238)
40 hours or more	38.1	19.9	16.1	25.9	100 (386)
Total responses	31.9	23.5	18.0	26.6	100 (1331)
Education:					
Year 12 or below	36.0	23.2	16.9	23.9	100 (444)
Trade or diploma	30.8	20.5	18.8	29.9	100 (468)
Bachelor degree or higher	27.9	28.4	18.2	25.5	100 (455)
Total responses	31.5	24.0	18.0	26.5	100 (1367)
Own motor vehicle:					
Yes	32.3	22.8	18.0	26.8	100 (1311)
No	21.4	35.7	18.4	24.5	100 (98)
Total responses	31.6	23.7	18.0	26.7	100 (1409)
Computer use skills:					
Computer literate	29.8	23.8	18.2	28.2	100 (1052)
Just learning/not applicable	37.0	24.2	17.8	21.0	100 (343)
Total responses	31.6	23.9	18.1	26.5	100 (1395)
Mobile phone:					
Yes	28.9	24.8	17.3	29.0	100 (1024)
No	38.6	20.9	20.4	20.1	100 (378)
Total responses	31.5	23.8	18.1	26.6	100 (1402)
Internet use at work:					
Yes	30.6	26.7	18.2	24.5	100 (644)
No	32.4	23.8	21.7	22.0	100 (336)
Not applicable	32.2	19.6	14.7	33.5	100 (373)
Total responses	31.5	24.0	18.1	26.4	100 (1353)

While the phone was used by most people every day, face-to-face contacts occurred on a statistical average of about one day in five (Table 6-20). Data relating to face-to-face contacts essentially describe visits to the home by kin, friends and acquaintances.

Although the number of face-to-face social contacts was substantially less than for contact by phone, there were some similarities in the apparent influences of different profile characteristics, as shown in Table 6-22. Gender and hours worked were again the major indicators of behaviour (statistically significant differences, $\chi^2 = 16.679$, $df = 3$ and 12.602 , $df = 6$ respectively). Females were more likely than males to have days when they were visited at home, as were persons who worked part-time (most of whom were identified in Chapter 4 as females) by comparison with others in the paid workforce.

Employment status was, not surprisingly, a significant factor, with those in the paid workforce less likely to receive visitors at home than others (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 19.084$, $df = 6$). In addition, long-term residents (30 years or more) had more visitors than others (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 29.567$, $df = 6$). Differences were statistically significant when visits at home were cross-tabulated against age and education level ($\chi^2 = 12.602$ and 16.048 respectively, $df = 6$ in both cases) (refer to Table 6-22). The elderly (clearly shown to have long-term links with neighbourhoods) have somewhat higher levels of face-to-face contacts in their homes than others, as do persons with trade certificates or diplomas, by comparison with those with either higher or lower education levels.

A notable difference was apparent in the case of motor vehicle ownership, with those who did not own cars less likely to receive visitors than others. It seems that not only are those without private transport less likely to have activities away from the home but also they have less face-to-face contacts with other people when they are at home.

Table 6-22: Face-to-face contacts by key profile variables

Profile characteristics	Number of face-to-face neighbourhood contacts %				Total (n =)
	None	One	Two	Three or more	
Length of residence:					
Less than 10 years	81.8	13.4	4.3	0.5	100 (554)
10 – 29 years	82.3	13.5	2.0	2.2	100 (498)
30 years or more	71.7	18.0	6.6	3.7	100 (350)
Total responses	79.5	14.6	4.1	1.9	100 (1402)
Gender:					
Male	83.7	12.9	2.5	0.8	100 (596)
Female	76.3	15.9	5.2	2.7	100 (813)
Total responses	79.4	14.6	4.0	1.9	100 (1409)
Age:					
Less than 40 years	78.8	14.3	5.5	1.4	100 (363)
40 – 59 years	81.6	14.4	2.3	1.7	100 (654)
60 years or more	76.3	15.3	5.6	2.8	100 (392)
Total responses	79.4	14.6	4.1	1.9	100 (1407)
Employed in paid work:					
Yes	82.4	12.6	3.5	1.5	100 (882)
No	77.1	18.8	2.9	1.2	100 (170)
Retired	73.1	17.6	5.9	3.4	100 (357)
Total responses	79.4	14.6	4.0	1.9	100 (1409)
Hours worked per week:					
Less than 20 hours	78.8	13.8	6.9	0.5	100 (189)
20 – 39 hours	81.1	12.6	2.9	3.4	100 (238)
40 hours or more	84.7	12.7	1.8	0.8	100 (386)
Total responses	79.0	15.0	4.0	2.0	100 (1331)
Education:					
Year 12 or below	83.1	13.1	2.3	1.6	100 (444)
Trade or diploma	76.7	14.5	6.6	2.1	100 (468)
Bachelor degree or higher	79.3	16.0	2.9	1.8	100 (455)
Total responses	79.7	14.6	4.0	1.8	100 (1367)
Own motor vehicle:					
Yes	78.7	15.2	4.0	2.1	100 (1311)
No	88.8	7.1	4.1	–	100 (98)
Total responses	79.4	14.6	4.0	1.9	100 (1409)

Letters were only occasionally written or received compared with other forms of contact, with email exchanges more common for written communications. The combined number of incoming and outgoing email contacts was less than the number of face-to-face visits which, by their nature, were incoming only. Email interaction occurred at this comparatively low level despite the fact that, as identified in Chapter 4, 65.8% of respondents (almost two out of every three) used the internet at home. (Due to the low volume of email exchanges, differences when email contact was cross-tabulated against key profile variables have been presented in Appendix 9). These research results clearly point to personal contacts by phone and also face-to-face meetings being practised in preference to contact by email.

With respect to the directional flow of contacts (excluding visits to the home), social contacts initiated by people other than the survey participants outnumbered those made by respondents (Table 6-23). It is unclear why incoming rates should be substantially higher than outgoing ones, particularly having regard for absences from the home by most respondents for at least part of each day, as indicated by trip diary entries. It might be that incoming calls were recorded messages that did not require responses. Alternatively, incoming calls might be more readily remembered and subsequently diarised than those made. If so, the diary entries might not be a true reflection of actual interactions. It could also reflect a disproportionate number of contacts made (as opposed to received) elsewhere, perhaps within the workplace or by mobile phones whilst away from home.

Table 6-23: Summary of social contacts received and made

<i>Daily contacts</i>	<i>Total social contacts %</i>		
	<i>Contacts received</i>		<i>Contacts made</i>
	<i>Including face-to-face</i>	<i>Excluding face-to-face</i>	
<i>Nil contacts</i>	35.3	43.6	51.3
<i>1 contact</i>	26.0	24.8	29.5
<i>2 contacts</i>	17.5	15.8	11.1
<i>3 – 4 contacts</i>	15.8	12.5	5.7
<i>5 or more contacts</i>	5.4	3.3	2.4
<i>Total (n =)</i>	100 (910)	100 (793)	100 (686)
<i>Contact days as % of total diary days (n = 1,409)</i>	64.6	56.3	48.7
<i>Contact numbers as % of total (n =)</i>	63.0% (3,258)	57.5% (2,836)	37.0% (3,258)
<i>Average contacts per day</i>	1.46	1.16	0.86

To seek additional explanations of patterns, characteristics within the profile that might have influenced overall levels of social contact, as well as those that occurred between respondents and other people who lived away from the Sydney metropolitan area, are examined next.

Social contact diary inter-relationships

This section explores the frequency of social contacts with respect to key profile characteristics. Reasons for examining total social contacts as well as those that occurred “elsewhere” (that is, outside Sydney) to the exclusion of contacts with people in neighbourhood and other Sydney areas have been previously outlined. Results for

statistically significant and notable differences when contact numbers were cross-tabulated against profile characteristics are summarised in Tables 6-24 (for all contacts) and 6-25 (for those located outside Sydney). (Tables in Appendix 9 summarise significant differences for social contacts in neighbourhood areas and other Sydney localities.)

Table 6-24: Total social contacts by key profile variables

<i>Profile characteristics</i>	<i>Total number of social contacts when at home %</i>				<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three or more</i>	
<i>Length of residence:</i>					
<i>Less than 10 years</i>	19.1	21.8	20.0	39.0	100 (554)
<i>10 – 29 years</i>	29.1	24.7	18.3	27.9	100 (498)
<i>30 years or more</i>	21.4	22.0	16.9	39.7	100 (350)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.3	22.9	18.6	35.2	100 (1402)
<i>Gender:</i>					
<i>Male</i>	34.4	26.8	15.8	23.0	100 (596)
<i>Female</i>	15.5	19.9	20.7	43.9	100 (813)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.5	22.9	18.6	35.1	100 (1409)
<i>Age:</i>					
<i>Less than 40 years</i>	16.8	21.8	19.6	41.9	100 (363)
<i>40 – 59 years</i>	24.8	24.7	19.8	30.7	100 (654)
<i>60 years or more</i>	27.0	20.9	15.8	36.2	100 (392)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.4	22.9	18.6	35.1	100 (1407)
<i>Household size:</i>					
<i>1 – 2 people</i>	23.2	21.4	16.8	38.6	100 (505)
<i>3 – 4 people</i>	20.4	23.6	21.7	34.3	100 (658)
<i>5 or more people</i>	32.6	23.4	14.2	29.7	100 (239)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.5	22.8	18.7	35.1	100 (1402)
<i>Hours worked per week:</i>					
<i>Less than 20 hours</i>	11.1	17.5	18.0	53.4	100 (189)
<i>20 – 39 hours</i>	23.1	27.7	23.5	25.6	100 (238)
<i>40 hours or more</i>	29.5	22.0	16.3	32.1	100 (386)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.4	22.6	18.8	35.2	100 (813)
<i>Education:</i>					
<i>Year 12 or below</i>	28.2	25.0	17.1	29.7	100 (444)
<i>Trade or diploma</i>	21.4	20.9	18.2	39.5	100 (468)
<i>Bachelor degree or degree</i>	21.1	23.5	21.5	33.8	100 (455)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.5	23.1	18.9	34.5	100 (1367)
<i>Income per week:</i>					
<i>\$1,000 or more</i>	27.1	21.3	17.9	33.8	100 (414)
<i>\$500 – \$999</i>	17.0	25.3	19.5	38.2	100 (364)
<i>Less than \$500</i>	24.1	21.6	17.7	36.5	100 (468)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.0	22.6	18.3	36.1	100 (1246)

Table 6-24 (continued): Total social contacts by key profile variables

Profile characteristics	Total number of social contacts when at home %				Total (n =)
	None	One	Two	Three or more	
Own motor vehicle:					
Yes	24.0	21.7	18.8	35.5	100 (1311)
No	17.3	37.8	16.3	28.6	100 (98)
Total responses	23.5	22.9	18.6	35.1	100 (1409)
Computer use skills					
Computer literate	21.7	21.5	19.1	37.7	100 (1052)
Just learning/not applicable	29.2	27.7	17.5	25.7	100 (343)
Total responses	23.5	23.0	18.7	34.8	100 (1395)
Internet at work:					
Yes	22.2	24.7	20.3	32.8	100 (644)
No	25.9	24.7	19.3	30.1	100 (336)
Not applicable	23.1	19.0	15.0	42.9	100 (373)
Total responses	23.4	23.1	18.6	34.9	100 (1353)
Internet at home:					
Yes	22.0	21.7	18.6	37.6	100 (912)
No	25.6	24.7	18.6	31.1	100 (469)
Total responses	23.2	22.7	18.6	35.4	100 (1381)
Own mobile phone:					
Yes	21.2	22.9	18.8	37.2	100 (1024)
No	29.6	23.0	18.3	29.1	100 (378)
Total responses	23.5	22.9	18.6	35.0	100 (1402)

Table 6-25: Social contacts outside Sydney by key profile variables

Profile characteristics	Number of social contacts with people outside Sydney %				Total (n =)
	None	One	Two	Three or more	
Length of residence:					
Less than 10 years	74.4	16.6	5.2	3.8	100 (554)
10 – 29 years	79.5	11.6	5.4	3.4	100 (498)
30 years or more	69.7	18.6	8.0	3.7	100 (350)
Total responses	75.0%	15.3%	6.0%	3.6%	100 (1402)
Gender:					
Male	84.7	10.4	3.9	1.0	100 (596)
Female	68.1	18.8	7.5	5.5	100 (813)
Total responses	75.2%	15.3%	6.0%	3.6%	100 (1409)
Age:					
Less than 40 years	76.0	17.1	4.1	2.8	100 (363)
40 – 59 years	78.1	13.7	4.4	3.8	100 (654)
60 years or more	69.4	16.3	10.2	4.1	100 (392)
Total responses	75.1%	15.3%	6.0%	3.6%	100 (1407)
Household size:					
1 – 2 people	74.5	14.3	7.5	3.8	100 (505)
3 – 4 people	72.8	17.2	6.2	3.8	100 (658)
5 or more people	83.7	11.3	2.1	2.9	100 (239)
Total responses	75.2%	15.1%	6.0%	3.6%	100 (1402)

Table 6-25 (continued): Social contacts outside Sydney by key profile variables

Profile characteristics	Number of social contacts with people elsewhere %				Total (n =)
	None	One	Two	Three or more	
Employed in paid work:					
Yes	76.8	14.4	5.4	3.4	100 (882)
No	80.6	15.3	1.8	2.4	100 (170)
Retired	68.6	17.4	9.2	4.8	100 (357)
Total responses	75.2	15.3	6.0	3.6	100 (1409)
Hours worked per week:					
Less than 20 hours	68.3	18.0	6.9	6.9	100 (189)
20 – 39 hours	76.9	16.8	5.5	0.8	100 (238)
40 hours or more	78.5	12.7	5.2	3.6	100 (386)
Total responses	75.6	15.1	5.7	3.6	100 (813)
Education:					
Year 12 or below	77.0	13.1	7.2	2.7	100 (444)
Trade or diploma	74.1	14.3	6.6	4.9	100 (468)
Bachelor degree or higher	73.4	18.9	4.2	3.5	100 (455)
Total responses	74.8	15.4	6.0	3.7	100 (1367)
Income per week (difference not significant):					
\$1,000 or more	27.1	21.3	17.9	33.8	100 (414)
\$500 – \$999	17.0	25.3	19.5	38.2	100 (364)
Less than \$500	24.1	21.6	17.7	36.5	100 (468)
Total responses	75.6	15.0	5.8	3.6	100 (1246)
Own motor vehicle:					
Yes	74.1	15.8	6.4	3.7	100 (1311)
No	89.8	8.2	–	2.0	100 (98)
Total responses	75.2	15.3	6.0	3.6	100 (1409)
Computer use skills:					
Computer literate	72.0	16.3	6.9	4.8	100 (1052)
Just learning/not applicable	85.4	11.7	2.6	0.3	100 (343)
Total responses	75.3	15.2	5.9	3.7	100 (1395)
Internet use at work:					
Yes	78.7	13.4	5.1	2.8	100 (644)
No	78.0	14.0	4.8	3.3	100 (336)
Not applicable	67.6	18.0	8.6	5.9	100 (373)
Total responses	75.5	14.8	6.0	3.8	100 (1353)
Internet at home:					
Yes	72.5	16.1	6.9	4.5	100 (912)
No	79.5	14.1	4.3	2.1	100 (469)
Total responses	74.9	15.4	6.0	3.7	100 (1381)
Own mobile phone:					
Yes	73.7	15.3	6.6	4.3	100 (1024)
No	79.4	14.8	4.0	1.9	100 (378)
Total responses	75.2	15.2	5.9	3.6	100 (1402)

Because contact by telephone was the dominant method of contact (refer to Table 6-20), statistically significant differences as a result of cross-tabulating total social contacts against profile variables point to similar influences as those apparent for phone contacts.

Therefore, potential reasons for significant differences will be expanded upon only where divergences in results invite additional interpretations.

Females used all methods of contact (phone, face-to-face and email) more frequently than males and experienced more days when social contact occurred at home (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 106.85$, $df = 3$, refer to Table 6-24), including with others who lived outside Sydney (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 55.698$, $df = 3$, Table 6-25). For example, 84.5% had at least one exchange per day compared with 65.6% of males (refer to Table 6-24). Females also generally had more exchanges on those days. Overall, females had about 2.4 times more social contacts at home than males, as shown in Table 6-26.

Table 6-26: Frequency of social contacts by gender

<i>Social contacts per diary day</i>	<i>Gender %</i>		
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total (n =)</i>
<i>Nil contacts</i>	61.9	38.1	100 (331)
<i>1 contact</i>	49.7	50.3	100 (322)
<i>2 contacts</i>	35.9	64.1	100 (524)
<i>3 contacts</i>	39.0	61.0	100 (462)
<i>4 contacts</i>	27.2	72.8	100 (500)
<i>5 contacts</i>	23.3	76.7	100 (365)
<i>6 contacts</i>	18.3	81.7	100 (360)
<i>7 contacts</i>	11.5	88.5	100 (182)
<i>8 contacts</i>	30.0	70.0	100 (160)
<i>9 contacts</i>	15.4	84.6	100 (117)
<i>10 contacts</i>	15.4	84.6	100 (50)
<i>11 contacts</i>	22.2	77.8	100 (99)
<i>12 contacts</i>	25.0	75.0	100 (48)
<i>13 contacts</i>	50.0	50.0	100 (26)
<i>14 contacts</i>	–	100	100 (28)
<i>15 contacts</i>	–	100	100 (15)
<i>Total contacts</i>	29.1	70.9	100 (3,258)
<i>Total days</i>	596	813	1,409
<i>Average contacts per day</i>	0.67	1.64	

Social exchanges within the home happened less frequently for those who worked longer hours by comparison with those working fewer hours (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 52.728$, $df = 6$). For example, people working 40 hours or more did not have social contact at home on 29.5% of days. By comparison, those who worked less than 20 hours per week had only 11.1% of days without contact when at home. In addition, respondents who worked less than 20 hours per week had higher contact levels on a greater number of days than those who worked longer hours. Persons who worked 40 hours or more tended to concentrate activity into fewer days, whilst those working 20 to 39 hours had more patchy

patterns with respect to numbers of contacts per day. The relationship between hours worked and gender needs to be addressed because the tendency of females to dominate social exchange and for males to work longer hours in the paid workforce (as was evidenced in Chapter 4) could be perceived as the reason for higher levels of social contact by females.

Some significant differences became apparent when cross-tabulating frequency of contact against gender and hours worked (refer to Table 6-27). Females who worked long hours (40 hours or more) or less than 20 hours per week, as well as those not in the paid workforce, had significantly higher levels of social exchanges at home than their male counterparts (statistically significant differences, $\chi^2 = 40.506$, $\chi^2 = 17.438$ and $\chi^2 = 39.600$ respectively, $df = 3$ in all cases). (There was no significant difference between male and female contact levels for those who worked 20 to 39 hours per week.) In other words, long hours at work do not explain why males seemingly have lower social contact levels at home than females. This research suggests support for earlier results (based on empirical research) within British, North American and Australian literature – Young & Willmott (1962), Warner & Lunt (1941) and Martin (1967) respectively – which show that females play the pivotal role in maintenance of kinship and friendship ties and are probably the prime organisers of social arrangements and obligations. Whilst it is some decades since these earlier results were published, it appears gender roles may not have substantially altered in this respect.

Table 6-27: Number of social contacts outside Sydney by gender and hours worked

<i>Number of hours worked per week</i>	<i>Number of social contacts outside Sydney %</i>				<i>Total (n =)</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three or more</i>	
<i>Not in paid job:</i>					
<i>Males</i>	35.7	25.7	16.2	22.4	100 (210)
<i>Females</i>	15.6	21.8	18.2	44.5	100 (308)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.7	23.4	17.3	35.5	100 (518)
<i>Less than 20 hours:</i>					
<i>Males</i>	28.6	25.7	11.4	34.3	100 (35)
<i>Females</i>	7.1	15.6	19.5	57.8	100 (154)
<i>Total responses</i>	11.1	17.5	18.0	53.4	100 (189)
<i>20 – 39 hours:</i>					
<i>Males</i>	28.6	28.6	16.7	26.1	100 (84)
<i>Females</i>	20.1	27.3	27.3	25.3	100 (154)
<i>Total responses</i>	23.1	27.7	23.5	25.6	100 (238)
<i>40 hours or more:</i>					
<i>Males</i>	37.9	26.3	14.2	21.5	100 (232)
<i>Females</i>	16.2	13.6	18.8	51.3	100 (154)
<i>Total responses</i>	29.3	21.2	16.1	33.4	100 (386)

With respect to the influence of length of residence on overall levels of contact (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 26.008$, $df = 6$), short-term (less than 10 years) as well as long-term (at least 30 years) residents had similar patterns for number of contacts made (Table 6-24) although, as already identified, long-term residents were more likely than others to have face-to-face contact.

Clearly, length of residence and age are highly inter-related. Therefore, it is not surprising that age was also a significant influence overall (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 22.175$, $df = 6$), with younger people (less than 40) having higher levels of social contact than people who were 40 years or more. In addition, owners of mobile phones were more likely to have social exchanges by phone when at home than those without mobile phones (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 13.597$, $df = 3$), although type of phone technology used at home cannot be determined from the results. Greater proportions of younger respondents owned mobile phones than older ones. Persons with mobile phones might have developed more frequent patterns of telephone usage than those without.

Household size was a significant influence (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 22.535$, $df = 6$). For example, people from households with five or more members had significantly lower exchange levels overall than those from smaller households. This was seemingly as a result of lower contact levels with other people who lived outside their neighbourhood areas than those with fewer household members. In contrast, they had similar patterns as others within the local area (as shown in Appendix 9 table). Earlier results from trip diaries suggested people from large households perform a greater number of different activity types than others and, as a consequence, quite likely spend more time away from home. In addition, activities associated with the other members in large households possibly reduce available time for socialising with persons external to the household as well as potentially limiting needs or desires for social contacts with others. Conversely, other household members can sometimes be catalysts for different types of social exchange, including arrangements associated with children's local activities. Arguably this would be more likely to involve neighbours than people geographically dispersed, perhaps explaining why people from large households did not have lower levels of contact with neighbours in spite of lower contact levels overall.

For reasons previously discussed, besides exploring influences on overall patterns of contact, this section gives attention to what profile characteristics apparently affected contact levels with people who lived outside the Sydney metropolitan area. The most dominant factor after gender for influencing contacts with people who lived elsewhere appears to be age, with those 60 years or more having greater levels of contact external to the Sydney metropolitan area than persons in younger age groups (statistically significant difference, 22.110 df = 6). Inter-related with age, retirees and long-term residents also seemingly have more contacts elsewhere (statistically significant differences, $\chi^2 = 18.849$ and $\chi^2 = 13.346$ respectively, df = 6 for both cross-tabulations). A lifetime developing family and friendship networks (with some living in geographically dispersed locations) would be a factor. In addition, more time spent at home would afford greater opportunities for making social contacts when at home. (Previous results suggested people more senior in years have fewer activities away from home.)

With respect to contacts with people away from Sydney and having regard for the connection that the CWP notion makes between professionals and dispersed personal associations, impacts of education and income levels warrant comment. Education was apparently influential to a degree (statistically significant difference, $\chi^2 = 12.956$, df = 6) but not income (Table 6-25). Those with trade certificates or diplomas demonstrated greater levels of contact with people who lived elsewhere than those with higher education levels; those with lower education levels appeared to have contacts with fewer people away from Sydney than others. Although Webber foresaw most people eventually populating CWPs, these results appear somewhat at odds with his concept in that the most affluent and best educated did not have the most dispersed associations.

People with greater flexibility in terms of communication methods, by way of car ownership, internet use and mobile phone ownership, seemingly have higher contact levels overall as well as with people who live outside Sydney. Therefore, the results hint at Webber's "left behinds", with respect to communications mobility and flexibility, having social contact levels that are fewer in number by comparison with others and that are also less spatially dispersed.

Conclusion

Analysis of use of neighbourhoods for types of activities (as evidenced from responses to Part A of the survey) and intensity of activities (according to Part E diary entries) have concentrated on different aspects of respondent behaviour. Consequently, different and yet complementary factors that influenced people's perceptions of neighbourhood areas and their associations with these as well as outside areas have been explored. Common themes have emerged from this exploration of results describing each data set. The results point to a limited range and volume of normal types of activities that take place away from the home being important components of neighbourhood life.

As expected, many people draw on and use resources from a variety of locations within the metropolitan area. Many also have social networks not generally restricted in terms of spatial propinquity which are maintained from within the home through use of the telephone in the main. Whilst it appears that older people might be less physically active in relation to number of trips away from the home, they seem to have greater social contact levels with others when at home.

The diaries have illustrated how people seemingly travelled from one location to another and moved from one functioning group or community of interest to a different experience, with perhaps little or no overlap, potentially encouraging fragmented associations. However, an important feature of these results is that the types of activities performed and the patterns of activities that occur during a normal week cannot be strongly linked to people's perceptions of their neighbourhood areas.

Lack of overlap from one activity or community to another can mean that people take on different roles within each group. Different roles possibly influence the meaning and substance of neighbourhoods and people's positions within them. Whilst the results show that less time might be spent in the local area than in other parts of Sydney, it might be that, for some, the neighbourhood functions as a "grounding force", where people cannot so easily present only one facet of their character. Alternatively, it might solely be a base from which people operate, thereby negating its relevance in terms of social interaction. For additional understanding of the concept of neighbourhood and its role in contemporary society, the next chapter investigates the extent to which respondents had close friends, relatives, work colleagues and acquaintances within and outside neighbourhood areas by examining how, where and with whom close social ties were maintained.

