

**Common Ground?
Exploring Community in
Suburban Townhouse Developments**

by

Patrick Ward

BES (Honours Planning), University of Waterloo, 2008

Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Urban Studies

in the

Urban Studies Program
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Patrick Ward 2016

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Spring 2016

All rights reserved.

However, in accordance with the *Copyright Act of Canada*, this work may be reproduced, without authorization, under the conditions for "Fair Dealing." Therefore, limited reproduction of this work for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, review and news reporting is likely to be in accordance with the law, particularly if cited appropriately.

Approval

Name: Patrick Ward
Degree: Master of Urban Studies
Title: *Common Ground? Exploring Community in Suburban Townhouse Developments*
Examining Committee: Chair: Patrick J. Smith
Professor, Urban Studies and Political Science

Peter V. Hall
Senior Supervisor
Professor and Director
Urban Studies

Anthony Perl
Supervisor
Professor
Urban Studies and Political Science

Jill L. Grant
External Examiner
Professor
School of Planning
Dalhousie University

Date Defended/Approved: February 23, 2016

Ethics Statement



The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

- a. human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics

or

- b. advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University

or has conducted the research

- c. as a co-investigator, collaborator, or research assistant in a research project approved in advance.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed with the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Update Spring 2016

Abstract

Townhouses have become an increasingly prevalent form of housing in many suburban areas and, due to their unique characteristics, may be reshaping community in the suburbs in a number of different ways. Through three case studies in Surrey and Langley, British Columbia, this study explores the kind of community that exists in suburban townhouse developments and the extent to which its physical and legal characteristics shape this community. To help contextualize the research, this study also explores the extent to which planners and developers support community and how these efforts shape suburban townhouse developments. This study found that social interaction and sense of community in the townhouse complexes does not appear to be any different than the region as a whole. Furthermore, while the physical and legal characteristics may shape social interaction and sense of community, demographic variables and personal attitudes appear to explain the differences within the complexes.

Keywords: townhouses; suburbs; community; social interaction; sense of community

*To Braeden,
curiosity did not kill the cat.*

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge all of the municipal planners, local developers and townhouse residents that participated in this study – thank you for taking the time out of your busy schedules to assist with my research and for all of your insights. A special thank you to those townhouse residents that provided me access to the case study complexes and copies of the strata documents.

Thank you to the entire faculty of the Urban Studies program – I have thoroughly enjoyed all of the seminars leading up to this project. The various lessons I learned along the way are sprinkled throughout this work. I particularly wish to acknowledge my academic supervisor Peter Hall – thank you for all of your guidance, thoughtful suggestions, encouragement and flexibility.

I also wish to thank my friends and family for their continued support and interest in my research. I especially wish to thank my parents for teaching me the importance of knowledge and understanding.

Lastly, but undoubtedly most importantly, I wish to thank my wife. Ashley – you have supported me in more ways than you could possibly imagine over the past 5 years. This research project is as much yours as it is mine.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Ethics Statement.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	xii

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
--------------------------------------	----------

Chapter 2. Literature Review.....	7
2.1. The Two Dimensions of Local Communities.....	7
2.2. Community: The Good and the Bad.....	11
2.3. Community as a (Suburban) Planning Objective.....	13
2.4. Community as a (Suburban) Development Objective	17
2.5. Community in a Changing Suburban Landscape	19

Chapter 3. Methodology	25
3.1. Research Setting.....	25
3.2. Data Collection and Analysis	37
3.3. Limitations	41
3.4. Ethics	41

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion	43
4.1. Planners and Developers	43
4.1.1. Planners	44
Community in Planning	44
Community by Design.....	45
Planner Perspectives on Townhouses and Community	50
4.1.2. Developers	52
Community in Land Development.....	52
Developing Community.....	55
Developer Perspectives on Townhouses and Community	61
4.1.3. A Comparison of Planner and Developer Perspectives.....	62
4.2. Townhouse Residents	66
4.2.1. Community in Townhouse Complexes.....	66
Social Interaction.....	66
Sense of Community.....	72
The Relationship between Social Interaction and Sense of Community	77
4.2.2. Townhouse Characteristics and Community.....	80
Propinquity	81
Common Property.....	82

	Strata.....	90
4.2.3.	Resident Characteristics and Community	100
	Demographic Variables.....	100
	Personal Attitudes.....	106
4.2.4.	The Broader Neighbourhood	107
Chapter 5.	Conclusion.....	110
5.1.	Future Research.....	115
References	116
Appendix A.	Planner and Developer Qualitative Interviews Questions	126
Appendix B.	Online Survey Invitation Letter	132
Appendix C.	Online Survey Reminder Postcard	134
Appendix D.	Online Survey Questionnaire	135
Appendix E.	Resident Qualitative Interviews Questions	159

List of Tables

Table 1.1.	Suburban Housing Typologies	4
Table 3.1.	Census Data	29
Table 4.1.	Frequency of Conversations with Immediate Neighbours	67
Table 4.2.	Residents who Know Names of At Least Two Immediate Neighbours.....	67
Table 4.3.	Visits at Neighbours' Home in Past Year	67
Table 4.4.	Visits with Neighbours at Home in Past Year	67
Table 4.5.	Taken Care of Mail or Picked Up Newspapers for Neighbours	68
Table 4.6.	Neighbours Have Left A Spare Key.....	68
Table 4.7.	Number of Friends in Complex.....	68
Table 4.8.	Number of Close Friends in Complex.....	68
Table 4.9.	Sense of Community Index Scores	72
Table 4.10.	Community members and I value the same things	74
Table 4.11.	This community has been successful in getting the needs of its members met	74
Table 4.12.	Members of this community care about each other	74
Table 4.13.	Being a member of this community is part of my identity	74
Table 4.14.	If there were problems in my neighbourhood, it would be hard to get people to work together to solve them	75
Table 4.15.	If there is a problem in this community, members can get it solved	75
Table 4.16.	Do you think most people in your neighbourhood trust each other?.....	76
Table 4.17.	I can trust people in this community	76
Table 4.18.	I expect to be part of this community for a long time.....	77
Table 4.19.	Conversations with Immediate Neighbour and Sense of Community.....	78
Table 4.20.	Know Names of At Least Two Immediate Neighbours and Sense of Community.....	78
Table 4.21.	Picked Up Mail or Newspaper for Immediate Neighbours and Sense of Community.....	79
Table 4.22.	Left Spare Key by Immediate Neighbour and Sense of Community	79
Table 4.23.	Social Visits with Residents in Complex and Sense of Community	79
Table 4.24.	Friends in Complex and Sense of Community.....	79

Table 4.25.	Close Friends in Complex and Sense of Community.....	79
Table 4.26.	Where do children play the most?	84
Table 4.27.	Number of Children Per Household Under the Age of 19	84
Table 4.28.	Respondents with Children and Sense of Community Index Scores.....	85
Table 4.29.	Frequency of Use of Common Amenities	86
Table 4.30.	Use of Common Amenities and Conversations with another Resident of the Complex	87
Table 4.31.	Use of Common Amenities and Know Names of At Least Two Immediate Neighbours	87
Table 4.32.	Use of Common Amenities and Social Visits with Residents in Complex.....	87
Table 4.33.	Use of Common Amenities and Friends in Complex	88
Table 4.34.	Use of Common Amenities and Close Friends in Complex	88
Table 4.35.	Use of Common Amenities and Sense of Community	89
Table 4.36.	Satisfaction with Common Amenities and Sense of Community.....	89
Table 4.37.	Views towards Strata Rules and Sense of Community	94
Table 4.38.	Complaints from Strata and Sense of Community	94
Table 4.39.	Complaints to Strata and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour	95
Table 4.40.	Complaints to Strata and Social Visits with Residents.....	95
Table 4.41.	Complaints to Strata and Friends in Complex	95
Table 4.42.	Complaints to Strata and Sense of Community	96
Table 4.43.	Attend AGM and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour	97
Table 4.44.	Attend AGM and Social Visits with Residents.....	97
Table 4.45.	Attend AGM and Friends in Complex	98
Table 4.46.	Attend AGM and Sense of Community.....	98
Table 4.47.	Strata Council or Committee Member and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour.....	99
Table 4.48.	Strata Council or Committee Member and Social Visits with Residents.....	99
Table 4.49.	Strata Council or Committee Member and Friends in Complex	99
Table 4.50.	Strata Council or Committee Member and Sense of Community.....	100
Table 4.51.	Demographic Variables, comparison of survey results and Census	102
Table 4.52.	Reasons for Choosing to Live in a Townhouse	103

Table 4.53.	Younger Couples with Children and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour	103
Table 4.54.	Younger Couples with Children and Friends in Complex.....	103
Table 4.55.	Younger Couples with Children and Sense of Community	104
Table 4.56.	Years of Residence and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour.....	104
Table 4.57.	Years of Residence and Friends in Complex.....	104
Table 4.58.	Years of Residence and Sense of Community	105
Table 4.59.	Years of Residence and Plans to Stay in the Complex.....	105
Table 4.60.	Plans to Stay in the Complex and Sense of Community	105
Table 4.61.	Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community	106
Table 4.62.	Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour.....	106
Table 4.63.	Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community and Friends in Complex.....	106
Table 4.64.	Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community and Sense of Community	107
Table 4.65.	Number of Friends	108
Table 4.66.	Number of Close Friends	108
Table 4.67.	Frequency of Amenity Use	108

List of Figures

Figure 3.1	Map of Metro Vancouver	26
Figure 3.2	Location of Clayton and Yorkson Neighbourhoods.....	27
Figure 3.3	The Kew, 2015 Aerial Photograph.....	30
Figure 3.4	The Kew.....	31
Figure 3.5	Clayton Rise, 2015 Aerial Photograph.....	33
Figure 3.6	Clayton Rise.....	34
Figure 3.7	Pepperwood, 2014 Aerial Photograph.....	35
Figure 3.8	Pepperwood.....	36
Figure 4.1	Sense of Community Index Score Frequencies.....	73

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Suburban planners have been advancing principles like compact form and mixed use for decades, but new developments in many suburban areas only now appear to be having the desired results (Grant & Scott, 2012). In some parts of Canada, suburban areas are showing development patterns more typically associated with urban areas whereby “the conventional post-war pattern of spacious single detached housing [...] is giving way to new mixes of townhouses, condominium apartments and detached houses on compact lots” (Grant & Scott, 2012, p. 133). Townhouses, which in British Columbia are strata titled (often called condominium or common interest in other jurisdictions) dwellings joined by common walls with their own entrance from the outside (Real Estate Council of British Columbia, n.d.), have increasingly and quite rapidly become a significant component of the changing suburban landscape.

In 1991, single detached dwellings represented 65 percent and 79 percent of all dwellings in Surrey and Langley Township (two Vancouver suburbs) respectively compared to row houses¹ which represented only 8 percent and 7 percent of all dwellings respectively (Statistics Canada, 1991). By 2011, the proportion of single detached dwellings decreased to 42 percent and 59 percent in Surrey and Langley Township respectively compared to the proportion of row houses which increased to 14 percent in both cases (Statistics Canada, 2011). Between 2006 and 2011 alone, the number of row houses in Surrey and Langley Township increased by 36 percent

¹ Statistics Canada (2012) defines a row house as “one of three or more dwellings joined side by side (or occasionally side to back), such as a townhouse or garden home, but not having any other dwellings either above or below.” Although a row house includes dwelling types other than townhouses, such as fee simple row houses, the vast majority (78 percent in 2006) of row houses in the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area are strata title row houses (Statistics Canada, 2006).

whereas the number of single-detached dwellings increased by only 12 percent and 8 percent respectively (Statistics Canada, 2006; 2011). In Surrey, townhouses represented 35 percent of the total housing starts in 2013 compared to 12 percent in 2009; the townhouse starts in 2013 outpaced the single-detached starts (City of Surrey, 2014a).

More compact than traditional single-detached suburban dwellings, the rapid growth of townhouses may be responding to a growing consumer demand for smaller, lower cost homeownership options given the relative increase in the cost of housing since the late 20th century (Grant & Curran, 2007). Given that townhouses generally feature private roads and amenities, municipal governments may encourage these developments in order to avoid the long-term maintenance costs of providing public services for new development (Curran & Grant, 2006). In exchange for not accepting the long-term maintenance responsibilities, municipalities that permit townhouses often allow land developers to modify the construction standards for the private roads. Land developers therefore may favour townhouse developments given the reduced infrastructure costs coupled with the financial benefit of higher densities (Grant & Curran, 2007).

The influence of contemporary planning theories like new urbanism and smart growth may also be responsible for the ongoing transformation of the suburbs (Grant & Scott, 2012). In response to sprawling car-oriented suburban landscapes, these theories promote compact form, intensification and a mix housing types (Grant, 2009; Perrin & Grant, 2014). As these theories began to influence planning practice in the 1990s and 2000s (Grant, 2006), townhouses became a useful tool for achieving the density and housing mix objectives (Grant & Curran, 2007; Perrin & Grant, 2014).

New urbanists, however, assert that the main problem with the conventional post-war suburb is not aesthetic or even environmental, but the lack of community (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992).

Suburbanites sense what is wrong with the places they inhabit. Traffic, commuting time, and the great distances from shopping, work, and entertainment all rank high among their complaints. But all such inconveniences might be more bearable were suburbs not so largely



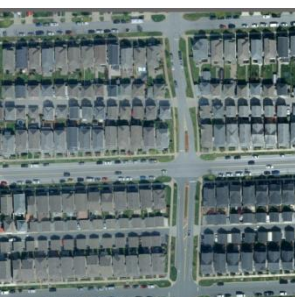





devoid of most signs of "community." The classic suburb is less a community than an agglomeration of houses, shops, and offices connected to one another by cars, not by the fabric of human life. The only public space is the shopping mall, which in reality is only quasipublic, given over almost entirely to commercial ends. The structure of the suburb tends to confine people to their houses and cars; it discourages strolling, walking, mingling with neighbors. The suburb is the last word in privatization, perhaps even its lethal consummation, and it spells the end of authentic civic life (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992, p. 21).

In response, contemporary planning theorists and practitioners have become equally interested in community building (Talen, 1999; Talen, 2000). From neighbourhood revitalization guides to long range land use plans, planning documents often make abundant use of the community nomenclature. New urbanist theories promote the role of town planning in building community and claim an ability to cultivate community through a prescriptive physical design (Talen, 1999; Talen, 2000). Despite the importance of community in planning, the potential impact of townhouse developments on community have not been investigated. In other words, it is not clear whether townhouses, which are consistent with the density and housing mix objectives of these contemporary planning theories, are also consistent with their social objectives.

Contemporary townhouse developments are distinct from traditional single-detached suburban developments in a number of ways and, as such, may be reshaping community in suburbs. In a physical sense, contemporary townhouse developments commonly feature three-storey dwelling units that are attached to one another in vertical rows. Since townhouse dwellings are usually smaller than single-detached dwellings, these developments are typically denser than single-detached developments (refer to Table 1.1). Unlike conventional single-detached development, townhouse dwellings are accessed from a private, internal road network rather than a public street. These internal roadways usually lack the pedestrian amenities, like sidewalks, that characterize municipally owned streets. Townhouse developments also feature less personal outdoor space than single-detached dwellings in favour of common outdoor spaces, such as community gardens and child-friendly play structures. In some cases, townhouse complexes contain more elaborate common amenities like theatre rooms, fitness facilities and swimming pools. While these common outdoor spaces and amenities may create opportunities for social interaction within the townhouse

development, they may also act as self-sustaining elements and reduce the need for townhouse residents to engage the broader neighbourhood.

Table 1.1. Suburban Housing Typologies

Housing Typology	Gross Density	Built Examples	
Suburban Single Family Lots	Less than 6 units per acre / 15 units per hectare		
Compact Single Family Lots	6 – 10 units per acre / 15 – 25 units per hectare		
Townhouses	15 – 25 units per acre / 37 – 62 units per hectare		
Mid-Rise Apartments	22 – 45 units per acre / 54 – 111 units per hectare		

Gross Density (not including Suburban Single Family Lots) Source: City of Surrey, 2003; Aerial Photograph Source: City of Surrey, 2015a

Like the internal road network, these common spaces and amenities are collectively owned by the residents of the townhouse complex and, as a result, are inaccessible to the general public. There is often signage near the entrance that deters non-residents from entering the complex. A suite of bylaws and rules regulates both the use of the common property and the private dwellings (Strata Property Act of 1998, 2014). A strata corporation, composed of all of the owners in the development, is responsible for managing and maintaining the common property and common assets of the complex. The powers and duties of the strata corporation, which include the enforcement of the bylaws and rules, the preparation of budgets, and collecting maintenance (or strata) fees, are performed by a council. All members of the strata corporation are eligible to serve on the strata council, which is elected every year (Strata Property Act of 1998, 2014). In most cases, the day to day operations are delegated by the strata council to a property manager.

In sum, the physical and legal characteristics of townhouse developments differ from the conventional single-detached developments, which typified post-war suburbanization. Townhouses developments are on the rise and their unique characteristics may be reshaping community in the suburbs. I intend, therefore, to pursue the following question: what kind of community exists in suburban townhouse developments and to what extent do the physical and legal characteristics of these townhouse developments shape this community? To help frame, contextualize and assess this question, I also pursue the following question: to what extent do planners and developers support community and how do these efforts shape suburban townhouse developments? Both of these questions are explored through an in-depth study of three townhouse developments in the City of Surrey and Township of Langley, two Vancouver area suburbs.

In the following chapter (Chapter 2), the key literature related to the research topic will be considered. In Chapter 3, the research design, including further details about the research setting and the specific data collection and analysis methodologies, are reviewed. Chapter 4 discusses the results and findings, starting first with the perspectives of the planners and developers and then with the lived experiences of the townhouse residents. Chapter 5 provides a conclusion by comparing more deliberately

the perspectives of the planners and developers with the lived experiences of the townhouse residents.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

To provide a conceptual framework for this research, five bodies of literature have been identified. The first body of literature conceptualizes the term community into two distinct dimensions (social interaction and sense of community) in order to specify its meaning and rationalize its operationalization in this study. The second body of literature highlights the importance of the research question by illustrating that community can be a positive source of fulfillment and acceptance, but can also be a negative source of inequality and exclusion. To demonstrate the specific relevance of community in the suburbs, the third and fourth bodies of literature describe the way in which community-building has become a conspicuous objective of both suburban planning practitioners and land developers. Finally, the fifth body of literature provides a starting point for generating hypotheses about the way in which townhouse developments may be shaping community by reviewing other studies on housing types which share some of the same physical and legal characteristics as townhouses.

2.1. The Two Dimensions of Local Communities

According to community studies scholars, there are two types of communities (Low, 2012). First, there are local communities (or communities of place or territorial communities) rooted in the history and culture of a particular place like a neighbourhood, town or city and, second, there are relational communities (or communities of interest) composed of a network of common interests without reference to a specific location (Gusfield, 1975; Low 2012). Examples of relational communities include professional, spiritual and lifestyle groups (Nasar & Julian, 1995). It has been shown, furthermore, that local and relational communities are not necessarily mutually dependent (Talen, 2000; Nasar & Julian, 1995). My research is concerned with the local communities

bound by the townhouse developments as well as by the broader neighbourhoods in which these developments are located. I seek to understand the nature and quality of the community within these locales.

There are two dimensions of local communities: a behavioural dimension, which refers to localized forms of social interaction, and an affective dimension, which refers to a feeling of belonging or membership (Talen, 2000). These two dimensions of community are often tied together; “when people feel a sense of community, they are more apt to interact with the residents in their neighborhood” (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990, p. 58). The positive face-to-face contact of neighboring, meanwhile, enhances the feeling of belonging, which helps to maintain a sense of community (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). These two dimensions, nevertheless, must be distinguished from one another given that previous studies have found that social interaction does not necessarily predict the emergence of sense of community (Pendola & Gen, 2008) and a well developed sense of community is not necessarily reliant on social interaction (Dowling, Atkinson & McGuirk, 2010). I explore both of these dimensions of community.

The social interaction dimension of community consists of the social networks and emotional supports that might exist among neighbours. Social interaction is overt behaviour and may range from strong social relationships, like the exchange of goods or services, to weak social ties, like casual greetings (Talen, 2000). Unger and Wandersman (1985) express social interaction in terms of the social activities that neighbours engage in, such as asking for help in an emergency or borrowing tools, and the social networks that residents develop in the neighbourhood.

The affective dimension of community, or sense of community, on the other hand refers to an individual's feelings about their neighbours and their neighbourhood (Pendola & Gen, 2008). Although sense of community has been defined in various ways (Manzo & Perkins, 2006), the greatest consensus is around the definition developed by McMillan and Chavis (1986): “sense of community is a feeling that members have belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment together” (p. 9). McMillan and Chavis (1986) note that sense of community is composed of four

elements: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection.

Membership refers to a sense of belonging or a feeling of personal relatedness. Membership has five distinctive attributes: boundaries (there are people who belong and others who do not), emotional safety (the feeling of security), sense of belonging and identification (the feeling that one fits into a community and has a place there), personal investment (the feeling that one has earned a place there) and common symbol system (a landmark or architectural style that maintains community boundaries). Together these attributes contribute to a sense of who is a member of the community and who is not (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

The second element, influence, refers to the sense that an individual must have some influence over the community in order to be attracted to the community. Influence, however, is a bidirectional concept as the cohesiveness of the community is reliant on its ability to influence its members. In a tightly knit community, therefore, one would expect to see both of these forces of influence operating simultaneously (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Integration and fulfillment of needs is the feeling that the needs of the members will be met by the rewards received through their membership in the community. Simply stated, integration and fulfillment of needs means reinforcement: for any community to maintain a sense of cohesion, the community must be rewarding for its members. Status of membership, success of the community, and the competence of other members are some of the rewards that act as effective reinforcements of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Shared emotional connection, finally, refers to “the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together and similar experiences” (p. 9). It is not necessary that community members participated in the history in order to share it, but the members must at least identify with that history. Shared events and positive social interaction, nonetheless, do contribute to a shared emotional connection and may lead to a more cohesive community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Generally there is nothing controversial about the notion that the physical environment has an effect on human behaviour, including social interaction, but the physical environment is only one factor that affects social interaction (Talen, 2000). If, for example, the use of public space is encouraged by the built form of a neighbourhood, the use of that space might only occur for certain residents of the neighbourhood (Talen, 2008). Other factors like an individual's social and demographic characteristics (Gans, 1961), personal attitudes (Lund, 2003) and subjective feelings about the local environment (Verbrugge & Taylor, 1980) may also impact social interaction. In exploring the factors that affect social relationships in suburban communities, Gans (1961), for example, argues that both physical propinquity and homogenous backgrounds or values are needed for the development of positive social relations among neighbours. Through their influence over the built environment, planners can promote visual and social contacts in neighbourhoods, but they cannot determine the intensity or the quality of the relationships (Gans, 1961). In an Australian case study, Rosenblatt, Cheshire and Lawrence (2009) concluded that planners can influence propinquity and the frequency of visual contact, but they cannot induce more meaningful social relationships.

The relationship between the physical environment and the psychological sense of community is even more complex (Talen, 2000). A shared emotional connection, for instance, would appear to be enhanced by neighbourhood forms that foster contact and social interaction. Emotional connections, however, rely on a particular quality of interaction, not necessarily on the quantity of interaction (Talen, 1999). A well-defined neighbourhood and common architectural symbols can also help establish a sense of membership (Rogers and Sukolratanametee 2009; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). Yet if the full meaning of membership is addressed, such as the feeling that one is invested and has a right to belong in the community, the relationship between the physical environment and this element of sense of community becomes ambiguous (Talen, 1999). A number of non-physical factors have important roles in strengthening sense of community (Rogers & Sukolratanametee, 2009), such as length of residence (Glynn 1981; Buckner 1988) and the amount of time spent in the neighbourhood (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981). The best we can say therefore "is that certain types of physical designs promote certain types of social behaviours and responses for certain kinds of people" (Talen, 2000, p. 180).

2.2. Community: The Good and the Bad

Although advancements in communication and transportation technology allow friendships, relatives, work settings and other associations to be increasingly located beyond the neighbourhood (Unger & Wandersman, 1985), communities within neighbourhoods remain important (Unger & Wandersman, 1985; Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Studies have repeatedly found that the social dimension of the neighbourhood has a considerable effect on how individuals rate their quality of life (Talen, 2000). According to Unger and Wandersman (1985), the proximity of neighbours allows them to perform unique roles that others could not, or at least would find difficult. Neighbours can provide material aid, such as child care on an emergency or informal basis. Neighbours can also provide emotional aid, serving as a support system and a resource for coping with stressors (Unger & Wandersman, 1985).

Neighbours can work together to improve the quality of their environment and can unite to exercise their political ambitions (Unger & Wandersman, 1985). Strong neighbour relations allow communities to address problems through informal mechanisms and these same relations are a significant predictor of citizen participation in formal community organizations. Participation in community organizations is viewed as an important avenue for improving services, preventing crime, enhancing the quality of the physical environment, and improving social conditions (Chavis and Wandersman, 1990). Neighbours can also serve as a connection to the larger community, providing residents with links to other organizations and services (Unger & Wandersman, 1985).

For Henning and Lieberg (1996), the significance of a local community is in part its function as an arena for the development and maintenance of weak ties, which refer to basic social contacts such as casual greetings or doing a favour. Drawing on the work of Granovetter (1973), Henning and Lieberg (1996) argue that these weak ties are an essential source of general well-being and can provide a bridge to more meaningful relationships. For this reason, localized weak ties are of particular importance to vulnerable and marginal groups, such as the elderly or the poor (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Phillipson, Bernard, Phillips & Ogg, 1999). Since poor or elderly households tend to

have limited mobility, they may have few options for interaction and resource-sharing other than nearby neighbours (Kuo, Sullivan, Coley & Brunson, 1998).

The sense of community experienced by residents meanwhile can impact overall levels of satisfaction with the neighbourhood and provide motivation for confronting neighbourhood problems (Unger and Wandersman, 1985). A shared feeling of membership among neighbours contributes to a sense of empowerment that can help neighbours act collectively to meet their shared needs. When residents share a sense of community they are more motivated to confront the problems they may face (Chavis and Wandersman, 1990). Attachment to a place meanwhile can “inspire action because people are motivated to seek, stay in, protect, and improve the places that are meaningful to them” (Manzo and Perkins, 2006, p. 348). Brown, Perkins, and Brown (2003), for example, found that where neighbours do not develop an emotional connection to each other or their neighbourhood, they are less likely to be committed to maintaining their home or the neighbourhood as a whole. The bonds between residents and their neighbours and neighbourhood provide a source of stability and change for individuals and communities alike (Perkins & Long, 2002).

Not all attributes of local communities are necessarily positive. Social interaction among neighbours, in particular is not always an affirmative phenomenon (Talen, 2000). There is the potential for dislike relationships among neighbours, involving annoyance and conflict (Merry, 1987). Some scholars consider “local communities as exclusionary havens for the privileged, and they fear the focus on community development in neighborhoods may distract attention from the broader political economy” (Nasar & Julian, 1995, p. 178). In fact, community-building at the neighbourhood level has historically been related to efforts that promote social homogeneity and exclusion (Silver, 1985). In an extreme form, sense of community may “reinforce perceptions that those who are not in the community are marginal and unworthy of being included” (Low, 2012, p. 192). The motivation for attaining a strong sense of community may be equally political and economic since it can be employed to exclude others and resist changes that may benefit the general public (Low, 2012). Sennett (1977), for example, traces how a “sense of community” developed in a middle class Jewish neighbourhood of Queens in response to the threat of a planned housing project in the area. He argues

that this sense of community was contingent on a shared outlook and perception of being solidly against this attack from the outside; anyone who did not share this attitude betrayed the entire neighbourhood. A strong sense of community therefore can also fuel the most extreme forms of social exclusion and cultural elitism (Talen, 2000).

The distinction between bridging and bonding, terms used frequently in social capital literature, is a useful way to understand the nature of local communities. Bridging social networks are outward looking and inclusive by encompassing people from diverse social cleavages. Bonding social networks, on the other hand, are inward looking and exclusive through the reinforcement of homogenous identities and groups. Many groups bridge across some social dimension and then bond along others. As such, bridging and bonding is not a zero-sum game (Putnam, 2000). When the scales become tipped so far away from bridging to bonding communities though, community is no longer a social good (Nicolaidis, 2006).

The fact that community may not always be a social good illustrates the importance exploring not just the presence or strength of a particular community, but also the quality and nature of that community. It should also serve as a caution to planners and developers that such efforts must be carried out judiciously (Talen, 2000).

2.3. Community as a (Suburban) Planning Objective

During the first half of the 20th century, commentators held great optimism about the future of the metropolis (Beauregard, 2003). Although the city suffered various ills, these problems were thought to be the result of excessive growth and could ultimately be resolved by good planning. The decentralization of the city was actually viewed favourably, with the suburbs allowing the city to grow without imploding. By the post-war era though, as cities began to decline, the suburbs were no longer seen as their partners but instead their destroyers. This discourse became the general frame of reference for urban-based intellectuals like Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs and William Whyte who published their seminal works during this period. All three of these influential writers shared a fundamental faith in the superiority of city life and saw the suburbs as an environment of social dysfunction (Nicolaidis, 2006).

For Mumford (1961), community life was emaciated by suburbia. He condemned the low densities that scattered people further afield and, as a result, exacerbated social isolation. Sequestered in their homes and their cars, people in suburbia were cut off from face-to-face contact (Mumford, 1961). Jane Jacobs (1961) believed that the suburbs failed as a social environment as they lacked the density and diversity needed for a healthy community. Compared to the lively streets in mixed-use neighbourhoods, the suburbs were a “Great Blight of Dullness” (Jacobs, 1961). Interestingly, Whyte (1956), who unlike Mumford and Jacobs observed the suburbs firsthand, discovered a different kind social dysfunction. For Whyte (1956), the problem in the suburbs was not one of social isolation, but one of oppressive, hyperactive community. He described a social environment where neighbours would drop in without knocking and where participation in social groups was voracious. Whyte (1956) believed that the cost of this hyperactivity was ultimately the loss of individuality and the creative spirit. Although it is difficult to untangle these contradictory images of the post-war suburbs, the common denominator remained social failure. All three of these seminal urbanists, furthermore, believed that physical environment was responsible for this failure and this criticism continues to shape contemporary assumptions about the post-war suburb (Nicolaidis, 2006).

More recent works corroborate the image of early post-war suburban life characterized by active involvement, but argue that social engagement and connectedness reached a peak in the mid-1960s and declined thereafter (Putnam, 2000). According to Putnam (2000), as suburbanization continued, the monocentric structure of the metropolis gave way to a polycentric structure. Travel for work and commerce in the polycentric metropolis was no longer traced between the suburb and the city, but was rather traced through larger suburban triangles. This pattern of suburbanization, according to Putnam (2000), meant that people were spending more time in their cars and less time in their neighbourhoods. Increased sprawl, and specifically increased automobile use, has been correlated with decreased neighbourhood social ties (Freeman, 2001).

There is now an abundance of popular literature that mourns the loss of community (Talen, 2000). In “The End of Neighbours: How our Increasingly Closed-off

Lives are Poisoning our Politics and Endangering our Health” (2014), for instance, Bethune reports that, between 1974 and 2008, the number of Americans who spent an evening socializing with neighbours decreased from 44 percent to 31 percent. In a recent poll of Britons, only two thirds could pick their near neighbours out of a police lineup (Bethune, 2014).

In response to this proclamation of loss, urban planners have sought ways to re-establish community using the tools of the planning profession (Talen, 2000). Through a content analysis of planning documents from major cities in the United States, Talen (2000) found that 75 percent of the cities invoked the term community. The main use of the term community furthermore centres on the notion that the physical environment can foster social interaction and thereby build a sense of community. The desire to link physical design to community is motivated by the range of scholarship, like the works of Mumford, Jacobs and Whyte, which explored the effect of the physical environment on community life (Talen, 2000). Even though advances in communication technologies and changing lifestyles have also been offered as reasons for a decline in community (Putnam, 2000), it seems that urban planners continue to focus on physical design interventions (Talen, 2000). New urbanism, a contemporary planning movement that also encompasses neotraditional design, is founded on the belief that built environment is able to create a sense of community (Talen, 1999) and the belief that appropriate plans will restore the sense of community that has been lost in traditional suburbs (Bothwell, Gindroz & Lang, 1998; Nasar & Julian, 1995). Putnam (2000) considers new urbanism “an ongoing experiment to see whether our thirst for great community life outweighs our hunger for private backyards, discount megamalls, and easy parking” (p. 408).

New urbanists employ a variety of design elements to promote community life. Social interaction is facilitated by site design and architectural features such as the positioning of dwellings with front porches near the street. Increased residential densities create opportunities for more face-to-face contact while the concentration of acquaintanceship nurtures a vibrant community spirit. Streets and other public spaces are designed with an overt social purpose as venues for chance encounters, which

serve to strengthen community bonds (Duany, Plater-Zyberk & Speck, 2000; Talen, 1999).

According to Perrin and Grant (2014), “Canadian practitioners have adopted the tenets of new urbanism as planning principles across the urban fabric, without critically examining the extent to which particular methods can achieve the ideals” (p. 382). Even though contemporary townhouse developments, with their higher densities and street facing units, are consistent with the new urbanist design ethos (Talen, 1999), these developments are also characterized by legal and governance structures that could be shaping community in unforeseen ways. A place after all is more than just a physical setting (Stedman, 2003; Milligan, 1998). A place is a space that has been assigned meaning through the personal, group, or cultural processes of living in it (Low & Altman, 1992).

New urbanism has been heavily criticized for its physical deterministic conviction that community can be cultivated by appropriate physical design (Talen, 1999) and its failure to acknowledge the other factors that can impact community life (Talen, 2000). Homogeneity, for instance, is considered one of the most important variables in the promotion of both social interaction and sense of community (Talen, 1999). Yet new urbanists believe that community can be promoted by design for heterogeneous populations (Talen, 1999). In fact, most planners appear to subscribe to the contact theory (Perrin & Grant, 2014), which “argues that diversity fosters inter-ethnic tolerance and social solidarity” (Putnam, 2007, p. 141). Planning practitioners therefore promote neighbourhoods with a mix of housing (including townhouse developments) in hopes of cultivating social diversity (Perrin & Grant, 2014). The majority of sociologists, though, subscribe to conflict theory (Perrin & Grant, 2014), which suggests that diversity can foster distrust as a result of contention over limited resources (Putnam, 2007). Joseph and Chaskin (2010), for example, found evidence that diversity in a community can lead residents to isolate themselves, even from others with similar backgrounds.

In summary, planning practitioners are interested in promoting both community and mixed neighbourhoods but have yet to reconcile these two goals (Perrin & Grant, 2014). Faith that community can be designed through the physical environment may

ultimately be inhibiting planning practitioners from understanding the true nature and quality of community in townhouse developments and the broader neighbourhood.

2.4. Community as a (Suburban) Development Objective

The post-war tide of suburbanization produced an enthusiasm for communitarianism and civic engagement that was quickly embraced by suburban developers (Putnam, 2000). One advertisement for Park Forest (as cited in Putnam, 2000, p. 209), the suburb studied by William Whyte, read:

You Belong in PARK FOREST!

The moment you come to our town you know:

You're welcome

You're part of the big group

You can live in a friendly small town

Instead of a lonely big city

You can have friends who want you –

And you can enjoy being with them.

Come out. Find out about the spirit of Park Forest.

Like their predecessors, suburban developers continue to sell community (Putnam, 2000; Grant & Scott, 2012). As an example, in promoting one of its new developments, Weston, the marketing staff at Arvida (one of the most sophisticated developers in Florida at the time) advertised it as a “hometown” with various “lifestyle attractions” (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992). The Weston, however, was much the same as any other suburban community, consisting of housing pods and shopping areas connected by collector roads (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992). Kunstler (1996), generally a promoter of new urbanism, sees such “half-baked knockoffs and rip-offs that are proliferating across the country, using the rhetoric about *community* as a sales gimmick without delivering any real civic amenity” as one of the greatest threats to the entire new urbanist movement (p 194).

Contemporary appeals to community though often extend beyond the marketing material into the physical design of the development. Rosenblatt et al. (2009) suggest that this is due, at least in part, to the influence of planning movements like new urbanism. As an example, in Springfield Lakes, a master planned community located south-west of Brisbane, Australia, a number of physical design elements were employed to enhance community. Welcome signs and street trees marked the entrance of the community to provide a sense of returning home to a familiar and safe place. The community was divided into smaller village-type areas with different names like Butterfly Green and the Summit to create a sense of belonging to a local neighbourhood in which social interaction may occur. Landscaping, parks and gardens were used to create a sense of affluence within the estate while walking trails, a small retail centre and recreation services were designed to enhance social interaction by getting residents out of their houses (Rosenblatt et al., 2009).

Attempts to create community through physical design, however, have been highly criticized (Talen, 2000) and have not always been successful in practice (Talen, 2000; Grant, 2006). Developers, moreover, will often apply community in a highly superficial way, as an artifact that can be developed through a particular planning formula. The new urbanist neighbourhood, therefore, often becomes little more than an attempt to convince potential residents that it, as a certain suburban form, has successfully created a sense of community (Talen, 2000).

Recognizing the limitations of physical design, some developers will include other community development programs as part of their community-building strategies. This was in fact the case in Springfield Lakes where the developer established a welcome program for new residents, which allowed them an opportunity to meet other new residents and receive an introduction to the different services and amenities available in the community. The developer also sponsored various community events and supported the establishment of community clubs and associations. Finally, the developer facilitated communication within the community by publishing a regular newsletter and developing an online community portal (Rosenblatt et al., 2009).

While many developers are interested in the notion of community, there appear to be varying degrees to which community is incorporated into the overall development. In some cases, developers may simply reference notions of community for marketing purposes whereas in other cases community can be a fundamental component of the overall development. Ultimately, it is not completely clear why some developers invoke community in different ways and what motivates their efforts. Perhaps developers are simply responding to the consumer's "perennial desire for community, that undefinable something – the relationships, social networks, and localities – that bind people together" (Low, 2003, p. 55). Yet more importantly for the purpose of this research, it is not clear to what extent their efforts shape how the future residents experience community.

2.5. Community in a Changing Suburban Landscape

Little research exists on the potential community implications of townhouse developments. Previous research has considered some of the spatial implications of townhouse developments (Grant & Curran, 2007; Laven, 2007), but the community implications represent a significant research gap. To formulate some initial hypotheses therefore it is necessary to engage a broader body of literature that has considered community implications in other types of development, which share some, but not all, of the same characteristics as townhouse developments.

Contemporary townhouse developments are certainly denser than conventional single-detached developments and, while acknowledging the importance of homogeneity, propinquity can facilitate the development of relationships among neighbours (Gans, 1961). Gans (1961) claims that propinquity helps initiate face-to-face social contact between neighbours and that these social contacts can produce relationships of varying intensity. Other studies meanwhile have found an inverse association between residential density and social interaction (Brueckner & Largey, 2008) and sense of community (French et al., 2014). One possible explanation for the opposite than expected relationship in these studies is that in higher density neighbourhoods, residents are exposed to frequent incidental contacts with a greater number of unfamiliar people, which spurs a need for privacy and causes residents to withdraw in order to minimize these interactions (French et al., 2014; Brueckner &

Largey, 2008). Another possible explanation is that higher social interaction in lower density suburbs could be a consequence of the spatial layout of the dwellings. According to Brueckner and Largey (2008), “outdoor activities like gardening and mowing the lawn could provide opportunities for relaxed, unplanned encounters with neighbors involved in similar activities” (p. 33). Neighbour contact for apartment dwellers on the other hand must rely on brief encounters in building hallways or elevators, which may be less useful in facilitating interaction (Brueckner & Largey, 2008). Gans (1961), though, contends that the opportunity for social contact is greater at higher densities only if neighbours are adjacent horizontally, not vertically like in an apartment building. Gans (1961) claims that propinquity operates efficiently in row house developments, especially when laid out as courts or narrow loops.

Townhouse developments may have a positive impact on community by replacing larger dwellings and personal outdoor space with shared amenities and shared outdoor space (Kearney, 2006). In fact, common spaces, “are one of the most important venues for casual social contact among neighbors” and “play a material role in the development of social ties among neighbors” (Kuo et al., 1998, p. 826). Rosenblatt et al. (2009), however, found that the provision of amenities like parks and walking trails in a master planned estate did not produce the desired levels of social interaction. These amenities nonetheless, coupled with the overall aesthetic appeal of the physical landscape, contributed to the sense of community felt by the residents. Goodman and Douglas (2010) argue that residents often perceive the common amenities to be synonymous with community. Here, sense of community is related to a sense of distinction and exclusivity. Sense of community, however, may be undermined in cases where there is conflict over the maintenance and use of these amenities (Goodman & Douglas, 2010).

It has also been suggested that the common amenities may act as self-sustaining elements and reduce the need for townhouse residents to engage the broader neighbourhood. This pod or cellular design of townhouse developments may therefore be antithetical to social interaction in the context of the broader neighbourhood (Laven, 2008). Louv (1990) refers to common interest developments with private amenities as “enclaves” that are “divorced from their surroundings” (p. 317).

For townhouse residents, the physical boundaries of the complex help to delineate residents from non-residents, which may in turn reinforce a sense of community, albeit not a particularly inclusive community (Low, 2003). Unlike conventional neighbourhood forms that facilitate the development of communities with overlapping boundaries, common interest developments like townhouses have definite boundaries based on property lines (Barton and Silverman, 1994). Membership within the community association (or strata corporation in the case of townhouses) furthermore is not voluntary. This, according to Barton and Silverman (1994), “raises neighbor’s interdependence from a fact of daily life to the level of formal organization and decision making” (p. 304). Community members that disagree with the community association can limit their involvement with the association but nevertheless remain subject to its decisions; “the only true ‘exit’ for members is the sale of their home” (Silverman and Barton, 1994a, p. 174).

McKenize (1994), who has studied common interest developments in the United States, is also critical of the fact that membership in common interest developments is mandatory. According to McKenzie (1994), common interest developments have roots in utopian ideology in that the key to developing a sense of community is through the common ownership of private property. Communes and utopian communities however are generally “voluntary, value-based, communal social orders” and, thus, “conformity within the community is based on commitment – on the individual’s own desire to obey its rules” (Kanter, 1972, p. 2). In common interest developments, the community association lacks this moral authority and consequentially compensates through the coercive power of the legal system (McKenzie, 1994). Moreover, the shared yet private ownership of the common property in common interest developments (CIDs) is flawed and self-contradictory:

The argument that ownership of private property is the ideal basis for sense of community seems inherently mistaken. Sociologists who studied California CIDs found that, instead of fostering a sense of community, CIDs have evolved “a culture of non-participation” that is “rooted in the very structure of the common-interest development”. The developments are “defined by shared ownership of private property” in a culture that links ownership of private property freedom, individuality and autonomy rather than with responsibility to the surrounding community (McKenzie, 1994, p. 25).

In fact, the common status of the private property does not reduce conflicts within the community, it intensifies conflicts as residents assert their property rights against one another (Barton and Silverman, 1994).

The private nature of the common property also allows residents to set rules of use and acceptable behaviour (Smith & Low, 2006). Residents may, for instance, choose to prohibit street parking, ball playing, or roller-blading (Grant and Curran, 2007). Through bylaws and rules, the strata corporation and, perhaps more specifically, the strata council in townhouse developments can establish stronger land use and behavioural controls than typical zoning regulations (Grant & Curran, 2007). Minor disputes between neighbours can now be settled by this private government, which formalizes a historically informal social exchange (Lang & Danielsen, 1997; Silverman and Barton, 1994b).

Carona (2014), an advocate of common interest developments, though, suggests that by resolving minor disputes between neighbours, the community association helps to foster community by avoiding undesirable confrontations. Carona (2014) cites a theoretical situation where a new homeowner was able to rely on the community association to require that neighbours remove some towels that were draped over their balconies. In this situation, the community association helped avoid an “awkward introduction” between the new neighbours while promoting “peace and harmony” (Carona, 2014, p. 33).

According to Carona (2014), the promotion of community is one of the main goals of the community association in a common interest development. Through organized social events and activities, like community barbeques and parties, the community association can help connect neighbours and foster meaningful social relationships. The community association also assumes responsibility for many property maintenance duties, which increases opportunities for leisure time (Carona, 2014). Interestingly, Blakely and Snyder (1997) suggest that a reliance on the services provided by the community association may actually weaken connectedness among neighbours.

It has also been suggested that the governance structure of common interest developments could be a positive vehicle for advancing communal values or social

capital (McKenzie, 2011). Forrest and Kearns (2001) note that the collaboration in the management of the community could generate social cohesion and social capital. Blandy and Lister (2005), however, argue that legal forms that require residents to collectively manage their community do not guarantee participation. In fact, their case study revealed that the community's private government did not enhance social networks nor did it improve social capital. Silverman and Barton (1994b) found unresolved conflict and contractual legalisms rather than consensus formation and collective problem solving within common interest developments. As their primary concern is usually property values, residents often behave like stockholders, an attitude that conflicts with neighbourliness (McKenzie, 1994). Where the preservation of property values is the most important social goal, the other aspects of community life are subordinated and rational decision-making "is distorted into an emphasis on conformity for its own sake" (McKenzie, 1994, p. 19). Heskin and Bandy (1994) conclude that the structure of condominiums impedes community development.

The strata corporation may also be a source of conflict for townhouse residents "because they draw the residents into situations where they must make collective decisions about their neighbourhood" using an institution that was imposed on them by the virtue of purchasing their home (McKenzie, 2011, p. 38). In an ethnography of gated communities in the United States, Low (2003) discovered that many residents felt a sense of irritation with the private governments. Most residents, however, accepted these institutions given their ability to control the environment and the people living within it (Low, 2003).

Finally, the privatized nature of townhouse developments means that non-residents are excluded. Excluding non-residents not only reduces opportunities for social interaction by limiting the number of people allowed access to the complex, but also restricts contact with different residents from the broader neighbourhood. Planning theorists usually consider social mix positively, believing that different housing types and prices will promote social diversity, tolerance and cohesion (Perrin & Grant, 2014). Ironically, although townhouses are part of the housing mix (Perrin & Grant, 2014), their privatized nature may actually constrain social cohesion by restricting interaction with the mix of residents from broader neighbourhood. In a case study of a British gated

community, the researchers found that the social cohesion of the wider neighbourhood was negatively impacted by the development (Blandy & Lister, 2005).

Curran and Grant (2006) suggest private streets may be less neighbourly than public streets and can even reduce opportunities for social interaction on adjacent public streets. The privatization of the street, which has historically been seen unreservedly as public space in Canada (Grant & Curran, 2007) and is considered vital to the public realm (Duany et al., 2000), represents a significant shift in its accessibility and function. While some municipal planners responding to a survey conducted by Grant and Curran (2007) suggested that these private spaces may simply be analogous to the private corridors in apartment buildings, the sheer extent of these private roads and amenities is compromising access to public space in the suburbs (Curran & Grant, 2006; Grant, 2009). According to Kohn, “the privatization of public space gradually undermines the feeling that people of different classes and cultures live in the same world” (Kohn, 2004, p.8). Sennett (1970) sees private residential communities as “purified communities” and is worried about their ability to restrict the quality of public life. The erosion of public space will ultimately prevent strangers from coming into contact with one another and, for Sennett (1977), tolerance of difference is bred through contact with strangers and prejudice is bred in its absence.

While this literature provides a starting point for formulating some initial hypotheses about community life in townhouse developments, it ultimately provides a rather ambiguous and incomplete picture. It simply is not sufficient to employ the literature on other types of residential developments to fully understand the way community life is experienced in townhouse developments. As Low (2011) discovered when studying different types of common interest communities, the physical, legal and governance structures alone could not account for the impacts on social relations, rather it was the interweaving of all three of these structures.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

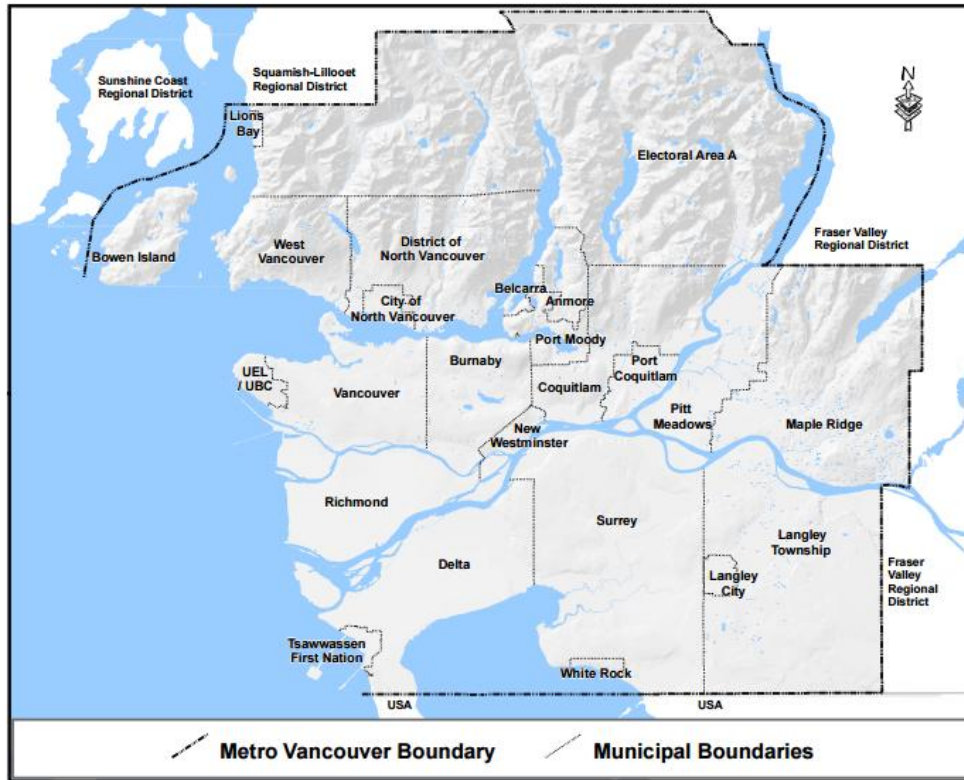
The research was designed to reveal themes and patterns that: (1) describe the extent to which planners and developers support community; (2) describe how these efforts shape contemporary townhouse developments in the suburbs; (3) describe the kind of community that exists in townhouse developments; and (4) describe how the physical and legal characteristics of these developments shape community in townhouse developments. The overall research design is such that the kind of community envisioned by planners and developers can be compared with the kind of community that actually manifests itself.

The research questions raised in this paper are explored through three case study townhouse developments: the Kew and the Clayton Rise, both located in Surrey, BC, and the Pepperwood, located in Langley, BC.

3.1. Research Setting

Surrey and Langley Township are two neighbouring suburban municipalities within Metro Vancouver located approximately 30 kilometres east of the region's central business district (Figure 3.1). Rapid growth of townhouse developments in both these municipalities has been coupled with overall rapid population growth. Between 2006 and 2011, Surrey and Langley absorbed 43 percent of the population growth in the region (Statistics Canada, 2006; 2011). Both Surrey and Langley are also examples of suburban areas that are now showing development patterns more typically associated with urban areas (Grant & Scott, 2012). In both cases, the construction of townhouses and apartments is now exceeding the construction of detached housing (City of Surrey, 2015b; Township of Langley, 2015a).

Figure 3.1 Map of Metro Vancouver

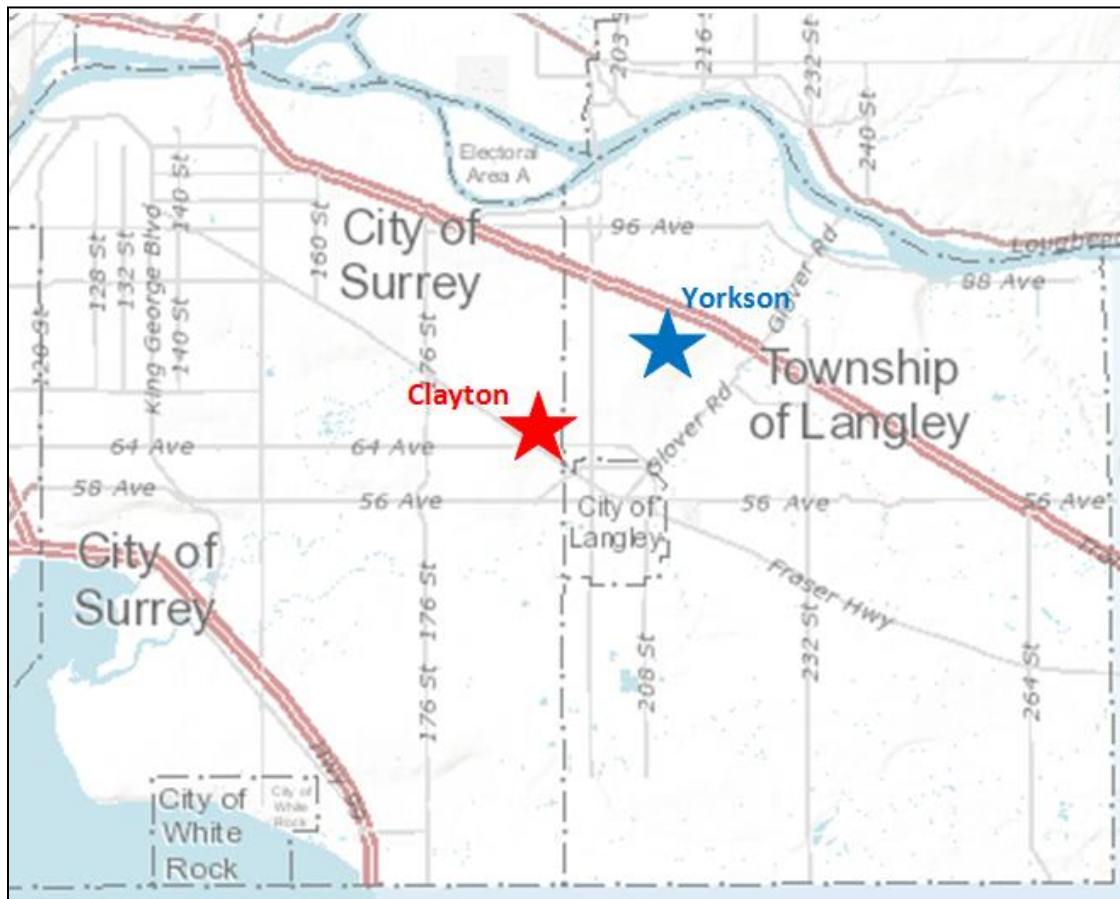


Source: Metro Vancouver, 2011

The Clayton neighbourhood in Surrey and the Yorkson neighbourhood in Langley were identified as the specific geographic focus of the research since they are reflective of the changing development patterns in each municipality (Figure 3.2). Both Clayton and Yorkson are relatively new neighbourhoods that feature a substantial proportion of townhouse developments.

The Clayton neighbourhood, which consists of approximately 809 hectares of land, is located adjacent to the City's eastern boundary (City of Surrey, 1998). In 1999, City Council approved a General Land Use Concept for the entire Clayton neighbourhood that served as a basis for the preparation of a more detailed development plan for the eastern part of Clayton (City of Surrey, 2003). The overall General Land Use Concept for the neighbourhood envisioned a complete community for 30,000 to 35,000 residents with a variety of housing types along with commercial and employment areas, greenways and natural areas.

Figure 3.2 Location of Clayton and Yorkson Neighbourhoods



Base Map Source: Metro Vancouver, 2015

Following the adoption of the East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan in 2003 and two subsequent extension areas in 2005 (North of 72 Avenue and West of 188 Street), the eastern part of Clayton has experienced significant change as it has rapidly developed from a rural area into an urban area. The East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan and two extension areas estimated an ultimate population of 16,744 (City of Surrey, 2003; City of Surrey, 2005a; City of Surrey, 2005b) and by 2011 the east Clayton area had already achieved a population of approximately 14,637 (Statistics Canada, 2011), triple the area's population in 2006 (Matas, 2012).²

² Census statistics for both the Clayton and Yorkson neighbourhoods are based on combined Dissemination Areas which most closely match the neighbourhood boundaries.

The Yorkson neighbourhood is located in the Willoughby community, which has been the primary focus of development in Langley since the Willoughby Community Plan was adopted in 1998 (Township of Langley, n.d.; Township of Langley, 1998). Yorkson itself consists of approximately 330 hectares and development in the area is guided by the Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan, which was adopted by Township Council in 2001 (Township of Langley, 2001). Similar to Clayton, the Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan envisions a complete community with a variety of housing types along with places to work, shop and play. The projected population of the Yorkson neighbourhood is 28,000 once the area is completely developed (Township of Langley, 2001); approximately 4,636 individuals live in Yorkson presently (Statistics Canada, 2011).

A summary of relevant 2011 census data for the approximated Clayton and Yorkson neighbourhoods is provided in Table 3.1. As indicated in Table 3.1, the median age of the population in both Clayton and Yorkson is lower than their respective municipalities and the region as a whole. Both neighbourhoods also have a higher percentage of households with children than the Metro Vancouver average. Finally, row houses (which include townhouses) comprise a large proportion of the dwelling types in both neighbourhoods, particularly relative to the Metro Vancouver average.

Within the Clayton and Yorkson neighbourhoods, three townhouse complexes (the Kew and the Clayton Rise in Clayton and the Pepperwood in Yorkson) were selected as the specific case studies for this research. These complexes were selected in part out of convenience given that I had some initial access to these complexes through various personal contacts. These contacts facilitated physical access into the developments as well as access to various strata corporation documents and other potential research participants. These complexes were also selected as the case studies for this research since they conformed to the typology of interest. Specifically, all three of these developments are contemporary examples of the townhouse form in that the majority of the dwelling units are three storeys in height, the development includes dwelling units oriented towards both public streets and private roads, and there are common outdoor and indoor amenity areas.

Table 3.1. Census Data

Census Characteristic	Clayton	Surrey	Yorkson	Langley Township	Metro Vancouver
Population	14,637	468,251	4,636	104,177	2,313,328
Median Age	31.6	37.5	33.8	40.3	40.2
Percent of Households with Children	49.1%	57.1%	61.3%	50.1%	44.9%
Dwelling Types (as a percent of total number of dwellings)					
Single-detached house	46.5%	42.2%	62.1%	58.9%	33.8%
Row house	37.2%	13.7%	26.9%	14.1%	9.0%
Apartment (less than five storeys)	7.7%	20.5%	0.3%	7.8%	25.6%
Apartment (five or more storeys)	1.1%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	14.5%
Apartment (in duplex)	6.4%	17.9%	7.0%	11.2%	14.2%
Semi-detached house	0.9%	2.2%	1.0%	2.6%	2.2%
Movable dwelling	0.1%	0.9%	3.3%	5.1%	0.6%
Mother Tongue (as a percent of total population)					
English	77.9%	51.7%	73.1%	83.0%	56.0%
French	0.8%	0.7%	1.0%	1.0%	1.1%
Non-official languages	19.2%	44.3%	23.9%	14.9%	40.3%
English and French	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%
English and non-official language	1.7%	3.0%	1.8%	0.9%	2.3%
French and non-official language	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%
English, French and non-official language	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011

The Kew, which is located at 18983 – 72A Avenue, was built in 2007 by Mosaic (Network of Condos Enterprises Ltd., 2015), an experienced townhouse developer in Metro Vancouver (Mosaic Homes, 2015). It features a total of 97 townhouse units in 16 separate buildings. Constructed on a 1.96 hectare (4.84 acre) site, the Kew results in a density of 49.5 units per hectare (20.0 units per acre) (City of Surrey, 2005c). To the south of the complex (on the opposite side of 72A Avenue) is another townhouse complex also developed by Mosaic (the Tate) and to the north and west are undeveloped rural properties. To the east of the complex is a neighbourhood park, which has not yet been developed.

Figure 3.3 The Kew, 2015 Aerial Photograph



Source: City of Surrey, 2015a

The Kew was designed with four buildings that face 72A Avenue, with vehicle access provided by the private road at the rear. Six buildings face pathways within the site, again with vehicle access to the units provided by the private road at the rear. A legal agreement between the City and the developer allowed for the general public to have access over the easterly pathway, which will ultimately connect to a larger pathway network once the properties to the north are developed. All of the remaining buildings

face the private road and have a semi-private ground level outdoor space at the rear. A children's play area and a community garden (the "pea patch") is located in the northwest corner of the site, on the opposite side of a 3,336 square metre (35,909 square foot) utilities corridor that traverses over the northern part of the complex. A 1,001 square foot amenity building is located near the southwest corner of the site, beside one of the complex's two vehicle entrances (City of Surrey, 2005c). All of the townhouse buildings are three storeys in height and feature Georgian architectural design elements.

Figure 3.4 The Kew



Clayton Rise is located at 19505 – 68A Avenue and was completed by Townline in 2012 (Townline, 2015). Townline was ranked as the thirteenth largest new-home developer in BC between 2007 and 2011, but the Clayton Rise was Townline's only townhouse project underway during that same period (Real Estate Weekly, 2012). The Clayton Rise has a total of 143 dwelling units, 135 of which are three-storey townhouse units and 8 of which are two-storey duplex units. These 8 duplex units were not included in the study given that they did not conform to the housing typology of interest.

The Clayton Rise occupies an area 2.58 hectares (6.37 acres) in size, resulting in a density of about 55.4 units per hectare (22.4 units per acre) (City of Surrey, 2009). To the south of the Clayton Rise (on the opposite side 68A Avenue) is another townhouse complex developed by Townline (the Grove). The Clayton Rise and Grove have legal agreements that allow residents in both complexes to use the amenities in both complexes. The Clayton Rise abuts a greenway to the west and utilities right-of-way to the north, which both accommodate a meandering multi-use pathway. Beyond these pathways and the adjacent streets are single family dwellings on compact lots as well as a neighbourhood school and park.

The Clayton Rise was designed with three townhouse buildings that face 68A Avenue and four townhouse buildings that face the greenway. The four buildings that abut the utilities right-of-way present the rear yards towards the multi-use pathway. All of the remaining buildings have small rear yards that back onto a common central green and pathway. Vehicle access to all of the units is from the private road. Adjacent to the entrance of the site on 68A Avenue is an outdoor pool and clubhouse, which features a lounge and kitchen area (which can be booked by residents to host parties and events), a fitness centre, a theatre room and a billiards room. A small outdoor playground for children is located near the northwest corner of the complex. All of the townhouse buildings are three storeys in height and are clad primarily with beige vinyl siding with red brick accents.

Figure 3.5 Clayton Rise, 2015 Aerial Photograph



Source: City of Surrey, 2015a

Figure 3.6 Clayton Rise



Pepperwood, which is located at 20875 – 80 Avenue, was built by Polygon in 2007 (RE/Max Crest Realty (Westside), 2015). Polygon was ranked the largest new-home developer in BC between 2007 and 2011, having built over 6,457 units during that period, many of which were townhouses (Real Estate Weekly, 2012). The complex has a total of 157 townhouse dwelling units in 33 separate buildings. Constructed on a site approximately 3.2 hectares (7.8 acres) in size (Township of Langley, 2015b), the Pepperwood results in a density of 49.1 units per hectare (20.1 units per acre). Surrounding Pepperwood are single family dwellings, other townhouse complexes, an elementary school and larger properties that have not yet been developed. To the immediate east of Pepperwood is Arborel, another townhouse complex developed by Polygon. Although each complex has a separate vehicle access to abutting streets, the private roads of each complex are connected along the northern portion of the site to allow residents in either complex to utilize either access. Through legal agreements, the

residents of the Arborel also have access to the outdoor pool and clubhouse (the “Arbor Club”), which, although physically located within Pepperwood, is jointly managed and funded by both complexes.

Figure 3.7 Pepperwood, 2014 Aerial Photograph



Source: Township of Langley, 2015b

The Pepperwood was designed with eight buildings that face 208 Street and four buildings that face 80 Avenue. All of the remaining buildings were designed to face the

private roads and have small rear yards. In some cases retaining walls were used to raise the rear yards to provide direct access from the second storey of the townhouse unit. Vehicle access to all of the units is from the private roads. Near the entrance of the site on 80 Avenue is the Arbor Club, which consists of an outdoor pool and hot tub, a lounge and kitchen area (which can be booked by residents to host parties and events), a fitness centre, a billiards room and an indoor floor hockey rink. Two additional common green areas with children's play equipment are located within the complex adjacent to the main north-south private road. All of the dwelling units are three storeys in height (with the exception of four two-storey units located at the northwest and southwest corners of the complex) and feature English Tudor architectural design elements.

Figure 3.8 Pepperwood



3.2. Data Collection and Analysis

Data for the project was collected over an eight month period (January – August 2015) using a number of methods. To describe to the extent to which planners and developers support community and how these efforts shape contemporary townhouse developments, a content analysis of relevant documents was completed and qualitative interviews with urban planners and local developers were conducted. The content analysis and qualitative interviews were carried out sequentially so that the results of the content analysis could help inform the interview questions.

For the content analysis, a number of planning documents related to the Clayton and Yorkson neighbourhoods were reviewed, including municipal policies, bylaws, and neighbourhood plans (which provide an overall vision and specific design guidelines for the neighbourhood). The municipal development application files for each of the case studies was also reviewed. These files included documents such as municipal staff reports to Council, correspondence between different municipal staff / departments and correspondence between municipal staff and the developer. Finally, marketing materials related to each case study were reviewed, including brochures and blog posts prepared by the developer and articles in local newspapers or new home magazines. The planning documents were retrieved from Surrey and Langley's websites, the development application files were obtained from each municipality under the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act and the marketing materials were retrieved from the internet using a search engine. A system of coding and memoing was used to analyze these documents.

After completing the content analysis, qualitative interviews were conducted with two planners in both Surrey and Langley and one developer who worked for each of the companies that developed the three case study complexes (Townline, Mosaic and Polygon).³ The interview participants were recruited through professional contacts, using a combination of convenience and snowball sampling. The open-ended interviews

³ At the time the interview took place, the individual that spoke about Townline and the Clayton Rise had recently left the company to pursue other opportunities.

were organized around a series of semi-structured questions about community and townhouses generally as well as more specific questions about the individual neighbourhoods and case studies (refer to Appendix A). The length of the interviews ranged between thirty minutes and one hour. Detailed notes were taken during each interview and a digital recorder was used to record the interviews. The interview notes and the portions of the digital recordings that were transcribed were analyzed using a system of coding and memoing.

To describe the kind of community that exists in townhouse developments and how the physical and legal characteristics of these developments may shape this community, a sequential multiple methods approach consisting of field observations, a content analysis, a survey and qualitative interviews was used to collect the data. This, furthermore, was an iterative process whereby the initial data analysis and interpretation phases helped to inform the subsequent data collection phases.

Field observations at the townhouse complexes were conducted periodically over the entire course of the data collection process. Personal contacts who resided at each townhouse complex granted me access as a guest. The first round of field observations included an assessment of the physical environment to confirm that each case study represented the contemporary townhouse typology of interest. Field observations were also used to observe behaviours such as the use of the common spaces or instances of social interaction within the complex. Field notes were recorded during each observation and were included as part of the overall data analysis. Unfortunately purposeful, intensive observation of the case studies (like observing the common outdoor spaces for several hours) was not practical given the private nature of these spaces.

A content analysis of strata corporation documents for each complex, such as strata council meeting minutes, newsletters and bylaws, was undertaken. These documents were obtained from residents at each complex as permitted by the Strata Property Act. A system of coding and memoing was used to analyze these documents.

Following the completion of the content analysis (and the interviews with the planners and developers), a survey was used to analyze quantitatively the kind of

community that exists in townhouse developments and the potential effects of the physical and legal characteristics. A self-administered online survey questionnaire was sent to all 389 of the households within the complexes included in the study. An invitation letter to complete the online survey was first delivered in the mail (Appendix B) and, twelve days later, a reminder postcard was delivered to each household by hand (Appendix C). Mailing addresses for the invitation letters were obtained using data from the City of Surrey and Township of Langley online mapping programs and the Canada Post webpage. The online survey, which was made available for sixteen days, yielded 57 responses. As an incentive to complete the survey, respondents were provided the opportunity to enter a draw to win one of three \$50 gift cards to a local restaurant.

The online questionnaire consisted primarily of closed-ended questions with the exception of only a few cases where respondents were able to enter their own response if they selected "other." Indicators for the two dimensions of community (social interaction and sense of community) were based on previous studies and the literature. Indicators of social interaction included the frequency of conversations with immediate neighbours and the frequency of social get-togethers with other residents in the complex. To assess sense of community, the survey questionnaire included an abbreviated version of the 24 question index developed by Chavis, Lee and Acosta (2008) that measures sense of community in terms of reinforcement of needs, membership, influence and shared emotional connection. This index was reduced to 12 questions in order to prevent the whole survey from being too long. Respondents were asked how well 12 statements represent how they feel about their townhouse complex and were given four choices: "not at all," "somewhat," "mostly," and "completely." Each "not at all" response was assigned a score of 0, "somewhat" a score of 1, "mostly" a score of 2 and "completely" a score of 3. The total sense of community score was obtained by adding all twelve of the responses together.

To help explain the extent to which the characteristics of townhouses shape community, the questionnaire also included measures of behaviours like participation in the strata corporation and the use of the common amenities. The survey also included questions about social interactions within the broader neighbourhood and the use of neighbourhood amenities. Finally, the questionnaire included questions about the

characteristics of the respondents in order to consider the relationship between variables such as length of residence and age (a copy of the survey questionnaires is attached as Appendix D).

The data collected through the survey questionnaire was entered into a software program (SPSS) for statistical analysis. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the survey responses both as a whole and for each townhouse complex. Frequency distributions were used to analyze the majority of the data while central tendency and dispersion statistics were used to analyze the sense of community index scores. To consider the potential association between different variables, a number of contingency tables were generated along with various chi-square tests and, in cases where cells had expected counts less than 5, Fisher's Exact or likelihood ratio tests. For example, the number of friends respondents had in the townhouse complexes was compared to the frequency of use of common amenities to consider whether there was any evidence of a relationship between these variables. All of the combined survey data was used for the contingency tables and chi square tests given the relatively low number of survey responses. In many instances, the responses were regrouped in order to perform the analyses. For example, responses for the number of casual conversations with an immediate neighbour were regrouped from eight possible response into simply "at least once a week" or "less than once a week." Missing data was treated as missing.

Semi-structured qualitative interviews were also conducted with townhouse residents. A total of seven interviews were completed with ten interviewees. Two of the interviewees were former strata councilors. Interviewees were recruited through personal contacts and referrals as well as through the survey questionnaire (the invitation letter for the survey questionnaire also invited residents to participate in an interview). Efforts were made to interview a range of townhouse residents, including strata councilors, in terms of age, marital status, gender, ethnicity and form of tenure. In some cases a single interview was conducted with both members of the household.

Interviewees were asked to describe their relationships with their neighbours (social interaction) and their feelings about the complex as a place to live (sense of community). The interviews were also used to help explain the extent to which the

physical and legal characteristics of the complex contribute to the development of community. For example, the interviewees were asked where they met and socialize with their neighbours to consider if the complex's private outdoor amenity area helps to promote social interaction (sample interview questions are attached as Appendix E). All of the interviews were recorded with a digital recorder and the relevant portions were transcribed for the further analysis.

3.3. Limitations

The case study complexes that were selected for inclusion in this research all incorporate elements that are representative of the contemporary townhouse form, but, as with all case study research, the generalizability of the results to all contemporary townhouses may be limited. It should also be noted that the three case study complexes were developed by relatively large and sophisticated development companies. As such, the community-building mechanisms that were discussed by the developer respondents and incorporated into each case study complex may not necessarily be representative of all townhouse developers or developments.

A potential limitation of the data collection and analysis was the survey response rate. Of the 389 households that were invited to complete the online survey, only 57 responses were received, which represents a response rate of 14.6 percent. Some of the survey respondents furthermore did not answer every question. As such, some of the quantitative data analysis relied on the responses of just less than 50 respondents.

3.4. Ethics

All of the research was conducted under the auspices of the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University. Consent for all of the semi-structured qualitative interviews was obtained by requesting the interviewees to sign a consent form prior to the start of the interview. For the planner and developer interviews, the consent form indicated that the interviewee's place of employment and general position would be reported and, as a result, it might be difficult to fully protect their identity. Consent for the

online survey was provided by a sentence on the consent form that stated “by submitting this online survey you are consenting to participate in this research study” (the consent form was the first page of the online survey).

Chapter 4.

Results and Discussion

What follows is a discussion of the results of the data that was collected and analyzed for this research project. The first part of this chapter considers the extent to which planners and developers support community and how these efforts shape contemporary suburban townhouse developments. The second part of this chapter considers the kind of community that exists in suburban townhouse developments and the extent to which the physical and legal characteristics of these townhouse developments shape this community. A concluding chapter compares the objectives and perceptions of the planners and developers with the lived experiences of the townhouse residents.

4.1. Planners and Developers

The content analysis of municipal planning documents, municipal development application files and developer marketing materials and the qualitative interviews with the planners and developers revealed that both planners and developers saw community-building as an important objective. Planners and developers moreover generally thought that townhouse developments had good potential for fostering social interaction and a sense of community. The research, however, revealed that in many cases planners and developers had different motives for building community and emphasized community at different geographic scales. As such, the perspectives of planners and developers are first discussed separately and then compared to one another in a subsequent section.

4.1.1. Planners

Community in Planning

The interviews revealed that planners had a good understanding of the term community with regards to the difference between a place-based community and an interest-based community. A Surrey planner (S2), for instance, noted that “there’s different types of community [...], the community that’s based around the place where you live and there’s also the community that’s based on common interest.” The interviews also revealed that planners were most concerned about communities of place and felt that community-building was an important planning objective. One Langley planner (L1) stated that “we have to try to make a community” while the other Langley planner (L2) thought that “planners should be setting up the framework for community to happen.” The Surrey planner (S2) noted the importance of communities in that “communities are there to give quality to your life” and that “creating liveable communities is really the primary goal of what [planners] are trying to do.”

The importance of community and community-building is further reflected in municipal plans that set out long-term policy objectives for community development like Official Community Plans and Neighbourhood Concept Plans. The City of Surrey Official Community Plan, for instance, makes multiple references to community. According to its vision statement, “the City of Surrey will continually become a greener, more complete, more compact and connected community that is resilient, safer, inclusive, healthier and more beautiful” (City of Surrey, 2014b, p. 29). According to the Official Community Plan, “complete” includes “a network of community gathering places and centres for building community connections and spaces for celebrations” (City of Surrey, 2014b, p. 30). “Inclusive” furthermore includes “community-building opportunities including programs and places that foster neighbourhood connections” (City of Surrey, 2014b, p. 31).

The East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan (NCP), the land use plan adopted in 2003 to guide the development of the East Clayton neighbourhood, also includes references to community. As noted in the NCP, “envisioned as a complete, mixed-use community, East Clayton is designed to promote social cohesion, local economic opportunities, and environmental stewardship” (City of Surrey, 2003, p. 10).

The land use plan for East Clayton was based on seven “sustainable planning principles” that had been previously considered by Council in 1998. With regards to community, principle number three states the following: “communities are designed for people; therefore, all dwellings should present a friendly face to the street in order to promote social interaction” (City of Surrey, 2003, p. 12). A Surrey planner (S2) suggested that Clayton was somewhat of a “response to try to get back to communities that were more intimate, more complete, more attractive.”

Like the City of Surrey, the Township of Langley Official Community Plan also reflects the importance of community as a planning objective. Langley’s Official Community Plan outlines sixteen planning and development principles, one of which includes the following:

Community design and community services should support the development of strong community spirit including:

- Identification with the community’s distinctive features,
- Volunteerism,
- Community pride,
- Neighbourliness,
- Neighbourhood stability, and
- Opportunities for worship (Township of Langley, 1979, p. 12).

In sum, the results of the content analysis and interviews corroborate the literature (Talen, 2000) in finding that community is indeed an important planning objective. Moreover, these results illustrate that community-related planning objectives imply that a certain physical design can be employed to foster increased social interaction and a strong sense of community. The specific physical design prescriptions that emanate from such broader objectives are further explored in the next section.

Community by Design

Community-related planning objectives are often accompanied by a suite of physical design guidelines intended to help foster community. The mechanisms that planners employ to help promote social interaction may be organized into four broad categories: mixed use neighbourhoods, fine-grained street networks, streetscape design and public spaces. With regards to mixed use neighbourhoods, the interviews revealed that planners consider the development of compact neighbourhoods with shops and

services that support the needs of its residents as an important way to foster social interaction. While the relationship between a mix of land uses and social interaction may seem ambiguous, both Surrey planners (S1 and S2) suggested that a mix of land uses can encourage increased pedestrian activity, which in turn can increase opportunities for unavoidable casual contact.

The East Clayton NCP reflects the perceived importance of mixing land uses within neighbourhoods: “achieving a pedestrian-oriented neighbourhood requires that homes be within a walkable distance of shops and services” (City of Surrey, 2003, p. 10). While increased pedestrian activity has a number of environmental and health benefits, a Surrey planner (S2) felt that the policies of the East Clayton NCP were driven more by social rather than environmental objectives. The Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan also reflects the importance of providing shops and services within the neighbourhood: “the vision for Yorkson is to create a high quality livable and sustainable urban environment that [...] is walkable and provides accessibility to commercial and community services” (Township of Langley, 2001, p. 7).

As a complement to mixed use neighbourhoods, planners also recognize the importance of a fine-grained interconnected street network in order to encourage pedestrian activity. Again, the results of the interviews indicate that planners consider there to be a positive relationship between pedestrian activity and social interaction. As noted in the East Clayton NCP “achieving a pedestrian-oriented neighbourhood requires that [...] streets be interconnected to provide the widest possible choices of pedestrian routes for reaching nearby destinations” like shops and services (City of Surrey, 2003, p. 10). Similarly, the Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan envisions “an efficient interconnected street system” as a way to “encourage a walking community” (Township of Langley, 2001, p. 8).

A fine-grained street network not only provides increased pedestrian routes, but it also allows as many homes as possible to front onto public streets (City of Surrey, 2003). Requiring that homes face the public street is but one of several attributes of a streetscape that planners consider important in fostering social interaction. A Langley planner (L2), for instance, cited front yards along the street and a direct connection

between the sidewalk and the dwelling as being important components of a streetscape that fosters social interaction. Planners believe that requiring street-facing dwellings with front yards and porches will foster a stronger relationship between the residents of those dwellings and pedestrians using the street. In addition, street-facing buildings, along with other elements like street trees and planted boulevards, help create an enhanced pedestrian environment, which will lead to increased pedestrian activity and, thus, increased opportunities for social interaction.

In the case of the East Clayton NCP, the following policies are included in reference to the principle that dwellings should present a friendly face to the street to promote social interaction:

- Dwellings should be situated closer to streets, thereby ensuring more “eyes on the street” and creating a larger back yard area for private outdoor space.
- Front yards should have buffers or be slightly raised from the level of the street to ensure privacy and clearly distinguish between private and public space.
- Street trees, boulevard strips, and on-street parking will create a pleasant environment for pedestrians and provide a buffer from passing traffic (City of Surrey, 2003, p. 12).

Like East Clayton, the Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan contemplates a “streetscape design to allow places for people to meet” (Township of Langley, 2001, p. 7). These broader streetscape policies are usually implemented through a set of prescriptive building design guidelines. The building design guidelines for residential developments in the Yorkson neighbourhood (which are contained in the Willoughby Community Plan) for example include the following:

- A strong street presence is required through inclusion of elements such as extended porches and patios, recessed entries, ground oriented units with direct pedestrian street access, and other similar arrangements. Where individual street access to residential units is not practical, building design should foster a relationship with the adjacent street and pedestrians using the street.
- Buildings should be oriented to streets, greenways, or other public spaces, neither gated nor turning away from the public realm, to

provide overview for safety and encourage resident involvement with the activities of the neighbourhood.

- Pedestrian street access to individual residential units is strongly encouraged in order to reinforce pedestrian activity and street life (Township of Langley, 1998, p. 27).

According to a Langley planner (L2), the intent of these guidelines is not just to achieve a certain neighbourhood aesthetic, but also to help foster social interaction.

It is noteworthy that the building design guidelines for the Yorkson neighbourhood not only describe the type of streetscape that is desired, but also describe the type of streetscape that is not permitted. The use of perimeter berms, high fences and security gates, for example, is not permitted as these elements do not foster a pedestrian-friendly street system and do not encourage resident involvement neighbourhood activities (Township of Langley, 1998). The East Clayton NCP also discourages the use of gates: “gated communities’ are not consistent with the planning principles and are therefore not appropriate” (City of Surrey, 2003, p. 38). The interviews also found that planners do not believe that gated communities help foster a pedestrian-friendly streetscape or social interaction. A Surrey planner (S2) indicated that gated communities “are not integrated into a community” and that gates “don’t create that pleasant environment to walk by” and “create a sense that you’re not welcome here.”

Lastly, planners from both municipalities stressed the importance of public spaces as venues for social interaction. A Langley planner (L2) for example stated that creating opportunities for social interaction means having “outdoor social spaces, gathering spots [...] and nodes.” A Surrey planner (S1) suggested that promoting community meant “integrating public space and publicly accessible space at all scales into development so that there are opportunities for informal gatherings or [...] casual conversation.” Ultimately, both the East Clayton NCP and Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan reflect the importance of public spaces by including provisions for a series of neighbourhood parks, smaller local or pocket parks and linear parks or greenways.

When considered as a whole, it is evident that these mechanisms are primarily aimed at promoting social interaction within the broader neighbourhood rather than

within individual residential developments. The building design guidelines for the Yorkson neighbourhood, for example, outline the desired relationship between buildings and the public street but do not outline a desired relationship between buildings located on the private road within a townhouse development. Nonetheless, these neighbourhood-scale community-building efforts have had a significant impact on the built form of townhouse developments. The inward facing, walled townhouse complexes that were almost the norm in the early 1990s have been replaced by townhouse developments with street-facing buildings with front yards, low picket fences and porches. To improve pedestrian connectivity within neighbourhoods, some townhouse developments even include public pathways through the complexes.

While planners see fostering community within the broader neighbourhood as most important, it would be false to suggest that planners do not care about the interaction among residents within a townhouse development. A Langley planner (L2) for instance thought planners “look at how [townhouses] interact with the properties around it and in the neighbourhood context and also how it works on the inside to ensure [...] there’s opportunity for the neighbours to interact with each other.” Even though there are no formal building design guidelines that support efforts to foster community within townhouse developments, the Langley planner (L2) indicated it was important for planners to try to “set up the basics for community interaction” within complexes through elements such as “balconies that face balconies over a [private road].”

Both Langley and Surrey also have municipal regulations that prescribe the amount of common amenity space required within townhouse developments. In the case of Langley, townhouse developments are required to provide a minimum of eight square metres of child friendly amenity area per townhouse unit (Township of Langley, 1987). Although concerns over a lack of child play areas within townhouse developments initially led to the incorporation of these minimum amenity requirements (Township of Langley, 2005), the Langley planners (L1 and L2) suggested that these areas are an important part of the community-building infrastructure within townhouse complexes. In the City of Surrey, townhouse developments are required to provide a minimum of three square metres of outdoor amenity space and three square metres of indoor amenity space per dwelling unit (City of Surrey, 1993). Again, community-

building appears to be one of the reasons for mandating a minimum amenity area. In a 2001 report, City staff noted that “indoor amenity space is intended as a social gathering and meeting area, or to house sports and fitness facilities” (City of Surrey, 2001, p. 2).

In sum, the results of the content analysis and interviews are consistent with the literature (Talen, 2000) in finding that planners employ a number of physical design interventions in order to help foster community. These design interventions, moreover, are generally consistent with the new urbanism ethos (Duany et al., 2000). That being said, all of the planners acknowledged the limitations of the physical design interventions, suggesting that community cannot be created through the right design alone. A Langley planner (L2) for example noted that planners are able to set up the framework, but community cannot be forced. A Surrey planner (S1) meanwhile stated that planners are only able to “create conditions where community can take root.”

Planner Perspectives on Townhouses and Community

In terms of community within townhouse complexes, the planners generally thought townhouses provided a good opportunity for fostering community by putting residents in close proximity to one another and by providing common amenities, which could serve as venues for social interaction. Again, planners seemed to appreciate the limitations of the potential impacts of the physical environment; a Surrey planner (S2) stated the following with regards to community in townhouse complexes:

The opportunity is there, you're going to cross paths at your mailbox, you're going to cross paths at the amenity space if it's there, [...] but really it comes down to what people are going to make of it. Some townhouse complexes are very close knit, [...] especially if it's an older complex, if people have been there for a long time, sort of established, people know each other, [...] really know each other, it's a strong community. They may not always have the same perspective but it's a strong community. But you're going to get the same thing in single family neighbourhoods too, especially if people have been there for a while [...], it's more what people make of it, sure the opportunity is there but it's up to the people to make of it what they want.

Beyond the physical elements of townhouse developments, the planners expressed some uncertainty over the potential impacts of the strata or common interest nature of townhouse developments on community. A Langley planner (L2) for example

noted that in many ways social interaction is forced in a strata environment, but also believed that community ties can develop out of this forced interaction. The other Langley planner (L1) was more skeptical about the impact of the strata tenure, noting that strata corporations are often charged with resolving disputes so the result is often “not a pretty sense of community.” In addition, the Langley planner (L1) mused that stratas may constrain social connections among neighbours by taking care of the majority of the exterior and landscape maintenance. The planner (L1) personally recalled meeting most neighbours in their single family neighbourhood by having to cooperate over the construction of new fences.

With regards to the potential impact of townhouse developments on community within the broader neighbourhood, the planners thought that past concerns about complexes that were internally centered and disconnected from the surrounding neighbourhood have largely been mitigated by new regulations like those that prohibit gating, require public street-facing units and require public paths through complexes. A Langley planner (L1) also dismissed the notion that common amenity spaces could act as self-sustaining elements and reduce the need for townhouse residents to engage the broader neighbourhood. The planner (L1) likened these amenity spaces to a backyard on a single family lot and noted that public park standards have not been reduced in response to the increase in townhouses. Yet the same planner expressed concerns that the private roads limited opportunities for the general public to walk through townhouse complexes, which could result in fewer opportunities for casual encounters.

The planners also saw townhouses as a way to introduce a mix of housing into neighbourhoods. The importance of providing a mix of housing types within neighbourhoods is well established in both Township of Langley and City of Surrey planning policy documents (Township of Langley, 2001; City of Surrey, 2003) and this objective appears to be directly related to the objective of ensuring that neighbourhoods include a mix of people. A Surrey planner (S2) explained that “townhouses provide variety” and variety means “some diversity in the type of people that live there.” In fact all of the planners thought that a “good community” meant having a variety of people and interests and these views are reflected in planning policy documents. As noted in the East Clayton NCP in reference to providing a mix of housing types:

A diverse and socially cohesive neighbourhood for the community of approximately 11,200 persons is the intended result. The plan promotes integration and symbiosis between different family types and ages as a way of strengthening the larger community (City of Surrey, 2003, p. 11).

The finding that planners actively promote a mix of housing in order to achieve a mix of people is consistent with the literature (Perrin & Grant, 2014). Moreover, these findings also highlight the apparent disconnect between the planning objective to promote community and the planning objective to promote diversity given that the literature points to a positive relationship between the strength of a community and the homogeneity of the population (Gans, 1961). Yet this apparent disconnect does not appear to have escaped planning practitioners. A Langley planner (L1) acknowledged that residents may not like the mix and that the mix may not actually lead to increased social interaction or a stronger sense of community. The planner (L1) however also believed that a community needs diversity to function and, more broadly, a functioning society requires that people learn how to deal with others.

4.1.2. Developers

Community in Land Development

The interviews with the developers revealed that, like the planners, developers are primarily interested in place-based communities. Two of the three developers interviewed furthermore thought that community-building was an important objective for their respective companies. When asked about the importance of community, the Mosaic developer responded: “oh ya, you want to create a community, there’s no doubt about it.” The Mosaic developer stated that “community is important because we want people to enjoy their homes and they’re going to tell people I love where I live and word of mouth is probably the number one way that we sell homes.” While the Mosaic developer indicated that there is a bit of a philosophical aspect to Mosaic’s community-building objectives, there is definitely a commercial aspect:

We want people to say this is the best community I’ve ever lived in, they tell people and that gets other people excited and when we build another one people say “oh, Mosaic’s doing this and you’re really going to like it there.”

It is unsurprising therefore that Mosaic, in the words of the Mosaic developer, “plays [community] up a lot” as part of its marketing strategy. In a promotional article in a local newspaper, a new Kew resident is quoted comparing the complex to a small village: “it really feels like a small village,’ says Tom, who likens it to the same feeling he had as a child growing up in Edgemont Village in North Vancouver” (Vancouver Sun, 2007).

Like Mosaic, the Polygon developer indicated that community-building was an important objective and suggested that community-building was a “distinguishing feature of Polygon.” The Polygon developer however did not feel that community was an important part of Polygon’s marketing strategies, suggesting that, with the exception of the clubhouses, Polygon tends to focus more on the individual homes. Yet the results of the content analysis indicate that Polygon’s marketing materials promote their clubhouses while also drawing links to community. With regards to the Pepperwood, in an interview with a local paper, Polygon’s senior vice-president of sales, promotes the clubhouse as follows:

Everyone, he says, talks about the clubhouse.

"We have a woman who works with us, a co-ordinator who establishes programs such as aqua-fit, kids crafts, advises on how to organize social events and use fitness equipment."

Key to this club are the outdoor pool and indoor floor-hockey arena. Archibald notes there is a resident caretaker in the facility so owners can book it for family and social functions.

The clubhouse has a furnished terrace, a kitchen and dining area, billiards lounge, fitness studio and change rooms. "The children's play area is close to the clubhouse so it's part of a central social area" (Vancouver Province, 2007).

Although the link between the clubhouse and community may seem subtle in the case of the Pepperwood, a broader analysis of marketing materials for other Polygon developments found a more direct link between the clubhouse and community. From a post on its company webpage entitled *Polygon Clubhouse: A day in the life* promoting a development in Delta, BC:

It's 5:30am at the Sunstone Community clubhouse. I've been up since 3:45am to ensure things would be perfect for our first bootcamp class meeting at the clubhouse.

Waiting for our first earlybirds, and after setting-up the equipment and post-class refreshment, I wonder.....will anyone actually show up at this crazy time?

Or, will we be standing here alone amongst the weighted balls, skipping ropes, run-ladders and pylons?

We spot them!

A group of neighbours walking out from their homes and gathering together as they see water bottles in hand.

Yahoo...we've got a class!

A very avid one I might add.

The sun rose in spectacular fashion; it was a phenomenal morning.

You could say this is a typical start to a day at a Polygon clubhouse community. Neighbours connect and enjoy the fantastic community amenities with family and friends.

Countless memories are created - at all ages and life stages (Polygon Realty Limited, 2011).

Unlike the Mosaic and Polygon developers, the Townline developer did not think that community-building was an important objective for the company, which instead focused on creating "interesting buildings." That being said, a review of the marketing materials for the Clayton Rise appears to suggest that Townline's marketing staff at least appreciate the impact of community from a sales perspective. A blog post from its company webpage promoted the community at Clayton Rise as follows:

There is a great sense of community at Clayton Rise, as the amenities are shared with our sister community across the street, The Grove.

That means that not only do you have access to a 5,000 square foot Clubhouse with fireside lounge, games room, theatre, fitness centre and outdoor pool, you can also use The Grove's fantastic amenities and floor hockey rink!

Recently, the communities have hired an Activity Coordinator, Valentina, who will organize fun social events between the two communities (Townline, 2013).

A promotional brochure for the Clayton Rise entitled *Designed for Modern Living in Surrey* meanwhile included the following:

Community ties run deep in Cloverdale, and most of the Clayton Rise homeowners grew up in the neighbourhood.

Townline has worked hard to create a community within Clayton Rise, by building a first class amenity centre that is a hub for post-work and weekend activities. In the centre of it all is The Clubhouse, with an outdoor pool and almost 5,000 square feet of party, fitness and movie rooms. There's also a common playground to offer kids the kind of memories that last a lifetime. Small village greens are connected by a network of footpaths and will provide gathering spots for friends, families and neighbours (Townline, n.d.).

In sum, the results of the content analysis and interviews corroborate the literature (Rosenblatt et al., 2009) in finding that community is an important land development objective. The extensive use of community lexicon within marketing materials moreover indicates that developers believe that creating community, or at least convincing prospective purchasers that a community has been successfully created, is integral to the overall marketing strategy. Consistent with the literature (Putnam, 2000; Grant & Scott, 2012), this suggests that developers are interested in selling community. While the analysis above has shown that developers will use common amenities and activity coordinators to help create this community, these are not the only strategies employed by developers to help create community within townhouse complexes.

Developing Community

The interviews and content analysis found that developers employ a number of different strategies to help create community within townhouse developments. In terms of physical design elements, the Mosaic developer noted the importance of creating a sense of “arrival to the community” as a way to help create a sense of community. At the Kew, a sense of arrival was promoted by brick columns that mark the entrances to the complex and by building the amenity building, which through its unique design creates a landmark, next to one of the entrances. The importance of this sense of arrival

is further reflected in the Kew's marketing material. In a promotional newspaper article, a Kew resident states that "visitors to their new home always comment favourably on the entrance way, with its manicured lawn and ornamental shrubs in planters that line the drive" (Vancouver Sun, 2007). Although the Polygon and Townline developers did not specifically mention the importance of the entryway to the complex, both the Pepperwood and Clayton Rise developments include elements that create a sense of arrival.

The Mosaic developer also spoke about the Georgian-style architecture that was used at the Kew and how a consistent architectural style, coupled with high quality landscaping, can help foster sense of community by instilling a sense of pride about the complex. According to a Mosaic staff person quoted in a newspaper article about the Kew, "people tend to gravitate to the 'Old World' architectural styles with which Mosaic dresses up its townhouse project" (Vancouver Sun, 2007). The Pepperwood and Clayton Rise also feature a consistent architectural style and, interestingly, the Pepperwood features an "old world" architectural style (the Tudor style).

Developers also acknowledged the importance of smaller, semi-private spaces for fostering social interaction. The Polygon developer, for instance, stated the following:

Something that isn't necessarily built into Polygon's processes, but something that I'm quite interested in is creating those smaller more intimate spaces for social interaction that might be semi-public or semi-private. And so front porches are a really good example [...]. You could hang out on your porch or stoop in the evening and as people are coming home from work and school you can greet them and have those casual social interactions that form the basis of feeling like you know people in your community.

According to the Polygon developer, townhouse complexes are often too tight to achieve front porches on all of the units, but Polygon tries to build front porches along all of the public streets and internal pathways. The Pepperwood, Kew and Clayton Rise all have front porches or yards on those units located adjacent to the public streets.

A number of units in the Pepperwood, Kew and Clayton Rise also have second storey balconies located above their driveways (facing the strata road). Given that there is often little or no space between neighbouring balconies, it is not surprising that one of

the developers thought that these spaces also presented a good opportunity for social interaction. In fact, the Mosaic developer noted that “fostering community is a lot about those edges between people.” As a result, Mosaic is quite considerate about the type of screening between balconies:

It’s always been a challenge how much screening let’s say on a deck do you put between neighbours [...]. I would say is one of the trickiest design features when you’re trying to give people a sense of privacy on their decks but not be looking at a wall.

The developers also thought that the common spaces within townhouse complexes can help foster community. According to both the Polygon and Townline developers, strata roads, which are private roads owned and maintained by the strata corporation, can serve a larger variety of needs, like a game of ball hockey, than a public street. The Mosaic developer indicated that people also tend to congregate at the centralized mail kiosk, so these spaces are now often supplemented with benches and a community notice board to provide additional opportunities for social interaction.

More formalized common spaces are also an important part of the “community-building infrastructure” according to the Polygon developer. The Polygon developer stated “a space we always create is a central green or if not a central green then some significant, substantial outdoor space.” The Pepperwood has two central greens, which both include children’s play equipment. The Kew meanwhile has an outdoor children’s play area and a community garden and the Clayton Rise has an outdoor children’s play area and several common green spaces.

While all three complexes have an indoor amenity area, the clubhouses at the Pepperwood and Clayton Rise, which feature an outdoor pool and indoor fitness room among other items, are more elaborate than the indoor amenity room at the Kew, which consists of a modest common room. The Mosaic developer indicated that, in the case of the Kew, Mosaic opted to not develop extensive amenities in order to help keep strata fees low for first-time homebuyers, which was the Kew’s target market. Ultimately, the Mosaic developer suggested that the amenity building at the Kew may not be well used and thought that larger amenity buildings are more successful in providing opportunities for social interaction. This perspective was certainly shared by the Polygon developer

who indicated that a clubhouse is a “non-negotiable” component of every Polygon development; in other words, every townhouse complex developed by Polygon includes a clubhouse. According to the Polygon developer, a clubhouse:

Provides both indoor and outdoor amenity space for residents and allows them to have a community living room where there is typically a fireside lounge. You know the individual components of the clubhouse are updated from time to time but they generally include a seating area inside where people can meet up, they include a fitness room, and a pool and hot tub outdoors as well as guest suites for out of town visitors. And so that creates the community hub where people can always go to and meet [...] and you’re going to bump into other members of your community there.

Although the Townline developer did not think that community-building was an important objective for Townline, the developer did believe that common amenities can help to foster community.

In some cases, social coordinators are hired by the developer to help program these amenity areas and, thus, build community. This was indeed the case at the Clayton Rise, where a social coordinator was hired by Townline shortly after the development was completed. The Townline developer thought a social coordinator could “add value to strata” by helping to build community:

If you have a really good coordinator that can bring in interesting event that people use, all of a sudden every weekend you have 15, 20, 30 people showing up at these events and getting to know each other and it does help build the sense of community.

A blog post from the Townline webpage indicates that the events organized by the social coordinator included “walks around the community, Zumba dance classes, movie afternoons, and floor hockey tournaments” (Townline, 2013).

The Polygon developer also saw social coordinators as helping to lay the groundwork for community: “when people are first moving in, it takes a lot to get a community off the ground [...], a social coordinator is one way to bridge those challenges and provide people with a bit of direction.” The Polygon developer noted that the Pepperwood would have been too small to warrant a full-time social coordinator, but even for smaller developments Polygon will hire a social coordinator to work on a part-

time basis, especially during the first few months. Once all of the units have been sold and the developer is no longer involved with the complex, the Polygon developer indicated that some strata corporations carry on with the event coordinator and others do not. Currently, none of the case study complexes employs a social coordinator.

The content analysis revealed that participation on strata council or a strata committee is also thought to help build community within a townhouse complex. The Clayton Rise Home Owner Manual, which was designed to assist residents during and after moving-in, includes the following:

Members of strata corporations usually form a variety of committees in order to address the needs or concerns of residents, or to organize events. These may include security, recycling, landscaping, or social committees. Committees are an important way for owners to get involved in the management of their community and to form relationships with their neighbours (Townline, 2011).

Interestingly, none of the interviewees suggested promoting involvement with the strata corporation as a way to help foster community. Perhaps the interviewees simply considered strata councils an inevitable outcome of any townhouse development rather than a deliberate intervention. Or perhaps the interviewees thought that the councils could equally become sites of contention.

The Mosaic developer also considered the strata bylaws to be another important part of creating the right context for community to flourish:

The other thing we do is we write a lot of strata bylaws, and in that try to control behaviour as much as we can so that we have respect for your neighbours. Things like [...] clear rules about what can stay on the balcony and what cannot stay on the balcony. We restrict things like window coverings, even though we encourage individuality in things like flower boxes and stoops, we want a visual order to the community.

According to this developer, these kinds of controls are needed in denser environments like townhouse complexes:

As we densify more and more, we have to figure out how to give people the qualities of single family homes in a denser form of housing [...]. We've thought a lot about people living beside each other, what kind of screening do we provide, how do we make it easier for them to be in a

denser environment so that they experience the positive aspects not the negative aspects of density.

The Pepperwood, Kew and Clayton Rise all have a set of strata bylaws, which include controls like requiring all dogs to be on a leash and prohibiting any exterior renovations.

In summary, land developers employ a range of techniques to help promote community within townhouse developments. While some land development companies may be more deliberate in their community-building efforts, all three of the case study complexes incorporate a number of the community-building elements raised by the interviewees. Many of these community-building techniques, such as entryway landmarks, common amenities and social programs, are consistent with community-building techniques noted in the literature (Rosenblatt et al., 2009). In addition, a number of the physical design elements correspond to the notion that boundaries can foster a sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

With respect to these boundaries, it is noteworthy that the majority of the techniques employed by the land developers are aimed at fostering community within the townhouse complex rather than aimed at building community within the broader neighbourhood. When specifically asked about the broader neighbourhood, only the Mosaic developer spoke about the importance of promoting connections between residents in the complex and residents in the broader neighbourhood. The Mosaic developer noted, for example, that the townhouse buildings at the Kew were built perpendicular to a utilities corridor, which is meant to accommodate a future public trail, rather than parallel to it. This site design, according to the Mosaic developer, would allow all units to have better access to the future public amenity, instead of allowing access by only a select number of units that backed on to the future trail. The Mosaic developer also indicated that more recent Mosaic developments have used a subtler entryway monument to reduce the perception of barriers between the complex and the rest of the neighbourhood. The Townline developer on the other hand indicated that, beyond providing front doors on the public street and public pathways through the site, not much could be done to promote community within the broader neighbourhood. Similarly, with regards promoting social connections outside of the complex, the Polygon

developer stated: “I don’t know if that’s something that we really spend a lot of time on to be honest, I think we’re very focused on what happens within the property lines.”

Finally, the developers, like the planners, seem to recognize the limitations of these techniques. The Polygon developer, for example, stated that “physical design is essential to providing the spaces that people will interact in, [but] that in and of itself is not enough.” The Mosaic developer indicated that “it is very difficult for us to create a community amongst people, we can try to create physically the context for that to take place, but after that it is difficult.” The Townline developer, after noting some of the benefits a social coordinator can provide to a strata complex, stated community “can’t be forced, it really does have to develop organically, there is only so much you can do.”

Developer Perspectives on Townhouses and Community

Like the planners, the developers thought that townhouses provide an environment that is conducive for community development. The Polygon developer, for example, indicated that Polygon considers clubhouses and central greens to be well used and, thus, successful, which is why these features have been repeated in multiple developments. The Mosaic developer also thought that, through the incorporation of elements like a cohesive architectural style, townhouses could have a positive impact on community. With respect to the Kew, the Mosaic developer thought the complex had a strong sense of community. The Mosaic developer, however, attributed this strong sense of community primarily to the composition of the residents: “Kew was interesting when we sold it because it was a lot of young Caucasian families, young couples, that bought in [...] and there was a sense of community that was being created by the people there.”

While the Townline developer did not think that building community was an important objective for the company, the interviewee did think that townhouses provided a good environment for community development. The Townline developer stated that:

When I think about the utopian whole idea of community that it is townhomes. Instead of everyone having their own yard where they all do their own thing, it’s that idea of you having your own living space, you have your private living space, but then everyone shares a yard.

Furthermore, according to Townline developer, the common amenities in townhouse developments provide spaces where people are able to congregate and meet. The Townline developer also thought that the nature of the strata roads provides opportunities for social interaction: “one thing I’ve always loved about townhouse projects are those internal strata roads where kids can play street hockey.”

The Townline developer not only illustrated the potential impacts on community within the townhouse complex, but also illustrated the potential positive impacts on community within the broader neighbourhood:

If you looked at it on a neighbourhood scale, imagine a neighbourhood that is one hundred percent single family, [...] people are spread out, so you know it’s wonderful, you have your front yard that you’re working on, you get to know your neighbours to your right, your neighbours to your left, a couple people across the street, but without that density, you don’t have the neighbourhood commercial down the street, [...] if you were to recreate [a] neighbourhood as one hundred percent townhomes, now instead of that sixty foot frontage where you have that one family living, you have four families living on that same frontage, there’s much more vibrancy, people walking up and down the streets, [...] now commercial development is much more feasible.

4.1.3. A Comparison of Planner and Developer Perspectives

The results of the content analysis and interviews found that both planners and developers consider community-building to be an important objective and attempt to foster community in a variety of ways. Furthermore, despite some of the statements that appear in planning documents or marketing materials, both the planners and developers seem to recognize the limitations of their efforts, which is a finding that is not fully reflected in the literature (Talen, 2000). Planners and developers, however, are interested in community-building at different geographic scales. Planners are most concerned with those elements that help to foster community in the neighbourhood at large. In conjunction with the review of the development application for the Kew, for instance, Surrey’s urban designer (a city employee) requested that Mosaic revise its plans in order to provide habitable space on the first floor of all units fronting 72A Avenue and to provide better pedestrian access to adjacent parks and trails (F. Molina, City of Surrey, personal communication, July 13, 2005). Similarly, with regards to the

Clayton Rise development application, Surrey's urban designer asked that all units along the west property line to have direct access to the adjacent greenway and that all street fronting units have direct pedestrian access to the street (F. Molina, City of Surrey, personal communication, June 24, 2005). Ultimately, planners appear to focus primarily on bridging social networks within the broader neighbourhood, which corresponds with the literature that suggests planners generally subscribe to the contact theory in that diversity fosters tolerance and social solidarity (Perrin & Grant, 2014).

Developers on the other hand tend to be more concerned with elements that help to foster bonding social networks within the complex, which corresponds to the notion that developers are primarily interested in community from a value added perspective (Putnam, 2000; Kunstler, 1996). In addition, while the built form of contemporary townhouse complexes suggests that developers have accepted planning policies, like street facing units, that help to promote interaction between the complex and broader neighbourhood, the results of this study indicate that developers believe that these objectives need to be balanced with the objective of providing some privacy for the future residents. In fact, the Polygon developer stated that a good community had a gradient of private and public spaces.

The importance of privacy to developers is evidenced by the extent to which privacy, and related terms such as 'quiet' and 'tranquility', appear in the marketing materials. A promotional brochure for the Clayton Rise indicates that the complex has a "uniquely private, rural feel" (Townline, n.d.). On its promotional webpage, Pepperwood is described as being "located in a quiet, peaceful with nature, many acreages and farmland nearby, lending a rural feel to the community" (Polygon Realty Limited, 2015).

In some cases planners and developers find themselves at odds over a desire on the part of planners to better integrate townhouse complexes into the neighbourhood and a desire on the part of developers to provide townhouse residents with a certain level of privacy. In the case of the Clayton Rise, the original site plan for the complex proposed that the buildings abutting the gas right-of-way along the north property line be designed to "front" the right-of-way by incorporating front doors with individual pedestrian connections between each unit and the public path (City of Surrey, 2006). When

Townline acquired the site, the developer submitted revised plans proposing rear yards along the gas right-of-way. While Townline and city staff met several times to discuss this interface, rear yards were ultimately built adjacent to the gas right-of-way (City of Surrey, development application files 7907-0291-00, September 13 – October 16, 2007). The Townline developer respondent stated that Townline saw this area as an “opportunity to provide people with some private backyards.” The Townline developer indicated that developers spend a lot of time thinking about such areas along property lines in townhouse complexes, noting that if a “front yard” is provided, the dwelling would not have any private outdoor space (as the other side of the dwelling unit is needed for vehicle parking). The Townline developer suggested that developers want to design projects with an attractive streetscape, which includes front doors and yards, but at the back of the site the developer would rather maximize the utility of the space for the homeowner. Of course increased utility of the space for the homeowner may also translate into increased value of the space for the developer. Planners, on the other hand, according to the Townline developer, are more concerned about maintaining the public experience.

In the case of the Kew, city staff and Mosaic, in the words of the Mosaic developer, “fought” over a public path that was required through the complex that would connect 72A Avenue with a future public trail to the north of the complex. During the interview, the developer indicated that Mosaic was more concerned about the width of the path than the requirement to accommodate public access through the complex. Mosaic was concerned that the public path was too wide and would end up dividing the complex. As such, Mosaic requested that the width of the path be reduced from four metres to two or three metres (L. Zago, Mosaic, personal communication, July 19, 2007), but city staff maintained that the path had to remain four metres in width in order to help the public identify the path as a public path (T. Ulrich, City of Surrey, personal communication, July 20, 2007). City staff also indicated that, to define the entry, a trellis or an arbour was required at the start of the public path on 72A Avenue (J. Malong, City of Surrey, personal communication, May 18, 2006). Ironically, the Mosaic developer indicated that such design elements are often employed to help make public paths through complexes appear private. While the Mosaic developer appreciated the desire to increase pedestrian connectivity via public pathways through townhouse complexes,

the developer stated that privacy and security was a concern. A Surrey planner (S2) also noted that planners generally support public paths or roads through townhouse complexes, but suggested that developers are often resistant due to privacy concerns and the potential loss of units.

In the end, planners and developers both agree that community-building is an important objective, but the objective of planners to integrate townhouse complexes into the broader neighbourhood sometimes conflicts with the objective of developers to provide townhouse residents with a certain level of privacy and maximize the value of the development. Consistent with the literature (Perrin & Grant, 2014), the findings indicate that planners believe that a critical component of a good community is a mix of people and interests. As such, it is not surprising that planners would be most interested in ensuring the integration of the different types of housing within a neighbourhood. Although planners have been criticized for subscribing to the contact theory (Perrin & Grant, 2014), the findings suggest that planners recognize that social interaction and sense of community would likely be higher in a more homogenous community. Thus, while planners think community is important, a neighbourhood that includes a mix of people and provides opportunities for social interaction appears to be more important. As noted by a Langley planner (L1), the mix is part of “a broader social strategy, instead of everybody ghettoizing themselves into communities of one type, [people] have to go out of our comfort zone and meet someone that’s a little bit different than [them].” Developers meanwhile seem to appreciate the importance of mix, but focus their efforts primarily on building community within the complex itself. Consistent with the literature (Rosenblatt et al., 2009), these findings suggest developers believe that community is important given its ability to add value to the development.

As a result, contemporary townhouse developments like the Pepperwood, Kew and Clayton Rise are shaped by both the objectives of planners and developers, which are often negotiated through the development application review process. From a physical sense, townhouses complexes now are both outward and inward oriented; complexes generally include a group of dwelling units that front the street but also include internal dwelling units along with private spaces for the exclusive use of residents. From a legal sense, the strata tenure is necessary to achieve the desired

density to keep townhouses affordable. Both the planners and developers acknowledged that municipal engineering standards often make non-strata multi-family developments, like fee simple row houses, economically unfeasible. The extent to which these physical and legal characteristics might shape the kind of community that actually manifests itself within townhouse complexes is the focus of the remainder of this paper.

4.2. Townhouse Residents

This section of the chapter deals with the lived experiences of the townhouse residents by discussing the kind of community that exists in suburban townhouse developments. This section then considers the extent to which the physical and legal characteristics of these townhouse developments shape this community and concludes by considering the potential impacts of townhouse developments on community in the broader neighbourhood.

4.2.1. Community in Townhouse Complexes

As discussed in the literature review, there are two distinct dimensions of community: social interaction, which refers to an individual's social relationship with their neighbours, and sense of community, which refers to an individual's feelings about their neighbours and their neighbourhood (Talen, 2000). Community in the case study townhouse complexes will be assessed in terms of both of these dimensions, beginning first with social interaction.

Social Interaction

The results of the survey questionnaire for the indicators of social interaction are presented in Tables 4.1 through 4.9. While comparisons between the complexes are constrained by the survey response rate, none of the complexes stand out as exhibiting significantly higher or lower levels of social interaction than another. Residents at the Kew and Clayton Rise appear to know their immediate neighbours (the three or four closest households) better than the residents at the Pepperwood (Tables 4.1 and 4.2), but Pepperwood residents have had other residents over to their home for a visit more

than the residents of the other complexes (Table 4.4). Kew residents have done the most favours for their neighbours (Tables 4.5 and 4.6), but have fewer friends and close friends that live in the complex than residents of the Pepperwood and Clayton Rise (Tables 4.7 and 4.8).

Table 4.1. Frequency of Conversations with Immediate Neighbours

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes	Metro Vancouver
Once a week or more	39.1%	31.3%	66.7%	45.6%	40%
A few times a month	21.7%	31.3%	0%	17.5%	18%
Once a month	4.3%	12.5%	5.6%	7.0%	9%
A few times a year	21.7%	12.5%	27.8%	21.1%	14%
Once a year or never	13.0%	12.5%	0%	8.8%	15%

Metro Vancouver Data Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.2. Residents who Know Names of At Least Two Immediate Neighbours

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes	Metro Vancouver
Yes	65.2%	81.3%	83.3%	75.4%	74%
No	34.8%	18.8%	16.7%	24.6%	24%

Metro Vancouver Data Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.3. Visits at Neighbours' Home in Past Year

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes	Metro Vancouver
Yes	39.1%	31.2%	50.0%	40.4%	26%
No	60.9%	68.8%	50.0%	59.6%	72%

Metro Vancouver Data Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.4. Visits with Neighbours at Home in Past Year

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes	Metro Vancouver
Yes	52.2%	18.7%	38.9%	38.6%	26%
No	47.8%	81.3%	61.1%	61.4%	73%

Metro Vancouver Data Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.5. Taken Care of Mail or Picked Up Newspapers for Neighbours

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes	Metro Vancouver
Yes	30.4%	50%	27.8%	35.1%	41%
No	69.6%	50%	72.2%	64.9%	57%

Metro Vancouver Data Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.6. Neighbours Have Left A Spare Key

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes	Metro Vancouver
Yes	26.1%	31.3%	27.8%	28.1%	28%
No	73.9%	68.8%	72.2%	71.9%	70%

Metro Vancouver Data Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.7. Number of Friends in Complex

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
None	52.2%	75.0%	50%	57.9%
1 – 2	17.4%	12.5%	27.8%	19.3%
3 – 5	17.4%	6.3%	16.7%	14.0%
6 – 10	4.3%	6.3%	0%	3.5%
More than 10	8.7%	0%	5.6%	5.3%

Table 4.8. Number of Close Friends in Complex

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
None	56.5%	75.0%	55.6%	61.4%
1 – 2	30.4%	25.0%	38.9%	31.6%
3 – 5	13.0%	0%	5.6%	7.0%

Given the challenges in comparing the three complexes, coupled with the fact that no complex emerged as having a clear pattern of higher or lower levels of social interaction, it is more useful to analyze the results of the survey as a whole. When the survey results for each complex are combined, it is clear that the levels of social interaction vary widely among townhouse residents. 46 percent of the townhouse residents, for example, talk to their immediate neighbours at least once a week while another 30 percent talk to their immediate neighbours only a few times a year or less

(Table 4.1). 23 percent of the townhouse residents have more than three friends that live in the complex while 58 percent have no friends in the complex (Table 4.7). Chi-square tests of independence, furthermore, indicate that the majority of the indicators of social interaction are significantly related to one another. Having a casual conversation with an immediate neighbour at least once a week, for example, was significantly related to having taken care of the mail or newspaper for a neighbour, $\chi^2 (1, N = 57) = 4.67, p = 0.031$, having visited with a neighbour at least once in the last year, $\chi^2 (1, N = 57) = 18.89, p = 0.000$, and having at least one close friend in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 57) = 29.63, p = 0.000$. Having at least one close friend in the complex was significantly related to both knowing the names of at least two immediate neighbours, $\chi^2 (1, N = 57) = 4.63, p = 0.031$, and having been left a spare key, $\chi^2 (1, N = 57) = 17.08, p = 0.000$. This suggests that there are certain townhouse residents who are much more active than others across a broad range of social behaviours, from casual greetings to strong relationships.

The finding that some townhouse residents are more socially active than others is consistent with the findings of the Vancouver Foundation survey of Metro Vancouver residents in all types of housing conducted in 2012. In cases where the social interaction indicators for this study were the same as those used by the Vancouver Foundation, the results of the Vancouver Foundation survey are included in the summary tables (refer to Tables 4.1 through 4.6). As illustrated by the results of the Vancouver Foundation survey, the extent to which Metro Vancouver residents interact with their neighbours also varies substantially. Remarkably, the combined survey results for the three townhouse complexes and the results of the Vancouver Foundation survey are practically identical, with the notable exception of visits with neighbours. This suggests that social interaction within the three townhouse complexes is similar to social interaction within the region as a whole.

The results of the qualitative interviews corroborate the results of the survey in finding that some townhouse residents are more socially interactive with their neighbours than other residents. A Pepperwood resident (P1) indicated that he got along with his neighbours but has not had any of them over for a social gathering. The same resident

had the impression that other neighbours also got along well with one another and some parts of the complex were particularly social. He estimated that one group of mothers, for example, congregated and socialized almost every second night. This resident noted that parents in different age and ethnic groups seemed to interact with one another and thought that the frequency of social gatherings at the Pepperwood was higher than the single family block where he had grown up.

Similarly, another Pepperwood resident (P2) said that she sees her neighbours a lot but has no friends in the complex. This Pepperwood resident attributes the lack of friendships to both a shortage of time and an absence of commonality with her neighbours, who are slightly older couples with kids. This resident suggested that most of the households in the Pepperwood consisted of relatively young couples with kids. Despite her own personal experiences, this Pepperwood resident felt like a lot of the residents were very social, especially the residents that lived in the blocks that had more children. She suggested that the north end of the complex in particular appeared to be especially close knit. The results of the observations support the sense that residents at the north end of the complex were very social; during most visits to the Pepperwood children were observed playing on the northern strata road while adults (presumably their parents) were observed supervising and socializing nearby. In fact children were frequently observed playing at the Pepperwood, both on the strata roads (playing ball hockey or riding bikes) and on the structured play equipment, and a group of adults were usually nearby, both supervising the children and socializing with one another.

At the Kew, a long-time resident (K1) stated that initially social interaction within the complex was quite low. This resident recalled the poor attendance (approximately 15 people) at organized social events, such as a community barbeque, which were held in the first year after the complex was completed. This resident blamed the lack of children on the low levels of social interaction, noting that the Kew appears to be primarily occupied by young couples and downsizers without children. She suggested that the two bedroom dwelling units at the Kew are not very attractive for young families. This resident, however, suggested that there now appears to be more social interaction within the complex as some of the younger couples have started to have children and that some blocks are very social, particularly where the composition of the residents is

relatively homogenous. One block is so tight knit that when new residents move-in, they are immediately absorbed into the social group, regardless of whether they are owners or renters. With respect to her own experiences, this resident stated that she has friends in the complex given that the residents in her block have been there for quite awhile. Although she does not necessarily have dinner with her neighbours, she speaks with them frequently and, in one case, offered emotional support when a neighbour lost a pet.

A young couple at the Kew (K2 and K3) suggested that they were not sure whether there was a substantial amount of social interaction taking place within the complex. These residents thought that most people at the Kew seemed to keep to themselves. One of the residents (K2) thought there was a lack of “hanging out” space, like a front yard, within the complex where neighbours could meet. He said that he would often see other residents on their balconies but they were too far away to say hello or strike up a conversation. The other resident (K3) thought that they may have made a better effort to meet their neighbours if they were owners or had planned to stay at the Kew for a longer period of time. These renters, however, were looking to buy a home of their own and always considered their time at the Kew to be short-lived.

All of the Clayton Rise residents interviewed indicated that they socialized with their immediate neighbours as well as with other residents in the complex. A young couple (CR4 and CR5), for instance, stated that they knew their immediate neighbours well. Another resident (CR3) considered an immediate neighbour a friend and had other friends that lived in the complex. Another couple with a young child (CR1 and CR2) indicated that neighbours on their block talked often within one another, relied on each other for favours, like borrowing tools and child care, and would get together socially, often quite spontaneously. These residents (CR1 and CR2) felt that social interaction on their block was particularly high given that the majority of the residents were in a similar stage of their life. While these residents thought that they lived “in a good block,” they were aware of other areas in the complex where there were conflicts between neighbours.

In sum, the results of the survey and interviews suggest that the social experiences of townhouse residents vary substantially. Some residents, or perhaps

even blocks within complexes, appear to be very social while others are significantly less social. This condition furthermore does not appear to be any different than the experiences of residents within the Metro Vancouver region at large.

Sense of Community

As detailed in the research methods, sense of community within the three townhouse complexes was assessed by the survey using an abbreviated version of the index developed by Chavis, Lee and Acosta (2008). Out of a possible score of 36, the average sense of community score was 13.3 for the Pepperwood respondents, 12.5 for the Kew respondents and 14.3 for the Clayton Rise respondents (refer to Table 4.9). The Pepperwood had the least variation among the scores and was the only complex where the median score was higher than the mean. The differences among the three complexes however is relatively small. As such, like the indicators for social interaction, it is more practical to analyze the results of the complexes as a whole, especially given the relatively low number of responses available for analysis when considering each complex on its own.

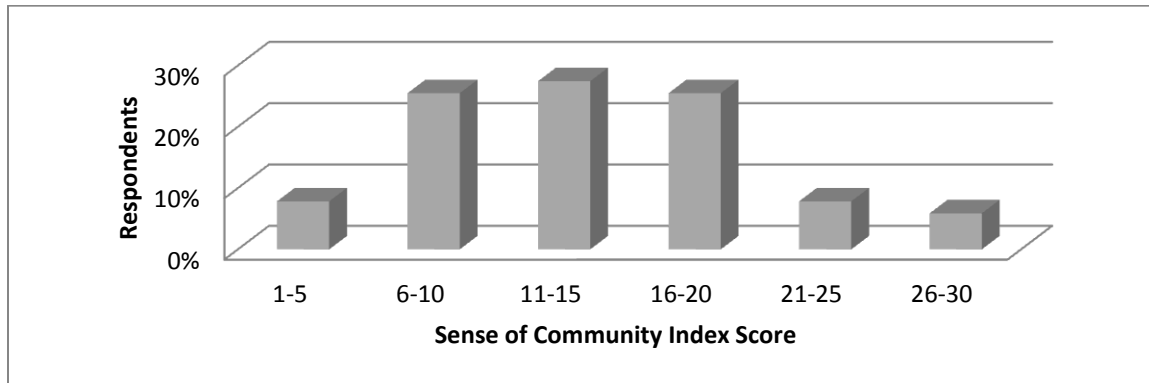
Table 4.9. Sense of Community Index Scores

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Mean	13.3	12.5	14.3	13.4
Median	13.5	11.0	13.0	12.0
Minimum	4	1	2	1
Maximum	24	27	30	30
Standard Deviation	5.5	7.2	7.8	6.7

The average sense of community score for all of the survey respondents was 13.4 and the median score was 12.0. Perhaps the most striking observation from the analysis of the sense of community index scores is the variation amongst the respondents; the lowest score was 1, the highest score was 30 and the standard deviation was 6.7 (refer to Table 4.9). As illustrated in Figure 4.1, the index is skewed such that over 10 percent of the respondents had a score greater than 20. It is noted that this variation is not due to differences among the complexes but rather differences among the residents within each complex. This suggests that, as was the case with

social interaction, feeling a sense of community varies substantially among townhouse residents within the same complex.

Figure 4.1 Sense of Community Index Score Frequencies



The average sense of community score also appears quite low given that it represents only 37 percent of the possible total score. When the results of each statement that comprised the index are assessed individually, however, the notion that the overall sense of community may be low becomes quite ambiguous. Only 5 percent of the respondents, for instance, answered “not at all” to the statement “community members and I value the same things” (Table 4.10). More than half of the respondents thought that their complex has been successful in getting the needs of its members met (Table 4.11). Only 11 percent of the respondents felt convincingly that community members do not care about each other (Table 4.12). Many of the statements, furthermore, appear to be fairly strong indicators of sense of community. It would have been surprising, for example, if the majority of the respondents thought that being a member of the community was part of their identity (Table 4.13).⁴

⁴ Chavis, Lee and Acosta (2008) do not provide any guidance on interpreting the results of the sense of community index apart from how to tally the score.

Table 4.10. Community members and I value the same things

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Not at All	0.0%	13.3%	5.6%	5.4%
Somewhat	73.9%	53.3%	38.9%	57.1%
Mostly	26.1%	26.7%	50.0%	33.9%
Completely	0.0%	6.7%	5.6%	3.6%

Table 4.11. This community has been successful in getting the needs of its members met

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Not at All	4.5%	6.7%	5.6%	5.5%
Somewhat	45.5%	53.3%	33.3%	43.6%
Mostly	50.0%	40.0%	55.6%	49.1%
Completely	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	1.8%

Table 4.12. Members of this community care about each other

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Not at All	9.1%	7.1%	17.6%	11.3%
Somewhat	63.6%	71.4%	35.3%	56.6%
Mostly	27.3%	21.4%	23.5%	24.5%
Completely	0.0%	0.0%	23.5%	7.5%

Table 4.13. Being a member of this community is part of my identity

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Not at All	50.0%	66.7%	61.1%	58.2%
Somewhat	50.0%	20.0%	33.3%	36.4%
Mostly	0.0%	13.3%	0.0%	3.6%
Completely	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	1.8%

Unfortunately the Vancouver Foundation survey, which provided a convenient point of reference for social interaction, did not employ the same sense of community index used for this study. That being said, the Vancouver Foundation survey did include two similar questions to those that comprised the sense of community index. First, the Vancouver Foundation survey asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed

with the following statement: “if there were problems in my neighbourhood, like cars driving too fast or people not taking care of their property, it would be hard to get people to work together to solve them” (Vancouver Foundation, 2012, p. 22). As shown in Table 4.14, 41 percent of the respondents either disagree or strongly disagree that it would be hard to work together to solve a problem. Comparably, 48 percent of the townhouse respondents either completely or mostly thought that if there was a problem in the community, members could get it solved (refer to Table 4.15).

Table 4.14. If there were problems in my neighbourhood, it would be hard to get people to work together to solve them

Strongly Disagree	8%
Disagree	33%
Neither agree or disagree	22%
Agree	23%
Strongly Agree	6%

Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.15. If there is a problem in this community, members can get it solved

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Not at All	13.6%	20.0%	11.8%	14.8%
Somewhat	45.5%	33.3%	29.4%	37.0%
Mostly	36.4%	46.7%	52.9%	44.4%
Completely	4.5%	0.0%	5.9%	3.7%

Second, the Vancouver Foundation survey asked “do you think most people in your neighbourhood trust each other?” (Vancouver Foundation, 2012, p. 23). 52 percent of the respondents thought that most people in the neighbourhood trusted each other (refer to Table 4.16). While not exactly the same question, 48 percent of the respondents to the survey of the three townhouse complexes answered “mostly” or “completely” in response to the statement “I can trust most people in this community” (Table 4.17). It may be concerning that less than half of the townhouse survey respondents felt strongly that they could trust other members of the community, but

these results may not actually be that low relative to the Metro Vancouver region as a whole.

Table 4.16. Do you think most people in your neighbourhood trust each other?

Yes	52%
No	15%
Don't know	32%

Source: Vancouver Foundation, 2012

Table 4.17. I can trust people in this community

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Not at All	4.3%	13.3%	16.7%	10.7%
Somewhat	39.1%	46.7%	38.9%	41.1%
Mostly	56.5%	33.3%	27.8%	41.1%
Completely	0.0%	6.7%	16.7%	7.1%

The results of the qualitative interviews add further ambiguity to the notion that sense of community within the three study complexes is low. The majority of the interviewees felt that their complexes had a strong sense of community. A Pepperwood resident (P1), for example, indicated that he would be able to recognize most people that live on his block. A Clayton Rise resident (CR3) suggested that community bonds have gotten stronger over the past few years now that the complex is more established. According to this resident, members of the Clayton Rise have been successful in coming together to deal with problems such as non-members sneaking into the pool at night. To help reduce property crime in the complex, Clayton Rise residents formed a block watch group.

The same Clayton Rise resident (CR3) also noted that residents are willing to help each other out, recalling that children in the complex often did bottle drives for fundraising purposes. This resident noted that the complex now has more children, which in his opinion has helped to strengthen the sense of community. A Pepperwood resident (P2) also thought the number of children living in the complex helped give the Pepperwood a sense of community, noting that children frequently setup lemon-aid

stands within the complex. The same Kew residents (K2 and K3) that were not sure whether there was a lot of social interaction in the complex thought that its residents nevertheless had a sense of community. According to these residents, sense of community was related to the sense of pride in the community, which was expressed and reinforced by residents that decorated the exterior of their homes for holidays, kept small gardens in their front yards and kept their balconies clean.

Ultimately, despite the seemingly low mean score of the sense of community index, a more detailed analysis of the individual indicators, a review of the findings from a broader Metro Vancouver survey and the results of the qualitative interviews all suggest that the townhouse complexes are not necessarily lacking a sense of community. That being said, the sense of community index did find substantial variation in feeling a sense of community among townhouse residents. In addition, the index found that more than a third of the respondents do not expect at all to be a part of the community for a long time, with only 11 percent of the respondents indicating that they “completely” expect to be part of the community for a long time (refer to Table 4.18). This sentiment was echoed during the qualitative interviews in that every interviewee spoke to the temporariness of living in a townhouse. For all of the interviewees, townhouses represented an affordable housing option and, for the owners, a means to gain some equity in order to eventually buy a single family home. A Kew resident (K1), for instance, stated that a townhouse is more of a starter home as it does not have enough space.

Table 4.18. I expect to be part of this community for a long time

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Not at All	34.8%	40.0%	33.3%	35.7%
Somewhat	26.1%	26.7%	33.3%	28.6%
Mostly	30.4%	20.0%	22.2%	25.5%
Completely	8.7%	13.3%	11.1%	10.7%

The Relationship between Social Interaction and Sense of Community

As discussed in the literature review, social interaction and sense of community are two unique dimensions of community, but they are often positively related to one another. Positive social interactions can maintain a sense of community by enhancing a

feeling of belonging and residents that feel a sense of community are more apt to interact with their neighbours (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). The results of the survey corroborate this literature in finding various relationships between the indicators of social interaction and the sense of community index. To facilitate comparisons between these two dimensions of community, the responses to the social interaction-related questions were regrouped (where necessary) into two groups. The sense of community index furthermore was used to categorize respondents into two groups: those with a sense of community index score below the mean and those with a sense of community index score above the mean.

As shown in the contingency tables that compare the various social interaction indicators to the sense of community indicator (Tables 4.19 – 4.25), the survey respondents with a sense of community index score above the mean are more socially interactive with their immediate neighbours and other residents of the complex than the respondents with a sense of community index score below the mean. It is unclear however whether social interaction or sense of community is the independent variable in this case. As noted in the literature, social interaction can affect sense of community and sense of community can affect social interaction (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990).

Table 4.19. Conversations with Immediate Neighbour and Sense of Community

		Conversation with Neighbour		Total
		At least once a week	Less than once a week	
Sense of Community	Below Mean SoC	35.7%	64.3%	53.8%
	Above Mean SoC	58.3%	41.7%	46.2%
Total		46.2%	53.8%	100%

Table 4.20. Know Names of At Least Two Immediate Neighbours and Sense of Community

		Know Names of At Least 2 Immediate Neighbours		Total
		Yes	No	
Sense of Community	Below Mean SoC	75.0%	25.0%	53.8%
	Above Mean SoC	79.2%	20.8%	46.2%
Total		76.9%	23.1%	100%

Table 4.21. Picked Up Mail or Newspaper for Immediate Neighbours and Sense of Community

		Picked Up Mail or Newspaper		Total
		Yes	No	
Sense of Community	Below Mean SoC	32.1%	67.9%	53.8%
	Above Mean SoC	41.7%	58.3%	46.2%
Total		36.5%	63.5%	100%

Table 4.22. Left Spare Key by Immediate Neighbour and Sense of Community

		Left Spare Key		Total
		Yes	No	
Sense of Community	Below Mean SoC	14.3%	85.7%	53.8%
	Above Mean SoC	45.8%	54.2%	46.2%
Total		28.8%	71.2%	100%

Table 4.23. Social Visits with Residents in Complex and Sense of Community

		Social Visits with Residents in Complex		Total
		At least one in last year	None in last year	
Sense of Community	Below Mean SoC	21.4%	78.6%	53.8%
	Above Mean SoC	79.2%	20.8%	46.2%
Total		48.1%	51.9%	100%

Table 4.24. Friends in Complex and Sense of Community

		Friends in Complex		Total
		At least one	None	
Sense of Community	Below Mean SoC	25.0%	75.0%	53.8%
	Above Mean SoC	66.7%	33.3%	46.2%
Total		44.2%	55.8%	100%

Table 4.25. Close Friends in Complex and Sense of Community

		Friends in Complex		Total
		At least one	None	
Sense of Community	Below Mean SoC	21.4%	78.6%	53.8%
	Above Mean SoC	62.5%	37.5%	46.2%
Total		40.4%	59.6%	100%

Some of the differences between social interaction and sense of community are relatively small and statistically insignificant, but the differences between the indicators of stronger social relationships, such as social visits and friends in the complex, are more pronounced. A chi-square test of independence found a significant relationship between sense of community and having been left a spare key, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 6.27, p = 0.012$, visits with other residents, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 17.26, p = 0.000$, friends in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 9.10, p = 0.003$, and close friends in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 9.06, p = 0.003$. This finding is not unexpected as one would likely have hypothesized that any relationship between social interaction and sense of community would have been strongest for those social interaction indicators that reflect more intense personal relationships. It should also be noted that some social interaction indicators, like a casual conversation with an immediate neighbour, do not indicate whether these interactions were positive or negative. As a negative interaction would likely have a negative effect on sense of community, it makes sense that social interaction indicators that assume a positive relationship would be related to sense of community.

Ultimately, the finding that the survey respondents with a high sense of community are more socially interactive than those with a low sense of community is important given the earlier finding that levels of social interaction and sense of community vary substantially among residents within the townhouse complexes. The relationship between social interaction and sense of community therefore suggests that some townhouse residents experience high levels of both social interaction and sense of community while other residents experience low levels of both social interaction and sense of community. The extent to which the physical and legal characteristics of townhouse complexes help to shape this community is explored in the next section.

4.2.2. Townhouse Characteristics and Community

This research explored a number of ways in which the unique characteristics of contemporary townhouse developments may shape social interaction and sense of community. In many cases though, it was difficult to categorize these characteristics as

purely physical or legal attributes. Common amenities, for instance, are physical spaces but also have legal implications given that they are owned collectively. As such, this section is not organized by physical and legal attributes, but rather around the various themes raised during the research.

Propinquity

When asked about the ways in which they met their immediate neighbours or other residents in the complex, the interviewees primarily spoke about the casual social encounters around the outside of their home. A Pepperwood resident (P1) noted he had met his neighbours simply “in passing.” Another Pepperwood resident (P2) indicated that she sees her neighbours a lot when in the backyard or walking out to the car. A Kew resident (K1) also said she met and interacts with her neighbours after pulling into the driveway or when watering the plants outside. A Clayton Rise resident (CR3) met his neighbours from his back patio and while out front washing his car. A couple at the Kew (K2 and K3) also met their neighbours when they were outside working on their car.

Some of the interviewees thought and explicitly stated that the proximity between neighbours in townhouse complexes has helped them meet and develop friendships with their neighbours. A Clayton Rise couple (CR4 and CR5) spoke about how, in their view, both the “proximity factor” and their dogs (as a conversation starter) helped them get to know their neighbours well. Another Clayton Rise couple (CR1 and CR2) indicated that the “close quarters” had helped them meet and become friends with their neighbours. These residents, who had at one time lived in an apartment, also thought that townhouses provided better opportunities for social interactions because, unlike apartments, townhouses have spaces that facilitate interactions. According to these residents, in townhouses people are outside watering plants in their yards or barbequing on their back decks, which in their opinion were designed to promote social interaction. A Pepperwood resident (P1) also thought that children appeared to have more friends in the complex than he recalls having himself in the single family neighbourhood where he was raised. The Pepperwood resident (P1) attributes this observation to the increased proximity in townhouse developments, noting that he would have had to travel much further as a child to meet and get-together with friends.

Although propinquity is considered an important condition for developing relationships among neighbours (Gans, 1961), previous studies have found that density has been negatively associated with social interaction (Vancouver Foundation, 2012b; Brueckner & Largey, 2008). The results of the qualitative interviews, however, suggest that contemporary townhouse developments, which have higher densities than traditional single family developments, may create opportunities for increased social interaction by putting neighbours in closer proximity while at the same time providing the spatial layout, like small front and rear yards, that facilitate these interactions. Hence, contemporary townhouses may represent an appropriate balance between density, which increases opportunities for social interaction, and outdoor spaces, which facilitate opportunities for social interaction.

Common Property

When asked about their favorite aspects of their complex, several interviewees spoke about the aesthetic of the common property. A Pepperwood resident (P1), for example, indicated that he appreciates the number of trees within the complex. A Kew resident (K1) stated that she likes the landscaping. A younger couple at the Kew (K2 and K3) agreed that the landscaping was well maintained and aesthetically pleasing and also appreciated the architectural design of the buildings within the complex. In fact, these residents thought that the complex's "boutique architecture and landscaping" instilled a sense of pride and community, which corresponds to the literature that found sense of community was related to the overall aesthetic appeal of the physical environment (Rosenblatt et al., 2009).

Some residents however expressed concerns about the aesthetic design of the common property. A survey respondent from the Clayton Rise stated that he or she does not like how uniform all the units are and that he or she would like to see more uniqueness and originality in the buildings. Thus, while the findings suggest that positive feelings about the physical environment might have a positive impact on sense of community, it is clear that not everyone has positive feelings about the common property. Consistent with the literature (Talen, 2000), certain types of physical designs result in certain types of responses for certain people. In addition, a Clayton Rise resident (CR4) complained that the landscapers often left a mess in the common

property. Another Clayton Rise resident (CR3) thought that too much money was being spent on landscaping that just died every year. Goodman and Douglas (2010) noted that sense of community can be undermined where there is conflict over the maintenance of the common property.

Beyond the aesthetics and maintenance of the physical landscape, a unique feature of townhouse developments in comparison to traditional suburban single family developments, is that the area surrounding the dwelling units is shared property. Although many units are assigned limited common property for their exclusive use, these areas, as observed at the three case study complexes, are quite small, particularly in comparison to a backyard on a conventional suburban single family lot. Thus, many activities that had traditionally taken place in a private backyard now take place on common property. During visits to the complexes, children in particular appeared to use the common property frequently for play. At the Clayton Rise, for instance, two boys were observed playing a game of hide-and-seek on the common green. At the Kew, two young boys were observed using the common playground. At the Pepperwood, children were frequently observed playing at both of the common playgrounds.

These observations were supported by the survey, which found that, overall, children played the most at the common playground and on the strata roads (Table 4.26). This was especially the case at the Pepperwood, which also had the highest number of survey respondents with children (Table 4.27) and, based on the observations, where the children appeared to be the oldest. The relatively small private backyards coupled with the availability of common playgrounds within the complex is likely a key explanation for the fact that, overall, children play the most on the common property. The nature of the common property, furthermore, given that it is shared amongst the residents of the complex but not with the public at large may also explain why it may be used frequently by children. According to a Pepperwood resident (P2), the way in which children are able to use the space is different than in a conventional single family neighbourhood. This resident stated that it seems that less parental supervision is required given the sense of enclosure that the complex provides. Another Pepperwood resident (P1) suggested that the complex is a “safe zone” for children and that members of the community provide “lots of eyes.”

Table 4.26. Where do children play the most?

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Common Playground	60.9%	46.7%	11.1%	41.1%
Strata Roads	30.4%	20.0%	5.6%	19.6%
Other	4.3%	6.7%	38.9%	16.1%
Don't Know	4.3%	26.7%	11.1%	12.5%
Backyard	0%	0%	33.3%	10.7%

Table 4.27. Number of Children Per Household Under the Age of 19

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
None	33.3%	60.0%	41.2%	43.4%
One	23.8%	26.7%	22.2%	24.5%
Two	28.6%	13.3%	35.3%	26.4%
Three	14.3%	0%	0%	5.7%

The popularity of the strata roads as a place for children to play may also be explained, at least in part, by the fact that these roads are private. Since these strata roads are not meant to be used by the public at large, traffic is limited to the residents living in the complex and their guests. To prevent unwanted public traffic, “private property” signage is installed at the entryway and the internal road layout was designed to limit connectivity through the site. In addition, the speed limit on the strata roads is 15 km per hour or less, which is substantially lower than the 50 km per hour maximum speed limit on the adjacent public roads, and is enforced not only by the strata council but, according to a Pepperwood resident (P2), by other residents that tell drivers to slow down. Traffic within all the complexes is further calmed by speed bumps. These traffic calmed roads allow children to ride their bikes and scooters throughout the complex relatively freely and safely, as was frequently observed, particularly at the Pepperwood. The private nature of the strata roads also allows them to be used for purposes other than moving vehicles. At the Pepperwood, several games of ball hockey were observed and several of the dwelling units had basketball hoops positioned over the strata roads. While the literature notes that these types of activities are sometimes prohibited on private roads (Grant & Curran, 2007), none of the complexes included in this study appear to prohibit such activities.

For ethical reasons, this study did not survey or interview children to consider their specific experiences. Yet the ways in which children are able to use the common property for play may help explain why sense of community was higher for the survey respondents with children (Table 4.28). While parents may share an emotional connection through their similar experiences as parents, the common property may help to fulfil and reinforce certain needs, namely as a place for their children to play and meet friends. Consistent with the literature (Low, 2003), sense of membership furthermore may be garnered from the boundaries created by the common property, particularly in terms of its use being restricted to members of the community. The sense that the complex is a safe place and that other members of the community are watching out for their children may also help reinforce this feeling of membership.

Table 4.28. Respondents with Children and Sense of Community Index Scores

	Reinforcement of Needs	Membership	Influence	Shared Emotional Connection	Total Sense of Community
With Children	4.6	3.2	3.2	3.5	14.6
Without Children	3.8	2.6	2.8	2.6	11.7
Total	4.3	2.9	3.0	3.1	13.4

With regards to social interaction, in many cases, parents were observed supervising their children and, at the same time, socializing with other parents. At the Pepperwood, two men (likely dads) were observed sitting in lawn chairs and enjoying a beer together while children played around them. Still at the Pepperwood, a group of caregivers were observed socializing while supervising children at the playground. The results of the survey also suggest a positive association between respondents with children and social interaction. A chi-square test of independence found a significant relationship between respondents with children and the frequency of casual conversations with an immediate neighbour, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 5.64, p = 0.018$, the frequency of visits with other residents, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 4.57, p = 0.033$, friends in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 9.09, p = 0.003$, and close friends in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 6.54, p = 0.011$. Given that previous studies on various types of neighbourhoods have found positive associations between the presence of children and social interaction (French et al., 2014; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981), the use of the common property may not

completely account for these associations, but the results of the qualitative interviews and observations suggest that this setting helps to facilitate social interaction among parents.

This study also considered the way in which the common property may shape social interaction and sense of community by exploring possible relationships with the common amenities. As shown in Table 4.29, nearly half of the respondents use a common amenity at least a few times a month. The lower levels of amenity use at the Kew is likely explained by its lack of substantial common amenities, like a fitness centre or pool. Yet even within the Pepperwood and Clayton Rise there is variation in the use of the common amenities. One Clayton Rise couple (CR4 and CR5) for instance noted that they use the fitness centre frequently and having access to this amenity has meant that they do not need a membership at a commercial fitness centre. Another Clayton Rise couple (CR1 and CR2) on the other hand indicated that they do not use the fitness centre or the theatre room at all and rarely use the playground with their young child. A Pepperwood resident (P2) noted that she uses the amenities infrequently because the amenities are too busy. Another Pepperwood resident (P1) also noted that the pool in particular can be quite busy and, therefore, will usually only use the pool during the adult only hours. At the Kew, a young couple (K2 and K3) had thought about signing up for a community garden plot, but ultimately decided against it due to a lack of time. This couple sensed though that there were a surplus of plots available, which is corroborated by Kew notices that advertised vacant plots (Kew – BCS 2268, council meeting minutes, May 27, 2013).

Table 4.29. Frequency of Use of Common Amenities

	Pepperwood	Kew	Clayton Rise	Study Complexes
Everyday	4.3%	6.7%	5.6%	5.4%
A few times a week	39.1%	0%	16.7%	21.4%
Once a week	0%	6.7%	11.1%	5.4%
A few times a month	17.4%	0%	27.8%	16.1%
Once a month	4.3%	0%	5.6%	3.6%
A few times a year	26.1%	6.7%	33.3%	23.2%
Never	8.7%	80%	0%	25.0%

With regards to potential impacts on social interaction, as shown in Tables 4.30 through 4.34, there was a difference between respondents that use the common amenities at least once a week and the frequency of conversations with other residents and social visits as well as with the number of friends and close friends in the complex. None of these associations however were statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 56) = 2.30, p = 0.129$; $\chi^2(1, N = 56) = 0.14, p = 0.712$; $\chi^2(1, N = 56) = 1.75, p = 0.186$; $\chi^2(1, N = 56) = 0.30, p = 0.586$. There was also a non-statistically significant difference between the use of common amenities and knowing the names of at least two immediate neighbours, $p = 0.113$ (Fisher's Exact test), but the difference was opposite than expected (users were less likely to know the names of at least two neighbours) given the results for the other indicators of social interaction.

Table 4.30. Use of Common Amenities and Conversations with another Resident of the Complex

		Conversation with Resident	
		At least once a week	Less than once a week
Use of Amenities	At least once a week	55.6%	44.4%
	Less than once a week	36.8%	63.2%
Total		42.9%	57.1%

Table 4.31. Use of Common Amenities and Know Names of At Least Two Immediate Neighbours

		Know Names of At Least 2 Immediate Neighbours	
		Yes	No
Use of Amenities	At least once a week	61.1%	38.9%
	Less than once a week	81.6%	18.4%
Total		75.0%	25.0%

Table 4.32. Use of Common Amenities and Social Visits with Residents in Complex

		Social Visits with Residents in Complex	
		At least one in last year	None in last year
Use of Amenities	At least once a week	50.5%	50.5%
	Less than once a week	44.7%	55.3%
Total		46.4%	53.6%

Table 4.33. Use of Common Amenities and Friends in Complex

		Friends in Complex	
		At least one	None
Use of Amenities	At least once a week	55.6%	44.4%
	Less than once a week	36.8%	63.2%
Total		42.9%	57.1%

Table 4.34. Use of Common Amenities and Close Friends in Complex

		Friends in Complex	
		At least one	None
Use of Amenities	At least once a week	44.4%	56.6%
	Less than once a week	36.8%	63.2%
Total		39.3%	60.7%

The results of the interviews also paint a blurred picture of the potential impacts of use of the common amenities on social interaction. Some of the interviewees suggested that these amenities could be venues for interaction with other residents and, in some cases, these casual interactions can lead to friendships. A young Clayton Rise couple (CR4 and CR5) for instance indicated that they have met other younger residents at the pool and ended up forming friendships with some of them. A Pepperwood resident stated that he will often bump into neighbours while using the amenities and will engage in casual conversations, but these encounters have not led to any friendships. Similarly, a Kew resident (K1) stated that when her children were younger and used the common playground, she did not make any friends there. That being said, this resident also noted that there were no other families with young children living in the complex at that time.

It is also important to note that each complex has a clubhouse that can be booked by residents for private events. A Pepperwood resident (P2) had booked the clubhouse for a bridal shower while a Clayton Rise couple (CR4 and CR5) had booked the clubhouse for an engagement party. Thus, while private events at the clubhouse would certainly contribute the number of times the common amenities are used, these events would not provide opportunities for social encounters with other residents. Overall, the findings suggest that the common amenities do not have a significant impact

on social interaction, which is consistent with the findings of previous studies (Rosenblatt et al., 2009).

Similar to the survey results for social interaction, there was a difference between respondents that use the common amenities at least once a week and sense of community (Table 4.35), but the difference was small and statistically insignificant, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 0.14, p = 0.711$. Interestingly, the association between satisfaction with amenities and sense of community was both positive and significant, $\chi^2 (1, N = 51) = 4.21, p = 0.040$, which suggests positive feelings about the amenities are more important for sense of community than actual use of the amenities (Table 4.36). This finding is consistent with previous studies that have suggested positive feelings that residents have towards the physical environment, including its amenities, can positively affect sense of community (Goodman & Douglas, 2010; Rosenblatt et al., 2009).

Table 4.35. Use of Common Amenities and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Use of Amenities	At least once a week	50.0%	50.0%
	Less than once a week	44.4%	55.6%
Total		46.2%	53.8%

Table 4.36. Satisfaction with Common Amenities and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Satisfaction with Amenities	Very Satisfied	60.9%	39.1%
	Somewhat Satisfied or Unsatisfied	32.1%	67.9%
Total		45.1%	54.9%

In the end, the common property appears to provide a setting for community-building, but the lack of any significant associations with the use of the common amenities suggests the importance of other variables, such as the presence of children. Furthermore, while the nature of the common property as private property creates unique opportunities for social interaction, through the use of strata roads for ball hockey for example, it also controls with whom this interaction occurs given that access is

restricted to residents only. Scholars have suggested that this is a significant concern with common interest developments like townhouse complexes since it prevents strangers from coming into contact with one another (Sennett, 1977). Yet the townhouse complex replaces the large private backyards from the conventional post-war suburb with common spaces, which, by their nature and intent, are shared with other residents. There was no evidence from the survey or qualitative interviews, moreover, which suggests residents of these complexes chose to live in a townhouse community in order to avoid people who are different than them.

Strata

The common property necessitates a system for managing and maintaining this asset for the benefit of all of the owners. In the case of townhouse developments in BC, this responsibility is borne by the strata corporation, which is composed of all of the owners of the strata lots (Province of British Columbia, n.d.). The strata corporation offers every townhouse owner automatic membership in a community that is bound by both a clearly defined geography and the common interest in managing the complex. Unlike conventional suburban developments where the boundaries between blocks and even neighbourhoods are often indistinguishable, townhouse complexes create a community with clear boundaries and a clear group of members. For some residents, this kind of community presents an opportunity for social interaction with the other residents. At the Clayton Rise, for example, a Facebook page was created for the residents of the complex, which, according to one resident (CR2), was established to promote social interaction. This resident (CR2) indicated that she has used the Facebook page to organize events at the clubhouse and spread the word about impromptu get-togethers. It seems that the only prerequisite to being a member of the Facebook page is being a member of the Clayton Rise complex. While the Kew does not appear to have a Facebook page for its residents, a resident (K1) noted that on one occasion a young couple hosted a Halloween party at the clubhouse with pizza and drinks and invited all of the residents of the complex as a way to strengthen the community. Although the clubhouse accommodated this party by providing a physical venue, the nature of the townhouse community provided an easily identifiable group of party guests. Back at the Clayton Rise, a resident (CR3) indicated that some residents of the complex have formed a block watch due to an increase in property crime and

vandalism. Again, and consistent with the literature (Barton and Silverman, 1994), the nature of the townhouse community appears to have helped with the formation of the block watch in that it provides a clear pool of potential block watch members.

Interestingly, all of the above initiatives were undertaken by individual residents rather than the strata council itself, which illustrates a common theme that was raised by most of the interviewees: the primary and perhaps only purpose of the strata council is to manage and maintain the complex. As one Pepperwood resident (P1) put it, the strata council is there “to ensure the community remains reasonable.” None of the strata councils at the case study complexes organized social events for its residents, even though some of the residents thought that the council should be charged with organizing such events. A Kew couple (K2 and K3), for instance, indicated that they would have attended social events if the strata council had organized them. A Clayton Rise resident (CR3) stated that he would like to see strata organized community barbeques and garage sales, noting that complexes that sell have a good sense of community. Yet at the beginning, the Clayton Rise had an event coordinator that organized a number of social events ranging from kids crafts to ladies nights (Clayton Rise – BCS 3748, October 2013 calendar, n.d.). The services of that event coordinator were ultimately suspended though (Clayton Rise – BCS 3748, notice to all residents, n.d.) due, according to a resident (CR1), to low attendance. This resident (CR1) also recalls that some residents complained that strata fees were being used for an event coordinator. Another Clayton Rise resident (CR2) thought that the event coordinator would have had more success if the position was held by someone from the complex, noting that it would have been more “grass roots” that way and that community cannot be forced. Ultimately, the strata councils examined as part of this study did not organize social events, which is inconsistent with the practices of other common interest developments that have been examined in the literature (Carona, 2014).

Even though the strata councils at the Pepperwood, Kew and Clayton Rise have limited their functions to the maintenance and management of the complex, it is possible that even these basic functions may help shape community. With regards to the maintenance of the common property, all three of the complexes have contracted the regular landscape maintenance to private landscape companies. It is possible that the

maintenance provided by the strata may cause townhouse residents to spend less time outdoors and therefore reduce opportunities for social interaction. Previous studies have suggested that outdoor maintenance activities, like gardening, could provide opportunities for unplanned encounters with neighbours (Brueckner & Largey, 2008). Despite the maintenance provided by the strata though, the observations found that many residents still maintain small gardens or flower pots in their yards and the results of the interviews suggest that the maintenance of these gardens and pots has led to casual social interactions with neighbours. In addition, townhouse residents may actually have more time to socialize with their neighbours since they are not required to spend time maintaining the exterior of their dwellings or their yards. Indeed, the observations at the Pepperwood in particular suggest that many of the residents have ample time to spend outdoors socializing with their neighbours.

With regards to the management of the complex, all three townhouse complexes have a similar suite of rules and bylaws that pertain to the common property. The Kew bylaws, for example, state that no major repairs of motor vehicles is permitted on the common property and that all animals must be leashed when on the common property (Kew – BCS2268, bylaws, November 6, 2014). At the Pepperwood, the bylaws prohibit residents from parking in the designated visitor parking spaces (Pepperwood – BCS 2219, bylaws, December 19, 2014) and it appears that the complex is regularly patrolled by the caretaker (Arbour Club, committee meeting minutes, August 21, 2014). In addition to the bylaws, both the Pepperwood and Clayton Rise have a separate set of rules for the swimming pool (Arbour Club, pool and hot tub rules, n.d.; Clayton Rise – BCS 3748, notice to all residents, July 17, 2014). At the Clayton Rise, only two guests are permitted in the pool and there are specific hours reserved for residents over the age of 18.

The strata bylaws, however, extend beyond the common property, pertaining also to the limited common property and individual strata lots or dwellings. The bylaws at the Kew, for instance, prohibit smoking and the hanging of laundry on the patio, restrict the type of barbeques that may be used, regulate the colour of window coverings, limit the time of year when Christmas lights may be displayed and require residents to wash their patios at least once a year (Kew – BCS2268, bylaws, November

6, 2014). At the Pepperwood, the number and type of pets that may be kept on a strata lot is regulated and a maximum of 10 percent of all of the units may be rented to tenants (Pepperwood – BCS 2219, bylaws, December 19, 2014). To remind residents about certain bylaws, strata councils or the property managers often circulate notices. A Clayton Rise notice, for example, reminding residents to clean up after their pets stated that “cleaning up after your pets in a timely fashion is also appreciated by all residents in order to maintain visual appeal in this close quarters living setup.”

Consistent with the literature (Grant and Curran, 2007), this study found that townhouse residents are subject to more regulations than municipal bylaws. While it seems that the purpose of these rules and bylaws is to reduce potential conflicts within the complex, of the survey respondents that indicated they would prefer to live in a single family dwelling because it has no strata, 57 percent indicated that they do not like the strata rules and bylaws. One resident (CR1) suggested that the bylaws are so pervasive that you do not even feel like an owner when living in a strata. These findings challenge some recent literature (Carona, 2014), which suggests that the rules in common interest developments are not as extensive as previous scholars had claimed and that many homeowners associations are actually quite reasonable. Carona (2014) cites the example of some homeowners associations being more open to the installation of satellite dishes on the exterior of the dwellings given that they are no longer as large as they were in the past. However, in 2014 the strata council at the Kew denied a request by a resident to install a satellite dish on the exterior of the dwelling as it would alter the “uniformity” of the complex (Kew – BCS 2268, council meeting minutes, March 24, 2014).

With regards to the potential implications of these bylaws and rules on community, the results of the survey revealed a difference in sense of community between respondents that indicated they do not like strata living because of the rules and respondents that did not indicate they do not like strata living because of the rules (Table 4.37). The difference between the two groups though is statistically insignificant, $p = 0.473$ (Fisher’s Exact test).

Table 4.37. Views towards Strata Rules and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Strata Rules	Dislikes Strata Rules	31.6%	68.4%
	Does Not Dislike Strata Rules	46.2%	53.8%
Total		37.5%	62.5%

Note: The difference between 'Above Mean SoC' and 'Below Mean SoC' is more pronounced in this case due to missing data. Only 32 responses are included in this table given that the survey question about strata rules was only available to respondents that indicated they would prefer a single family dwelling for no strata.

The results of the content analysis indicate that strata councils devote a significant proportion of their regular meetings to dealing with complaints and bylaw contraventions. These findings are corroborated by the results of the survey, which found 32 percent of the respondents had received a complaint from the strata council or property manager. Yet, in terms of the community implications, having received a complaint was not significantly associated with a lower sense of community, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 0.25, p = 0.616$, (Table 4.38).

Table 4.38. Complaints from Strata and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Received a complaint	Yes	41.2%	58.8%
	No	48.6%	51.4%
Total		46.2%	53.8%

It was suggested in the literature that a community that allows its residents to resolve its problems through complaints to the strata council rather than having to engage their neighbours directly may have lower levels of social interaction (Lang & Danielsen, 1997). 54 percent of the survey respondents after all indicated that they had submitted a complaint to the strata council or property manager. While the results of the survey did find a difference between respondents that had submitted a complaint to the strata council and those that did not in terms of conversations with immediate neighbours, the results were opposite than hypothesized. In fact, respondents that had submitted a complaint were more likely to have a casual conversation with a neighbour

at least once a week than those that had not submitted a complaint (Table 4.39). Similarity, respondents that had submitted a complaint were more likely to have visited other residents in the past year and were more likely to have at least one friend in the complex (Tables 4.40 and 4.41). In all cases though, the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant, $\chi^2 (1, N = 56) = 1.24, p = 0.266$; $\chi^2 (1, N = 56) = 0.33, p = 0.565$; and $\chi^2 (1, N = 56) = 1.35, p = 0.246$.

Table 4.39. Complaints to Strata and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour

		Conversation with Neighbour	
		At least once a week	Less than once a week
Submitted a complaint	Yes	53.3%	46.7%
	No	38.5%	61.5%
Total		46.4%	53.6%

Table 4.40. Complaints to Strata and Social Visits with Residents

		Social Visits with Residents in Complex	
		At least one in last year	None in last year
Submitted a complaint	Yes	50.0%	50.0%
	No	42.3%	57.7%
Total		46.4%	53.6%

Table 4.41. Complaints to Strata and Friends in Complex

		Friends in Complex	
		At least one	None
Submitted a complaint	Yes	50%	50%
	No	34.6%	65.4%
Total		46.2%	53.8%

These survey results could support the notion that complaints allow residents to avoid the negative aspects of neighbouring and, thus, have overall better relationships with their neighbours (Carona, 2014), but it is important to note that residents that have lived at the complex longer were more likely to have submitted a complaint. Longer residents furthermore were more likely to have visited other residents in the past year and were more likely to have at least one friend in the complex. This obfuscates any

potential association between complaints and social interaction, especially given that there was no difference for respondents that had submitted a complaint in terms of overall sense of community (Table 4.42).

Table 4.42. Complaints to Strata and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Submitted a complaint	Yes	46.4%	53.6%
	No	45.8%	54.2%
Total		46.2%	53.8%

In addition, despite the number of survey respondents that indicated they had submitted or received a complaint, the results of the interviews suggest that not all residents will immediately submit a complaint to the strata council when there is a problem. A Clayton Rise couple (CR1 and CR2) stated that they usually talk to their neighbour first before submitting a complaint to the strata council. Similarly, a Pepperwood resident (P1) stated that he will talk to his neighbour about noise rather than complain to the strata council. These findings add further ambiguity to the notion that townhouse residents may have lower levels of social interaction with their neighbours given that problems can be resolved through complaints to the strata council.

According to one resident at the Clayton Rise (CR3), the strata governance model can actually help strengthen a community since residents are able to get together and suggest improvements. In accordance with the Strata Property Act, the strata corporation is required to hold a general meeting every year (Strata Property Act of 1998, 2014). The content analysis of the strata minutes though found that attendance at the annual general meeting (AGM) is usually low. The AGM at the Pepperwood in 2014 for example was only attended by 18 residents (plus 3 others by proxy) out of the 157 dwelling units (Pepperwood – BCS 2219, annual general meeting minutes, October 28, 2014). When asked about the AGM, a Pepperwood resident (P1) noted that he has never attended the AGM as he “finds things are being run reasonably well.” A Kew resident (K1) noted that she has no time to attend strata council meeting and feels that she does not have a lot to contribute. This resident prefers to just email the property manager if there is a problem. A Clayton Rise resident (CR4) similarly indicated that

time constraints keep him from attending strata meetings, but also suggested that he finds the strata model somewhat foreign since he had grown up in a single family home. Like the Kew resident, this Clayton Rise resident prefers to just email the property manager or strata council if there is a problem. These findings support the notion that common interest developments do not guarantee participation (Blandy & Lister, 2005).

Despite the low attendance, in terms of a potential association between attending the AGM and social interaction, the results of the survey indicate that respondents who normally attend the AGM were more likely to have a conversation with an immediate neighbour at least once a week, to have visited with another resident in the past year and to have at least one friend in the complex (Tables 4.43 through 4.45). None of these associations however were statistically significant, $\chi^2 (1, N = 56) = 0.88, p = 0.346$; $\chi^2 (1, N = 56) = 0.88, p = 0.346$; and $\chi^2 (1, N = 56) = 0.55, p = 0.457$ respectively. Like the survey results for social interaction, respondents that normally attend the AGM were more likely to feel a stronger sense of community (Table 4.46), but the association was not statistically significant, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 0.95, p = 0.330$.

Table 4.43. Attend AGM and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour

		Conversation with Neighbour	
		At least once a week	Less than once a week
Usually attend AGM	Yes	55.6%	44.4%
	No	42.1%	57.9%
Total		46.4%	53.6%

Table 4.44. Attend AGM and Social Visits with Residents

		Social Visits with Residents in Complex	
		At least one in last year	None in last year
Usually attend AGM	Yes	55.6%	44.4%
	No	42.1%	57.9%
Total		46.4%	53.6%

Table 4.45. Attend AGM and Friends in Complex

		Friends in Complex	
		At least one	None
Usually attend AGM	Yes	50.0%	50.0%
	No	39.5%	60.5%
Total		42.9%	57.1%

Table 4.46. Attend AGM and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Usually attend AGM	Yes	56.3%	43.8%
	No	41.7%	58.3%
Total		46.2%	53.8%

The results of the survey were also used to explore potential associations between participating on the strata council or a strata committee and social interaction and sense of community. As shown in Tables 4.47 through 4.49, respondents that are currently or were previously members of the strata council or a strata committee were less likely to have a conversation with an immediate neighbour at least once a week but slightly more likely to have visited with another resident in the past year and to have at least one friend in the complex. None of the associations were statistically significant, $p = 0.715$, $p = 1.000$, and $p = 0.707$ respectively (Fisher's Exact test). The relatively small differences between the two groups, the low number of respondents that were currently or were previously members of the strata council or a strata committee (8), and the finding that strata council or committee membership was significantly associated with years of residence ($p = 0.050$) all complicate any possible claims about a relationship between strata council or committee membership and social interaction. That being said, one of the interviewees (CR1), who was a previous strata council member, indicated that he did become friends with another council member, noting that they were able to talk about strata issues together. This Clayton Rise resident (CR1) stated that he originally ran for the strata council because he wanted to be involved with the important decisions about the complex. He quickly realized though that the issues that strata council deals with are quite "nit-picky" and he eventually quit the strata council because he had lost interest.

Table 4.47. Strata Council or Committee Member and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour

		Conversation with Neighbour	
		At least once a week	Less than once a week
Member (Past or Present)	Yes	37.6%	62.5%
	No	46.8%	53.2%
Total		45.5%	54.5%

Table 4.48. Strata Council or Committee Member and Social Visits with Residents

		Social Visits with Residents in Complex	
		At least one in last year	None in last year
Member (Past or Present)	Yes	50.0%	50.0%
	No	44.7%	55.3%
Total		45.5%	54.5%

Table 4.49. Strata Council or Committee Member and Friends in Complex

		Friends in Complex	
		At least one	None
Member (Past or Present)	Yes	50.0%	50.0%
	No	40.4%	59.6%
Total		41.8%	58.2%

In terms of sense of community, respondents that are currently or were previously members of the strata council or a strata committee are likely to feel a stronger sense of community than the other respondents (Table 4.50). Again, the association was not statistically significant, $p = 0.451$, thus it is difficult to make any substantive claims about a possible relationship between being a member of strata council and sense of community, especially given that only 8 survey respondents were current or previous members. Ultimately, participation in the management of the complex does not appear to have a significant impact on community, which is consistent with the findings of previous studies (Blandy & Lister, 2005).

Table 4.50. Strata Council or Committee Member and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Member (Past or Present)	Yes	62.5%	37.5%
	No	44.2%	55.8%
Total		47.1%	52.9%

Overall, these results do not present any convincing evidence that strata living helps to foster community in a substantive way. Despite the fact that living in a strata means that all of the residents are automatically members of a community tied to a specific place and bound by a common interest, the findings suggest that the strata council is a utilitarian entity, concerned primarily with maintaining and managing the complex, not building community. While the experiences of a former strata council member suggest that direct involvement with the strata can lead to friendships, the quantitative analysis did not find any significant associations between involvement with the strata and social interaction or sense of community. Given that so few residents appear to attend strata council meetings or serve as members of the council or a committee, it is hard to conceive that these experiences bring a large number of residents together in a substantive way.

4.2.3. Resident Characteristics and Community

The lack of any statistically significant relationships between the physical and legal characteristics of the townhouse complexes and the indicators of social interaction and sense of community suggests the potential influence of other variables. As discussed in the literature review, previous studies have found that both demographic variables (Talen, 2000) and personal attitudes (Lund, 2003) can affect the relationship between the environment and behaviour.

Demographic Variables

The survey collected data on a number of demographic variables to help illustrate the composition of residents in each townhouse complex and consider the potential influence of these variables on community. The results for these demographic variables are shown in Table 4.51 along with the census data, where applicable, for

comparison purposes. The survey response rate likely explains the difference between the survey data and the census data for some of the variables, such as sex. The differences between the survey and census data for age and marital status however were corroborated by the observations and qualitative interviews. In fact, all of the interviewees (P1, P2, K1, K2, K3, CR4 and CR5) that were asked about their perceptions on the demographics in the complex thought that each complex was composed primarily of younger couples, many with young children. Some of the interviewees (K1, CR4 and CR5) also noted that “downsizers” or retirees appear to be living in the complex as well, but when the results of the survey, interviews and observations are considered as a whole, the primary demographic in the case study complexes appears to be younger couples (either married or common law), many of which have children.

The finding that the townhouse complexes are composed primarily of younger couples with children is not surprising given that townhouses offer similar amenities to a single family dwelling at a more affordable price. In fact, affordability was cited as the number one reason for choosing to live in a townhouse (Table 4.52) and more than half of the owners surveyed were first time buyers. The results of the qualitative interviews, furthermore, suggest that this fairly homogenous demographic helps to foster social interaction for those residents that fit into that demographic. A young Clayton Rise couple (CR4 and CR5) noted that they had met other residents at the pool, but the residents that they ended up visiting with at their home were other young couples. Another younger Clayton Rise couple (CR1 and CR2) stated that having “good neighbours” in a “similar stage of life” was one of their favorite aspects of living at the Clayton Rise. For these residents, the similarities they shared with their neighbours made it easier to find a babysitter and organize social gatherings. For the residents that did not fit into that demographic, some felt that their interaction with other residents was hindered. A young Pepperwood resident (P2) for instance stated that she does not have very much in common with her neighbours since they are generally older and have children. A Kew resident (K1) indicated that her children did not make any friends since they were initially the only children that lived in the complex and are now much older than the other children.

Table 4.51. Demographic Variables, comparison of survey results and Census

VARIABLE		P	K	CR	SC	C	Y	S	LT	MV
Sex	Male	19.0%	13.3%	29.4%	20.8%	49.2%	50.2%	49.5%	49.0%	48.9%
	Female	81.0%	86.7%	70.6%	79.2%	50.8%	49.8%	50.5%	51.0%	51.1%
Age	19 to 24*	4.8%	0%	0%	1.9%	9.8%	9.8%	9.0%	8.1%	8.8%
	25 to 34	42.9%	46.7%	47.1%	45.3%	34.6%	21.5%	18.6%	14.8%	18.2%
	35 to 44	33.3%	26.7%	35.3%	32.1%	24.6%	25.5%	19.6%	19.0%	18.8%
	45 to 54	14.3%	6.7%	17.6%	13.2%	15.7%	20.6%	20.5%	22.3%	20.6%
	55 to 64	4.8%	13.3%	0%	5.7%	9.5%	14.0%	16.0%	17.8%	16.3%
	65 to 74	0%	6.7%	0%	1.9%	3.9%	6.3%	9.3%	10.1%	9.2%
First Language	English	90.5%	100%	70.6%	86.8%	79.7%	54.8%	74.9%	84.0%	58.5%
	Not English	9.5%	0%	29.4%	13.2%	20.3%	45.2%	25.1%	16.0%	41.5%
Marital Status	Single	5.0%	20.0%	11.8%	11.5%	26.0%	27.7%	26.5%	24.6%	30.0%
	Married	90.0%	60.0%	52.9%	69.2%	52.0%	57.1%	55.4%	54.9%	49.5%
	Common Law	5.0%	20.0%	17.6%	13.5%	11.7%	6.8%	5.5%	7.4%	6.9%
	Divorced or Separated	0%	0%	11.8%	3.8%	8.5%	6.6%	7.7%	8.2%	8.6%
	Other	0%	0%	5.9%	1.9%	1.9%	1.8%	4.9%	5.0%	5.0%
Children	Households with Children	66.7%	30.0%	58.8%	56.6%	49.1%	57.1%	61.3%	50.1%	44.9%
Years of Residence	Less than 1	23.8%	0%	5.9%	11.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1 to 2	9.5%	20.0%	5.9%	11.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	2 to 3	14.3%	0%	29.4%	15.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	3 to 4	0%	13.3%	23.5%	11.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	4 to 5	14.3%	13.3%	35.3%	20.8%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	More than 5	38.1%	53.3%	0%	30.2%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tenure	Own	71.4%	73.3%	100%	81.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Rent	28.6%	26.7%	0%	18.9%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

P=Pepperwood; K=Kew; CR=Clayton Rise; SC=Study Complexes; C=Clayton; Y=Yorkson; S=City of Surrey; LT=Langley Township; MV=Metro Vancouver; Source: Statistics Canada, 2011; *20 to 24 for Census Data

Table 4.52. Reasons for Choosing to Live in a Townhouse

Affordability	90.6%
Less Maintenance	49.1%
Garage	45.3%
Common Amenities	32.1%
Backyard	26.4%
Sense of Community	13.2%

The results of the survey support the idea that young couples with children are more socially interactive than other residents. A chi-square test of independence found that respondents that were between the age 25 to 44, were either married or in a common law relationship and had children were significantly more likely to have a casual conversation with an immediate neighbour at least once a week, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 5.04, p = 0.025$, and were significantly more likely to have at least one friend in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 7.45, p = 0.006$ (Tables 4.53 and 4.54). In addition, these residents were also significantly more likely have a higher sense of community score than other residents, $\chi^2 (1, N = 48) = 5.19, p = 0.023$ (Table 4.55).

Table 4.53. Younger Couples with Children and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour

	Conversation with Neighbour	
	At least once a week	Less than once a week
25 to 44, Married or Common Law with Children	68.2%	31.8%
All other respondents	36.7%	63.3%
Total	50.0%	50.0%

Table 4.54. Younger Couples with Children and Friends in Complex

	Friends in Complex	
	At least one	None
25 to 44, Married or Common Law with Children	68.2%	31.8%
All other respondents	30.0%	70.0%
Total	46.2%	53.8%

Table 4.55. Younger Couples with Children and Sense of Community

	Sense of Community	
	Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
25 to 44, Married or Common Law with Children	63.6%	36.4%
All other respondents	30.8%	69.2%
Total	45.8%	54.2%

To consider the effect of length of residence on social interaction and sense of community, Tables 4.56 through 4.58 compare years of residence to conversations with an immediate neighbour, friends in the complex and sense of community. The longer-term residents were slightly more likely to have a casual conversation with an immediate neighbour at least once a week and have at least one friend in the complex than newer residents. Interestingly, longer-term residents were slightly more likely to have a lower sense of community than newer residents. None of the relationships though were statistically significant ($\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 0.17, p = 0.678$; $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 0.96, p = 0.328$; and $\chi^2 (1, N = 49) = 0.15, p = 0.698$ respectively).

Table 4.56. Years of Residence and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour

		Conversation with Neighbour	
		At least once a week	Less than once a week
Years of Residence	Less than 4 years	46.2%	53.8%
	4 years or more	51.9%	48.1%
	Total	49.1%	50.9%

Table 4.57. Years of Residence and Friends in Complex

		Friends in Complex	
		At least one	None
Years of Residence	Less than 4 years	38.5%	61.5%
	4 years or more	51.9%	48.1%
	Total	45.3%	54.7%

Table 4.58. Years of Residence and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Years of Residence	Less than 4 years	47.8%	52.2%
	4 years or more	42.3%	57.7%
Total		44.9%	55.1%

Longer-term residents furthermore were less likely to see themselves staying in the community for a long time (Table 4.59), an association that was statistically significant, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 5.85, p = 0.016$. The survey also found a positive and statistically significant association between the expectation to stay in the complex for a long time and sense of community, $\chi^2 (1, N = 52) = 13.32, p = 0.000$ (Table 4.60). While a low sense of community may persuade residents to leave the complex, the results of the qualitative interviews suggest that plans to leave the complex may discourage participation in community life. A Kew couple (K2 and K3), for instance, indicated that they were not particularly active in the community given that they planned to move away in the near future.

Table 4.59. Years of Residence and Plans to Stay in the Complex

		Plan to Stay In Complex	
		Not At All and Somewhat	Mostly and Completely
Years of Residence	Less than 4 years	50.0%	50.0%
	4 years or more	81.5%	18.5%
Total		66.0%	34.0%

Table 4.60. Plans to Stay in the Complex and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Plan to Stay in Complex	Not At All and Somewhat	28.6%	71.4%
	Mostly and Completely	82.4%	17.6%
Total		46.2%	53.8%

Note: The sense of community index in this case excludes the “I expect to be part of this community for a long time” indicator.

Personal Attitudes

To consider the way in which personal attitudes may shape community, the survey questionnaire asked respondents how important it was for them to feel a sense of community with other members of the community. 81 percent of the respondents indicated that it was “important” or “somewhat important” for them to feel a sense of community (Table 4.61). Tables 4.62 through 4.64 compare the importance of feeling a sense of community to conversations with an immediate neighbour, friends in the complex and sense of community. As illustrated by these contingency tables, there is indeed a difference between the importance of feeling a sense of community and these indicators. A likelihood ratio test furthermore revealed that the positive association between these variables is statistically significant ($\chi^2 (2, N = 53) = 6.53 p = 0.038$; $\chi^2 (2, N = 53) = 8.08 p = 0.018$; and $\chi^2 (2, N = 49) = 7.00 p = 0.030$ respectively).

Table 4.61. Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community

Important	26.4%
Somewhat Important	54.7%
Not Important	18.9%

Table 4.62. Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community and Conversations with Immediate Neighbour

		Conversation with Neighbour	
		At least once a week	Less than once a week
Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community	Important	71.4%	28.6%
	Somewhat Important	48.3%	51.7%
	Not Important	20.0%	80.0%
	Total	49.1%	50.9%

Table 4.63. Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community and Friends in Complex

		Friends in Complex	
		At least one	None
Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community	Important	64.3%	35.7%
	Somewhat Important	48.3%	51.7%
	Not Important	10.0%	90.0%
	Total	45.3%	54.7%

Table 4.64. Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community and Sense of Community

		Sense of Community	
		Above Mean SoC	Below Mean SoC
Importance of Feeling a Sense of Community	Important	64.3%	35.7%
	Somewhat Important	46.2%	53.6%
	Not Important	11.1%	88.9%
	Total	44.9%	55.1%

These survey results were also corroborated by the results of the qualitative interviews. A Pepperwood resident (P1) remarked that those residents that wanted to be involved in the community were involved in the community. A Clayton Rise resident (CR2) described herself as a “social person” and, as such, wanted to be more involved in the community through, for example, the organization of social events at the clubhouse. Ultimately, the results of this study are consistent with other studies (Lund, 2003) in finding that personal attitudes have an important impact on behaviour.

4.2.4. The Broader Neighbourhood

As discussed in the literature, it has been suggested that townhouse complexes, with their self-sustaining elements like the common amenities, can fragment community in the broader neighbourhood by reducing the need for residents to engage the broader neighbourhood (Laven, 2008). This study, however, did not find evidence that townhouse residents are withdrawn or exclude themselves from the broader neighbourhood. As shown in Tables 4.65 and 4.66, the survey respondents had more friends and close friends in the broader neighbourhood than in the complex itself. 44 percent of the survey respondents had 3 or more friends in the neighbourhood compared to 23 percent that had 3 or more friends in the complex. Although the broader neighbourhood is much larger than the complex itself and, thus, provides a larger pool of potential friends, the survey also found that respondents use neighbourhood amenities more frequently than they use the common amenities in the complex (Table 4.67). In fact, only 4 percent of the survey respondents had never used a neighbourhood amenity, like a park or trail, compared to 25 percent of the survey respondents that had never used an amenity in the complex.

Table 4.65. Number of Friends

	Friends in Complex	Friends in Neighbourhood
More than 10	5.3%	3.8%
6 – 10	3.5%	5.7%
3 – 5	14.0%	34.0%
1 – 2	19.3%	13.2%
None	57.9%	43.4%

Table 4.66. Number of Close Friends

	Friends in Complex	Friends in Neighbourhood
6 – 10	0%	1.9%
3 – 5	7.0%	17.0%
1 – 2	31.6%	32.1%
None	61.4%	49.1%

Table 4.67. Frequency of Amenity Use

	Common Amenities	Neighbourhood Amenities
Everyday	5.4%	22.6%
A few times a week	21.4%	37.7%
Once a week	5.4%	9.4%
A few times a month	16.1%	15.1%
Once a month	3.6%	5.7%
A few times a year	23.2%	5.7%
Never	25.0%	3.8%

The results of the qualitative interviews also illustrate the way in which townhouse residents engage the broader neighbourhood. A Pepperwood resident (P2) stated that she frequently used trails in the neighbourhood to go for a run or to walk the dog. Similarly, a Kew couple (K2 and K3) indicated that they would frequently walk their dog along the greenbelt and at the nearby undeveloped park. A Clayton Rise couple (CR1 and CR2) noted that a nearby neighbourhood park is really well used. This was confirmed through the observations whereby the adjacent neighbourhood park appeared very well used during the day; the playground at the Clayton Rise meanwhile was never observed in use. On one occasion, a young child and her adult supervisor were observed walking past the playground in the complex towards the park across the road. A Clayton Rise resident (CR2) thought that the playground at the complex was

convenient due to its proximity, but the play equipment at the neighbourhood park was much better and the duck pond offered an added element of interest for children. Other Clayton Rise residents (CR3, CR4 and CR5) noted that during the summer the City of Surrey even hosted an outdoor movie night at the park.

Although these residents frequently use neighbourhood amenities, it did not appear that the use of these amenities led to any friendships. A Pepperwood resident (P2) for example stated that she would usually casually greet others while walking the dog, but these casual greetings did not lead to any friendships. Likewise, a Kew couple (K2 and K3) noted that they would often speak with people from the neighbourhood when visiting the park, but friendships did not develop out of these casual conversations. One Clayton Rise resident (CR2) thought that the neighbourhood was actually lacking some “community-building infrastructure” like a coffee shop. The results of the survey support the findings from the interviews in that there was no association between the use of neighbourhood amenities and having friends in the neighbourhood, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 0.41$ $p = 0.524$.

The results of the survey, however, did find a statistically significant association between having at least one friend in the neighbourhood and having at least one friend in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 17.05$ $p = 0.000$, as well as between having at least one close friend in the neighbourhood and having at least one close friend in the complex, $\chi^2 (1, N = 53) = 18.88$ $p = 0.000$. This finding further contradicts the notion that townhouse residents are able to disengage from the broader neighbourhood since their community needs are being met within the complex. Yet this finding reinforces the idea that social interaction varies greatly among the respondents. It appears that the same residents that are the most social within their complex are also the most social within the broader neighbourhood. This also means that those residents who have the fewest friendships within their complex also have the fewest friendships within the broader neighbourhood. In fact, 38 percent of the survey respondents had no friends within the complex or the neighbourhood.

Chapter 5.

Conclusion

This study sought to further explore a fairly marked shift in suburban development trends, namely the increase of townhouse developments, through the lens of social interaction and sense of community. Consistent with the literature (Curran and Grant, 2007), this study found that the growing popularity and, thus, the number of townhouse developments in the suburbs is primarily attributable to affordability issues. For suburban residents that value privacy and space, townhouses provide a “middle ground” between a single family dwelling and an apartment. Like a single family dwelling, categorically the preferred housing type, a townhouse offers a private garage and usually a patch of grass, but at more affordable price.

The ongoing transformation of the suburban landscape, however, raises important questions around the potential impacts on community. Townhouse complexes after all differ from conventional suburban development patterns in terms of both their physical and legal attributes. Although other studies have explored community in residential developments that share some of the same characteristics as townhouse developments, townhouses themselves had yet to be investigated. These previous studies alone furthermore were insufficient in understanding the lived experiences of townhouse residents; for example some studies had found that common spaces, such as those found in townhouse developments, help to foster community (Kearney, 2006) yet other studies had suggested that the common interest ownership structure is antithetical to community-building (McKenzie, 1994).

Advancements in communication and transportation technology have in many ways facilitated the detachment of community from specific locales (Unger & Wandersman, 1985), but place-based communities continue to remain important (Unger

& Wandersman, 1985; Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Community has also long been a topic of interest for a number of urban scholars, particularly in the suburban context (Mumford, 1961; Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1965). All three of these influential writers saw the suburbs as an environment of social dysfunction. More recent works have echoed these criticisms, citing the lack of community as the biggest problem facing the post-war suburb (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992). In response, contemporary planning theories not only promote compact form and intensification (Grant, 2009; Perrin & Grant, 2014), but also promote community building (Talen, 1999; Talen, 2000).

The results of the content analysis and qualitative interviews support this literature in finding that both planners and developers are interested in community building. Additionally, both the planners and developers agreed that a good community includes a variety of people and interests. Yet it is clear that planners are more interested than developers in communities that include a variety of people. Planners recognize that social interaction and sense of community would likely be higher in a community with a homogenous population, but planners fundamentally believe that a community needs diversity. One of their objectives therefore is to foster social interaction within diverse communities. As such, planners are most interested in ensuring that the different types of housing, which in theory house different types of people, are integrated into the neighbourhood at large. Contemporary townhouse developments therefore require design elements like street facing units with front doors and porches.

Developers meanwhile recognize that fostering a sense of community within a townhouse complex can add value to a project and therefore are primarily interested in building community within the complex itself rather than the neighbourhood at large. Developers also believe that community-building efforts need to be balanced with the desire to provide residents with a sense of privacy, which again can add value to a development project. As such, developers focus their efforts on common amenities and social coordinators that are meant to bring residents of the complex together, not residents of the broader neighbourhood.

In sum, planners and developers value community for different reasons and thus focus their community-building efforts at different geographic scales. Contemporary townhouse developments like the Pepperwood, Kew and Clayton Rise are ultimately shaped by both the objectives of planners and developers. From a physical sense, townhouses complexes are now both outward and inward oriented and, from a legal sense, the strata tenure is necessary to achieve the desired density. Despite the differences between planners and developers, both believe that townhouses have good potential for social interaction and sense of community.

This study however found that social interaction and sense of community in the case study townhouse complexes was not that different than the region at large. There was also no evidence that one of the case study complexes had a significantly stronger sense of community than another. Interestingly, the results of this study suggest that the residents themselves do not consider townhouse developments to be that much different than other forms of housing in terms of community; only 13 percent of the survey respondents indicated that they chose to live in a townhouse for sense of community even though 81 percent of the survey respondents said that it was “important” or “somewhat important” for them to feel a sense of community with other members of the community.

When the residents that participated in the qualitative interviews were asked to describe the way in which they had met their neighbours or other residents from the complex, most described the casual social encounters that occurred around the outside of their home. Although townhouse developments are denser than conventional single family suburban developments, these developments still provide the spatial layout, like small front and rear yards, that facilitate social interactions. Consistent with Gans (1961), contemporary townhouses may represent an appropriate balance between density, which increases propinquity and, thus, opportunities for social interaction, and outdoor space, which provides the physical setting for these interactions. Yet given that social interaction and sense of community in the townhouse complexes did not appear to be that different than the region at large, it does not appear that this increased propinquity alone is able to create a stronger community.

Similarly, the efforts of the planners and developers to foster community within townhouse complexes did not have a significant impact on social interaction or sense of community. Some interviewees for instance reported that the common amenities could be venues for social interaction, but the results of the survey did not find a significant association between the use of the common amenities and social interaction or sense of community. The strata tenure, meanwhile, which seems to be an inherent outcome of the townhouse form, does not appear to foster social interaction or sense of community. The strata council is a utilitarian entity, concerned primarily with maintaining and managing the complex, not building community. The strata bylaws and rules, furthermore, which are drafted by developers to improve the quality of life in townhouse complexes, are a source of annoyance for the majority of townhouse residents.

In the end, only certain demographic variables and personal attitudes were significantly associated with multiple indicators of social interaction and sense of community. Specifically, young couples with children were significantly more socially interactive and had a higher sense of community than other residents and the importance of feeling a sense of community was significantly associated with both social interaction and sense of community. While the results of the qualitative interviews and observations both suggest that townhouses provide a physical and legal environment that can facilitate social interaction and sense of community, consistent with the literature (Lund, 2003; Talen, 2000; Gans, 1961), the effect of this environment varies by demographic variables and personal attitudes. Yet the variation in levels of social interaction and sense of community among the residents within the same complex suggests that these environments both allow residents that wish to participate in the community to be engaged and allow residents that do not wish to participate in the community to be withdrawn.

It is also worth noting that the nature of townhouse developments may affect the demographic composition of the residents. As a form of housing that is similar but less expensive than a single family dwelling, it is not that surprising that the case study townhouse complexes appeared to be primarily composed of young families. Of the 43 owners that responded to the survey, more than half were first time homeowners. Thus, while the demographic group of young couples with children was found to be positively

associated with social interaction and sense of community and the physical and legal attributes of townhouses were not, townhouses may indirectly foster community by providing a form of housing that appeals to young families.

The finding that the composition of residents within the case study townhouse complexes appears quite homogenous might be a cause for concern for planners that promote communities with a mix of different people. Planners may however take some comfort in the finding that townhouse residents are not detached from the broader neighbourhood, which theoretically contains a larger mix of people due to the broader range of housing types. In fact, the survey found that the respondents use neighbourhood amenities more frequently than the common amenities in the complex.

Perhaps the biggest concern for both planners and developers though ought to be the overwhelming preference for single family dwellings that was revealed by the survey questionnaire. In fact, 87 percent of survey respondents indicated that a single family dwelling would be their preferred type of housing. Of those respondents, 91 percent wanted more privacy, 89 percent wanted more space and 78 percent wanted no strata. Only 11 percent of the survey respondents selected “completely” in response to the statement “I expect to be part of this community for a long time.” In addition, residents that had lived in the complex for more than 4 years were significantly less likely to see themselves staying in the community for a long time.

Consistent with Grant and Scott (2012), these findings suggest that contemporary townhouses are not the ultimate rung on the proverbial housing ladder. All of the interviewees referred to townhouses as a starter home and spoke about their future plans to purchase a single family dwelling once they had built-up sufficient equity. In terms of the potential community implications, two Kew residents (K2 and K3) acknowledged that they were not particularly active in the community given that they planned to move away in the near future. The survey moreover found a positive and significant association between the expectation to stay in the complex for a long time and sense of community. Ultimately, these results suggest that the temporariness of townhouses may discourage townhouse residents from participating in community life. For planners and developers that seek to foster community, this finding may be

particularly concerning given that more than one third of the survey respondents did not at all expect to be part of the community for a long time.

5.1. Future Research

Given the potential limitations of case study research approach, coupled with the low survey response rate, further research is required to consider whether these results can be generalized to other contemporary townhouse developments. In particular, further research is needed to test the notion that townhouses may indirectly foster community-building by providing a form of housing that appeals to a homogenous population (young families) but at the same time may hinder community-building since townhouses are often seen as a somewhat temporary housing solution.

Beyond testing some of the results of this research, future studies may wish to consider the perceptions and lived experiences of the residents in the broader neighbourhood in which townhouse complexes are located. A comparison between neighbourhoods with older, internally-oriented complexes and neighbourhoods with newer, street-facing complexes would be particularly useful in testing the assumptions of the municipal planners and their policies.

Emerging development trends in Metro Vancouver also represent interesting opportunities for future research. Smaller scale, infill townhouse developments are becoming increasingly prevalent and it would be interesting to consider how community in such developments compares to community in larger developments, such as those studied as part of this research. Similarly, non-strata row house developments are becoming increasingly popular and, again, it would be interesting to consider how community in these developments compares to community in strata townhouse developments.

References

- Barton, S. E. & Silverman, C. J. (1994). Public life and private property in the common interest community. In S. E. Barton & C. J. Silverman (Eds.), *Common interest communities: Private governments and the public interest*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press.
- Beauregard, R. (2003). *Voices of decline: The postwar fate of U.S. cities*. New York: Routledge.
- Bethune, B. (2014). The end of neighbours: How our increasingly closed-off lives are poisoning our politics and endangering our health. *MacLean's*. Retrieved September 28, 2014 from <http://www.macleans.ca/society/the-end-of-neighbours/>.
- Blakely, E. J. & Snyder, M. G. (1997). *Fortress America: Gated communities in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass: Brookings Institution Press.
- Blandy, S. & Lister, D. (2005). Gated communities: (Ne)gating community development? *Housing Studies*, 20(2), 287-301.
- Bothwell, S. E., Gindroz, R. & Lang, R. E. (1998). Restoring community through traditional neighbourhood design: A case study of Diggs town public housing. *Housing Policy Debate*, 9(1), 89-114.
- Brown, B., Perkins, D. & Brown, G. (2003). Place attachment in a revitalizing neighbourhood: Individual and block level analysis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23(3), 259-271.
- Brueckner, J. K. & Largey, A. G. (2008). Social interaction and urban sprawl. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 64(1), 18-34.
- Buckner, J. C. (1988). The development of an instrument to measure neighbourhood cohesion. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 16(6), 771-791.
- Carona, J. (2014). *In the common interest: Embracing the new American community*. Austin, Texas: Emerald Book Company.

- Chavis, D. M., Lee, K. S. & Acosta, J. D. (2008). *The sense of community (SCI) revised: The reliability and validity of the SCI-2*. Retrieved October 5, 2014 from [http://www.communityscience.com/pdfs/Sense%20of%20Community%20Index-2\(SCI-2\).pdf](http://www.communityscience.com/pdfs/Sense%20of%20Community%20Index-2(SCI-2).pdf)
- Chavis, D. M. & Wandersman, A. (1990). Sense of community in the urban environment: A catalyst for participation and community development. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18(1), 55-81.
- City of Surrey. (2015a). *Cosmos*. Retrieved December 13, 2015 from <http://www.surrey.ca/city-services/665.aspx>.
- City of Surrey. (2015b). *Residential Development 2015*. Retrieved December 23, 2015 from <http://www.surrey.ca/files/ResidentialDevelopmentSummary2015.pdf>.
- City of Surrey. (2014a). *Development statistics*. Retrieved September 28, 2014 from <http://www.surrey.ca/business-economic-development/1501.aspx>.
- City of Surrey. (2014b). *PlanSurrey 2013: Official community plan*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncilibrary/BYL_OCP_18020.pdf.
- City of Surrey. (2009). *Planning & Development Report – File: 7909-0131-00*. Retrieved August 23, 2015 from <http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncilibrary/7909-0131-00-5701.pdf>.
- City of Surrey. (2006). *Planning & Development Report – File 7905-0020-00*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <https://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncilibrary/7905-0020-3CC5.pdf>.
- City of Surrey. (2005a). *East Clayton NCP extension – West of 188 Street*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.surrey.ca/files/OnedocumentcombinedCouncilResolutionNCP.pdf>.
- City of Surrey. (2005b). *East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan extension north of 72 Avenue*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.surrey.ca/files/MockupFINALNCP-EastClaytonNorthDocument.pdf>.
- City of Surrey. (2005c). *Planning & Development Report – File 7905-0150-00*. Retrieved August 23, 2015 from http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncilibrary/PLR_7905-0150-00-12289.pdf.
- City of Surrey. (2003). *East Clayton neighbourhood concept plan*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.surrey.ca/files/EastClaytonNCP.pdf>.
- City of Surrey. (2001). *Corporate Report – Indoor amenity space in multi-family residential projects*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from https://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncilibrary/CR_2001-R034-6356.pdf

- City of Surrey. (1998). *Clayton neighbourhood concept plan general land use concept*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncillibrary/CR_C410_1998-12-14-5240.pdf.
- City of Surrey. (1993). *Surrey Zoning By-law 1993 No. 12000*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncillibrary/BYL_Zoning_12000.pdf.
- Curran, A. & Grant, J. (2006). Private streets: A survey of policy and practice. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 15(1), 62-78.
- Dowling, R., Atkinson, R. & McGuirk, P. (2010). Privatism, privatisation and social distinction in master-planned residential estates. *Urban Policy and Research*, 28(4), 391-410.
- Duany, A. & Plater-Zyberk, E. (1992). The second coming of the American small town. *The Wilson Quarterly*, 16(1), 19-48.
- Duany, A., Plater-Zyberk, E. & Speck, J. (2000). *Suburban nation: The rise of sprawl and the decline of the American dream*. New York: North Point Press.
- Forrest, R. & Kearns, A. (2001). Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 38(12), 2125-2143.
- Freeman, L. (2001). The effects of sprawl on neighbourhood social ties: An explanatory analysis. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 67(1), 69-77.
- French, S., Wood, L., Foster, S. A., Giles-Corti, B., Frank, L. & Learnihan, V. (2014). Sense of community and its association with the neighbourhood built environment. *Environment and Behavior*, 46(6), 677-697.
- Gans, H. (1961). Planning and social life: Friendship and neighbor relations in suburban Communities. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 27(2), 134-140.
- Glynn, T. (1981). Psychological sense of community: Measurement and application. *Human Relations*, 34(7), 789-818.
- Goodman, R. & Douglas, K. (2010). Life in a master planned estate – Community and lifestyle or conflict and liability? *Urban Policy and Research*, 28(4), 451-469.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.
- Grant, J. (2009). Theory and practice in planning the suburbs: Challenges to implementing new urbanism, smart growth and sustainability principles. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 10(1), 11-33.

- Grant, J. (2006). *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Grant, J. & Curran, A. (2007). Privatized suburbia: the planning implications of private roads. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 34, 740-754.
- Grant, J. & Scott, D. (2012). Complete communities versus the Canadian dream: Representations of suburban aspirations. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 21(1), 132-157.
- Gusfield, J. R. (1975). *Community: A critical response*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Henning, C. & Lieberg, M. (1996). Strong ties or weak ties? Neighbourhood networks in a new perspective. *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research*, 13(1), 3-26.
- Heskin, A. D. & Bandy, D. (1994). Community and direct democracy in a limited-equity cooperative. In S. E. Barton & C. J. Silverman (Eds.), *Common interest communities: Private governments and the public interest*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities*. New York: Modern Library.
- Joseph, M. & Chaskin, R. (2010). Living in a mixed-income development: Resident perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of two developments in Chicago. *Urban Studies*, 47(11), 2347-2366.
- Kanter, R. M. (1972). *Commitment and community: Communes and utopias in sociological perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kearney, A. R. (2006). Residential development patterns and neighbourhood satisfaction: Impacts of density and nearby nature. *Environment and Behavior*, 38(1), 112-139.
- Kohn, M. (2004). *Brave new neighborhoods: The privatization of public space*. New York: Routledge.
- Kunstler, J. H. (1996). *Home from nowhere*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Kuo, F. E., Sullivan, W. C., Coley, R. L. & Brunson, L. (1998). Fertile ground for community: Inner-city neighbourhood common spaces. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 26(6), 823-851.
- Lang, R. E. & Danielsen, K. A. (1997). Gated communities in America: Walling out the world? *Housing Policy Debate*, 8(4), 867-899.

- Laven, B. (2008). *Surrey, BC: An overview of development trends*. Retrieved October 12, 2014, from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/suburbs/suburbs_working.html.
- Laven, B. (2007). *Private streets in public neighbourhoods: The consequence of townhouse development on neighbourhood connectivity in Surrey, BC*. Retrieved December 29, 2015 from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/_pdf/suburbs/mplan_projects/blaven_thesis.pdf
- Louv, R. (1990). *Childhood's future: Listening to the American family*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Low, S. M. (2012). A multi-disciplinary framework for the study of private house schemes: integrating anthropological, psychological and political levels of theory and analysis. *GeoJournal*, 77, 185-201.
- Low, S. M. (2011). Claiming space for an engaged anthropology: Spatial inequality and social exclusion. *American Anthropologist*, 113(3), 389-407.
- Low, S. M. (2003). *Behind the gates: Life, security and the pursuit of happiness in fortress America*. New York: Routledge.
- Low, S. M. & Altman, I. (1992). Place attachment: A conceptual inquiry. In S. M. Low & I. Altman (Eds.), *Place attachment* (pp. 1-12). New York: Plenum Press.
- Lund, H. (2003). Testing the claims of new urbanism: Local access, pedestrian travel, and neighboring behaviors. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 69(4), 414-429.
- Manzo, L. C. & Perkins, D. D. (2006). Finding common ground: The importance of place attachment to community participation and planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 20(4), 335-350.
- Matas, R. (2012). Surrey's East Clayton a dream community with growing pains. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/surreys-east-clayton-a-dream-community-with-growing-pains/article545557/>.
- McKenzie, E. (2011). *Beyond privatopia: Rethinking residential private government*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press.
- McKenzie, E. (1994). *Privatopia: Homeowners associations and the rise of residential private government*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- McMillan, D. W. & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14, 6-23.

- Merry, S. E. (1987). Crowding, conflict, and neighbourhood regulation. In I. Altman & A. Wandersman (Eds.), *Neighbourhood and community environments: Human behavior and environment*, 9 (pp. 35-68). Springer US.
- Metro Vancouver. (2015). *Interactive land use designation map*. Retrieved December 19, 2015 from <http://www.metrovancouver.org/services/regional-planning/regional-planning-maps/rgs-maps/Pages/default.aspx>
- Metro Vancouver. (2011). *Metro Vancouver 2040: Shaping our future*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.metrovancouver.org/services/regional-planning/PlanningPublications/RGSAdoptedbyGVRDBBoardJuly292011.pdf>.
- Milligan, M. J. (1998). The social construction of place attachment. *Symbolic Interaction*, 21(1), 1-33.
- Mosaic Homes. (2015). *Completed successes*. Retrieved August 15, 2015 from <http://www.mosaichomes.com/completed-successes/>.
- Mumford, L. (1961). *The city in history: Its origins, its transformations and its prospects*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Nasar, J. L. & Julian, D. A. (1995). The psychological sense of community in the neighbourhood. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 61(2), 178-184.
- Network of Condos Enterprises Ltd. (2015). *Kew – 18983 72A Avenue, Clayton, Cloverdale*. Retrieved August 15, 2015 from <http://www.cloverdaletownhouse.com/kew-18983-72a-avenue-cloverdale>.
- Nicolaides, B. (2006). How hell moved from the city to the suburbs. In K. M. Kruse & T. J. Sugrue (Eds.), *The new suburban history* (pp. 80-98). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pendola, R. & Gen, S. (2008). Does “Main Street” promote sense of community? A comparison of San Francisco neighborhoods. *Environment and Behavior*, 40(4), 545-574.
- Perkins, D. D & Long, D. A. (2002). Neighbourhood sense of community and social capital: A multi-level analysis. In A. Fisher, C. Sonn & B. Bishop (Eds.), *Psychological sense of community: Research, applications, and implications*. New York: Plenum.
- Perrin, L. & Grant, J. (2014). Perspectives on mixing housing types in the suburbs. *Town Planning Review*, 85(3), 363-385.
- Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J. & Ogg, J. (1999). Older people’s experiences of community life: Patterns of neighbouring in three urban areas. *The Sociological Review*, 47(4), 715-743.

- Polygon Realty Limited. (2015). *Pepperwood*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <http://www.polyhomes.com/community/pepperwood>.
- Polygon Realty Limited. (2011). *Polygon clubhouses: A day in the life*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <http://www.polyhomes.com/article/polygon-clubhouses-day-life>.
- Province of British Columbia. (n.d.). *Strata corporations*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/housing-tenancy/strata-housing/operating-a-strata/roles-and-responsibilities/strata-corporations#roles>.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). *E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and community in the Twenty-first Century*. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2), 137-174.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- RE/Max Crest Realty (Westside). (2015). *Pepperwood*. Retrieved December 29, 2015 from <http://bccondos.net/pepperwood>.
- Real Estate Council of British Columbia. (n.d.). *Buying a home in British Columbia*. Retrieved November 27, 2014, from <http://www.recbc.ca/consumer/buyinghome.html>.
- Real Estate Weekly. (2012). *Biggest new-home developers in BC*. Retrieved August 15, 2015 from <http://www.rew.ca/news/biggest-new-home-developers-in-bc-1.1341732>.
- Riger, S. & Lavrakas, P. L. (1981). Community ties: patterns of attachment and social interaction in urban neighbourhoods. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9(1), 55-66.
- Rogers, G. O. & Sukolratanametee, S. (2009). Neighbourhood design and sense of community: Comparing neighbourhoods in Houston Texas. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 92(3), 325-334.
- Rosenblatt, T., Cheshire, L. & Lawrence, G. (2009). Social interaction and sense of community in a master planned community. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 26(2), 122-142.
- Sennett, R. (1977). *The fall of the public man*. New York: Knopf.
- Sennett, R. (1970). *The uses of disorder*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Silver, C. (1985). Neighbourhood planning in historical perspective. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 51(2), 161-174.

- Silverman, C. J. & Barton, S. E. (1994a). Managing interdependence: The effects of neighbouring style on neighbourhood organization. In S. E. Barton & C. J. Silverman (Eds.), *Common interest communities: Private governments and the public interest*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press.
- Silverman, C. J. & Barton, S. E. (1994b). Shared premises: Community and conflict in the common interest development. In S. E. Barton & C. J. Silverman (Eds.), *Common interest communities: Private governments and the public interest*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press.
- Smith, N. & Low, S. (2006). Introduction: The imperative of public space. In S. Low & N. Smith (Eds.), *The politics of public space* (pp. 1-16). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Statistics Canada. (2012). *Structural type of dwelling*. Retrieved November 27, 2014, from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/ref/dict/dwelling-logements013-eng.cfm>.
- Statistics Canada. (2011). *2011 Census Profile*. Retrieved December 1, 2014 from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>.
- Statistics Canada. (2006). *2006 Community Profiles*. Retrieved December 1, 2014 from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E>.
- Statistics Canada. (1991). *1991 Census / Profile of Census Subdivisions*. Canadian Census Analyser [database]. CHASS [distributor]. Retrieved December 29, 2015 from <http://datacentre.chass.utoronto.ca.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/census/>.
- Stedman, R. C. (2003). Is it really just a social construction?: The contribution of the physical environment to sense of place. *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal*, 16(8), 671-685.
- Strata Property Act of 1998, British Columbia. (2014). Retrieved November 28, 2014 from http://www.bclaws.ca/Recon/document/ID/freeside/98043_00.
- Talen, E. (2008). The social goals of new urbanism. *Housing Policy Debate*, 13(1), 165-188.
- Talen, E. (2000). The problem with community in planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 15(2), 171-183.
- Talen, E. (1999). Sense of community and neighbourhood form: An assessment of the social doctrine of new urbanism. *Urban Studies*, 36(8), 1361-1379.

- Townline. (n.d.). *Designed for modern living in Surrey: Clayton Rise in South Surrey*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from http://bccondos.net/uploads/2012/10/31/brochures_w_a.pdf.
- Townline. (2015). *Past successes: Clayton Rise*. Retrieved January 6, 2016 from <http://www.townline.ca/en/homes/past-successes/clayton-rise>.
- Townline. (2013). *Last home at Clayton Rise!* Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <http://townline.app2.thoughtshop.com/blog/last-home-at-clayton-rise>.
- Townline. (2011). *Welcome to your new home at Clayton Rise*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from http://www.townline.ca/sites/default/files/Clayton-Rise_Homeowner_Manual.pdf
- Township of Langley. (n.d.). *Communities and neighbourhoods*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.tol.ca/Land-Use-and-Development/Communities-Neighbourhoods>.
- Township of Langley. (2015a). *Building Statistics November 2015*. Retrieved December 23, 2015 from <http://www.tol.ca/Portals/0/township%20of%20langley/community%20development/information/building%20statistics/2015%20-%2011%20Building%20Statistics.pdf?timestamp=1450925488530>
- Township of Langley. (2015b). *Geosource*. Retrieved December 28, 2015 from <http://geosource.tol.ca/external/>.
- Township of Langley. (2005). *Child friendly initiative*. Retrieved December 28, 2015 from <https://langley.civicweb.net/document/7105/05-114%20Child%20Friendly%20Initiative>.
- Township of Langley. (2001). *Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.tol.ca/Portals/0/township%20of%20langley/mayor%20and%20council/bylaws/Bylaw%204030%20-%20Yorkson%20Neighbourhood%20Plan.pdf?timestamp=1438051593634>.
- Township of Langley. (1998). *Willoughby Community Plan*. Retrieved July 27, 2015 from <http://www.tol.ca/Portals/0/township%20of%20langley/mayor%20and%20council/bylaws/Bylaw%203800%20-%20Willoughby%20Community%20Plan.pdf?timestamp=1438057740168>.
- Township of Langley. (1987). *Township of Langley Zoning Bylaw 1987 No. 2500*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <http://www.tol.ca/Services-Contact/Documents-Library?folderId=634&view=gridview&pageSize=10>.

- Township of Langley. (1979). *Township of Langley Official Community Plan*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <http://www.tol.ca/Portals/0/township%20of%20langley/mayor%20and%20council/bylaws/Bylaw%201842%20-%20Official%20Community%20Plan.pdf?timestamp=1450051781454>.
- Unger, D. G. & Wandersman, A. (1985). The importance of neighbors: The social, cognitive and affective components of neighboring. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 13, 139-170.
- Vancouver Foundation. (2012). *Connections and engagement: A survey of metro Vancouver*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <https://www.vancouverfoundation.ca/sites/default/files/documents/VanFdn-SurveyResults-Report.pdf>.
- Vancouver Province. (2007). *Happy buyers pampered with amenities*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from <http://www.canada.com/story.html?id=5626d724-784b-41b5-a234-6d9d1c1c9232>.
- Vancouver Sun. (2007). *Couple's Kew home their fifth – and best*. Retrieved December 13, 2015, from http://www.canada.com/story_print.html?id=03d63f52-b7b1-4fb9-bda8-7e75b323f21e&sponsor=.
- Verbrugge, L. M. & Taylor, R. B. (1980). Consequences of population density and size. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 16(2), 135-160.
- Whyte, W. (1956). *The organization man*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Appendix A.

Planner and Developer Qualitative Interviews Questions

Langley Planners

1. What does the term “community” mean to you?
2. What does a good community look like?
3. Is community an important planning objective? (If, yes why? / If no, why not?)
4. How can planners promote social interaction? How can planners promote a sense of community (ie. a feeling of membership or shared emotional connection)?
5. Can community be created through the right design? (If yes, how / If no, why not?)
6. What policies or practices exist in Langley that promote social interaction and a sense of community?
7. Are these policies / practices successfully implemented? Examples...
8. The Yorkson Neighbourhood Plan encourages “streetscape design that allows places for people to meet”. Do you think this has been achieved in practice? What does this streetscape design look like?
9. Why do the Willoughby design guidelines put such a strong emphasis on buildings facing the street and individual connections to sidewalk?
10. Why do the Willoughby design guidelines not allow high fences or security gates around developments? Whose idea was this, was it debated?
11. A “Planning and Design Principle” in the OCP states the following:
Streets should be publicly owned and publicly accessible. Developments should generally be oriented to the street to help create an attractive pedestrian environment and to encourage on-street activity. The use of private roads and gated housing developments should be avoided because these isolate portions of the neighbourhood and they result in inward-oriented housing developments that do not contribute to onstreet activity, pedestrian safety or community interaction.
What practices are used to mitigate the perceived problems with private roads?
12. In what ways has Willoughby / Yorkson been a success? Where might there be room for improvement?
13. Why are townhouses such a popular form of housing in the Yorkson neighbourhoods?
14. What do you see as the key characteristics of the townhouse typology, as expressed in these neighbourhoods?

15. What are some of the advantages / disadvantages of townhouse developments as a form of housing?
16. How, in your opinion, might townhouse development be shaping community in the townhouse complex?
17. How, in your opinion, might townhouse development be shaping community in the broader neighbourhood?
18. What purpose do common amenities serve? Do townhouse developments have too much or too little common amenity space?
19. Earlier multifamily zones (ie. RM zones) had higher amenity area requirements than current regulations (ie. 46 m² – 9 m² per unit vs. 8 m² per unit). Why the change over the years?
20. The Child Friendly Study completed in 2005, identified a concern that strata councils place restrictions on children and youth. What was this referring to?
21. What are some of the negotiations and trade-offs involved with townhouse development applications? Where might planners and developers disagree with one another?

Surrey Planners

1. What does the term “community” mean to you?
2. What does a good community look like?
3. Is community an important planning objective? (If, yes why? / If no, why not?)
4. How can planners promote social interaction? How can planners promote a sense of community (ie. a feeling of membership or shared emotional connection)?
5. Can community be created through the right design? (If yes, how / If no, why not?)
6. How, in your opinion, might townhouse development be shaping community in the townhouse complex?
7. Why are townhouses such a popular form of housing in the Clayton neighbourhoods?
8. What are some of the advantages / disadvantages of townhouse developments as a form of housing?
9. How, in your opinion, might townhouse development be shaping community in the broader neighbourhood?
10. What purpose do common amenities serve? Do townhouse developments have too much or too little common amenity space?

11. What are some of the advantages / disadvantages of allowing cash in-lieu for on-site amenities?
12. What policies or practices exist in Surrey that promote social interaction and a sense of community?
13. Why do you think “social interaction” was included as a specific goal of the Clayton NCP? What do you think was/is meant by this? What are some of the ways that this goal can be achieved? Do you think that Clayton is a more (or less) social neighbourhood than other neighbourhoods in Surrey?
14. Are these policies / practices successfully implemented? Examples...
15. What do you see as the key characteristics of the townhouse typology, as expressed in these neighbourhoods?
16. What are some of the negotiations and trade-offs involved with townhouse development applications? Where might planners and developers disagree with one another?
17. In what ways has Clayton been a success? Where might there be room for improvement?
18. Why are gated communities discouraged in Clayton? How do staff reconcile policies that prohibit gating with practices that define townhouse site entrances with decorative paving or gate houses (without the gates)?
19. Why do some townhouse developments in Clayton (ie. the Kew) have public paths through them, and others not? In some cases, it appears that maintenance for these public paths is the responsibility of the strata – how have these situations been working in practice?
20. In the case of the Kew, a future trail is identified over the Fortis BC gas right-of-way on private property – do you foresee any challenges in constructing this trail now that the townhouse development is fully occupied?

Mosaic Developer

1. What does the term “community” mean to you?
2. What does a good community look like?
3. Is community building / promoting social interaction an important objective within your developments? (If, yes why? / If no, why not?)
4. What are some ways you have promoted social interaction and a sense of community in your developments? What practices do you use to promote social interaction and a sense of community? Have these practices been successful?

5. What are your goals for the common amenities in the development? Why did you include them, what do you think about them now? How well are these amenities used and how much are they valued by residents in the long run? Do you find that some amenities are used more than others?
6. What are some of the ways you have promoted social interaction / sense of community in the broader neighbourhood? Have these practices been successful?
7. Can community be created through the right design? (If yes, how / If no, why not?)
8. Why are townhouses such a popular form of housing in the Surrey / Langley area?
9. What are some of the advantages / disadvantages of townhouse developments as a housing format?
10. Where does community fit into your marketing strategies? Does community resonate with buyers?
11. How do local government regulations affect your ability to implement your plans?
12. In which ways was Kew a success? What have you learned since then?
13. Why was a colonial architectural style used? Is this style still used by Mosaic in new projects?
14. In the case of the Kew, Mosaic paid cash in-lieu to satisfy the indoor amenity requirement for about 66 units – why did you go this way instead of amenity on site?

Polygon Developer

1. What does the term “community” mean to you?
2. What does a good community look like?
3. Is community building / promoting social interaction an important objective within your developments? (If, yes why? / If no, why not?)
4. What are some ways you have promoted social interaction and a sense of community in your developments? What practices do you use to promote social interaction and a sense of community? Have these practices been successful?
5. What are your goals for the common amenities in the development? Why did you include them, what do you think about them now? How well are these amenities used and how much are they valued by residents in the long run? Do you find that some amenities are used more than others (ie. fitness room vs. common room)?
6. Pepperwood shares its amenity buildings with the neighbouring strata – what legal instruments are put into place in such cases? How well do these situations function in practice?

7. What are some of the ways you have promoted social interaction / sense of community in the broader neighbourhood? Have these practices been successful?
8. Can community be created through the right design? (If yes, how / If no, why not?)
9. Why are townhouses such a popular form of housing in the Surrey / Langley area?
10. What are some of the advantages / disadvantages of townhouse developments as a housing format?
11. Where does community fit into your marketing strategies? Does community resonate with buyers?
12. In which ways was Pepperwood a success? What have you learned since then?
13. In the case of Pepperwood, city staff asked for more vehicle connections between Pepperwood and Arborel (the neighbouring development) – why might connections between different townhouse sites be problematic?
14. How do local government regulations affect your ability to implement your plans?

Townline Developer

1. What does the term “community” mean to you?
2. What does a good community look like?
3. Is community building / promoting social interaction an important objective within your developments? (If, yes why? / If no, why not?)
4. What are some ways you have promoted social interaction and a sense of community in your developments? What practices do you use to promote social interaction and a sense of community? Have these practices been successful?
5. What are your goals for the common amenities in the development? Why did you include them, what do you think about them now? How well are these amenities used and how much are they valued by residents in the long run? Do you find that some amenities are used more than others (ie. fitness room vs. common room)?
6. What are some of the ways you have promoted social interaction / sense of community in the broader neighbourhood? Have these practices been successful?
7. Can community be created through the right design? (If yes, how / If no, why not?)
8. Why are townhouses such a popular form of housing in the Surrey / Langley area?
9. What are some of the advantages / disadvantages of townhouse developments as a housing format?
10. Where does community fit into your marketing strategies? Does community resonate with buyers?
11. How do local government regulations affect your ability to implement your plans?

12. In which ways was Clayton Rise a success? What have you learned since then?
13. The Clayton Rise project was acquired by Townline after a Development Permit had been issued, yet Townline applied for a new Permit to add a pool – why add the pool?
14. Townline also modified the buildings facing the gas right of way to look like “rears” rather than “fronts” – why?
15. It appears that Clayton Rise had an activity coordinator in the beginning (to organize activities) – why? How well were these efforts received by residents? Is this something that Townline typically does?

Appendix B.

Online Survey Invitation Letter

Dear Resident of [Name of Complex],

My name is Patrick Ward and I am a graduate student at Simon Fraser University. I hope you will be able to spare a few moments of your time to help me with my final project by completing my online survey. As a small token of my appreciation, you will be given the opportunity to enter a draw for one of three \$50 gift cards to the Cactus Club restaurant if the survey is completed by June 21. The online survey will take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

What the Survey is About:

The online survey includes questions about your experiences living in your townhouse complex and your neighbourhood to help me explore how townhouse developments might be shaping social interaction and sense of community in suburban neighbourhoods. Please note that the [Name of Complex] is only one of several townhouse complexes included in the study and all of your responses will be completely confidential. The first page of the online survey contains more information about my research project and the protection of your confidentiality.

How to Complete the Survey:

The survey can be completed on your phone, tablet or computer by going to:

[www.fluidsurveys.com/s/\[name of complex\]](http://www.fluidsurveys.com/s/[name of complex])

Please note that the online survey is to be completed by the household occupant 19 years of age or older who preferably has the next birthday.

I am also looking for residents to participate in some short, open-ended interviews. Please contact me by phone or email if you wish to help by also participating in a short interview.

Thank you for taking the time out of your day to complete the online survey.

Yours truly,

Patrick Ward

Appendix C.

Online Survey Reminder Postcard

Dear Resident of [Name of Complex],

I recently mailed you a letter containing a link to an online survey asking about your experiences living in your townhouse complex and your neighbourhood. If you have already responded to the survey, thank you very much for your feedback. If you have not yet had the chance to respond, I hope you will be able to spare a few moments to complete the survey as your feedback will help me immensely with my thesis project. The survey should take less than 10 minutes to complete and, as a small token of my appreciation, you will be given the opportunity to enter a draw for one of three \$50 gift cards to the Cactus Club restaurant if the survey is completed by June 21.

The survey can be completed on your phone, tablet or computer by going to:

[www.fluidsurveys.com/s/\[name of complex\]](http://www.fluidsurveys.com/s/[name of complex])

Thank you for taking the time out of your day to complete the online survey!

Patrick Ward

Appendix D.

Online Survey Questionnaire

Page #1

☰ ONLINE SURVEY - CLAYTON RISE

Title of Study: Suburban Townhouse Developments: Supporting or Hindering the Development of Local Community?

Principal Investigator: Patrick Ward [REDACTED]

Consent Information:

The purpose of this research is to explore the potential impact of townhouse developments on social interaction and sense of community in suburban neighbourhoods. The goal of this research is to describe the kind of community that exists in suburban townhouse complexes and to explore how the characteristics of these complexes might shape the development of this community.

As a participant in this study, you are being asked to answer questions about your experiences and perspectives on everyday life in a suburban townhouse complex and the greater neighbourhood. The online survey will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete. Upon completion of the survey you will be provided a link to enter a draw for one of three \$50 gift cards to the Cactus Club restaurant.


Participants in this study must be 19 years of age or older.


Your participation in the online survey is completely voluntary. While I would appreciate you answering each question, you may skip any questions you would rather not answer. All of your responses will remain confidential to the principal investigator within the extent of the law. Please be advised that data collected with FluidSurveys may be stored on servers located outside of Canada, which may increase the risk of disclosure of information.

This study has been designated minimal risk as there are no foreseeable risks from participating in this study. This study is being conducted under the auspices of Simon Fraser University. Survey data will be stored in a secure environment for a period of two years, at which point it will be destroyed.


You can obtain research results, on completion of the research, from the principal investigator by email at [REDACTED]. Any questions about this research may be directed to the Principal Investigator, Patrick Ward ([REDACTED]), or the Faculty Supervisor, Dr. Peter Hall ([REDACTED]). Any concerns or complaints about this research may be directed to the Director of the Office of Research Ethics, Dr. Jeff Toward ([REDACTED]).

By submitting the online survey you are consenting to participate in this study. Please click "Next" to continue to the survey.


 The questions on this page are about your immediate neighbours – the three or four households closest to you.

 How often do you have a conversation with your immediate neighbours – something more than a casual hello? Please check the best option.


- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

 Do you know the first names of at least 2 of your immediate neighbours?

- Yes
- No

 Have you ever taken care of the mail for one of your immediate neighbours or picked up their newspapers while they have been out of town?

- Yes
- No

 Have any of your immediate neighbours ever left you a spare key for their home or told you where they keep a spare key in case of an emergency?

- Yes
- No

The questions on this page are about all of the residents of Clayton Rise, including your immediate neighbours, but not including people living in the same household as you.

How often do you have a conversation with a resident of Clayton Rise – something more than a casual hello? Please check the best option.

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

Do you know the first names of at least 5 residents of Clayton Rise?

- Yes
- No

In the past year, how many times has a resident of Clayton Rise had you over for dinner or some other kind of get together?

- Never
- 1 - 2 times
- 3 - 5 times
- 6 - 10 times
- More than 10 times

In the past year, how many times have you had a resident of Clayton Rise over for dinner or some other kind of get together?

- Never
- 1 - 2 times
- 3 - 5 times
- 6 - 10 times
- More than 10 times

Not including any relatives or family members, how many residents of Clayton Rise would you count among your friends - people you know and socialize with?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Not including any relatives or family members, how many residents of Clayton Rise would you count among your close friends - people you can confide in, tell your problems to, or call when you really need help?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Branching Information

- If not Do you have children under the age of 12? = Yes then Hide How often do you supervise your children using the...

The questions on this page are about your common amenities and your strata council.

How often do you use the common amenities like the fitness centre or pool?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Never

Do you have children under the age of 12?

- Yes
- No

How often do you supervise your children using the common amenities like the playground or pool?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Never

Where do young children that live at Clayton Rise play the most?

- In their backyard
- On the strata roads
- At the playground in the complex
- Other _____
- Don't know

How important are the following amenities to you?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Pool	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fitness Centre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Billiards Room	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Theatre Room	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Clubhouse Lounge / Kitchen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outdoor Playground	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Overall, how satisfied are you with the amenities available at Clayton Rise?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Somewhat unsatisfied
- Very unsatisfied

Do you usually attend the annual general meeting (AGM) of the strata corporation?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever been a member of the strata council or a member of a strata committee?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever submitted a complaint to the strata council or your strata management company?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever been the recipient of a complaint from the strata council or your strata management company?

- Yes
- No

Overall, how involved would you say you are with the strata council?

- Involved
- Involved on important issues only
- Not involved

Page #5

How well does each of the statements on this page represent how you feel about Clayton Rise as a community?

	Not at all	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
Community members and I value the same things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has been successful in getting the needs of its members met.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community makes me feel good.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can trust people in this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can recognize most of the members of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community is part of my identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fitting into this community is important to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have influence over what this community is like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If there is a problem in this community, members can get it solved.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am with other community members a lot and enjoy being with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of this community care about each other.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expect to be part of this community for a long time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The questions on this page are about your neighbourhood and all of its residents, but not including people living in Clayton Rise.

How many residents of your neighbourhood would you count among your friends - people you know and socialize with?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

How many residents of your neighbourhood would you count among your close friends - people you can confide in, tell your problems to, or call when you really need help?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Not including Clayton Rise strata council meetings, have you attended a neighbourhood meeting in the past year?

- Yes
- No

How often do you use a park or trail in the neighbourhood?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

Branching Information

- If not If you could live in any type of home, what type o... = Detached / Single Family Dwelling then Hide Why would you choose to live in a detached / singl...
- If not Why would you choose to live in a detached / singl... contains No strata then Hide What don't you like about strata living? Please ch...

The questions on this page are about your housing preferences in general.

Why did you choose to live in a townhouse? Please check all that apply.

- Affordability
- Backyard
- Garage
- Sense of Community
- Common Amenities
- Less Maintenance
- Other _____

If you could live in any type of home, what type of home would you choose?

- Detached / Single Family Dwelling
- Townhouse
- Apartment
- Other

Why would you choose to live in a detached / single family dwelling? Please check all that apply.

- More space
- More privacy
- No strata
- Other _____

What don't you like about strata living? Please check all that apply.

- Strata Bylaws / Rules
- Strata Fees
- Other _____

Why did you choose to live in your neighbourhood? Please check all that apply.

- Affordability
- Close to work or school
- Close to family or friends
- Close to shopping
- Close to parks and trails
- Sense of community
- Other _____

How important is it to you to feel a sense of community with other members of the community?

- Important
- Somewhat important
- Not important

Branching Information

- If not Do you own or rent your home at the Clayton Rise? ... = Own then Hide Is this the first home you have owned?

☰ Last page! These questions will help me understand the composition of residents at Clayton Rise.

☰ For how many years have you lived at the Clayton Rise?

- Less than 1
- 1 to 2
- 2 to 3
- 3 to 4
- 4 to 5
- More than 5

☰ Do you own or rent your home at the Clayton Rise? Owning includes paying a mortgage.

- Own
- Rent

☰ Is this the first home you have owned?

- Yes
- No

☰ Are you a male or female?

- Male
- Female

☰ Into which age category do you fall?

- 19 to 24
- 25 to 34
- 35 to 44
- 45 to 54
- 55 to 64
- 65 to 74
- 75 or older

☰ Is English your first language?

- Yes
- No

☰ What best describes your marital status?

- Single
- Married
- Common Law
- Divorced or Separated
- Other

☰ How many children do you have under the age of 19 living with you?

- None
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 or more

☰ ONLINE SURVEY - KEW

Title of Study: Suburban Townhouse Developments: Supporting or Hindering the Development of Local Community?

Principal Investigator: Patrick Ward [REDACTED]

Consent Information:

The purpose of this research is to explore the potential impact of townhouse developments on social interaction and sense of community in suburban neighbourhoods. The goal of this research is to describe the kind of community that exists in suburban townhouse complexes and to explore how the characteristics of these complexes might shape the development of this community.

As a participant in this study, you are being asked to answer questions about your experiences and perspectives on everyday life in a suburban townhouse complex and the greater neighbourhood. The online survey will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete. Upon completion of the survey you will be provided a link to enter a draw for one of three \$50 gift cards to the Cactus Club restaurant.

Participants in this study must be 19 years of age or older.

Your participation in the online survey is completely voluntary. While I would appreciate you answering each question, you may skip any questions you would rather not answer. All of your responses will remain confidential to the principal investigator within the extent of the law. Please be advised that data collected with FluidSurveys may be stored on servers located outside of Canada, which may increase the risk of disclosure of information.

This study has been designated minimal risk as there are no foreseeable risks from participating in this study. This study is being conducted under the auspices of Simon Fraser University. Survey data will be stored in a secure environment for a period of two years, at which point it will be destroyed.

You can obtain research results, on completion of the research, from the principal investigator by email at [REDACTED]. Any questions about this research may be directed to the Principal Investigator, Patrick Ward [REDACTED] or the Faculty Supervisor, Dr. Peter Hall [REDACTED]. Any concerns or complaints about this research may be directed to the Director of the Office of Research Ethics, Dr. Jeff Toward [REDACTED].

By submitting the online survey you are consenting to participate in this study. Please click "Next" to continue to the survey.

The questions on this page are about your immediate neighbours – the three or four households closest to you.

How often do you have a conversation with your immediate neighbours – something more than a casual hello? Please check the best option.

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

Do you know the first names of at least 2 of your immediate neighbours?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever taken care of the mail for one of your immediate neighbours or picked up their newspapers while they have been out of town?

- Yes
- No

Have any of your immediate neighbours ever left you a spare key for their home or told you where they keep a spare key in case of an emergency?

- Yes
- No

The questions on this page are about all of the residents of Kew, including your immediate neighbours, but not including people living in the same household as you.

How often do you have a conversation with a resident of Kew – something more than a casual hello? Please check the best option.

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

Do you know the first names of at least 5 residents of Kew?

- Yes
- No

In the past year, how many times has a resident of Kew had you over for dinner or some other kind of get together?

- Never
- 1 - 2 times
- 3 - 5 times
- 6 - 10 times
- More than 10 times

In the past year, how many times have you had a resident of Kew over for dinner or some other kind of get together?

- Never
- 1 - 2 times
- 3 - 5 times
- 6 - 10 times
- More than 10 times

Not including any relatives or family members, how many residents of Kew would you count among your friends - people you know and socialize with?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Not including any relatives or family members, how many residents of Kew would you count among your close friends - people you can confide in, tell your problems to, or call when you really need help?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Branching Information

- If not Do you have children under the age of 12? = Yes then Hide How often do you supervise your children using the...

The questions on this page are about your common amenities and your strata council.

How often do you use the common amenities like the garden or clubhouse?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Never

Do you have children under the age of 12?

- Yes
- No

How often do you supervise your children using the common amenities like the playground?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Never

Where do young children that live at Kew play the most?

- In their backyard
- On the strata roads
- At the playground in the complex
- Other _____
- Don't know

How important are the following amenities to you?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Clubhouse	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community Garden / Pea Patch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outdoor Playground	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Overall, how satisfied are you with the amenities available at Kew?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Somewhat unsatisfied
- Very unsatisfied

Do you usually attend the annual general meeting (AGM) of the strata corporation?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever been a member of the strata council or a member of a strata committee?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever submitted a complaint to the strata council or your strata management company?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever been the recipient of a complaint from the strata council or your strata management company?

- Yes
- No

Overall, how involved would you say you are with the strata council?

- Involved
- Involved on important issues only
- Not involved

Page #5

How well does each of the statements on this page represent how you feel about Kew as a community?

	Not at all	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
Community members and I value the same things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has been successful in getting the needs of its members met.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community makes me feel good.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can trust people in this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can recognize most of the members of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community is part of my identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fitting into this community is important to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have influence over what this community is like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If there is a problem in this community, members can get it solved.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am with other community members a lot and enjoy being with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of this community care about each other.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expect to be part of this community for a long time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The questions on this page are about your neighbourhood and all of its residents, but not including people living in Kew.

How many residents of your neighbourhood would you count among your friends - people you know and socialize with?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

How many residents of your neighbourhood would you count among your close friends - people you can confide in, tell your problems to, or call when you really need help?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Not including Kew strata council meetings, have you attended a neighbourhood meeting in the past year?

- Yes
- No

How often do you use a park or trail in the neighbourhood?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

Branching Information

- If not If you could live in any type of home, what type o... = Detached / Single Family Dwelling then Hide Why would you choose to live in a detached / singl...
- If not Why would you choose to live in a detached / singl... contains No strata then Hide What don't you like about strata living? Please ch...

The questions on this page are about your housing preferences in general.

Why did you choose to live in a townhouse? Please check all that apply.

- Affordability
- Backyard
- Garage
- Sense of Community
- Common Amenities
- Less Maintenance
- Other _____

If you could live in any type of home, what type of home would you choose?

- Detached / Single Family Dwelling
- Townhouse
- Apartment
- Other

Why would you choose to live in a detached / single family dwelling? Please check all that apply.

- More space
- More privacy
- No strata
- Other _____

What don't you like about strata living? Please check all that apply.

- Strata Bylaws / Rules
- Strata Fees
- Other _____

Why did you choose to live in your neighbourhood? Please check all that apply.

- Affordability
- Close to work or school
- Close to family or friends
- Close to shopping
- Close to parks and trails
- Sense of community
- Other _____

How important is it to you to feel a sense of community with other members of the community?

- Important
- Somewhat important
- Not important

Branching Information

- If not Do you own or rent your home at the Kew? Owning i... = Own then Hide Is this the first home you have owned?

Last page! These questions will help me understand the composition of residents at Kew.

For how many years have you lived at the Kew?

- Less than 1
- 1 to 2
- 2 to 3
- 3 to 4
- 4 to 5
- More than 5

Do you own or rent your home at the Kew? Owning includes paying a mortgage.

- Own
- Rent

Is this the first home you have owned?

- Yes
- No

Are you a male or female?

- Male
- Female

Into which age category do you fall?

- 19 to 24
- 25 to 34
- 35 to 44
- 45 to 54
- 55 to 64
- 65 to 74
- 75 or older

Is English your first language?

- Yes
- No

What best describes your marital status?

- Single
- Married
- Common Law
- Divorced or Separated
- Other

How many children do you have under the age of 19 living with you?

- None
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 or more

☰ ONLINE SURVEY - PEPPERWOOD

Title of Study: Suburban Townhouse Developments: Supporting or Hindering the Development of Local Community?

Principal Investigator: Patrick Ward [REDACTED]

Consent Information:

The purpose of this research is to explore the potential impact of townhouse developments on social interaction and sense of community in suburban neighbourhoods. The goal of this research is to describe the kind of community that exists in suburban townhouse complexes and to explore how the characteristics of these complexes might shape the development of this community.

As a participant in this study, you are being asked to answer questions about your experiences and perspectives on everyday life in a suburban townhouse complex and the greater neighbourhood. The online survey will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete. Upon completion of the survey you will be provided a link to enter a draw for one of three \$50 gift cards to the Cactus Club restaurant.


Participants in this study must be 19 years of age or older.


Your participation in the online survey is completely voluntary. While I would appreciate you answering each question, you may skip any questions you would rather not answer. All of your responses will remain confidential to the principal investigator within the extent of the law. Please be advised that data collected with FluidSurveys may be stored on servers located outside of Canada, which may increase the risk of disclosure of information.

This study has been designated minimal risk as there are no foreseeable risks from participating in this study. This study is being conducted under the auspices of Simon Fraser University. Survey data will be stored in a secure environment for a period of two years, at which point it will be destroyed.


You can obtain research results, on completion of the research, from the principal investigator by email at [REDACTED]. Any questions about this research may be directed to the Principal Investigator, Patrick Ward ([REDACTED]) or the Faculty Supervisor, Dr. Peter Hall ([REDACTED]). Any concerns or complaints about this research may be directed to the Director of the Office of Research Ethics, Dr. Jeff Toward ([REDACTED]).

By submitting the online survey you are consenting to participate in this study. Please click "Next" to continue to the survey.


 The questions on this page are about your immediate neighbours – the three or four households closest to you.

 How often do you have a conversation with your immediate neighbours – something more than a casual hello? Please check the best option.


- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

 Do you know the first names of at least 2 of your immediate neighbours?


- Yes
- No

 Have you ever taken care of the mail for one of your immediate neighbours or picked up their newspapers while they have been out of town?

- Yes
- No


 Have any of your immediate neighbours ever left you a spare key for their home or told you where they keep a spare key in case of an emergency?

- Yes
- No


 The questions on this page are about all of the residents of Pepperwood, including your immediate neighbours, but not including people living in the same household as you.

 How often do you have a conversation with a resident of Pepperwood – something more than a casual hello? Please check the best option.

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

 Do you know the first names of at least 5 residents of Pepperwood?


- Yes
- No

 In the past year, how many times has a resident of Pepperwood had you over for dinner or some other kind of get together?


- Never
- 1 - 2 times
- 3 - 5 times
- 6 - 10 times
- More than 10 times

 In the past year, how many times have you had a resident of Pepperwood over for dinner or some other kind of get together?

- Never
- 1 - 2 times
- 3 - 5 times
- 6 - 10 times
- More than 10 times

 Not including any relatives or family members, how many residents of Pepperwood would you count among your friends - people you know and socialize with?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

 Not including any relatives or family members, how many residents of Pepperwood would you count among your close friends - people you can confide in, tell your problems to, or call when you really need help?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Branching Information

- If not Do you have children under the age of 12? = Yes then Hide How often do you supervise your children using the...

The questions on this page are about your common amenities and your strata council.

How often do you use the common amenities like the fitness centre or pool?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Never

Do you have children under the age of 12?

- Yes
- No

How often do you supervise your children using the common amenities like the playground or pool?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Never

Where do young children that live at Pepperwood play the most?

- In their backyard
- On the strata roads
- At the playground in the complex
- Other _____
- Don't know

How important are the following amenities to you?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Pool and Hot Tub	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fitness Centre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Billiards Room	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Indoor Floor Hockey Rink	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Clubhouse Lounge / Kitchen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outdoor Playground	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Overall, how satisfied are you with the amenities available at Pepperwood?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Somewhat unsatisfied
- Very unsatisfied

Do you usually attend the annual general meeting (AGM) of the strata corporation?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever been a member of the strata council or a member of a strata committee?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever submitted a complaint to the strata council or your strata management company?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever been the recipient of a complaint from the strata council or your strata management company?

- Yes
- No

Overall, how involved would you say you are with the strata council?

- Involved
- Involved on important issues only
- Not involved

Page #5

How well does each of the statements on this page represent how you feel about Pepperwood as a community?

	Not at all	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
Community members and I value the same things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has been successful in getting the needs of its members met.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community makes me feel good.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can trust people in this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can recognize most of the members of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community is part of my identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fitting into this community is important to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have influence over what this community is like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If there is a problem in this community, members can get it solved.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am with other community members a lot and enjoy being with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of this community care about each other.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expect to be part of this community for a long time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The questions on this page are about your neighbourhood and all of its residents, but not including people living in Pepperwood.

How many residents of your neighbourhood would you count among your friends - people you know and socialize with?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

How many residents of your neighbourhood would you count among your close friends - people you can confide in, tell your problems to, or call when you really need help?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 6 - 10
- More than 10

Not including Pepperwood strata council meetings, have you attended a neighbourhood meeting in the past year?

- Yes
- No

How often do you use a park or trail in the neighbourhood?

- Everyday
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Once a month
- A few times a year
- Once a year
- Never

Branching Information

- If not If you could live in any type of home, what type o... = Detached / Single Family Dwelling then Hide Why would you choose to live in a detached / singl...
- If not Why would you choose to live in a detached / singl... contains No strata then Hide What don't you like about strata living? Please ch...

The questions on this page are about your housing preferences in general.

Why did you choose to live in a townhouse? Please check all that apply.

- Affordability
- Backyard
- Garage
- Sense of Community
- Common Amenities
- Less Maintenance
- Other _____

If you could live in any type of home, what type of home would you choose?

- Detached / Single Family Dwelling
- Townhouse
- Apartment
- Other

Why would you choose to live in a detached / single family dwelling? Please check all that apply.

- More space
- More privacy
- No strata
- Other _____

What don't you like about strata living? Please check all that apply.

- Strata Bylaws / Rules
- Strata Fees
- Other _____

Why did you choose to live in your neighbourhood? Please check all that apply.

- Affordability
- Close to work or school
- Close to family or friends
- Close to shopping
- Close to parks and trails
- Sense of community
- Other _____

How important is it to you to feel a sense of community with other members of the community?

- Important
- Somewhat important
- Not important

Branching Information

- If not Do you own or rent your home at the Pepperwood? O... = Own then Hide Is this the first home you have owned?

Last page! These questions will help me understand the composition of residents at Pepperwood.

For how many years have you lived at the Pepperwood?

- Less than 1
- 1 to 2
- 2 to 3
- 3 to 4
- 4 to 5
- More than 5

Do you own or rent your home at the Pepperwood? Owning includes paying a mortgage.

- Own
- Rent

Is this the first home you have owned?

- Yes
- No

Are you a male or female?

- Male
- Female

Into which age category do you fall?

- 19 to 24
- 25 to 34
- 35 to 44
- 45 to 54
- 55 to 64
- 65 to 74
- 75 or older

Is English your first language?

- Yes
- No

What best describes your marital status?

- Single
- Married
- Common Law
- Divorced or Separated
- Other

How many children do you have under the age of 19 living with you?

- None
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 or more

Appendix E.

Resident Qualitative Interviews Questions

Pepperwood Residents

1. Own or rent? Years of residence? Strata member?
2. Favorite aspects of community
3. Least favorite aspects of community
4. Where / how did you meet your neighbours or friends in community? What made making friends easy (similar interests, similar backgrounds...); what are some of the barriers to making friends
5. Does this complex have a sense of community, why?, how? What gives it (or doesn't give it) a sense of community?
6. Overall, how important are the common amenities? Are they worth paying for? Can these be venues where people can meet one another?
7. Any benefits or challenges with sharing the club house with Arborel?
8. Why is it that neighbourhood amenities are used more than common amenities?
9. What is the purpose of strata? Can it be a venue to meet your neighbours? Why is strata participation so low / barriers to attending agm?
10. What do you or don't you like about strata? Would you accept high strata fees for good amenities??
11. How do you address problems in this community – deal with neighbours directly or go through strata?
12. What is the role of the caretaker?
13. Basket ball hoops on strata roads?
14. Where do kids play?
15. What would you do to improve this community?

Kew Residents

1. Own or rent? Years of residence? Strata member?
2. Favorite aspects of community
3. Least favorite aspects of community
4. Where / how did you meet your neighbours or friends in community? What made making friends easy (similar interests, similar backgrounds...); what are some of the barriers to making friends

5. Does this complex have a sense of community, why?, how? What gives it (or doesn't give it) a sense of community?
6. Overall, how important are the common amenities? Are they worth paying for? Can these be venues where people can meet one another?
7. Why is it that neighbourhood amenities are used more than common amenities?
8. What is the purpose of strata? Can it be a venue to meet your neighbours? Why is strata participation so low / barriers to attending agm?
9. What do you or don't you like about strata? Would you accept high strata fees for good amenities??
10. How do you address problems in this community – deal with neighbours directly or go through strata?
11. Special levy for trim painting project...
12. What would you do to improve this community?

Clayton Rise Residents

1. Own or rent? Years of residence? Strata member?
2. Favorite aspects of community
3. Least favorite aspects of community
4. Where / how did you meet your neighbours or friends in community? What made making friends easy (similar interests, similar backgrounds...); what are some of the barriers to making friends
5. Does this complex have a sense of community, why?, how? What gives it (or doesn't give it) a sense of community?
6. Overall, how important are the common amenities? Are they worth paying for? Can these be venues where people can meet one another?
7. Why is it that neighbourhood amenities are used more than common amenities?
8. What is the purpose of strata? Can it be a venue to meet your neighbours? Why is strata participation so low / barriers to attending agm?
9. What do you or don't you like about strata? Would you accept high strata fees for good amenities??
10. How do you address problems in this community – deal with neighbours directly or go through strata?
11. Facebook page?

12. Crime – how has it been dealt with? How have residents reacted to the perception of increased crime in the area? Has it made the community “stronger” (or perhaps more apprehensive of non-residents)?
13. What would you do to improve this community?