

Gender in The Generationed City: Current and Future Residential
Location Preferences Among Young Adults

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.
I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This thesis contributes to a better understanding of how housing demand varies among young adults. Specifically, it explores gender differences in North American metropolitans and urban versus suburban residential locations for young adults. Since values change over time, respondents were assessed on both their present and future residential location preferences - where they currently live and where they want to live in the future. The values they expressed varied by gender; using a descriptive statistical analysis method the results showed that female respondents have a higher propensity to prefer design characteristics that are more affordable and popular in suburban settings when raising children. Two main preferences were dominant: car access and private yard access. The thesis also contests the many studies that say young adults want to be in urban areas, as the respondents in this survey show a preference for suburban qualities (especially car access and private yard access). This may be because car access and private yard access is more abundant and affordable in the suburbs. To create denser living areas that encompass young adult preferences, policy should ensure neighbourhoods are built with access to safe green space, better transit, and car-share programs that cater to city life.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The number of Millennials has now surpassed the number of Baby Boomers in North America (Fry, 2016). Millennials make up around 27% of the Canadian population (around 9 million people) (Statistics Canada, 2011a) and more than a quarter of the population (around 83 million) in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2015). Research shows that despite the affordability issues found in the North American cities studied, adults ages 18 to 40 express the desire to live in central areas than did in the past; consequently, their preferences will inevitably shape future residential markets (Ehrenhalt, 2012; Moos, 2014). This thesis is inspired by the work Moos (2014, 2015) has done on residential mobility trends exhibited by young adults in North America, and it aims to contribute to a greater understanding of the gender dimension of residential preferences for Millennials.

To better predict housing demands, there is a need for more empirical research and for implementation of planning policies that shape future housing supplies. This thesis contributes to a better understanding of how housing demand varies among young adults. Specifically, this thesis explores gender differences manifest in North American metropolitans for young adults. Since values change over time, the gender differences are compared between respondents who presently live in urban and suburban

areas and those who see themselves living in those kinds of areas in 10 years' time.

Increasing Rates of Urbanism in North American Cities and the Missing Gender Lens

It is predicted that in the next 50 years 95% of the net increase in global population will occur in urban areas of developing nations (Grimm et al., 2015). While some of this growth is due to economic transitions, it has become common practice for municipal governments to market a lifestyle within cities that particularly attracts young adults (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). The efforts of municipal agencies have not gone unnoticed since most recent trends shows that young adults are attracted to cities (Moos, 2017). In addition to attracting young adults, to help workers in new economy jobs (jobs related to the arts, culture, and technology), North American cities are adapting to the push for nontraditional households with disposable income as part of the urban lifestyle. Understanding the history of the demographic and lifestyle changes allows us to contextualize how and why there is an increasing diversity in household types and living arrangements. It is important to examine different life stages because they influence the limits and parameters of what kind of lifestyles are possible and when they are chosen (Rose & Villeneuve, 2006). In the literature on urban lifestyle choices, the differences between genders is often neglected despite the fact that gender roles have a very strong influence on housing market growth and changes in our growing cities.

Gentrification, Youthification and Gendered Spaces

Since the early 1980s youth have been gravitating towards central cities throughout North America (Atkinson, 2004; Moos, 2014), and urban places are becoming increasingly gentrified (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; McDaniel, 2004). Gentrification disperses and disenfranchises poor populations outside of the gentrified core. As the improvements and renovations of a once poor neighbourhood start to gain the interest and investments of the middle and upper class, the neighbourhood often transforms into a more expensive area to live. Gentrification is based on those renovations making way for affluent residences whereas the process of young adults filling neighbourhoods does not always bring in an influx of capital investment. The term *youthification* was proposed by Moos (2015) to describe the increase in young adult populations within urban neighbourhoods and high-density areas.

While the impact of gentrification on residential location is often studied, the literature fails to encompass the location of young adults in more general terms (Allen, 2008; Moos, 2014). Currently, the planning literature does not adequately address how age influences residential locations, especially for young adults. The conception of the University of Waterloo's Generationed City research team and the Generationed City survey were based on these gaps in literature for young adults and their experiences with affordable housing. This thesis will be taking previous work done for the Generationed City survey, and will be building on a

question flagged by Moos (2014) questioning how gender differences manifest in young adult populations across North American metropolitans.

Generational Differences and Gender

Young adults of the 21st century face new challenges compared to previous generations. Challenges related to income, employment, and housing are changing the societal narratives that move young adults into adulthood. This is strongly influencing the lifestyles of Millennials across North America as they postpone marriage, employment, and having children. Marriage is not as important as it was in previous generations, and there is less pressure to be married before having children (L. Karsten, 2007). In addition, there has been a shift towards individualism, and university and college enrollment rates have drastically increased since the 1960s (Lauster, 2004). These factors delay young adults' readiness to have children, and as a result child-rearing ages on average have gone up and family and reproductive values have declined (Council & Review, 2016). Lower fertility rates also directly impact household sizes (Péron & Statistics Canada, 1999).

The differences between Millennials and previous generations are stark. McDaniel (2004) sheds light on *generationing* as a process where wealth is passed from one generation to the next. This private transfer of wealth through inheritance does not need to be consolidated by the already diminishing welfare state and consequently leaves low-income families in more dire states of financial duress as the polarization between high-income and low-income earners increases. Millennials who cannot count on

inheritances are in a weaker financial state, since wages today are not comparable to those earned by previous generations, such as the Baby Boomers, and housing prices are higher. Cities can be especially financially hostile environments, especially for families, as there are fewer dwellings fit for more than two people and the cost of the space required to raise a family in urban areas is increasing. However, affordability issues for young adults often start when they are still single before they start thinking of starting a family.

McDaniel (2004) compares generationing to gender because both are socially constructed: *Gender* is “created through the process of relationality and identity construction” (p.31), and generationing is just as much as a process, because we create a parallel process to classify our social relations through a generational lens. McDaniel (2004) states,

Our interest is in the welfare state as a set of normative and institutional practices that are gendered and generationed. The former is well known and documented; the latter, barely touched. The welfare state practices are simultaneously gendered and generationed remains to be examined (p.31).

With this thesis, I aim to contribute to closing this knowledge gap and building on the gender discourse through a thorough study of Generationed City respondent demographics and preferences in relation to the residential decision-making process.

1.3 Study Purpose and Research Questions

It is prudent to study gender differences among Millennials not only because this area of research is missing from the academic literature, but also because Millennials are entering housing markets in mass numbers. Since the number of Millennials is surpassing the number of Baby Boomers (Ehrenhalt, 2012) and studies have shown that young adults gravitate towards urban regions, it is important to know how their preferences will impact the housing market.

The feminist approach into exploring the divisions of gender and how they connect to urban landscapes is explored throughout this thesis because the notion of separate spheres between genders has greatly influenced the field of urban planning. These spheres reinforce the associations between urban and suburban landscapes, privacy, and femininity (Bondi & Rose, 2010; Kern, 2007, 2010).

Through examining the descriptive statistical analysis of a group of young adults based on the “Generationed City” survey (Moos, 2017), my research asks how gender differences manifest in residential decision-making. This thesis explores the demographic characteristics of women and men in the sample, and compares urban men and women to their suburban counterparts.

One key finding from the survey shows that women prefer qualities that are often found more affordably in suburban residential locations more than men do, especially if they see themselves having children in the future. This is in contrast to much of the current literature, which points towards

Millennials' wanting to live in urban areas. The survey finds that if the respondents want children in the future, their preferences are heavily swayed towards a landscape that is more easily obtained and more affordable in the suburbs, including homeownership, private yards, car access, and a single-family home. Another key finding is that among female respondents in the suburbs, we see more part-time than full-time workers, whereas the percentages of full-time and part-time workers in urban respondents were very similar across genders; this points to a differentiation between genders in how they split their work-life balance.

This thesis also aims to explore the lingering effects of seeing suburbs as the more desirable environment for child-rearing. It also reveals whether a preference for an urban environment can prevail despite the fact that some women do not view urban residential environments as conducive to child-rearing. Ultimately, this thesis aims to answer two key questions:

- What are the gender differences among North American young adults relevant to the study of location decisions?
- In what ways do gender differences in values play out in the case of specific samples of North American young adults?

These questions are considered by looking at present versus future residential location preferences to determine where survey respondents live, where they want to live in the future, the values they express, and how these vary by gender.

1.4 Thesis Organization

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis, outlining the significance of studying gender with the Generationed City data and the topic of affordable housing for young adults as timely. **Chapter 2** illustrates the relevant literature on residential location decisions, gender and location, and young adult geographies. It includes key definitions, different schools of thought on urban growth, and key determinants of gender constructs that influence the housing market. **Chapter 3** outlines the study methodology, key research questions, ethical considerations, and analysis procedures used to answer the research questions. **Chapter 4** presents the analysis of the Generationed Survey data and its findings, supplemented with relevant literature. **Chapter 5** provides recommendations to improve policy, discusses limitations, and presents conclusions to better direct the development climate to adapt to the changing needs of Millennials of all genders.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Introduction

An outline of the literature relevant to this thesis can be found in **Figure 1**.

The literature covers three broad topics: residential location decisions, gender and location, and young adult geographies. The residential location literature discusses three general factors: family influences, career influences, and the housing market. From the second area of focus, gender and location, I examine social geographies and gendered spaces. The third area, gender and young adult location, covers the geographies of young adults themselves. In this discussion I highlight the main points of the residential ecology of young adults and present different schools of thought scholars have used to explain city growth in the past.

Recently, there has been an increase in academic discourse on gender and urban space focusing on urban life shaped by heteronormativity. Research exploring identity and state intervention are significant for questions about gender and space (Fraser, 2014; Hubbard, 2008)). This thesis does not delve into this area because the survey data did not focus on sexual orientation. Furthermore, gender is self-declared in the survey data. The number of respondents identifying as non-binary was too small to investigate here while preserving respondent confidentiality.

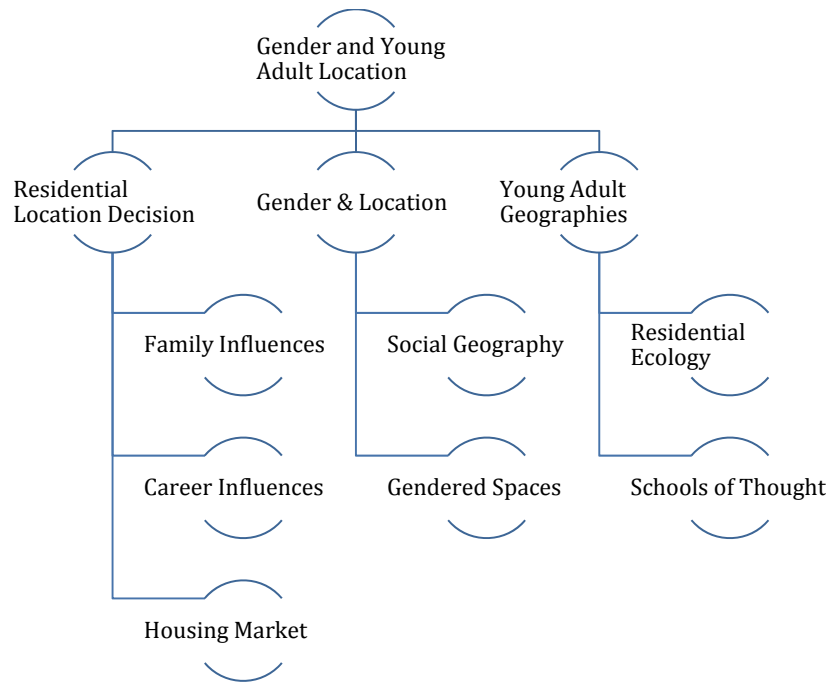


Figure 1: Outline of Literature Review

The reasoning behind using a gender lens for this thesis lies in the patriarchal designs that lead to gender differences in various landscapes (Hayden, 1980, 2003). According to many researchers, gender roles are socially constructed, and this has influenced the way public and private spheres have been designed. Dominating societal activity becomes a normality that helps shapes gender norms (Butler, 1990) and the way gender is manifested in everyday life is reinforced by the active engagement of people defining what it means to be male, female, or anything outside of those two arguably restricting binaries.

In the design of public and private spaces, gender roles influence the opportunities and constraints that landscapes impose on a population. Postwar culture romanticized the idea of mothers as caregivers who lead domestic lives in the suburbs, and subsequently separated public and

private spaces and created a trend through which women were subjects to domestic living areas that were more segregated than the areas men were expected to frequent (Moos et al., 2015). The third wave of feminism highlights these discrepancies between gender constructs and advocates for equal rights and opportunities in all private and public spheres. Even though the data used in this thesis include only binary genders, male and female, this thesis aims to highlight which gender differences are still apparent in the North American Millennial population.

Residential Location Decisions

Family Influences

Housing locations and preferences are often tied to domestic arrangements. The chronological and causal connections that occur between moving from a parental home to one's own residence and achieving financial independence have been studied extensively (Boyd & Pryor, 1989; Buck & Scott, 2016; Goldscheider & DeVanzo, 1985). The effects of family structure and the relationships children have with their parents on the decision of when a child leaves home have also been studied, but not nearly as much as the economics underlining the process. Two main economic factors in establishing independence are the child's wage opportunities and the parents' income (Whittington & Peters, 1996). People born from 1931 to 1942 are said to be the "precious generation" because the timing of their birth allowed them many economic and social advantages in the course of their lives (McDaniel, 2004). Compared to previous generations, they had

better opportunities in the labour market. The labour force was not saturated by women, and this played a role in the prosperity of men because there was more demand for labour and less supply. Today, Millennials women are still fighting for equal pay, and they face different levels of patriarchal oppression in combination with unprecedented housing affordability issues, unemployment and student debt.

There is a lack of literature that shows the connection between childhood residences and future residential choices. The studies presented focus on European contexts; this thesis will contribute to the North American context explored by Moos et al. (in press). Factors such as delayed child-rearing and housing affordability issues are considered.

Three factors influence people to choose residential environments similar to those of their siblings and parents, including opportunities for socialization and better connectedness to an area (Blaauboer, 2011; Bondi, 1998), location-specific capital, and the desire to maintain close family ties (Blaauboer, 2011). Leaving a parents' home allows young adults to make their own decisions instead of being subjected to those of their parents (Feijten, Hooimeijer, & Mulder, 2008). After leaving home, young adults choose to live alone for a longer period than in past generations for a variety of reasons including, but not limited to, seeking more education opportunities and getting married later in life (Diepen & Musterd, 2009).

As they get older, people may move to an environment similar to where they grew up because it provides an intrinsic guide for how to best

raise their children (L. Karsten, 2007). Urban environments for raising a family have traditionally been overlooked, since the suburbanization process has focused heavily on children and households. Households who value a lifestyle revolving around family are more likely to move to the suburbs (Diepen & Musterd, 2009). One of the main reasons for this is that middle-class families have a hard time fitting into the urban model. In order to retain the middle-class population, cities have been expansively building compact apartments that are, theoretically, less expensive than apartments with several bedrooms, but in reality they are not suitable for larger middle-class households requiring more than one bedroom.

Some families do prefer urban living over suburban living, and Karsten (2007) attributes this to three different values: proximity of the home and workplace, the level of social connectedness urban landscapes yield, and how urban landscapes support families who reject the suburban model. Karsten (2007) interviewed people in Rotterdam; women in particular stated that living in the city was part of a strategy to be able to work and care for their children at the same time. There has not been extensive empirical analysis or quantitative studies of those who favour an urban lifestyle as conducive to raising a family (especially young adults), although this has been touched upon in interviews (Bondi, 1998).

Marriage does not have the same importance it did in the past. Then, when young adults got married, their housing would be determined by the availability of land and the labour market. Therefore, marriage was a means

of acquiring the proper resources to establish a sustainable household (Hughes, 2003; Landale, 2010). Now there is less emphasis on needing a partner to have a prosperous life to keep a household with children afloat. According to Hughes (2003), “[m]arriage may now symbolize (Cherlin, 2004) material success—and living alone conspicuous consumption” (p. 1422). This type of ideology is mirrored in the physical landscape. More urban centres are building condominiums that cater to single professional women, marketing them as safe havens in hustling cities (Kern, 2010). Many Millennials have put aside the notion of getting married until after their careers are established. Many Millennials are spending more time on getting an education and building their credentials than did previous generations. The age at which people are getting married has risen to the late 20s and early 30s. In Canada, this trend is more pronounced in cities than in rural regions (Bunting & Filion, 2006).

Over the past 50 years, women have become more economically established than they have been in the past, which leads them to have more control over when and whom they marry and where they live (Cherlin, 2004; Litchet et al., 1991; Oppenheimer, 1994). Oppenheimer’s (1994) research shows that young adults are not rejecting the idea of marriage or household formation, but because of the high cost associated with raising a family, they postpone marriage as they continue to work towards having the financial means to have children. The desire to have a family has not changed over the years, but there are new constraints that men and women

are factoring into their decision of whether or not to have a family (Lauster & Goldscheider, 2004). The constraints that Oppenheimer (1994) highlights are divided by gender, as men have lower economic fortunes than they did in the past and reproductive costs have risen.

There are two contrasting schools of thought that explain the bases for family household formation. Familistic theories focus on the cultural bounds that promote economic efficiency and institutional security but also come with costs and constraints (Lauster & Goldscheider, 2004).

Individualistic theories argue that, although family households were once a fundamental good, they are no longer required to live a full life. The theory explains that recent cultural shifts have transformed society into an individualistic one that values greater freedom for individuals, making the family household a less desirable target for many young adults (Deurloo, Clark, & Dieleman, 1990).

This reasoning also highlights the need to get more education for a changing and more demanding labour market. Enrollment rates have drastically risen since the 1960s, and an increase in the number of women in postsecondary education has resulted in delays in starting a family. Another reason for the delay in child-rearing may be that young adults are having a harder time finding suitable and affordable places to live (N. T. Lauster, 2010). Further factors may be the rise of birth control, societal changes around the idea of marriage as a prerequisite to having children, and the

delay in finding a partner due to more years spent pursuing higher education.

The stability of couples also plays a role in family formation. Couple stability is measured through cohabitation and marriage, and instability is measured through separation. There are contradicting findings about what helps couple stability in North America. It is assumed that increased availability of single-family or detached homes strengthens couple stability (Hughes, 2003; N. T. Lauster, 2008; C. H. Mulder & Wagner, 2001). This literature points to a relationship between the physical features of the built environment and the psychological reactions and behavioural responses of residents.

Deurloo et al. (1990) make a few observations that are still relevant today about families and the types of housing they desire. There is a tendency for younger households to choose ownership, which indicates that they need room to grow as they raise a family. Older, two-person households gravitate towards multi-family rentals, which are much more prevalent in cities, showing that there is a contrast between people who do not have children living at home and those who do (Deurloo et al., 1990).

In contrast to the argument that single-family homes strengthen couple stability, Glazer (1967) proposes that single-family homes weaken families because they isolate families from actively engaging in their communities. The privacy that comes with a single-family home becomes corrosive to a couple's health and distances families from the community

support network (Glazer, 1967). Shlay (1995) argues from a feminism perspective that a single-family house involves too many tasks, such as cleaning, yard work, and maintenance, which all create inefficiencies and can lead to tension between partners. This view is echoed in other literature from a feminist lens; for example, Hanson & Pratt (1995) talk about the house-related tasks women are often burdened with more so than their male companions. Single-family homes have less access to centralized communities and businesses, and the majority of the stress is carried by employed women (Shlay, 1985, 1995). This is part of the patriarchal weight associated with marriage (L Kern, 2007; Waite, 1995) and can hinder couple stability whether or not the couple lives in a single-family home.

Career Influences

Potential wages are an important determinant of household formation (Whittington & Peters, 1996). At the turn of the century, marriages in rural areas were less common if economic conditions were poor. After World War II, men who were just putting their adolescent years behind them could attain jobs without a formal education. Their incomes were sufficient enough to allow them to be financially independent and support a family (Furstenberg, Kennedy, Mcloyd, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2004). The expansion of the public sector that began in the 1960s carried on into the 1970s, increasing the participation of women in the labour market (Bunting & Filion, 2006). The decision to get married was mediated by occupation (Landale, 2010).

For earlier generations, there was a clear division of labour between genders, especially when it came to what was appropriate in career and family domains (Peake & Harris, 2002). During the age following WWII, men would go to work in their jobs in the city as women stayed home in the suburbs with the children. In the 1960s and 1970s, special attention was paid to the blandness caused by mass consumption, which left quality of life in the spotlight (Harvey, 1990). The nuclear family gained traction among other established institutions, such as the patriarchal family (Beaujot, 2000). (Peake & Harris, 2002).

In the last three decades these social norms have changed but the designs of our cities have not. Fertility rates have plummeted as women have pursued higher education in larger numbers and have been a stronger presence in the labour force (Bunting & Filion, 2006). The religious hold that kept many marriages intact dissolved, and divorce became much more prevalent (Bunting & Filion, 2006). These social changes allowed for the independence and empowerment of women across North America. Educated, middle-class young adults rediscovered and embraced inner-city neighbourhoods, where unconventional lifestyles were seen as desirable, thus starting the gentrification movement (Caulfield; 1994; Seguin & Villeneuve,1993).

Few studies have looked at household formation among single young adults who have economic opportunity. The research that does exist suggests that the critical factor for leaving the parental home is the earning

potential of the child. The more favourable the labour market, the less likely young adults are to live with their parents (Hughes, 2003). Young adults are now being called the boomerang generation as they return to live with their parents after they have been on their own for some time (Walsh, 2012). Young adults today need more education to get well-paying jobs because full-time jobs with benefits are hard to attain for new graduates and this leads them to be more susceptible to go return home after their first degrees or to use their parents' home to save money after completing their degrees (Furstenberg et al., 2004). Millennials spend more time on getting an education and building their credentials for their future careers than did previous generations. This adds on to the debt and expenses Millennials take on before they leave the parent home for good. Furstenberg et al. (2004) surveyed 1,400 American young adults to assess which events they deemed to be defining milestones in becoming an adult. Most respondents (95%) agreed that completing an education, achieving financial independence, and having a full-time job were defining factors in the transition from young adulthood to adulthood. Other factors were getting married (55%) and having a child (52%). It is getting harder to hit these milestones, and the authors suggest that as a result the road to adulthood is longer for Millennials than it was for young adults from the 1960s to the 2000s. The data show a decline in young adults who are experiencing these milestones. Women in the year 2000 compared to women in the year 1960 show the biggest differences in the age they reach financial freedom. One important

factor missing in the Furstenberg et al. (2004) study was the number of young adults who are independent, educated, and working but still feel that they are not able to support a family.

Once careers are secured, men and women often have different opportunities for migration, and these opportunities can have an impact on their success. Mulder and van Ham (2005) investigate the differences in migration patterns between men and women based on their occupational achievements. Migration has positive, long-term effects for men and their careers, while women need multiple migrations to achieve the same significant positive effects on their careers (Clara H. Mulder & van Ham, 2005). Thus, it can be argued that women are able to overcome the short-term impacts of migration or that the negative experiences of some women are countered by the positive experiences of other women. It can also be argued that women are much less likely to succeed by using migration as a tool to propel their careers forward. Mulder & van Ham (2005) suspect that women most often migrate for the benefit of another, whereas men migrate more often for the sake of their careers.

Women also still bear most of the load when it comes to housework, even when both parties are working. This means that women who have careers spend more time than their male partners on housework. Studies have also found that if a woman is working, less hours are invested in housework in general (Lyonette & Crompton, 2015; Machung, 1989). Studies on this topic emphasize the importance of articulated gender

consciousness and how it yields more a gender-equal division of unpaid work among young adults (Goldscheider et al., 2004). These gender divisions based on household work is amplified in the suburbs since the square footage of homes and yards are larger, therefore harder to clean and keep up with the upkeep.

Housing Market and Type of Housing

Suburban sprawl in North America can negatively impact the environment, costs more in taxes, and leads to health concerns, which has prompted planning officials to alter smart growth policies and advocate for denser, more compact developments (Filion & Kramer, 2011). It becomes increasingly difficult to implement transformative metropolitan planning under neoliberalism due to a lack of public funding and unaligned political dynamics. The desire for ample space for the accumulation of goods has fueled the dispersed model of urbanization. This model relies heavily on cars and capitalism revolving around mass consumption (Filion & Kramer, 2011). Urban sustainability policies need to be rethought, as density is often at the mercy of gentrification and this inevitably affects housing affordability in most cities across North America (Quastel & Lynch, 2012).

Young adults play a large role in these changes, as most research highlights that they are attracted to higher density areas rich in amenities (Moos, 2012). There has even been a decline in the rate of young adults attaining driving licenses (Badger, 2014; Beck, 2016; Lorinc, 2017). This

trend is seen not only in North America, but in industrialized countries in general (Kuhnimhof, Armoogum, & Yamamoto, 2012). Young adults highly value walkability and are conscientious of the negative environmental impacts of cars. The decline in young adults holding a driving license can also be attributed to the decline in employment prospects (making it hard to afford car payments) and to other economic factors, such as being more likely to live in areas that are closer to transit and amenities (Badger, 2014; Moos, 2014).

Young adults and young households are entering the housing markets in major metropolitan areas, which compliments the goals of smart growth planning policies (Deurloo et al., 1990). Young adults are not as picky about where they live and are willing to accept smaller spaces in downtown cores (Markus Moos, 2016). Moos (2016) introduced the term *youthification* to describe young adults' moving to higher density neighbourhoods. The intra-urban scales of youthification focus on the different ways urban regions are experiencing shifts in capital investments. The main difference between gentrification and youthification is that youthification cannot necessarily link the ebbs and flows of a population's movements to income or socio-economic indicators.

When they move from renting to owning, young two-person households do not necessarily buy in areas that are growth centres, for two primary reasons (Deurloo et al., 1990). First, in gentrified areas, the cost of housing goes up, which makes it unaffordable for many young adults.

Second, many young families want to move out of the growth centres to suburban areas that they deem more suitable and safer for raising children in the future. This trend is reflected in some of the findings from the Generationed City survey, as discussed in the results and discussion chapter.

Owning a home is often a long-term ambition, and it is often very expensive to sell a house right after it has been purchased. This implies that prospective homeowners do not have the intention of moving right after they buy. In order to purchase a house, people need stable work and sufficient income, which are in scant supply for the Millennial generation, thus preventing or delaying when Millennials can buy their first homes (Mulder & Wagner, 2001).

Gender and Location

Social Geography

Fear in urban public spaces is a key theme in the discourse of gender and the city. Kern (2010) argues that a “woman’s fear, vulnerability and need for protection and containment shape the production of contemporary spaces of revitalization”(p. 3). This urban landscape is fashioned in a way that rearticulates traditional feminine bourgeois roles (Kern, 2010). The ideas that Kern (2010) discusses are also studied through a geographic lens in the Chicago model, described in the Schools of Thought section later in this chapter. Although introduced in 1925, the Chicago model examines how social control and societal norms are influenced by economic segregation and ethnic heterogeneity. From the Chicago model, it can be deduced that

the structural consequences of urbanization are different for different social groups and different neighbourhoods.

While studying cities, Kern (2007) takes on a feminist approach to see how gentrification shapes gender relations. She studies how condominium development in Toronto is changing the way women condominium owners conceptualize their relationships to their condos and neighbourhoods. Kern (2007) discerns the feelings women have in urban regions with condominiums and also studies areas that are not as dense and have more single-family homes. She argues that women in Toronto are attracted to the urban dwellings because they have security features such as “24-hour concierge service, key card entry, and even hand-print door locks” (670). Kern (2007) and Finche (2004) show that the market reflects women’s fears and that a large portion of condominiums continue to be marketed towards women.

Bondi (1998) also takes a feminist approach in exploring the division of gender and how it connects to urban landscapes. Using examples of urban landscapes in Edinburgh, Scotland, she examines how urban landscapes affect private and public spaces. Bondi (1998) writes about feminist geography, highlighting the nuances of gender in urban planning:

[T]he notion of separate spheres for women and men has operated as a powerful influence within urban planning, creating an environment that circumscribes women’s use of space and thereby reinforces associations between femininity, privacy, and suburban space (p. 162).

For instance, she writes about how access to private cars allows women more freedom because the private sphere has traditionally been seen as female territory. She also mentions that women spend more mental bandwidth thinking about their safety in cities than men, as Kern (2007) also adamantly asserts in her research. The perceptions of the group Bondi (1998) studies point towards urban public spaces as masculine, having a more hostile feel to women. In recent times, many public spaces have been made more gender neutral as women fill occupational positions within cities and earn financial independence.

Gendered Spaces

Gender differences heavily influence the ideas that imbue the spheres of city and suburban life. A wealth of literature by feminist geographers and feminist historians that delves into how public domains are influenced by gender and discusses how the breadwinner/homemaker divide no longer parallels the realities of today's urban households (Rose, 2015). In the past, urban centres were associated with social, economic, and political power, which related to masculine traits and interests, whereas the suburbs were related to femininity, as they were more domestic places filled with middle-class people and led to dependence (Bondi & Rose, 2010).

Suburban dreams had captured the hopes of a generation shaken by war and depression, but a domestic landscape that presumed that lives could be reduced to a single ideal inevitably failed to meet the needs of all Canadians after 1945. In the 1960s the daughters of the suburbs, examining their

parents' lives, would begin to ask for more.
(Strong-Boag, 2016, p. 504)

Before the World Wars, the ideal was that men were the breadwinners (Diepen & Musterd, 2009). The spread to suburbia started after World War II in North America. Postwar suburbanization created environments that made women highly susceptible to exclusion, more so than their male counterparts. Work life and home life were separated, and socially constructed norms dictated that women were predisposed to being the primary caregivers and performing the larger share of domestic duties. The influence of media facilitated a social climate that pressured women into molding their identities around being mothers who took care of all the domestic needs of their nuclear families (Moos et al., 2014).

The suburbs were designed so that they were entirely reliant on female labour. Mothers not only took care of children, but they also organized community events, cooked, and cleaned, duties that were all associated with femininity and being a woman. Women not only shaped the philosophy underlying suburban life, but they also shaped the landscape by being both caregivers to the inhabitants and integral to the well-being of the natural built environment (Strong-Boag, 1991). The spread of the suburbs was enabled by technological improvements, the mass production of cars after World War II, and gas and oil companies. It was now possible to live away from work and commute. The suburbs were not only a spatial phenomenon but bore the weight of political conservatism and racism, and hinged on the domestic roles of women (Strong-Boag, 1991).

Although there have been great changes to metropolitan areas since World War II, suburban areas have not undergone the same evolution (Moos et al., 2014). Harris et al. 1999 highlight how the suburbs still resemble the postwar suburbs that mushroomed across North America, the side effects of those designs are still felt:

Although differentiated in many ways across the four countries (Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States), such imagined suburbs lie at the heart of many discourses about modernity, forecasting either national promise or nightmare. Women and their work, or, more broadly, gender relations haunt the majority of these accounts. (P. 168)

The research that covers the migratory patterns of women also highlights a gender disparity caused by the design of cities and suburbs. As mentioned above, one of the major debates about migration patterns concerns women having to sacrifice their careers in ways that their male counterparts do not when they move to a new location (Halfacree, 1995; Smith, 2004). This would have a considerable impact for young adult women if they were to move away from the city due to affordability issues which could arise when they are with a partner (if they needed a larger living space) or if they wanted to start a family (requiring more room and thus higher costs in the city for multi-bedroom residences). Non-gender-focused research by other academics declares net gains from internal migration for well-educated young adults (Ley, 2007). Regardless of whether a woman has a child or not, cohabiting and married women in North America are

often disenfranchised in the labour market if they choose to move a long distance for their partners (Smith, 2004).

There are similar issues when it comes to immigration. Suburbs in North America are not the ethnically diverse landscapes that cities are (Moos et al., 2014), rendering urban areas much more attractive for newcomers. Cities possess qualities such as being active, tolerant, and more culturally rich and expressive because they are home to so many different people. Canada prides itself on being a multicultural nation. In Canada, Vancouver and Montreal attract the most immigrants. Historically, they have been associated with young adults and non-family households (Diepen & Musterd, 2009).

Studies have found that immigrant females are more inclined to forgo a comfortable working life to work without pay in small family enterprises while taking on more housework and childcare than they did in their country of origin (Kobayashi & Preston, 2007). It is important to note that in 2006, over 50% of the immigrant population were under 50 years old, and only around 5% were over 50 (Hudon, 2015). Since the majority of the immigrant population falls within Generationed City's definition of *young adult*, it becomes integral to better understand the circumstances young immigrants face in cities.

Some literature points to the rise of single women in the past half-century as women delay marriage because of societal shifts due to their mass entry into the workplace and access to birth control (Hanson & Pratt,

1995). In the past two decades, movies and television shows such as *Bridget Jones's Diary* and *Sex and the City* have portrayed young women living and working in cities. One reason for the enduring popularity of these characters, despite not being Millennials themselves, is that audiences, (especially Millennial women), can relate to their lifestyles as they race against the biological clock and develop surrogate families through their “urban tribe” (Bondi & Rose, 2010). The rewritten narrative of the single female demands a massive rethink in social policies. The study of urban life for women in general, including how Millennial women contribute to the urban landscape, has become an important topic of discussion in the academic literature (Bondi & Rose, 2010; Leslie Kern, 2010).

Young Adult Geographies

Residential Ecology

Spatial arrangements of the population, otherwise known as the residential ecology have been influenced by societal trends and economic forces. Research has found that there are more young adults in inner city census tracts along transportation networks and around areas with high density housing within the Canadian cities of Vancouver and Montreal (Moos, 2014). Young adult populations in North America exhibit trends that are perpetuated by the desire to be in high-density neighbourhoods, close to work, and have quick and convenient access to lifestyle amenities. These preferences can influence residential settlement in intra-urban areas, and in the past preferences were largely influenced by the life-cycle and household size (Diepen and Musterd, 2009).

Transit is a pillar to young adult residential ecology and it is important to note that gender differences often leave women feeling less safe taking transit and influences residential choices. In the study done for Vancouver and Montreal, Moos (2014) finds that the location patterns found in these cities are connected to family and household formation. It also reveals that those with children are less centralized. The potential to exclude families that have children or larger households is higher in these scenarios (Moos, 2014). Considering this finding, the research in this thesis takes into account the preferences of those young adult respondents who are thinking about raising children.

Schools of Thought

In this section I present three schools of thought and discuss how they relate to today's young adults. The three prominent models discussed at length in planning-related literature are the Chicago School model, the Los Angeles School model, and the New York School model. Currently, planners and urban geographers have stepped away from identifying with any single model, but it is worthwhile to understand the models to see how growth trends have been documented and how cities have evolved in different geographies and economic settings.

Concentric Zone Model: Chicago School Model

Earnest Burgess and Robert Park created the Chicago School model in 1925. This model reflects the way city growth spread from the early years of the 20th century until suburbanization became increasingly popular after

World War II (Beveridge, 2011). In the Chicago School model, the growth of a city originates in its Central Business District (CBD) and spreads outwards in a series of concentric rings (Beveridge, 2011). The commercial zone or the “zone of transition” holds factories and warehouses. The ring surrounding the commercial zone contains the homes of the working class, typically apartments. In the next ring are the middle-class, single-family homes. The outermost rings are reserved for affluent commuters (Beveridge, 2011).

This model is described using terms such as *invasion*, *succession*, and *segregation* through different zones. The idea of this concentric model is that it pushes residents into the outermost rings; this seemingly linear trajectory showcases the struggles different social groups face when trying to make their way outwards (Beveridge, 2011).

Although it is still useful for explaining the complexity of urban land use or how American cities flourished in the early to mid-20th century (Florida, 2013), the Chicago model is not very applicable to current times. In fact, recent research indicates the opposite of the Chicago model, with middle-class people now gravitating back to the city and leaving the suburbs for the low-income population.

It is important to understand models to better understand the interactions that take place between different processes and how those outcomes will yield local variation. CBDs still act as the generator of further concentric zones that dictate where North American families reside. This is

reminiscent of the Chicago School model, as location decisions are often based on transit accessibility and access to space and property which makeup a large component of young adult residential ecologies (Moos, 2014). Highly accessible central areas are also associated with high land values, which influence the affordability of a region.

Los Angeles Model and New York School Model

The Los Angeles School model describes city growth as sprawling that is not defined by a pattern: commercial, industrial, and residential geographies are spread. The model appeared in the 1980s but was based on a book written in the late 1960s by Fogelson that evaluates the evolution of Los Angeles from 1850 to 1930 (Beveridge, 2011). The city of Los Angeles transitioned from an agricultural village to a city of 1.2 million people from 1850 to 1920, and then to a more dispersed and decentralized city in the 1930s (Beveridge, 2011). This model challenges the Chicago School model, as it argues that growth stems from the urban core and turns into sprawl whereas the Chicago School model argues that the core is crucial in understanding other socio-spatial patterns. The Los Angeles School advocates that the neighbourhoods are what shapes the characteristics of a contemporary city

This influences trends observed with Millennials in particular, who exemplify traits of youthification as they increasingly want to live in denser locations. Growth can stem from the downtown core, however, following Eherenhalt (2012)'s concept of a "great inversion", some cities are

developing without following a single pattern and creating affluent inner neighbourhoods that have a sense of urbanity without being completely within the core of a city. Gentrification and youthification are not always mutually exclusive, but Ehernhalt speaks of the young adult population as the ones who spearhead the process gentrification of areas with dilapidated housing and low rent.

Although young adults are looking to be in areas with high density and accessible transit, being around (the often unaffordable) city core is not always the answer. The process of youthification, like the Chicago model, relies more on individual neighbourhoods that attract young adults through more affordable means without compromising on convenience, proximity to work, transit, density and other desirable amenities. An example of this is happening in Vancouver where priced out Millennials are moving away from the downtown core in smaller suburban areas that are still accessible via city transit (Gold, 2017). As the process of youthification sets in, more locally sources stores are locating to serve the preferences of the Millennials that are occupying the area. Whether this is a transient process where Millennials leave the city core to these types of areas then come back to the city after they raise their children would require further research.

Instead of focusing on separate neighbourhoods, the New York School model focuses on vigorous downtown growth. Beveridge (2011) compares this model to the argument of Jane Jacobs and William Whyte that density yields the most economically prosperous and desirable residential

areas, whereas growth outside of these areas is less patterned. It is important to note that cities with much smaller populations than New York and Los Angeles, such as Portland and New Orleans, are becoming popular with young adults.

Summary

It is important to see how gender roles were represented in the past and how that influenced the physical landscape of cities and the suburbs. Gender roles influence the opportunities and impose constraints within our cities. The patriarchal design of cities continues to impact the way women and men experience their neighbourhoods. Residential location decisions are heavily influenced by family and career influences that have been studied extensively for general populations but not so much specifically for young adults. Many Millennials grew up in more urban areas than previous generations, and this influences their preferences for the future which will be further explored through a gender lens in the following chapters.

The gendered lens of this thesis comes from key safety concerns that Kern (2010) presents that have an effect on the housing market and Bondi's (1998) feminist approach to gendered differences in public and private sphere within urban landscapes. The literature also explores cities that witness gender divides amongst their immigrant and young adults populations.

The different schools of thought show how past demographers and researchers predicted and tracked how the housing market would grow and

change. Although some factors that have been researched as part of the schools of thought still prevail, such as the importance of safety and wanting a suitable area to raise a child, the opportunity to replace these models in our intricate modern cities does not work. Understanding the situation Millennials find themselves in is essential when assessing the barriers that exist in present and future North American housing markets..

Chapter 3 – Methods

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to explore how gender differences manifest in residential decisions for a sample of young adults in North America. The data used in this thesis come from Generationed City, an interdisciplinary research project conducted through the University of Waterloo's School of Planning/Environment Faculty. Generationed City is a large study on the housing industry and employment characteristics faced by young adults living in North America.

The goal of Generationed City is to examine how age and generation fit into the topic of affordable housing in discussions revolving around spatial divisions and economic opportunities. Generationed City also considers other variables such as gender, race, income, class, and ethnicity and focuses on North American metropolitan areas with more populations of more than one million.

The data in this thesis come from the online survey that was conducted as part of this larger project. The Generationed City study opted for a social survey to gather information from the public, as these types of surveys have strong ties to the study of urban and social conditions. Respondents were asked 80 questions spanning a variety of topics “regarding their demography, employment, current housing, residential and work location, transportation patterns, and residential preferences, as well

as value statements regarding housing and transportation decisions” (Moos et al., in press). This thesis examines a subset of the survey questions.

This chapter outlines the methodology used to categorize survey respondents, organize data collection, and choose questions for analysis. I used statistical descriptions of the respondents to better understand their demographics and residential locations. Furthermore, this chapter discusses ethical concerns, the dependability of the data gathered and analyzed, and the limitations encountered during this process.

Social Surveys Used in this Thesis

The analysis in this thesis of the Generationed City survey data is very similar to that of Moos et al. (in press); the survey, the data, and the timeframe are all the same. This online survey was taken by 1,413 young adults aged 18 to 40 in the United States and Canada. Young adults are often defined as those under 35 (M. Moos, 2015; Markus Moos, 2014). However, following Moos et al. (in press), I have expanded this range to better understand how residential values and preferences vary by gender and various stages of young adulthood because young adults are purchasing homes later in life. I used the statistical software STATA to produce and add empirical evidence in the form of descriptive statistics. These data were then applied to the discussion of where Millennials want to live over time and how gender influences those residential preferences. I use the term *youthification*, inspired by Moos(2015), to focus on high-density areas where concentrations of young adults are both highest and increasing.

In the Generationed City survey, respondents were presented with urban, suburban, small-town, and rural choices. I have followed Moos et al. (in press) by focusing only on urban versus suburban residential environments. Different variables were assessed to determine urban and suburban preferences between genders and preferences for those who see themselves moving to urban and suburban areas in 10 years' time.

For this thesis, a browser-based survey method was used to gather data in a convenient, fast and highly editable way. This type of survey is available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and security measures can be put in place to ensure privacy and anonymity (Palvs et al., 2008). Participants generally find the questions in a structured survey questionnaire, such as the one Generationed City uses, easy to comprehend and categorize. However, a limitation of this type of survey is that the analyzer risks missing information that is not covered in the survey (Palvs et al., 2008). Content analysis of all the information coming in from the survey can yield many different responses in ways that can be easily coded and statistically analyzed.

The variables examined in the Generationed City survey are the presence of children, household size, gender, visible/racial minority status, tenure of residence, and country of residence (United States versus Canada). This thesis adds a few more variables to examine gender differences, including living arrangements, birth place, education, work status, personal income, and employment, and variables to assess gender preferences in

renting versus owning, raising children in suburbs versus urban areas, homeownership, access to a private yard, car access, and owning a single-family home instead of an apartment.

The online survey was available from February to August 2015 and drew in 1,413 respondents, who submitted surveys with various degrees of completeness. The length of the 80-question survey was a limiting factor when recruiting participants as the survey takes an average of 50 minutes to complete. The number of responses varied for almost all questions examined in this thesis. Unlike in other methods such as experimentation, variables are not controlled in social surveys.

In interview situations, follow-up questions can be asked, but surveys cannot be tampered with after they are administered. There is no room for new questions to be added after responses have been received. Researchers must not stray from the structured set of questions, and they must be careful that their interaction with the respondent is kept to a minimum (Palvs et al., 2008).

Collective sets of responses from the survey were gathered and patterns were deduced. A sampling frame allows for the probability samples where all the population elements are organized (Kalton, 1983). This is the least expensive method and adds value to the research. The collection of all the collective answers are examined, rather than each individual survey, since this gives a better indication of the trends and relationships within the population sample. If these results are representative of the data, they are

then used to indicate a general sense of the phenomenon or the cause and effect of relationships existing among the general population (Bowling & Ebramhim, 2005; Bulmer & Bales, 1991).

I used the same database used in Moos et al. (in press); therefore, the same form of recruitment was used for this thesis. **Table 1** shows the different recruitment methods used to attract respondents to take the survey.

Method:	Description:
Social Media	<p>Young adults were targeted through Twitter and Facebook. Different organizations and government departments also helped advertise the survey within their networks.</p> <p>Facebook ads were live for two weeks and directed towards users from the ages of 18 to 40 who reside in Canada and the United States.</p>
Media Coverage	National and regional levels of radio, newspaper, and website coverage increased the rate of respondents completing the survey and the level of traffic on the survey site.
Physical Posters	Handouts, posters, and postcards were distributed in North American cities that have high percentages of young adults (Austin; Calgary; Chicago; Houston; New York; Philadelphia; San Francisco; Toronto; Vancouver; Washington, DC; and Waterloo). Physical posters were also given to organizations that work with young adults.

Table 1: Recruitment Methods

The majority of the survey responses were received following social media posts by prominent individuals and organizations in urban policy and political realms. Although the survey was advertised throughout the United States and Canada through traditional and social media, the recruitment method is not considered random or applicable to all young adults.

I was an active participant in the recruitment process for Generationed City. I had the opportunity to travel to some of the major cities and metropolitans that fell under the scope of Generationed City research, including: Dallas, Chicago Vancouver, New Orleans, Phoenix, Vancouver and San Francisco. Here I spoke to city officials, non-for-profits that focus on affordable housing issues within cities, and locals about the Generationed City survey and tried to grow our respondent rate. During this time we knew that there was already an overrepresentation of highly educated respondents so one of the goals of these trips was to talk to non-students. I travelled to many low-income areas and tried to get respondents at those local libraries and agencies to take the survey.

Residential locations are strongly linked to educational attainment, and the survey has an overrepresentation of respondents with university degrees. The overrepresentation does not allow for a generalization of the distribution of location decision from the survey (e.g., percentage of urban residents versus suburban residents). To yield a proper representation of the general public, there would need to be a variable that weighs the demographic representation. However, the breakdown of gender in these categories can tell us about the values of men and women in the areas that they occupy. The gender distribution in the sample used in this thesis was almost even.

Marginalized and low-income groups may not have the mental energy or time to answer surveys such as the one used in this study. There is

also the risk that people, who do not necessarily belong in those groups, do not have time because they are busy raising families or working. Incentives to complete a survey do help, but because Generationed City aimed to get hundreds of responses, its budget did not allow for monetary incentives.

One of the main criticisms that social surveys face is that they lack detail and depth on the topic being investigated because respondents cannot ask for clarification or elaboration during or after the process. No additional questions can be documented after the survey is done. This is a major flaw, as more questions may arise after the respondents give their answers. Furthermore, non-verbal information is lost when conducting social surveys. The emotions and feelings of the respondent are not taken into consideration. Thus, this method should be avoided in instances where the emotions of the respondents are highly critical in the decision-making process. Another weakness in surveys is that questions can have built-in assumptions and forgone conclusions. This gives an inherent bias to the data collected because the questions may sway the respondent.

Ethical Considerations

Confidentiality for every respondent is an important component of the ethics of social surveys. The survey should yield data that assure the anonymity of the respondent (Palys, 2008). There are several procedures that the researchers need to go through including, but not limited to getting ethics clearance for the researchers who have access to the survey data. The principal investigator, Dr. Markus Moos, was given ethical clearance for the

Generationed City project survey through the Office of Research Ethics. The student investigators working on the project then had clearance to promote the survey through posters, handouts, word of mouth, and social media, and clearance to work with the survey data for analysis and reporting purposes.

Another ethical component is being aware of who in the audience is being excluded. For instance, in the case of Generationed City, the probability of excluding people who do not have access to computers or the Internet was high.

Gender Differences in Present and Future Location Preferences

Inspired by the work on young adults and housing by Moos (2012, 2014, 2015), this thesis adds the layer of gender to the examination of housing affordability issues young adults face in North America. Moos et al. (in press) argue that the relationship between past, current, and future decisions can be generalized because the interaction effects tested with their data, the same data used in this thesis, were not statistically significant. Although socially constructed, gender roles have an impact on housing development because assumptions about gender influence work life, family, home, and lifestyle.

Table 2 shows my breakdown of survey respondents into nine categories:

Breakdown of Respondent Groups	Acronym
Females, Males	F,M
Suburban Females and Males who presently live in the Suburbs	F(S),M(S) Present
Urban Females and Males who presently live in Urban areas	F(U),M(U) Present

Suburban Females and Males who see themselves living in Suburban areas in the future	F(S),M(S) Future
Urban Females and Males who see themselves living in Urban areas in the future	F(U),M(U) Future
Urban and Suburban Females who are currently living in Urban and Suburban areas	F(U),F(S) Present
Urban and Suburban Males who are currently living in Urban and Suburban areas	M(U),M(S) Present
Urban and Suburban Females who see themselves living in Urban and Suburban areas in the future	F(U),F(S) Future
Urban and Suburban Males who see themselves living in Urban and Suburban areas in the future	M(U),M(S) Future

Table 2: Breakdown of Respondents and Corresponding Acronyms

The breakdown was done using STATA software for all the variables.

Although gender cannot be simply defined in binary terms, the Generationed City survey data allowed only for analysis of female and male identities, as the category of “other” had fewer than 10 respondents. These groups were mutually exclusive as they split respondents into categories depending on the timing respondents were thinking of and then the corresponding locations.

Each gender was then divided by whether respondents lived in the suburbs or urban areas. The popularity of suburban neighbourhoods after World War II was highly influenced by gender roles (Moos et al., 2014). Because this thesis aims to explore those gender differences in relation to young adults, then not only were respondents were separated into urban and suburban groups, but the male and female respondents within urban and suburban settings were also assessed to determine whether they had significant differences. Although the survey presented many different types of questions, including Likert scales and multiple-choice questions, they

were all coded in STATA to examine whether or not a statistically significant difference existed between genders and the other categories that **Table 2** identifies.

The analysis was split into two parts. The first part identified the demographics of the respondents. Variables such as age, race, ethnicity, birthplace, income, household composition, education, and work status were examined. The first part of the analysis led to the second, as significant differences between genders were much more frequent for questions about rearing children.

The second part of this thesis analysis focused on value-based questions asking respondents to rate how important it was for them to be in the suburbs, as opposed to the city, when raising children (question 35a of the survey), the importance of homeownership as opposed to renting when raising children (question 35b of the survey), the importance of access to a private yard when raising children (question 35c of the survey), the importance of access to a car when raising children (question 35d of the survey), and, finally, their preferences when it came to having a single-family home, as opposed to an apartment, when raising children (question 35e of the survey). This section of the survey data showed the largest number of significant differences between females and males based on their present and future residential locations.

Gender and the life course are discussed at length in Fincher's (2004) study conducted in Melbourne, Australia. In Melbourne, certain gendered

middle-class life-course groups are gravitating towards high-rise living, and as a result, developers are matching their production to meet this need.

Fincher (2004) argues that this is a gendered shift:

When the narrative includes women in particular life stages, the developers' accounts separate into (1) the liberation of the empty nester mother from work in the home: she is freed from its burdens by the tempting possibility of a highrise apartment, and (2) the treatment of the working woman, before she has had children, as a potential suburbanite (once she has those children) and, possibly, a later empty nester and apartment dweller (333).

The trend seems to be that high-rises are popular in the absence of family life, which is a “profoundly gendered matter,” one that dictates the future housing decisions of people who want to have children (Fincher, 2004). As society moves towards having children later in life, coupled with the desire to live in denser, higher priced areas, the dichotomy between what young adults want and their housing opportunities evolves. When testing value-based questions, I found that significant differences were more likely to show in the analysis when I looked at not only respondents' current residential preferences but also their future residential preferences. For each of these value-based questions, there were 765 respondents or more (767 respondents for question 35a, 765 respondents for question 35b, 767 respondents for question 35c, and 765 respondents for question 35e). Because of this, within each suburban and urban category I further organized the respondents into present and future residential locations. I

used question 69 of the survey (“What kind of neighbourhood do you want to live in 10 years from now?”) to separate respondents based on their geographic preferences (**Table 3**).

Type of neighbourhood	Survey Response
Urban (U)	An urban neighbourhood, predominantly high-rise apartments
	An urban neighbourhood, predominately single-family homes
	An urban neighbourhood, predominately low-rise apartment buildings, row houses, duplexes, or townhouses
Suburban (S)	A suburban neighbourhood, predominately single-family homes
	A suburban neighbourhood, predominately low-rise apartment buildings, row houses, duplexes, or townhouses
	A suburban neighbourhood, predominantly high-rise apartments

Table 3: Separation between Urban and Suburban Landscapes in Analysis

Many researchers have looked at these particular values—especially homeownership—in the past. There are many ways to study these trends; Kern (2010) uses a feminist lens as she talks about condominium ownership in urban areas being tied to a young woman’s financial freedom. She argues that although condominium ownership is supposed to translate into freedom, it still draws women into the social, political, and moral structure of private property ownership, which prioritizes itself or makes itself a substitute for marriage or a long-term partnership. This then makes the contemporary postindustrial city a place where private property becomes unanimous with achieving gender equality (Leslie Kern, 2010).

These findings are important to study because traditional patriarchal views on what women should be and what type of housing suits them best often depend on where women are in their life cycle; historically, this has been the basis of the landscapes that are seen as forms of oppression (Hayden, 1980). These views and preferences inevitably shape the market, such as when apartments and condominiums are built only for empty nesters or childless adults. This results in a lack of family-friendly infrastructure, especially in urban areas where high-rise buildings are more prominent (Fincher, 2004). The lack of family-friendly housing highlights the need for gendered demographic trends in areas such as housing development and the labour market.

Demographic Differences between Men and Women

Not many demographic gender differences are found in the respondent population of the survey. The differences between males and females start appearing in the values based section of the analysis involving the best ways to raise a child. Although children can be a great conduit for social interaction and connectedness in dense urban areas, it can be harder to raise a family in these areas because housing prices are often high and dwellings often do not have enough bedrooms for families to live comfortably.

Much of the literature that examines urban versus suburban differences related to gender has to do with employment or success of businesses. For example, in a study done in urban and rural Iowa, males had

more success in small business operations in both rural and urban settings than did females, and male-owned business were even more successful than female-owned businesses in urban settings than they were in rural ones (Bird, Sapp, & Sapp, 2017). Similarly, Rose and Villeneuve (1998) examined the intersections of gender and ethnicity in Montreal and how occupational segregation can arise through those means. The spatial features of the geographies of employment and business success remain prominent themes in the literature, but research often neglects how young adults fit into the picture. In particular, there is a lack of discussion about the nuances of affordable housing, such as the role that gender plays, especially for young adults.

Values Exhibited by Males and Females

Of the nine groups (**Table 2**) tested for each question of the survey, the areas with the most contention between males and females appeared after men and women had been categorized into urban and suburban settings and their answers to questions related to raising children were analyzed. Many different variables affect these values, and their influence over these decisions could be explored beyond the descriptive analysis that this thesis gives.

Hanson and Pratt (1994) find that females tend to have jobs that are closer to their home compared to their male counterparts. In addition, females working in female-dominated occupations work closer to home compared to females working in other industries. These findings highlight

not only the gendered nature of labour markets but also the nature of work trips related to the gendering of work (Hanson & Pratt, 1994).

One of the most poignant findings in Hanson and Pratt's (1994) research is the gender divide in the time spent on household chores. They find that cooking, cleaning, shopping, and some aspects of childcare are predominately done by the women of households, whereas the men often do house and car repairs and yard work. Hanson and Pratt (1994) state that "women do the majority of daily household tasks even when they earn more than half the household income" (136). They pair this finding with other studies that argue that both young and older men contribute the same levels of domestic work to a household and those contributions do not increase or decrease as they age. Many other authors have found similar results: males typically have fewer family household responsibilities than their female partners (Beebejaun, 2016; Mulholland, 1996; Nelson & Smith, 1998).

Hanson and Pratt (1995) conclude,

This underlines our point that an interest in exploring differences among women and men should not blind us to the continuing overwhelming predominance of patriarchal relations (137).

A study by two Oxford academics looked at the 50-year time period from 1961 to 2011 and found that women did an average of 74 minutes more housework per day than their male partners (Altintas & Sullivan, 2016).

Such evidence of gender differences led me to divide the young adults in this survey by gender and then further by urban and suburban geographies.

According to Hanson and Pratt (1995), in households of male and female partnerships, male participation in domestic work is related to whether the woman participates in the labour force and to the type of occupation she holds. To measure the level of work each gender accomplishes, Hanson and Pratt (1995) use index score ranges to award points to each gender depending on whether they suit the criteria or not. They gather the data using employment maps, semi-structured questionnaires, and other quantitative methods. Hanson and Pratt's (1995) research does not cover childcare; they found it difficult to capture in a questionnaire since the process of childcare is often complicated and hard to measure. In these cases, structured interviews are helpful as their interpretive framework makes it easier highlight relationships that may form in the data. In this thesis the importance of capturing preferences related to children and child-rearing is demonstrated (see Chapter 4), as significant differences between genders appear most often in the questions related to children.

Summary

This chapter explains why I split the respondents into the nine categories shown in **Table 2**. Although the data and recruitment phases are not my own design, exploring the different ways I could analyze gender dimensions of Generationed City was the goal. As affordability issues prevail and patriarchal forces persist, it is important to address the demographic differences and values exhibited by men and women. Significant differences

were tracked between genders in relation to child-rearing, according to time and location. In accordance to what other academics have found on topics related to child-rearing, young adult residential locations, and safety, I aim to provide more knowledge on the gender divide that exists in residential location decisions of the future. This is further explored in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 – Results & Discussion

Location decisions are heavily influenced by demographics. In order to understand the respondents of the Generationed City survey, the first part of this chapter (entitled *Demography*) aims to present the demographics that uncover gender differences outlined in the first research question: What are the gender differences among North American young adults relevant to the study of location decisions? Although not all the questions presented in this chapter explicitly show gender differences, they are presented to give the reader an idea of who the respondents of Generationed City are, and which variables influence (or do not influence) gender differences.

Each question in this chapter separates respondents into the nine categories previously discussed in the Methods chapter (**Table 2**) it becomes easier to see the significant differences between respondents that may not surface when testing them in larger groups (for instance testing only for gender differences, versus testing for gender differences in respondents who live in urban areas versus suburban areas). In fact, it is the discovery of significant differences particularly for the presence of children in respondents currently living in urban versus suburban households that lead to the second part of this chapter. The breakdown of all the questions in this chapter can be found in Appendix 1.

The second part of this chapter (entitled *Values*) presents respondent values in regards to raising children. The questions that showed significant differences most often between respondents were in question 35 of the

Generationed City Survey. Question 35 of the survey asked respondents about their preferences in regards to raising children. The aim of the second part of this results chapter is to help answer the second questions of this thesis: In what ways do gender differences play out in specific samples of North American adults? When tallying significant differences for the different groups tested, the results show more consistent differences between male and female respondents for their preferences towards private yard access and car access when raising children. After the data from the tables are presented I elaborate on literature that is related to the findings and try to highlight the significance of this research.

Demography

Using questions that ask respondents about their age, race, birthplace, income, education, number of children in the household, and the household composition, this section discusses the type of demography that best describes the young adults who took the survey. Gender differences were not always found when dividing the respondents into male and female categories, but could be found when observing smaller subsets of the respondent population.

Age, Race, and Ethnicity

Age

In previous research done with this survey, it has been found that Millennials have a propensity towards urban living and a strong desire to be city dwellers (Moos, 2015). To further analyze this, cohort respondents had to be either a Canadian or a United States resident between the ages of 18 and 40 to complete the survey. **Figure 2** shows the age distribution of all the

respondents who completed the survey. Overall, the distribution of **Figure 2** appears to be a normal distribution for both male and female respondents.

The bulk of the respondents are in their mid to late 20s.

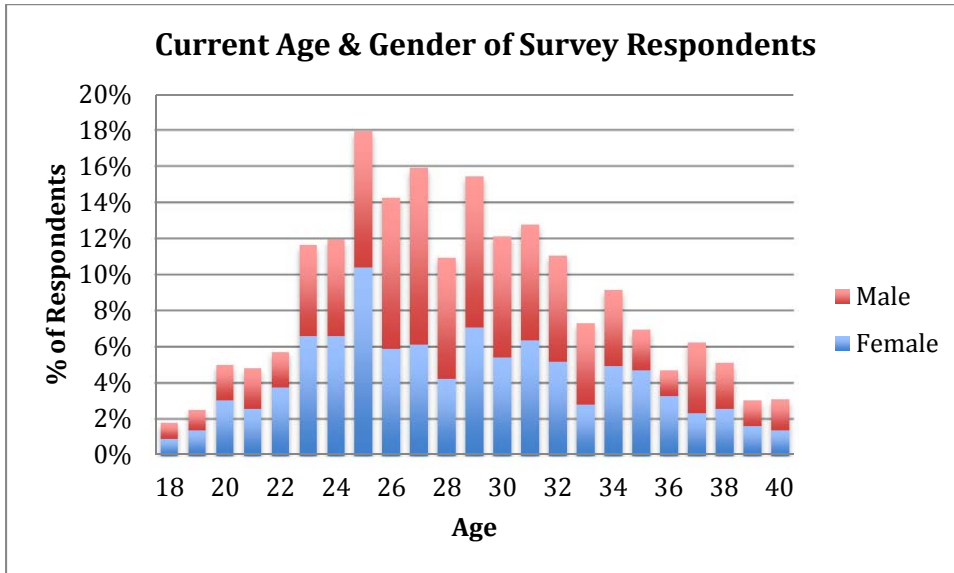


Figure 2: Current Age and Gender of Survey Respondents

For planners, examining the median age of a population in a given place is important when considering how demographics of a population change the corresponding housing market. The housing market can definitely be influenced by the ages of the people it serves. Younger generations often have different preferences and values than older generations, which influence their movement and location decisions such as when a wave of young artists migrated towards inner North American cities, which had previously been seen as undesirable (Ley, 1996).

Young adults today are more likely to live in large urban centres compared to 100 years ago, when North America was dominated by rural landscapes. The education levels of the respondents and labour market make-up of urban areas might explain the distribution of the survey data.

Many respondents have university educations suitable for knowledge-sector jobs, which are often found in city cores among lifestyle and entertainment amenities (such as coffee shops, restaurants, and nightlife) that young people value (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002). The promise of employment that suits their education is one of the driving forces that attract young adults to cities (Worth, 2016). This might explain the exponential incline of urban adults in their mid-twenties answering the survey (**Figure 2**).

The results of studies that take a cohort approach appear to show that Millennials are more likely to live in larger urban centres (Moos, 2015). The incline in urban respondents in **Figure 2** between the ages of 18 and 25 is also reminiscent of the “youth movement” Ley (1996) speaks about in his book *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. Ley (1996) describes young adults in Canadian cities propelling a movement that was overwhelmingly urban in its location, where youth ghettos mushroomed around inner-city university campuses. Cities began to see a segregation of youth in particular, and this triggered the beginning of institutional supports and a distinct cultural identity that stemmed from postsecondary institutions.

The gradual decline in the age of respondents in urban areas after the age of 25 also coincides with previous literature. When young families start having children, it becomes more feasible to live outside of the city where there is more room for their families (L. Karsten & Lupi, 2013). Faced with the decision of raising a family in the city, many young adults find it

increasingly difficult to find condominiums with more than two bedrooms within the city at an affordable price (Ley, 2007). This might force people to move further away from city centres when they have children. Keeping the division of urban and suburban spaces and the presence of children in mind, this analysis also shows gender differences, which are discussed later in this chapter.

Race and Ethnicity

The themes of social class and racialization intersect with gendered constructs of space and place. However, the analysis in this thesis showed no significant difference between genders or between urban and suburban respondents when it came to self-identifying as a visible minority (**Table 4**; Appendix 1, question 10). **Table 4** shows that the majority of respondents (~84%) did not identify as visible minorities and there are no statistically significant differences between genders.

Visible Minority	Female	Male	Total
Black	2%	1%	13
Chinese	5%	5%	40
Latin American	1%	3%	16
South Asian	2%	1%	12
Other	6%	5%	42
Not a visible minority	83%	85%	653
Total	420	357	777

Pearson $\chi^2(5) = 5.6138$ Pr = 0.346

Table 4: Visible Minority Status by Gender

The categories “Yes, not included,” “Yes, Multiple visible minorities,” “Filipino,” “Korean,” “Arab,” “Japanese,” and “Southeast Asian” each tallied

fewer than 10 respondents and compose the “Other” group, which is the second largest group of respondents.

The respondent data is similar to national statistics in Canada, members of visible minorities make up around 20% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2011b). If the survey respondents had perfectly represented the visible minority population of Canada, the percentage of visible minorities in the survey should have been above the Canadian national average, since visible minorities are relatively young, with a median age of 33, compared to the median age of 40 for the population as a whole (Statistics Canada, 2011b).

According to the 2011 National Household Survey, 52% of young adults in Canada who belong to a visible minority group live with their parents, versus 40% of young adults who do not belong to a visible minority group (Milan, 2016). These findings are particularly relevant to housing markets, since there were 1.5 times more young adults aged 20 to 29 (1.8 million) living with their parents in 2011 than there were in 1981.

Birthplace and Immigration

To analyze the country of birth, choices were categorized by continent. The majority of respondents hail from North America, Asia, and Europe (**Table 5**).

Birthplace		Female	Male	Total
Asia		4%	3%	27
Europe		4%	2%	22
North America	Canada	56%	42%	385
	USA	35%	51%	328
Other		1%	1%	14
Total		420	356	776

Pearson chi2(8) = 28.4422 Pr = 0.000

Table 5: Birthplace of Respondents

The results for this question showed a statistical difference solely between genders and not between different urban and suburban respondent populations (as seen in Appendix 1, question 8). The most prominent piece of data this table shows is the percentage of females who were born in Canada is 1.3 times the percentage of males who were born in Canada and the percentage of males who were born in the USA is 1.5 times the percentage of females born in the USA. Both countries belong in the North American geography. There are no data to present for the very few respondents hailing from Australia and Mexico (respondents incorporated in the “Other” category).

Further research is needed to see how different ethnic backgrounds influence residential location decisions. Although the data from this survey did not match the national data for the percentage of citizens born outside Canada and the United States, it is important to note that there are gender differences in immigration and migration patterns outside the scope of this survey.

Migration decisions are socially structured and not random. In 2006, 58% of recent immigrant women were between the ages of 25 and 54,

whereas only 4.3% of recent arrivals were between the ages of 55 and 64, and only 3.6% of recent immigrant women were 65 or over (Chui, 2011). This is especially pertinent to the discussion of housing affordability for young adults as it could become a more pressing issue for immigrants since they tend both to be young and to navigate towards cities that are saddled with seemingly unrelenting problems related to affordable housing, such as Vancouver and Toronto (Chui, 2011; Kobayashi & Preston, 2007). In order to obtain more responses from visible minorities, the survey would have to be advertised in areas where there are more members of visible minorities. Capturing this part of the demographic might prove to be difficult even with such controls, since people who identify as visible minorities may be reluctant to talk about problems with affordable housing in order to avoid being further stigmatized.

Patriarchal forces certainly affect women who immigrate to North America. It is often the case that females have a greater economic incentive to migrate transnationally to earn money (Kobayashi & Preston, 2007). Factors they may take into consideration include the availability of employment, education, future lifestyle prospects, the needs of the family, and how the relationships between men and women alter after migration (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). The decision to move is heavily dependent on certain times and events of the life course, such as child-rearing years, finding a partner, and retirement (Stalker, 2008). In these instances, the biological differences between males and females may mean that for females, making

decisions at an earlier stage of life is more critical because of limited child-rearing years.

The Chicago School model discussed earlier in this thesis was often coupled with the influence of human ecology to study patterns of new immigrant groups to see where they first located within a city (Truelove, 2000). Immigrants would arrive and settle in the core of a city because most of the social services were concentrated in central locations, and as they grew more established they would move out to the suburbs (Truelove, 2000).

The literature on immigrant women is vast (Ray, 1994), and includes studies of the disadvantages they face with income and other hurdles surrounding occupational status, especially in cities that have large immigrant populations such as Toronto (Teixeira & Murdie, 1997). Studies have found that it now takes close to 20 years (five years longer than in 1980s Canada) for immigrants to close the earning gaps with the rest of the population (Wang & Lo, 2005). Immigration patterns no longer follow the Chicago School model, and these systematic structures of inequality tend to target the females in households (Truelove, 2000).

Income

Table 6 shows annual personal income of respondents and **Table 7** shows their annual household income. The personal annual income (**Table 6**) results show that overall, female respondents make less than male respondents. The significant difference shows a larger proportion of female

respondents earning from \$0 to \$49,999 and a larger proportion of males in each salary bracket from \$50,000 up. The percent of females who make less than \$49,999 is 1.4 times the percent of males making less than \$49,999, and the percent of males who make more than \$50,000 is 1.3 times the percent of females making more than \$50,000. The statistical difference in personal income is also prevalent when comparing present urban and suburban genders in the same geography (Appendix 1, question 13). Annual household incomes in **Table 7** show no significant differences between genders of respondents. The majority of respondents have personal annual incomes less than \$99,999 with 8 percent making over \$100,000. For household incomes, the number is much higher as respondents show 36 percent of household incomes making over \$100,000.

Personal Annual Income	Female	Male	Total
\$0 - \$49,999	58%	42%	387
\$50,000 - \$99,999	36%	46%	309
\$100,000 - \$149,999	5%	6%	42
\$150,000 - \$199,999	0%	2%	10
\$200,000 - \$249,999	0%	1%	3
\$250,000 or more	0%	1%	6
Total	407	351	758

Pearson chi2(5) = 24.8931 Pr = 0.000

Table 6: Personal Annual Income Before Tax (50k)

Annual Household Income	Female	Male	Total
\$0 - \$49,999	30%	26%	207
\$50,000 - \$99,999	36%	37%	268
\$100,000 - \$149,999	20%	22%	152
\$150,000 - \$199,999	8%	8%	59
\$200,000 - \$249,999	4%	4%	28
\$250,000 or more	3%	4%	25
Total	389	350	739

Pearson $\chi^2(5) = 2.1599$ Pr = 0.827

Table 7: Annual Household Income before Tax (50k)

When comparing genders in households, this difference disappears; this may be because the household incomes are shared between heterosexual couples, therefore closing the gender gap. The difference found in **Table 6** and **Table 7** between single Millennial respondents and Millennial couples is important, since on average working-age single people earn one third of what two-parent families earn and because Millennials are staying single longer, this has a direct impact on their finances (Kingston, 2016).

As single people age, the gap between couples and singles grows: Singles face a median \$30,000 savings deficit, whereas couples see around \$172,000 in saving surplus (Kingston, 2016). Life-cycle stages for Millennials are delayed in many areas, such as marriage and housing arrangements sometimes because Millennials spend more years on education compared to previous generations (Townshend, 1997). This widens the gap between single people (especially single women according to **Table 6**) and couples.

City policy makers and Millennials are now exploring how homeownership can be achieved beyond the traditional arrangement of

owning a house with a marital partner. Property ownership among Millennials who are neither married nor engaged is on the rise. Between 2006 and 2011, the number of Canadian common-law cohabitants rose 13.9%, and in 2013 in the United States, the number of Millennial couples buying a house before getting married rose from 17% to 24% (Kubes, 2015). Others are turning to even more creative measures and buying homes with friends. Some financial institutions, such as Vancouver City Savings Credit Union in British Columbia, offer mixer mortgages, which split a mortgage among co-owners, each portion payable from a separate account and having its own amortization period and fixed or variable term (Leong, 2014).

The polarization between low-income and high-income earners affects both genders. Households are claiming increasing incomes despite decreasing household size (Marr, 2014; Townshend and Walker, 2010). A main driver of the rise in income inequality is the loss of manufacturing jobs, especially at the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) level in the Canadian context (Bolton, 2012). Additionally, despite technological advancements that make work more efficient (Deal, Altman, & Rogelberg, 2010), compared to past generations there are now more contract positions, higher rates of debt, lower incomes (Moos, 2012), and an increasingly competitive job market with longer workdays (Vosko, 2006).

Young adults and especially young families living in North American cities are having an increasingly hard time finding housing that they can afford with their current incomes. Compared to the mid-1970s, young adults

now have to save up to four times longer for a 20% down payment in Vancouver, or three times longer in Toronto (Kershaw, 2017). In *Generation Squeeze*, Kershaw (2015) states the following:

[A] 25–34 year old making median full-time earnings between 1976–1980 had to work 5.3 years to save a 20 per cent down payment on an average home. By 2006–2010, it took the same aged person 10.1 years. This means that socioeconomic conditions for younger Canadians deteriorated over the 35 year period to a degree that requires five years of extra work to pursue home ownership. For many, these additional years of earning come on top of several more years of postsecondary education (9).

Kershaw (2015) also delves into the actual cost of timely mortgage payments by comparing rates from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) from 1976 to 1980 and from 2006 to 2010. Kershaw (2015) hypothesizes that in the later time period, young adults aged 25 to 34 would have mortgage payments 9% higher and full-time earnings 9% lower than in the earlier period, equivalent to about an extra month of work per year.

Household Composition

Like the previous section examining the presence of children, there were no differences in household composition when comparing solely male and female respondents. However, there was a significant difference between present suburban and urban females (**Table 8**) and between present suburban and urban males (**Table 9**).

What is your current living arrangement?	Suburban Female	Urban Female	Total
Alone	10%	28%	73
Shared	14%	4%	86
With Parents	24%	5%	40
With Partner	43%	45%	181
Other	8%	6%	27
Total	97	310	407

Pearson chi2(5) = 33.5744 Pr = 0.000

Table 8: Present Living Arrangements for Urban and Suburban Females

What is your current living arrangement?	Suburban Male	Urban Male	Total
Alone	7%	22%	67
Shared	16%	24%	78
With Parents	16%	3%	20
With Partner	48%	45%	157
Other	13%	6%	16
Total	69	278	347

Pearson chi2(5) = 33.2777 Pr = 0.000

Table 9: Present Living Arrangements for Urban and Suburban Males

Comparing suburban and urban respondents for both genders, the percentage breakdown of the two graphs are similar except the category of “Shared” space. In **Table 8** the percentage of suburban females who live in shared living arrangements is 3.5 the percentage of urban females, whereas in **Table 9** the percentage of the urban male who live in shared living arrangements is 1.5 percent the percent of the suburban male. This would indicate that male respondents that live in urban areas are much more likely to have shared living arrangements than female respondents who are much more likely to have shared living arrangements in suburban areas. Respondents who live in urban areas are more likely to live alone. The percentage of urban female respondents who live alone is 2.8 times the percentage of those suburban females who live alone (**Table 8**). The

percentage of urban male respondents who live alone is 3.1 times the percentage of suburban males who live alone (**Table 9**). In addition, both the percentage of female and male respondents who lived with their parents in the suburbs was around five times (4.8 for females and 5.3 for males) the percentage of those living with their parents in urban areas. The majority of respondents live with their partners, and in this respect neither gender shows much difference between urban and suburban locations.

The “Other” category in **Table 8** and **Table 9** is comprised of groups that had 10 or fewer respondents. It includes the following responses: living alone and living with a partner, spouse, boyfriend/girlfriend; college or university dormitory; parents living in my home; with parents and living alone; with parents and college or university dormitory; with parents and other; with parents and sharing a place with one or more roommates; with parents and living with a partner, spouse, boyfriend/girlfriend; shared and living with parents; and, lastly, living with parents and with partner, spouse, boyfriend/girlfriend.

The latest 2016 Canadian Census data shows that there multigenerational households are growing. This is attributed to more immigrants changing the ethnocultural composition of Canada since it is more popular to live with grandparents and parents outside of North America (Statistics Canada, 2016a). Household dynamics are also changing. The boomerang generation dubbed by Walsh (2012) previously mentioned in the literature review of this thesis has also been reflected in the latest

Canadian census data. Walsh (2012) describes the Millennial population as the boomerang generation because they tend to go back home after leaving for college. The 2016 Census also showed that one in three young adults between the ages of 20-34 is increasingly living with their parents, especially in Ontario where 42 percent (two in five) still live with their parents whereas only 20 percent in the same age group lived with their parents in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Household composition is important to consider since it influences labour by how it affects household spending and household income security (Skaburskis, 2002).

Education and Work Status

Table 10 shows the educational attainment of the survey respondents. In this survey data, a much larger share of respondents hold a university degree than in the figures from Canadian national sources that show 59.1% of young women (ages 25–34) and 40.9% of males in the same age group have degrees (Statistics Canada, 2011c). Large proportions of the respondents for this survey are well educated: 79% of females and 77% of males have one or more university degrees.

What is your current highest level of education?	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Less than high school	1%	1%	6
High school diploma	11%	12%	80
One or more university degrees	79%	77%	566
Trades certificate/College diploma	10%	10%	72
Total	397	327	724

Pearson $\chi^2(1) = 0.6878$ Pr = 0.876

Table 10: Level of Education

This survey and the Statistics Canada (2011C) data do not cover exactly the same age ranges and the Generationed City survey shows much more even results between the two genders and no statistical difference. The number of respondents who have university degrees is disproportional to national levels of postsecondary degree attainment in both Canada and the United States. The National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2011C) showed that around a quarter of Canadians (~26%) have a university degree, and around 33% of Americans have a bachelor's degree (United States Census Bureau, 2017). Survey respondents in the United States reside primarily in the southwest and northeast, while most respondents in Canada live in Ontario. The province of Quebec is underrepresented. The other states and provinces have similar overall population distributions of education among young adults (18 to 40 years old).

Nearly 80% of survey respondents have one or more university degrees. This heavily influences the way the rest of the questions are answered. It also proves that the survey has not been able to accurately encompass a random sample of the population; instead an approximate stratified random sample was done in specific cities and neighbourhoods. Since this survey was an academic endeavor, it was naturally advertised to students and consequently appealed strongly to them despite our best efforts to capture an array of socio-economic backgrounds. The low response rate for people with only a high school diploma or less is problematic because this is the population that will most likely experience

the direst kinds of housing affordability issues in the future. Education can serve as a generational divisor and has become more prominent in dividing society (McDaniel, 2004). In areas where postsecondary school is less expensive, young adults may choose to continue their schooling instead of entering the labour force (Hughes, 2003).

Table 11 shows the significant difference between work arrangements for females and males. The most drastic comparison in **Table 11** is the part-time percentages; females outnumber males in part-time work. Although most respondents fall into the largest category of Full-Time, Permanent (70% of all workers), the second largest category is Full-Time, Contract work (14% of all workers). There is also a significant difference between males and females for respondents who live in urban areas (significant differences for those who are currently in urban areas and those who want to be in urban areas in the future) but not in suburban ones (Appendix 1, question 17).

What is your current work arrangement?	Female	Male	Total
Full-Time, Contract	16%	12%	87
Full-Time, Permanent	63%	78%	436
Part-Time, Contract	13%	6%	62
Part-Time, Permanent	8%	3%	36
Total	331	290	621

Pearson chi2(3) = 19.4572 Pr = 0.000

Table 11: Present Work Arrangements

With respect to work status, despite the fact that our respondents have higher than average education levels and that the survey data do not

show any significant differences in education, there is still a difference between females and males in work arrangements. This could be related to the fact that women are less often in senior positions in the paid labour market. Literature also suggests that women have more contract or part-time jobs compared to men their age, especially Millennial women who remain home to take care of children (Worth, 2016).

Under the feminist understanding of these topics, studies such as Kern (2010) and Worth (2016) look at interdependency by way of fear and vulnerability through economics, bring together the idea of being precarious alongside fear in the workplace, and discuss how interdependencies between people are crucial for building one's autonomy in geography. Worth (2016) states that young Millennial women's "stories about work are anything but individual experiences of flexibility or precarity. ... [R]elationships play a critical role in working agency and whether work feels flexible or precarious" (601).

Young women still experience pay gaps and more unpaid work compared to men, especially those who have children. Worth (2016) highlights the importance of agency and explores how young women in Canada feel about these differences. The "mother load" (Worth, 2004)—the additional chores, time, and care that women (especially mothers) put into their relationships—is a major area of focus that divides genders. When it comes to work status, the gender lens is definitely magnified, as women still

face pay gaps and unpaid work much more often than their male counterparts do.

In 2016, in Canada, part-time work was twice as common for Millennial women than for Millennial men age 25-29 and three times as common for ages 30-34 (Statistics Canada, 2016c). This same trend where women take on more part time work is also reflected in the survey responses (**Table 11**). The psychology behind this is important to understand in the Millennial context, since changes to the labour market such as fewer unions and benefits and more contract work take a toll on Millennials emotionally, which can influence them economically. Forces such as fear of unemployment push Millennials to keep jobs they do not enjoy or to go back to school for further education before pursuing a job in the field they previously studied (Worth, 2016). To gain further understanding of how work-life balance is tied to the emotional connections people have with one another, further work can be done outside of Millennials' close personal circles, expanding into outer social circles such as those in the places where young adults receive education, volunteer, or pursue personal projects (Worth, 2016).

Number of Children

The responses to the survey questions that asked about the presence of children in households showed no significant difference between genders (Appendix 1, question 6) when testing respondents in solely gendered groups (females versus males). However, there is a significant difference

between genders for respondents living in suburban and urban landscapes.

Table 12 shows the difference between urban and suburban areas for female respondents and **Table 13** shows these results for male respondents.

The percentage of males in the suburbs with children is higher than the percentage of females in the suburbs with children.

Are there children living in your household?	Present Urban Female	Present Suburban Female	Total
Yes	12%	27%	62
No	88%	73%	343
Total	307	98	405

Pearson chi2 (1) = 12.5576 Pr = 0.000

Table 12: Presence of Children in Household: Present Urban and Suburban Females

Are there children living in your household?	Present Urban Male	Present Suburban Male	Total
Yes	9%	33%	48
No	91%	67%	300
Total	278	70	348

Pearson chi2 (1) = 26.7829 Pr = 0.000

Table 13: Presence of Children in Household: Present Urban and Suburban Males

There are also difference between males who want to live in urban locations in the future and those who want to live in suburban locations in the future (Appendix 6, question 6).

All significant differences found in these responses relate to the fact that respondents in suburban locations have children in their households more often than do those who live in urban areas . The percent of suburban females who have children living in the household is 2.5 times of the number

of females living in urban areas (**Table 12**). The percent of suburban males who have children living in the household is 3.7 times of the males living in urban areas (**Table 13**).

These results enticed me to explore questions that revolved around children to see if there were further gender differences present in the preferences and values young adults exhibit when they are thinking about having children. The number of couples who are having children in Canada is shrinking (Statistics Canada, 2016a). This is attributed to the aging population, but could also be because it is harder for young adults to afford having children during biologically prime years especially if they want live in large cities.

Values

Respondents were asked five value-based questions about their preferences related to raising a family: where raising children is best, homeownership, access to a private yard, access to a car, and having a single-family home. It is not uncommon for the three dimensions of detached home/single-family home, homeownership, and ownership of an automobile to be used (Harris, 2011; M. Moos & Mendez, 2014), but the gender dimension for the Millennial population has not been explored thoroughly. That is the aim of this section.

The following results are based on the data presented in **Table 14**. As explained in the Chapter 3, I divided the respondents into nine groups. These colour differences shown in **Table 14**: no colour indicates that there

was no significant difference between the variables tested; blue indicates the P-value was equal to or less than 0.05 and tested more than 95% statistically significant; orange indicates the P-value was equal to or less than 0.01 and highly statistically significant; green indicates the P-value was equal to 0.000 and highly statistically significant. These three levels of significant difference are often used as thresholds for probability testing in academic literature. A complete list of p-values for most survey questions is presented in Appendix 1, a summary of P-values for questions based on preferences when raising children is presented in Appendix 2, and p-values for each of the nine categories of respondents outlined in **Table 2** based on question 35 of the survey appear in Appendices 3 through 20.

Table 14 shows that there are significant differences between females and males in regard to preference for homeownership, private yard access, and car access when raising children (see Appendix 2 for p-values). However, this is not always true when respondents are broken down into smaller groups. There are apparent significant differences when comparing present urban females and present urban males, and when comparing future urban females and future urban males. However, there do not appear to be significant differences when comparing present suburban females and present suburban males, or when comparing future suburban females and future suburban males. This means when comparing respondents who live or see themselves living in the suburbs in the future to other respondents

who live or see themselves living in the suburbs in the future, no significant differences are found. However, when comparing those who live in urban areas or want to live in urban areas in the future to other respondents who live or want to live in urban areas, there are significant differences found in their preferences. In most cases it is the female respondent who answers “Strongly Agree and Agree” more often than the male respondent. By how much is shown in **Table 14** through ratios I got by comparing the percentage of respondents broken down in the same nine categories of survey respondents.

Gender, Time and Landscape	Question Response	35a	35b	35c	35d	35e
		Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Having access to a car is important when raising children	A single family home is a better place to raise children than an apartment
F,M	Strongly Agree and Agree	0.824	1.13	1.307	1.113	1.057
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.099	1.019	0.801	1.065	1.066
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	0.771	0.603	0.694	0.555	0.854
F(SP), M(SP)	Strongly Agree and Agree	1.088	1.198	1.152	0.821	1.045
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.159	0.869	0.869	1.718	0.886
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	0.748	0.661	0.661	0.716	1.074
F(UP), M(UP)	Strongly Agree and Agree	0.87	1.097	1.347	1.179	0.704
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.012	1.117	0.812	0.961	1.084
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	1.031	0.613	0.721	0.541	0.857
F(SP), F(UP)	Strongly Agree and Agree	2.865	1.377	1.297	1.155	1.379
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.328	0.528	0.664	0.655	0.907
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	0.41	0.566	0.649	0.644	0.552
M(SP), M(UP)	Strongly Agree and Agree	2.29	1.26	1.516	1.401	1.402
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.159	0.875	0.62	0.366	0.75
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	0.564	0.554	0.708	0.486	0.441
F(SF), M(SF)	Strongly Agree and Agree	0.904	1.162	1.032	0.972	0.947
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.082	1.152	0.977	1.413	1.098
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	2.827	0.461	0.705	2.827	2.12
F(UF), M(UF)	Strongly Agree and Agree	0.737	1.134	1.392	1.126	1.018
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.089	1.046	0.828	1.176	1.09
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	1.012	0.641	0.712	0.525	0.871
F(SF), F(UF)	Strongly Agree and Agree	6.814	1.546	1.639	1.388	2.098
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.172	0.447	0.487	0.131	0.634
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	0.094	0.661	0.136	0.495	0.139
M(SF), M(UF)	Strongly Agree and Agree	5.551	1.763	2.211	1.644	2.255
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1.179	0.406	0.444	0.109	0.629
	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	0.033	0.296	0.137	0.092	0.059

Table 14: Ratios for Value-Based Questions

In **Table 14**, I grouped the answers “Strongly Agree” with “Agree” and “Strongly Disagree” with “Disagree,” showing three ratios for each of the nine categories and for each of the value-based questions. As seen in **Table 14**,

- the ratio of females are 1.13 to males when agreeing or strongly agreeing that homeownership is preferable to renting when raising children:
- the ratio of females are 1.31 to males when agreeing or strongly agreeing that having access to a private yard is important when raising children;
- the ratio of females are 1.11 to males when agreeing or strongly agreeing that having access to a car is important when raising children.

Both private yard and car access questions show significant differences between genders for respondents who see themselves in urban areas in the future:

- For every 1.13 female respondent who wants to live in an urban area in the future and that “Strongly Agrees or Agrees” that car access is important when raising children, there is 1 male respondent;
- For every 1.35 female respondent who currently lives in an urban area and that “Strongly Agrees or Agrees” that private yard access is important when raising children, there is 1 male respondent

I undertook this part of the analysis after seeing very few gender differences in the data except for questions related to child-rearing. The demographics studied in this chapter showed no gender differences in age, race, birthplace, or household income. Questions on the number of children (**Table 12** and **Table 13**) and household composition (**Table 9**) showed significant differences when the genders were split into urban and suburban categories. The responses about the number of children respondents live

with and household composition are important because many of the affordability issues in cities are more severe for those who have children and want to stay in urban areas (Bromley, Tallon, & Thomas, 2005).

This led to my studying question 35, which asks about raising children. The significant differences show that private yards and car access are highly important to females and these two variables are much more affordable in the suburbs. These variables are discussed in further detail later in this chapter. The findings suggest that despite previous studies showing that young adults prefer urban regions, respondents in this survey prefer suburban qualities when talking about raising children.

Another variable that influences where people choose to live in their adult lives is their past childhood residential experience (Blaauboer, 2011). Although not explicitly examined, present and future preferences have been analyzed in this thesis through splitting up genders into present and future categories for urban and suburban residential preferences. Since many Millennials grew up in suburbs situated closer to urban areas than to rural ones, it makes sense that some Millennials might want to move to the suburbs to raise a family. Suburbs are often less expensive than cities, and often they are more familiar than urban areas (Moos, in press). These preferences are important because they influence the type of marketing messages based on demographics that housing officials choose to present; places are coupled with different lifestyles that fit living arrangements. For instance, condominium marketing may target urban females (Leslie Kern,

2010), which would make sense for the data examined in this thesis as the percentage of urban female respondents living alone are 2.8 times the percentage of suburban female respondents living alone (**Table 8**).

Differences between Females and Males and Car Access

A key finding for this thesis is that the female preference for car access in these survey data does not conform to the urban lifestyle that the Millennial population claims to prefer. A study on public transit ridership in Baltimore and Seattle demonstrated proportionally fewer transit users with children (Tolbert, Brooks-gunn, & Mclanahan, 2011). It is especially difficult to plan trips using transit that cater to chaperoning children in the suburbs.

Significant differences in preference for car access are found between genders: urban females tend to strongly agree or agree with having car access more than urban men do. For suburban locations, respondent data did not show differences between genders. The literature suggests that male populations influence downward trends of car use in urban areas (Bromley et al., 2005; Kuhnimhof et al., 2012), but these studies address correlation between nightlife and preference for car access and do not mention children.. The importance of car access for females indicates that they perform different tasks compared to their male counterparts, especially related to children.

Kuhnimhof et al. (2012) compare car mileage in industrial countries (United States, Japan, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands). They find that young Americans have the highest mileage, but Americans

have also reduced their per capita car usage and mileage more than people in other the countries since 2001. Kuhnimhof et al. (2012) separate rural and suburban populations and find that car travel per capita is lower in urban areas across all the countries they observed.

There has been a diverging trend by gender when it comes to car ownership; the literature reports that young women have lower rates of car ownership than young men (Kuhnimhof et al., 2012). In the analysis done for this thesis, car access is one of two values that show significant differences between genders (the other is private yard access). It is much harder to own a car in the city, and fewer Millennials have driving licenses compared to previous generations, as the need for a car is much less in urban areas than in suburban ones (Badger, 2014; Beck, 2016; Lorinc, 2017).

The fact that females in this survey hold more part-time positions than men may relate to the difference in preference for car access. **Table 11** shows that for every one male respondent, 2.1 female respondents have part-time contract work. And for every one male respondent, 2.7 female respondents have part-time permanent work. Part-time workdays may not be as structured as full-time workdays, so women may have more erratic schedules and need to make more trips. It can be difficult to depend on public transit throughout the day or during odd hours, which may be why women in the survey find car access to be more important than men do when they need to consider children when trip planning.

Discussion on the Differences between Females and Males and Yard Access

Similar to the findings on car access, the responses for private yard access show a significant difference between not only genders when respondents are separated into male and female categories, but also subcategories that compare urban female and male populations that currently live in urban areas and who wish to live in urban areas in the future. The survey data indicate that these issues are not as pressing for the male respondents and can be the product of factors outside of the scope of the survey, such as safety, household task divisions, and pay gaps that favour men.

There are several reasons why access to a private yard is beneficial to children. For example, the literature points to issues of safety for children, which is a common concern, especially for women in cities (Leslie Kern, 2010). These issues are often examined in relation to how mothers feel about their neighbourhoods. If safety is a concern in the urban areas Millennial women inhabit before they have children, it will be magnified once they do have children.

Parents or future parents often consider the importance of children's access to green space when deciding on a place to live. A wide range of behavioural issues can arise in children who do not have a safe outlet for their energy. Additionally, lack of green space and activity may contribute to the rising obesity rates in North America (Louv, 2005; Tolbert et al., 2011). Private backyards in the suburbs may provide a safe outdoor environment,

which is a consideration for Millennials who are already parents or are hoping to have children in the future.

Measuring green space exposure is difficult, and many studies use geographic information systems to measure accessibility (Sister, Wolch, & Wilson, 2010). Cities such as Toronto are now trying to develop better, more family-friendly, and safer green spaces to accommodate children. These new parks include basketball courts and splash pads (instead of pools, which can be more dangerous for young children) (Keesmaat, 2016). The provision of green space should be on the radar for all North American cities so that they can continue to grow while accommodating families.

Discussion on the Differences between Urban and Suburban Landscapes

The gender differences between urban and suburban places started as early as the 1890s, with Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement. It is argued that this movement played a role in moving women out of city centres and into suburbs, where there is an abundance of single-family homes with private backyards that require more upkeep compared to apartments in city centres. Subsequently, this played into the development of the stay-at-home mom, secluded in the suburbs (Beebeejaun, 2017; Rustin, 2014). The experiences of women become incredibly important to measure through spatial tactics so planning and design can support them in achieving a better sense of belonging (Beebeejaun, 2017).

Apart from the significant differences seen between the genders in responses to questions about private yard access, car access, and

homeownership, there are significant differences within genders based on location. The green rows throughout indicates P-value was equivalent to 0.000 for all five preference questions asked, indicating that there are differences between genders and urban versus suburban locations, especially when they think about future scenarios.

Looking at the data, it seems that there significant differences that arise more frequently between those who want to live in the suburbs in the future versus those who want to live in urban areas in the future. Males who currently live in urban and suburban locations tend to have less significant differences between the two locations than female respondents. For example, comparing current suburban males and current urban males finds significant differences for three of the five value-based questions, whereas current suburban females and current urban females show significant differences for all five. In both cases, the suburban respondent population is more in agreement with these value-based questions.

It is no surprise that those respondents who currently live in the suburbs are more in favour of the suburbs as an environment for raising children. For instance the percentage of females presently living in the suburbs who “strongly agree or agree” that homeownership is preferable to renting when raising children were 1.38 to one female who responded the same but is presently living in an urban area. The ratio of those who strongly agree or agree is higher than those who strongly disagree and Disagree, or

neither agree nor disagree for all questions for the same category of female respondents.

The greatest significant differences related to location occurred between:

- females who expressed a desire to live in the suburbs in the future and females who want to live in urban areas in the future
- males who expressed a desire to live in the suburbs in the future and males who want to live in urban areas in the future.

Significant differences exist for all preference/value questions regarding kids comparing these four sets of respondents. When comparing the sets they also demonstrate bigger ratios for all five preference questions compared to any other category of respondents. Given the housing affordability issues faced across North America, the desire to own a single-family home in an urban area may be unrealistic for many Millennials. This finding supports the research that states young adults and children are often not present in urban areas (M. Moos & Mendez, 2014).

With respect to question 35, the differences between females who envisioned themselves living in the suburbs and those who would prefer to live in urban areas in 10 years' time, and the differences between males who envisioned themselves living in the suburbs and those who would prefer to live in urban areas in 10 years' time show the most significant differences. Following the question on whether suburbs are better places to raise children, the questions regarding homeownership, yard access, car access,

and whether a single-family home is better than an apartment as a place to raise children all have significant differences and show that those in the suburbs agreeing more with the statements of Question 35.

For every female that saw themselves in **urban locations** in the future there were...

- 1.55 females who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that homeownership is preferable to renting when raising children;
- 1.64 females who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that access to a private yard is important when raising children;
- 1.39 females who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that car access is important when raising children; and
- 2.10 females who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that a single family home is a better place to raise children.

For every male that saw themselves in **urban locations** in the future there were...

- 1.76 males who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that homeownership is preferable to renting when raising children;

- 2.21 males who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that access to a private yard is important when raising children;
- 1.64 males who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that car access is important when raising children; and
- 2.26 males who saw themselves in suburban locations in the future that “strongly agreed or agreed” that a single family home is a better place to raise children.

The urban landscape appears to be less family friendly than the suburban environment. No matter how many parks or amenities are added, if the people they are meant for cannot access them comfortably, these resources are not fully utilized. This is reflected in the literature, as some beautiful yet elite parts of cities are considered peaceful because they have no children or young teens loitering around. Additionally, sometimes areas are seen as unsafe or are not seen in a positive light when young adults are present (e.g., youth spending time outside a mall) (Bondi, 1998; Rosenberg & Wilson, 2010). Although the literature supporting the notion that families prefer suburban areas and homeownership is plentiful (Deurloo et al., 1990; Hummon, 1990; Richards, 1990; Clapson, 2003), but recently this notion has been challenged (Boterman, Karsten, & Musterd, 2010; L. Karsten, 2007; L. I. A. Karsten, 2005; Moos, 2015). However as the results of this thesis show,

when respondents are asked about children in questions 35a to 35e, there is a preference for suburban areas and for amenities that are more affordable and frequent in suburban landscapes. The differences in gender in these responses might be a result, in part, of predominantly male-dominated design since the birth of planning and of the fact that architecture is a male-dominated field (Rustin, 2014). It is difficult to take into consideration what the opposite sex wants when they are not represented equally in the design process.

Results Conclusion

When considering raising children, respondents, especially females, show a greater propensity towards suburban qualities. This is contrary to the preference for urban areas that young adults have conveyed in recent literature. The two main values tested that go against their proclivity for city living are private yard access and access to a car. Further research could be conducted here as car-share programs become more popular and reduce the need for personal vehicles (Shaheen, Cohen, & Roberts, 2005) and as accessibility to safe, green, spaces within cities improves. With these changes, the future demand for private yards and cars may not be so influential in location decisions for young adults.

Gender differences were present in several of the employment-based questions asked in the survey: work status, income, self-employment, and work arrangements. In addition, respondents showed gender differences in

where they grew up as children and where they want to live 10 years from now (questions 67 and 69). The questions about where respondents grew up and where they want to be 10 years from now have been integrated in the way I break down the groupings of respondents to analyze survey responses.

Data for the birthplace of respondents have been assessed in this chapter and indicate that the survey captured less than the national rates of visible minorities and that over 90% of the respondents were born in either Canada or the United States.

The questions about work status, employment, and income can be related back to children. Having children, and the mental and physical energy that goes into raising them, greatly influences these variables for men and women. This is in addition to the household tasks related to having children and to the amount of time left over for other tasks. The values section of the survey (questions 35a to 35e) also showed high rates of significant differences between genders.

Chapter 5 – Limitations, Recommendations, and Conclusion

Limitations & Recommendations

There were several limitations to the online survey used to gather Generationed City data. Although convenient and inexpensive, online surveys have several disadvantages including uncertainty over the validity of the data and self-selection biases (Wright, 2005). Most of the close-ended questions in the online survey require the respondent to be presented with an exhaustive response list (Sue & Ritter, 2012). These lists can lead to false negatives (accidentally rejecting a response) and false positives (accidentally selecting a response) and are often avoided through open-ended comments. Some of the questions in the Generationed City survey had boxes where respondents could describe what they meant; however, because the data are presented as percentages most of the time, these nuances are not captured in the results.

The distinctions that are captured in open-ended comments can be crucial to some topics that fall under the gender spectrum, especially if they are studied under a feminist lens, where much of the research is based on psychology and emotion (Worth, 2017). I argue that when studying the needs of parents raising children, a more open-ended questionnaire through qualitative research is necessary to capture the nuances of everyday life. This is also particularly important when talking about the precariousness felt by Millennial women in their workplace environments and career trajectories, as well as the fear felt by women in certain areas of the city (Leslie Kern, 2010; Worth, 2016).

Although the survey showed similar rates of visible minorities to the national Canadian rates, the survey was not able to capture similar rates of foreign-born citizens that Statistics Canada reports; this is a limitation of the survey data especially because 58% of immigrants are between the ages of 25 and 54 (Statistics Canada, 2011b). Since children play a role in gender inequality for minorities (Reitz et al., 2015), future research can delve into the Millennial immigrant populations that experience affordability issues alongside the patriarchal gender roles that are carried from their countries of origin. This observation may indicate the potential difficulty members of visible minorities have in speaking up about their affordable housing issues out of fear of being stigmatized.

In order to research gender differences present in young visible minority groups, the methods of how respondents are gathered should be altered. Since there is a growing population of immigrants in North America, a study done on just Millennial visible minorities could yield a better encompassing understanding of the overall young adult population.

The literature on the topic of Millennials and affordability rarely mentions how parents can act as financiers for future homes or help with down payments, and this is also not captured in the survey questions. The notion that parents can help alleviate the financial burden their children face is briefly mentioned by McDaniel (2004) when she refers to the generation before the Baby Boomers as the “precious generation” who won the economic and social lottery to ensure they grew prosperous as they aged and then retired comfortably. They were then able

to help the Baby Boomers to a greater extent than the Baby Boomers can help the Millennial population. In relation to this survey data, Markus et al. (In press) talk about how difficult it would be to collect data on the amount of wealth that is transferred from one generation to another. This topic requires further research.

Another limitation of the survey data is the overrepresentation of well-educated respondents. It can be inferred that well-educated Millennials have an easier time finding jobs than Millennials who do not have as much education. This is important to remember because those without as much education will have heightened affordability issues not covered in the survey data. Although we tried to travel to low-income area of the cities that we were testing to find respondents, it was difficult to entice the public to take the survey. Many of the affordable housing non-for-profits in the US cities I frequented for Generationed City research purposes had their establishments in low-income areas where it is known to have less educated residents. Again, it was difficult to entice them to take the survey. In order to survey Millennials with less education, I suggest a shorter survey, since people experiencing affordability issues, in combination with low incomes and low rates of education, are likely find to it difficult to commit to a survey without financial compensation.

There is also underrepresentation of people who identify as gay, lesbian, or queer throughout the thesis, and there are not enough data to create a spectrum of gender within the respondents. This is an area for future research, especially because many popular urban cities are home to large gay populations (Florida, 2005). Different components of gender and sexuality are often inscribed within

urban environments, and it is important to note that these results are fairly rigid in representing couples as heterosexual and representing only two types of gender (female and male). These populations need further research as same-sex marriage becomes more accepted through laws and policy. This is not a new problem, as there is a shortage of research in regard to children and same-sex couples (Shlay, 1995) or even to single-income households run by single women (Kern, 2010). Young adults are not only delaying their life-cycles stages but are also revamping them as marriage becomes less common, so more research into different types of household arrangements.

The limitations of the Generationed City survey could be the starting points of future research. Related surveys that cover the emotion and psychology of young adults would require asking and studying more open ended questions. Other limitations are more difficult to capture such as measuring the extent of the impact of an inheritance or figuring out methods that capture a better representation of the general public including visible minorities. The overrepresentation of well-educated respondents is also a large limitation of the survey especially as automation becomes increasingly prevalent and lessens the need for service jobs that do not require post-secondary training. Future research might need to need to be catered specifically to these missing pieces.

In terms of intra-urban residences, according to the findings of this thesis, a more in-depth analysis through regression models that estimate the relationships between independent and dependent variables would be beneficial. Different variables that were discussed in this thesis would be

valuable, for instance, variables that influence connectedness to one's gender tested against variables that showcase proximity to social circles and proximity work. Young adults continue to value high-density neighbourhoods close to work, where transit is prevalent and they have quick and convenient access to lifestyle amenities. In this thesis, a percentage of the young adult population value private cars and private yards which are not characteristics that are easily affordable in inter-urban areas. Consequently, these preferences can influence residential settlement in intra-urban areas. Preferences are largely influenced by the life-cycle and household size. We now know that there are already gender differences between males and females when it comes to values surrounding child rearing. In future research, it would be interesting to see the relationship between gender and young adult life-cycles and how they play out within intra-urban residences.

Conclusion

As North America becomes increasingly urban, the preference of Millennials for these urban landscapes follows suit. Many topics of urban form and processes are crosscut by gender (Rose, 2015). This thesis aimed to answer two questions: What are the gender differences among North American young adults relevant to the study of location decisions? And in what ways to gender differences in values play out in the case of specific samples of North American young adults? These questions were considered by looking

at present versus future residential location preferences to determine where survey respondents live and where they want to live in the future. The values they express varied by gender. The results showed that female respondents have a higher propensity to prefer design characteristics that are more affordable and popular in suburban settings when raising children. Two main preferences were discussed: car access and private yard access.

To answer the first question, the respondents were split into nine groups. By splitting the respondents into groups that were not only female and male, differences within urban locations as well as suburban locations could be studied. Overall there were not many demographic differences between male and female respondents. The significant differences that were present between genders were for questions related to employment (survey question number 12, work status; survey question number 13, personal income; survey question 16, self-employment; survey question number 17, work arrangement) and children (question 36b, preference for homeownership to renting; question 35c, having access to a private yard; question 35d, having access to a car).

When children are added to the variables being compared, respondents show more significant differences between gender and urban/suburban landscapes than with all the other questions tested. This led me to compare responses to all the value-based questions related to raising children. The results highlighted the importance of access to cars and private yards that provide safe green space to parents or those who plan to

have children. The gender divide that is present in the survey responses is most significant when it comes to car access and private yard access when children are considered.

There were gender differences between male and females for private yard and car access, along with other differences found between respondents who currently live in suburban areas or who see themselves living in suburban areas in the future. There were 1.3 urban female respondents for every one urban male that preferred private yard access when raising children and 1.2 urban female respondents for every one urban male that preferred access to a car when raising children (**Table 13**). These differences could stem from women feeling less safe in cities than men do and from the design process that has isolated women in the suburbs as a result of the social influences that were present when suburban neighbourhoods were mushrooming across North America. It is important to highlight that gender differences still arise in this highly educated population of young adults. I would find it reasonable to assume that the gender differences would have a higher magnitude in less educated populations and there is more opportunity to do research in this area. I also recommend more research on young adults and transit patterns as there is a gender divide here that might be founded in concerns over convenience and safety. Better inclusiveness in transit systems improves the social connectivity of any community.

The magnitude of the differences between genders versus the statistical significant differences found is two different things. In the data testing the values for significant differences, in **Table 14**, there are gender differences between male and female respondents - significant differences for three out of the five questions: homeownership, private yard access, and car access all show female respondents outnumbering male respondents. In these three categories there are anywhere between 30-50 more female respondents than male respondents “strongly agreeing” to these statements of importance when raising children. These respondents that show significant differences in “strongly agree” categories represent less than 20 percent of all respondents.

Although previous research shows that Millennials have a strong preference to reside near urban regions, the respondents in this study also preferred amenities that are more affordable in suburban regions, especially on the topic of raising children. There are a variety of different reasons (that are laced with gender dimensions and inequalities) presented and hypothesized in this thesis, such as issues of safety for women and lack of safe greenspace that is integrated into urban design. This could influence more young adults to move away from urban centers simply because they cannot afford to raise families there. Policy makers must take into consideration the disconnect between the views of the residents and the policies implemented to diversify suburban neighbourhoods (Perrin & Grant, 2014). The suburbs remain popular as a respite from the city, and are

still valued when raising children. When Millennials have children, it seems that practical considerations outweigh a previous preference for urban living, as it is very hard to afford suitable family homes in downtown cores.

The affordability situation is dire for young adults, and designers of urban areas can help mitigate cost by finding innovative ways to incorporate the values young adults deem most important when choosing a place to live. Daycares and nannies are very expensive, especially in addition to the rising cost of housing, and families with children in urban areas may not have easy access to private play facilities or outdoor activities. Incorporating the values that are apparent in this thesis into policies and design, such as creating safer communal courtyards and implementing convenient car-sharing programs for neighbourhoods, could reduce the gender divide and accommodate those who want to stay in urban areas. As home prices increase in urban areas, private homeownership requires higher income levels. Renting is often less expensive than homeownership. Thus, policy that primarily supports homeownership will lead to the displacement of low-income earners (Moos & Mendez, 2014).

Policy makers need to understand the demanding transition that Millennials are making into adulthood; policies cannot be based on past economic climates. Propagated by neoliberal markets, the desire for automobiles, homeownership, and private yards endures. This fuels suburban sprawl, which explains why policies that try to stop sprawl without considering why it is attractive fail (Walker & Carter, 2010).

Suburbs are becoming increasingly socio-economically heterogeneous (M. Moos & Mendez, 2014), and planning policies that build small condominiums near transit hubs have not done much to reduce sprawl (Moos et al., 2014). Understanding what future residents' value becomes an integral part of the design and implementation of alternative housing, especially medium-density housing that does not deny residents privacy or seclude them from transit.

In order to attract more young adults to the city or to retain them when they have children, there is a need for better multiple-use public green spaces in residential environments. In the same vein, it would be beneficial to create reliable, safe transit systems so people who want children do not have to rely on cars. These two things would alleviate the need for private yards and cars. Policy should target both the supply of residential environments and improving their safety so that they are more suitable for children (Diepen & Musterd, 2009).

This thesis highlights the importance of better design to accommodate families in cities and to allow all genders to live full lives without experiencing precarious work environments out of necessity. The thesis also contests the many studies that say young adults want to be in urban areas, as the respondents in this survey show a preference for suburban qualities (especially car access and private yard access). This may be because they are more affordable in the suburban landscape. To create denser living areas, cities need to ensure neighbourhoods are built with

access to safe green space, better transit, and car-share programs that cater to city life. Additionally, transit should be at the forefront of policy so we do not continue to rely on automobiles as the most dependable and safest option for transporting children. Cities should strive to attain intergenerational fairness, not only because of the sheer size of the Millennial population but also because of the talent and social capital Millennials continue to bring to urban areas.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Significant Difference (Pr Values) for Survey Questions

Question Number	Question	Groups	Chi2	Pr
6	Are there any children (under 18 years old) living in your household?	F,M	0.3832	0.536
		F(S),M(S) Present	0.7911	0.374
		F(U),M(U) Present	1.1672	0.28
		F(S),M(S) Future	1.6299	0.202
		F(U),M(U) Future	0.0721	0.788
		F(U),F(S) Present	12.5576	0
		M(U),M(S) Present	26.7829	0
		F(U),F(S) Future	1.1338	0.287
		M(U),M(S) Future	8.071	0.004
8	Where were you born?	F,M	28.4422	0
		F(S),M(S) Present	7.9252	0.244
		F(U),M(U) Present	28.7115	0
		F(S),M(S) Future	6.9328	0.226
		F(U),M(U) Future	20.3618	0.005
		F(U),F(S) Present	5.8187	0.467
		M(U),M(S) Present	9.2418	0.236
		F(U),F(S) Future	12.2962	0.056
		M(U),M(S) Future	5.269	0.627
10	Are you a visible minority?	F,M	6.898	0.33
		F(S),M(S) Present	3.1379	0.679
		F(U),M(U) Present	4.0501	0.67
		F(S),M(S) Future	6.9514	0.224
		F(U),M(U) Future	7.2938	0.295
		F(U),F(S) Present	10.069	0.073
		M(U),M(S) Present	6.2165	0.399
		F(U),F(S) Future	3.2406	0.663
		M(U),M(S) Future	9.2121	0.162
12	What is your current work status?	F,M	19.4572	0
		F(S),M(S) Present	6.5369	0.366
		F(U),M(U) Present	20.1225	0.003
		F(S),M(S) Future	9.5789	0.088
		F(U),M(U) Future	19.0442	0.004
		F(U),F(S) Present	4.4224	0.62
		M(U),M(S) Present	3.5052	0.477
		F(U),F(S) Future	6.3146	0.389
		M(U),M(S) Future	3.7574	0.44
13	What is your personal income, before taxes ?	F,M	24.9392	0
		F(S),M(S) Present	11.3252	0.023
		F(U),M(U) Present	14.2087	0.014
		F(S),M(S) Future	24.3032	0
		F(U),M(U) Future	10.8499	0.054
		F(U),F(S) Present	1.6103	0.807
		M(U),M(S) Present	5.5058	0.357
		F(U),F(S) Future	6.6383	0.156
		M(U),M(S) Future	6.0483	0.302

Question Number	Question	Groups	Chi2	Pr
14	What is annual household income before taxes (20k increments) ?	F,M	5.7429	0.955
		F(S),M(S) Present	8.9871	0.704
		F(U),M(U) Present	7.1485	0.894
		F(S),M(S) Future	17.3904	0.135
		F(U),M(U) Future	6.3728	0.932
		F(U),F(S) Present	16.4905	0.17
		M(U),M(S) Present	12.6775	0.473
		F(U),F(S) Future	11.477	0.489
14	What is your annual household income, before taxes (50k increments) ?	F,M	2.1599	0.827
		F(S),M(S) Present	2.1358	0.83
		F(U),M(U) Present	3.52	0.62
		F(S),M(S) Future	6.1301	0.294
		F(U),M(U) Future	2.1915	0.822
		F(U),F(S) Present	5.3825	0.371
		M(U),M(S) Present	6.4978	0.261
		F(U),F(S) Future	3.2107	0.668
16	Are you self employed?	M(U),M(S) Future	2.9385	0.709
		F,M	4.369	0.037
		F(S),M(S) Present	0.2435	0.622
		F(U),M(U) Present	5.681	0.017
		F(S),M(S) Future	0.1949	0.659
		F(U),M(U) Future	5.8035	0.016
		F(U),F(S) Present	0.0117	0.914
		M(U),M(S) Present	3.4123	0.065
17	What is your current work arrangement?	F(U),F(S) Future	0.3466	0.556
		M(U),M(S) Future	1.4138	0.234
		F,M	19.4572	0
		F(S),M(S) Present	6.1712	0.104
		F(U),M(U) Present	12.7613	0.005
		F(S),M(S) Future	6.5877	0.086
		F(U),M(U) Future	12.8569	0.005
		F(U),F(S) Present	6.1023	0.107
26	How many people live in your household?	M(U),M(S) Present	0.4327	0.933
		F(U),F(S) Future	3.7441	0.29
		M(U),M(S) Future	3.2628	0.353
		F,M	9.8177	0.199
		F(S),M(S) Present	6.5062	0.26
		F(U),M(U) Present	7.2125	0.407
		F(S),M(S) Future	3.6787	0.72
		F(U),M(U) Future	5.8961	0.552
		F(U),F(S) Present	13.725	0.033
		M(U),M(S) Present	32.452	0
		F(U),F(S) Future	3.6298	0.727
		M(U),M(S) Future	5.9139	0.433

Question Number	Question	Groups	Chi2	Pr
30	Do you own or rent your own home?	F,M	1.6312	0.442
		F(S),M(S) Present	1.6388	0.441
		F(U),M(U) Present	3.2214	0.2
		F(S),M(S) Future	0.6244	0.732
		F(U),M(U) Future	1.2557	0.534
		F(U),F(S) Present	11.5842	0.003
		M(U),M(S) Present	27.0738	0
		F(U),F(S) Future	0.0854	0.958
35a	Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	F,M	5.6241	0.229
		F(S),M(S) Present	5.1352	0.274
		F(U),M(U) Present	2.3969	0.663
		F(S),M(S) Future	1.2123	0.75
		F(U),M(U) Future	4.8261	0.306
		F(U),F(S) Present	45.7267	0
		M(U),M(S) Present	18.4126	0.01
		F(U),F(S) Future	116.5542	0
35b	Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	F,M	12.0699	0.017
		F(S),M(S) Present	4.1724	0.383
		F(U),M(U) Present	9.4353	0.051
		F(S),M(S) Future	1.6872	0.64
		F(U),M(U) Future	7.7658	0.101
		F(U),F(S) Present	14.1731	0.007
		M(U),M(S) Present	5.0337	0.284
		F(U),F(S) Future	31.4651	0
35c	Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	F,M	25.0165	0
		F(S),M(S) Present	7.0003	0.136
		F(U),M(U) Present	16.2334	0.003
		F(S),M(S) Future	5.7971	0.122
		F(U),M(U) Future	17.3366	0.002
		F(U),F(S) Present	10.6688	0.031
		M(U),M(S) Present	9.4281	0.051
		F(U),F(S) Future	43.6802	0
35d	Having access to a car is important when raising children	F,M	14.0732	0.007
		F(S),M(S) Present	3.0398	0.551
		F(U),M(U) Present	12.5227	0.014
		F(S),M(S) Future	3.8646	0.425
		F(U),M(U) Future	13.6546	0.008
		F(U),F(S) Present	17.3834	0.002
		M(U),M(S) Present	19.8438	0.001
		F(U),F(S) Future	65.8149	0
35e	A single family home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	F,M	3.5538	0.47
		F(S),M(S) Present	0.285	0.991
		F(U),M(U) Present	3.0514	0.549
		F(S),M(S) Future	1.1455	0.766
		F(U),M(U) Future	1.2983	0.862
		F(U),F(S) Present	12.4655	0.014
		M(U),M(S) Present	15.3046	0.004
		F(U),F(S) Future	53.8302	0
M(U),M(S) Future	44.6153	0		

Question Number	Question	Groups	Chi2	Pr
67	What kind of neighbourhood did you grow up in as a child?	F,M	19.5437	0.012
		F(S),M(S) Present	13.3101	0.065
		F(U),M(U) Present	16.651	0.034
		F(S),M(S) Future	6.222	0.514
		F(U),M(U) Future	17.8912	0.022
		F(U),F(S) Present	11.3616	0.124
		M(U),M(S) Present	15.8893	0.044
		F(U),F(S) Future	5.8983	0.552
		M(U),M(S) Future	11.9296	0.154
69	What kind of neighbourhood do you want to live in 10 years from now?	F,M	16.573	0.035
		F(S),M(S) Present	19.7855	0.011
		F(U),M(U) Present	6.7817	0.56
		F(S),M(S) Future	1.7046	0.426
		F(U),M(U) Future	5.0838	0.079
		F(U),F(S) Present	97.2993	0
		M(U),M(S) Present	53.2801	0
		F(U),F(S) Future	373	0
M(U),M(S) Future	323	0		
79	What do you think are the reason(s) for the affordability issues you experience?	F,M	70.5983	0.457
		F(S),M(S) Present	20.7407	0.537
		F(U),M(U) Present	59.9472	0.335
		F(S),M(S) Future	21	0.521
		F(U),M(U) Future	57.2058	0.256
		F(U),F(S) Present	64.9384	0.146
		M(U),M(S) Present	42.2029	0.131
		F(U),F(S) Future	45.639	0.61
		M(U),M(S) Future	44.5077	0.055

Appendix 2: Significant Values for Value-Based Question 35

Number	35a	35b	35c	35d	35e
Question	Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Having access to a car is important when raising children	A single family home is a better place to raise children than an apartment
F,M	0.229	0.017	0	0.007	0.47
F(SP), M(SP)	0.274	0.383	0.136	0.551	0.991
F(UP), M(UP)	0.663	0.051	0.003	0.014	0.549
F(SP), F(UP)	0	0.007	0.031	0.002	0.014
M(SP), M(UP)	0.001	0.284	0.051	0.001	0.004
F(SF),M(SF)	0.75	0.64	0.122	0.425	0.766
F(UF),F M(UF)	0.306	0.101	0.002	0.008	0.862
F(SF), F(UF)	0	0	0	0	0
M(UF), M(SF)	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 3: Value Questions for Females & Males (F,M)

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children	Final Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	20%	24%	33
Agree	15%	18%	123
Neither Agree nor disagree	30%	28%	222
Disagree	20%	28%	224
Strongly Disagree	20%	24%	165
Total	415	352	767

Pearson chi2(4) = 5.6241 Pr = 0.229

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when	Final Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	20%	14%	132
Agree	40%	39%	302
Neither Agree nor disagree	29%	28%	218
Disagree	8%	13%	80
Strongly Disagree	3%	6%	33
Total	414	351	765

Pearson chi2(4) = 12.0699 Pr = 0.017

35c) Having access to a private yard is important	Final Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	20%	9%	115
Agree	39%	35%	284
Neither Agree nor disagree	24%	30%	208
Disagree	14%	18%	121
Strongly Disagree	3%	7%	39
Total	415	352	767

Pearson chi2(4) = 25.0165 Pr = 0.000

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising	Final Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	26%	20%	33
Agree	46%	45%	346
Neither Agree nor disagree	18%	17%	135
Disagree	7%	14%	76
Strongly Disagree	4%	5%	33
Total	413	352	765

Pearson chi2(4) = 14.0732 Pr = 0.007

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children	Final Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	15%	12%	106
Agree	29%	30%	227
Neither Agree nor disagree	30%	28%	226
Disagree	17%	21%	147
Strongly Disagree	8%	8%	60
Total	415	28	766

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.5538 Pr = 0.470

Appendix 4: Ratios for Females and Males (F,M)

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
Agree and Strongly Agree	34%	41%	0.825
Neither Agree nor Disagree	30%	28%	1.093
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	40%	52%	0.771

Pearson chi2(4) = 5.6241 Pr = 0.229

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
Agree and Strongly Agree	71%	64%	1.113
Neither Agree nor Disagree	18%	17%	1.065
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	10%	19%	0.555

Pearson chi2(4) = 14.0732 Pr = 0.007

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
Agree and Strongly Agree	60%	53%	1.130
Neither Agree nor Disagree	29%	28%	1.019
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	11%	19%	0.603

Pearson chi2(4) = 12.0699 Pr = 0.017

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
Agree and Strongly Agree	45%	42%	1.057
Neither Agree nor Disagree	30%	28%	1.066
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	25%	29%	0.854

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.5538 Pr = 0.470

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
Agree and Strongly Agree	58%	45%	1.307
Neither Agree nor Disagree	24%	30%	0.801
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	17%	25%	0.694

Pearson chi2(4) = 25.0165 Pr = 0.000

Appendix 5: Value Questions for Present Suburban Females and Males (F(SP), M(SP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Strongly Agree	13%	6%	16
Agree	27%	31%	47
Neither Agree nor disagree	36%	31%	55
Disagree	18%	18%	29
Strongly Disagree	6%	15%	16
Total	95	68	163

Pearson chi2(4) = 5.1352 Pr = 0.274

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Strongly Agree	28%	19%	40
Agree	47%	44%	75
Neither Agree nor disagree	17%	25%	33
Disagree	4%	9%	6
Strongly Disagree	3%	3%	5
Total	95	68	163

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.1724 Pr = 0.383

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Strongly Agree	29%	13%	37
Agree	40%	47%	70
Neither Agree nor disagree	18%	21%	31
Disagree	11%	13%	19
Strongly Disagree	2%	6%	6
Total	95	68	163

Pearson chi2(4) = 7.0003 Pr = 0.136

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Strongly Agree	3%	3%	64
Agree	38%	47%	68
Neither Agree nor disagree	13%	7%	17
Disagree	4%	7%	9
Strongly Disagree	3%	3%	5
Total	95	68	163

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.0398 Pr = 0.551

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Strongly Agree	25%	24%	40
Agree	32%	31%	51
Neither Agree nor disagree	27%	31%	47
Disagree	11%	10%	17
Strongly Disagree	5%	4%	8
Total	95	68	163

Pearson chi2(4) = 0.2850 Pr = 0.991

Appendix 6: Ratios for Present Suburban Females and Males (F(SP), M(SP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	40%	37%	1.088
Neither Agree nor Disagree	36%	31%	1.159
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	24%	32%	0.748

Pearson chi2(4) = 5.1352 Pr = 0.274

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	41%	50%	0.821
Neither Agree nor Disagree	13%	7%	1.718
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	7%	10%	0.716

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.0398 Pr = 0.551

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	76%	63%	1.198
Neither Agree nor Disagree	17%	25%	0.674
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	7%	12%	0.627

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.1724 Pr = 0.383

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	57%	54%	1.045
Neither Agree nor Disagree	27%	31%	0.886
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	16%	15%	1.074

Pearson chi2(4) = 0.2850 Pr = 0.991

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Male Suburban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	69%	60%	1.152
Neither Agree nor Disagree	18%	21%	0.869
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	13%	19%	0.661

Pearson chi2(4) = 7.0003 Pr = 0.136

Appendix 7: Value Questions for Present Urban Females and Males (F(UP, M(UP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	3%	3%	17
Agree	11%	14%	70
Neither Agree nor disagree	27%	27%	156
Disagree	35%	31%	194
Strongly Disagree	24%	26%	145
Total	308	274	582

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.3969 Pr = 0.663

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	18%	13%	91
Agree	37%	37%	215
Neither Agree nor disagree	32%	29%	176
Disagree	10%	15%	70
Strongly Disagree	3%	7%	28
Total	307	273	580

Pearson chi2(4) = 9.4353 Pr = 0.051

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	17%	8%	74
Agree	37%	31%	200
Neither Agree nor disagree	27%	33%	174
Disagree	16%	19%	102
Strongly Disagree	4%	8%	32
Total	308	274	582

Pearson chi2(4) = 16.2334 Pr = 0.003

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	21%	15%	106
Agree	48%	43%	267
Neither Agree nor disagree	19%	20%	114
Disagree	8%	16%	66
Strongly Disagree	4%	5%	27
Total	306	274	580

Pearson chi2(4) = 12.5227 Pr = 0.014

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	13%	29%	65
Agree	29%	29%	168
Neither Agree nor disagree	30%	28%	169
Disagree	20%	25%	128
Strongly Disagree	9%	9%	51
Total	308	273	581

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.0514 Pr = 0.549

Appendix 8: Ratios for Present Urban Females and Males (F(UP), M(UP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	14%	16%	0.87
Neither Agree nor Disagree	27%	27%	1.012
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	59%	57%	1.031

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.3969 Pr = 0.663

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	69%	59%	1.179
Neither Agree nor Disagree	19%	20%	0.961
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	11%	21%	0.541

Pearson chi2(4) = 12.5227 Pr = 0.014

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	55%	50%	1.097
Neither Agree nor Disagree	32%	29%	1.117
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	13%	21%	0.613

Pearson chi2(4) = 9.4353 Pr = 0.051

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	41%	59%	0.704
Neither Agree nor Disagree	30%	28%	1.084
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	29%	33%	0.857

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.0514 Pr = 0.549

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Urban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	54%	40%	1.347
Neither Agree nor Disagree	27%	33%	0.812
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	19%	27%	0.721

Pearson chi2(4) = 16.2334 Pr = 0.003

Appendix 9: Value Questions for Present Urban and Suburban Females (F(UP), F(SP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	13%	3%	22
Agree	27%	11%	59
Neither Agree nor disagree	36%	27%	117
Disagree	18%	35%	126
Strongly Disagree	6%	24%	79
Total	95	308	403

Pearson chi2(4) = 45.7267 Pr = 0.000

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	28%	18%	83
Agree	47%	37%	158
Neither Agree nor disagree	17%	32%	114
Disagree	4%	10%	34
Strongly Disagree	3%	3%	13
Total	95	307	402

Pearson chi2(4) = 14.1731 Pr = 0.007

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	29%	17%	79
Agree	40%	37%	152
Neither Agree nor disagree	18%	27%	100
Disagree	11%	16%	59
Strongly Disagree	2%	4%	13
Total	95	308	403

Pearson chi2(4) = 10.6688 Pr = 0.031

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	42%	21%	104
Agree	38%	48%	184
Neither Agree nor disagree	13%	19%	71
Disagree	4%	8%	27
Strongly Disagree	3%	4%	15
Total	95	306	401

Pearson chi2(4) = 17.3834 Pr = 0.002

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	25%	13%	63
Agree	32%	29%	118
Neither Agree nor disagree	27%	30%	119
Disagree	11%	20%	71
Strongly Disagree	5%	9%	32
Total	95	308	403

Pearson chi2(4) = 12.4655 Pr = 0.014

Appendix 10: Ratios for Present Urban and Suburban Females (F(UP), F(SP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	40%	14%	2.865
Neither Agree nor Disagree	36%	27%	1.328
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	24%	59%	0.410

Pearson chi2(4) = 45.7267 Pr = 0.000

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	80%	69%	1.155
Neither Agree nor Disagree	13%	19%	0.655
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	7%	11%	0.644

Pearson chi2(4) = 17.3834 Pr = 0.002

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	76%	55%	1.377
Neither Agree nor Disagree	17%	32%	0.528
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	7%	13%	0.566

Pearson chi2(4) = 14.1731 Pr = 0.007

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	57%	41%	1.379
Neither Agree nor Disagree	27%	30%	0.907
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	16%	29%	0.552

Pearson chi2(4) = 12.4655 Pr = 0.014

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Present	Female Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	69%	54%	1.297
Neither Agree nor Disagree	18%	27%	0.664
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	13%	19%	0.649

Pearson chi2(4) = 10.6688 Pr = 0.031

Appendix 11: Value Questions for Present Urban and Suburban Males (M(UP), M(SP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	6%	3%	11
Agree	31%	14%	58
Neither Agree nor disagree	31%	27%	94
Disagree	18%	31%	97
Strongly Disagree	15%	26%	82
Total	68	274	342

Pearson chi2(4) = 18.4126 Pr = 0.001

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	19%	13%	48
Agree	44%	37%	132
Neither Agree nor disagree	25%	29%	95
Disagree	9%	15%	46
Strongly Disagree	3%	7%	20
Total	68	273	341

Pearson chi2(4) = 5.0337 Pr = 0.284

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	13%	8%	32
Agree	47%	31%	118
Neither Agree nor disagree	21%	33%	105
Disagree	13%	19%	62
Strongly Disagree	6%	8%	25
Total	68	274	342

Pearson chi2(4) = 9.4281 Pr = 0.051

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	35%	15%	66
Agree	47%	43%	151
Neither Agree nor disagree	7%	20%	60
Disagree	7%	16%	48
Strongly Disagree	3%	5%	17
Total	68	274	342

Pearson chi2(4) = 19.8438 Pr = 0.001

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Strongly Agree	24%	10%	42
Agree	31%	29%	101
Neither Agree nor disagree	21%	28%	97
Disagree	10%	25%	74
Strongly Disagree	4%	9%	27
Total	68	273	341

Pearson chi2(4) = 15.3046 Pr = 0.004

Appendix 12: Ratios for Present Suburban and Urban Males (M(UP), M(SP))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	37%	16%	2.290
Neither Agree nor Disagree	31%	27%	1.159
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	32%	57%	0.565

Pearson chi2(4) = 18.4126 Pr = 0.001

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	82%	59%	1.401
Neither Agree nor Disagree	7%	20%	0.366
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	10%	21%	0.486

Pearson chi2(4) = 19.8438 Pr = 0.001

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	63%	50%	1.260
Neither Agree nor Disagree	25%	29%	0.875
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	12%	21%	0.554

Pearson chi2(4) = 5.0337 Pr = 0.284

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	54%	39%	1.402
Neither Agree nor Disagree	21%	28%	0.750
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	15%	33%	0.441

Pearson chi2(4) = 15.3046 Pr = 0.004

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Present	Male Urban Present	
Agree and Strongly Agree	60%	40%	1.516
Neither Agree nor Disagree	21%	33%	0.620
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	19%	27%	0.708

Pearson chi2(4) = 9.4281 Pr = 0.051

Appendix 13: Value Questions for Future Suburban Females and Males (F(SF), M(SF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Strongly Agree	16%	17%	19
Agree	44%	50%	54
Neither Agree nor disagree	34%	31%	38
Disagree	6%	2%	5
Strongly Disagree	0%	0%	0
Total	68	48	116

Pearson chi2(3) = 1.2123 Pr = 0.750

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Strongly Agree	43%	24%	45
Agree	40%	47%	49
Neither Agree nor disagree	15%	13%	16
Disagree	3%	6%	5
Strongly Disagree	0%	0%	0
Total	68	47	115

Pearson chi2(3) = 1.6872 Pr = 0.640

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Strongly Agree	44%	23%	41
Agree	40%	58%	55
Neither Agree nor disagree	14%	15%	16
Disagree	3%	4%	4
Strongly Disagree	0%	0%	0
Total	68	48	116

Pearson chi2(3) = 5.7971 Pr = 0.122

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Strongly Agree	63%	52%	68
Agree	30%	44%	40
Neither Agree nor disagree	3%	2%	3
Disagree	4%	2%	4
Strongly Disagree	1%	0%	1
Total	68	48	116

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.8646 Pr = 0.425

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Strongly Agree	40%	35%	44
Agree	35%	44%	45
Neither Agree nor disagree	21%	19%	23
Disagree	4%	2%	4
Strongly Disagree	0%	0%	0
Total	68	48	116

Pearson chi2(3) = 1.1455 Pr = 0.766

Appendix 14: Ratios for Future Suburban Females and Males (F(SF), M(SF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	60%	67%	0.904
Neither Agree nor Disagree	34%	31%	1.082
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	6%	2%	2.827

Pearson chi2(3) = 1.2123 Pr = 0.750

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	93%	96%	0.972
Neither Agree nor Disagree	3%	2%	1.413
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	6%	2%	2.827

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.8646 Pr = 0.425

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	82%	71%	1.162
Neither Agree nor Disagree	15%	13%	1.152
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	3%	6%	0.461

Pearson chi2(3) = 1.6872 Pr = 0.640

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	75%	79%	0.947
Neither Agree nor Disagree	21%	19%	1.098
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	4%	2%	2.120

Pearson chi2(3) = 1.1455 Pr = 0.766

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Male Suburban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	84%	81%	1.032
Neither Agree nor Disagree	14%	15%	0.977
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	3%	4%	0.705

Pearson chi2(3) = 5.7971 Pr = 0.122

Appendix 15: Value Questions for Future Urban Females and Males (F(UF), M(UF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	2%	1%	8
Agree	7%	11%	53
Neither Agree nor disagree	29%	27%	163
Disagree	37%	33%	206
Strongly Disagree	25%	29%	158
Total	305	283	588

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.8261 Pr = 0.306

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	16%	11%	79
Agree	38%	36%	216
Neither Agree nor disagree	33%	31%	189
Disagree	10%	14%	70
Strongly Disagree	4%	7%	33
Total	304	283	587

Pearson chi2(4) = 7.7658 Pr = 0.101

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	13%	6%	58
Agree	38%	30%	202
Neither Agree nor disagree	27%	33%	176
Disagree	17%	21%	113
Strongly Disagree	4%	9%	39
Total	305	283	588

Pearson chi2(4) = 17.3366 Pr = 0.002

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	17%	14%	90
Agree	49%	45%	274
Neither Agree nor disagree	22%	19%	122
Disagree	7%	17%	69
Strongly Disagree	5%	6%	31
Total	303	283	586

Pearson chi2(4) = 13.6546 Pr = 0.008

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Female Urban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	10%	9%	53
Agree	26%	27%	155
Neither Agree nor disagree	32%	30%	183
Disagree	22%	27%	137
Strongly Disagree	10%	10%	59
Total	305	282	587

Pearson chi2(4) = 1.2983 Pr = 0.862

Appendix 16: Ratios for Future Urban Females and Males (F(UF), M(UF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
	Urban Future	Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	9%	12%	0.737
Neither Agree nor Disagree	29%	27%	1.089
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	62%	61%	1.012

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.8261 Pr = 0.306

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
	Urban Future	Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	66%	58%	1.126
Neither Agree nor Disagree	22%	19%	1.176
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	12%	23%	0.525

Pearson chi2(4) = 13.6546 Pr = 0.008

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
	Urban Future	Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	53%	47%	1.134
Neither Agree nor Disagree	33%	31%	1.046
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	14%	22%	0.641

Pearson chi2(4) = 7.7658 Pr = 0.101

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
	Urban Future	Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	36%	35%	1.018
Neither Agree nor Disagree	32%	30%	1.090
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	32%	37%	0.871

Pearson chi2(4) = 1.2983 Pr = 0.862

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female	Male	
	Urban Future	Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	51%	37%	1.392
Neither Agree nor Disagree	27%	33%	0.828
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	22%	30%	0.712

Pearson chi2(4) = 17.3366 Pr = 0.002

Appendix 17: Value Questions for Future Urban and Suburban Females (F(UF), F(SF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	16%	2%	16
Agree	44%	7%	52
Neither Agree nor disagree	34%	29%	111
Disagree	6%	37%	118
Strongly Disagree	0%	25%	76
Total	68	305	373

Pearson chi2(4) = 116.5542 Pr = 0.000

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	43%	16%	77
Agree	40%	38%	141
Neither Agree nor disagree	15%	33%	110
Disagree	3%	0%	31
Strongly Disagree	0%	4%	13
Total	68	304	372

Pearson chi2(4) = 31.4651 Pr = 0.000

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	44%	13%	70
Agree	40%	38%	143
Neither Agree nor disagree	13%	27%	92
Disagree	3%	17%	55
Strongly Disagree	0%	4%	13
Total	68	305	373

Pearson chi2(4) = 43.6802 Pr = 0.000

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	63%	17%	94
Agree	28%	49%	167
Neither Agree nor disagree	3%	22%	70
Disagree	4%	7%	25
Strongly Disagree	1%	5%	15
Total	68	303	371

Pearson chi2(4) = 65.8149 Pr = 0.000

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	40%	10%	56
Agree	35%	26%	104
Neither Agree nor disagree	21%	32%	113
Disagree	4%	22%	69
Strongly Disagree	0%	10%	31
Total	68	305	373

Pearson chi2(4) = 53.8302 Pr = 0.000

Appendix 18: Ratios for Future Suburban and Urban Females (F(UF), F(SF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	60%	9%	6.814
Neither Agree nor Disagree	34%	29%	1.172
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	6%	62%	0.094

Pearson chi2(4) = 116.5542 Pr = 0.000

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	91%	66%	1.388
Neither Agree nor Disagree	3%	22%	0.131
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	6%	12%	0.495

Pearson chi2(4) = 65.8149 Pr = 0.000

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	82%	53%	1.546
Neither Agree nor Disagree	15%	33%	0.447
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	3%	4%	0.661

Pearson chi2(4) = 31.4651 Pr = 0.000

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	75%	36%	2.098
Neither Agree nor Disagree	21%	32%	0.634
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	4%	32%	0.139

Pearson chi2(4) = 53.8302 Pr = 0.000

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Female Suburban Future	Female Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	84%	51%	1.639
Neither Agree nor Disagree	13%	27%	0.487
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	3%	22%	0.136

Pearson chi2(4) = 43.6802 Pr = 0.000

Appendix 19: Value Questions for Future Urban and Suburban Males (M(UF), M(SF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	17%	1%	11
Agree	50%	11%	55
Neither Agree nor disagree	31%	27%	90
Disagree	2%	33%	93
Strongly Disagree	0%	30%	82
Total	48	283	331

Pearson chi2(4) = 95.5024 Pr = 0.000

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	34%	11%	20
Agree	49%	36%	124
Neither Agree nor disagree	13%	31%	95
Disagree	6%	14%	44
Strongly Disagree	0%	7%	20
Total	47	283	330

Pearson chi2(4) = 26.5237 Pr = 0.000

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	23%	6%	29
Agree	58%	30%	114
Neither Agree nor disagree	15%	33%	100
Disagree	4%	21%	62
Strongly Disagree	0%	9%	26
Total	48	283	331

Pearson chi2(4) = 37.4511 Pr = 0.000

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	52%	14%	64
Agree	44%	45%	147
Neither Agree nor disagree	2%	19%	55
Disagree	2%	17%	48
Strongly Disagree	0%	6%	17
Total	48	283	331

Pearson chi2(4) = 47.1338 Pr = 0.000

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Total
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Strongly Agree	35%	9%	41
Agree	44%	27%	96
Neither Agree nor disagree	19%	30%	93
Disagree	2%	25%	72
Strongly Disagree	0%	10%	28
Total	48	282	330

Pearson chi2(4) = 44.6153 Pr = 0.000

Appendix 20: Ratios for Future Urban and Suburban Females (M(UF), M(SF))

35a) Suburbs are better places to raise children than cities	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	67%	12%	5.551
Neither Agree nor Disagree	31%	27%	1.179
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	2%	62%	0.033

Pearson chi2(4) = 95.5024 Pr = 0.000

35d) Having access to a car is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	96%	58%	1.644
Neither Agree nor Disagree	2%	19%	0.109
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	2%	23%	0.092

Pearson chi2(4) = 47.1338 Pr = 0.000

35b) Home ownership is preferable to renting when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	83%	47%	1.763
Neither Agree nor Disagree	13%	31%	0.406
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	6%	22%	0.296

Pearson chi2(4) = 26.5237 Pr = 0.000

35e) Single Family Home is a better place to raise children than an apartment	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	79%	35%	2.255
Neither Agree nor Disagree	19%	30%	0.629
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	2%	35%	0.059

Pearson chi2(4) = 44.6153 Pr = 0.000

35c) Having access to a private yard is important when raising children	Final Gender		Ratio
	Male Suburban Future	Male Urban Future	
Agree and Strongly Agree	81%	37%	2.211
Neither Agree nor Disagree	15%	33%	0.444
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	4%	30%	0.137

Pearson chi2(4) = 37.4511 Pr = 0.000