

ABSTRACT

TOKER, ZEYNEP. Women's Spatial Needs in Housing: Accommodating Gender Ideologies, Use Patterns, and Privacy. (Under the direction of Henry Sanoff, Professor of Architecture.)

Today, the conventional households, which are composed of a breadwinning husband, a homemaking wife, and children, constitute only 9% of the population in the United States. However, housing is still designed to accommodate the conventional households. As the contemporary roles of women have evolved with the transformation of household types from conventional to unconventional, the time women spent for housework has also decreased primarily due to the changes in their gender ideologies. Yet, the conventional housing design fails to accommodate contemporary women's spatial needs in their houses. Although research has been conducted to show that women's gender ideologies influence the time they spent for housework, which influences their use patterns, perception, privacy, and that different housing types are needed to accommodate the increasing number of unconventional households, research into women's spatial needs in housing has been limited. This study is an attempt to understand women's spatial needs in housing.

Within a multiple case study research design, first, overall patterns of relationships among the five main concepts (women's gender ideologies, their time spent for housework, use patterns, perception, and privacy) were revealed. Second, two housing types (cohousing and neo-traditional) were compared to reveal patterns of similarities and differences in terms of these five main concepts and spatial organization in houses. Interviews, time diaries, observations, and visual documentation of the houses (floor plans and photographs) were the methods of data collection.

The findings of this study indicated that women with less egalitarian gender ideologies spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework. Different from women with more egalitarian gender ideologies, their most favorite spaces were mostly housework spaces; and their reasons for identifying the least favorite spaces were spatial qualities as much as housework that is required by or associated with those spaces. Women with less egalitarian gender ideologies established

privacy in spaces, which were left over from the other members of the household, and in their absence, since they did not have their exclusive spaces in houses.

The neo-traditional developments attracted women with less egalitarian gender ideologies compared to cohousing developments. Therefore, neo-traditional respondents' patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy were similar to those of women with less egalitarian gender ideologies. The cohousing developments, however, attracted women with more egalitarian gender ideologies and accommodated patterns of sharing housework among households.

The spatial organizations in cohousing and neo-traditional houses were also different from each other. The kitchen-centered houses of neo-traditional developments contained formal living rooms and formal dining rooms, which were designed to receive guests, with additional connections to the kitchen. In this floor plan type, there were also informal dining areas and informal living rooms (family rooms). However, the dining area-centered houses of cohousing developments did not contain formal rooms, but provided exclusive spaces for women in addition to spaces that accommodate specific needs of their households. Presence of exclusive spaces in cohousing developments was more typical in cohousing developments than in neo-traditional developments.

The findings showed that women's needs in housing were large kitchens, adaptable laundry rooms in terms of size, location, and accommodating other uses, their own exclusive spaces for privacy, and instead of formal living rooms and formal dining rooms, adaptable spaces to accommodate changes in the life cycle of their households.

**WOMEN'S SPATIAL NEEDS IN HOUSING: ACCOMMODATING GENDER IDEOLOGIES, USE
PATTERNS, AND PRIVACY**

by

ZEYNEP TOKER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
North Carolina State University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

DESIGN

Raleigh

2004

APPROVED BY:

Professor Henry Sanoff (Chair of Advisory Committee)

Dr. Perver K. Baran

Dr. Mary Wyer

Dr. Frank Smith

Dedicated to the memory of my grandmother Meliha Davutoglu.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Zeynep Toker was born in Ankara, Turkey on April 29, 1976. After graduating from high school in 1994, she received her Bachelor of City and Regional Planning degree in 1998 from Middle East Technical University (METU) Department of City and Regional Planning in Ankara, Turkey. She received her master's degree in Urban Design in 2000 from METU with a thesis on processes of user participation in housing production. Later that year, she started the PhD in Design Program, Community and Environmental Design Concentration at North Carolina State University (NCSU) College of Design.

The author worked with communities in several projects as a research assistant in the College of Design PhD program at NCSU for three years. During this period, she developed an interest in feminist theories and their use in housing research. For completing her dissertation research, in the 2003-2004 academic year, she received an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation. Zeynep intends to continue working with communities with a focus on women's spatial needs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude towards my advisor, Professor Henry Sanoff for his continuous guidance and support. Since the day I met him he has been an exceptional teacher and a true friend. He has become and will remain to be the voice in my head pushing me to question the conventional thinking. I cannot thank him enough for making me the scholar I am today.

I would like to thank my dissertation committee members Dr. Perver Baran, Dr. Mary Wyer, and Dr. Frank Smith for their patient guidance throughout my studies. Without their constructive comments, it would not be possible for me to finish this study.

I would also like to thank all the women who participated in this study as respondents. They opened their homes and hearts to me with kindness.

During the completion of this study, I held an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women (AAUW) Educational Foundation. I am grateful to receive this fellowship, which made it possible for me to finish this study.

My parents, Tulin and Kuday Genc, have given me a life without boundaries. I cannot thank them enough for their continuous and unconditional support. They have also been the source of inspiration for me with their affection for each other and their passion for enjoying life. Any accomplishment I claim now would be impossible without their love and support.

Finally, I would like to thank Umut, the love of my life, for believing in me more than I do. With his endless affection and encouragement, he has made it all possible and worthwhile. I feel incredibly fortunate to have him as my best friend and my partner in life. He is the architect of my dreams. For me, home is where he is.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables _____	x
List of Figures _____	xiii
List of Charts _____	xvi
1. Introduction _____	1
1.1. Women and housing with feminist thinking _____	2
2. Literature review _____	5
2.1. Spatial characteristics of houses and residents' values _____	5
2.2. Gender ideologies and spatial organization in houses _____	13
2.2.1. Indigenous societies _____	14
2.2.2. Industrialized societies _____	16
2.3. Division of household labor by gender in housework _____	26
2.4. Housework and women's use and perception of spaces in houses _____	31
2.5. Non-traditional housing types _____	35
2.6. Summary _____	42
3. Conceptual framework _____	44
3.1. Theoretical framework _____	44
3.2. Conceptual framework _____	46
3.3. Purpose of the study and research questions _____	46
3.4. Definition of terms _____	48
4. Methodology _____	49
4.1. Research design overview _____	49
4.2. Site selection _____	51
4.2.1. Spatial characteristics: Cohousing sites _____	52

	Page
4.2.2. Spatial characteristics: Neo-traditional sites _____	55
4.3. Respondent sampling _____	59
4.4. Methods of data collection _____	60
4.4.1. Observations _____	60
4.4.2. Interviews _____	62
4.4.3. Time-diaries (time-budget technique) _____	62
4.4.4. Quality considerations _____	63
4.5. Data collection procedure _____	66
5. Data analysis procedure _____	68
5.1. The first phase of data analysis: Overall patterns of relationships among gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces and spaces for privacy _____	69
5.1.1. The first phase of data analysis: Factors affecting women's time spent for housework _____	70
5.1.2. The first phase of data analysis: Time spent for housework and use patterns _____	72
5.1.3. The first phase of data analysis: Time spent for housework and perception of spaces _____	72
5.1.4. The first phase of data analysis: Time spent for housework and spaces for privacy _____	73
5.2. The second phase of data analysis: comparison of neo-traditional and cohousing communities in terms of gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, spaces for privacy, and spatial organization _____	73
5.2.1. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of gender ideologies of respondents in cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	74

	Page
5.2.2. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of time spent for housework in cohousing and neo-traditional developments_____	75
5.2.3. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of use patterns in cohousing and neo-traditional developments_____	75
5.2.4. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of perception in cohousing and neo-traditional developments_____	75
5.2.5. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments_____	76
5.2.6. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of spatial organization in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments_____	76
5.3. Summary: Data analysis procedure_____	76
6. Findings: Overall patterns of relationships among gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, and spaces for privacy_____	78
6.1. Factors influencing women's time spent for housework_____	79
6.1.1. Relationship between women's gender ideologies and their time spent for housework_____	79
6.1.2. Influence of household compositions, relative resources and time availability on women's time spent for housework_____	86
6.1.3. Summary: Factors influencing women's time spent for housework_____	87
6.2. Time spent for housework and use patterns_____	87
6.2.1. Time spent for housework and housework spaces_____	88
6.2.2. Time spent for housework and most time spent spaces_____	95
6.2.3. Summary: Overall patterns of relationships between time spent for housework and use patterns_____	96
6.3. Time spent for housework and perception of spaces_____	97

	Page
6.3.1. Time spent for housework and the most favorite spaces _____	98
6.3.2. Time spent for housework and the least favorite spaces _____	109
6.3.3. Summary: Time spent for housework and perception of spaces _____	117
6.4. Time spent for housework and privacy _____	119
6.4.1. Time spent for housework and exclusive spaces _____	119
6.4.2. Time spent for housework and spaces for privacy _____	123
6.4.3. Summary: Time spent for housework and privacy _____	130
6.5. Overall patterns: Gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, and spaces for privacy _____	131
7. Findings: Comparison of housing types _____	132
7.1. Demographic characteristics in cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	132
7.2. Comparison: Gender ideologies in cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	133
7.3. Comparison: Time spent for housework in cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	135
7.4. Comparison: Use patterns in cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	136
7.5. Comparison: Perception of spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	138
7.6. Comparison: Spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	141
7.7. Comparison: Spatial organization in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	144
7.8. Comparison: Modifications and program considerations in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments _____	152
7.9. Summary: Comparison of housing types _____	160
8. Conclusion _____	163
8.1. Discussion of findings _____	163

	Page
8.1.1. Findings of the first level of analysis _____	163
8.1.2. Findings of the second level of analysis _____	164
8.2. Feminist theories _____	170
8.3. Women's spatial needs in housing: Implications in housing design _____	171
8.4. Future Prospects _____	173
References _____	175

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 6.1.	Parental, partner, and marital status of respondents.	78
Table 6.2.	Age groups of respondents.	78
Table 6.1.1.1.	Significance of associations between gender ideology statements' ratings	80
Table 6.1.1.2.	Significance of associations between each gender ideology statements' rating and time spent for housework.	80
Table 6.1.1.3.	Comparison of respondents' 1 st gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to share in income).	81
Table 6.1.1.4.	Comparison of respondents' 1 st gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to time spent at a paid job).	81
Table 6.1.1.5.	Comparison of respondents' 2 nd gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to working at a paid job).	82
Table 6.1.1.6.	Comparison of respondents' 3 rd gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to partners' participation in housework).	82
Table 6.1.2.1.	Significance of associations between measures of household composition and time spent for housework.	86
Table 6.1.2.2.	Significance of associations between measures of relative resources and time availability and time spent for housework.	87
Table 6.3.1.1.	Distribution of the quotations of reasons for most favorite spaces according to code families.	103
Table 6.3.1.2.	Distribution of the quotations related to spatial qualities for most favorite spaces.	103
Table 6.3.1.3.	Distribution of the quotations related to spending time for most favorite spaces.	106
Table 6.3.1.4.	Distribution of the quotations related to feelings for most favorite spaces.	107
Table 6.3.1.5.	Distribution of the quotations of reasons for most favorite spaces in groups.	107
		x

	Page
Table 6.3.2.1. Distribution of the quotations of reasons for the least favorite spaces according to code families.	112
Table 6.3.2.2. Distribution of the quotations related to housework for the least favorite spaces.	113
Table 6.3.2.3. Distribution of the quotations related to spatial qualities for the least favorite spaces.	113
Table 6.3.2.4. Distribution of quotations of reasons for least favorite spaces in groups.	114
Table 6.4.2.1. Distribution of the quotations of spaces for privacy according to code families.	127
Table 6.4.2.2. Distribution of the quotations related to privacy for spaces for privacy.	127
Table 6.4.2.3. Distribution of the quotations related to spatial qualities for spaces for privacy.	127
Table 6.4.2.4. Distribution of quotations of spaces for privacy in groups.	128
Table 7.1.1. Parental, partner, and marital status of cohousing and neo-traditional respondents.	132
Table 7.4.1. Time spent for housework in housework spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments	137
Table 7.4.2. Overall time spent in most time spent spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments	137
Table 7.4.3. Time spent for housework in most time spent spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments	138
Table 7.5.1. Most favorite spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments	138
Table 7.5.2. Reasons for identifying a space as the most favorite space among cohousing and neo-traditional respondents	139
Table 7.5.3. Least favorite spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments	140
Table 7.5.4. Reasons for identifying a space as the least favorite space among cohousing and neo-traditional respondents	141

	Page	
Table 7.6.1.	Presence of exclusive spaces for respondents and their partners	142
Table 7.6.2.	Spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments	143
Table 7.6.3.	Ways to establish privacy in spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments	144
Table 7.7.1.	Diagrams of dining area-centered floor plans and kitchen-centered floor plans.	145
Table 7.7.2.	Examples of dining area-centered floor plans in cohousing developments and kitchen-centered floor plans in neo-traditional developments.	146

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 3.2.1.	Conceptual model of the study. 46
Figure 4.1.1.	The conceptual model of the study identifying measures for each concept. 51
Figure 4.2.1.1.	Houses of cohousing communities. 53
Figure 4.2.1.2.	Common houses of cohousing communities. 53
Figure 4.2.1.3.	Inside of the common houses. 54
Figure 4.2.1.4.	Pedestrian paths in cohousing communities. 54
Figure 4.2.1.5.	Houses facing the pedestrian path. 54
Figure 4.2.1.6.	Community gardens in cohousing developments. 55
Figure 4.2.1.7.	Playgrounds in cohousing developments. 55
Figure 4.2.2.1.	From the advertisement of one of the three neo-traditional communities. 56
Figure 4.2.2.2.	Commercial facilities in neo-traditional developments. 57
Figure 4.2.2.3.	A movie theater and a childcare facility in neo-traditional developments. 57
Figure 4.2.2.4.	Recreational facilities in neo-traditional developments. 57
Figure 4.2.2.5.	Houses of neo-traditional developments. 58
Figure 4.2.2.6.	Sidewalks to allow bicycle and pedestrian circulation in neo-traditional developments. 58
Figure 4.2.2.7.	Back streets for garage entrances in one of the neo-traditional developments. 59
Figure 4.4.1.	The conceptual model of the study identifying the methods of data collection for measures of each concept. 60
Figure 5.1.1.	The conceptual model of the study with highlighted parts related to the first four research questions (in the first phase of data analysis). 70

	Page	
Figure 5.2.1.	The conceptual model of the study with highlighted parts related to the last four research questions (in the second phase of data analysis).	74
Figure 6.2.1.1.	The laundry and the bedroom of the 13 th respondent.	94
Figure 6.3.1.1.	The coding frame for the content analysis of reasons for most favorite spaces.	102
Figure 6.3.1.1.	Examples of views of the most favorite spaces.	104
Figure 6.3.1.2.	Examples of decoration of the most favorite spaces.	105
Figure 6.3.1.3.	Examples of light in the most favorite spaces.	106
Figure 6.3.2.1.	Respondent's office, which was also her least favorite space.	116
Figure 6.3.2.1.	The laundries as the least favorite spaces, which were referred to for being too small.	117
Figure 6.4.1.1.	Two respondents' exclusive space.	122
Figure 6.4.1.2.	The 30 th respondent's board in the living room for her collection of private things.	124
Figure 7.6.1.	Examples of exclusive spaces of women in cohousing developments.	142
Figure 7.7.1.	Examples of formal living rooms in neo-traditional houses	147
Figure 7.7.2.	Examples of formal dining rooms in neo-traditional houses	147
Figure 7.7.3.	Examples of connections from kitchens to the formal rooms in neo-traditional houses.	148
Figure 7.7.4.	Examples of dining areas open to living rooms in cohousing houses.	149
Figure 7.7.5.	Examples of kitchens in neo-traditional houses.	150
Figure 7.7.6.	Examples of kitchens in cohousing houses.	150
Figure 7.7.7.	A climbing room and a meditation room in cohousing houses	151
Figure 7.7.8.	A play area for children in a cohousing house	151

	Page
Figure 7.7.9. An exclusive office space connected to a reading alcove in a cohousing house	152
Figure 7.8.1. The added dining area with connections to the kitchen and the living room.	153
Figure 7.8.2. The formal dining room used as a parlor (on the left), and the formal dining room used as a reading room (on the right).	154
Figure 7.8.3. The added walls with windows to provide desired separation.	155
Figure 7.8.4. Upstairs, used as her office currently but adaptable to accommodate assisted living.	156
Figure 7.8.5. The current bedroom (on the left) and the room that used to be the bedroom, now husband's office (on the right).	156
Figure 7.8.6. The laundry of a respondent, who was involved in the processes of developing the program for her house.	157
Figure 7.8.7. The laundry of a respondent, who worked with an architect to develop the program of her house.	158
Figure 7.8.8. The respondent's office on the ground floor adjacent to the waiting room.	159

LIST OF CHARTS

	Page
Chart 6.2.1.	Time spent for housework in Group A and Group B. 88
Chart 6.2.1.1.	Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the kitchen 90
Chart 6.2.1.2.	Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the laundry. 91
Chart 6.2.1.3.	Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the living or family room. 92
Chart 6.2.1.4.	Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the bedroom. 93
Chart 6.2.1.5.	Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the dining area. 94
Chart 6.2.2.1.	Time spent in most time spent spaces (family spaces, private spaces, and kitchens) 95
Chart 6.3.1.1.	The most favorite spaces categories 99
Chart 6.3.1.2.	Time spent for housework in most favorite space 100
Chart 6.3.1.3.	The most favorite spaces and housework spaces. 101
Chart 6.3.2.1.	The least favorite spaces categories 110
Chart 6.3.2.2.	Time spent for housework in the least favorite spaces 111
Chart 6.3.2.3.	The least favorite spaces and housework spaces. 112
Chart 6.4.1.1.	Distribution of exclusive spaces between the two groups. 120
Chart 6.4.1.2.	Overall time spent in exclusive spaces. 121
Chart 6.4.1.3.	Presence of exclusive spaces for the respondents and their partners. 123
Chart 6.4.2.1.	Categories of spaces for privacy. 125

Chart 6.4.2.2. Overall time spent in spaces for privacy

126

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that conventional families with a homemaking wife, a breadwinning husband, and children constitute only 9% of the population today in the United States, housing is still designed to accommodate this conventional household type (Ahrentzen, 2000; Franck and Ahrentzen, 1989; Domosh and Seager, 2001). In the last five decades, half of the households became non-conventional, more than half of the women with children began to participate in the labor force (Hatch, 1989; Hayden, 1984), and a shift between women and men also emerged in the division of labor in housework and childcare (Bianchi et al., 2000; Press and Townsley, 1998; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988). Although women still predominantly perform the majority of housework, it is widely accepted that there is a notable decrease in women's time spent for housework and childcare during the last half century, mainly due to changes in gender ideologies (Bianchi et al., 2000; South and Spitze, 1994; Ahrentzen et al., 1989). Thus, changing values related to gender ideologies support different household activities. Therefore, the responsiveness of housing design to the changing roles of women in the United States is a significant issue.

Considering that there should be a fit between residents' values and spatial characteristics of houses, there is a need for new types of housing and communities due to new roles women have acquired (Saegert and Winkel, 1980; Rock et al., 1980; Keller, 1981; Kaplan, 1981; Schmertz, 1981; Ahrentzen, 1989; Spain, 1995). However, spatial characteristics of houses and housing types are important not only because they accommodate new activities shaped by the changing gender ideologies, but also because they stimulate activity patterns that reflect these changes. Consequently, housing types that support collective housework and childcare among residents through their spatial characteristics have contributed to decreasing the amount of time women spend for those activities (Hayden, 1981, 1984; Franck, 1989; Scanzoni, 2000).

The purpose of this study is to explore women's spatial needs in housing to accommodate different types of households, and women with different gender ideologies. For this purpose, cohousing and neo-traditional types of housing, both of which have distinctive spatial characteristics, were compared in terms of resident women's gender ideologies, their patterns of housework, use,

perception, and privacy. The spatial organization in houses (i.e. floor plans) in each housing type were also compared to understand their influence on women's patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy.

The ultimate purpose of this study is to develop insights into future housing requirements to accommodate women's changing roles in households. Since related literature supports the view that as a result of changing gender ideologies the amount of time women spend for housework is decreasing, this study aims to point out that these changes affect and are affected by the spatial organization in houses and by the spatial characteristics of housing types.

1.1. Women and housing with feminist thinking

Despite the dominating presence of households, in which women are no longer homemakers in the conventional sense, the continuing failure to acknowledge their different needs in housing constitutes the underlying rationale of research in this field. More particularly, the new patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy require alternative thinking for spatial organization in houses, so that these new patterns can be both supported and encouraged.

The arguments about a continuous and interactive relationship between space and society (Markus, 1993; Massey, 1994; Soja, 1985; Spain 1992) suggest that each individual is an active agent, who is not restricted with the limitations of larger contexts. Parallel to these arguments, in this study women are assumed to be active interpreters in determining their roles in households. Therefore, their patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy are consequences of their individual interpretations of gender. Moreover, their choices of housing types and floor plans in addition to their desired and completed modifications in their houses were implicitly related to their ideas of gender.

Among many of the factions of feminism, radical feminism focuses on women's subordination in the household as a function of patriarchy (Shelton and Agger, 1993; Tong, 2002). Similarly, non-liberal feminism has also discussed women's subordination due to their confinement at home with sole responsibility of doing devalued and unseen housework as a consequence of institutionalized patriarchy (Bittman, 2002). The focus on housework and patriarchy has been widely criticized for neglecting the structural constraints women experience in larger social context, especially in the

workspace as a part of paid labor force (Shelton and Agger, 1993; Bittman, 2002). In their criticism of radical feminists for their focus on patriarchy alone, both liberal and Marxist feminists argue that the gender equality in domestic sphere will follow the transformation in larger social context. Therefore, for liberal feminists for example, women's economic independence in the capitalist system will provide gender equality at home automatically (Bittman, 2002). Similarly, for Marxist feminists the capitalist system is intrinsically linked with patriarchy, and is the source of all types of oppression in both public and private spheres (Shelton and Agger, 1993). However, research on gender division of household labor for housework has shown that it is not the relative resources or the time availability that determines this gender division of household labor for housework. Instead, it is the internalized gender assumptions that make housework the solemn duty of women (West and Fenstermaker, 1993). Consequently, it is not realistic to assume that transformations at home for gender equality will automatically follow transformations in larger social and economic contexts. Although the argument of the radical feminists that women's liberation from housework will lead to eliminating their subordination in larger social context is equally unrealistic (Shelton and Agger, 1993), supporting more egalitarian ideas of gender with spatial dimensions in housing is a contribution towards achieving gender equality.

The collective housework schemes in housing have been suggested as one way of responding to women's spatial needs since the nineteenth century (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al., 1980, Hayden, 1981, 1984). However, the variety of household types requires understanding women's spatial needs in individual houses as well as in terms of housing types. The purpose of this study was to identify women's spatial needs in housing for both individual houses and housing types.

The findings suggested that the spatial characteristics and the spatial organization in houses of two housing types differ in their potential to accommodate more egalitarian ideas of gender, and consequent patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy.

The following chapter is a review of literature on the relationship between housing and women's roles in households on five different topics, providing the gaps in the existing literature. The third chapter elaborates on the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study leading to the purpose and the research questions. The fourth chapter describes the methodology with research design, methods of data collection and quality considerations. The fifth chapter provides the procedure

followed for data analysis. The sixth chapter reports the findings of the first phase of data analysis, which focuses on the relationships of concepts across cases. The seventh chapter reports the findings of the second phase of data analysis, which compares the two cases (cohousing and neo-traditional developments). The eighth chapter integrates the findings of the two phases of data analysis and the findings of the previous studies to provide a description of women's spatial needs in housing and future prospects for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The interrelationships between women's gender ideologies and spatial characteristics of housing are grounded on five different sets of relationships. First, the link between residents' values and living environments has been discussed with different approaches, yet with the same underlying idea that living environments reflect and/or reinforce residents' values. Second, as a set of values, gender ideologies have been integral to house design. At different periods of time in history, plan organizations of houses have been both reflections of and tools for perpetuation of that period's prevalent gender ideologies. Third, gender ideologies have shaped the distribution of housework activities among household members. In the last five decades, women's decreasing time spent for housework has been predominantly related to changing gender ideologies. Fourth, the time spent for housework also influences women's use and perception of their houses. Fifth, different housing types assume and support different organizations of activities within and among households. Thus, the underlying organizational differences between housing types generate possibilities of accommodating residents with different gender ideologies and use patterns. The following five sections elaborate on these arguments.

2.1. Spatial characteristics of houses and residents' values

Conventional housing design practice is based on an *institutional model*, in which values and needs of households are neglected. However, for better housing design practices, it is essential that spatial characteristics of houses accommodate residents' needs and values (Sanoff, 1971; Ahrentzen, 1989; Rapoport, 1973). Hayden (1984) argues that although two dimensions of house design — aesthetics and program — should be considered simultaneously in research for understanding how residents' values are accommodated in their living environments, this has not been the case. Researchers have focused on either the program (i.e., plan layout or spatial organization), or the aesthetics (i.e., style or image). It is important to discuss different theoretical orientations in literature in order to identify which spatial characteristics of houses are representative of residents' values and needs.

For example, according to studies in architectural semiotics, which is the study of building elements as signs, it is the elements of buildings that form an abstract language to communicate meanings that are shared by members of a society (Lawrence, 1989; Rapoport, 1982; Preziosi, 1979). In cognitive structuralism, which assumes tacit structures shaping physical manifestations, it is the organization of elements as they form spatial relationships that are the manifestations of values in a society (Lawrence, 1989; Levi-Strauss, 1967). In studies about vernacular architecture, it is the organization of space in addition to symbolic elements of façade formation that induces certain sets of behaviors (Saile, 1990; Oliver, 1977, 1987). According to the theory of structuration, it is a continuous interaction between organization of space and a society's values that form spatial relationships, which are representative of residents' values (Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b).

Structuralism, where the main assumption is that manifest activities are the consequences of tacit structures, is one of the major theoretical perspectives for understanding the relationship between residents' values and spatial characteristics of their houses. In structuralist approaches, the purpose is to explain the observable (e.g., spatial characteristics of houses) through the non-observable (e.g., residents' values) (Lawrence, 1989). Specifically analytical structuralism and one of its veins, cognitive structuralism, have dominated this type of research.

Analytical structuralism attempts to simultaneously describe and explain a human-made object or event in a holistic way by considering the interrelations between tacit and manifest components (Lawrence, 1989). In *cognitive structuralism*, which has adopted analytical structuralism, the distinction between the observable and non-observable becomes more important. Cognitive structuralists uphold the idea that there are tacit features, which are common to all humans at a cognitive level, and these common features form the overarching structure. Cognitive structuralism has been influenced by structural linguistics, in which the fundamental similarities of human languages have been studied through comparison at the level of grammatical rules. Consequently, cognitive structuralists have applied the basic assumptions of structural linguistics to different aspects of human culture (Lawrence, 1989).

Cognitive structuralism has been influenced by linguistics and semiotics (the study of signs). With a similar approach, **architectural semiotics** relates residents' values to spatial characteristics of their living environments. Semiotics studies the nature of representation (Gottdiener, 1995). This

representation through spatial elements is assumed to be the basis of a non-verbal communication among people. In architectural semiotics, non-verbal communication is based elements of buildings that communicate meanings similar to the way that elements of a language do (Lawrence, 1989). The systematic disintegration of these elements of buildings reveals a series of "signs," which convey meanings (Rapoport, 1982).

As an example of notation systems for the purpose of analyzing the meanings encoded, Preziosi (1979) has developed a network of signs, which are the network of architectonic signs, based on the constituent elements of buildings, which are the architectonic elements. In this network, there are seven units (distinctive features, forms, templates, figures, cells, matrices, and compounds-structures-settlements), which have their linguistic corollaries (distinctive features, phonemes, syllables, morphemes, words, phrases, and sentences-texts-discourses).

However, architectural semiotics has been criticized for two major shortcomings. First, since its aim is to form a language out of building elements by treating them as signs, abstraction is inevitable, which decreases the usefulness of this approach. Second, shared systems of signs are almost impossible to find in current societies, considering their heterogeneity (Rapoport, 1982). Therefore, analyzing the building elements as signs is not as informative as analyzing the organization of space and its relation to behavior.

In **cognitive structuralism**, organization of space has been widely studied. Claude Levi-Strauss (1967) is one of the main proponents of cognitive structuralism. In his research on Omarakana villages of Trobriand Islands, he argues that the layout of an Omarakana village is a complex metaphor of the interpersonal relationships and daily activities of the inhabitants. Levi-Strauss (1967) states that the tacit ideas and values, including categorization of people, food, and activities should be included in the analysis, in addition to spatial organization characteristics such as orientation, relative position, and demarcation of sets of objects, activities, and people, which are manifest variables. Before Levi-Strauss, these manifest variables have been studied by Malinowski (1944) with a **functionalist interpretation**. Malinowski (1944) focuses on the manifest variables of culture through the notion of function as the "integral result of organized activities" (p.53), The focus of functionalist interpretations on the manifest action rather than an underlying structure (Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b) is the main source of criticism by cognitive structuralists

about functionalism (Lawrence, 1989). For instance, Levi-Strauss (1967) criticizes this functionalist approach for its limited explanation of phenomena and lack of concern for an overarching structure at the cognitive level. Consequently, he attempts to overlap systems of substructures (such as rules of social organization and their representations in spatial organization in Omarakana villages) to formulate an upper level explanation that applies to all societies and their spatial organizations.

Although their focus is not to build an upper level explanation, studies on **vernacular architecture** attempt to explain spatial organization as well as image making in societies, referring to their value systems. In such studies, cultural formations and their symbolic representations are crucial. For example, Saile (1990) contends that the spatial organization of houses and villages in Pueblos are reflections of tribes' value systems. Similarly, Oliver (1977, 1987) suggests that signs and symbols belong to two different domains: a sign is a part of the physical world of being; a symbol is a part of the human world of meaning. Studying various indigenous societies, he claims that culture is an information system of signs and symbols that convey knowledge about rituals and instinctive behavior. Symbol, as "the conditioned stimulus, which is linked up with a response in behavior only by the process of conditioning" (p.18), provides coordination of human behavior in the common actions (Oliver, 1977). Therefore, for Oliver (1977, 1987), formalization of symbols into codes, which determines the settlement patterns and the physical image making, occurs in different stages of abstraction in different cultures. He argues that in every culture, houses are symbolic designations, which relate the observable universe of natural phenomena to myth and values that are the conceptions of the non-observable world (Oliver, 1977). In his conceptualization of signs and symbols, Oliver (1977, 1987) considers both elements of buildings and organization of space as ways of reflecting values of a society and at the same time inducing appropriate behavior of its members. However, similar to the case in architectural semiotics, the heterogeneity of contemporary societies undermine the possibility of forming a shared symbol system, in which image making by using the elements of buildings is meaningful to all the members of a society.

Emphasizing the importance of spatial organization rather than the individual building elements or image making, Rapoport (1973) states that spatial organization of houses relates to behavior in two ways. First, he suggests that organization of space in houses reflects cultural forms and behavioral and social characteristics. For him, a house is not just a shelter, but an institution influenced by the

cultural setting to which it belongs; it is a social unit of space, which is an environment best suited to a way of life. Therefore, the organization of a house reflects many cultural dimensions (Rapoport, 1969). For example, in Kuma of New Guinea, separate houses are built for men and women, and women's houses are formed to allow for their daily activities, which are defined implicitly in their culture (Rapoport, 1973). Another example explains how people modify the spatial organization of their houses, when it does not accommodate their values. Kamau (1978) has studied people's use and modification of public housing according to traditional social patterns in Kibera, Kenya. She affirms that traditional division and use of space in the houses of Kenya are shaped mainly by gender roles. She states that since the European design of public housing in Kibera cannot accommodate these traditional patterns, people living in them change the interiors of their houses by using flexible elements and do not use the rooms as they are intended in the original design (Kamau, 1978).

Second, Rapoport (1973, 1978, 1982) suggests that changes in the organization of space also result in changes of behavior. Here, the underlying idea is that spatial organization affects behavior through representing expectations of certain behaviors. Rapoport (1982) explains this influence of spatial organization on behavior through a five-element chain. The *environment* provides cues in the form of differences, which are initially *perceived* by people, who develop *associations*. These associations construct the *meaning* that leads to responses — human *behavior*. In this nonverbal communication approach, Rapoport (1982) asserts that the environment provides cues for behavior, and aids other forms of interaction, communication, and co-action. However, he also suggests “it is the social situation that influences people's behavior, but it is the physical environment that provides the cues” (Rapoport, 1982, p. 57). Therefore, the cues for understanding acceptable behavior in a particular context include both the physical (spatial organization) and social environment (culture). Enculturation and acculturation are the two processes Rapoport (1982) defines to explain this duality. Enculturation is defined as learning what behavior is appropriate in which environments in early stages of life (i.e., as children learn when they are growing up). Acculturation is defined as learning what behavior is appropriate in which environments in later stages of life (i.e., as people learn when they move to other countries). As a result of enculturation and acculturation the *mnemonic function of the environment* emerges. Being

mnemonic, the environment starts to remind people how to behave without being determining. In this case, a person's remembering is replaced with environment's reminding (Rapoport, 1982).

Similarly, Sanoff (1971, 1974, 1985, 1988, 2000) argues that physical environments influence users' behavior, and therefore, they should be formed according to users' values. Sanoff (1971) classifies studies about house design and social values into three categories. First, the wants and preferences approach aims to provide clues as to sales appeal items that would attract homebuyers' attention. These studies focus on the numbers of stories and numbers and types of rooms. Second, the likes and dislikes approach reveals malfunctions while living in a particular place. Third, the household activities approach analyzes what goes on in the house. Sanoff (1971) criticizes the first two approaches for limiting their views to existing house types and predominant household compositions. He underlines the importance of examining actual household activities for studying spatial organization in houses as it relates to residents' values, since values and spatial organization together shape behavior (Sanoff, 1971).

The **theory of space syntax** concentrates on this relationship, in which spatial organization in houses and residents' values influence each other in a dynamic and evolving manner. Suggesting an **interactive** relationship between space and society, Hillier (1985) argues that there are three laws. First, *the laws for the construction of space* are the ones that regulate the generation of spatial patterns by means of walls, apertures, etc. Second, *the laws from society to space* regulate occurrence of different types of spatial patterns for different types of social relations (for example, those which require space to provide segregation or integration). Third, *the laws from space to society* regulate the effects of spatial structure back on society.

This **interactive** and reciprocal relationship between space and society has also been conceptualized by introducing the idea of individual behavior (reaction) as an effective input in the process (Markus, 1993; Massey, 1994; Soja, 1985; Spain 1992). In this line of thought, the main argument is that the rules of social organization influence the organization of space, and yet, everyday activities of people, which are influenced by this spatial organization, induce changes in social and spatial organization as well. Therefore, in this discussion of an interactive relationship between spatial and social structures, the most important ingredient is the *active human agency*, which is missing in both structuralist perspectives and functionalist interpretations (Lawrence,

1989; Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b; Soja, 1985). In all forms of structuralist approaches, and their successors, such as architectural semiotics and studies in vernacular architecture, including functionalist interpretations (although the main concern is the manifest action), the basic assumption is that there is a static, unchangeable, and imposing structure shaping everyday activities, in which humans are passive agents (Lawrence, 1989; Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b).

The relationship between structure and human agency has been an ongoing discussion in sociology and social psychology (Maines, 1977; Schwalbe et al., 2000; Lawrence, 1989; Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b; Sewell, 1992). The **theory of structuration**, as proposed by Giddens (1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b), suggests that structural features of social systems are drawn upon and reproduced by actors in the form of interpretative schemes. Therefore, structure has a duality that it is both the medium and the outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes (Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b; Sewell, 1992). Furthermore, spatial relations (or in Soja's terms, spatiality) are socially produced and reproduced (Soja, 1985; Pader, 1988). It is argued that the organization and use of space is not a reflector or a byproduct of culture or environment. On the contrary, space is an active and inseparable part of the fabric of social life. Consequently, spatial relations are inextricably intertwined with a society's underlying principles of organization, or structural principles (Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b; Sewell, 1992; Soja, 1985). In this line of thought, structuration is the structuring of social relations across time and space in the virtue of duality of structure (Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b). Thus, organization and use of space is a fundamental part of the organization of social life (Pader, 1988). The theory of structuration suggests a dynamic interaction between social organization and spatial relations, where the structures are not static and imposing, but evolving through active human agency.

The theory of structuration differs from structuralist perspectives, their successors, and functionalist interpretations. In the theory of structuration, signs are considered to be neither arbitrary nor having a fixed meaning. Consequently, the concern is to remove the emphasis from the end point, which is the sign, and to transfer it to the act of sign formation itself and to the continuously reconstructed rules by which signs are generated (Pader, 1988). The differentiation between aesthetics and program seems to disappear in this line of thought.

Utilizing the theory of structuration, Pader (1988) states that the organization of space in houses is the fundamental part of structuration of social life. She exemplifies the concept of duality of structure with organization of space according to gender differences. In this case, gender becomes the medium by which conduct is organized, while simultaneously being the outcome of that conduct. In houses, the recursive relationship between ideology, action, and spatial relations is shaped, with each giving meaning to the other as both the medium and outcome of social reproduction.

An example that the theory of structuration might accommodate in practice is Booth's (1999) study in Sicily about the interactive changes taking place in social and spatial organizations simultaneously. The first change in spatial relations at the settlement scale comes with an earthquake, which demolishes the majority of the settlements in the area. Prior to the earthquake, settlements and houses in this area were shaped to accommodate the traditional social rules, such as women's total responsibility for housework, their highly limited access to public areas, and women's collective activities during the day for preparation of daily food and storage food and knitting and sewing. After the earthquake, there were two major changes in the spatial relations that followed changes in social rules represented in feminist movements of the time. First, the government provided public housing projects, which ignored the traditional organization and use of houses in the area. Second, the settlements were shaped to accommodate women in public spaces, namely workplaces. These changes caused different reactions among women from different income groups. First, lower-income women changed the spatial organization in their new houses in public housing projects in order to accommodate their traditional everyday habits. In time traditional life at home changed due to the unconventional spatial organization in these new houses. Second, women with a higher education took part in the workplace and refused to live in public housing projects. They gradually created suburban developments, where they made the spatial organization in their new houses accommodate their changing roles (Booth, 1999). Booth's (1999) study illustrates the theory of structuration, since the study is built on active human agency as well as dynamic social and spatial structures.

Among various approaches towards understanding the relationship between spatial characteristics of houses and residents' values, the idea that a continuous interaction between space and society

shapes spatial relations in a dynamic manner via individual interpretations is viable to provide a framework for studying gender as it relates to housing.

2.2. Gender ideologies and spatial organization in houses

Gender refers to constructed ideas about appropriate behaviors and roles for males and females (Peach, 1998). The role theory, in which individuals are passive learners, limits individuals' construction of their gender identities with influences of socialization processes. However, the active interpretation of individuals of what they learn in socialization processes shapes their ideas of gender (Connell, 2002). Consequently, the relationships between women and men in households are organized according to their individual gender ideologies that encourage gender-based divisions of housework and childcare activities (Allan, 1985; Laermans and Meulders, 1999; Oakley, 1974). Since the house is an important setting for enacting power relationships between women and men, gender is constructed and practiced within houses (Domosh, 1998).

In societies at different periods of time in history and in contemporary societies, both industrialized and indigenous ones, spatial organizations in houses have been reflections and also tools for perpetuation of prevalent gender ideologies. The spatial organizations in houses not only embody assumptions about the division of labor in housework and childcare between women and men (Roberts, 1990; Rapoport, 1969; Oliver, 1997; Munro and Madigan, 1999; Bowlby et al., 1997), but they also support and reinforce ideas of gender that generated them (Franck, 1985; Roberts, 1990; Weisman, 1992). The initial status differences between women and men create certain types of gendered spaces, and that institutionalized spatial segregation and allocation in houses then reinforces the existing gender roles (Spain, 1992; Roberts, 1990; Domosh, 1998). However, there have also been alternative approaches for spatial organization in houses, which were initiated by groups of women in industrialized societies to accommodate non-traditional roles for women (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al., 1980; Hayden, 1981). The following two sections review women's roles in households and spatial organization in houses in indigenous and industrialized societies.

2.2.1. Indigenous societies

Accommodating gender differences in spatial organization of houses can be exemplified in indigenous societies, since residents build their own houses as a part of their sustenance. In indigenous societies, gender is displayed through women's and men's involvement in various activities and through consequent division and use of space.

It is possible to conceptualize women's roles in indigenous societies regarding women and men's historically differentiated roles in production, where women's impact on nature is immediate and direct. In gathering-hunting-fishing communities, women collect and process plants, small animals, and bird eggs, and they fabricate tools, baskets, mats, slings, and clothing, while men hunt larger animals, and fish, construct weirs and hut frames, and burn forests and brush. Since availability of natural resources is directly related to cooking and food preservation, decisions over environmental degradation that dictate when to move camp and village sites may lie in the hands of women. In horticultural communities, women are often the primary producers of crops (Merchant, 1990). However, it is also possible to suggest that gender roles are defined in relation to ecological scarcity in indigenous settlements. According to this approach, when basic subsistence activities of an indigenous society are hunting or herding large domestic animals, men will monopolize these activities. In this case, an ideology of men's superiority as a defensive response to ecological stress emerges (Coltrane, 1992).

The activities, in which women and men are involved together, and their separation vary in different indigenous societies. For instance, men of the Machiguenga tribe of Peru cooperate with their wives in subsistence activities and take part in childcare. The ideal man in Machiguenga culture is soft-spoken and non-violent. Similarly, Tahitians do not have a differentiation between genders. Women can do anything a man does. Men routinely cook and prepare food, showing little concern for defining themselves as essentially different from women (Coltrane, 1992). However, in some indigenous societies men are preoccupied with sustaining their manhood and separating themselves from women. In the Mundurucu of Brazil, competitive physical contests, ceremonies related to warfare, and exclusive men's houses are common. Women are expected to sit and walk at the back and eat after men. Similarly, in Amhara, an African Semitic-speaking tribe of rural

cultivators, men have a passionate belief in manliness that involves aggressiveness and stamina (Coltrane, 1992).

Since in indigenous societies the house represents both a physical organization of the environment and a conceptual frame within which the behavioral rules are established (Benjamin, 1997), spatial organization in a house reflects distinctions between appropriate behaviors for women and men.

The indigenous house is typically divided into activity spaces defined by gender. Within the house, the area associated with women is the kitchen, or the area behind the hearth, where cooking occurs and where the food preparation utensils are stored. The other area associated with women is the sleeping area, where marriages are consummated and where women store their personal possessions. Cultures such as the Rendille and Gabra of northern Kenya use the location of the hearth (a gender-defined space) within their domiciles to distinguish and identify women and men from each other (Prussin, 1997). In the Mayan community of Tzo'onthal, women and men participate in routinized tasks of production, consumption and ceremonial activities, which organize time and place as well as social relations. Women's time is structured around activities in the house: domestic tasks and pottery making. Thus, the women's place is well inside the house, while men eat along the wall closest to the outside door before women eat and tend to sit on the porch (Pader, 1997). Therefore, inside the house, and especially spaces for cooking and sleeping are associated with women.

However, the location of the hearth is not always in the house since the cooking area maybe outside the house (Lawrence, 1997). Yet, food preparation responsibility usually belongs to women in indigenous societies, but the basic gender separation of such activities is often not rigid. For instance, although cooking is primarily an activity for women of the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men will boil and simmer meat when women are gathering plants (Hayward, 1997).

Heating is implicitly related to cooking, since both activities are provided through the same equipment. In many societies work activities surrounding the hearth are usually female and the separation of the hearth from the male domain achieves a segregation that is rooted in the lifestyle. In some places, the hearth is conversely the focus of mixed or male sociability and hospitality, sometimes permanently and sometimes partially separated in the daily cycle from the activity of

cooking. The Barabaig herdsmen of East Africa have separate hearths in the rooms or huts of husbands and wives. The hearth in the men's section is almost exclusively for heating, whereas the wife prepares meals on the fire in her own room (Hayward, 1997).

In indigenous societies, certain activities and spaces provided for those activities are associated with either women or men. Therefore, for women and men, the separation provided in spatial organization originates from the differentiation in the distribution of their daily activities.

2.2.2. Industrialized societies

With the industrialization of the nineteenth century in Western Europe and North America, a separation of feminine and masculine spheres became the major outcome of separating production (work/public sphere) and reproduction (home/private sphere). It became the dominant ideology that women were to contribute to the nurturance of family and children at home, whereas men were to commit to competition and hard work at the marketplace (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Ellin, 1996; Wright, 1981). Although working class women participated in the labor force, the *proper* Victorian women were meant to stay at home, raise children, decorate their homes, and tend their gardens (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al., 1980). Therefore, it has been women's identities and interests that are bound up with the idea of home and the literal form of the house. Spatial organization in houses has been shaped by and in turn helped to shape definitions of femininity. Changing house types have created and reflected cultural notions of femininity (Domosh and Seager, 2001).

This enduring association between women and their houses framed women as homemakers. Their primary duty was maintaining moral, aesthetic, and cultural stability, while expressing the status of their families. Women's taste in designing their houses became an important representation of social status and cultural values. It was also expected that the environment women created at home shaped character and appropriate behavior of household members. The actual appearance and physical layout of the house and its contents, if designed properly, were thought to provide everyday and active reminders of appropriate behavior. Therefore, since the tasteful and well-arranged houses express status and character and actively shape that character, in Victorian ideology, home decoration was a matter of great concern (Domosh and Seager, 2001).

Recognizing the perceived importance of home decoration for Victorian ideology, popular women magazines of the nineteenth century, such as *Godey's Ladies' Magazine* and *Ladies' Home Journal* (the first U.S. magazine to reach one million subscribers) provided advice on proper styles and arrangements (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al., 1980). These magazines also shaped popular images of housing types of their times (Rock et al., 1980). Throughout the nineteenth century, *Godey's Ladies' Magazine* featured illustrations of women's domestic handiwork, such as wooden cottages with decorated trim set in private gardens, all of which reaffirmed women's duty to keep a perfect home and retreat for the husband at the end of the day. Founded in the late nineteenth century, *Ladies' Home Journal* shared the objective of keeping women at home by assuring them the right kind of home environment could preserve the family, strengthen the nation, and thereby give women meaningful work to do. Women read not only for fashion, and for avoiding *bad taste*, but also for their families' health and status. Moreover, the *Journal* offered a model house in each issue with complete plans and specifications designed by prominent architects. Thousands of these houses were built around the United States (Rock et al., 1980).

Victorian-period builders produced pattern books with illustrations of houses for carpenters to copy. Although they allowed variation according to wealth and size, these house designs were for *ideal* families, which represented the assumed timeless and superior quality of the nuclear family to other family types. Since this was the only appropriate type of family, prevalent house types were limited (Rock et al., 1980).

However, these assumptions about nuclear family and women's confinement at home were questioned, as critics suggested that houses had to be changed to allow women to reconsider how they spent their time and used their talents. In the second half of the nineteenth century, **cooperative housekeeping** projects, such as sharing of kitchens and dining rooms by several families, were introduced based on the belief that transforming the conditions of labor within the household was the key to women's liberation (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al., 1980, Hayden, 1981, 1984). At the time, the proponents of cooperative housekeeping believed that by utilizing the latest technological advances, public laundries and kitchens could be established. Furthermore, they also suggested to professionalize childcare by removing it from private houses to community social centers. The aim was to free women to participate in other parts of life beside

the domestic by collectivizing housework and professionalizing childcare (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Hayden, 1981, 1984). *The House Beautiful*, a journal supportive of this radical movement, published new examples of alternative housing types, such as owner-designed efficiency cottages, kitchenettes and dinettes, bungalows for single working women to share, and bungalow courts with communal facilities (Rock et al., 1980; Hayden, 1984). The designers of these alternative housing types were women who were willing to accept standardization of housing and furnishing for achieving high standards of efficiency, comfort, and health (Rock et al., 1980). Their primary aim was to help women gain control over their houses by challenging the concept of the isolated single-family house and caretaker housewife (Rock et al., 1980; Hayden, 1981, 1984). Unfortunately, this radical movement did not fit the vision of privatized family life within the boundaries of single-family houses (Domosh and Seager, 2001). Moreover, the weakness of this approach was embedded in its avoidance of larger economic and political issues underlying the domestic problems upon which it focused (Rock et al., 1980).

This progressive stage of women's housing reform faded away after World War I, when the larger feminist movement began to focus on suffrage. Instead of housing reformers, women appealing directly to rising consumerism, suggesting the use of variety of new goods in houses, and others supporting scientific management for housework were popularized in the media (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al., 1980). Adapted from the popular industrial management policies of Frederick Winslow Taylor, the principles of scientific management for housework were imposing standards for performing efficient housework. However, it was suggested that women should spend the time, which was saved by using these efficiency principles through standardization, in more efficiency training. On the contrary to the previous progressive movement, the scientific management approach did not support women's questioning of their own and community's housing needs (Rock et al., 1980).

At the turn of the twentieth century, home magazines began to update the Victorian houses, by promoting open plans (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al., 1980; Spain, 1992), which were in contrast to Victorian interiors, where each social function was meant to have its own space (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Munro and Madigan, 1999; Attfield, 1999; Spain, 1992). As one version of open plans, the zoned houses of 1930s and 1940s provided divisions according to

functions, labeled activity/quiet, public/private, or adult/children, instead of rooms. In this approach, the kitchen was the center, and the housewife was the focal point bringing different zones and other members of the household together. However, the real zoning was between the private house and the public space outside, putting similar families leading similar lives together and separating them from the variety of the rest of the city (Rock et al., 1980).

The vision of the single-family house was prevalent in post World War II, Great Britain and the United States. In addition to government policies supporting single-family houses to meet the increased demand for housing, and increased accessibility provided by automobiles and the construction of highways, the ideal of a single-family home and escape from the city, made suburban housing appealing to many families. As a result of standardization, in many suburban communities, the choice of house types was limited to several variations from the standard plan. The Cape Cod style, a one and a half story dwelling, was popularized by the Levitt Company, which was a pioneer in mass production of housing. Moreover, the ranch style, the split level, and the colonial styles dominated suburban houses. Most of these house types incorporated the notion of the open plan as opposed to clear separations of Victorian houses (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Munro and Madigan, 1999; Attfield, 1999; Spain, 1992). In suburban houses, spaces for living and dining, or cooking and dining were combined. Despite the differences in prevalent plan types of houses, domesticity and its association with femininity in the 1950s were similar to those of Victorian times. In both time periods, domesticity was seen as the source of stability and the family at home as a refuge from the workplace. This post World War II domesticity was associated with the suburban housewife who, although now residing in an open plan, was still responsible for taking care of the family and the house (Domosh and Seager, 2001).

Moreover, a new association was developed in the 1950s between open plan house types and the functioning of families. The open plan was meant to foster family communication, which was vital to the nurturing of children. Besides, the open plan was favored since it allowed a mother to observe activities of children while she was doing housework in the kitchen. With a parallel attitude, the formal parlor was replaced with a family room, accommodating multiple functions (Domosh and Seager, 2001). Therefore, the similarities between Victorian times and the 1950s in terms of

women's appropriate roles at home were also noticeable in the ideas embedded in the open plan house types.

Moreover, women in the 1950s had the responsibility of furnishing and decorating as Victorian women did. Compared to Victorian times, women's increasing decision-making power over the consumption of decorating materials was more empowering in the 1950s. However, it has been argued that this seemingly emerging power was nested in the layers of powerlessness, since women's participation in the paid labor force was limited by social norms (Domosh and Seager, 2001). Women remained confined in their traditionally defined homemaker and caregiver roles. These roles were represented by the suburban housewife image, which became increasingly idealized for women during the years after the World War II (Friedan, 1963/2000), parallel to the fast pace of suburbanization.

As the houses became smaller and more standardized with open plans, women increasingly questioned these models. In 1956 the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) announced the first Women's Congress on Housing, calling 103 housewives to Washington. Women had many complaints, such as a need for more space and the lack of differentiation within houses, which prevented accommodating complexity and differences of their own families and schedules. They also wanted spaces of their own that were not related to housework activities and not shared with other members of the household. However, the builders considered these requests hopelessly idealistic. The HHFA eventually declared that they had too much information to put out a formal report (Rock et al., 1980). Women's complaints and requests for improvement were ignored by both the builders and the government.

Since Victorian times, the prevailing norms for housing prototypes have been challenged by providing alternative house plans to accommodate changing roles of women or initiate such changes. However, these reform movements remained subtle and the examples of their practical implementation were very limited in number, compared to the dominant view of femininity and its expression in typical house plans (Hayden, 1984).

It has been argued that women still do not have spaces of their own, that they are attached to spaces of service in houses, and that the house is still a spatial metaphor for conventional role-

playing (Weisman, 1981/2000). However, changes in the households reflect trends towards shared responsibility for housework and the respect of each individual's autonomy at home. Therefore, two issues are important. First, outside the housework spaces, private spaces for women, which stimulate feelings of privacy and belonging, should be provided. Second, the organization and relative size of spaces within houses should be facilitating equitable division of household labor for housework (Rock et al., 1980). Nevertheless, recent research on women's expected roles and floor plans of houses, which implicitly associates women with spaces related to housework, concentrates on the layout of housework spaces and their relative locations in houses and ignores the issue of women's spaces for privacy.

Spaces for privacy. Privacy within the household includes both the psychological dimension and the spatial dimension (Madigan and Munro, 1999; Laufer et al., 1976; Phroshansky et al., 1976). The need for privacy is the need to maximize freedom of choice and to remove constraints and limitations on behavior (Phroshansky et al., 1976). Although privacy is often described as a person's choice of aloneness, it also refers to interaction in a sense that privacy presupposes the existence of others and the possibility of interaction with them but the desire to control this interaction (Laufer et al., 1976; Altman, 1975). Therefore, the freedom of choice is the ability to control what goes on in defined areas of space that are important for the behavior of the individual (Phroshansky et al., 1976).

The need and ability to exert control is an essential part of privacy. Three aspects of control related to privacy have been identified. First, *control over choice* is an individual's freedom to choose to be private both in physical and in psychological terms (Laufer et al., 1976; Phroshansky et al., 1976). Second, *control over access* is an individual's ability to create physical boundaries between self and others for achieving privacy (Laufer et al., 1976; Ward, 1999). Third, *control over stimulation* is an individual's ability to determine the level of distraction created by the others for privacy (Laufer et al., 1976). Exerting control over specific spaces creates exclusive or near-exclusive use of those spaces. The acquisition of exclusive spaces serves to define and to evaluate the identity of the individual for herself/himself and for others (Phroshansky et al., 1976). Consequently, the control of interaction with others is essential for an individual to function effectively (Laufer et al., 1976; Phroshansky et al., 1976; Altman, 1975).

Altman (1975) suggests that privacy serves to achieve three goals. First, it provides regulation of interaction with the social environment in such a way that an individual defines her or his own limits and boundaries. Second, it enables an individual to develop interpersonal strategies, roles, plans, and assessment of the self in relation to others. Third, it helps to develop a self-identity with the ability to regulate contact when desired. Therefore, privacy contributes to the power to control and to regulate one's life, and a general sense of self-esteem (Altman, 1975).

Spaces for privacy, then, serve as the physical dimension to regulate interaction with others. In houses, space is negotiated among the members of the household for privacy (Madigan and Munro, 1999). As the conclusion of their study on privacy for women in a Glasgow housing area, Madigan and Munro (1999) report that women establish privacy "by time management rather than 'a room of one's own'" (p.71). They explain that the willingness of women to fit into the routines and schedules of other household members enables them to establish privacy (Madigan and Munro, 1999). Thus, it is the absence of other household members that provide the physical conditions for establishing privacy.

Then, since physical settings evoke and sustain behaviors and experiences that are *private* in character (Laufer et al., 1976), the organization of space at home contributes or undermines privacy, which is essential in developing a sense of self-esteem. Therefore, lack of spaces for privacy limits the control over interaction, and absence of others becomes the primary mechanism to establish privacy.

Although research about negotiating spaces for privacy between women and men in houses has been limited, privacy at home has been studied through the concepts of territoriality and crowding (Altman, 1975). Based on the research on interpersonal relationships and their representation in physical environments (e.g. cross cultural practices of courtship, weddings and place-making, and use of homes in polygamous families), Altman (1993) suggests that further research is necessary on the physical environments of households, which divert from the conventional homemaking wife, breadwinning husband, and children.

Organization of space and housework. It is important to elaborate on research that concentrates on the layout of housework spaces and their relative locations in houses for three reasons. First,

focusing on housework spaces alone caused eliminating the organization and relative size of all the spaces in the house, which are argued to be important to accommodate different lifestyles of different types of households. Second, the concept of *women's spaces of their own* in houses, outside of housework spaces, has not been included in these studies. Third, by assuming this association between women and housework spaces, these studies have not questioned the reasons for the inequitable division of labor for housework between women and men. Yet, this labor division is the foundation of formation, allocation, and use of spaces at home.

The location of housework spaces, such as kitchen and laundry, as women's spaces, in floor plans has been studied either (1) with a historical perspective in order to find overlapping patterns between women's expected roles for housework and relative placement of these spaces in houses (e.g. Roberts, 1990; Laermans and Meulders, 1999; Hasell and Peatross, 1990; Herk, 2002), or (2) with an attempt to explain recent plan layouts of houses with women's expected roles for housework (e.g. Peatross and Hasell, 1992; Hanson, 1998).

Historical perspective. Within the historical perspective the purpose is to demonstrate an association between the patterns of transformation of floor plans and ideas of gender. According to Roberts (1990), houses can be viewed as containers of social relations; however, in the everyday world, the boundaries between physical construction and social construction fade away. For her, divisions of gender are not a product of house design, but are a part of the design process. Reviewing house plans in England from the nineteenth century to the mid 1980s, she states that spatial divisions in houses embody assumptions about division of household labor for housework. The plan layouts of Victorian and Edwardian by-law houses have been shown to embody notions of women as domestic workers and symbols of respectability. In these plan layouts, the kitchen and laundry, where heavy housework, such as washing and cooking took place, were confined to the rear of the house. The parlor, in which visitors could be admitted, was located at the front. They also reinforced the notion that housework, which was carried out by women and young girls, should be kept private. Roberts (1990) argues that these assumptions about women carrying out all the housework activities were also embedded in plan layouts of inter-war semi-detached houses. Different from their predecessors, these houses had a wide frontage, large windows, internal kitchen and bathroom. Yet, similar to Victorian houses, they had a parlor and another living room

on the ground floor, and they maintained the distinction between front and back. It was the size and location of kitchen that made women unseen servants confined to a small room at the back of the house, although amenities to be used for housework were improved. Roberts (1990) states that open plan houses were introduced to eliminate the divisions between rooms and to combine kitchen, living room and dining room, with free flow of space, running from the back to the front of houses. However, with the open plans, the whole ground floor became non-private and the only non-private room, the parlor, was eliminated. Consequently, the area that had to be kept presentable and tidy all the time became bigger. Since women performed all the housework, open plan houses increased the amount of housework women did (Roberts, 1990). This study clearly demonstrates the transformation of housework spaces in house plans at different periods in history with its relation to the association between housework and women.

Laermans and Meulders (1999) examine the historical development of shifts in the locus of laundry work, providing explanations of how domestication and privatization changed its practice. The laundry was transformed from being a social and collective outdoor experience of sharing and interacting among women into being an isolated and private indoor experience with the introduction of washing machines in 1910. This shift coincides with the change in the image of the housewife in early twentieth century, due to the *rational housekeeping* (or scientific management of housework) concept and transformation of the housewife to become a competent household manager (Laermans and Meulders, 1999). This study effectively criticizes the emergence and popularization of isolated housework in private homes, although its focus is limited to only one type of housework.

Similarly, criticizing the implicit association between women and housework, Herk (2002) also points out that privatization of laundry has transformed it into a casual, daily activity, which still denotes women as managers of dirt. This derogatory connotation, she argues, is embedded in contemporary house plans, since laundry rooms are located either in the basements, or in the back of the houses, hidden from the daily circulation (Herk, 2002).

Focusing on relatively more contemporary house plans, Hasell and Peatross (1990) elaborate on changing house designs and shifting gender patterns over a period between 1945 and 1985 in the United States. Their basic assumption is that spatial organization can induce behavior. Therefore, after conducting a content analysis of a mass media publication for house designs between 1945

and 1985, and a review of statistical data about changing gender roles between 1945 and 1985, they conclude that the changes in the spatial organization of houses were supportive of changing gender roles in that period. They note that flexible plans make sharing of domestic tasks possible (Hasell and Peatross, 1990). In this study, the authors claim an association between more equitable division of labor between women and men and more flexible floor plans. They clearly demonstrate that both the equitable division of labor and the availability of flexible floor plans increased in time.

These studies that review floor plans in time and women's association with housework activities establish that floor plans have evolved to accommodate different assumptions about women and housework. In the following studies, this association is discussed in contemporary societies and houses.

Contemporary perspective. Within the contemporary perspective the purpose is to demonstrate associations between the formation of floor plans and ideas of gender in contemporary settings. Looking at the contemporary house plans, Peatross and Hasell (1992) explore the relationship between the openness of kitchens and sampled couples' idea about gender equality. They assume that the open plans (which were thought to represent multiple use of spaces) reflect the integration of the spaces of housework and consequently the willingness of men to share the responsibility of housework. Although they report a correlation between the willingness to share housework and the choice of more open plans, they conclude that there is an inconsistency between the intentions and actions of men about sharing the housework (Peatross and Hasell, 1992).

Another study about contemporary house plans was done by Hanson (1998) for French rural houses. She reports two distinct floor plan types among houses utilizing the resources of the Space-Syntax method. The basis of differentiation between the plan types is the presence of two distinct spaces: *salle commune* and *lateralite*. First, the *salle commune* accommodates cooking and everyday living, and separates work functions from other living functions, such as washing, laundry, and making dairy produce. Second, the *lateralite* regulates the arrangement of the functions inside the house and in the farm by placing the master at the main entrance (Hanson, 1998). In her interpretation, Hanson (1998) suggests that the *lateralite* centered (segregating)

house plans support male domination in the household, whereas the *salle commune*-centered (integrating) house plans support female control in the household.

These studies about contemporary floor plans and spaces of housework provide further support for the role that gender plays in the organization of space in houses.

However, studies of both historical transformations and contemporary circumstances tend to rely on the assumption that housework is the solemn duty of women. Due to the nature of these studies, women's individual gender ideologies and their actual use patterns and perception of their houses are not considered. Yet, recent studies on housework show that there is a decrease in women's time spent in housework due to changing gender ideologies.

2.3. Division of household labor by gender in housework

As the number of women participating in paid labor, and the number of non-conventional partnerships in households are increasing, women's time spent in housework is decreasing (Franck and Ahrentzen, 1989). Division of household labor by gender has been shaped mostly by the perceived appropriate roles of women and men in the society. The Victorian "cult of domesticity" seeded the conventional gender roles in such a way that women are responsible for homemaking, whereas men are responsible for breadwinning (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Romero, 1992; Kandiyoti, 1988; Allan, 1985; Laermans and Meulders, 1999). However, research conducted on division of household labor in housework by gender in the last four decades implies that there are changes (Bianchi et al., 2000; Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994; South and Spitze, 1994; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988; Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Press and Townsley, 1998). The findings reveal that in the last three decades, the amount of time women spend for housework and childcare has been decreasing (Bianchi et al., 2000; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988), although women still perform the majority of housework tasks (Bianchi et al., 2000; Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994; South and Spitze, 1994; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988; Press and Townsley, 1998; Ahrentzen et al., 1989; Michelson, 1994; Wajcman, 1991).

In general, research about the division of labor in the household is mainly concerned with the possibility of divergence from the conventional division of labor between men and women in housework. The predominant objective of current research in this field is to question the existence

of this change, and if there is, then to understand the reason, level, and nature of it. This research has been informed by three major theoretical orientations.

(1) The time availability perspective. This perspective assumes that the division of labor is rationally allocated according to availability of household members in relation to the amount of housework to be done. This approach suggests that women's and men's time in housework is related to household composition and mostly to time spent in paid labor (Bianchi et al., 2000). According to this perspective women and men perform housework in amounts relative to the time left over, after paid work time is subtracted (South and Spitze, 1994). Thus, perceptions of fairness in the distribution of labor in housework depends on rational choices made by women and men according to their time distribution in paid labor (Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994). However, economists and sociologists differ in their comments on this approach. Economists assume that time allocation to housework and paid work is jointly determined and based on the relative efficiency of women and men in both arenas. Sociologists assume that decisions about paid work are made casually beforehand (South and Spitze, 1994). Testing time availability perspective by using time diaries, Bittman and Wajcman (2000) present evidence of a gender gap in free time. This gap is explained in two ways: first, women have less amount of free time than men, and second, the nature of free time is different for women and men. Women's experience of leisure is difficult to disentangle from multiple and overlapping activities, such as unpaid work. Thus, women's leisure time includes some housework and/or childcare tasks. In conclusion, men have higher amounts of leisure time than women, yet women still perform most of the housework (Bittman and Wajcman, 2000). The time availability perspective also fails to explain the relative increase in women's time spent for housework compared to men's, particularly in the presence of children (Bianchi et al., 2000). These findings suggest that the division of household labor for housework is shaped by factors other than the rational explanations that the time availability perspective tries to establish.

(2) The relative resources perspective. This perspective argues that the allocation of housework reflects power relations between women and men. That is, the amount of relative resources women and men bring to a partnership determines the division of labor in housework. Higher levels of education and income are expected to translate into more power, which supposedly provides the

right to avoid participating in housework (Bianchi et al., 2000). Within this perspective, women with lower incomes compared to men are more likely to perceive an unequal division of housework as fair (Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994). However, it is argued that the allocation of housework between women and men is almost the same in households where the woman is employed and those in which she is not (Wajcman, 1991). Moreover, the relative resources perspective has been questioned regarding the types of resources that are important and the conditions under which they are useful for bargaining over distribution of household tasks. It is argued that male domination might overrule the real value of women's resources (South and Spitze, 1994). Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) apply this perspective to explain why employed married women see the division of labor for housework as fair, despite the fact that they perform approximately twice as much housework as their husbands. Findings of this study suggest that women's contribution to family income and their alternatives to marriage shape their assessment of fairness of household labor division for housework (Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994). Although these results explain the reason for perceptions of fairness, they do not provide an explanation for the reasons of unequal division of labor in households for housework.

(3) The gender perspective. This perspective argues that housework is a symbolic enactment of gender relations and explains why there is not a simple trade off between time spent in unpaid and paid labor among men and women in either marital or cohabiting relationships. According to this perspective, performance of housework by women and men helps define and express gender relations within household (Bianchi et al., 2000; South and Spitze, 1994). This approach suggests that the perception of fairness also depends on ideology rather than resource or time availability. Thus, more conventional ideologies result in women's perception of a higher share in housework as just (Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994). Within the gender perspective, South and Spitze (1994) have investigated how time spent doing housework by women and men varies by marital status, and found that the gender gap in housework time is greatest in married couple households relative to other households. Their interpretation is that this difference cannot be explained with the potential consequences of marriage, which often brings children and reduces hours of paid work for women. They conclude that housework is not allocated in the most efficient manner, and that gender is more influential than individual resources in determining the division of household labor (South and Spitze, 1994). Thus, women and men display their "proper roles," while this display

perpetuates those same roles over and over again. Similarly, Bianchi et al. (2000) focus on the time spent for housework by women and men in the 1990s, and the change in division of labor in married couple households. They use both time diaries and surveys to elaborate on these issues in detail. The analysis suggests that the decline in housework by women continues, whereas the increase on the part of men is slowed down, though not for married men (Bianchi et al., 2000).

Press and Townsley (1998) argue that report inflation in surveys is highly gendered. They suggest that the observed increase in husbands' share in performing housework over time may be explained through over-reporting behavior. Their analysis reveals that both husbands and wives tend to over-report their housework contributions. The relative over-report is 149% for husbands and 68% for wives. Moreover, gender attitudes affect husbands' and wives' reporting behavior in opposite directions: conventional attitudes reduce husbands' reporting gap while they increase wives'. On the other hand, the presence of children increases wives' over-reports but has no significant effect on husbands' reporting behavior. Finally, economically more privileged husbands with egalitarian gender attitudes tend to over-report at a higher rate than more conventional husbands; and more privileged working mothers are likely to report more accurately than working mothers with lower incomes. They conclude that over-reporting behavior is influenced by the fact that survey respondents try to meet changing social expectations about housework. The major conclusion of this study is that when reporting gaps are taken into account, there is virtually no increase in the share of housework of men for the last three decades, although women's share is decreasing (Press and Townsley, 1998).

Contrary to this argument, Gershuny and Robinson (1988) support the view of the increased share of men and decreased share of women in housework, although they confirm that women still do considerably more housework than men. Their study, utilizing time diaries for comparison in time, confirms that time spent in housework by women has been declining, and by men has been increasing, even when the impact of structural changes, such as women's employment and decreasing size of families, are considered (Gershuny and Robinson, 1988).

Gershuny and Robinson (1988) justify their findings partly with the increasing use of time saving appliances introduced to households following the new technology. However, the introduction of new technology into housework through new household appliances has been criticized for

increasing the amount of housework rather than decreasing it (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Wajcman, 1991; Romero, 1992; Hayden, 1984). It is believed that “domestic technology” has reinforced the conventional division of labor by gender, and locked women even more firmly into their conventional roles (Wajcman, 1991; Hayden, 1984), since although it increased the productivity of housework, it was also accompanied by rising expectations of the housewife’s role. Therefore, the upgrading of housekeeping standards produced by domestic technology generated more domestic work for women and reinforced the conventional roles for women (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Wajcman, 1991; Romero, 1992). Moreover, task-specific technologies caused women’s taking over of some tasks that were done by other household members together previously. For example, studies have shown that when there was a dishwasher at home, the husband was less likely to help occasionally with the dishes. Therefore, it is possible to assert that new technologies may reduce the amount of time men spend in housework, and increase the time spent by women (Wajcman, 1991). Finally, the introduction of new technologies in housework has been criticized for individualizing the tasks, rather than collectivization (Wajcman, 1991; Romero, 1992; Hayden, 1984).

Reliance on a service economy is claimed to be another factor influencing the decrease in women’s time spent in housework (Bianchi et al., 2000). Nevertheless, this approach is highly criticized, since it ignores class and ethnic differences. For example, in the United States, the domestic workers, who are the most potential members of service economy to participate in housework, are usually from lower-income and non-white ethnic groups’ female members. Thus, their participation in housework as paid laborers does not support decrease in women’s time spent for housework. On the contrary, it brings another dimension to the analysis of division of household labor in housework (Romero, 1992).

Comparing the contradictory findings about the change in division of household labor in housework, it can be concluded that less housework is being performed in recent decades (Bianchi et al., 2000). Although the arguments about the changing shares of women and men in the division of household labor in housework are contradictory [*For example, for Gershuny and Robinson (1988) the share of men is increasing while share of women is decreasing; for Press and Townsley (1998) there is no change at all in men’s share, while women’s share is decreasing; and for Bianchi*

et al. (2000) the increase in men's share is decreasing, while women's share continues to decrease], the findings of all studies support that the total amount of housework is decreasing. Although researchers agree that women's share of housework is decreasing, the change in men's share is still open to discussion. However, gender segregation of tasks continues, with wives performing the "core," traditionally feminine tasks to a large degree, and men concentrating on other more periodic or optional tasks (Bianchi et al., 2000; Press and Townsley, 1998). Consequently, if there is an increase in men's share of housework, the nature of it is still questionable.

This line of research suggests that there is a decrease in women's time spent in housework due to changing gender ideologies. It also emphasizes the importance of concentrating on the actual housework activities and time spent for them in detail in order to consider the type of housework. However, the spaces that accommodate these housework activities are excluded in this line of research.

2.4. Housework and women's use and perception of spaces in houses

Since salient values of household members surface in performing household tasks, and in daily household living, intra-house use patterns are important. In cases of conflict for space use among household members, the use patterns are modified by defining territories, time rescheduling for comparative uses, functional differentiation between activities, and exercise of controls (Sanoff, 1971). It has been argued that the amount of time women spend for housework tasks influences their use and perception of houses (Ahrentzen et al., 1989; Peatross and Hassell, 1992; Roberts, 1990; Domosh, 1998; Boys, 1990; Franck, 1985; Bowlby et al., 1997; Munro and Madigan, 1999; Booth, 1999).

Research about descriptions of space use in houses has the objective of informing decision makers about the needs of contemporary households (Franck and Ahrentzen, 1989; Ahrentzen et al., 1989). Discussions about gender division of space focus on macro scale space and originate from the argument on ideology of separation of spheres, which is an ideology that confines women to private (domestic) space, and men to public space (Massey, 1994; Spain, 1992; Domosh, 1998).

However, domestic space is not homogeneous and is experienced differently by women and men (Bowlby et al., 1997; Weisman, 1992; Ahrentzen et al., 1989).

The gender division of household space is shaped through women's and men's use and perception of certain spaces. The differentiation in use patterns of women and men in houses originates from the distinction between types of household activities that are performed by either women or men. Eventually, the way they use these spaces influence their perception of them.

Research about use patterns in domestic space claims that women's time spent for housework defines housework spaces (especially, the kitchen) as women's spaces (Ahrentzen et al., 1989; Sebba and Chuchman, 1983; Tognoli, 1980). It is also argued that women associate negative feelings with these spaces due to their dislike of housework activities (Tognoli, 1980; Pennartz, 1999; Munro and Madigan, 1999). Although these studies confirm the argument that women's time spent for housework influence how they use and perceive different spaces in their houses, they lack an explanation of the underlying reasons for such an inequitable distribution of roles between women and men. Moreover, similar to the studies about how women's roles in households and house plans relate, the concept of "women's spaces of their own" in houses, outside of housework spaces, has not been discussed in this line of research.

Ahrentzen et al. (1989) have examined the relationship between the share in housework and use of domestic space in Toronto through time-budget surveys with 538 family households. Ahrentzen et al. (1989) concluded that married and employed women and men spend the same amount of time in core rooms of the house except for the kitchen. Moreover, they stated that although the time spent in the core rooms are the same for employed mothers and fathers, their experiences of those spaces differ. Also, married women spend a greater proportion of their time in the kitchen compared to men (Ahrentzen et al., 1989). The findings of this study suggest that the use patterns, which are identified according to time spent by the members of households, demonstrate the role distribution in households. However, the connection between these patterns and the reasons for such a distribution of gender roles is unexplored. Moreover, women's perceptions of these spaces related to housework activities are not included in this study.

Sebba and Churchman (1983) describe domestic space as a territorial model, where each area has a clear classification and is characterized by a particular pattern of behaviors and attitudes. The findings of this study in a middle-class neighborhood of Haifa, Israel suggest that the kitchen emerges as an exceptional space in houses, which is identified as belonging to women by the other members of households as well as by women themselves. Although all members of the household use the kitchen, because of higher amount of time spent for housework tasks in the kitchen by women compared to other members of the household, the kitchen is defined as women's territory. Women also report that they use kitchens to entertain their guests. When women mention that they feel like some part of their homes belongs to them, those parts are kitchens and/or bedrooms, whereas when men mention that they feel like some part of their homes belongs to them, those parts are workrooms and/or bedrooms. However, despite the fact that women are associated with the kitchens, they do not feel undisturbed in their kitchens. Sebba and Churchman (1983) conclude that domestic spaces are divided among household members with territorial claims, which are based on what each member does in those spaces. These findings are affirmative of the argued influence of time spent for housework on use and perception of different spaces in houses. Nevertheless, this study does not provide a detailed use-pattern analysis by assessing actual time spent for those activities in those spaces (rather it relies on estimations provided by the respondents) and the underlying reasons of such a distribution of activities among household members.

Tognoli (1980) argues that role distribution between women and men influences how they perceive their houses. In his study Tognoli (1980) asked women and men to list the activities taking place in their kitchens, living rooms, bathrooms, and bedrooms, and to associate their feelings about those spaces in their houses. The findings of the study show that women consistently listed more activities for all four rooms. Exemplifying the differences between women and men, it is stated that for the kitchen, women mentioned cooking, washing, and tidiness more than men, while men mentioned eating more than women (Tognoli, 1980). However, since the study does not identify actual time spent in those activities and rooms, the findings are based on respondents' estimation of their activities. Moreover, the underlying reasons for such a role distribution between women and men are ignored.

In his study in a large provincial town in the eastern part of the Netherlands, Pennartz (1999) found that the perception of the atmosphere at home by women is different than it is by men. When women described pleasantness, they all referred to times and spaces, in which they can disassociate themselves from housework tasks and be alone, while men never referred to housework. Consequently, the least pleasant space for women was reported as the kitchen, where they feel haunted by the housework tasks to be completed. Although the study focused on the influence of spatial organization in houses on the formation of an atmosphere, either pleasant or unpleasant, the findings point out a major differentiation between women and men in their descriptions of pleasant times and spaces (Pennartz, 1999). This study supports the argument that time spent for housework influences perceptions of different spaces in houses. Yet, the study does not clarify the amount of time women and men spend for different types of housework, and where in the house. Therefore, the differences in the perceptions between women and men are not explicitly related to use patterns.

Similarly, Munro and Madigan (1999) state that women find the home environment less relaxing than men, since women are occupied with housework most of the time. They have examined people's use of space in their homes and its relation to their views of family unity and individual privacy in post-war flats and houses in Glasgow. In this study, issues of privacy among family members and the resolution of conflicts over the use of space within their home were analyzed through data collected by questionnaires and interviews. The aim was to understand how families negotiated their relationships within the physical limitations of conventional suburban houses. They concluded that the use of domestic space was shaped through family unity and individual privacy. Findings of the study point out that women's traditional responsibility for housework shape and differentiate their use of time and space at home (Munro and Madigan, 1999). Although this study relates perception and use patterns with time spent for housework, the reasons for such a distribution of housework activities between women and men are ambiguous.

Despite their different focus areas, these studies clarify the influence of women's time spent in housework on their use and perception of spaces in their houses. Based on the findings of these studies, it is possible to argue that women, who predominantly perform housework tasks, are

associated with spaces in which those tasks are performed. Moreover, women's perception of those spaces is negative due to their reluctance of performing those tasks.

These relationships are discussed within the individual households and houses. However, different housing types support different patterns of relationships within and among the households, which are not reflected in these studies. The following section discusses two different housing types that potentially provide settings for supporting women's decreasing time spent for housework in recent years.

2.5. Non-traditional housing types

Organizational and spatial characteristics of housing types support patterns of relationships within and among the households according to the availability of various types of facilities. Each housing type is built on certain assumptions about the social organization among its residents.

Since the nineteenth century, three housing types have evolved simultaneously. Each of these housing types has been associated with different assumptions of women's role at home and in society (Hayden, 1984). These three types (haven type, industrial type, and neighborhood type) represent social models in built forms of housing type. First, the haven type is composed of isolated, individualized suburban houses, where a woman's highest priority is to serve and care for her family. Second, the industrial type is high-rise housing, where some of the housework (e.g. laundry, cooking, and daycare) is professionalized and provided by the low-paid female workers in the building. Third, the neighborhood type is representative of village type housing, where a community is built around the idea of utilizing collectively owned spaces for socializing housework under women's control through neighborhood networks. Hayden (1984) claims that all these programs and the social models they suggest are obsolete:

"... the hope of seclusion [is] embodied in the hut [in the first type]; the fantasy of efficiency [is] attached to the machine [in the second type]; the nostalgia for the intact community of village or cloister [is] expressed in the neighborhood model [in the third type]. Yet, each of these mid-nineteenth century architectural programs has persisted, with a strong aesthetic, and these programs may persist into the twenty-first century. [However], a new life demands new forms, [and] today Americans are often living the new life, with women

employed, while not making the spatial changes that will provide new forms....One basic question recurs: how can Americans, having splurged on suburbia's detached houses, now afford any new forms?" (Hayden, 1984, p.142) (Parentheses added)

Building on the neighborhood-type strategy, but modifying it so that not only women but also men in a community are involved in collectivization of housework and childcare, Dolores Hayden (1980) proposed to establish small participatory organizations called HOMES (Homemakers' Organization for a More Egalitarian Society). Her proposal was designed to increase collective housework among neighbors so that women and men are equally involved in unpaid as well as paid labor force (Torre, 1999; Ellin, 1996; Hayden, 1980, 1984). Women's changing roles can be accommodated in this proposal, where she applied the elements of collective housework to propose a solution recognizing that most people do not want to live in communal settings. According to Hayden's proposal private housing and private gardens for each household would be incorporated with collective spaces and activities such as daycare, a laundromat, a kitchen (for children at day-care, the elderly, and others who do not wish to cook), a food cooperative with groceries, a garage with vans providing cab service and meals on wheels, a garden, and an office with helpers (for children and elderly). In addition to the construction of new housing with these criteria, Hayden also suggested modifying existing suburban blocks by converting single-family houses into multi-family housing, adding pedestrian paths and sidewalks to link all units through a park, which can be obtained by pooling the interior land, and converting some private garages, porches, tool sheds, and family rooms into community facilities (Hayden, 1980; Ellin, 1996; Torre, 1999). Although Hayden (1984) elaborated on economic and social transformations in addition to necessary changes in zoning regulations for realizing such a proposal, this attempt failed to be acknowledged and implemented.

With concerns about providing living environments that are suitable for new families' needs, a National Assembly on the Future of the Family was sponsored by the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the National Organization for Women in 1979. *Architectural Record* held a round table, which examined current and proposed housing policies in relation to changing needs and self-perceptions of women and families. The underlying idea was that since the prototype family profile assumed in almost all housing projects became a minority in the United States, new criteria for new construction and transformation of the existing housing stock should be developed. In this

panel, in addition to the needs of youth and elderly population and the issues related to energy conservation, the new roles of women (as they increasingly participate in the paid labor force) and the new household formations (as they differ from the traditional family definition) were discussed in the context of housing. It was concluded that the provision of shared facilities, such as childcare and Laundromat, in communities as well as employment opportunities close to living environments could be helpful to accommodate women's new roles in various types of households (Schmertz, 1981).

Similarly, findings of a study exploring the extent to which a planned community can accommodate the needs of women and children in New Jersey, support these arguments. The analysis of a large-scale survey of 930 households, and lengthy interviews with 250 adults and 80 adolescents showed that planners underestimate the impact of contemporary change on women's roles and self-perceptions (Keller, 1981). The author argues that the ideal women for planners are of a single type: the young, unemployed housewife with young children. Since this type of women has been transforming into part-time or full-time working mothers and single parents, their needs and values are not accommodated in housing developments. For example, nearly nine-tenths of the residents in this planned community in New Jersey were in favor of daycare facilities, but have no such facilities available or planned for (Keller, 1981). This study confirms that the needs of women with new roles are neglected in conventional housing developments.

Hayden's HOMES proposal and these suggestions of architects, planners, and social scientists were presented just before the public emergence of neo-traditional planning (or New Urbanism).

Neo-traditional developments. Neo-traditional planning proposed building residential communities beyond the edge of metropolitan areas that are initiated by commercial developers (Torre, 1999). The guiding principles of neo-traditional planning were based on decentralization of urban patterns, where housing, jobs, schools, daily needs, and other activities are accommodated within easy walking distance of each other. According to this proposal the communities should have a center that combines commercial, recreational and cultural uses. With an emphasis on pedestrian movement in these decentralized small units, the streets and sidewalks should be organized to slow down vehicular traffic, encourage bicycle and pedestrian circulation, and make public transportation accessible. For these communities' social composition, diversity of household

types, and income and age groups should be supported in the variety of house types (Torre, 1999; Calthorpe, 1993, 1994; Bressi, 1994; Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1994; Moule and Ployzoides, 1994; Talen, 1999). Since the early 1980s, based on these criteria, many developments were built in the United States. In 1996, the number of people living in neo-traditional developments reached two thousand (Torre, 1999), and it has been rapidly increasing since then with the adoption of these principles by national and local planning organizations and by developers, who are eager to benefit from this new trend (Torre, 1999; Bressi, 1994). Based on a survey conducted by New Urban News, in 2002 there were 472 neighborhood scale neo-traditional developments in some stage of development in the United States (Southworth, 2003).

Neo-traditional developments address some of the concerns raised by feminist critiques of suburban life, including an emphasis on creating a safe environment for children, decreasing the distance between home and work, locating convenience stores and amenities within walking distance, providing employment opportunities in close proximity of houses, and making public environment an integral part of the community. However, neo-traditional developments also emphasize rigid context and controlled social organization (Torre, 1999), which undermine their usefulness to build living environments that support changing roles of women towards equality.

The neo-traditional developments are private, for-profit developments based on single-family houses standing on private lots as their predominant residential type (Torre, 1999; Harvey, 1997). In contrast, for example, the HOMES proposal was conceived as a cooperative undertaking initiated by a non-profit developer such as a tenant cooperative organization, where residents perform as managers of the collective services. Similarly, the round table participants suggested collectively managed facilities to be shared by the residents, which is not the case in the neo-traditional developments. In addition to a lack of collectively managed facilities, control of the management in the neo-traditional developments on house design eliminates the possibility for residents to accommodate their needs and values in their houses (Torre, 1999). Therefore, neo-traditional planning principles have been criticized for privileging spatial forms over social processes (Fulton, 1996; Sorkin, 1998; Harvey, 1997; Talen, 1999). Harvey (1997) questions the very concept of community as it is advertised in neo-traditional developments. For him, it is the image of a community rather than a real one that has been produced in this type of developments

for the affluent residents. Due to the spatial determinism embedded in the neo-traditional planning concept, which assumes that proper design will “save” American cities and provide a new moral order, the neighborhood becomes equivalent to the community in neo-traditional planning (Harvey, 1997).

Comparing the neo-traditional developments and the proposals for accommodating women’s changing roles, the difference lies in the assumed social organizations. The neo-traditional developments represent a consumer-based model for domestic life, where cleaning services, domestic servants, and ready-to-eat well-balanced foods are available for purchase, whereas the feminist proposals (such as the HOMES neighborhood) represent a model based on collective management and performance of services that are accessible to all residents (Torre, 1999). However, another type of housing, cohousing, developed with objectives similar to what Hayden (1981, 1984) has proposed as the new neighborhood type of housing, where women’s changing roles can be accommodated.

Cohousing developments. Cohousing is notable for its concentration on collective performances of housework and childcare tasks among the residents (Scanzoni, 2000; Kranz and Palm-Linden, 1994; Fromm, 2000; Vestbro, 1997, 1998, 2000; Woodward, 1989; McCamant and Durrett, 1989). The literature suggests that cohousing developments have potential to accommodate women’s changing roles, since cohousing has evolved from collective housing schemes, and since cohousing promotes utilizing shared spaces for housework and childcare to include women and men in the community (Kranz and Palm-Linden, 1994; Fromm, 2000; Vestbro, 1997, 1998, 2000). Moreover, Hasell and Scanzoni (1997) argue that it is the concept of mutual support among households in a community, which makes cohousing developments provide appropriate living environments for non-traditional households (such as single parents, dual-earner couples, young couples, and elderly people).

The origin of cohousing is based on two collective housing models: the service-based model and the collective-work model. The **service-based model** aimed at reducing women’s burden of childcare and housework, functioned with employed staff hired to perform these duties. Service housing for the elderly, which was a combination of two categories of residents using communal premises together, was also a variation of the service-based model. The service-based model was

built on the division of labor between the occupants and employed staff. In the 1930s, professional women's organizations in Europe supported collective housing, which aimed at combining professional work and family life in an efficient way by accommodating equal roles of women and men in new household types (Vestbro, 1997; Krantz and Palm-Linden, 1994). Early examples of collective housing in Europe included kindergartens and dinner halls. However, since these services were provided by underpaid female servants, collective housing in Europe was for privileged groups in the 1940s (Vestbro, 1998), similar to the industrial type in the United States as described by Hayden (1984).

Although easing the burden of increasing responsibilities related to childcare and housework was an important factor that led to the emergence of collective living, the image of the housewife with full responsibility for childcare and housework dominated the 1950s. In Europe, arguments about the adverse effects of collective facilities for childcare on the psychological and moral development of the child undermined the popularity of collective housing practices (Vestbro, 1997, 1998).

In the early 1970s, in Europe, the concept of collective living was transformed from a service-based model to a collective-work model (Fromm, 1991; Vestbro, 1998). The **collective-work model** was based on the idea that residents take care of meal services and other tasks through communal efforts (Vestbro, 1998). This model suggested a scheme with a common house and a regular childcare facility. The collective-work model, with its practical concerns, is the model of contemporary cohousing developments (Krantz and Palm-Linden, 1994; Fromm, 1991; Asplund and Bonita, 1994). In the early 1970s, groups of families who wanted a greater sense of community than was available in suburban divisions or apartment complexes began to build the first examples of cohousing in Europe. Later on, in the early 1990s cohousing developments began to emerge in the United States (Sanoff, 2000; McCamant and Durrett, 1989; Vestbro, 2000). Today, more than 100 cohousing communities are at various stages of development in the United States (Ahrentzen, 2000).

In cohousing developments, formation of tenure types and management principles are shaped around the ideas of collective living and supported by common facilities. In most of the cohousing developments, it is preferable to accommodate a larger mix of residents by attracting not only couples, but also singles with or without children (Fromm, 1991). The variety of tenure types is

supported with collective utilization of common facilities. Daily responsibilities, such as cooking and dining, and childcare, in addition to recreational activities, are carried out collectively on regular basis. Common facilities are designed to be integral parts of community's daily life and are always supplemental to the private residences. The common house typically includes a common kitchen, dining area, sitting area, children's playroom and laundry and may also have a workshop, library, exercise room, crafts room and/or one or two guest rooms. Except in very tight urban sites, cohousing communities often have playground equipment, lawns, and gardens as well (cohousing website; McCamant and Durrett, 1989; Fromm, 1991; Vestbro, 2000).

Future residents' participation in the design during the development process is essential so that the product meets their needs (cohousing website; Endoh, 1998, 1999). Consequently, community building starts in the initial stages assuring the effectiveness of residents' management, which is an invariably common characteristic in cohousing developments (Fromm, 1991). Residents do most of the work to maintain the property, yet there is no shared community economy. They participate in the preparation of common meals and meet regularly to develop policies for management collectively (cohousing website; McCamant and Durrett, 1989).

In a recent study of cohousing communities in the United States, Fromm (2000) reports that residents stated the advantages of living in a cohousing development as community support, a good social life, a better life for children, having dinners together, working as a group, and sharing resources (among others). Supporting these statements, 70% of the surveyed cohousing residents had cared for a neighbor's child without being paid. Similarly, 100% of the residents reported that they would feel comfortable asking neighbors to help with tasks or errands (Fromm, 2000).

Principles of cohousing address some of the criteria discussed in the proposals for accommodating women's changing roles (such as providing communal areas for residents to participate in some housework and childcare activities, and assuring community's participation in management). However, cohousing developments are conceived as residential areas without commercial facilities. In fact, the very concept of commercializing some of the common facilities contradicts the original idea of collective management and utilization of these facilities. Therefore, providing jobs in close proximity of residential areas is not a part of the cohousing concept, although it is a concern in neo-traditional developments.

Conclusion. Cohousing developments and neo-traditional developments are comparable in terms of their potential to accommodate women's changing roles, since each seems to provide different benefits for women. For example, cohousing developments provide collective facilities for shared housework and childcare, whereas neo-traditional developments provide employment opportunities in close proximity to houses. The major distinction between cohousing developments and neo-traditional developments lies in the different social organizations they support. Although in neo-traditional developments there is an emphasis on bringing work and home closer, the purpose is not to increase employment opportunities for women. On the contrary, building on the conventional roles of women as housewives, neo-traditional developments are criticized to be merely "better" looking suburban developments that imitate the existence of a community (Sorkin, 1998; Harvey, 1997). However, the underlying idea of cohousing developments is to ease the burden of housework and childcare by sharing them, and consequently to support women's changing roles in non-traditional household types (Kranz and Palm-Linden, 1994; Vestbro, 1997, 1998, 2000).

The two housing types represent tangible differences in social organizations and appropriate roles for women. However, questions of housing types, their limitations and consequences in the everyday lives of women are seldom explored in contemporary research.

2.6. Summary

The review of literature suggests that the residents' values (i.e., gender ideologies) have an impact on how space is organized in houses, which in return, influences how residents behave (e.g., Booth, 1999; Roberts, 1990; Laermans and Meulders, 1999; Hasell and Peatross, 1990; Peatross and Hasell, 1992; Hanson, 1998). It is also argued that gender ideologies are the main determinants of the amount of time women spend for housework (e.g., Bianchi et al., 2000; South and Spitze, 1994; Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994; Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Press and Townsley, 1998; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988). The literature also suggests that women's use and perception of their houses are influenced by the amount of time they spend for housework tasks (e.g., Ahrentzen, 1989; Sebba and Churchman, 1983; Tognoli, 1980; Pennartz, 1999; Munro and Madigan, 1999). The absence of space and time for privacy at home for women is also discussed (e.g., Madigan and Munro, 1999; Weisman, 1981/2000; Rock, et. al., 1980). Moreover,

different housing types with different assumed roles for women provide various spatial organizations, where use patterns can be accommodated (Hayden, 1981, 1984; Keller, 1981).

These separately identified relationships in the literature complete and support each other. It is the spatial organization that supports a certain role for a woman, and it is her individual gender ideology that transforms this role into her actual time spent for housework. It is the amount of time she spends for housework that influences her use and perception of spaces in her house as well as spaces for privacy, and it is the housing type she lives in that provides possibilities to accommodate her use, perception, and privacy.

Therefore, these separately identified relationships establish a complex set of intertwined relationships. However, the literature presents a gap where these relationships are explored concurrently.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter focuses on the underlying theoretical and conceptual framework, which leads to the main purpose and research questions of this study.

3.1. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this study is founded on the idea that individuals collectively interpret and redefine social relationships through their interactions with each other and with space. The theory of structuration similarly suggests that structural features of social systems are drawn upon and reproduced by actors in the form of interpretative schemes and that spatial relations are inextricably intertwined with a society's underlying principles of organization (Giddens, 1977, 1979, 1993a, 1993b, Sewell, 1992, Soja, 1985). However, the current study deviates from the theory of structuration in two aspects. First, in this study it is assumed that individuals' interactions surface as social processes rather than isolated individual actions. Second, in the current study, individual agency and structure are interpreted as inseparable rather than two separate entities.

These two aspects, with which this study deviates from the theory of structuration, have been extensively discussed in reference to the theoretical perspective that informs the theory of structuration (such as Crotty, 1998, Pader, 1988, Lawrence, 1989, Gioa and Pitre, 1990, Giddens, 1993a).

Crotty (1998) argues that the theory of structuration is informed by partly social constructionist, partly constructivist perspectives. For him, since there is an argument about all social reality being constructed by society, the theory of structuration is social constructionist, which claims that all reality is socially constructed. Yet, since in the theory of structuration it is also argued that natural world is not socially constructed, for Crotty (1998) the theory of structuration fits into constructivism, which suggests that not everything is socially constructed. There may be two reasons for opposing these statements about the theoretical perspective informing the theory of structuration. First, Giddens (1993a) himself mentions that there is an emphasis on individual, rather than social in the human agency concept, which is central to the theory of structuration. Second, there is a critical

approach towards culture in the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1993b), which is missing in social constructionism due to its favoring approach towards culture (Crotty, 1998). Consequently, due to its emphasis on individual, Pader (1988) and Lawrence (1989) suggest that the theory of structuration is close to post-structuralism, which is defined to be a theoretical perspective against structuralism (Crotty, 1998). While structuralism tries to achieve decisive and shaping factors in structural forms discoverable within society or the unconscious or both, in post-structuralism, structures do not offer a lifeline (Crotty, 1998). In other words, in post-structuralism, the structure is not static and imposing. With all of its assumptions, except that spatiality is socially produced despite individual human agency, post-structuralist perspective partly informs the theory of structuration.

On the other hand, Gioa and Pitre (1990) argue that the theory of structuration is in the intersection of interactionist and functionalist perspectives, assuming that the influence of human agent on structure is social rather than individual. For them, since interpretivist perspectives assume that human agency is central to the construction of structures and functionalist interpretations assume that structure defines the manifest activities, meshing the two assumptions supposedly accommodates the theory of structuration (Gioa and Pitre, 1990). However, in the theory of structuration, the human agency is conceptualized at the individual level, not the social one (Giddens, 1993a). For the same reason, Giddens (1993a) criticizes the symbolic interactionist perspective, specifically that of Herbert Mead. Parallel to this view, it is argued that although it is possible to accommodate the concepts of structure and agency in the symbolic interactionist perspective (Maines, 1977), it is not the same conceptualization, since structure and agency are not separable in symbolic interactionism (Schwalbe et al, 2000). Similarly, in symbolic interactionism, the human agency is active, as it is suggested in the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1993a); however, there is no critical attitude in symbolic interactionism (Crotty, 1998).

In this study, the theory of structuration is utilized as the foundation of an interactive approach towards the relationship between space and society. Accordingly, houses and housing developments are discussed as their residents interact with spatial characteristics on a daily basis. Moreover, the critical approach in the theory of structuration towards the culture and towards an imposing static structure is parallel to the critical approach in this study towards established ideas

of gender and their reflections in daily lives of women. Women’s individual interpretations of gender and their disclosure with patterns of housework are in accordance with the active agency concept in this study. However, the discussion of housing types as they support certain types of interpretations of gender and patterns of housework acknowledge the social processes that are influential on the individual interpretations of gender. With this discussion, it is also suggested in the current study that the individuals and social processes are inseparable.

3.2. Conceptual Framework

The present study suggests that although spatial organizations in houses assume certain roles for women, according to a woman’s individual gender ideology this role is transformed into her time spent for housework, which shapes how she uses and perceives her house and how spaces for privacy emerge. According to their use patterns, perception and spaces for privacy, they modify the spatial organization in their houses. In return, spatial characteristics of a housing type and spatial organization in houses influence how much a woman spends time for housework. The conceptual model (Figure 3.2.1) shows the relationships of concepts in this study.

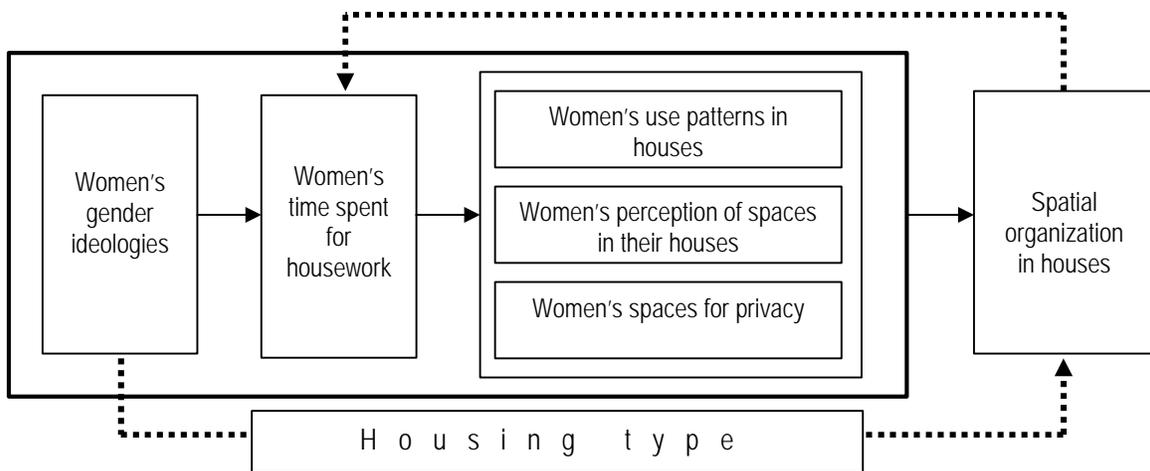


Figure 3.2.1. Conceptual model of the study.

3.3. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to understand women’s spatial needs in housing. To this end, the study examines women’s gender ideologies and the degree to which they influence women’s time spent for housework. It also explores the influence of women’s time spent for housework on their

use patterns, perception, and spaces for privacy. Moreover, comparing two housing types, this study focuses on spatial organization in houses accommodating women's patterns of use, perception, and privacy, and influencing their time spent for housework.

The research questions of this study are formed into three groups. The first research question inquires if gender ideologies are the major influences on women's time spent for housework, compared to time availability and relative resources, as discussed in the literature.

1. How influential are women's **gender ideologies** on their **time spent** for housework, compared to time availability and relative resources?

The second group of questions intends to understand the intertwined relationships among women's time spent for housework, use and perception of houses, and their spaces for privacy.

2. How does women's **time spent** for housework influence their **use patterns**?

3. How does women's **time spent** for housework influence their **perception** of spaces?

4. How does women's **time spent** for housework influence their **spaces for privacy**?

The third group of questions aims to understand the differences between the two housing types (cohousing and neo-traditional) in terms of women's gender ideologies, their time spent in housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, spaces for privacy, and spatial organization in houses.

5. How do women's **gender ideologies** differ in cohousing and neo-traditional developments?

6. How do women's **time spent for housework** differ in cohousing and neo-traditional developments?

7. How do women's **use patterns, perception** of spaces, and their **spaces for privacy** differ in cohousing and neo-traditional developments?

8. How do **spatial organizations** in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments differ?

3.4. Definition of Terms

Gender ideologies refer to ideas of appropriate gender roles. The first gender ideology statement is: "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family." The second gender ideology statement is: "It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under 5." The third gender ideology statement is: "A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife."

Time spent for housework refers to the percentage of the time a respondent spends doing housework in a typical weekday at home when she is not sleeping. The activities that are considered as **housework activities** are preparation and cooking of food, meal cleanup, indoor cleaning, doing and folding laundry, ironing, repair and upkeep of clothes, animal care, upkeep of heat and water supplies, bills and other financial accounting.

Use patterns refer to distribution of women's activities at home through time and space. **Housework spaces** are the spaces, where respondents spend time doing at least one type of housework. **Most time spent spaces** are the spaces, where respondents spend at least 10% of their time at home including all activities.

Perception of spaces refers to the respondents' most and least favorite spaces, as they identified them.

Spaces for privacy refer to spaces the respondents identified to go when they want privacy from the rest of the household. The respondents' **exclusive spaces** refer to spaces that are reserved for exclusive use of those women in their houses.

Spatial organizations in houses refer to the floor plans of houses, on which respondents' space nomenclatures are shown. **Program considerations** refer to the issues the respondents primarily focused on during the process of working with an architect before their houses were built. **Modifications** in houses refer to completed or desired alterations in respondents' houses.

Housing type refers to the spatial characteristics of housing developments.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Research design overview

This study applied a multiple case study strategy to develop intensive knowledge about women's spatial needs in housing. However, as a case study strategy application limits the interest of a study to detailed information specific to the particular study context, rather than information easily generalizable to a large population (Zeisel, 1984; Yin, 1984; Creswell, 1994), the purpose of the present study was to understand this topic in the context of **multiple cases** of cohousing and neo-traditional developments in the United States.

In multiple case studies replication logic rather than sampling logic is used for treating the patterns in cases. The cases can predict similar results (literal replication), or produce contrary results but for predictable reasons (theoretical replication). Two main strategies in the replication logic are pattern matching and replication seeking. In **pattern matching** findings are compared across cases or to a theoretical proposition in order to demonstrate patterns. For pattern matching, several pieces of information from the same case may be related to some theoretical proposition. In **replication seeking**, however, repeating patterns (either similar or contrary) in the cases are displayed (Yin, 1984). In this study, theoretical replication was sought with pattern matching and replication seeking strategies.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994) studies, whereby through extended contact with a community (or communities), a description of local peculiarities, and a focus on individuals' perspectives and interpretations of their own world are emphasized, are grouped under social anthropology. Guba (1981) groups these studies under naturalistic inquiries as opposed to rationalistic ones. In naturalistic inquiries, the assumption is that there are multiple realities, and that all parts of reality are interrelated; therefore, generalizations are not possible. Moreover, in a naturalistic inquiry, researchers study phenomena in "their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret them in terms of the meaning people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p.3). Therefore, this type of inquiry is often used for studying social and behavioral

phenomena, which exist mainly in the minds of the people and which suggest that there are as many realities as people (Guba, 1981). The present study falls under naturalistic inquiry since it is based on the assumption that individuals' interpretations of prevalent gender ideologies, which are supported by spatial characteristics of housing types and spatial organization in houses, transform their individual use, perception, and privacy in their houses, which may result in a choice of housing type so that their individual reality can be accommodated.

For Guba (1981) naturalistic inquires can accommodate both qualitative and quantitative methods. Similarly, Yin (1984) states that it is not possible to limit the methods of data collection in case studies to qualitative ones. However, Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that this type of research is typically based on qualitative data gathered through successive observations and interviews. This study utilized both qualitative (interviews and observations) and quantitative (time diaries) methods of data collection.

Observations were performed in the process of case selection in order to identify the spatial characteristics of cohousing and neo-traditional developments (housing types). Respondents' activity patterns were recorded by **time diaries (time budget)**, in which daily activities of a respondent were recorded for a 24-hour period on a typical weekday. Time diaries provided information not only about women's time spent for housework, but also about the locations of their activities in houses, thus the use patterns (housework spaces and most time spent spaces). Data for women's perception of different spaces in houses (the most and least favorite spaces), and their spaces for privacy (exclusive spaces and spaces they go for privacy) were gathered in **interviews** with women. Questions in interviews related to opinions about women's responsibilities for housework, childcare, employment, and education identified women's gender ideologies (both ratings of and comments on gender ideology statements). The modifications that the respondents completed or desired in addition to the program considerations (if they were involved in the preparation of the programs for their houses) were also asked in the interviews. The respondents' space nomenclature, which was composed of the names each respondent used for each space, was also gathered in the interviews. Then, the obtained or sketched **floor plans** were redrawn and coded according to each respondent's nomenclature. After completing each interview, photographs

of spaces, which were mentioned by the respondent during the interview, were taken. Figure 4.1.1 shows the conceptual model of this study with the measures of each concept.

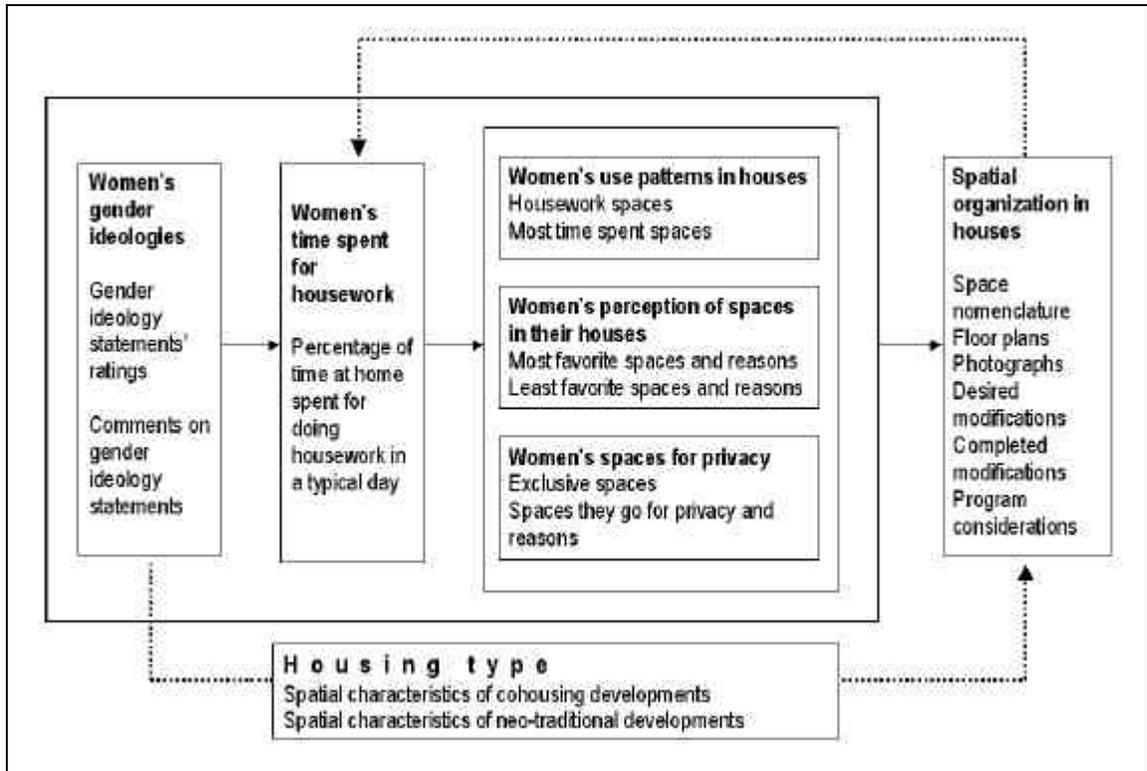


Figure 4.1.1. The conceptual model of the study identifying measures for each concept.

4.2. Site selection

In naturalistic studies, researchers work with small samples of people to understand their context in-depth, whereas in rationalistic studies, researchers aim for larger numbers of context-stripped cases and seek statistical significance (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In naturalistic studies the sampling procedure tends to be **purposive or theoretical** rather than random (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Marans, 1987). Moreover, samples in such studies are usually not wholly pre-specified, but can evolve once fieldwork begins. In this case, it may be **conceptually driven sequential sampling**. These sampling strategies can be applied both within and across cases. With replication strategy, it is possible to look at a range of similar and contrasting cases, and to strengthen the precision and stability of the findings. However, the findings of multiple case sampling are not generalizable to a larger population, since the choice of cases is made on conceptual grounds, not on representative grounds (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

In this study, the potential sites for cases were selected through **theoretical sampling** from a list of cohousing developments and another list of neo-traditional developments in a single state in the United States. The cohousing developments list was provided on the cohousing website; and the neo-traditional developments list was provided on the new urbanism (another term used for neo-traditional planning) website. Potential sites from both lists were selected based on two criteria: being located in one single specific state in the United States, and having more than 50% of the planned site constructed. These sites were visited to identify if the spatial characteristics of these developments matched the requirements of this study, which were having communal facilities in cohousing developments, and having commercial and recreational facilities in neo-traditional developments. The reason for requiring such spatial characteristics for the cases of this study was based on the arguments in literature about different identifying spatial characteristics of each housing type. After identifying three suitable case sites from each housing type, observations were performed to document these spatial characteristics. Then, three developments of a housing type was a single case in this study.

4.2.1. Spatial Characteristics: Cohousing Sites

Three cohousing developments, all of which were located in the same state, participated in this study. The average number of households in cohousing developments was 26. These cohousing developments were built on the collective work model. In all three cohousing developments a core group of residents met prior to the preparation of site plan. Collective efforts in the initial stages of planning and design contributed to formation of a community. The only way to enter one of these cohousing communities was through getting the approval of the current residents. It was possible to buy a house (if it was available) or to buy a lot to build a house on. The average price of a house in these three cohousing developments, which was calculated for randomly selected (the house of every 5th respondent) houses participated in this study, was approximately \$225,000.

In these cohousing communities, residents held regular meetings for collective management and maintenance. Residents also took care of meal services and other tasks through communal efforts. The common facilities were integral parts of communities' daily life, and were complimentary to the private houses.

In these cohousing developments households had their own **houses** with private kitchens, laundry areas, patios and gardens. One of the characteristics of these developments was their relatively higher density. Each house was closely located to the houses next to it and to the one it was facing (Figure 4.2.1.1).



Figure 4.2.1.1. Houses of cohousing communities.

In addition to these individual houses, each of the cohousing developments had a **common house** (Figure 4.2.1.2) where the community held regular meetings for social gathering and management of the development. In each cohousing community, with a rotation system, the residents prepared community dinners once a week. In front of the each common house there was a paved patio for having community gatherings outside. The maintenance and cleaning of these common houses were shared among the residents.



Figure 4.2.1.2. Common houses of cohousing communities.

Inside the common houses, there were communal kitchens, meeting areas, dining areas, playrooms for kids, and sometimes rooms for guests and libraries (Figure 4.2.1.3).

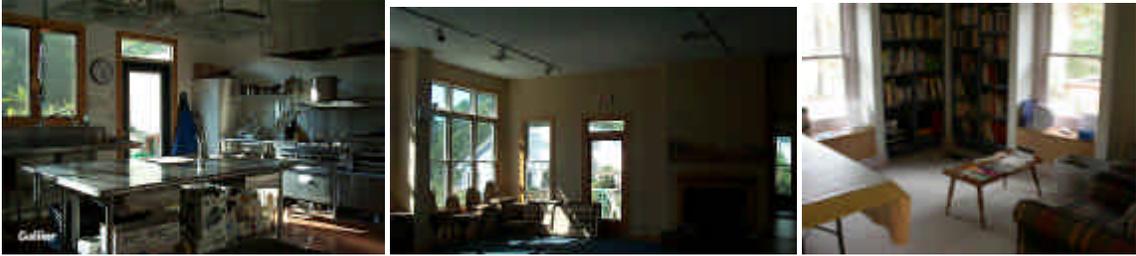


Figure 4.2.1.3. Inside of the common houses.

Each cohousing development had a **pedestrian path** (Figure 4.2.1.4) connecting all the houses in the development. The houses were located to have the front entrance facing these pedestrian paths (Figure 4.2.1.5). Since all the circulation, and frequent interactions among neighbors happened on the pedestrian paths, these were the backbones of cohousing communities.



Figure 4.2.1.4. Pedestrian paths in cohousing communities.



Figure 4.2.1.5. Houses facing the pedestrian path.

Alongside the pedestrian paths, there were community gardens (Figure 4.2.1.6) and playgrounds (Figure 4.2.1.7). The residents formed various committees to distribute the responsibilities related to the maintenance of these shared facilities.



Figure 4.2.1.6. Community gardens in cohousing developments.



Figure 4.2.1.7. Playgrounds in cohousing developments.

In each of these cohousing developments, the pedestrian path cut through the block, which was surrounded by a main road. These pathways were strictly separated from the roads, which led to the parking areas. The parking was arranged collectively on one side of the block in two of these developments. In the third one, each house had a separate parking space next to it.

4.2.2. Spatial Characteristics: Neo-traditional Sites

Three neo-traditional developments, all of which were located in the same state, participated in this study. Each neo-traditional development was planned to accommodate several neighborhood units, built by different builders. These were private, for-profit developments based on single-family houses standing on private lots as their predominant residential type. Although there were homeowners associations and newsletters, neither the developments in general nor the facilities in them were collectively managed. Different from the cohousing developments, which were collectively managed by the residents, the control of the management in neo-traditional developments on house design was parallel to their for-profit character. In neo-traditional

developments, usually already-built houses were marketed and sold without the inclusion of current residents in the programming process. Although buying the lot before the construction of a house was also a possibility in neo-traditional developments, it still did not require the approval of the current residents. The average price of a house in these three neo-traditional developments, which was calculated for randomly selected (the house of every 5th respondent) houses participated in this study, was approximately \$306,000.

The ideas of a small town and community were commercialized in their advertisements in the media. Emphasizing the renewal of the early and mid-twentieth century United States small town character dominated these advertisements. The following quotation was an excerpt from the add of one of these three neo-traditional communities:

Remember the feeling when you last walked down the tree-lined sidewalk of an old neighborhood? Everything and everyone seemed friendlier: You felt safe, people smiled and waved from their front porches. The ambiance soothed... The architecture charmed. "They don't build 'em like this anymore," you thought. I'd love living in an old neighborhood, but I want to live in a new house. Well, now you can have both. With [name of the neo-traditional development], traditional town planning is revived in [name of the state]. This marks a return to creating neighborhoods that, early in the 20th century, resulted in the most well-loved parts of town. A town that is designed for and caters to people, not just automobiles.

Another one of these three developments used the drawings of a town square reminding the past, as the promised living in its advertisement (Figure 4.2.2.1).



Figure 4.2.2.1. From the advertisement of one of the three neo-traditional communities.

According to the neo-traditional planning principles, each of these developments had a planned or built center that combined commercial, recreational and cultural uses. Two of these neo-traditional developments accommodated already built commercial facilities, including restaurants and shops (Figure 4.2.2.2).



Figure 4.2.2.2. Commercial facilities in neo-traditional developments.

Other commercial facilities in one of these developments were a movie theater and a childcare facility (Figure 4.2.2.3). The recreational facilities included swimming pool in another one and waking trails in two developments (Figure 4.2.2.4).



Figure 4.2.2.3 A movie theater and a childcare facility in neo-traditional developments.



Figure 4.2.2.4. Recreational facilities in neo-traditional developments.

According to the same principles, in these developments, housing and daily needs were either planned or already built within easy walking distance of each other. The **houses** were also closely located compared to typical suburban developments (Figure 4.2.2.5).



Figure 4.2.2.5. Houses of neo-traditional developments.

The streets and sidewalks were organized to allow bicycle and pedestrian circulation as well as vehicular traffic (Figure 4.2.2.6).



Figure 4.2.2.6. Sidewalks to allow bicycle and pedestrian circulation in neo-traditional developments.

However, connecting pedestrian paths were not one of the characteristics of neo-traditional developments. Instead, convenient reach from the main roads to each house through connecting secondary roads was the primary consideration. In one of these neo-traditional developments, this characteristic resulted in formation of **back streets** for garage entrances (Figure 4.2.2.7). Different from the cohousing developments, instead of pedestrian paths, these back streets passed through the blocks.



Figure 4.2.2.7. Back streets for garage entrances in one of the neo-traditional developments.

4.3. Respondent sampling

In each development, the main criteria for selecting respondents were being a woman and living in a house owned by its occupants, which made the sampling procedure **purposive sampling**. Initially, another criterion was to interview women who were living with a male partner and children at the time of the interview. However, during the data collection process, it was observed that the presence of unconventional household types in cohousing developments and in neo-traditional developments was another important component for describing their differences. Therefore, with **conceptually-driven sequential sampling**, women from different types of households were included in the sample.

The number of interviewed women was 46. Among these 46 interviews, 3 were excluded from the study. Two of them were the partners of interviewed two other women. Since from each house interviewing only one respondent was the standard procedure in this study, these two interviews with the partners were excluded. The third excluded interview was done with a mentally impaired woman who had memory problems. Failing to remember what she did the day before for the time diary made her interview incomplete. Thus, her interview was excluded from the sample. Therefore, total of 43 interviews, 27 from cohousing developments, and 16 from neo-traditional developments, were used in this study.

4.4. Methods of data collection

The methods of data collection in this study were observations, interviews, time diaries, and visual documentation of the houses (floor plans and photographs). The interviews included taking photographs and obtaining floor plans or sketching the spatial organization in houses, as well as the time diaries. This section elaborates on these methods for their use to collect data for the measures of each concept in the conceptual model (Figure 4.4.1).

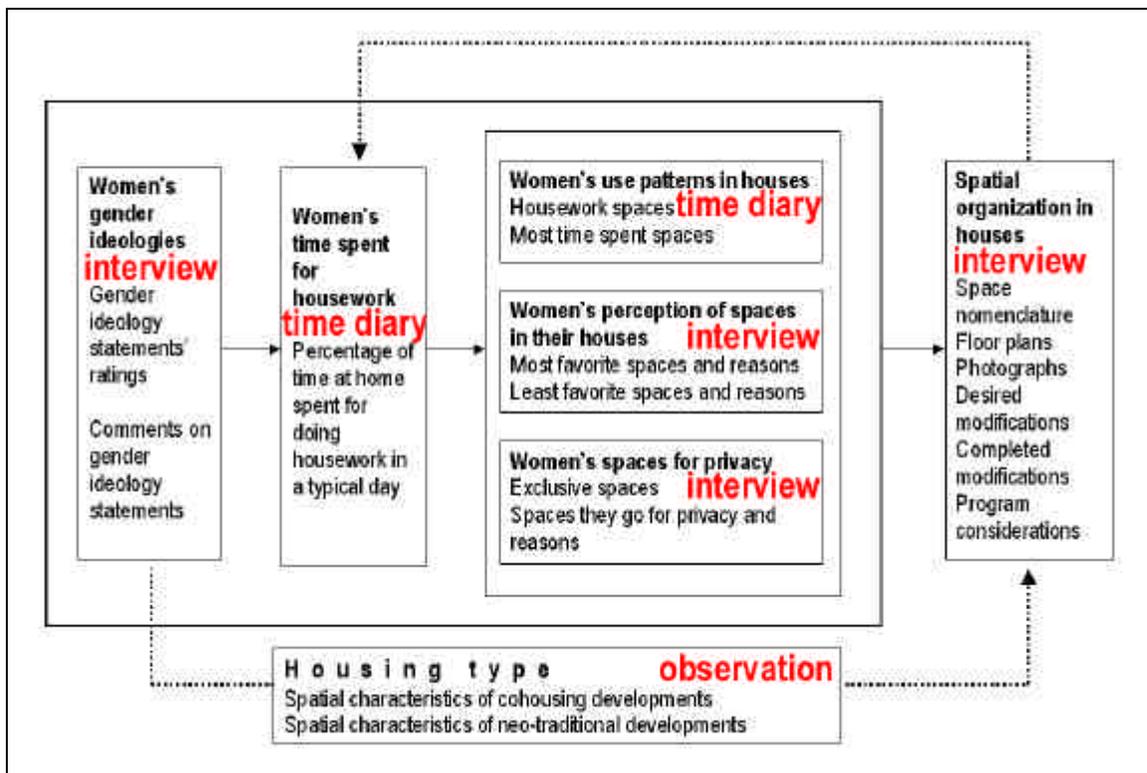


Figure 4.4.1. The conceptual model of the study identifying the methods of data collection for measures of each concept.

4.4.1. Observations

Observations were performed in the process of case selection in order to identify the spatial characteristics of cohousing and neo-traditional developments. According to the way both types of housing have been described in the literature on women and housing types, there are distinctive spatial characteristics of cohousing and neo-traditional developments that may be seen as supporting the new set of expectations in terms of women's roles in households.

For cohousing developments, these characteristics are mainly the communal facilities, such as common houses with a communal kitchen, communal gardens, and playgrounds, which aim to decrease the burden of housework and childcare on women by transferring it to the whole community including women and men (Kranz and Palm-Linden, 1994; Fromm, 2000; Vestbro, 1997, 1998, 2000). For neo-traditional developments, however, the characteristics that are assumed to support changing roles of women are subtler. It has been inferred that the existence of commercial and recreational facilities in neo-traditional developments helps increase women's opportunities to participate in paid labor force due to provided close proximity between work and home (Torre, 1999). Nevertheless, the original conceptualization does not refer to this close proximity between work and home as a characteristic to support women's new roles.

Therefore, the existence of communal facilities (such as common houses, playgrounds, and communal gardens) in cohousing developments, and commercial and recreational facilities (such as retail shops, movie theaters, and swimming pools) in neo-traditional developments were the required spatial characteristics to be observed during the site visits in order to be included in this study. After selecting the cases, these observed spatial characteristics of each housing type were visually documented.

4.4.2. Interviews

Interviews were the primary method of data collection, since the willingness to treat individuals as valuable sources of particular information is embedded in the process. It allows both parties to explore the meaning of the questions and answers involved. This conversational mode implies that interviews are open to variations (Brenner et al., 1985).

In this study, interviews were structured in such a way that the questions to be asked and their sequence were predetermined. However, due to the conversational mode of interviews, for each question, respondents' answers included their comments in addition to the direct answers of the questions. The interviews were recorded with a tape recorder and notes were taken on interview sheets.

There were five parts in each interview. The first part asked questions about the space nomenclature, which was the label each respondent assigned for each space in the house, the

modifications they desired or completed in the house, and the major program considerations if they were involved in the preparation of the program for their houses. The nomenclature also provided data about the presence of exclusive spaces. The second part was the time diary, which was another technique integrated to the interview. During the interview, with the time diary, activities, time spent for them, their locations, and other involved in those activities were recorded for a 24-hour period of the last typical weekday. The third part was for understanding women's perception of various spaces in their houses by asking their most and least favorite spaces in the house and their reasons. In the third part, women's spaces for privacy were explored with a question about the places they retreat to for privacy and their reasons for selecting those places. In the fourth part, respondents' opinions about three statements related to the women's role in terms of participation in the paid labor force and performing housework and childcare were gathered with a five-point Likert Scale in addition to their comments on those issues. The last part of the interview was for understanding the demographic profile of the respondents. In this part, information about their age, education, partner status, parental status, employment status, and share in household income were collected.

At the end of each interview, the floor plan was obtained if it was available. If the respondent did not have a floor plan, then a sketch of the spatial organization was drawn. Photographs of the spaces, which came up during the interview, were taken with the permission of the respondent.

Therefore, data about space nomenclature, modifications, program considerations, use patterns, perception of different spaces in houses, the spaces the respondents go for privacy, and their gender ideologies in addition to the floor plans were gathered in the interviews.

4.4.3. Time-diaries (time-budget technique)

In the time diary or time-budget technique, daily activities of each respondent are recorded for a twenty-four hour period. This activity record can be arranged in two ways: (1) Time diaries can be filled out by the respondents, or (2) The researcher can interview with the respondents. Either the exact times of beginning and finishing the activities are recorded, or the activities are inserted in short time slots. For each activity, time, location other participants included in the activity, and secondary activities are registered (Michelson, 1994; Ahrentzen et al., 1989; Andorka, 1987;

Gershuny and Robinson, 1988). The time-budget technique minimizes the reporting burden on respondents, since it makes possible to report the activities with respondents' own words and in their naturally occurring order (Bianchi et al., 2000; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988).

In this study, time diaries were used in the interviews by recording the exact times of beginning and finishing the activities, as well as activities' locations and other participants included in the activity, and the secondary activities for a 24-hour period. The respondents were asked to describe the day before the interview day, if the day before was a typical weekday. If it was not a typical weekday, the respondent was asked to describe the last typical weekday. The time diaries provided data not only about women's time spent for housework, locations of these activities, and other participants involved, but also about other activities women are involved at home and their locations. Since the specific nomenclature a respondent used for each space in the house was gathered in the first part of the interview, she specified locations of these activities using the same nomenclature. In this way, time diaries as used in this study integrate the activities and the spaces they took place in; and respondents' time spent for housework can be linked to their use patterns in houses.

4.4.4. Quality considerations

For case studies, four tests have been identified to judge the quality of any given study. First, the construct validity refers to establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied (Yin, 1984, Guba, 1981). Second, internal validity refers to establishing a causal relationship, in which certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions (Yin, 1984). Third, external validity refers to establishing the domain to which the study's findings can be generalized (Yin, 1984; Guba, 1981, Maxwell, 1992). Fourth, reliability refers to demonstrating that the operations of the study can be repeated, with the same results (Yin, 1984). Other than these four tests, objectivity has been discussed as a measure of quality. Objectivity refers to eliminating the affects of researchers' bias (Guba, 1981).

To achieve **construct validity** a common tactic is to use multiple sources of evidence, which provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon (Yin, 1984). In this study, respondents' gender ideologies were gathered through both quantitative (gender ideology statements' ratings) and qualitative measures (comments on gender ideology statements including real life

experiences). Similarly, for gathering information of spatial organization in houses not only floor plans were obtained, but also respondents' space nomenclature were asked and photographs were taken. In order to collect data on women's spaces for privacy, not only the respondents were asked to identify where they go for privacy in their houses and their reasons for selecting those spaces, but also the presence of their exclusive spaces on floor plans were identified with their space nomenclature. For gathering information on respondents' perception of spaces, they were asked not only to identify the most and least favorite spaces, but also to elaborate on their reasons for identifying those spaces.

To achieve **internal validity** pattern matching is often used as a tactic. One purpose of internal validity is to make sure that the causal relationships argued in the study are not inflicted by another condition, which was not included in the study (Yin, 1984). In this study, it is argued that the respondents' gender ideologies influenced their time spent for housework. However, previous studies have stated that other factors might be influential as well. Therefore, in the pattern matching, the influence of gender ideologies was compared to the influence of these other factors (time availability, relative resources, and household composition). Consequently, it was possible to establish the relationship between gender ideologies and time spent for housework. Moreover, the relationship between time spent for housework and the patterns of perception and privacy were checked by pattern matching in terms of the respondents' reasons for identifying their most and last favorite spaces and spaces for privacy.

For **external validity** in case studies replication logic rather than sampling logic is utilized. Thus, generalizing to a theory rather than to a population is the purpose (Yin, 1984). In this study, with theoretical replication, the cases were shown to produce contrary results in terms of patterns of housework, use, perception and privacy, but for predictable reasons, namely gender ideologies, spatial characteristics, and spatial organization in houses. Another concern for achieving external validity in a study is to describe the participants' frame of reference (Maxwell, 1992). In this study, the demographic characteristics of the respondents were described as well as the organizational and the spatial characteristics of the housing types they lived in.

Finally, in order to establish **reliability** the common approach is to make as many steps as possible as operational as possible to demonstrate that the operations of the study can be

repeated, with the same results (Yin, 1984). In this study, the description of data collection methods and procedure as well as the description of data analysis procedure were used to ensure the same results in case the study is repeated. Moreover, the reliability of one method of data collection in this study, the time diaries due to the memory problems people might have, has been discussed in the literature on housework. However, 30 years of research has proven that time diaries are the most reliable method of data collection for activities (Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Press and Townsley, 1998; Andorka, 1987; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988).

Tests were performed on time diaries technique from a sample of 37 families who were interviewed and observed on three different days. Comparison of observations and self-reports on a long list of specific activities revealed that women failed to report half of what they did. However, when a checklist was included to remind them of activities, women reported 80% of their activities (Ahrentzen et al., 1989). Another evidence for the reliability of the time diaries technique comes from "beeper" studies, in which the data reported in time diaries are compared with the reports of responses to randomly generated prompts from an electronic paging device. The overlap between the two types of reports is 80% (Bianchi et al., 2000; Gershuny and Robinson, 1988). Despite the high results in these tests, in reporting housework, time diary data might slightly underestimate the amount of time allocated to housework due to the nature of housework, which is variable, relatively unstructured and flexibly allocated (Bianchi et al., 2000).

Another technique used for collecting data on time spent on certain activities is the survey technique. In surveys, the measurement of housework hours rely on simple respondent estimates of the approximate number of hours spent for an activity per week. Therefore, comparing the data from surveys and from time diaries Bianchi et al. (2000) and Press and Townsley (1998) concluded that the estimates for number of hours in housework derived from the surveys were much higher (almost 50%) than they were in time diaries. In this study time diaries were used instead of surveys, since time diaries are based on actual activities whereas surveys rely on estimates.

Miles and Huberman (1994) state that qualitative methods are well suited for locating the meanings people place on events, processes, and structures of their lives; and for connecting these meanings to the social world around, since they are based on people's experience. However, it is also mentioned that in naturalistic studies, the influence of the **researcher's values** is not minor,

since analysis and reporting rely on interpretation (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 1994; Guba, 1981; Wang and Groat, 2002). This dimension has been extensively criticized for undermining objectivity (or confirmability) of the studies. However, in naturalistic studies, the purpose is to make the standpoint of the researcher explicit (Wang and Groat, 2002). In this study, with the discussion of the theoretical perspective, the underlying feminist standpoint was made clear with a critical look on the less egalitarian ideas of gender and spatial characteristics that support and accommodate them.

4.5. Data collection procedure

For each case, following the visual documentation of the specific spatial characteristics of the development and talking to people in the management of the development, typical plan layouts of the houses, if they were available, were gathered. Then, two different strategies were followed for cohousing and neo-traditional developments to contact the potential respondents.

In cohousing developments, first I attended one of the regular meetings of the community where the residents, who were involved in the management committee, participated. In that meeting I explained the purpose of the study and content of the interviews to the participants, asked for potential respondents, and provided contact information. After this initial meeting, interviews were scheduled with the interested women in the management committee, in addition to the women who contacted via e-mail or telephone afterwards. I also attended several communal dinners, in which I scheduled more interviews. Moreover, after each interview, I asked the respondent to suggest other neighbors who might be willing to participate in the study.

In the neo-traditional developments, the newsletters printed monthly or bi-monthly formed the initial media for contacting potential respondents. These newsletters were utilized in two ways. First, I attended one of the informal meetings announced in the newsletters to meet several residents. After explaining the purpose of the study and content of the interviews to the potential respondents, in this meeting several interviews were scheduled. Second, I contacted the resident who was responsible for putting out the newsletter and provided a description of the study with my contact information to be put in the newsletter. Moreover, similar to the procedure in cohousing

developments, after each interview, I asked the respondent to suggest other neighbors who might be willing to participate in the study.

During each interview, after explaining the purpose of the study briefly to the respondent once again, the questions were asked in their predetermined order, while allowing the respondents to comment on any issue in detail. Then, upon respondents' permission, photographs were taken in the house of the spaces that she mentioned often during the interview. Meanwhile, I either sketched the specific spatial organization in the house or obtained a floor plan from the resident, if it was available. Due to the interviews' conversational format, the time spent in each house ranged between 30 and 90 minutes. As the only researcher in this study, I conducted all the interviews.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

The data analysis procedure consisted of several iterative processes. After each interview was completed, the responses were documented through listening to the recorded interview and reviewing the filed notes. In this documentation, each of the five parts (nomenclature, time diary, most/least favorite spaces and spaces for privacy, gender ideology statements, and demographic profile) of the interview was treated differently.

Nomenclature: The list of spaces in a house, which was provided by each respondent according to her own nomenclature, was coded and located on the floor plan. This coding on the floor plan was integrated with the photographs taken. If there was a space in the house, which was for the respondent's exclusive use (e.g., a hobby room or an office), this space was noted, and referred to as her exclusive space. Similarly, the exclusive space of her partner (if the respondent had a partner) was noted.

Time diary: The amount of time a respondent spent for each activity, its location, and other participants involved were documented in the time diary for each respondent. The amount of time for housework and whether it was shared by other members of the household or the community was noted. If there was a schedule for performing these activities either only for her or for sharing in the community, it was specified. The total time each respondent spent at home (excluding sleeping at night) was considered as 100%. The activities she was involved in during the day she described were divided into two categories: housework activities and non-housework activities. For each activity category, the spaces she spent time in with corresponding percentages were listed. On the floor plan percentage of time for each activity category and spaces they took place were mapped.

Most/least favorite spaces & spaces for privacy: The most and least favorite spaces and the spaces for privacy of each respondent were listed with her reasons for identifying them. These spaces were marked on the floor plans. The percentage of time spent in them for housework and

non-housework activities were calculated. The reasons were transcribed and then analyzed by utilizing qualitative-data-analysis software (ATLAS/ti) by constructing coding frames.

Gender ideology statements: For each of the three statements, rating on a five point Likert Scale of each respondent was recorded. The additional comments they made were transcribed and then analyzed by utilizing qualitative-data-analysis software (ATLAS/ti) by constructing coding frames.

Demographic profile: For each respondent, parental and partner status, age, education, employment status, time spent at a paid job, partner's time spent at a paid job, and share in total household income were recorded.

Upon completing data collection, the procedure followed for data analysis was composed of two main phases. The first phase was to identify the overall patterns including both housing types in terms of relationships among gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces and spaces for privacy. Therefore, in the first phase, pattern matching strategy was used by comparing the findings from both cases to theoretical propositions. The second phase was to compare the two housing types in terms of gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, spaces for privacy, spatial organization in houses, and modifications. Thus, in the second phase, replication seeking was utilized by identifying the repeating patterns (similar or contrary) in two cases. Theoretical replication was the purpose.

5.1. The first phase of data analysis: Overall patterns of relationships among gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces and spaces for privacy

The purpose of the first phase of data analysis, which was composed of four sections, was to answer the first four research questions aiming to identify the overall patterns in relation to women's gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, and spaces for privacy. These research questions are:

1. How influential are women's **gender ideologies** on their **time spent** for housework, compared to time availability and relative resources?
2. How does women's **time spent** for housework influence their **use patterns**?

3. How does women's **time spent** for housework influence their **perception** of spaces?
4. How does women's **time spent** for housework influence their **spaces for privacy**?

In the conceptual model (Figure 5.1.1), the concepts and relationships these questions refer to are highlighted with red.

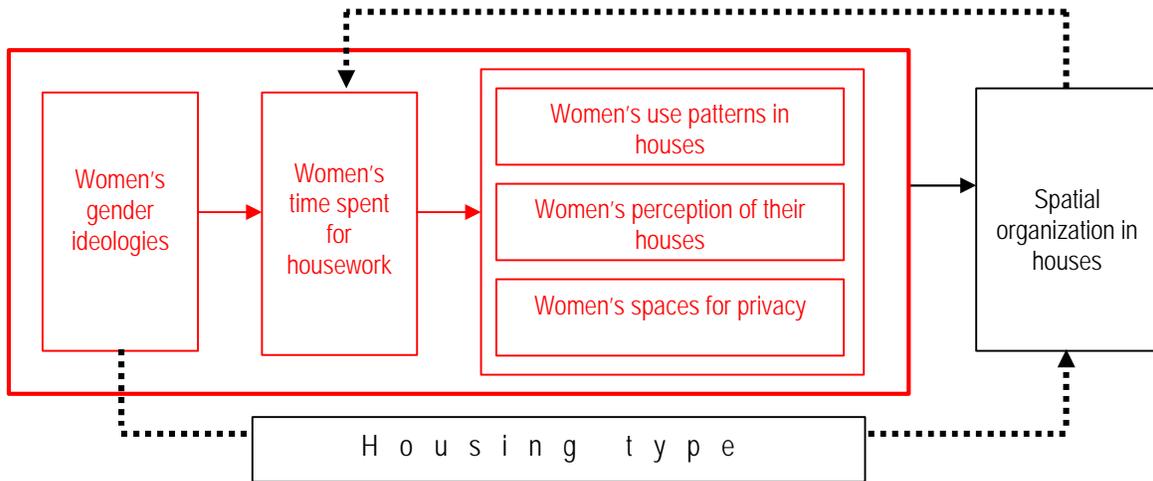


Figure 5.1.1. The conceptual model of the study with highlighted parts related to the first four research questions (in the first phase of data analysis).

In the analysis of the overall patterns of relationships among these concepts, all the respondents from all six sites were included.

5.1.1. The first phase of data analysis: Factors affecting women's time spent for housework

The relationship between women's gender ideologies and their time spent for housework was examined through quantitative and qualitative measures of gender ideologies. The purpose was to clarify if the gender ideologies were the overriding factors influencing women's time spent for housework, as opposed to time availability, relative resources, household compositions, and age.

A total of nine quantitative measures were identified: three measures for gender ideology, one measure for time availability, two measures for relative resources, two measures for household composition, and one measure for age.

Five-point Likert Scale ratings of three **gender ideology** statements were the three measures of gender ideology. The first of these three statements was not an egalitarian statement: "It is much

better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family." The second gender ideology statement was an egalitarian statement: "It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under 5." The third gender ideology statement was also an egalitarian statement: "A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife." Therefore, the lower ratings were for the first statement, and the higher ratings for the second and the third demonstrated more egalitarian positions.

Only for the respondents who were living with a partner at the time of the interview, the **time availability** was calculated. The measure of time availability was the ratio obtained by dividing a respondent's weekly time spent at a paid job by her partner's weekly time spent at a paid job. Therefore, the time availability of a respondent was higher for the respondents for whom this ratio was lower.

The **relative resources** were calculated also only for the respondents who were living with a partner at the time of the interview. The relative resources were identified by two measures: level of education and share in income. Three levels of education were identified: 1 (no college degree), 2 (undergraduate degree), and 3 (graduate degree). Respondents' reporting of their share in the total household income was used as the second measure of relative resources. Therefore, higher level of education and higher share in income meant higher relative resources of a respondent.

Two measures for **household compositions** were identified: partner and parental status. A respondent living with a partner at the time of the interview was coded as "1", whereas a respondent living without a partner was coded as "0". For measuring parental status, the number of children under 18 years of age who were living with the respondent was used.

For the final measure, **age**, five categories were identified: 1 (25-34), 2 (35-44), 3 (45-54), 4 (55-64), and 5 (65-74).

In order to understand the existence and the strength of associations between the percentage of time spent for housework and these nine quantitative measures, a non-parametric test (the Wilcoxon Test) was performed utilizing statistical analysis software. This non-parametric test was used since the sampling procedure was not random, and since the data was ordinal.

Utilizing a multivariate non-parametric test (the Kendall's Tau b Test), the existence and the strength of associations among the ratings of three gender ideology statements were also identified.

Then, in order to identify if the respondents' roles in their households were in accordance with what they stated to believe through their gender ideology statements' ratings, for each statement, respondents' ratings and actual situations were compared.

For understanding the underlying reasons for ratings of **gender ideology** statements, a content analysis was performed utilizing qualitative data analysis software (ATLAS/ti). Coding frames were constructed to identify respondents' turning point experiences.

5.1.2. The first phase of data analysis: Time spent for housework and use patterns

The relationship between time spent for housework and use patterns was investigated with two measures: the housework spaces and the most time spent spaces. The spaces where a respondent did at least one type of housework were the housework spaces. The spaces where a respondent spent at least 10% of her total time at home were the most time spent spaces. The time diaries provided data for each respondent about the amount of time spent for each activity and its location. Therefore, the percentage of time spent for housework in each housework space was identified and analyzed in relation to percentage of total time spent for housework. Similarly, the percentage of overall time spent in each space was calculated for each respondent. Then, the spaces in which a respondent spent more than 10% of her time at home were identified and analyzed in relation to the percentage of total time spent for housework.

5.1.3. The first phase of data analysis: Time spent for housework and perception of spaces

The relationship between the percentage of time spent for housework and perception was explored with two measures: the most and least favorite spaces. The most favorite spaces were grouped into categories of spaces. The percentage of overall time and the percentage of housework time spent by each respondent in her most favorite spaces were identified and analyzed in relation to the percentage of total time spent for housework. Then, a content analysis was performed for respondents' reasons for choosing their most favorite spaces, utilizing qualitative data analysis

software (ATLAS/ti) with constructed coding frames. The same procedure was followed for analyzing the least favorite spaces.

5.1.4. The first phase of data analysis: Time spent for housework and spaces for privacy

The relationship between time spent for housework and the spaces for privacy was examined with two measures: exclusive spaces and spaces for privacy. The presence of exclusive spaces for each respondent and her partner (if she was living with a partner at the time of the interview) was identified. The percentage of time spent for housework and the percentage of the overall time spent in exclusive were analyzed in relation to the percentage of total time spent for housework.

The identified spaces for privacy were grouped into categories of spaces. The percentage of time spent for housework and the percentage of the overall time spent in spaces for privacy were analyzed in relation to the percentage of total time spent for housework. Moreover, the relationship between the presence of exclusive spaces and identified spaces for privacy was analyzed in relation to the percentage of total time spent for housework.

Then, a content analysis was performed for respondents' descriptions of how to establish privacy in those spaces, utilizing qualitative data analysis software (ATLAS/ti) with constructed coding frames.

5.2. The second phase of data analysis: comparison of neo-traditional and cohousing communities in terms of gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, spaces for privacy, and spatial organization

The purpose of the second phase of data analysis was to answer the last four research questions, which compare the two housing types (cohousing and neo-traditional developments) in terms of gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, spaces for privacy, and spatial organization. These research questions are:

5. How do women's **gender ideologies** differ in cohousing and neo-traditional developments?

6. How do women's **time spent for housework** differ in cohousing and neo-traditional developments?
7. How do women's **use patterns, perception of spaces, and their spaces for privacy** differ in cohousing and neo-traditional developments?
8. How do **spatial organizations** in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments differ?

In the conceptual model (Figure 5.2.1), the concepts and relationships these questions refer to are highlighted with red.

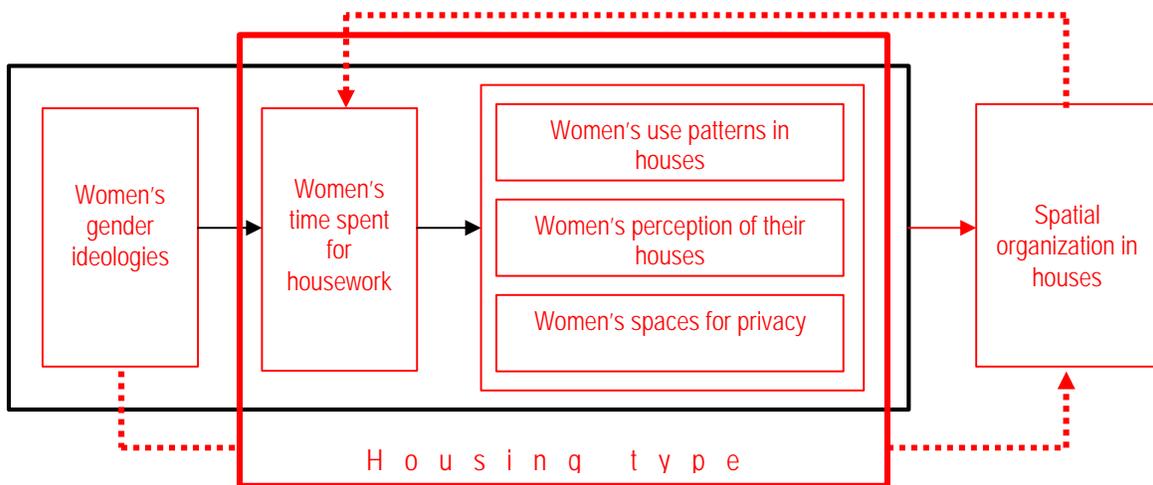


Figure 5.2.1. The conceptual model of the study with highlighted parts related to the last four research questions (in the second phase of data analysis).

5.2.1 The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of gender ideologies of respondents in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

The purpose was to compare the two housing types according to the respondents' gender ideologies. First, the average ratings of the gender ideology statements by the two respondent groups were compared. Then, a content analysis was performed utilizing the qualitative analysis software (ATLAS/ti) to compare gender ideology statements' comments in two housing types in terms of the respondents' turning point experiences.

5.2.2. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of time spent for housework in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

Average percentage of housework time and the percentage of shared housework time in households and within communities were compared between two housing types.

The time diaries provided the percentage of time spent for housework, shared with a partner, if the respondent had a partner at the time of the interview. The average percentage of housework time shared with a participating partner was calculated for each housing type and compared. Moreover, the percentage of respondents in each housing type, who shared housework within the community with other neighbors, was compared between cohousing and neo-traditional developments.

5.2.3. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of use patterns in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

To understand the differences and similarities between use patterns of respondents living in cohousing and neo-traditional developments, two measures were used: spaces of housework and most time spent spaces. Similar to the analysis of the overall patterns for use patterns, spaces of housework and most time-spent spaces were categorized. Then, the average percentage of housework time and overall time spent in each of these categories were calculated for cohousing and neo-traditional respondents separately to be compared.

5.2.4. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of perception in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

Most and least favorite spaces were listed and categorized. Then, the average percentage of housework time and overall time spent in each of these spaces were calculated for cohousing and neo-traditional respondents separately to be compared. Furthermore, content analyses were performed for given reasons of most favorite spaces and least favorite spaces by the respondents living in cohousing and neo-traditional developments separately to be compared.

5.2.5. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

The presence of respondents' exclusive spaces in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments was compared. Among the respondents who were living with a partner at the time of the interview the presence of exclusive spaces for the respondents' partners were also compared between the two housing types. Then, the identified spaces for privacy were categorized. The average percentage of housework time and overall time spent in each of these spaces were calculated for cohousing and neo-traditional respondents separately to be compared. A content analysis was performed to compare the cohousing and neo-traditional respondents' ways to establish privacy in their spaces for privacy.

5.2.6. The second phase of data analysis: Comparison of spatial organization in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments

Spatial organization in houses of the two housing types was compared in terms of the size of the houses, the floor plan categories, modifications, and program considerations.

The floor plans were categorized in two groups. According to this categorization, the floor plans of cohousing and neo-traditional developments were compared. Moreover, the differences of houses in two housing types were identified in terms of presence of formal rooms, and the spaces for special needs of the households.

Then, the modifications that were completed and desired were categorized and compared between cohousing and neo-traditional houses. Finally, the program considerations of the respondents who were involved in the process of developing the program for their houses were discussed in relation to the completed and desired modifications.

5.3. Summary: Data analysis procedure

This chapter describes the two-phased procedure of data analysis. The first phase is to understand the overall patterns of relationships among gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, and spaces for privacy (pattern matching). The second phase is to compare cohousing and neo-traditional housing in terms of gender ideologies, time spent for

housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, spaces for privacy, and spatial organization in houses (replication seeking). The following two chapters report findings of the analysis.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS: OVERALL PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIPS AMONG GENDER IDEOLOGIES, TIME SPENT FOR HOUSEWORK, USE PATTERNS, PERCEPTION OF SPACES, AND SPACES FOR PRIVACY

The analysis of 43 interviews from a total of six housing developments (three cohousing and three neo-traditional) revealed patterns of relationships among women's gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception, and privacy. This chapter is devoted to reporting patterns of relationships regardless of housing types.

Table 6.1 shows the parental, partner, and marital status of these 43 respondents. At the time of the interviews, 67% were living with a partner; 60% of the respondents were married. A total of 51% of the respondents had at least one child under 18 years of age living with them; 39% had a partner and at least one child under 18 years of age living with them. Single respondents constituted 33%; 21% of the respondents lived without a partner or a child.

Table 6.1. Parental, partner, and marital status of respondents.

	Without a child		Single	With a child / children		Total	
	With a partner			With a partner			
	Married	Un-married	Married	Un-married			
Percentage of respondents	28%	0%	21%	32%	7%	12%	100%
Total	28%		21%	39%		12%	100%

Table 6.2 shows the distribution of 43 respondents according to their age groups. Respondents between 45 and 54 years of age constituted the highest percentage (37%), and the respondents between 35 and 44 years of age constituted the second highest percentage (26%).

Table 6.2. Age groups of respondents.

	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-74 years	Total
Percentage of respondents	12%	26%	37%	9%	16%	100%

Of all respondents, 53% had a graduate degree, 40% had an undergraduate degree, and 7% did not have a college degree. At the time of the interviews, 54% of the respondents had a full time job, 16% of the respondents had a part time job, and 30% of the respondents did not have a job at all.

6.1. Factors influencing women's time spent for housework

The literature on housework suggests that there are three possible explanations for women's time spent for housework: gender ideology, time availability, and relative resources (Bianchi et al., 2000; South and Spitze, 1994; Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994). The gender perspective maintains that the ideas of gender establish the justification of women's time spent for housework. The time availability perspective argues that women spend more time doing housework because they have more time available. The relative resources perspective claims that since women have relatively low resources (such as income or education), they compensate the lack of resources by doing more housework than their spouses. Although there are studies disputing the time availability and relative resources argument (such as Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Bianchi et al., 2000; Wajcman, 1991), there are other studies that support relative resources argument (such as Gershuny and Robinson, 1988). Moreover, it has been shown that being married and having children increase women's time spent for housework (such as South and Spitze, 1994; Bianchi et al., 2000). Therefore, in this study, in addition to gender ideologies, the influence of household compositions, relative resources, and time availability on women's time spent for housework was examined for their influence on time spent for housework.

6.1.1. Relationship between women's gender ideologies and their time spent for housework

In the analysis for identifying associations between women's time spent for housework and their gender ideologies, two different measures for gender ideologies were used: quantitative measures (gender ideology statements' ratings), and respondents' comments on these gender ideology statements.

The first gender ideology statement was: "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family." The second gender ideology statement was: "It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under 5." The third

gender ideology statement was: "A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife."

The Kendall's Tau b Test (a non-parametric multivariate test) provided that the gender ideology ratings were not associated with each other (Table 6.1.1.1). Therefore, respondents' ratings of one gender ideology statement did not necessarily mean a similar trend in their ratings of another statement.

Table 6.1.1.1. Significance of associations between gender ideology statements' ratings

Variable	By variable	p values
2 nd gender ideology statement rating	1 st gender ideology statement rating	0.1832 (n=43)
3 rd gender ideology statement rating	1 st gender ideology statement rating	0.9589 (n=43)
3 rd gender ideology statement rating	2 nd gender ideology statement rating	0.5413 (n=43)

Moreover, the Wilcoxon Test showed that there was no significant association between the gender ideology statements' ratings and the percentage of time spent for housework (Table 6.1.1.2). The lack of association between each gender ideology statements' rating and the percentage of time spent for housework required a more detailed analysis of gender ideologies.

Table 6.1.1.2. Significance of associations between each gender ideology statements' rating and time spent for housework.

Gender ideology statements	Women's time spent for housework
"It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family."	P<0.1249 (n=43)
"It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under 5."	P<0.6486 (n=43)
"A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife."	P<0.4950 (n=43)

An explanation for the lack of association between the gender ideology statements' ratings and the percentage of time spent for housework is that respondents tend to answer the questions related to gender ideologies according to how they want to be, rather than according to how they actually are (Press and Townsley, 1998). Therefore, the actual roles respondents took in their households as opposed to what they stated to believe were examined.

The **first gender ideology statement** was: "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family." Among the respondents, who agreed with this statement, those living with a heterosexual partner were expected to be

housewives. Similarly, among the respondents, who disagreed with this statement, those living with a heterosexual partner were expected to have at least an equal share in the household income. More than half (61.5%) of the respondents acted in accordance with what they stated to believe, whereas more than one third (38.5%) acted in contradiction to what they stated to believe (Table 6.1.1.3).

Table 6.1.1.3. Comparison of respondents' 1st gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to share in income).

1st statement: "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family" (n=26)	
Percentage of women who acted in accordance with what they stated to believe	61.5%
Percentage of women who acted in contradiction to what they stated to believe	38.5%

For the first statement, considering the limitations of opportunity structures on women's income, time spent at a paid job was also taken into account. Therefore, among the respondents, who agreed with this statement, those living with a heterosexual partner were expected to be unemployed. Similarly, among the respondents who disagreed with this statement, those living with a heterosexual partner were expected to spend at least the same amount of time at a paid job as their partners. Less than half (46.2%) of the respondents acted in accordance with what they stated to believe, whereas more than half (53.8%) acted in contradiction to what they stated to believe (Table 6.1.1.4).

Table 6.1.1.4. Comparison of respondents' 1st gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to time spent at a paid job).

1st statement: "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family" (n=26)	
Percentage of women who acted in accordance with what they stated to believe	46.2%
Percentage of women who acted in contradiction to what they stated to believe	53.8%

The **second gender ideology statement** was: "It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under 5." Among the respondents the ones who had a child under five were identified in each rating groups. It was expected that respondents who agreed with this statement worked at a paid job, and those who disagreed with it did not work at all. More than half (57.1%) of the respondents acted in accordance with what they stated to believe, whereas less than half (42.9%) acted in contradiction to what they stated to believe (Table 6.1.1.5).

Table 6.1.1.5. Comparison of respondents' 2nd gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to working at a paid job).

2nd statement: "It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under 5" (n=7)	
Percentage of women who acted in accordance with what they stated to believe	57.1%
Percentage of women who acted in contradiction to what they stated to believe	42.9%

The **third gender ideology statement** was: "A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife." Since only women were interviewed, it was not possible to know the total amount of time their partners spent for doing housework. However, from the time diaries, it was possible to identify how much their partners participated when the respondents were doing housework. Therefore, it was expected that among the respondents who agreed with this statement, those with heterosexual partners and with full time paid jobs mentioned their partners as a participant at least once in doing housework. Similarly, among the respondents who disagreed with this statement, those with heterosexual partners and with full time paid jobs were expected not to mention the partner as a participant while doing housework. The percentage of the respondents acted in accordance with and in contradiction to what they stated to believe was the same (Table 6.1.1.6).

Table 6.1.1.6. Comparison of respondents' 3rd gender ideology statement's ratings and their actual roles (according to partners' participation in housework).

3rd statement: "A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife" (n=16)	
Percentage of women who acted in accordance with what they stated to believe	50%
Percentage of women who acted in contradiction to what they stated to believe	50%

Therefore, the lack of associations between gender ideology statements' ratings and time spent for housework was partly related to the fact that approximately half of the respondents did not take the roles in households that they stated to support with the gender ideology statements' ratings.

Moreover, a content analysis for the respondents' descriptions of lived experiences in their comments on these statements revealed that the respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home for housework had less egalitarian positions in their choices.

The purpose of this content analysis was to reveal gender ideologies at the level of lived experiences. The interpretive interactionist approach claims that these life experiences, which are called epiphanies (turning point experiences), radically change and form the meanings people

assert on themselves and on their life projects. Since these are the moments when people's gender identities are dramatically called into question, these decisions reveal their ideologies in ways that are normally not seen (Denzin, 1993).

Since gender ideology statements were used to identify respondents' opinions on women's role in households, the turning point experiences sought were the choices they made about working at a paid job or staying at home. However, different from the comparison between the gender ideology statements' ratings and actual roles, these descriptions of turning point experiences provided the constraints and considerations they had in making those choices. Furthermore, different from the gender ideology statements' ratings, these constraints and considerations were about lived experiences rather than ideal cases.

The respondents were divided into two groups according to their percentage of time spent for housework in one day. In the distribution of the time spent for housework among all respondents, the mean percentage of housework time was 26.4% of the total time spent at home. The first group, Group A, was composed of 22 respondents who spent a lower percentage of time at home doing housework than the mean percentage of housework time. The second group, Group B, was composed of 21 respondents who spent a higher percentage of time at home doing housework than the mean percentage of housework time.

Among the comments of all respondents, 19 such epiphany narrations were identified. Among the narrations of the respondents in Group A, only six such epiphanies were identified. The remaining 13 epiphanies were identified among the respondents in Group B.

Then, epiphanies were grouped into two: decisions to work, and decisions to stay at home. In order to claim an association between gender ideologies and time spent for housework, it was expected that more egalitarian positions would be taken by Group A respondents, who spent lower percentage of time at home doing housework. Therefore, decisions to stay at home were expected to appear less among Group A respondents, and more among Group B respondents.

From the 19 narrations, ten described **decisions to stay at home**. Out of these ten descriptions of staying at home decisions, only three were narrated by Group A respondents. Moreover, all of

these 3 respondents mentioned obligations to do so. One of them explained her obligations as follows:

"I had my children in the 50s, and that was how things were. You were to stay home and the man would go to work. That was comfortable for me. But now, I don't think women should be confined to the home... Actually, I quit my job when I got pregnant after I got married. When you were pregnant you stood out in a company and that was something that women couldn't. If you saw a pregnant woman working in an office, that was like shocking."

The remaining 7 staying at home decisions were narrated by Group B respondents. Among these seven narrations of staying at home, 6 focused on convenience and benefit of staying at home instead of working. Following three quotations are examples of such attitudes:

"That would be an ideal world, where there wouldn't be any feminist issues. He would be able to earn enough and everybody would be agreeing with it. For me that was the way it was. I did not work after I got married and had children. And I think it was ideal for the children because both of the boys turned out extremely well I think and they were happy."

"In our situation it is the ideal case, because he would earn more money than I would."

"It is funny for our society, isn't it? You would think it is even but it is not at all. Each of us in our culture has our things to do."

Among the seven narrations of Group B respondents, only one mentioned an obligation for staying at home. This obligation was different in nature from the obligations mentioned by Group A respondents in such a way that it revealed a lost bargain. It was described as follows:

"At one point I thought that it might be better for him [husband] to stay at home, but he would not take care of the house; he would just take care of her [daughter]. I feel like I really mind how my home stays clean. I have to say it is really not for him. I would much prefer him taking care of everything, but that is not the case."

Therefore, it was possible to construe that smaller number of Group A respondents decided to stay at home with more obligation. However, larger number of Group B respondents decided to stay at home with less obligation.

Out of 19 narrations, nine were descriptions of **decisions to work at a paid job**. Three were narrated by Group A respondents, without mentioning any obligation. However, among the six narrations of working decisions by the Group B respondents, half mentioned obligations to do so. The following descriptions identified the economic necessity of their decisions to work:

"I worked full time when my kids were that young. But if I ever did it again, I would have worked part-time. They were in day-care back then. But I don't know, I would have stayed home with them."

"I am not a career person. I am just doing it because I have to."

"I have worked since my kids were 12 weeks old. It is like everything. It has pros and cons to it. I had no choice. So you do what you have to do. To me, the ideal would be to be able to work in a meaningful job, part time. I think having the kids put to daycare is not bad. They get a lot of positives from that but I think putting a 6 month old in day care from 7:30 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon... It is a long day for a little kid like that. But my kids had to do it. They survived and all that but if I had a choice of working half time, I would have preferred that."

The findings of the content analysis revealed that more egalitarian positions were taken by the Group A respondents, who spent a lower percentage of time at home doing housework. Therefore, decisions to stay at home appeared less among the Group A respondents, and more among the Group B respondents. Moreover, staying at home decisions in Group A were due to obligations, rather than preference. Similarly, half of the decisions to work that appeared in Group B were due to obligations, rather than preference.

Then, 100% of the turning point experiences described by the Group A respondents was either decisions to work with preference or decisions to stay home due to obligations, whereas 69% of the turning point experiences described by the Group B respondents was either decisions to stay

home with preference or decisions to work due to obligations. In light of the analyses for revealing why there was a lack of association between the ratings of gender ideologies and time spent for housework, it is possible to confirm that this association is embedded in respondents' current situations and previous choices. These analyses at the level of lived experiences established that first, almost half of the respondents' gender ideology statement ratings were not in accordance with their actual roles in households, and second, respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework had less egalitarian positions.

6.1.2. Influence of household compositions, relative resources and time availability on women's time spent for housework

The associations between the percentage of time spent for housework and each of the six quantitative measures of household compositions, relative resources, and time availability were calculated separately by utilizing the Wilcoxon Test.

The results of the Wilcoxon Test for the associations between women's time spent for housework and three quantitative measures of household composition (partner status, parental status, and age) were shown in Table 6.1.2.1. There were associations first between parental status (number of children) and the percentage of time spent for housework ($p < 0.0055$) and second between age and the percentage of time spent for housework ($p < 0.0054$). However, partner status was not associated with the time spent for housework. These associations suggested that women, who were living with lower number of children, and women, who were the oldest and the youngest in this respondent group spent lower percentage of their time at home doing housework.

Table 6.1.2.1. Significance of associations between measures of household composition and time spent for housework.

Household composition	Time spent for housework
Partner status	$P < 0.8560$ (n=43)
Parental status	$P < 0.0055$ (n=43)
Age	$P < 0.0054$ (n=43)

All respondents were included in the analysis for identifying associations between time spent for housework and household compositions. However, due to the definition of relative resources and time availability, only women with partners were included to identify the associations between time

spent for housework, and measures of relative resources and time availability. Respondents who were living with their partners at the time of the interviews constituted 67%.

Women's level of education and their share in income were the two measures of relative resources. The results of the Wilcoxon Test provided that time spent for housework was associated with neither the quantitative measures of relative resources nor the quantitative measure of time availability (Table 6.1.2.2).

Table 6.1.2.2. Significance of associations between measures of relative resources and time availability and time spent for housework.

		Time spent for housework
Relative resources	Education	P<0.2279 (n=29)
	Share in income	P<0.1871 (n=29)
Time availability	Relative time spent at work	P<0.5830 (n=29)

6.1.3. Summary: Factors influencing women's time spent for housework

The quantitative measures of gender ideologies, as well as quantitative measures of partner status, relative resources, and time availability were not associated with time spent for housework. However, parental status and age were associated with time spent for housework. Moreover, the in-depth analyses demonstrated an association between respondents' gender ideologies and their time spent for housework. This association was embedded in their lived experiences. Despite their ratings of gender ideology statements, the actual roles they took in their households, and the previous decisions they made for identifying those roles determined their positions in terms of gender ideologies. It was possible to show that almost half of the respondents took roles in their households in contradiction to what they claimed to believe in the ratings. Therefore, the association between the ratings and time spent for housework did not emerge. However, the content analysis showed that respondents who spent lower percentage of their time at home doing housework held more egalitarian positions.

6.2. Time spent for housework and use patterns

The relationship between time spent for housework and use patterns was investigated by identifying the spaces, in which at least one type of housework was performed (housework

spaces), and the spaces, in which at least 10% of the total time spent at home was spent (most time-spent spaces).

The respondents were divided into two groups by the mean of time spent for housework. The average time spent for housework was 26.4% of the total time spent at home (average 121 minutes). The average time spent for housework in Group A was 15% of the total time spent at home (average 66 minutes), and it was 38.3% of the total time spent at home (average 179 minutes) in Group B (Chart 6.2.1). In order to examine the influence of time spent for housework on use patterns, Group A and Group B respondents were compared.

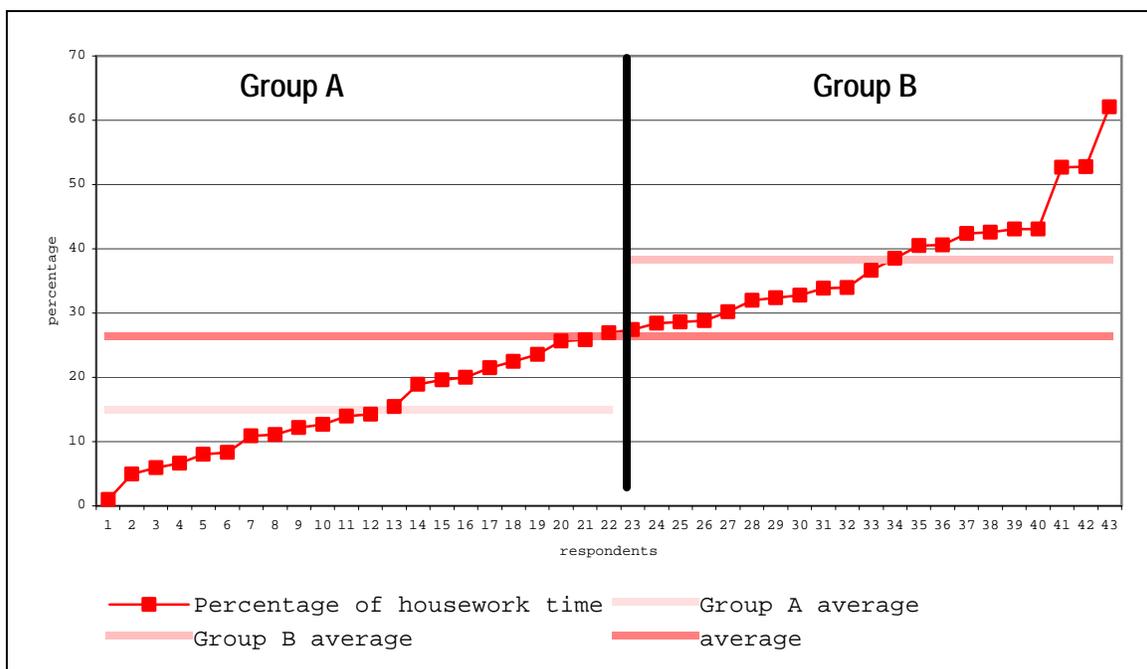


Chart 6.2.1. Time spent for housework in Group A and Group B.

The respondents who had regular hired help for housework were almost equally distributed in Group A (5) and in Group B (6). The average time that the hired help spent doing housework for Group A respondents was 70 minutes per month; and for Group B respondents it was 120 minutes per month.

6.2.1. Time spent for housework and housework spaces

In order to examine the relationship between time spent for housework and the location of housework spaces, where at least one type of housework was performed, housework spaces were

identified and categorized. Then, time spent for housework in those spaces was calculated. The categories of spaces and time spent for housework in them were compared between the two groups.

The housework spaces were the kitchen, the laundry, the living room or family room, dining area (dining room, breakfast area), and the bedroom.

The kitchen. Among 43 respondents, almost all used the kitchen for doing at least one type of housework. The average time spent for housework in the kitchen was 15.5% of the total time spent at home. The average time spent for housework in the kitchen in Group A was 9.5% of the total time spent at home, whereas it was 21.9% in Group B (Chart 6.2.1.1).

Moreover, average housework time in the kitchen was a higher percentage of average total housework time among the Group A respondents (63.3%) than it was among Group B respondents (57.2%). Therefore, although the Group A respondents spent a lower percentage of their time at home doing housework in the kitchen than the Group B respondents, they spent a higher percentage of their total housework time in the kitchen than the Group B respondents.

These findings suggested that when respondents spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework, they did housework in other spaces at home in addition to the kitchen.

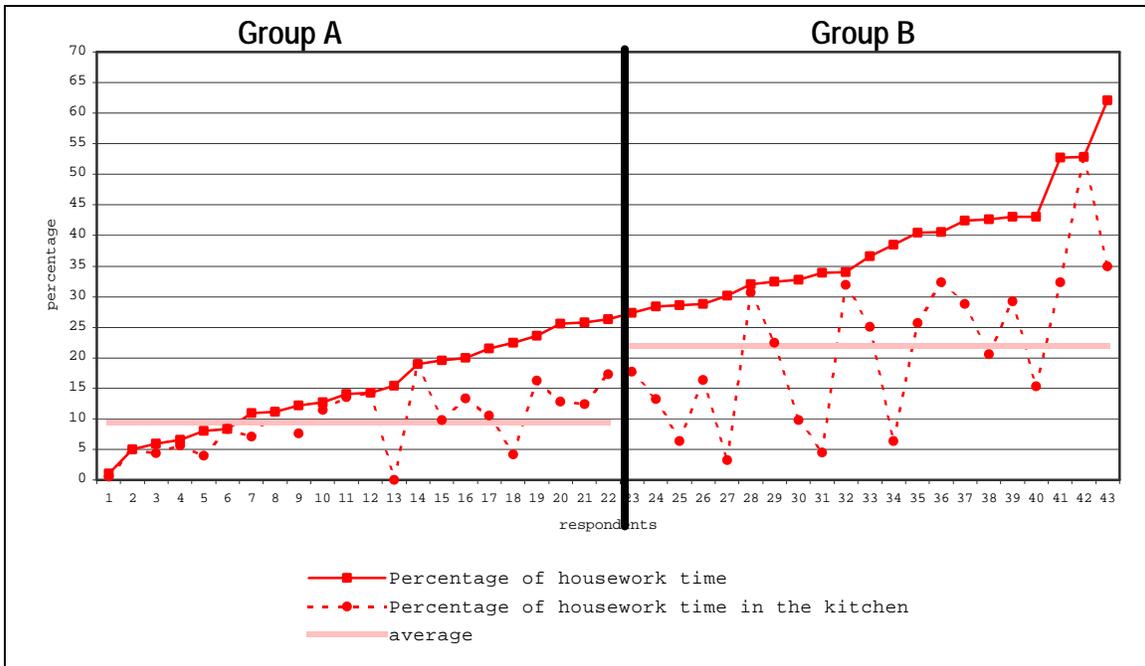


Chart 6.2.1.1. Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the kitchen

The laundry. Among 43 respondents, 22 used their laundries doing at least one type of housework. The average time spent for housework in the laundry was 2.4% of the total time spent at home. Only 8 respondents in Group A used the laundry as a housework space, whereas 14 respondents in Group B used the laundry as a housework space. The average time spent in the laundry by the Group A respondents was 1.2% of the total time spent at home, and by the Group B respondents it was 3.7% of the total time spent at home (Chart 6.2.1.2). Therefore, a larger number of Group B respondents spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework in the laundry than the Group A respondents.

Moreover, average housework time in the laundry was a higher percentage of average total housework time among the Group B respondents (9.7%) than it was among Group A respondents (8%). This finding supported the higher percentage of total housework time spent in the kitchen by the Group A respondents.

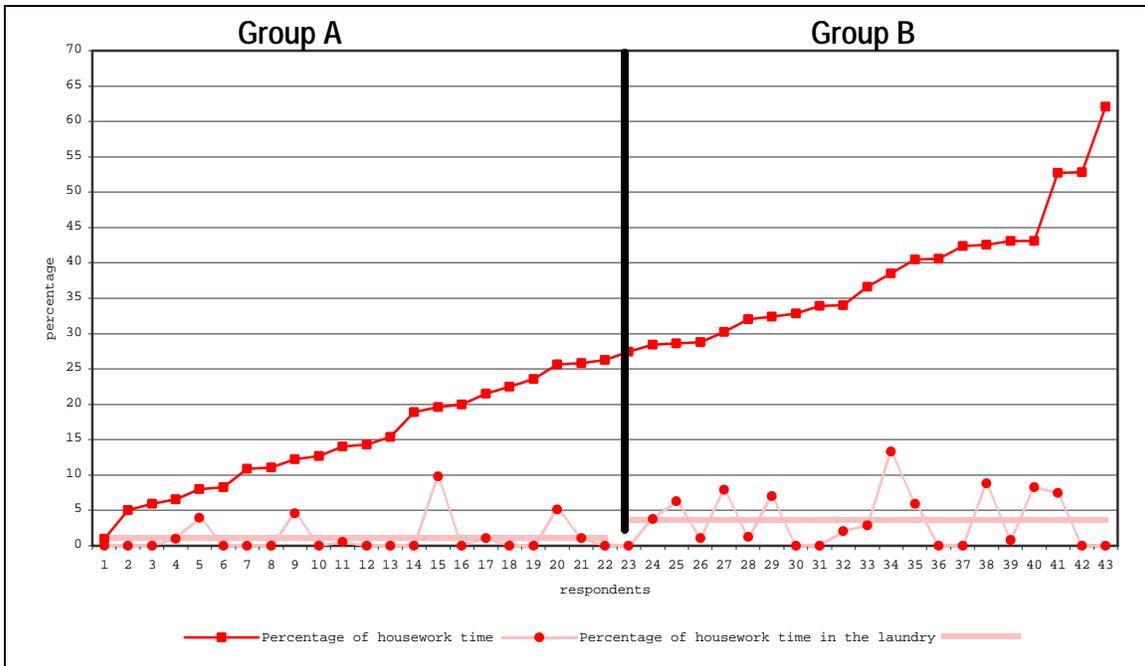


Chart 6.2.1.2. Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the laundry.

The living or family room. Among 43 respondents 12 used their living or family rooms doing at least one type of housework. The average time spent for housework in the living or family room was 2.4% of the total time spent at home. In Group A, only 4 respondents spent time doing housework in the living or family room, whereas in Group B, 8 respondents spent time doing housework in the living or family room. Moreover, the first 16 respondents, who spent the least amount of time doing housework, did not spend time for doing housework in the living or family room at all (Chart 6.2.1.3). This finding also showed that in Group A, a smaller number of respondents did housework in the living or family room than in the laundry. Therefore, when the respondents spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework, they did housework in living or family rooms in addition to the kitchen and the laundry.

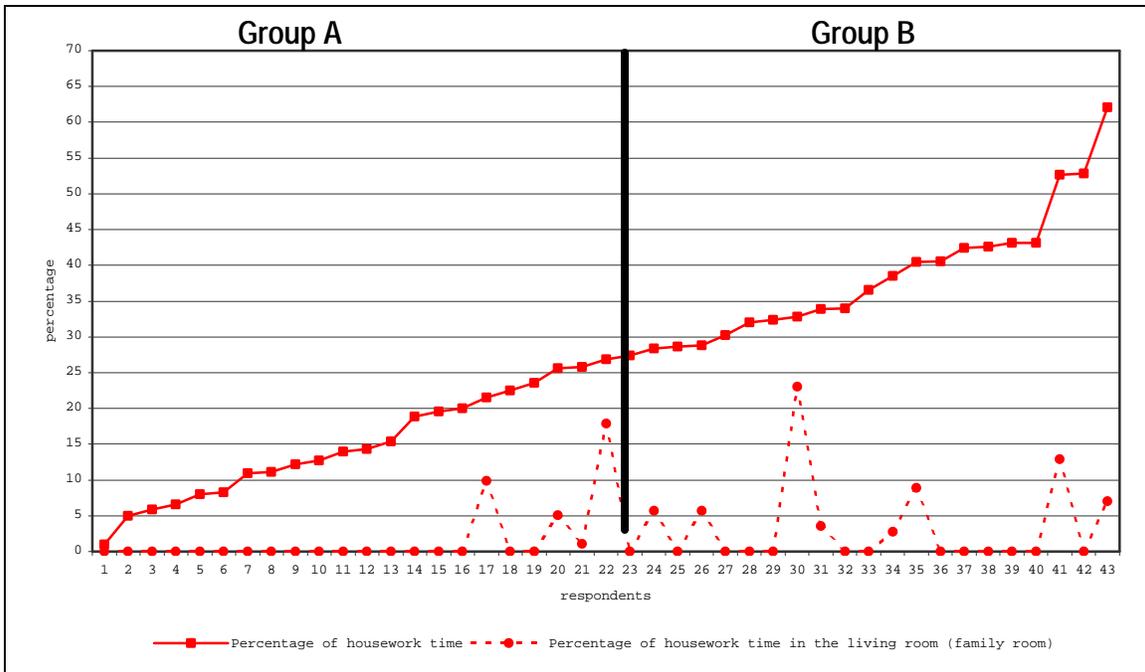


Chart 6.2.1.3. Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the living or family room.

The bedroom. Among 43 respondents, 10 spent time doing at least one type of housework in the bedroom. Only 3 respondents in Group A did housework in the bedroom compared to 7 respondents in Group B (Chart 6.2.1.4). Thus, when the respondents spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework, they did housework also in the bedroom.

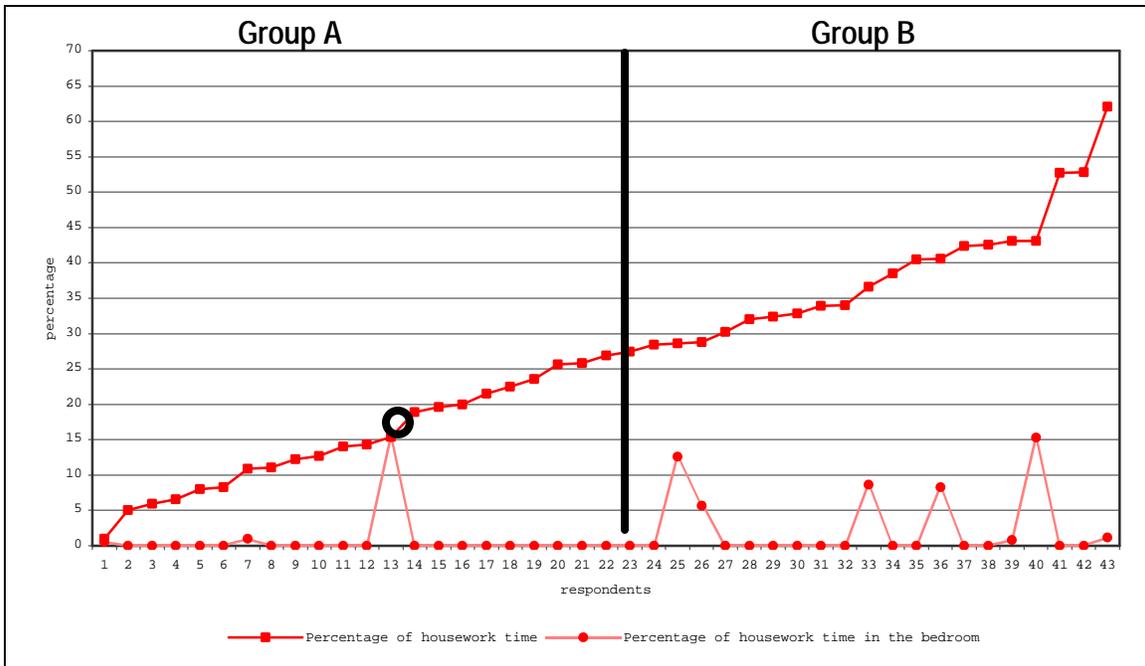


Chart 6.2.1.4. Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the bedroom.

However, the 13th respondent in the ranking of increasing time spent for housework, spent time for doing housework entirely in the bedroom. Moreover, different from the other 2 respondents in Group A, who only made their beds in bedrooms, the 13th respondent performed an additional housework activity in the bedroom: folding laundry. Since she was an exception in Group A, her case required exploration. A possible explanation emerged from the spatial qualities of the laundry. There was simply no room to fold clothes, whereas the bedroom provided a wide enough space to do so (Figure 6.2.1.1).



Figure 6.2.1.1. The laundry and the bedroom of the 13th respondent.

The dining area. Among 43 respondents 10 spent time doing housework in the dining area. Only 2 respondents in Group A did housework in the dining area, compared to 8 respondents in Group B. Moreover, the first 15 respondents, who spent the least amount of time doing housework, did not spend time for doing housework in the dining area at all (Chart 6.2.1.5).

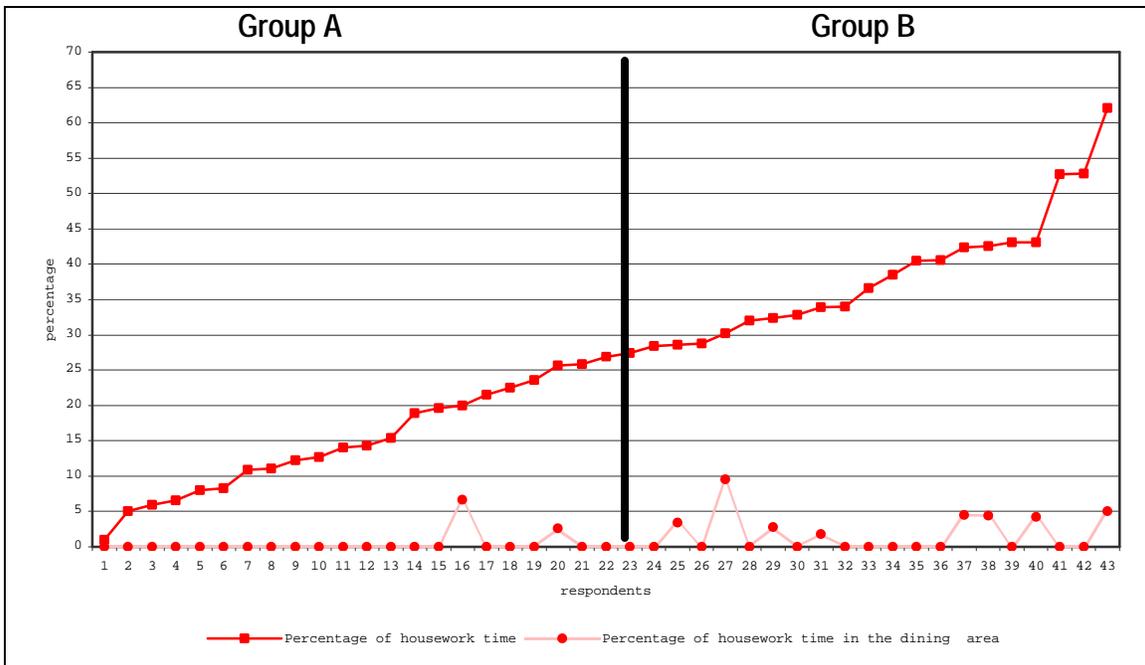


Chart 6.2.1.5. Overall time spent for housework and time spent for housework in the dining area.

Other housework spaces, in which relatively smaller number of respondents did housework, were bathrooms (for 5 respondents), offices (for 4 respondents), and kids' rooms (for 4 respondents). Among the respondents who did housework in these spaces only 2 were Group A respondents.

Therefore, when respondents spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework, they did housework in larger number of spaces for longer periods. These additional spaces were the laundry, the living or family room, the bedroom, the dining area, the bathroom, the office, and the kids' rooms. However, almost all respondents did housework in the kitchen.

6.2.2. Time spent for housework and most time spent spaces

The most time spent spaces were where respondents spent at least 10% of the total time spent at home for all activities. The three groups of spaces were: family spaces (family rooms, living areas, dining areas), private spaces (offices, bedrooms, bathrooms), and kitchens. Time spent in those spaces was shown in Chart 6.2.2.1.

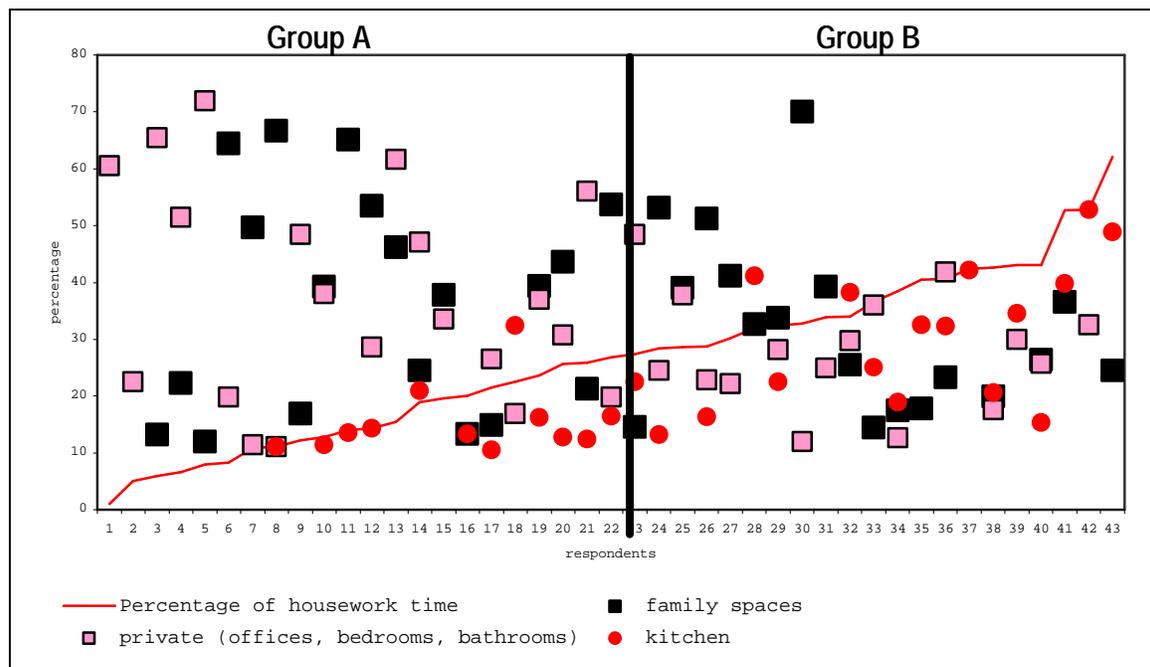


Chart 6.2.2.1. Time spent in most time spent spaces (family spaces, private spaces, and kitchens)

Among all respondents, more than three quarters of the respondents spent at least 10% of their time at home in **family spaces**. These respondents were almost equally distributed between Group A and Group B (19 respondents in Group A, and 18 respondents in Group B). Respondents

spent at average 34.6% of the total time spent at home in family spaces. The average time spent in family spaces by the Group A respondents (36.7% of the total time spent at home) was slightly higher than that of the Group B respondents (32.3% of the total time spent at home).

However, use of **private spaces** in Group A and Group B were different. Among all respondents, more than three quarters of the respondents spent at least 10% of their time at home in private spaces. However, the number of respondents who spent at least 10% of their time at home in private spaces in Group A (20) was larger than it was in Group B (16). More notably, the average time spent in private spaces by the Group A respondents was 37.9% of the total time spent at home, whereas it was 27.9% by the Group B respondents. Thus, respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework than the other respondents, spent a relatively lower percentage of their time at home in private spaces including all activities.

The kitchen, on the other hand, provided a clearer distinction between Group A and Group B. Among all respondents, more than half of the respondents spent at least 10% of their time at home in the kitchen. It was one of the most time spent spaces for 12 respondents in Group A, and for 17 respondents in Group B. Furthermore, the average time spent in the kitchen was 15.4% of the total time spent at home for the Group A respondents, and it was 30.4% of the total time spent at home for the Group B respondents. Then, respondents who spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework than the other respondents, spent a relatively higher percentage of their time at home in the kitchen including all activities.

6.2.3. Summary: Overall patterns of relationships between time spent for housework and use patterns

The overall use patterns were associated with percentage of time spent for housework in several ways.

First, the kitchen was the primary housework space. Higher percentage of total housework time meant not only a higher percentage of housework time in the kitchen, but also a higher percentage of overall time in the kitchen.

Second, the respondents who spent a relatively higher percentage of their total time spent at home doing housework, did housework in larger number of spaces.

Third, a higher percentage of total housework time meant a lower percentage of overall time in private spaces. However, use pattern in the bedroom was different from the use pattern in other private spaces. The respondents who spent a relatively higher percentage of their total time spent at home doing housework, spent a higher percentage of housework time in the bedroom, but lower percentage of overall time in private spaces. Therefore, a higher percentage of total housework time also meant a lower percentage of non-housework activities time in private spaces.

Fourth, similarly, the respondents who spent a relatively higher percentage of their total time spent at home doing housework, spent a higher percentage of housework time in the family spaces (dining area, living or family room). However, including all activities those respondents spent a slightly lower percentage of overall time in family spaces. Thus, a higher percentage of total housework time also meant a lower percentage of non-housework activities time in family spaces.

6.3. Time spent for housework and perception of spaces

Respondents' perception of their houses was measured by identifying their most and least favorite spaces, and their reasons for identifying them. In order to understand the relationship between time spent for housework and the most and least favorite spaces in houses, three steps were followed. First, most and least favorite spaces were separately grouped. Second, time spent for housework and total time spent in those spaces were analyzed. Third, for most and least favorite spaces separately, the content analyses were performed for respondents' reasons for their choices.

In order to understand the relationship between the percentage of time spent for housework and perception of spaces in houses, Group A (in which the average percentage of time spent for housework was 15% of the total time spent at home) and Group B (in which the average percentage of time spent for housework was 38.3% of the total time spent at home) were compared in terms of perception of spaces in houses.

6.3.1. Time spent for housework and the most favorite spaces

The most favorite spaces were grouped into family spaces (family rooms, living areas, dining areas), private spaces (offices, bedrooms, bathrooms), the kitchen, and outside spaces (porches, patios). The largest number of respondents identified family spaces (19), then private spaces (11), the kitchen (8), and finally outside spaces (5) as their most favorite spaces.

The distribution of these spaces as the most favorite spaces between Group A and Group B is shown in Chart 6.3.1.1. Among all respondents, almost half identified **family spaces** as their most favorite spaces, which were almost equally distributed between Group A (9) and Group B (10). Similarly, the 8 respondents who identified **the kitchen** as the most favorite space were distributed equally between the two groups. However, among 11 respondents who identified **private spaces** as their most favorite spaces, only 4 were in Group A, but 7 were in Group B. Moreover, the **outside spaces** were identified as most favorite spaces by 5 respondents in Group A and none in Group B. Therefore, the difference between the two groups in terms of identified most favorite spaces was related to private spaces and outside spaces. Larger number of respondents who spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified private spaces as their most favorite spaces, whereas larger number of respondents who spent a lower percentage of their time at home doing housework identified outside spaces as their most favorite spaces.

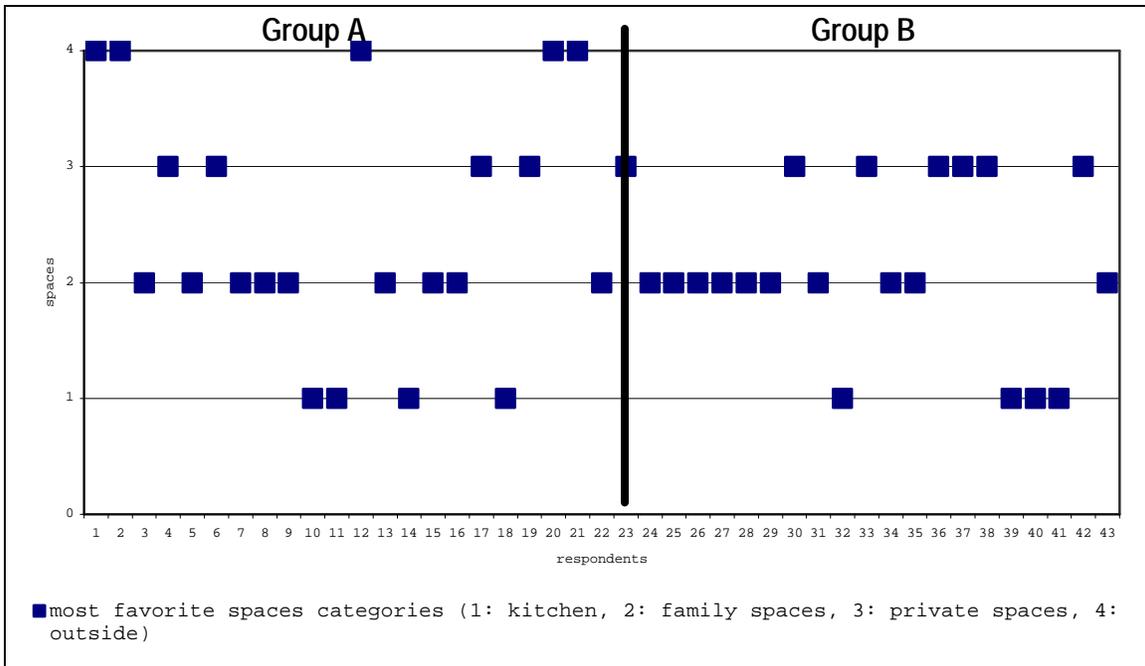


Chart 6.3.1.1. The most favorite spaces categories

The average of overall time spent in most favorite spaces was 29% of the total time spent at home. For the Group A respondents, the average overall time spent in most favorite spaces was 26.8% of the total time spent at home, and for the Group B respondents it was 31.2% of the total time spent at home. Therefore, the Group B respondents spent a higher percentage of their time at home in their most favorite spaces than the Group A respondents. However, the types of activities were important to explain this finding.

The average percentage of time spent for housework in most favorite spaces was 5.6% of the total time spent at home (Chart 6.3.1.2). For Group A, the average was 3% of the total time spent at home, whereas for Group B it was 8.3% of the total time spent at home. Moreover, the first 9 respondents in the ranking of increasing time spent for housework did not spend time for housework in their most favorite spaces at all. Thus, larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified a housework space as the most favorite space, and they spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework in their most favorite spaces. This finding showed that the higher percentage of overall time spent in most favorite spaces by the Group B respondents was due to their higher percentage of housework time in those spaces.

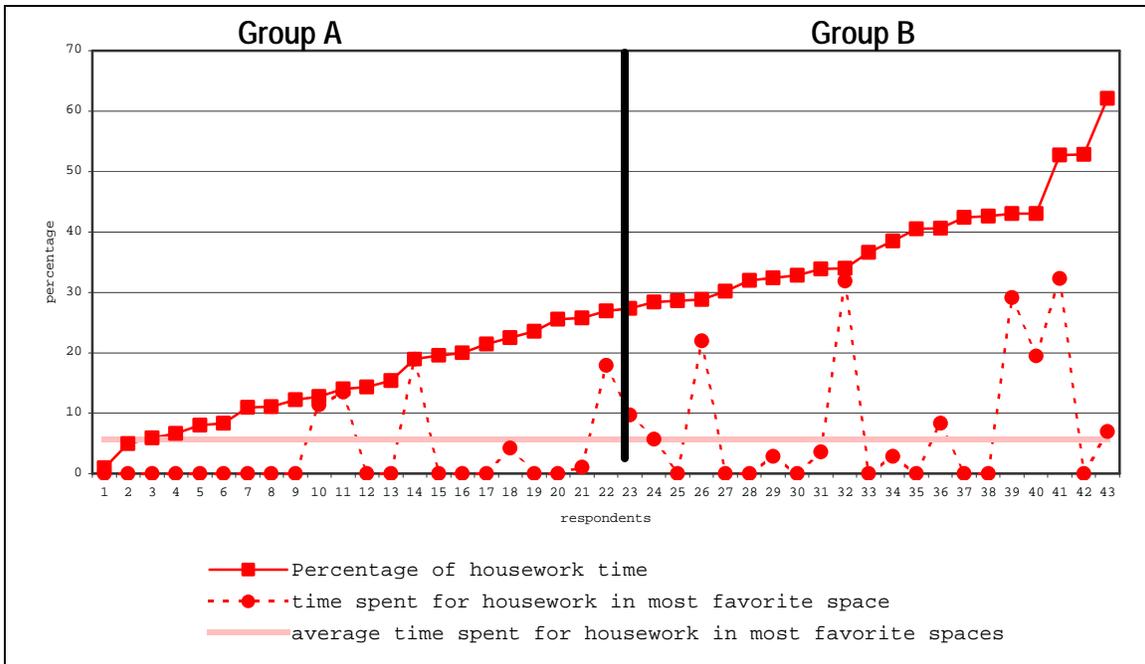


Chart 6.3.1.2. Time spent for housework in most favorite space

Another finding at this point was that among the 16 respondents who identified private spaces or outside spaces as their most favorite spaces, only 2 respondents spent time for housework in these spaces, both of which were in Group B. The most favorite spaces of these 2 Group B respondents who did housework in their most favorite spaces were private spaces. However, the outside spaces were distinctive since they were identified as the most favorite spaces only in Group A, and were never associated with housework.

In order to identify the patterns of doing housework in the most favorite spaces, two categories were formed: the most favorite spaces where respondents did at least one type of housework and the most favorite spaces where respondents did not spend time for doing housework at all. Chart 6.3.1.3 shows the distribution of these categories between Group A and Group B respondents.

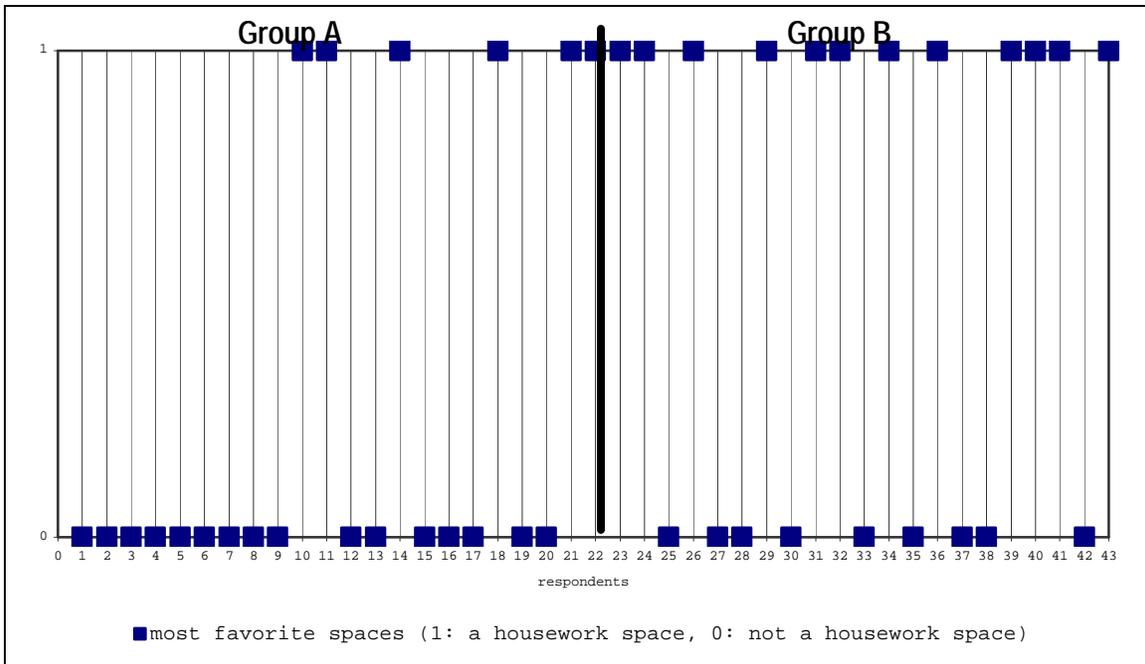


Chart 6.3.1.3. The most favorite spaces and housework spaces.

Among all respondents, less than half (18) identified most favorite spaces where they did at least one type of housework. The distribution of these 18 respondents between Group A (6) and Group B (12) showed that larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified housework spaces as their most favorite spaces.

Although the use patterns of most favorite spaces was associated with the total time spent for housework, in order to understand the reasons for identifying these spaces as the most favorite spaces a content analysis was performed. For this content analysis, codes were constructed in relation to code families, which were constructed in relation to the major concepts of this study. The diagram that consists of these three levels of constructs is called a “coding frame” (Bauer, 2000). Figure 6.3.1.1 shows the coding frame in this study for content analysis of reasons for most favorite spaces.

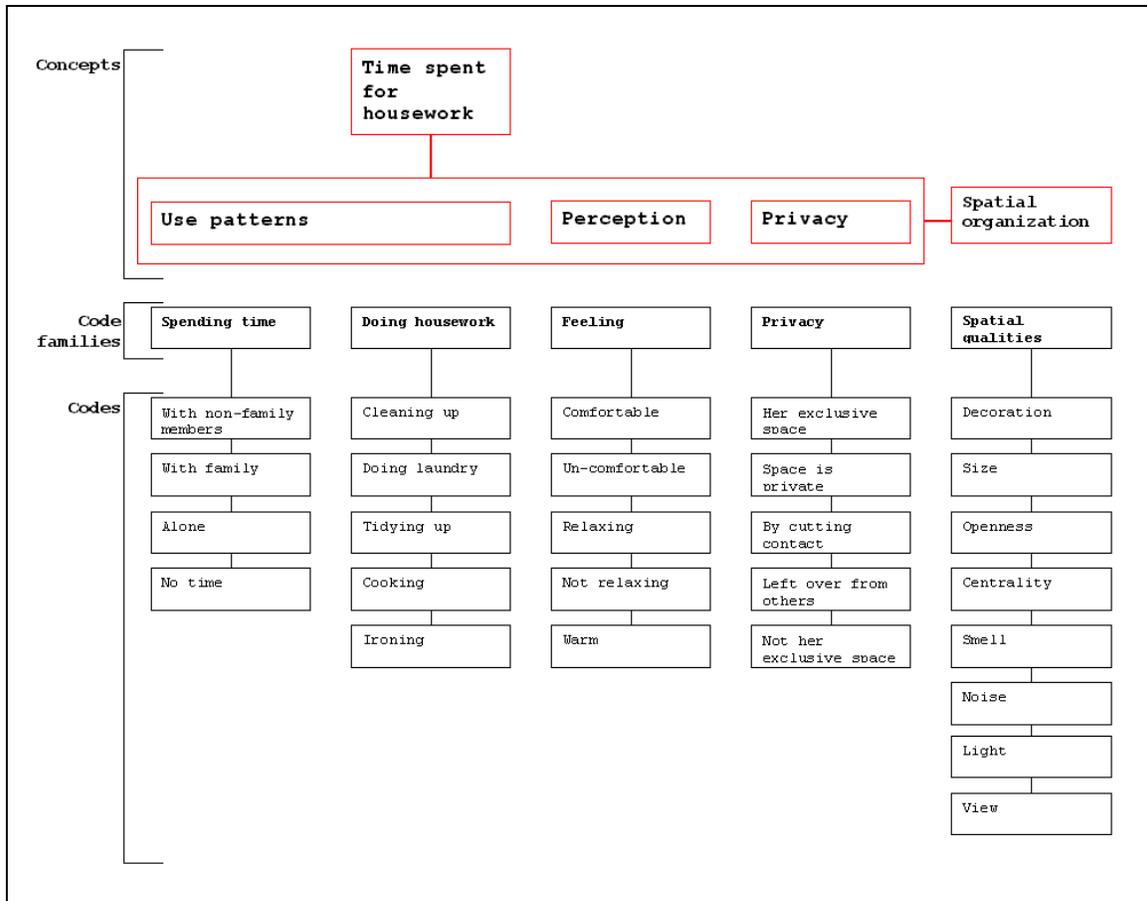


Figure 6.3.1.1. The coding frame for the content analysis of reasons for most favorite spaces.

The code families were grouped in three: affective (feeling, privacy), functional (spending time, doing housework), and descriptive (spatial qualities). Each code family was related to one of the concepts. The two code families spending time and doing housework were related to use patterns. The code family feeling was related to the concept of perception. The code family privacy was for the concept of privacy, and the code family spatial quality was for the concept spatial organization.

In the content analysis, the number of quotations for each code and code family was calculated. Total number of quotations was 97 for describing the reasons of identifying a space as the most favorite. Table 6.3.1.1 shows the distribution of these quotations among the code families.

Table 6.3.1.1. Distribution of the quotations of reasons for most favorite spaces according to code families.

Code family	Percentage (n=97)
Spatial qualities	46%
Spending time	29%
Feeling	19%
Privacy	4%
Housework	2%
Total	100%

The highest number of quotations was related to **spatial qualities**, which constituted 46% of the total number of quotations. Among these quotations, 35% referred to the view (Figure 6.3.1.1), 17% referred to the decoration (Figure 6.3.1.2), 17% referred to light (Figure 6.3.1.3), and 11% referred to the size of these spaces (Table 6.3.1.2).

Table 6.3.1.2. Distribution of the quotations related to spatial qualities for most favorite spaces.

Code family	Codes	Percentage (n=45)	Total
Spatial qualities	View	35%	100%
	Decoration	17%	
	Light	17%	
	Size	11%	
	Centrality	9%	
	Openness	7%	
	Noise	4%	



Figure 6.3.1.1. Examples of views of the most favorite spaces.



Figure 6.3.1.2. Examples of decoration of the most favorite spaces.



Figure 6.3.1.3. Examples of light in the most favorite spaces.

The second highest number of quotations was related to **spending time** in those spaces. These quotations constituted 29% of the total number of quotations. Among these, 59% referred to spending time alone for leisure, 31% referred to spending time with family, and 10% referred to spending time with non-family members (Table 6.3.1.3).

Table 6.3.1.3. Distribution of the quotations related to spending time for most favorite spaces.

Code family	Codes	Percentage (n=28)	Total
Spending time	For leisure	59%	100%
	With family members	31%	
	With non-family members	10%	

The third highest number of quotations was related to **feelings** those spaces induced. These quotations constituted 19% of the total number of quotations. Among these, 69% referred to feeling comfortable, and 26% to feeling relaxed (Table 6.3.1.4).

Table 6.3.1.4. Distribution of the quotations related to feelings for most favorite spaces.

Code family	Codes	Percentage (n=18)	Total
Feeling	Comfortable	69%	100%
	Relaxed	26%	
	Warm	5%	

Privacy was the fourth code family with 4% of the total number of quotations. Among these, 75% referred to enjoying the space when it is left over from the other members of the family, and 25% referred to the space as her own to explain the reasons of identifying that space as her most favorite.

Finally, **housework** was the code family that had the least number of quotations with 2% of the total number of quotations. Among these, half of them referred to not having to clean that space frequently, and the other half referred to enjoying cooking.

The results of this content analysis revealed that identifying a space as the most favorite was related to mostly the spatial qualities of that space, and especially the view. However, spending time, especially alone for a leisure time activities, was also mentioned as a reason. Feeling comfortable or relaxed, wanting privacy were other reasons.

Comparing Group A and Group B for distribution of these quotations, 54% of the 97 quotations were from Group A, and 46% of them were from Group B. Differences between the two groups emerged for the two code families: spending time and privacy (Table 6.3.1.5).

Table 6.3.1.5. Distribution of the quotations of reasons for most favorite spaces in groups.

	Group A respondents (n=52)	Group B respondents (n=45)
Spatial qualities	44%	49%
Spending time	35%	22%
Feeling	17%	20%
Housework	2%	2%
Privacy	2%	6%
Total	100%	100%

The percentage of the quotations related to spending time in those spaces was 35% in Group A, and it was 22% in Group B. Since among all the quotations related to spending time, the majority referred to spending time for leisure, these quotations were compared between the two groups.

For Group A, referring to spending time for leisure as a reason for identifying a space as the most favorite space constituted 23% of the quotations, whereas for Group B it constituted only 9% of the quotations. Therefore, fewer respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework referred to a leisure time activity for identifying their most favorite spaces.

Identifying the most favorite spaces, the quotations referring to leisure time activities from 2 respondents in Group A, who spent the lowest percentage of time at home doing housework, and the quotations from 2 respondents in Group B, who spent the highest percentage of time at home doing housework were presented below. The two Group A respondents explained as follows:

"Because I like gardening."

"I like being at the computer."

The 2 Group B respondents, however, described their reasons related to leisure time activities as follows:

"I do like it out there [conservatory]. And I did at one point set up a place to do my prayer, but it got drawn out a little bit."

"It is a time [after taking the kids to school] I could take a nap. I have one program I really like to watch. Most days, I tape it and watch it later. I do that here [living room]."

The Group B respondents' descriptions referred to other members of the household to create a time or a space for leisure. However, the first group respondents referred to the activities without mentioning a restriction.

There was also an association between the code family privacy and time spent for housework. The percentage of the quotations related to privacy for most favorite spaces was 2% among the Group A respondents, and it was 6% among the Group B respondents. However, the notable difference between the two groups was embedded in their description of privacy that those spaces provided them.

The only respondent in the first group who referred to privacy as a reason to identify her most favorite space described her reason as follows:

"It is kind of a sanctuary. It is my private space."

Nevertheless, the 3 respondents in Group B, who were the 38th, 42nd, and 43rd respondents in the ranking of increasing time spent for housework, identified spaces as their most favorite spaces because they enjoyed these spaces in the absence of the other members of the household. They described their reasons as follows:

"It [bedroom] is the place off limits for children."

"My favorite space is the bedroom, when the kids are here [family room]; it is private and away from everything; and it is the family room, if I am by myself."

"I like to come home and sit here [living room] by myself, when kids are at school."

6.3.2. Time spent for housework and the least favorite spaces

Four types of least favorite spaces were identified: kitchens and laundries, family spaces (family rooms, living areas, dining areas), private spaces (offices, bedrooms, bathrooms), and others' private spaces (kids' rooms, partner's offices, partner's bedrooms). The distribution of these spaces as the least favorite spaces among the respondents according to percentage of time spent for housework was shown in Chart 6.3.2.1.

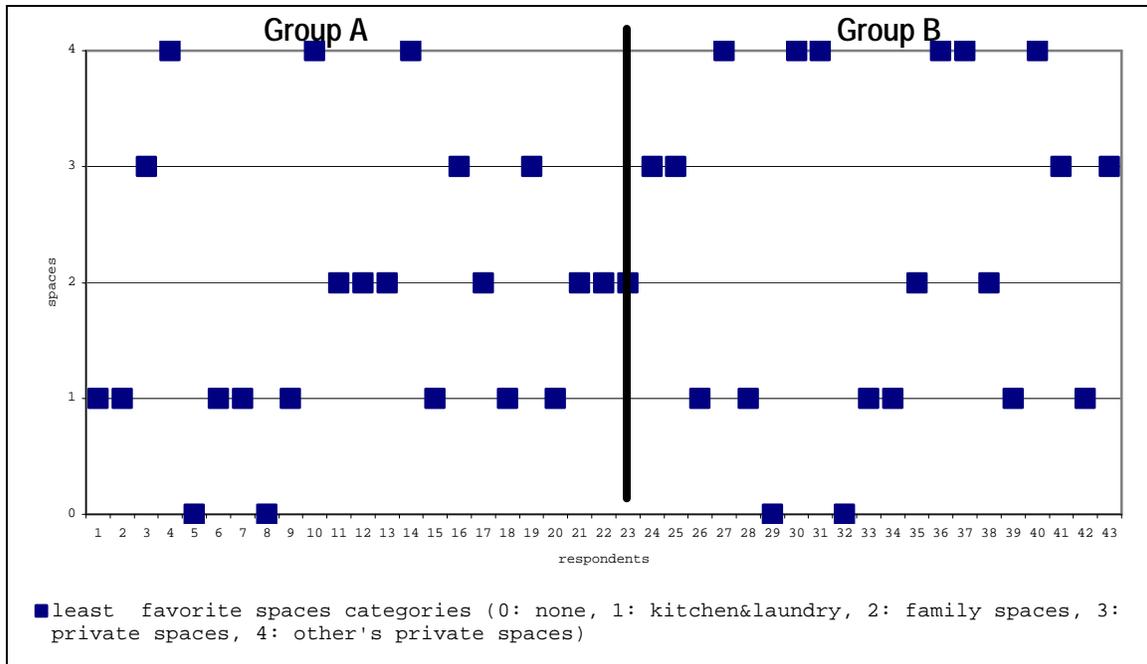


Chart 6.3.2.1. The least favorite spaces categories

Among all respondents, four respondents could not identify a least favorite space, claiming to like their houses. These four respondents were equally distributed between Group A and Group B.

Among 43 respondents, 14 identified **the kitchen and the laundry** as their least favorite spaces; 8 in Group A, and 6 in Group B. **Family spaces** were identified as the least favorite spaces by 9 respondents, 6 in Group A, and 3 in Group B. **Private spaces** were identified as the least favorite spaces by 7 respondents, 3 in Group A, and 4 in Group B. Finally, 9 respondents identified **others' private spaces** as their least favorite spaces, 3 in Group A, and 6 in Group B.

Then, larger number of Group A respondents identified the kitchen or the laundry, and family spaces as their least favorite spaces; and larger number of Group B respondents identified private spaces and others' private spaces as their least favorite spaces.

The average overall time spent in the least favorite spaces was 5.2% of the total time spent at home. It was 7.1% for the Group A respondents and 3.3% for the Group B respondents. The higher percentage of overall time spent in the least favorite spaces by the Group A respondents was partly due to their higher percentage of housework time in those spaces.

Chart 6.3.2.2 showed that smaller number of Group B respondents spent lower percentage of their time at home doing housework in their least favorite spaces.

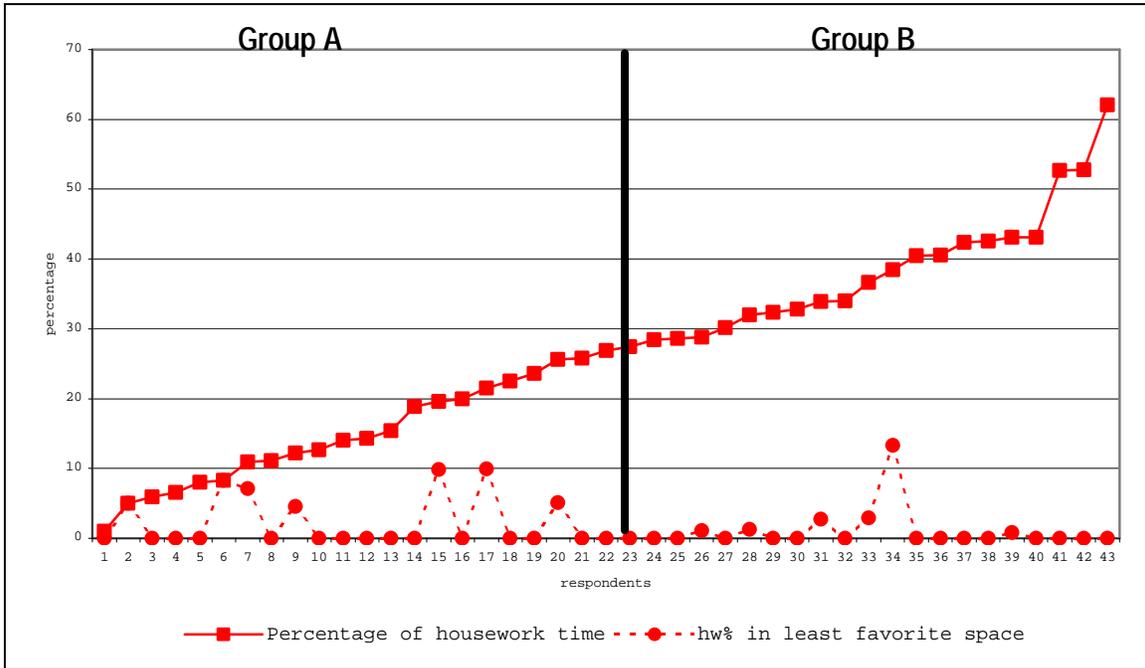


Chart 6.3.2.2. Time spent for housework in the least favorite spaces

In order to understand the patterns of identifying the housework spaces as the least favorite spaces, two categories were formed: the least favorite spaces where a respondent did at least one type of housework and the least favorite spaces where a respondent did not spend time for doing housework at all. Chart 6.3.2.3 showed the distribution of these categories between Group A and Group B respondents.

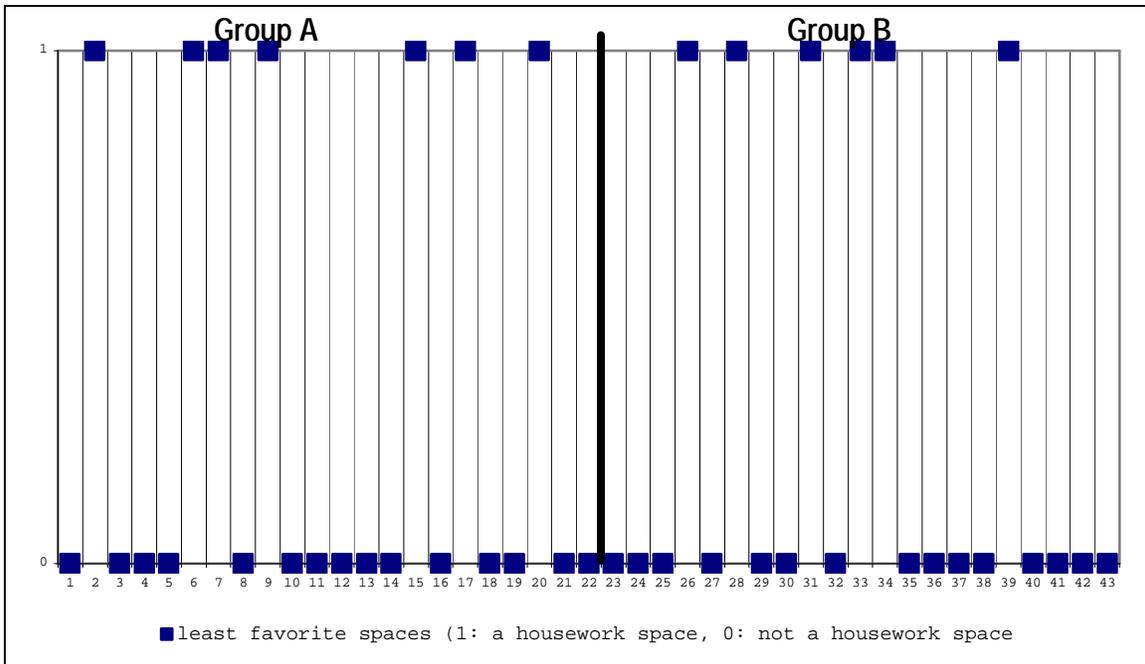


Chart 6.3.2.3. The least favorite spaces and housework spaces.

Among 43 respondents, 13 identified their least favorite spaces, where they did at least one type of housework. They were almost equally distributed between Group A (7), and Group B (6).

Then, a content analysis was performed in order to understand the reasons for identifying these spaces as the least favorite spaces. For this content analysis, the constructed coding frame of the most favorite space reasons was used.

The number of quotations for each code and code family was calculated. The distribution of the total number of quotations (62) according to code families for describing the reasons of identifying a space as the least favorite is shown in Table 6.3.2.1.

Table 6.3.2.1. Distribution of the quotations of reasons for the least favorite spaces according to code families.

Code family	Percentage (n=62)
Housework	45%
Spatial qualities	31%
Feeling	15%
Spending time	6%
Privacy	3%
Total	100%

The results showed that the highest number of quotations for reasons of identifying the least favorite spaces was related to **doing housework**. Among 62 quotations, 45% referred to respondents' dislike of at least one type of housework, which was associated to or required by that space. Among these, 44% referred to tidying, 24% referred to doing laundry, 22% referred to cleaning, 6% referred to cooking, and 4% referred to ironing (Table 6.3.2.2).

Table 6.3.2.2. Distribution of the quotations related to housework for the least favorite spaces.

Code family	Codes	Percentage (n=28)	Total
Housework	Tidying	44%	100%
	Laundry	24%	
	Cleaning	22%	
	Cooking	6%	
	Ironing	4%	

The second most referred reason about least favorite spaces was related to **spatial qualities**, which constituted 31% of the total number of quotations. Among these, decoration (32%), and size (32%) of those spaces formed the majority of the reasons related to spatial qualities for the least favorite spaces (Table 6.3.2.3).

Table 6.3.2.3. Distribution of the quotations related to spatial qualities for the least favorite spaces.

Code family	Codes	Percentage (n=19)	Total
Spatial qualities	Decoration	32%	31%
	Size	32%	
	Light	16%	
	Smell	10%	
	Noise	10%	

Feeling uncomfortable (13%) constituted the third highest number of quotations. Finally **not spending time** in those spaces (6%), and the **space not being theirs** (3%) were the fewest mentioned reasons.

The overriding number of quotations related to doing housework was an important finding, which also supported the finding that 13 out of 43 respondents identified housework spaces as their least favorite spaces. It also revealed why the largest number of respondents identified their least favorite spaces as the kitchen or the laundry and family spaces, which constituted the majority of housework spaces.

Comparing quotations from Group A and Group B (Table 6.3.2.4) revealed that lower percentage of the reasons was related to doing housework for the respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework.

Table 6.3.2.4. Distribution of quotations of reasons for least favorite spaces in groups.

	Group A respondents (n=33)	Group B respondents (n=29)
Housework	58%	31%
Spatial qualities	30%	31%
Feeling	6%	24%
Spending time	3%	11%
Privacy	3%	3%
Total	100%	100%

The Group A respondents referred to **doing housework** (58%) more than the Group B respondents (31%) to describe why those spaces were their least favorite. However, the descriptions in Group A and group B were similar.

Among the quotations related to doing housework, tidying up was the type of housework, which was referred the most. The majority of the quotations referring to tidying up were from the Group A respondents. Two respondents in Group A described their reasons as follows:

“Because I can’t keep it [partner’s office] under control. There is a corner in there that is completely chaotic.”

“It [laundry room] is always a mess.”

Similarly, for the same types of spaces, two respondents in Group B described their reasons as follows:

“It [partner’s office] is cluttered; it is messy.”

“The laundry room is getting really cluttered. There is too much junk in there, not very well organized.”

Doing laundry was another type of housework that was referred more by the Group A respondents than the Group B respondents. The descriptions were again similar in two groups. The quotations from the Group A respondents related to doing laundry were as follows:

"I don't like to do the laundry."

"I hate doing laundry."

The Group B respondents revealed their dislikes in similar ways. These quotations from the Group B respondents were as follows:

"Because I spend a lot of time doing the laundry."

"What am I thinking about? The laundry room! It is mundane. It is boring. I don't like boring things. Routine... and I don't like routines."

However, cleaning up was referred more by the Group B respondents than the Group A respondents. Moreover, the descriptions revealed different types of cleaning up in two groups. For example one Group A respondent explained as follows:

"I enjoy cooking but I don't enjoy the cleaning up."

On the other hand, the Group B respondents described cleaning as a mandatory duty. Their descriptions included:

"Because the only reason I am there (daughter's bedroom) is to clean up."

"Because I always have to think of and I need to clean them (bathrooms) all the time."

These quotations also showed that the reason for identifying others' private spaces (such as partner's office or child's bedroom) as their least favorite spaces were due to the housework those spaces required. Larger number of Group B respondents than Group A respondents referred to doing housework in others' private spaces as a reason for identifying others' private spaces as their least favorite spaces.

Feeling uncomfortable was another reason identified for least favorite spaces more in Group B (24%) than it was in Group A (6%). Similarly, **not spending time** in those spaces was another reason identified in Group B (11%) than it was in Group A (3%).

An almost equal percentage of respondents Group A (30%) and Group B (31%) referred to **spatial qualities** for identifying a space as their least favorite spaces. However, the Group B respondents

referred to spatial qualities as much as they referred to doing housework as their reasons for identifying the least favorite spaces.

Referring decoration (a spatial quality) as a reason for identifying a space the least favorite was equally distributed between Group A and group B. For example, one respondent who spent 65% of her time at home in her least favorite space, her office (Figure 6.3.2.1), described her reason as follows:

"I bought some furniture very quickly, because I needed some furniture to get in there [her office]."



Figure 6.3.2.1. Respondent's office, which was also her least favorite space.

The same respondent also complained about the size of her office:

"The space in a way that it is set up, working space is too small for what I needed."

Referring to another spatial quality, size, was also equally distributed between Group A and Group B. Those spaces (Figure 6.3.2.1) were described as too small. For example one respondent said:

"It (the laundry room) is too small. I don't like it because there is not enough storage space in there. In the rest of the house storage is great. But the laundry room is not."



Figure 6.3.2.1. The laundries as the least favorite spaces, which were referred to for being too small.

6.3.3. Summary: Time spent for housework and perception of spaces

Time spent for housework and perception of spaces were associated in several ways.

Larger number of respondents who spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified housework spaces as their most favorite spaces and spent a higher percentage of housework time in them. However, the respondents who spent a lower percentage of their time doing housework, spent a higher percentage of their time doing housework in their least favorite spaces.

The largest number of respondents identified the kitchen, the laundry, and family spaces, which constituted the majority of housework spaces, as the most favorite spaces and as the least favorite spaces. However, the primary reason for identifying the most favorite spaces was the spatial qualities, whereas the primary reason for identifying the least favorite spaces was the dislike of doing at least one type of housework, which was associated with or required by those spaces.

Yet, smaller number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework referred to doing housework as the reason for identifying a space as the least favorite.

Instead, these respondents referred to feeling uncomfortable or not spending time in those spaces as the reason for identifying a space as the least favorite space. Therefore, smaller number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified the kitchen or the laundry and family spaces (the majority of housework spaces) as their least favorite spaces.

Smaller number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework referred to spending time for leisure activities for identifying a space as the most favorite space. Moreover, larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework referred to privacy for identifying their most favorite spaces. For both issues, the descriptions of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework referred to the absence of the other household members.

Spatial qualities were referred as a reason for identifying the most favorite space and the least favorite space. However, the percentage of housework time was not influential on the number of respondents who referred to spatial qualities as their reasons.

Larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified others' private spaces as their least favorite spaces. The quotations showed that these spaces were associated with doing housework.

The number of respondents who identified private spaces as the as most favorite spaces was larger than the number of respondents who identified private spaces as the least favorite spaces. Larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified private spaces as their most favorite spaces and least favorite spaces. The reasons for identifying those spaces provided the explanation that the desire to spend time for non-housework activities in private spaces increased; although its possibility decreased for the respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework. These respondents' descriptions of privacy and spending time for leisure activities in the most favorite spaces were based on the absence of the other household members.

6.4. Time spent for housework and privacy

The relationship between spaces for privacy and time spent for housework was examined by the following three steps: First, the presence of spaces exclusively assigned to the respondents was identified in relation to time spent for housework. Second, spaces for privacy were categorized, and the number of respondents who identified their spaces for privacy in each category was compared in relation to the percentage of time spent for housework. Third, a content analysis was performed to understand the ways in which privacy was achieved in those spaces. The findings of this content analysis were also examined in relation to the percentage of time spent for housework.

In order to understand the relationship between the percentage of time spent for housework and privacy, Group A (in which average percentage of time spent for housework was 15% of the total time spent at home) and Group B (in which average percentage of time spent for housework was 38.3% of the total time spent at home) were compared in terms of privacy following these three steps.

6.4.1. Time spent for housework and women's exclusive spaces

The spaces which were exclusively assigned for the respondents' use were their offices, work areas, studios, or hobby rooms. These spaces were referred in this study as women's exclusive spaces.

In the analysis of exclusive spaces, the 9 respondents who lived alone without a partner or children were not included. In those cases, the whole house was exclusively for their use. Moreover, the 5 respondents who were single mothers were also not included in the analysis of their exclusive spaces, since these respondents inevitably had their separate bedrooms. Among the remaining 29 respondents, 15 had their exclusive spaces.

For these respondents who were living with a partner at the time of the interviews, the presence of their partners' exclusive spaces were also analyzed and compared with the presence of the respondents' exclusive spaces.

The distribution of these respondents between Group A and Group B is shown in Chart 6.4.1.1. In Group A, among the 14 respondents who were living with a partner, 11 had their exclusive spaces,

whereas in Group B, among the 15 respondents who were living with a partner, only 3 had their exclusive spaces. The difference between two groups entailed that among the respondents who were living with a partner, a smaller number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework had their exclusive spaces.

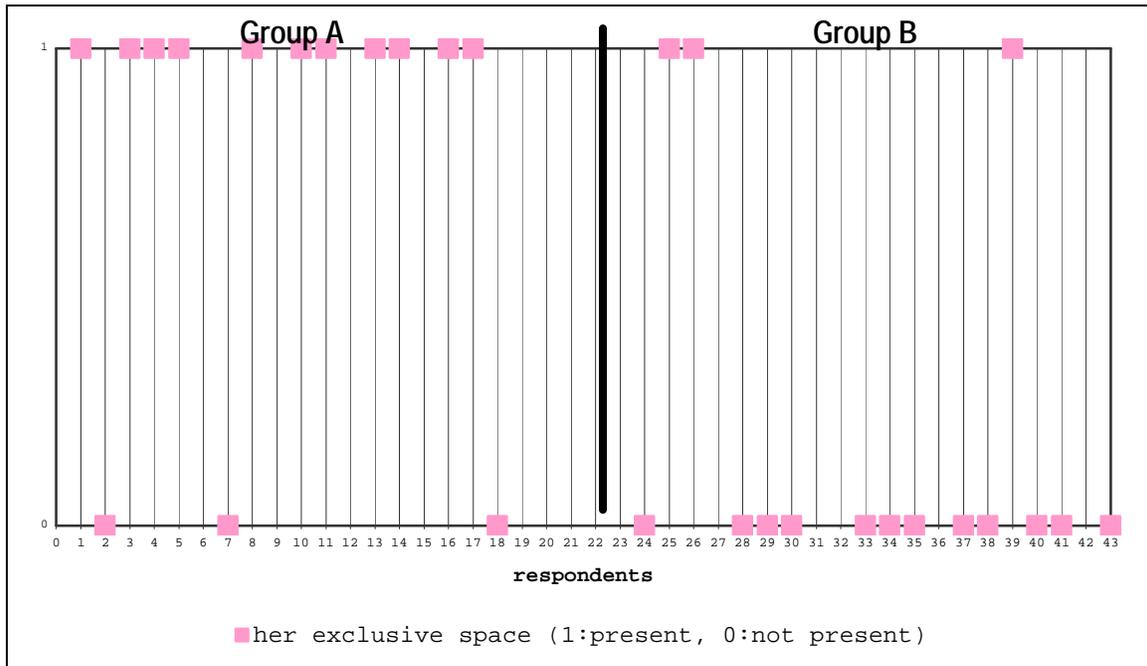


Chart 6.4.1.1. Distribution of exclusive spaces between the two groups.

Furthermore, respondents' overall time spent in their exclusive spaces and total time spent for housework were shown in Chart 6.4.1.2. Among all respondents, the average time spent in their exclusive spaces was 28.7% of the total time spent at home. The average overall time spent in their exclusive spaces of the Group A respondents was 34.5%, and it was 7.6% for the Group B respondents. Therefore, the respondents who spent a lower percentage of their time at home doing housework, spent a higher percentage of overall time in their exclusive spaces.

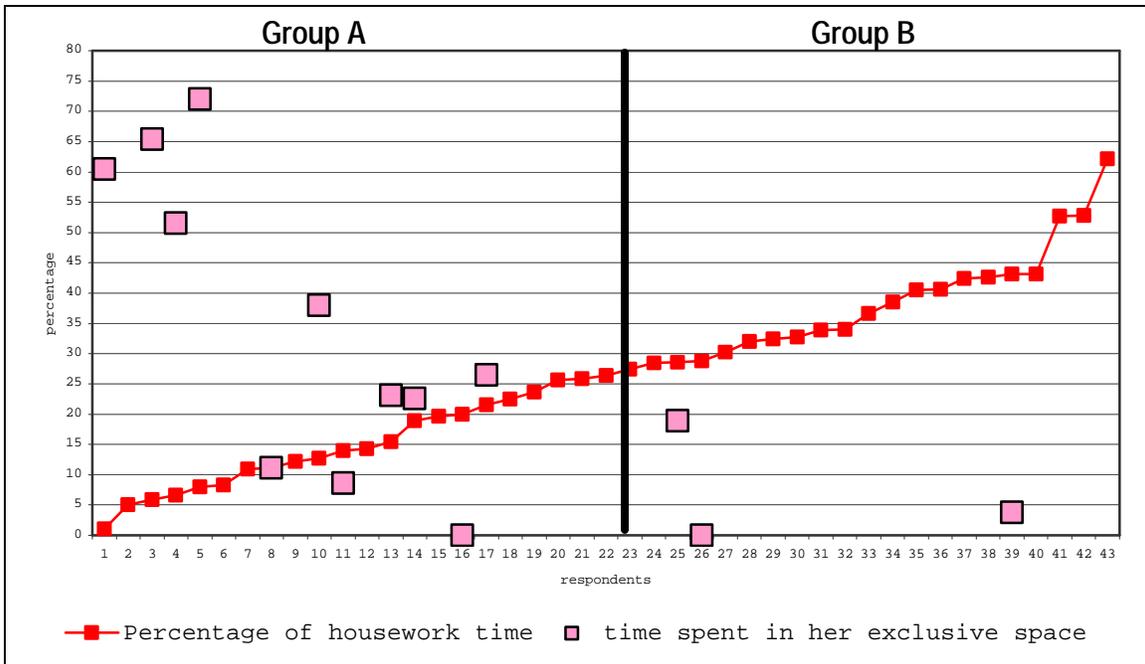


Chart 6.4.1.2. Overall time spent in exclusive spaces.

The percentage of housework time in their exclusive spaces was negligibly low. Among all the respondents who had their exclusive spaces only 2 (25th and 39th) respondents spent time for doing housework in these spaces. Both of these respondents were in Group B.

One respondent, who was living with her husband at the time of the interview, spent one third of her time spent in her exclusive space doing housework. Her exclusive space was her studio, which accommodated also the laundry area (Figure 6.4.1.1). Therefore, the housework activity she was involved in her studio was doing laundry. The other respondent, who was living with her husband and two children at the time of the interview, spent half of her time in her exclusive space for doing housework. Her exclusive space was her studio, which also accommodated the pets (Figure 6.4.1.1). Thus, the housework activity she was involved in her studio taking care of the pets (feeding them and cleaning their cages).



Figure 6.4.1.1. Two respondents' exclusive space.

The relationship between time spent for housework and respondents' exclusive spaces was confirmed with these findings. Compared to the Group A respondents, a smaller number of Group B respondents had their exclusive spaces. The Group B respondents spent a lower percentage of their overall time, but a higher percentage of their housework time in their exclusive spaces.

Comparing the presence of exclusive spaces for the respondents and the respondents' partners, Chart 6.4.1.3 shows the differences between Group A and Group B. The presence of an exclusive space for only the respondent's partner was the case for 5 respondents in Group B, and for 2 respondents in Group A. The absence of an exclusive space for either the respondent or her partner was the case for 4 respondents in Group B, and 1 respondent in Group A. However, the presence of exclusive spaces for both the respondent and her partner was the case for only 1 respondent in Group B, and for 7 respondents in Group A. Therefore, in Group B presence of partner's exclusive space was more in case of an absence of the respondent's exclusive space.

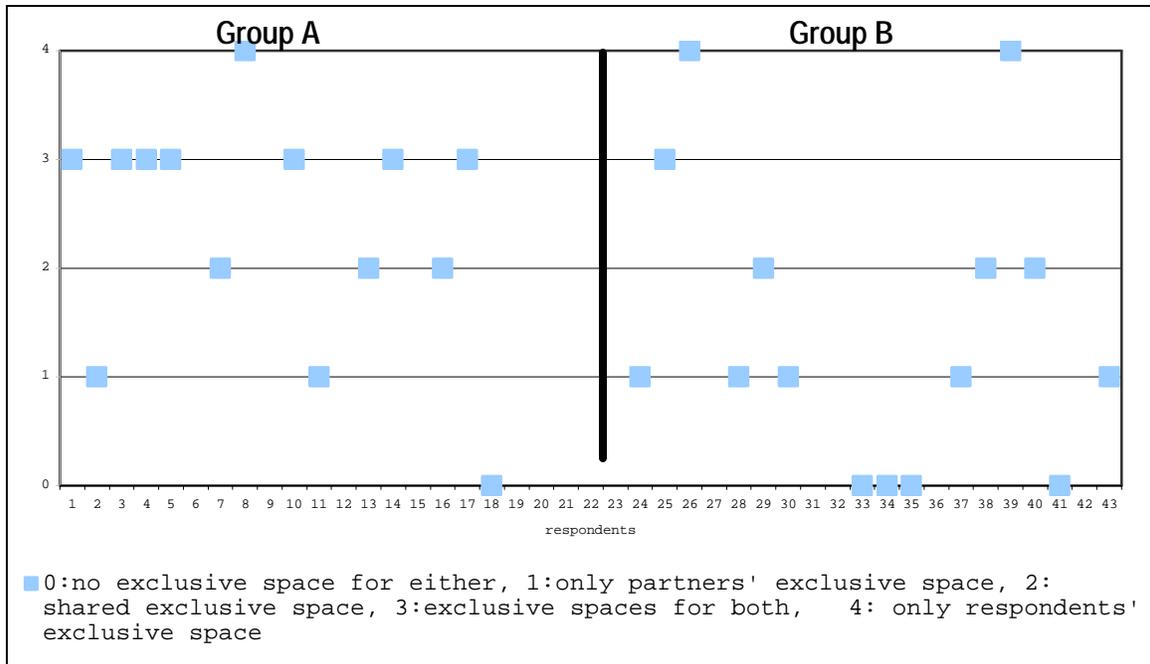


Chart 6.4.1.3. Presence of exclusive spaces for the respondents and their partners.

6.4.2. Time spent for housework and spaces for privacy

In the analysis of spaces for privacy, the 9 respondents who lived alone without a partner or children were not included. These respondents identified the whole house as a space for privacy. Among remaining 34 respondents, 33 could identify spaces for their privacy. Only one respondent, who was in Group B, could not identify a space that she went for privacy.

This respondent was married and had a 2 1/2 year old daughter at the time of the interview. Her explanation was as follows:

"There really isn't a place to go. I would like to add on a room, my own room, where I can sew when I'd like to do that and be myself. I can't sew now. I would like to have organized in that room and close the door when I am done without worrying about her [daughter] getting hurt or anything."

Due to lack of a space for privacy, she had to give up her sewing hobby, which was also related to her part-time job, generating 10% of the total household income. Moreover, she had to create a storage wall in the living room for her collection of private things (Figure 6.4.1.2). Her daughter's toys and laundry baskets were in the same space. Therefore, absence of a space for privacy

resulted in her struggle to create a space for her things in a family space, where she spent 52% of her total time at home and half of it for doing housework.



Figure 6.4.1.2. The 30th respondent's board in the living room for her collection of private things.

For all the remaining 42 respondents, the identified spaces for privacy were grouped into four: the bathroom, family spaces, the bedroom, and her space. Their distribution was shown in Chart 6.4.2.1. As the space for privacy, the largest number of respondents (15 respondents) identified the bedroom: 3 in Group A, 12 in Group B. The exclusive space was identified as the space for privacy (by 9 respondents), 8 in Group A, 1 in Group B. Family areas were identified as the space for privacy by 3 Group A respondents and 4 Group B respondents. Only 2 respondents identified the bathroom as a space for privacy, 1 in each group.

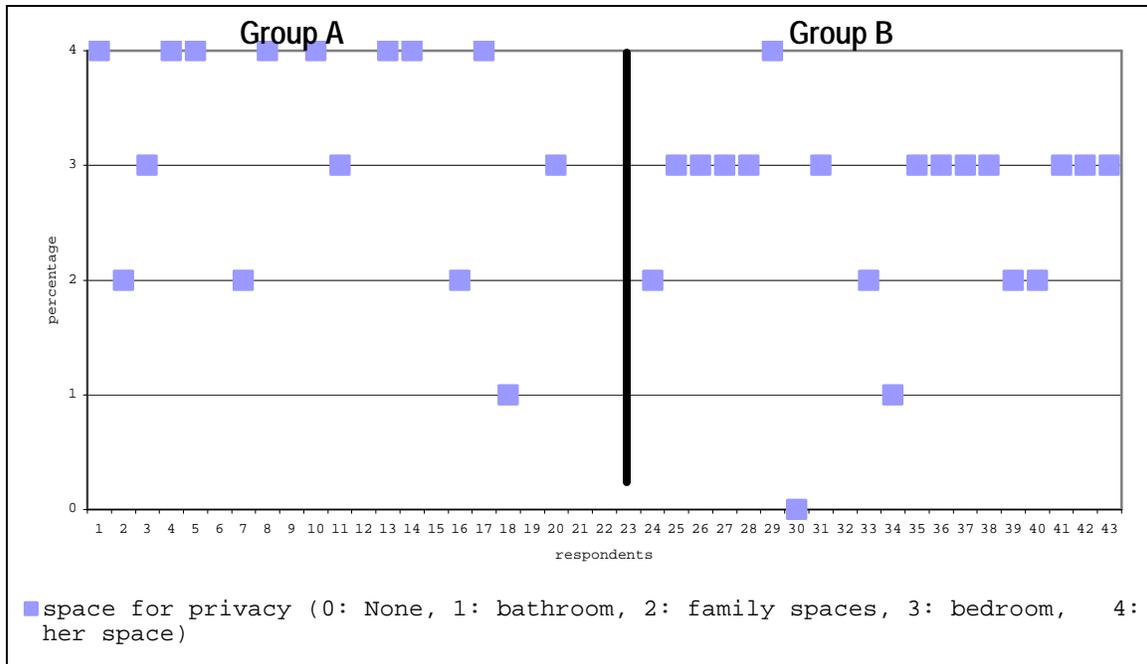


Chart 6.4.2.1. Categories of spaces for privacy.

Space for privacy varied between the two groups. The exclusive space was identified as the space for privacy by larger number of respondents in Group A. However, the bedroom was identified as the space for privacy by larger number of respondents in Group B. The fact that the presence of exclusive spaces among Group A respondents was higher than it was among the Group B respondents was partly the explanation for this distinction. However, despite its availability, not all respondents identified their spaces as the spaces for privacy.

Among 11 Group A respondents who had their exclusive spaces only 2 did not identify these spaces as spaces for privacy. For one of them, her exclusive space, which was her office, was her least favorite space because of the decoration and the size of the room. Although she spent most of her time at home in her office, the following quotation explained her reason to identify the bedroom as the space for privacy instead of her office:

"It is our bedroom, but usually he doesn't spend time in there unless he is sleeping. Also when you close the door, it is quiet. I can go there and read and there is a separate television, if he is watching something I don't want to watch. Or I can get up there and talk on the phone. A lot of rooms in the house downstairs, your voice carries. So when you are on the phone, it is kind of distracting, so that bedroom is nice really."

The other respondent in Group A, who did not identify her space (the photography room) as the space for privacy, expressed her reason to identify the porch as the space for privacy as follows:

"I enjoy the outdoors. So I spend a lot of time outside."

On the other hand, none of the 3 Group B respondents who had their exclusive spaces identified their exclusive space as the space for privacy. Two of them identified the bedroom, and the third one identified a family space as the space for privacy. Moreover, for one of these respondents, her exclusive space, which also accommodated laundry area, was her least favorite space, mostly due to its spatial qualities. Two of these were the only two respondents who did housework in their exclusive spaces.

Therefore, spending time for housework in spaces for privacy was an important distinction between the two groups. Among 33 respondents who were not living alone and who identified spaces for privacy, only 2 did housework in spaces for privacy. Both of these respondents were in Group B. However, average of overall time spent in spaces for privacy was higher in Group A (38%) than it was in Group B (20%) (Chart 6.4.2.2).

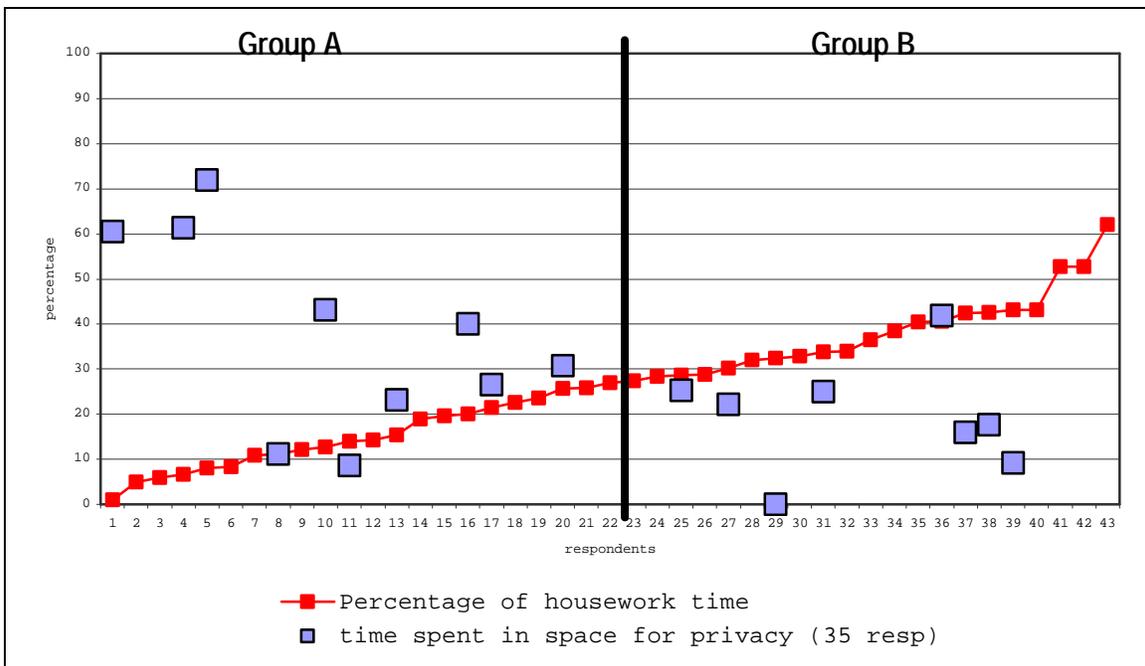


Chart 6.4.2.2. Overall time spent in spaces for privacy

A content analysis was performed to understand the reasons of identifying the spaces for privacy. Table 6.4.2.1 shows the distribution of reasons to identify spaces for privacy according to code families.

Table 6.4.2.1. Distribution of the quotations of spaces for privacy according to code families.

Code family	Percentage (n=62)
Privacy	74%
Spatial qualities	18%
Spending time	5%
Feeling	3%
Total	100%

The primary reason (74%) was that establishing **privacy** was possible in those spaces. Among these quotations, 42% referred to cutting contact with the other members in the household as the way to establish privacy. Then, identifying spaces that were left over from the other members in the household was the second way to establish privacy (27%). The third was going to her exclusive space, which belonged to her (24%). Finally, going to a space that was private (7%) was the fourth way (Table 6.4.2.2).

Table 6.4.2.2. Distribution of the quotations related to privacy for spaces for privacy.

Code family	Codes	Percentage (n=46)	Total
Privacy	By cutting contact	42%	100%
	Left over from others	27%	
	Belonging (her space)	24%	
	Private space	7%	

The **spatial qualities** (18% of the total number of quotations) were also referred to as reasons of identifying a space as the spaces for privacy. Among the reasons related to spatial qualities, referring to spaces being separate formed the majority (66%) (Table 6.4.2.3).

Table 6.4.2.3. Distribution of the quotations related to spatial qualities for spaces for privacy.

Code family	Codes	Percentage (n=11)	Total
Spatial qualities	Separate	66%	100%
	View	17%	
	Noise	17%	

Comparing Group A and Group B, the primary difference was embedded in how they established privacy in those spaces (Table 6.4.2.4). More than half (53%) of the quotations in Group B referred

to cutting contact with the other members of the household, and almost one third (29%) referred to using spaces that were left over from the other members of the household to establish privacy. However, almost one third (32%) of the quotations in Group A referred to having their spaces as the means of establishing privacy, and 9% referred to spaces as private although they were not their exclusive spaces. None of the quotations in Group B referred to having their exclusive spaces or spaces that were private as their means of establishing privacy.

Quotations referring to spatial qualities were almost equally distributed between Group A (19%) and Group B (18%). However, the quotations from the Group B respondents referred only to being separate (18%) as a spatial quality that helped establishing privacy. In Group A, there were quotations referring to a nice view (5%) and quietness (5%) in addition to being separate (9%). Moreover, the few respondents who referred to spending time for leisure (5%) and feeling comfortable (5%) as a part of their reasons for identifying spaces for privacy were in Group A.

Table 6.4.2.4. Distribution of quotations of spaces for privacy in groups.

Code families	Codes	Group A respondents (n=22)	Group B respondents (n=17)
Privacy	By cutting contact	13%	53%
	Left over form others	13%	29%
	Belonging (her space)	32%	0%
	Private space	9%	0%
	Total	67%	82%
Spatial qualities	Separate	9%	18%
	View	5%	0%
	Noise	5%	0%
	Total	19%	18%
Spending time	For leisure	9%	0%
Feeling	Comfortable	5%	0%
Total		100%	100%

Then, the Group B respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework referred to absence of the other members of the household in all of the quotations. Both in terms of the ways to establish privacy (by cutting contact and left over from others), and in terms of the spatial qualities (being separate) that helped to establish privacy, they described privacy in reference to the absence of the others. Following quotations from the Group B respondents exemplified how they cut contact:

"I can go up there [bedroom] and shut the door."

"Closing the door is what I would do. That's the only reason I go there [bedroom]. It [the house] is very open space. If I wanted privacy, that would be the place where I close myself in."

"Because I can lock the door. I can close the door and even though it [bedroom] is my least favorite place, I can shut the door, be alone, and be myself."

"It [bathroom] seems like a natural place. You know, you can lock the door. I like to get into the tub and relax."

"I can shut the door when I need to. But I am still downstairs when I am needed. When I need to take a phone call, I need quiet, I can shut the door."

The following quotations in Group B provided examples of using spaces which were left over from the other members of the household for privacy:

"Whenever the boys are not there [library], I go read there [family room]. I don't like to read in my bedroom because the sitting area is not complete and I don't want to get in bed to read. You know I rather sit."

"At night when I am reading, I like to read in the living room, when he [husband] is upstairs. All this area [kitchen-living-dining] feels private to me. So I don't have to run to a private space."

However, the highest percentage of quotations in Group A referred to being her exclusive space, which was not referred by the Group B respondents at all. In these descriptions, the Group A respondents did not refer to the other members of the household. Following quotations were examples of such descriptions:

"Because it [my office] is mine."

"That [den] is kind of my space."

"Because it [my bedroom] is my space."

"My office is my space."

In terms of spatial qualities, the primary difference between the two groups was the Group B respondents' referring to a space for being separate twice as many times as the Group A respondents. However, the descriptions were similar in the two groups. The examples of such descriptions in Group B were as follows:

"[The formal living room] is away from things. [The bedroom] is way away from things."

In Group A, the following example of such a description exemplified the similarity in nature:

"The bedroom is farthest point away from the main part of the house."

6.4.3. Summary: Time spent for housework and privacy

Time spent for housework and privacy were associated in several ways.

A larger number of respondents who spent a lower percentage of their time at home doing housework had their exclusive spaces. They identified their exclusive spaces as their spaces for privacy, and they spent a higher percentage of their total time at home in those spaces. On the other hand, a larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework identified bedrooms as their spaces for privacy.

Moreover, a larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework, spent a higher percentage of their housework time and a lower percentage of their overall time at home in their spaces for privacy.

Furthermore, a larger number of respondents who spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework referred to the absence of the other household members (either by cutting contact with them or by using a space that was left over from them) as the ways to establish privacy in those spaces. However, a larger number of respondents who spent a lower percentage of their time at home doing housework, referred to having their exclusive spaces for establishing privacy.

Finally, among the respondents who were living with a partner at the time of the interviews, the higher percentage of housework time meant presence of partner's exclusive space in case of absence of the respondent's exclusive space.

6.5. Overall patterns: Gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, and spaces for privacy

The overall patterns demonstrated that the respondents who held less egalitarian positions in terms of gender ideologies, spent higher percentage of their time at home doing housework. They did housework in larger number of spaces for longer periods of time. Including all activities, they spent lower percentage of their time at home in private spaces and higher percentage of their time at home in the kitchen. Their most favorite spaces were private spaces, in which they did housework. They seldom had exclusive spaces and identified bedrooms as their spaces for privacy, in which they did housework. They also referred to the absence of other household members in order to establish privacy. However, spatial qualities (descriptive category), rather than doing housework, were their primary reason for identifying a space as their least favorite.

These findings suggested that women whose positions in life were in favor of more domestic roles (such as not working at a paid job after having children or becoming a homemaker and having a breadwinning husband), spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework and were more tolerant of doing housework. In accordance with their less egalitarian gender ideologies, the respondents who spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework, expressed dislike or reluctance towards doing housework less than the respondents who spent a lower percentage of their time at home doing housework.

However, their tolerance did not change the fact that they had limited privacy. Their privacy was constrained by the time they spent for housework and by the needs of other household members. Their daily time schedule did not allow them to devote time in their most favorite spaces or spaces for privacy without doing housework.

The next chapter discusses the housing types and the spatial organization in houses as they were related to these patterns of use, perception and privacy.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS: COMPARISON OF HOUSING TYPES

This chapter consists of a comparison of cohousing and neo-traditional developments. From the 43 respondents interviewed, 27 were living in a cohousing development, and 16 in a neo-traditional development. After describing the demographic characteristics of these respondents in each housing type, they were compared in terms of gender ideologies, time spent for housework, use patterns, perception of spaces, and spaces for privacy. Then, the spatial organizations and modifications in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional respondents were compared.

7.1. Demographic characteristics in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

Comparing the household compositions between cohousing and neo-traditional respondents showed that the percentage of conventional household compositions was higher in neo-traditional developments. Married couples among cohousing respondents constituted 44%, whereas among neo-traditional respondents they constituted 88%. Moreover, single women living alone constituted 30% of the cohousing respondents, although they constituted only 6.5% of the neo-traditional respondents. Similarly, 15% of the cohousing respondents compared to 6.5% of the neo-traditional respondents were single mothers (Table 7.1.1). However, the average number of children (one child per household) was the same in two housing types.

Table 7.1.1. Parental, partner, and marital status of cohousing and neo-traditional respondents.

	Without a child			With a child / children			Total
	With a partner		Single	With a partner		Single	
	Married	Un-married		Married	Un-married		
Cohousing respondents	22%	0%	30%	22%	11%	15%	100%
Neo-traditional respondents	38%	0%	6.5%	50%	0%	6.5%	100%

The distribution of cohousing and neo-traditional respondents according to age was also similar. The average age was 45-54 years of age for both in cohousing and in neo-traditional developments.

However, the distribution of cohousing and neo-traditional respondents in terms of education levels was not similar. A total of 67% of the cohousing respondents compared to 31% of the neo-traditional respondents had graduate degrees. Moreover, all of the cohousing respondents had at least an undergraduate degree, whereas 19% of the neo-traditional respondents did not have a college degree.

Among the respondents who had a partner living together at the time of the interviews, the average ratio of respondent's time spent at a paid job over that of the partner for cohousing respondents was 0.9, and for neo-traditional respondents it was 0.6. This comparison showed that cohousing respondents spent almost the same amount of time at a paid job as their partners, while neo-traditional respondents spent almost half of what their partners spent at a paid job.

Similarly, among the respondents who had a partner living together at the time of the interviews, the average share in income of the cohousing respondents was 62% of the total household income, while the average share in income of the neo-traditional respondents was 38% of the total household income. This comparison showed that cohousing respondents on average earned more than their partners, while neo-traditional respondents on average earned less than their partners.

Therefore, it was possible to conclude that the respondents of two housing types were similar in terms of age and number of children (parental status), which were shown to have associations with the time spent for housework in the analysis of overall patterns. However, in terms of household compositions (partner status), relative resources (education and share in income), and time availability (ratio of a woman's time spent at a paid job over that of her partner), the respondents of two housing types differed. A higher percentage of cohousing respondents were unconventional, had higher levels of education, spent almost same amount of time at a paid job as their partners, and earned more than their partners.

7.2. Comparison: Gender ideologies in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

In comparing gender ideologies of respondents in cohousing and neo-traditional developments, two measures were used: gender ideology statements' ratings (on a five-point Likert Scale) and respondents' comments on these statements.

For the first statement, which was: "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family," the average of ratings of the cohousing respondents (1.6) and the neo-traditional respondents (2) were very close to each other. Considering that ratings closer to 1 meant stronger disagreement with this statement and therefore a more egalitarian position, cohousing respondents' positions were slightly more egalitarian than neo-traditional respondents.

Similarly, for the second statement, which was: "It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under 5," the average of ratings among cohousing respondents was 3.7, and it was 2.9 among the neo-traditional respondents. Ratings closer to 5 meant stronger agreement with this statement and a more egalitarian position. Therefore, regarding also the second statement, cohousing respondents' positions were more egalitarian than neo-traditional respondents.

For the third statement, which was: "A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife," the average of ratings of the cohousing respondents (4.7) and the neo-traditional respondents (4.6) was almost the same. Therefore, it was not possible to claim a difference regarding the ratings of the third gender ideology statement.

However, in the analysis of overall patterns it was shown that close to 50% of the respondents had roles in their households in contradiction to what they stated to believe with the gender ideology statements' ratings. In order to understand differences in terms of respondents' ideas of gender, epiphanies (turning point experiences) were compared between the two housing types.

Among the total of 19 descriptions of epiphanies, eight were described by the cohousing respondents, and 11 were described by the neo-traditional respondents. Among cohousing respondents, decisions to work with preference or decisions to stay at home due to obligations formed the majority (75%) of these descriptions. However, among the neo-traditional respondents decisions to stay at home with preference or decisions to work due to obligations formed the majority (73%) of these descriptions. Therefore, the cohousing respondents held more egalitarian positions than the neo-traditional respondents.

7.3. Comparison: Time spent for housework in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

The findings related to the overall patterns showed that the number of children (parental status) and age influenced the percentage of time spent for housework. Therefore, in comparing cohousing and neo-traditional developments in terms of the percentage of time spent for housework, it was important to mention that the average number of children and average age of respondents in cohousing and neo-traditional developments were the same.

The average number of children in cohousing and neo-traditional developments was one child per household. The average age group in cohousing and neo-traditional developments was 45-54. Therefore, the influence of parental status and age on the percentage of time spent for housework was the same for the respondents in both type of housing. Consequently, comparing the respondents' percentage of time spent for housework in cohousing and neo-traditional developments was possible.

The average time spent for housework by cohousing respondents was 24% of the total time spent at home (on average 108 minutes per day), whereas by neo-traditional respondents it was 31% of the total time spent at home (on average 143 minutes per day). Thus, cohousing respondents spent lower percentage of their time at home doing housework than neo-traditional respondents.

Moreover, 30% of the cohousing respondents reported a housework activity that was shared or traded off among households in the community. Yet, none of the neo-traditional respondents reported sharing or trading off a housework activity with neighbors.

The presence of communal facilities, communal management of these facilities, and tight-knit community through communal activities (such as communal dinners) in cohousing developments provided possibilities of sharing and trading off housework activities. For example, 2 cohousing respondents reported time spent in the common house for cooking with other neighbors. Another cohousing respondent, who was married and had two children, described a trade off agreement with a neighbor, who was a single man. Her hobby was gardening for which she spent 26.5% of her total time at home, however, she did not like cooking. She did the gardening for her neighbor twice a week in return of his cooking dinner for her family twice a week in her kitchen. Another cohousing respondent, who was married and had two children, described an agreement with

another neighbor, who was also a single man. Every time she had a computer problem, he did the repairs to fix the computer and in return for having dinner with the family. Other shared activities included bookkeeping and repairing and up keeping of communal facilities.

Among the respondents who were living with a partner at the time of the interviews, 40% of the cohousing respondents and 27% of the neo-traditional respondents reported involvement of their partners in housework activities at least once in a typical day. Therefore, higher percentage of the cohousing respondents had their partners involved in housework activities than neo-traditional respondents.

Then, compared to neo-traditional developments, in cohousing developments respondents spent lower percentage of time at home doing housework, shared housework within their households more, and shared housework among households.

7.4. Comparison: Use patterns in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

The findings related to the overall patterns showed that there were five housework spaces (kitchen, laundry, dining area, living area, and bedroom) and three categories of most time spent spaces (family spaces, private spaces, and kitchen). To compare the use patterns of respondents in cohousing and neo-traditional developments, the average time spent for housework in each of these housework spaces, average overall time spent in most time spent spaces, and average time spent for housework in most time spent spaces were compared in two housing types.

Housework spaces. Comparing the average time spent for housework in each of the housework spaces showed that in all of the housework spaces neo-traditional respondents spent a higher percentage of housework time, except in dining areas (Table 7.4.1). Similarly, in all of the housework spaces a higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents did at least one type of housework, except in dining areas (Table 7.4.1). Therefore, higher percentage of cohousing respondents spent a higher percentage of time at home doing housework in dining areas compared to neo-traditional respondents.

Table 7.4.1. Time spent for housework in housework spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

	Cohousing respondents		Neo-traditional respondents	
	Percentage of respondents who did housework in that space	Average percentage of housework time spent in that space	Percentage of respondents who did housework in that space	Average percentage of housework time spent in that space
Kitchen	96%	13.6%	100%	18.7%
Laundry	48%	2.1%	56%	3%
Dining area	29.6%	1.3%	13%	0.6%
Living area	22.2%	2.2%	37.5%	2.7%
Bedroom	18.5%	1.4%	31.3%	2%

Most time spent spaces. Comparing the average overall time spent in most time spent spaces, in both family spaces and private spaces, a higher percentage of the cohousing respondents spent a higher percentage of their time at home than the neo-traditional respondents. However, in the kitchen, a lower percentage of cohousing respondents (63% compared to 75%) spent a lower percentage of their time at home (20.3% compared to 29.8% of total time spent at home) than the neo-traditional respondents (Table 7.4.2).

Table 7.4.2. Overall time spent in most time spent spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

	Cohousing respondents		Neo-traditional respondents	
	Percentage of respondents who spent at least 10% of her total time in those spaces	Average percentage of overall time spent in those spaces	Percentage of respondents who spent at least 10% of her total time in those spaces	Average percentage of overall time spent in those spaces
Family spaces	88.9%	37.5%	81.3%	29.1%
Private spaces	88.9%	35%	75%	30.5%
Kitchen	63%	20.3%	75%	29.8%

The cohousing respondents spent lower percentage of housework time (16.9% of total time at home) than the neo-traditional respondents (24.8% of total time at home) in their most time spent spaces, although higher percentage of cohousing respondents did housework in them (81.5% compared to 75%) (Table 7.4.3).

Table 7.4.3. Time spent for housework in most time spent spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

	Cohousing respondents		Neo-traditional respondents	
	Percentage of respondents who did housework in most time spent spaces	Average percentage of housework time in most time spent spaces	Percentage of respondents who did housework in most time spent spaces	Average percentage of housework time in most time spent spaces
Most time spent spaces	81.5%	16.9%	75%	24.8%

7.5. Comparison: Perception of spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

Two measures of perception were the most and least favorite spaces. The findings related to the overall patterns showed that the most favorite spaces were grouped into four (family spaces, private spaces, kitchens, and outside spaces), and also the least favorite spaces were grouped into four (kitchens and laundries, family spaces, private spaces, others' private spaces). Percentages of respondents identifying those spaces, their reasons, and their time spent for housework in them were compared between the cohousing and neo-traditional developments.

Most favorite spaces. A higher percentage of cohousing respondents identified private spaces and outside spaces as their most favorite spaces. A higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents identified family spaces and kitchens as their most favorite spaces (Table 7.5.1).

Table 7.5.1. Most favorite spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

	Cohousing respondents	Neo-traditional respondents
	Percentage of respondents who identified that space as the most favorite	Percentage of respondents who identified that space as the most favorite
Private spaces	33.3%	12.5%
Outside spaces	14.8%	6.3%
Family spaces	37%	56.3%
Kitchens	14.8%	25%
Total	100%	100%

Family spaces and kitchens also constituted the majority of the housework spaces in the findings of overall patterns. Comparing cohousing and neo-traditional respondents in terms of identifying a space as the most favorite which was also a housework space showed that a higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents identified a housework space as the most favorite space. It was 37% of the cohousing respondents, and 50% of the neo-traditional respondents who identified a

housework space as the most favorite space. Parallel to this finding, cohousing respondents spent lower percentage of housework time (average 4.9% of total time at home) in their most favorite spaces, than neo-traditional respondents (average 7.1% of total time at home). However, the average percentage of overall time spent in most favorite paces by the cohousing and neo-traditional respondents was almost the same.

The reasons for identifying a space as the most favorite space were also different in two housing types. A higher percentage of quotations from the neo-traditional respondents referred to spatial qualities, and a higher percentage of quotations from the cohousing respondents referred to feeling comfortable, relaxed, and warm as their reasons.

Table 7.5.2. Reasons for identifying a space as the most favorite space among cohousing and neo-traditional respondents

Code family	Codes	Cohousing	Neo-traditional
Spatial qualities	View	15.5%	15.4%
	Decoration	5.2%	12.8%
	Light	12.1%	2.6%
	Size	6.9%	2.6%
	Centrality	0%	10.3%
	Openness	1.7%	5.1%
	Noise	0%	5.1%
	Total	41.4%	53.9%
Spending time	For leisure	17.2%	15.4%
	With family members	6.9%	12.8%
	With non-family members	3.4%	2.6%
	Total	27.5%	30.8%
Feeling	Comfortable	17.2%	5.1%
	Relaxed	5.2%	5.1%
	Warm	1.7%	0%
	Total	24.1%	10.2%
Privacy	Left over	1.7%	5.1%
	Her space	1.7%	0%
	Total	3.4%	5.1%
Housework	Cooking	1.7%	0%
	Cleaning	1.7%	0%
	Total	3.4%	0%
Total		100%	100%

Least favorite spaces. Among cohousing respondents 14.8% could not identify a space as the least favorite space. Yet, all the neo-traditional respondents could identify a space as the least favorite space. A higher percentage of cohousing respondents identified family spaces and others'

private spaces as their least favorite spaces, whereas a higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents identified private spaces and kitchens and laundries as their least favorite spaces (Table 7.5.3).

Table 7.5.3. Least favorite spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

	Cohousing respondents	Neo-traditional respondents
	Percentage of respondents who identified that space as the least favorite	Percentage of respondents who identified that space as the least favorite
None	14.8%	0%
Family spaces	29.6%	6.3%
Others' private spaces	25.9%	12.5%
Private spaces	11.1%	25%
Kitchens and laundries	18.5%	56.3%
Total	100%	100%

Comparing the least favorite spaces in terms of being a housework space, 22.2% of the cohousing respondents and 43.8% of the neo-traditional respondents identified a housework space as their least favorite space. However, comparing their reasons showed that a lower percentage of quotations from the neo-traditional respondents (39% compared to 48.8%) referred to doing housework in those spaces as the reasons for identifying them as their least favorite spaces. Half of the quotations from the neo-traditional respondents referred to spatial qualities, whereas half of the quotations from the cohousing respondents referred to doing housework in those spaces as their reasons for identifying the least favorite spaces (Table 7.5.4).

Table 7.5.4. Reasons for identifying a space as the least favorite space among cohousing and neo-traditional respondents

Code family	Codes	Cohousing	Neo-traditional
Spatial qualities	Decoration	5.1%	17.4%
	Size	2.6%	21.7%
	Smell	0%	8.7%
	Noise	2.6%	4.3%
	Light	7.7%	0%
	Total	18%	52.1%
Housework	Cleaning	10.3%	8.7%
	Doing laundry	10.3%	13%
	Tidying up	25.6%	8.7%
	Cooking	2.6%	4.3%
	Ironing	0%	4.3%
	Total	48.8%	39%
Feeling	Uncomfortable	15.4%	8.7%
	Not relaxed	2.6%	0%
	Total	18%	8.7%
Spending time	Spending no time	10.3%	0%
	Total	10.3%	0%
Privacy	Not her space	5.1%	0%
	Total	5.1%	0%
Total		100%	100%

7.6. Comparison: spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

The spaces for privacy were discussed for the respondents who did not live alone at the time of the interviews. Eight cohousing respondents and one neo-traditional respondent were living alone at the time of the interviews. Among the remaining 19 cohousing and 15 neo-traditional respondents spaces for privacy were compared regarding spaces they go for privacy and how they established privacy in those spaces. Yet, the availability of exclusive spaces for the respondents was discussed for the ones who were living with a partner at the time of the interviews (15 cohousing and 14 neo-traditional respondents).

Among the respondents who were living with a partner, 73% of the cohousing respondents, compared to 21% of the neo-traditional respondents, had their exclusive spaces. The nature of these exclusive spaces was also different between the two housing types. In neo-traditional developments the exclusive spaces were only women's separate offices, whereas in cohousing developments these exclusive spaces were women's separate studios, offices, and hobby rooms (Figure 7.6.1).



Figure 7.6.1. Examples of exclusive spaces of women in cohousing developments.

Table 7.6.1 shows the comparison of the presence of partner's exclusive spaces and the respondent's exclusive spaces in cohousing and neo-traditional developments for the respondents who lived with a partner. A higher percentage of cohousing respondents (47%) lived in houses in which both she and her partner had their exclusive spaces. However, a higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents (36%) lived in houses in which neither the respondent nor the respondent's partner had an exclusive space.

Table 7.6.1. Presence of exclusive spaces for respondents and their partners

Presence of:	Percentage of cohousing respondents living with their partners (n=15)	Percentage of neo-traditional respondents living with their partners (n=14)
No exclusive space for either	0%	36%
Only partner's exclusive space	13%	29%
Shared exclusive space	27%	14%
Separate exclusive spaces for each	47%	14%
Only respondent's exclusive space	13%	7%
Total	100%	100%

The findings related to the overall patterns revealed that there were four categories of spaces for privacy (the bathroom, family spaces, the bedroom, and the exclusive space). A higher percentage of cohousing respondents (42.1%) identified their exclusive spaces as spaces for privacy compared to neo-traditional respondents (6.7%). The majority of the cohousing respondents identified their exclusive spaces (42.1%) and bedrooms (42.1%) as their spaces for privacy, whereas the majority of neo-traditional respondents identified bedrooms (46.7%) and family spaces (33.3%) as their spaces for privacy (Table 7.6.2).

Table 7.6.2. Spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

	Cohousing respondents	Neo-traditional respondents
	Percentage of respondents who identified that space as the space for privacy	Percentage of respondents who identified that space as the space for privacy
Exclusive spaces	42.1%	6.7%
Bedroom	42.1%	46.7%
Family spaces	10.5%	33.3%
Bathroom or none	5.3%	13.3%
Total	100%	100%

The average percentage of overall time spent in the spaces for privacy in cohousing developments (30% of total time at home) was twice as much of the average percentage of overall time spent in the spaces for privacy in neo-traditional developments (15% of total time at home). However, only 11% of the cohousing respondents compared to 25% of the neo-traditional respondents did housework in their spaces for privacy.

The ways to establish privacy in those spaces also differed between cohousing and neo-traditional respondents. A higher percentage of quotations from the neo-traditional respondents (24%) referred to spatial qualities than the quotations from the cohousing respondents (14%). Among the neo-traditional respondents, the majority established privacy by cutting contact with other members of the household and by going to spaces that were left over from the other members of the household. Among the cohousing respondents, however, the majority established privacy by going to their exclusive spaces and by cutting contact with other members of the household (Table 7.6.3).

Table 7.6.3. Ways to establish privacy in spaces for privacy in cohousing and neo-traditional developments

Code family	Codes	Cohousing	Neo-traditional
Privacy	Her space	27%	6%
	Space is private	9%	0%
	By cutting contact	32%	29%
	Left over from others	9%	35%
	Total	77%	71%
Spatial qualities	Separate/away	9%	18%
	Noise	0%	6%
	View	5%	0%
	Total	14%	24%
Feeling	Comfortable	5%	0%
	Total	5%	0%
Spending time	For leisure	5%	6%
	Total	5%	6%
Total		100%	100%

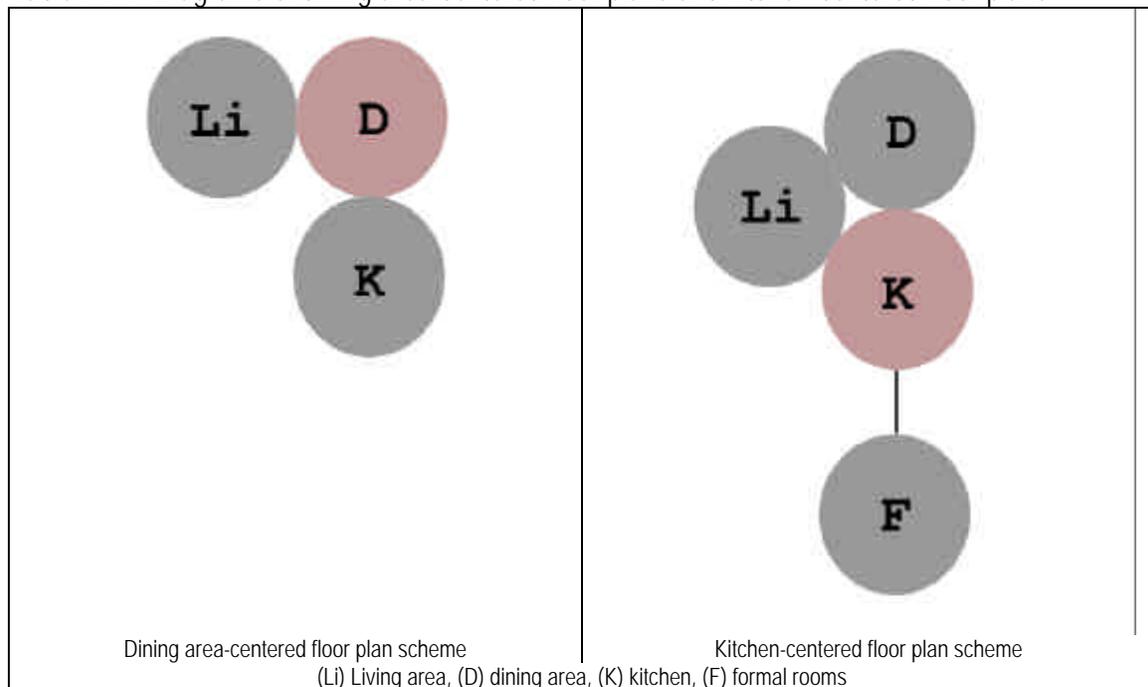
7.7. Comparison: Spatial organization in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments

The kitchen and the dining area formed the core in all houses. The relationship between the kitchen and the dining area was established with at least one side of the kitchen completely open towards the dining area.

Two categories of floor plans emerged according to which of these two spaces provided access to the other spaces in overall circulation of a house on the ground floor. In the first category of floor plans, the **dining area**, and in the second category, the **kitchen** provided access to the other spaces in the overall circulation. Consequently the first category floor plans were labeled as dining area-centered floor plans; and the second category floor plans were labeled as kitchen-centered floor plans.

In Table 7.7.1 the diagram on the left shows the relationships among the living area (Li), the dining area (D), and the kitchen (K) in the dining area-centered floor plans. The diagram on the right shows the relationships among the living area (Li), the dining area (D), the kitchen (K), and formal rooms (formal living and/or formal dining rooms) (F) in the kitchen-centered floor plans.

Table 7.7.1. Diagrams of dining area-centered floor plans and kitchen-centered floor plans.

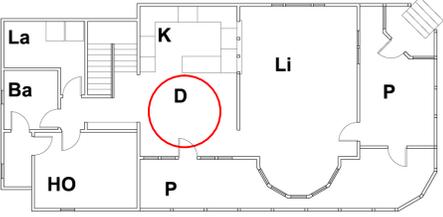
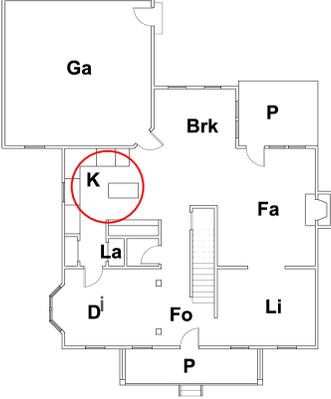
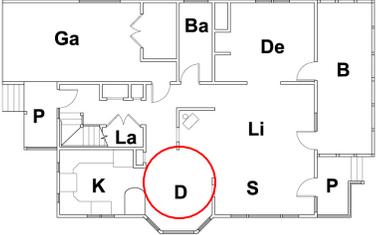
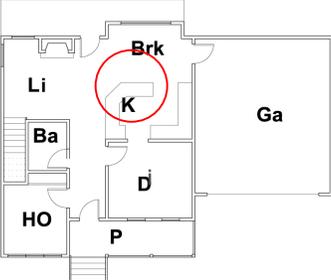
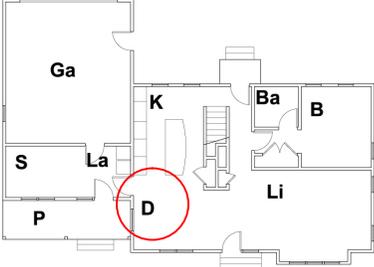
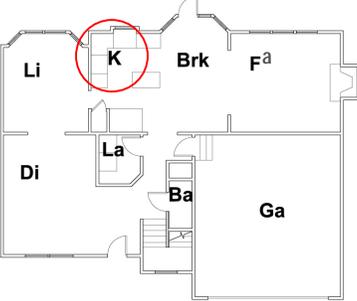
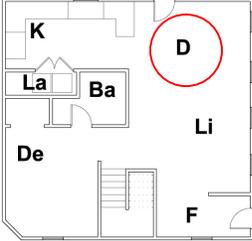
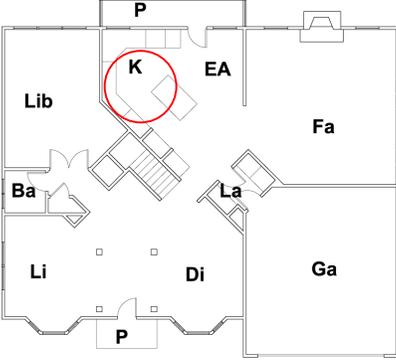


The difference between the two plan types occurred primarily due to the presence of formal rooms in the kitchen-centered floor plans. Formal rooms were the spaces, which were designed to receive guests in houses. The formality of these rooms was established by the choice of furniture and by the presence of informal dining areas and informal living rooms (family rooms) for daily use of the household members. Since the formal rooms were for receiving guests, they were to be kept more presentable than the informal dining areas and informal living rooms.

In the kitchen-centered floor plans, these formal rooms had an additional separate connection to the kitchen. Consequently, the higher number of connections to the kitchen resulted in formation of kitchen-centered floor plans. Moreover, these formal rooms were located close to the main entrance of the houses. However, in the dining area-centered floor plans, with the absence of formal rooms, the dining area had higher number of connections.

Among the houses of cohousing respondents 88% fit into the dining area-centered scheme, whereas among the houses of neo-traditional respondents 94% fit into the kitchen-centered scheme. Examples of floor plans that fit into these schemes in cohousing and neo-traditional houses are shown in Table 7.7.2.

Table 7.7.2. Examples of dining area-centered floor plans in cohousing developments and kitchen-centered floor plans in neo-traditional developments.

Cohousing houses: Dining area-centered floor plans	Neo-traditional houses: Kitchen-centered floor plans
	
	
	
	
<p>(D) dining areas; (Li) living rooms; (K) kitchens</p>	<p>(Brk) and (EA) informal dining areas; (Fa) family rooms, (Li) and (Di) formal living and dining rooms; (K) kitchens</p>

In the dining area-centered floor plans, (D) represented dining areas; (Li) represented living rooms; (K) represented kitchens. In the kitchen-centered floor plans, (Brk) and (EA) represented informal dining areas; (Fa) represented family rooms, (Li) and (Di) represented formal living and dining rooms; (K) represented kitchens.

The use of different labels for spaces accommodating similar activities originated from different nomenclature the cohousing and neo-traditional respondents used. Due to the absence of a formal living room, in cohousing houses the “living room” referred to what the “family room” referred to in neo-traditional houses, in which “living room” referred to the formal living room (Figure 7.7.1). Similarly, due to the absence of a formal dining room in cohousing houses the “dining area” referred to what the “eating area” or “breakfast area” referred to in neo-traditional houses, in which “dining room” referred to the formal dining room (Figure 7.7.2).



Figure 7.7.1. Examples of formal living rooms in neo-traditional houses

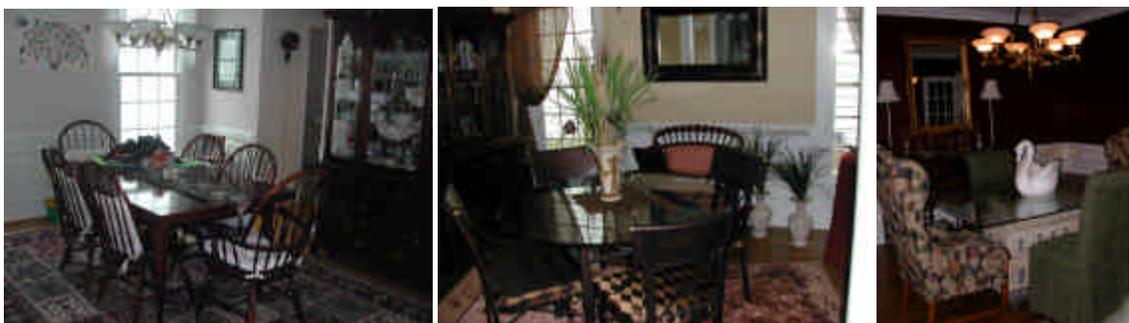


Figure 7.7.2. Examples of formal dining rooms in neo-traditional houses

In neo-traditional houses, the connections between the kitchen and these formal rooms (dining and/or living) were additional to the connections between the kitchens and the informal rooms (dining and/or living). Examples of the connections between kitchens and these formal rooms in

neo-traditional houses were shown in Figure 7.7.3. However, in cohousing houses, due to the absence of the formal rooms, the kitchens had connections to dining areas, which were open to living rooms (Figure 7.7.4).



Figure 7.7.3. Examples of connections from kitchens to the formal rooms in neo-traditional houses.



Figure 7.7.4. Examples of dining areas open to living rooms in cohousing houses.

Another difference between the cohousing and neo-traditional houses was that the neo-traditional houses were larger than the cohousing houses. The average size of a neo-traditional house was 3370 sq.ft., whereas the average size of a cohousing house was 2640 sq.ft. The difference in size was partly due to the presence of formal rooms in neo-traditional houses, which were 360 sq.ft. on average. Another reason for the size difference was that since the neo-traditional houses were kitchen-centered with connections to the formal rooms, the kitchens were larger. The average size of a kitchen in a neo-traditional house was 180 sq.ft. whereas the average size of a kitchen in a cohousing house was 130 sq.ft. Examples of larger kitchens of neo-traditional houses were shown in Figure 7.7.5, and examples of smaller kitchens of cohousing houses were shown in Figure 7.7.6.



Figure 7.7.5. Examples of kitchens in neo-traditional houses.



Figure 7.7.6. Examples of kitchens in cohousing houses.

Another difference in the spatial organization of houses in two housing types was the presence of rooms accommodating the special needs of respondents and their households in cohousing houses. Examples of such rooms were a climbing room, a meditation room (Figure 7.7.7), a photography room, a sewing room, a play area for children (Figure 7.7.8), an exclusive office space connected to a reading alcove (Figure 7.7.9), and a computer area.



Figure 7.7.7. A climbing room and a meditation room in cohousing houses



Figure 7.7.8. A play area for children in a cohousing house



Figure 7.7.9. An exclusive office space connected to a reading alcove in a cohousing house

7.8. Comparison: Modifications and program considerations in houses of cohousing and neo-traditional developments

The modifications that were completed and desired were compared in cohousing and neo-traditional developments. The descriptions of these modifications were grouped into: adaptation, location, and size. Respondents who were involved in the process of developing the program for their houses also described their primary program considerations that were also grouped into the same categories.

From the 27 cohousing respondents, 16 completed modifications, 26 desired to modify their houses, and 11 were involved in the process of developing the program for their houses. The remaining 16 cohousing respondents lived in houses for which the previous owners worked with architects individually or in groups.

From 16 neo-traditional respondents, 9 completed modifications, 15 desired to modify their houses, and none were involved in the process of developing the program for their houses. All of the neo-traditional respondents lived in houses for which the programs were developed without the input of either current or previous owners.

Adaptation. For making their houses adapted to their needs, 56% of cohousing respondents and 44% of neo-traditional respondents modified their houses. The highest percentage of respondents completed two types of modifications: adding a new space and changing the intended use of a space.

Compared to only 6% of the neo-traditional respondents, 44% of the cohousing respondents added new spaces in their houses. One cohousing respondent described the spaces she added (Figure 7.8.1) as follows:

"I added the upstairs and I added the dining room [informal dining area]. Because of my daughter, I needed another room. There are two bedrooms on this floor. One of them is small. I mean it could have worked. But then she wouldn't have space for her play, except to have all of her stuff in the living room. So I built a bedroom and a play area upstairs for her."



Figure 7.8.1. The added dining area with connections to the kitchen and the living room.

Other added spaces by cohousing respondents were porches, hot tubs, and storage spaces.

Changing the intended use of spaces rather than adding new spaces was more common among neo-traditional respondents. Compared to only 7% of the cohousing respondents, 19% of the neo-traditional respondents changed the intended use of spaces. Two neo-traditional respondents (Figure 7.8.2) explained how they changed the use of the formal rooms in their houses:

"I changed dining room area into a parlor. It didn't seem right to me to walk into dining room as soon as you enter the house. Also, I had some things, like my china that I wanted to keep. This is a space for that too. When a visitor comes during the day, we sit here [parlor]."

"We don't use the dining room as dining room. We use it as a reading room and library. So instead of a chandelier we put a fan."



Figure 7.8.2. The formal dining room used as a parlor (on the left), and the formal dining room used as a reading room (on the right).

Among 13 neo-traditional houses in which the formal rooms were used as originally intended, only 3 respondents reported spending time in them without doing housework. Consequently, a neo-traditional respondent explained how she desired to change the intended use of formal rooms in her house as follows:

"I would take the square footage used in the formal living room and the formal dining room and use it on the rooms that we actually use on the day-to-day basis."

For making their houses adapted to their needs, 26% of the cohousing respondents and 38% of the neo-traditional respondents desired to make changes in their houses. Among cohousing respondents, 22% desired to add a new space, 15% of which referred only to storage spaces. None of the neo-traditional respondents desired to add storage spaces. However, 19% of the neo-traditional respondents desired to add new spaces, such as screened porches and connecting hallways.

Adaptability was also one of the program considerations for 64% of the respondents who were involved in the processes of developing the program for their houses. For example one cohousing respondent (Figure 7.8.3) explained how that consideration made it possible to accommodate the transformations in her household:

"I wanted to have an entirely open floor plan. It would be nothing but something to hold up, so that it could be fluid and that all the spaces could change... I need to explain that when I designed this house, I was a single mother with two children, who lived with me half the time and they lived with their father half the time. Then, after that their father moved away. So the children were living with me full time. And [current partner] came into my life. So that meant that he needed a private space to do his working. So where used to be the mudroom, where we kept shoes and coats, that became what we made his working study... And when the children moved in full time, the bedrooms were much too small. So we ended up opening up spaces — loft spaces — into the attic so that they can both have one space. They were much younger when we moved in here — my daughter was 11, my son was 8. Now I've got a 16 and a 19... So I move the family configuration from being a single parent having the kids only half the time to being a nearly nuclear family, the house had to go through some changes."



Figure 7.8.3. The added walls with windows to provide desired separation.

Another concern was to make the house adaptable to live in when they get older and need assistance and/or wheelchair. One respondent (Figure 7.8.4) described her concern as follows:

"Everything is on one floor and accessible. Also, I thought that for old age, somebody might come and live upstairs with me. It has its own bathroom."



Figure 7.8.4. Upstairs, used as her office currently but adaptable to accommodate assisted living.

Location. Considering the location of spaces, 11% of the cohousing respondents and 6% of the neo-traditional respondents modified their houses. The following quotation showed why one cohousing respondent (Figure 7.8.5) changed the location of her bedroom:

“The way the house is set is like kind of a doughnut on the bottom floor. You walk around a circle. It is too energetic that way. Before we changed, the front room was the master bedroom. I just hated that feeling that, when you walked into the front door, and right into our bedroom. Now, we moved into this tiny room with our king-size bed, but it is wonderful; it is like a cave.”

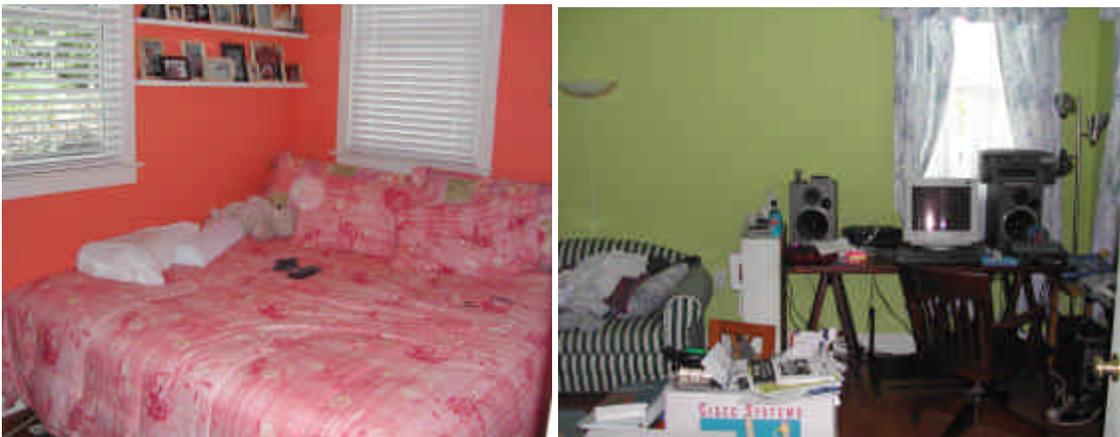


Figure 7.8.5. The current bedroom (on the left) and the room that used to be the bedroom, now husband’s office (on the right).

Despite the low percentages of respondents who changed location of spaces, 26% of the cohousing respondents and 44% of the neo-traditional respondents desired to change the location

of spaces in their houses. Among the neo-traditional respondents, 25% desired to change the location of the laundry room for similar reasons (such as to have the laundry room and the bedroom on the same floor, or to have the laundry room close to the children's rooms). For example, one neo-traditional respondent explained her reason as follows:

If I ever did again, I would have the laundry room upstairs because you don't have to bring the clothes downstairs. It is easier access when the kids are up there.

With similar reasons, 36% of the respondents who were involved in the processes of developing the program for their houses considered the location of the laundry room important. For example, the following quotation showed that the respondent did not want to carry the clothes around, and Figure 7.8.6 shows how the laundry room was integrated to the bedroom closet:

"I wanted the laundry just next to the closet and the bedroom. Why carry the clothes up and down the steps or from one end of the house to the other. This house is designed very differently. This whole design is for older women."

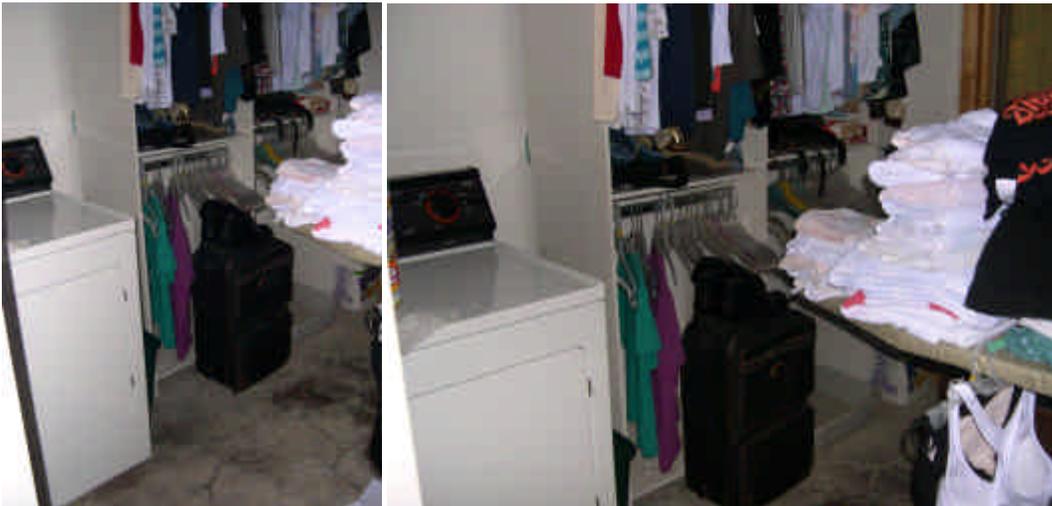


Figure 7.8.6. The laundry of a respondent, who was involved in the processes of developing the program for her house.

Another program consideration about the location of the laundry room was its integration to other uses and spaces. Figure 7.8.7 shows the laundry of a respondent, who explained the program considerations about the laundry room as follows:

“We put a bath in the laundry room... We have so much laundry that these little tiny closets that people make for laundry rooms is just tough. So we wanted to make sure that the laundry room is — it actually connects to upstairs with a chute. We wanted counter space all the way across so that folding is easier. It has also direct access to outside because when we wash the dog we want to let him out.”



Figure 7.8.7. The laundry of a respondent, who worked with an architect to develop the program of her house.

The respondents, who were involved in the processes of developing the program for their houses, also considered location of other spaces. For example one respondent stated that she wanted to have an exclusive space separated from the spaces for use of children. Another respondent explained that she wanted her bedroom and her office connected to each other but separated from her husband’s bedroom and his office, which were located on the other side of the house. Yet, they were connected with the bathroom area and the laundry. With similar concerns about the location of spaces for her and her husband, another respondent (Figure 7.8.8) explained as follows:

"I wanted my office to be on the ground floor. We wanted his office to be far away from the bedroom, because of his typing, so that I won't be bothered."



Figure 7.8.8. The respondent's office on the ground floor adjacent to the waiting room.

Size. Only 7% of the cohousing respondents and 13% of the neo-traditional respondents changed the size of spaces in their houses. However, 33% of the cohousing respondents and 50% of the neo-traditional respondents desired to make at least one space in their houses larger.

The cohousing respondents mentioned that they would enlarge the laundry, storage spaces and especially the kitchens. One cohousing respondent stated that she would like to have a bigger laundry room with a big sink in it. Two cohousing respondents explained as follows:

"The counter makes the kitchen small; it is very confining. The kitchen is too small, drives me crazy. I am very unhappy with the kitchen design. When I open the dishwasher I cannot get out of the kitchen. Two people cannot get in and out of the kitchen at the same time. It should have been taken care of before it was built."

"Make kitchen a little bit larger, where it is still cozy and you don't walk all over it, but there is plenty of space for your stuff. Kitchen is too small and does not have enough storage. I am jealous of people who have a little bigger kitchen, or an island in the kitchen."

However, neo-traditional respondents mentioned their desire to enlarge spaces to accommodate more guests. The following two quotations exemplified that:

"A larger screened in porch. I have a screened in porch but I would like it to be a little bigger. Because we like to entertain, have people come over. If it was bigger I could get more people."

"I would probably have a larger boys' den [library]. Just because my children are very large... And I think it is a nice room but we got the computer in there too. More room for company, for friends to come..."

Among the respondents who were involved in the processes of developing the program for their houses, 27% considered the size of certain spaces in the process. One cohousing respondent explained her concerns for the kitchen as follows:

"The kitchen is laid out pretty much so that two people can work in it without too much getting into each other's way."

Another cohousing respondent explained differently why size of other spaces was also important:

"Upstairs we made the bedrooms pretty small, so that we wanted them to sleep or study there but we wanted them to play in a more community area. So we made the loft and it's got games, computer, and the TV. We designed the upstairs bathroom so that the toilet and the shower areas are closed off from the main area so that two kids can use the sinks at the same time... We also wanted the house small. We did not want to spend time cleaning it."

7.9. Summary: Comparison of housing types

Cohousing respondents held more egalitarian positions and spent lower percentage of their time at home doing housework. A higher percentage of cohousing respondents shared housework within their households. Moreover, cohousing respondents shared housework among households with their neighbors, and neo-traditional respondents did not at all.

Use patterns in the kitchen and the dining area were the main distinction between the housing types. The dining area was the only housework space where a higher percentage of cohousing respondents spent a higher percentage of their housework time than the neo-traditional respondents. Parallel to this finding, including all activities, the kitchen was the only most time

spent space where a lower percentage of the cohousing respondents spent a lower percentage of their overall time than the neo-traditional respondents.

The difference in the use patterns of the kitchen and the dining area between the two respondent groups is also parallel to the spatial organization of their houses. The dining area-centered floor plans were mostly in the houses cohousing developments, and the kitchen-centered floor plans were mostly in the houses of the neo-traditional developments. Since kitchens were connected only to the dining areas in dining area-centered houses of the cohousing developments, the kitchens in the cohousing houses were smaller. Moreover, the presence of a communal kitchen located in the common house, and regular communal dinners in cohousing developments provide additional spaces to compensate relatively small sizes of the kitchens in cohousing houses. However, when asked for the desired modifications, most of the cohousing respondents referred to the insufficiency of the kitchen size.

A higher percentage of cohousing respondents identified private spaces and outside spaces as their most favorite spaces with reasons in affective category. However, a higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents identified family spaces and the kitchens as their most favorite spaces with reasons in descriptive category.

A higher percentage of cohousing respondents identified family spaces and others' private spaces as their least favorite spaces with reasons in functional category. However, a higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents identified private spaces and the kitchens and laundry rooms as their least favorite spaces with reasons in descriptive category. Consequently, one fourth of the cohousing respondents desired to modify their laundry rooms.

A higher percentage of the cohousing respondents had their exclusive spaces. Moreover, a higher percentage of the cohousing respondents who were living with a partner were living in houses where both the respondents and their partners had their separate exclusive spaces. However, a higher percentage of the neo-traditional respondents who were living with a partner were living in houses where neither the respondents nor their partners had their separate exclusive spaces.

The spatial organization in houses in terms of presence of exclusive spaces was, therefore, different in cohousing and neo-traditional developments. The nature of these exclusive spaces was

also different in cohousing houses than it was in neo-traditional houses. When there was an exclusive space in neo-traditional houses, it was an office. However, the exclusive spaces in cohousing houses included hobby rooms and studios in addition to the offices.

The cohousing respondents identified their exclusive spaces or bedrooms as spaces for privacy, while the neo-traditional respondents identified bedrooms and family spaces as spaces for privacy. Moreover, in their descriptions of how they establish privacy in those spaces, a higher percentage of the neo-traditional respondents referred to the absence of other household members in order to establish privacy, whereas a higher percentage of the cohousing respondents referred to belonging of their exclusive spaces to them.

The presence of formal rooms (the formal living room and/or the formal dining room) in neo-traditional houses was one of the primary differences in terms of spatial organization between the housing types. Almost all of the neo-traditional houses had additional connections between the kitchen and a formal room, which was located close the main entrance. Moreover, almost all of these formal rooms were used as originally intended, although the respondents did not spend time in them, and some of them desired to change the use of these formal rooms. However, none of the cohousing houses had formal rooms. Instead they had spaces for specific needs of their households, larger laundry rooms, hobby rooms and exclusive spaces for one or both of the partners.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the findings of the study are summarized as they suggest practical applications for housing design to accommodate women's spatial needs. In addition, this study is discussed in relation to feminist theory. Finally, future prospects in this field of research are mentioned.

8.1. Discussion of findings

In this study, two levels of analysis provided two sets of findings. First, findings about the overall patterns indicated that women's gender ideologies are associated with how much time they spent for housework, which influenced how they used and perceived spaces, and how they established privacy in their houses. Second, findings about the comparison of two housing types indicated that each housing type accommodated different floor plan types, and supported different gender ideologies, patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy. This section elaborates on integrating these two sets of findings.

8.1.1. Findings of the first level of analysis

Findings of the first level of analysis suggested that gender ideologies, rather than relative resources or time availability, were influential on women's time spent for housework. Moreover, the gender ideology statements' ratings were inconsistent with women's actual roles in their households. Therefore, it was the description of turning point experiences in a woman's life rather than the gender ideology statements' ratings that revealed her true ideas of gender

Women with less egalitarian ideas of gender (i.e. favoring women's confinement at home) spent a higher percentage of time at home doing housework than women with more egalitarian ideas of gender. Consequently, they performed housework in more places at home, but especially in the kitchen. However, they did not associate negative feelings neither with these spaces nor with housework. Different from women with more egalitarian ideas of gender, they identified housework spaces as their most favorite spaces, and they referred to spatial qualities as much as they referred to doing housework for describing the reasons of identifying their least favorite spaces.

They also did not have exclusive spaces for their use only in their houses. Consequently, they established privacy in the absence of other household members by using spaces that were left over from other household members. They identified private spaces as their most favorite spaces more than women with more egalitarian ideas of gender. However, they did not spend time in private spaces as much without doing housework. This suggested that they wanted privacy but could not establish privacy due to (i) a lack of exclusive spaces for them, (ii) presence of other household members, and (iii) doing housework in those spaces.

The first level findings of this study were consistent with the arguments of the gender perspective in research on gender division of household labor for housework. According to this perspective, housework is a symbolic enactment of gender relations rather than a simple trade off between time spent in unpaid and paid labor (Bianchi et al, 2000; South and Spitze, 1994). This approach also suggests that the perception of fairness depends on ideology rather than resource or time availability. Thus, less egalitarian ideologies result in women's perception of a higher share in housework as just (Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994); and women's display of their "proper roles" perpetuates those same roles over and over again.

Moreover, the first level findings of this study were also consistent with the findings in research on women's use patterns and perception of spaces in houses. In the literature, it is shown that women's time spent for housework defines housework spaces (especially, the kitchen) as women's spaces (Ahrentzen et al, 1989; Sebba and Chuchman, 1983; Tognoli, 1980). It is also argued that women associate negative feelings with these spaces due to their dislike of housework activities (Tognoli, 1980; Pennartz, 1999; Munro and Madigan, 1999). In this study it was shown that resentment towards doing housework and spaces associated with housework was more common among women with more egalitarian ideas of gender.

8.1.2. Findings of the second level of analysis

In the literature it is argued that different housing types has been associated with different assumptions of women's role at home and in society. One type of housing is composed of isolated, individualized suburban houses, where a woman's highest priority is to serve and care for her

family. Another type of housing is built around the idea of utilizing collectively owned spaces for socializing housework through neighborhood networks (Hayden, 1984).

Consistent with this argument in the literature, findings of the second level of analysis suggested that neo-traditional developments accommodated women with less egalitarian gender ideologies who spent a higher percentage of their time at home doing housework, compared to cohousing developments. Therefore, neo-traditional respondents' patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy were similar to those of women with less egalitarian gender ideologies. Cohousing developments, however, accommodated women with more egalitarian gender ideologies, who spent a lower percentage of their time at home doing housework.

Findings also suggested that the spatial characteristics of neo-traditional developments and the spatial organization in the neo-traditional houses were supportive of the patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy for respondents who had less egalitarian ideas of gender. In neo-traditional developments, the neighbors did not share housework. However, in cohousing developments, the neighbors shared housework in several ways. Some of them had arrangements to trade off different housework activities; some reported doing housework in the communal facilities. Therefore, not only the communal management and living schemes, but also the communal facilities in cohousing developments facilitated patterns of sharing housework among neighbors. Moreover, consistent with their more egalitarian ideas of gender, a higher percentage of cohousing respondents reported a participating partner while doing housework at home.

These findings about sharing housework among households in cohousing developments were consistent with the arguments in the literature about housing types that support collective housework. It is stated that housing types that support collective housework and childcare among residents through their spatial characteristics have contributed to decreasing the amount of time women spend for those activities (Hayden, 1981, 1984; Franck, 1989; Scanzoni, 2000).

In terms of spatial organization in houses, two types of floor plans were identified. While kitchen-centered floor plans constituted most of the neo-traditional houses; dining area-centered floor plans constituted most of the cohousing houses. In both types of floor plans the connection between the kitchen and the informal dining area (which was called the dining area in cohousing houses, and

the breakfast area or the eating area in neo-traditional houses) was the core in addition to the informal living room (which was called the living room in cohousing houses, and the family room in neo-traditional houses). In the kitchen-centered floor plans of neo-traditional houses, there were also formal living rooms and/or formal dining rooms in addition to the informal living rooms and informal dining rooms.

In the kitchen-centered floor plans of neo-traditional houses, the kitchen was central due to the additional connections of the formal living rooms and/or formal dining rooms to the kitchens. These formal rooms were not contained in the dining area-centered floor plans of cohousing houses. The kitchens in neo-traditional houses were also larger than the kitchens in cohousing houses. In neo-traditional houses, the kitchens were the center of service with additional connections to the formal rooms, which were located close to the main entrance. Although these formal rooms in neo-traditional houses were not used on a daily basis, neo-traditional respondents spent a higher percentage of their time at home in their kitchens doing housework than cohousing respondents. Therefore, the underlying assumptions about women and housework in neo-traditional houses were revealed with the spatial organization.

The prominent spatial organization in neo-traditional houses in terms of presence of formal rooms, their connections to the kitchens, and their locations in the front was similar to the spatial organization in Victorian houses, which contained a parlor and another living room on the ground floor (Roberts, 1990). According to Roberts' (1990) study it was the size and location of kitchen that made women unseen servants confined to a room at the back of the house. However, open plan houses were introduced to eliminate the divisions between rooms and to combine kitchen, living room, and dining room, with free flow of space (Roberts, 1990). Thus, the presence of formal rooms in neo-traditional houses was supportive of the image of women as unseen servants.

In the literature, it was stated that the organization and relative size of spaces within houses should facilitate equitable division of household labor for housework (Rock et al, 1980). More open plans were shown to be associated with more egalitarian ideas of gender since they make sharing of domestic tasks possible (Hasell and Peatross, 1990).

In the dining area-centered floor plans of cohousing developments, the kitchens were smaller, and the dining areas were central, which provided free flow of space. None of the cohousing houses had a formal room. Instead, there were rooms to accommodate specific needs of the household in cohousing houses. These rooms were mostly exclusive spaces for the respondents, and usually separate exclusive spaces for their partners, play areas for their children, and rooms for their hobbies and for their partners' hobbies.

The presence of exclusive spaces in cohousing houses was another difference in terms of spatial organization between cohousing and neo-traditional houses. Due to the absence of exclusive spaces in their houses, most of the neo-traditional respondents identified bedrooms and family spaces as their spaces for privacy. However, since most of the cohousing respondents had their exclusive spaces, they identified mostly those exclusive spaces and bedrooms as their spaces for privacy. Consequently, as a way of establishing privacy, a higher percentage of cohousing respondents referred to having their exclusive spaces, whereas a higher percentage of the neo-traditional respondents referred to going to spaces left over from other members of the household. Moreover, cohousing respondents spent twice as much of their time at home in their spaces for privacy compared to neo-traditional respondents.

In the literature, it was stated that houses should accommodate private spaces for women, which stimulate feelings of privacy and belonging, outside the housework spaces (Weisman, 1981/2000; Rock et al, 1980). In this study the findings related to the spaces for privacy in the neo-traditional developments were consistent with the findings of a previous study, in which the authors show that women establish privacy "by time management rather than 'a room of one's own.'" They state that the willingness of women to fit into the routines and schedules of other household members enables them to establish privacy (Madigan and Munro, 1999), which was the case for neo-traditional respondents. However, women in cohousing developments had "a room of their own."

A higher percentage of cohousing respondents identified private spaces and outside spaces as their most favorite spaces. Yet, a higher percentage of neo-traditional respondents identified family spaces and the kitchens, which were the housework spaces, as their most favorite spaces. For identifying a space as the most favorite, in both housing types, the highest percentage of the respondents referred to spatial qualities, such as the view.

However, for identifying the least favorite spaces, the highest percentage of cohousing respondents referred to their dislike of doing at least one type of housework, which was associated with or required by that space. On the other hand, the highest percentage of neo-traditional respondents referred to spatial qualities, such as size and decoration. More than half of neo-traditional respondents identified the kitchens and the laundry rooms as their least favorite spaces, mostly due to their spatial qualities. Almost one third of cohousing respondents identified family spaces, mostly due to housework.

The modifications, the respondents completed or desired in their houses were different in cohousing and neo-traditional developments. These modifications were focused on three issues: First, adaptation by adding new spaces or changing the intended use of spaces; second, changing the location of spaces; third, modifying the size of spaces.

By the time the interviews were conducted, almost half of the cohousing respondents already modified their houses by adding new spaces. However, among neo-traditional respondents, changing the intended use of spaces (especially the formal rooms) rather than adding new spaces was more common. Yet, neo-traditional respondents desired to add new spaces, although cohousing respondents' desired new spaces were mostly limited to storage spaces. This was partly due to the fact that almost half of the cohousing respondents were involved in the design process of their houses. Most of them considered adaptability for future needs as an important feature, while preparing the program during the design process. Therefore, their houses were adaptable enough to accommodate their changing needs.

Changing the location of spaces was not a common completed modification in both housing types. However, one fourth of the cohousing respondents and almost half of the neo-traditional respondents desired to change the location of a space. Specifically, one fourth of the neo-traditional respondents desired to change the location of the laundry room to make doing laundry more efficient and easier. Also, this was one of the considerations for more than one third of the respondents who were involved in the design process. They considered the features of their laundry rooms in terms of size, location, and integration of other uses according to the needs of their households.

Very few respondents in both housing types changed the size of spaces in houses. However, half of the neo-traditional respondents, and one third of the cohousing respondents desired to enlarge different spaces in their houses. Due to the smaller kitchens in cohousing houses, cohousing respondents wanted to make their kitchens bigger. However, the neo-traditional respondents wanted to enlarge the spaces for receiving guests. Almost one third of the respondents who were involved in the design process considered the size of different spaces according to the needs of their households.

Therefore, women's spatial needs in housing were identified at two levels. First, the housing type with communal facilities, communal management, and consequently a tight-knit community accommodated more egalitarian ideas of gender and patterns of spending a lower percentage of time at home doing housework in addition to patterns of sharing housework within and among households. Second, in terms of spatial organization in houses, the floor plans with open but not central kitchens, without formal rooms but with exclusive spaces for women also accommodated more egalitarian ideas of gender and patterns of spending a lower percentage of time at home doing housework. Moreover, the appropriate location, size, and use of the laundry room were specific according to the needs of a household. However, large kitchens were favored in general. Providing adaptable spaces was also important for accommodating the changing needs for space use in households.

These spatial needs of women in housing were mostly consistent with the outcomes of the first Women's Congress on Housing organized in 1956 by the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) in Washington, DC. In this conference women stated that they wanted adaptability to accommodate complexity and differences of their own families and schedules, and spaces of their own that were not related to housework activities, and not shared with other members of the household (Rock et al., 1980). Although women's spatial needs were found unrealistic at the time and consequently ignored, this study showed that after almost half a century, these still constitute the primary spatial needs of women in housing in addition to their other needs, such as housing types, which encourage sharing housework within and among households.

8.2. Feminist theories

Feminist theories have focused on liberating women from their perpetual state of subordination by questioning and transforming the conventional gender assumptions. This stance, to which I subscribe, is limited in this study with my focus on housework and housing among well-educated, affluent, white United States citizens. Thus, the findings of this study cannot be transcendental regardless of differences among women due to their economic status, ethnic background, and nationality. However, this study provides evidence that gender is constructed and experienced in close relation with space, and that space can partially contribute to women's decreasing time spent for housework.

Among many of the factions of feminism, radical feminism and non-liberal feminism focus on women's subordination in the household as a function of patriarchy, which is partly revealed with an emphasis on women as homemakers (Shelton and Agger, 1993; Tong, 2002, Bittman, 2002, West and Fenstermaker, 1993). The comparison of cohousing and neo-traditional types of housing in this study showed the differences in terms of underlying assumptions about women's roles in households.

The cohousing developments have been central in the discussions of collective housework schemes in housing (Scanzoni, 2000; Kranz and Palm-Linden, 1994; Fromm, 2000; Vestbro, 1997, 1998, 2000; Woodward, 1989; McCamant and Durrett, 1989). Since the nineteenth century, transforming the conditions of labor within the household through collective housework schemes has been seen as the key to women's liberation (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al, 1980, Hayden, 1981, 1984).

In contrast to the cohousing developments, the neo-traditional developments have supported the revival of the image of women as dedicated homemakers. When neo-traditional planning principles became vibrant in the 1980s, the image of a new traditional woman was also popularized. Similar to the popular women magazines of the nineteenth century, such as *Godey's Ladies' Magazine* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, which reaffirmed women's duty to keep a perfect home for her husband and children (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Rock et al, 1980), the *Good Housekeeping Journal* described the new traditional woman in the late twentieth century. The following quotation is from

an advertisement of the *Good Housekeeping Journal* published in the New York Times in 1988 (Denzin 1993: 207):

"The new traditionalist. She has a mission in life – and it could shape your marketing plan. She has made a commitment. Her mission: create a more meaningful quality of life for herself and her family. She is the New Traditionalist – a contemporary woman, who finds her fulfillment in traditional values that were considered "old fashioned" just a few years ago. She is part of an extraordinary social movement that is profoundly changing the way Americans look at living – and the way products are marketed. The home is again the center of American life, oatmeal is back on the breakfast table, families are vacationing together, watching movies at home, playing Monopoly again. Even the perfume ads are suddenly glorifying commitment. This new quality of life is the embodiment of everything that Good Housekeeping has always stood for. These are the values that we have always represented... Who else can speak to the New Traditionalist with that kind of authority and trust... America is coming home to Good Housekeeping." (New York Times, Nov. 17, 1988, p.46)

Therefore, by comparing the two housing types, the findings of this study provided that the underlying assumptions about women's roles in households were revealed not only with the respondents' individual ideas of gender, but also in their patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy, as well as with the spatial organization in their houses.

8.3. Women's spatial needs in housing: Implications in housing design

This study suggests that in order to accommodate women's spatial needs in housing, acknowledging that the conventional household type with a homemaking wife, a breadwinning husband, and children has become unconventional due to the increasing number of different household types with more egalitarian women is inevitable. The floor plans, which neglected the transformation of household types, fail to provide adaptability for different needs of these new households.

Adaptability of spaces for future or current needs was an important issue for all women in this study. However, it was limited for the respondents who lived in houses with standardized floor

plans. For example, the unused spaces such as the formal living rooms and formal dining rooms in these standardized plans were eliminated altogether when respondents were involved in the design process. Moreover, among women who had these formal rooms in their houses, changing the intended use of these spaces or desiring to do so was prominent. Instead of the formal rooms, exclusive spaces for women (such as offices and studios), spaces for their hobbies (such as sewing rooms and climbing rooms), and spaces for specific needs of their households (such as meditation rooms and children's play areas) were included in the customized floor plans. Considering the possible future needs in the floor plans was important especially for older respondents to accommodate assisted living or wheelchair accessibility in their houses.

The most used two housework spaces, which were the kitchen and the laundry room, also required adaptability. Although the kitchens of the houses of respondents with more egalitarian ideas of gender were smaller, and they spent a smaller percentage of their time at home in them, they desired to have larger kitchens. However, the houses with larger kitchens connected to the formal rooms accommodated women with less egalitarian ideas of gender and patterns of spending a higher percentage of time at home doing housework, especially in the kitchens. Therefore, large kitchens without connections to the formal rooms were needed.

The laundry rooms, on the other hand, required accommodating the specific needs of the households. Some respondents preferred large laundry rooms for integrating different uses, such as a closet, a bathroom, a folding counter, an ironing space, a sink, or a sewing space. Yet, others preferred smaller laundry rooms since they hang their clothes instead of using a dryer. Thus, the standardized laundry rooms for washers and dryers were not adaptable to accommodate these needs. Moreover, the efficient location of the laundry rooms was also specified according to the household needs. Some respondents preferred to have the laundry room close to their bedrooms, some preferred to have it close to the children's bedrooms.

Therefore, planning houses to accommodate different household types for different stages in life requires diversion from the standardized floor plans by providing adaptability for alternative use of spaces.

Limited number of housing types that were designed specifically for different types of households is available around the world. For example housing for single parent households has been designed and built to accommodate their specific needs, such as on-site childcare, accessibility to services, shared spaces, and focus on community life in the physical design. Although some of these projects were not exclusively designed for single parent households, they were responsive to the needs of this type of household (Ahrentzen, 1989). Cohousing developments have been acknowledged for their potential to accommodate a variety of households. Especially Scandinavian emphasis on equal-partner marriage, which led to a new vision, New Everyday Life (NEL), relies on cohousing neighborhoods. The proponents of NEL suggest constructing collaborative communities (i.e. cohousing communities) whose explicit social and political vision is to enhance women's empowerment (Scanzoni, 2000). However, different housing types are still needed to provide adaptability in houses.

8.4. Future Prospects

The findings of this study were limited with the demographic characteristics of the respondents (well-educated, affluent, white United States citizens), and the spatial characteristics of the two housing types (single family houses in suburban settings) in the United States. Therefore, further research for understanding spatial needs of women with different demographic characteristics and living in different housing types is necessary.

First, it has been argued that there is great diversity in how women experience gender due to the intersections of race and class structures and identities with gender (Bartky, 1990; Romero, 1992; Connell, 2002). For instance, women who work as domestic help have a different relationship to housework (in their own and their clients' houses) than do women who pay others to do their housework (Romero, 1992; Connell, 2002). In the United States, in particular, the history of domestic work is entangled with histories of racial, ethnic, and class relations (Bartky, 1990; Romero, 1992). Patterns of housework, use, perception, and privacy thus may be highly variable by class and race.

Second, it has been stated that the opportunity structures in workplaces often prevent women to achieve high rank positions compared to men (Connell, 2002; Jackall, 1988). Therefore, it is more

likely to find single earner women in households with limited financial resources. Consequently, research into understanding different experiences of women who have limited financial resources is needed to explore the potential ways to provide adaptability in houses within the constraints of limited budgets. Different housing types (e.g. high-rise apartments or rental housing) should be included in such studies.

Third, different countries and cultures, in which housing is provided predominantly through high-rise apartments, should be studied to explore the potential of providing communal facilities.

Finally, contemporary indigenous societies, where house building is not industrialized, require attention in future research on women's spatial needs in housing. In these cultures, gender is more explicitly represented in houses with the distribution of activities and corresponding spaces between women and men (Rothschild, 1999). In this respect, further inquiries into the spatial needs of women in indigenous societies would significantly contribute to existing body of research in this field.

While providing information about women's spatial needs in housing, this study has shown that the relationship between gender ideologies and spatial organization in houses is vital and an integral part of women's daily experience. However, transforming the conventions in housing design to accommodate these needs remains to be the major challenge, as it has always been.

REFERENCES

- Allan, G. (1985). *Family Life: Domestic Roles and Social Organization*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Ahrentzen, S. (2000). Diverse Design. *Builder (National Association of Home Builders)*, 23(1), 230-232.
- Ahrentzen, S., Levine, D. W. and Michelson, W. (1989). Space and Time and Activity in the Home: A Gender Analysis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 9, 89-101.
- Ahrentzen, S. (1989). Overview of Housing for Single-Parent Households. In K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (Eds.), *New Households, New Housing* (pp.143-160). New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Altman, I. (1993). Dialectics, Physical Environments, and Personal Relationships. *Communication Monographs*, 60, 26-34.
- Altman, I. (1975). *The Environment and Social Behavior: Privacy, Personal Space, Territory, Crowding*. Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Andorka, R. (1987). Time Budgets and Their Uses. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, 149-164.
- Asplund, B. and Bonita, R. (1994). Sweden's Servicehouse Concept. *World Health*, 28-29.
- Attfeld, J. (1999). Bringing Modernity Home: Open Plan in the British Domestic Interior. In I. Cieraad (Ed.), *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (pp.73-82). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Bartky, S. L. (1990). *Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression*. New York: Routledge.
- Bauer, M. (2000). Classical Content Analysis: A Review. In M. W. Bauer and G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook* (pp.131-151). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Benjamin, D. N. (1997). Home. In P. Oliver (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture (Vol. 1)* (pp.85-86), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Bianchi S. M., Milkie, M. A., Sayer, L. C. and Robinson, J. P. (2000). Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor. *Social Forces*, 79:1, 191-228.
- Bittman, M. (2002). Family and Gender. *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*.
- Bittman, M. and Wajcman, J. (2000). The Rush Hour: The Character of Leisure Time and Gender Equity. *Social Forces*, 79(1), 165-189.
- Booth, S. S. (1999). Reconstructing Sexual Geography: Gender and Space in Changing Sicilian Settlements. In D. Birdwell-Phasant and D. Lawrence-Zuniga (Eds.), *Houselife: Space, Place and Family in Europe* (pp.133-156). New York: Berg.
- Bowlby S., Gregory, S. and McKie, L. (1997). "Doing Home:" Patriarchy, Caring and Space. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20:3, 343-350.
- Boys, J. (1990). Women and the Designed Environment: Dealing with Difference. *Built Environment*, 16(4), 249-256.
- Brenner, M., Brown, J. and Canter, D. (1985). Introduction. In M. Brenner, J. Brown and D. Canter (Eds.), *The Research Interview* (pp.1-8). London: Academic Press.
- Bressi T. W. (1994). Planning the American Dream. In P. Katz (Ed.), *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (pp.xxv-xlii). New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Calthorpe, P. (1994). The Region. In P. Katz (Ed.), *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (pp.xi-xvi.). New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Calthorpe, P. (1993). *The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community, and the American Dream*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Cohousing website (www.cohousing.org)
- Coltrane, S. (1992). The Micro-politics of Gender in Non-industrial Societies. *Gender and Society*, 6(1), 86-107.
- Connell, R. W. (2002). *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. (1993). Sexuality and Gender: An Interactionist/Poststructural Reading. In P. England (Ed.), *Theory on Gender / Feminism on Theory* (pp.199-222). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Domosh, M. (1998). Geography and gender: Home, Again? *Progress in Human Geography*, 22:2, 276-282.
- Domosh, M. and Seager, J. (2001). *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World*. New York, NY: Guilford.
- Duany, A. and Plater-Zyberk, E. (1994). The Neighborhood, the District and the Corridor. In P. Katz (Ed.), *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (pp. xvii-xx). New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Ellin, N. (1996). *Postmodern Urbanism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Endoh, Y. (1999). Participatory Design that Materializes the Quality of the Exchange between Human Beings and the Environment–Case Study: C-Court, a Cooperative Housing. Paper at *Working Conference on Democratic Design in the Pacific Rim*.
- Endoh, Y. (1998). The Contemporary Meaning of Cooperative Housing –Case Study: M-Port (Kumamoto). Paper at *Working Conference on Democratic Design in the Pacific Rim*.
- Franck, K. A. (1985). Social Construction of the Physical Environment: The Case of Gender. *Sociological Focus*, 18(2), 143-160
- Franck, K. A. (1989). Overview of Collective and Shared Housing. In K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (Eds.), *New Households, New Housing* (pp. 3-19). New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Franck, K. A. and Ahrentzen, S. (1989). *New Households, New Housing*. New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Friedan, B. (1963/2000). Excerpts from 'The Problem that Has No Name.' In J. Rendell, B. Penner and I. Borden (Eds.), *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (pp.33-44). London, New York: Routledge.

- Fromm, D. (2000). American Cohousing: The First Five Years. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 17(2), 94-109.
- Fromm, D. (1991). Collaborating On Community. *In Context: Living Together*, 29, 59.
- Fulton, W. (1996). *The New Urbanism: Hope or Hype for American Communities?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- Gershuny, J. and Robinson, J. P. (1988). Historical Changes in the Household Division of Labor. *Demography*, 25(4), 537-552.
- Giddens, A. (1977). *Studies in Social and Political Theory*. New York, NY: Basic Books Inc., Publishers.
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1993a). *New Rules of Sociological Method: A positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1993b). Problems of Action and Structure. In P. Cassell (Ed.), *The Giddens Reader* (pp.88-175). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gottdiener, M. (1995). *The Social Production of Urban Space*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Guba, E. (1981). Criteria for Assessing the Trustworthiness of Naturalistic Inquiries. *ECTJ: Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, 29(2), 75-91.
- Hasell, M. J. and Peatross, F. D. (1990). Exploring Connections Between Women's Changing Roles and House Forms. *Environment and Behavior*, 22(1), 3-26.
- Hasell, M. J. and Scanzoni, J. H. (1997). Social Networks and Network-Friendly Housing in the U.S. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 38(3-4), 289-297.
- Hanson J. (1998). *Decoding Homes and Houses*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Hatch, C. R. (1989). Foreword. In K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (Eds.), *New Households, New Housing* (pp. ix-x). New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

- Harvey, D. (1997). The New Urbanism and the Communitarian Trap. *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring 1997, 68-71.
- Hayden, D. (1984). *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Hayden, D. (1981). *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press.
- Hayden, D. (1980). What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work. In C. R. Stimpson, E. Dixler, M. J. Nelson and K. B. Yatrakis (Eds.), *Women and the American City* (pp.167-184). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hayward, R. (1997). Cooking and Heating. In P. Oliver (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture (Vol. 1)* (pp.427-429), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herk, A. (2002). Invisibled Laundry. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 27(3), 893-900.
- Hillier, B. (1985). The Nature of the Artificial: The Contingent and the Necessary in Spatial Form in Architecture. *Geoforum*, 16(2), 163-178.
- Jackall, R. (1988). *Moral Mazes: The World of Corporate Managers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kamau, L. J. (1978). Semipublic, Private and Hidden Rooms: Symbolic Aspects of Domestic Space in Urban Kenya. *African Urban Studies*, 3 (Winter 1978-79), 105-115.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with Patriarchy. *Gender and Society*, 2(3), 274-290.
- Kaplan, I. M. (1981). Family Life Cycle and Women's Evaluations of Community Facilities. In S. Keller (Ed.), *Building for Women* (pp.77-92). Lexington, Massachusetts, and Toronto: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company.
- Keller, S. (1981). Women and Children in a Planned Community. In S. Keller (Ed.), *Building for Women* (pp. 67-76). Lexington, Massachusetts, and Toronto: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company.

- Krantz, B. and Palm-Lindén, K. (1994). Forms Of Collective Housing, Forms Of Living Alternatives. Paper presented at XIIIth *World Congress of Sociology*, Bielefeld, Germany, Session Quality of Live and Housing.
- Laermans, R. and Meulders, C. (1999). The Domestication of Laundering. In I. Cieraad (Ed.), *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (pp. 118-129). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Laufer, R. S., Proshansky, H. M. and Wolfe, M. (1976). Some Analytic Dimensions of Privacy. In H. M. Proshansky, W. H. Ittelson and Leanne G. Rivlin (Eds.), *Environmental Psychology: People and Their Physical Settings* (pp. 206-217). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Lawrence, R. J. (1997). Economy. In P. Oliver (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture (Vol. 1)* (pp.73-76), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawrence, R. J. (1989). Structuralist Theories in Environment-Behavior-Design Research: Applications for Analyses of People and the Built Environment. In E. H. Zube and G. T. Moore (Eds.), *Advances in Environment, Behavior, and Design (Vol. 2)* (pp.37-70), New York: Plenum.
- Lennon, M. C. and Rosenfield, S. (1994). Relative Fairness and the Division of Housework: The Importance of Options. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(2), 506-531.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1967). *Structural Anthropology*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Madigan, R. and Munro, M. (1999). "The more we are together': Domestic Space, Gender and Privacy." In T. Chapman and J. Hockey (Eds.), *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life* (pp.61-72), London and New York: Routledge.
- Maines, D. R. (1977). Social Organization and Social Structure in Symbolic Interactionist Thought. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 3, 235-259.
- Malinoski, B. (1944). *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Marans, R. (1987). Survey Research. In R. B. Bechtel, R. W. Marans and W. Michelson_(Eds.), *Methods in Environmental and Behavioral Research* (pp. 57-65). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Markus, T. A. (1993). *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Massey, D. (1994). *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- McCamant, K. M. and Durrett, C. R. (1989). *Cohousing – A Contemporary Approach To Housing Ourselves*, Berkley, CA, USA: Ten Speed Press.
- Merchant, C. (1990). Gender and Environmental History. *Journal of American History*, 76(4), 1117-1121.
- Michelson, W. (1994). Everyday Life in Contextual Perspective. In I. Altman and A. Chuchman (Eds.), *Women and the Environment* (pp.17-42). New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Moule, E. and Ployzoides, S. (1994). The Street, the Block and the Building. In P. Katz (Ed.), *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (pp. xxi-xxiv). New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Munro, M. and Madigan, R. (1999). Negotiating Space in the Family Home. In I. Cieraad (Ed.), *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (pp. 107-117). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Oakley, A. (1974). *The Sociology of Housework*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Oliver (1997). Culture Traits and Attributes. In P. Oliver (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture (Vol. 1)* (pp.69-70), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oliver, P. (1987). *Dwellings: The House Across the World*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Oliver, P. (1977). *Shelter, Sign & Symbol*. Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press.
- Pader, E. J. (1997). Domestic Routine. In P. Oliver (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture (Vol. 1)* (pp.71-72), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pader, E. J. (1988). Inside Spatial Relations. *Arch.Comport/Arch. Behav.*, 4(3), 251-267.
- Peach, L. J. (1998). *Women in Culture: A Women's Studies Anthology*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers.
- Peatross, F. D. and Hasell, M. J. (1992). Changing Lives/Changing Spaces: An Investigation of the Relationships Between Gender Orientation and Behaviors, and Spatial Preferences in Residential Kitchens. *The Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 9(3), 239-257.
- Pennartz, P. J. J. (1999). Home: The Experience of Atmosphere. In I. Cieraad (Ed.), *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (pp.95-106). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Press, J. E. and Townsley, E. (1998). Wives' and Husbands' Housework Reporting: Gender, Class, and Social Desirability. *Gender and Society*, 12:2, 188-218.
- Preziosi, D. (1979). *Architecture, Language, and Meaning: The Origins of the Built World and its Semiotic Organization*. The Hague, New York: Mouton
- Proshansky, H. M., Ittelson, W. H. and Rivlin, L. G. (1976). Freedom of Choice and Behavior in a Physical Setting. In H. M. Proshansky, W. H. Ittelson and L. G. Rivlin (Eds.), *Environmental Psychology: People and Their Physical Settings* (pp.170-181). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Prussin, L. (1997). Gender Roles. In P. Oliver (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture (Vol. 1)* (pp.82-84), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rapoport, A. (1982). *Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Rapoport, A. (1978). Culture and Environment. *The Ecologist Quarterly*, 4, Winter.
- Rapoport, A. (1973). The Ecology of Housing. *Ecologist*, 3(1).
- Rapoport, A. (1969). *House Form and Culture*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Roberts, M. (1990). Gender and Housing: The Impact of Design. *Built Environment*, 16(4), 257-268.

- Rock, C., Torre, S. and Wright, G. (1980). The Appropriation of the House: Changes in House Design and Concepts of Domesticity. In G. R. Wekerle, R. Peterson and D. Morley (Eds.), *New Space for Women* (pp.83-100). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Romero, M. (1992). *Maid in the U.S.A.* New York: Routledge.
- Rothschild, J. (1999). Afterword. In J. Rothschild (Ed.), *Design and Feminism: Re-Visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things* (pp.175-182). New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press.
- Saegert, S. and Winkel, G. (1980). The Home: A Critical Problem for Changing Sex Roles. In G. R. Wekerle, R. Peterson and D. Morley (Eds.), *New Space for Women* (pp.41-64). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Saile (1990). Critical Regionalism. In N. C. Markovich, W. F.E. Preiser, and F. G. Sturm(Eds.), *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture* (pp.). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Sanoff, H. (2000). *Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning*. New York, Chichester, Weinheim, Brisbane, Singapore, Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Sanoff, H. (1988). Participatory Design in Focus. *Arch.Comport/Arch. Behav.*, 4(1), 27-42.
- Sanoff (1985). The Application of Participatory Methods in Design and Evaluation. *Design Studies*, 6(4), 1-3.
- Sanoff, H. (1974). Integrating Human Needs in Environmental Design. *CRC Critical Reviews in Environmental Control*, 4(4), October 1974, 507-534.
- Sanoff, H. (1971). The Social Implications of Residential Environments. *International Journal of Environmental Studies*, 2, 13-19.
- Scanzoni, J. (2000). *Designing Families: The Search for Self and Community in the Information Age*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Pine Forge Press.
- Schmertz, M. F. (1981). Housing and Community Design for Changing Family Needs. In S. Keller (Ed.), *Building for Women* (pp.195-210). Lexington, Massachusetts, and Toronto: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company.

- Schwalbe, M., Godwin, S., Holden, D., Schrock, D., Thompson, S. and Wolkomir, M. (2000). Generic Processes in the Reproduction of Inequality: An Interactionist Analysis. *Social Forces*, 79(2), 419-452.
- Sebba, R. & Chuchman, A. (1983). Territories and Territoriality in the Home. *Environment and Behavior*, 15(2), 191-210.
- Sewell, W. H. Jr. (1992). A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98(1), 1-29.
- Shelton, B. A. and Agger, B. (1993). Shotgun Wedding, Unhappy Marriage, No-Fault Divorce? Rethinking the Feminism-Marxism Relationship. In P. England (Ed.), *Theory on Gender / Feminism on Theory* (pp.25-42). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Soja, E. W. (1985). The Spatiality of Social Life: Towards a Transformative Retheorization. In D. Gregory and J. Urry (Eds.), *Social Relations and Spatial Structures* (pp.). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Sorkin, M. (1998). Can New Urbanism Learn from Modernism's Mistakes? *Metropolis*, August/September 1998.
- South, S. J. & Spitze, G. (1994). Housework in Marital and Non-marital Households. *American Sociological Review*, 59(June), 327-347.
- Southworth, M. (2003). New Urbanism and the American Metropolis. *Built Environment*, 29(3), 210-226.
- Spain, D. (1995). Sustainability, Feminist Visions, and the Utopian Tradition. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 9(4), 362-370.
- Spain, D. (1992). *Gendered Spaces*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Talen, E. (1999). Sense of Community and Neighborhood Form: An Assessment of the Social Doctrine of New Urbanism. *Urban Studies*, 36(8), 1361-1379.
- Tognoli, J. (1980). Differences in Women's and Men's Responses to Domestic Space. *Sex Roles*, 6(6), 833-842.

- Tong, R. (2002). Feminist Theory. *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*.
- Torre, S. (1999). Expanding the Urban Design Agenda: A Critique of the New Urbanism. In J. Rothschild (Ed.), *Design and Feminism: Re-Visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things* (pp.35-43). New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press.
- Vestbro, D. U. (2000). From Collective Housing to Cohousing – A Summary of Research. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 17(2), 164-178.
- Vestbro, D. U. (1998). Is collective Housing the Key to Sustainable Development? Scandinavian Experiences in a Postmodernist Perspective. Paper for the *ICSA Conference Utopian communities and sustainability*, Amsterdam.
- Vestbro, D. U. (1997). Collective Housing In Scandinavia – How Feminism Revised A Modernist Experiment. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 14(4), 329-342.
- Wajcman, J. (1991). *Feminism Confronts Technology*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Wang, D. and Groat, L. (2002). *Architectural Research Methods*. New York: J. Wiley.
- Weisman, L. K. (1992). *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Weisman, L. K. (1981/2000). Prologue: 'Women's Environmental Rights: A Manifesto.' In J. Rendell, B. Penner and I. Borden (Eds.), *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (pp.1-5). London, New York: Routledge.
- West, C., Fenstermaker, S. (1993). Power, Inequality and the Accomplishment of gender: An ethnomethodological View. In P. England (Ed.), *Theory on Gender / Feminism on Theory* (pp.151-174). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Woodward, A. (1989). Communal Housing in Sweden: A Remedy for the Stress of Everyday Life. In K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (Eds.), *New Households, New Housing* (pp.71-99). New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Wright, G. (1981). *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Yin, R. K. (1984). *Case Study Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Zeisel, J. (1984). *Inquiry by Design*. Cambridge University Press.