

Home Beyond the House:
Later life experiences of place in a small community

by

Jennifer Margaret Elizabeth Harvey
B.Sc., University of Victoria, 2003

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Geography

July 17, 2006

© Jennifer Margaret Elizabeth Harvey, 2006
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisory Committee

Home Beyond the House: Later life experiences of place in a small community

by

Jennifer Margaret Elizabeth Harvey

B.Sc., University of Victoria, 2003

Dr. D. Cloutier-Fisher, (Department of Geography)

Supervisor

Dr. S. Smith, (Department of Geography)

Departmental Member

Dr. P. MacKenzie, (School of Social Work)

Outside Member

Supervisor: Dr. Denise Cloutier-Fisher

Abstract

Supervisory Committee

Dr. D. Cloutier-Fisher, (Department of Geography)
Supervisor

Dr. S. Smith, (Department of Geography)
Departmental Member

Dr. P. MacKenzie, (School of Social Work)
Outside Member

This is a geographical study of the experience of place for older adults in the rapidly growing area known as 'Oceanside' on Vancouver Island. Oceanside's population is one of Canada's oldest: more than 40% are aged 55 and over. The goal of the research is to explore notions of home and community, place and space, and to consider the implications for planning future environments for an aging population. Qualitative analysis of 27 in-depth interviews suggests that the physical, social, cultural and structural environments are multi-layered. When considering a move to the area, it was physical environment that was most important. Once participants moved to the area, social and cultural environments became central in their lives. Finally, the structural environment, particularly the shortage of health services, may cause people to leave the area. Personal identity and past place experience influence participants' experience of the present and their hopes for the future.

Supervisor: Dr. Denise Cloutier-Fisher (Department of Geography and Centre on Aging)

Table of Contents

<i>Supervisory Committee</i> _____	<i>ii</i>
<i>Abstract</i> _____	<i>iii</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i> _____	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Tables</i> _____	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Figures</i> _____	<i>viii</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i> _____	<i>ix</i>
<i>Dedication</i> _____	<i>x</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction _____	1
1.1 Introduction to the Research Topic _____	1
1.2 Research Context _____	1
1.3 Research Goal _____	2
1.4 Research Objectives _____	2
1.4.1 Theoretical _____	3
1.4.2 Empirical _____	4
1.4.3 Community Context _____	4
1.5 Structure of the Thesis _____	5
Chapter 2 Literature Review _____	6
2.1 Overview _____	6
2.2 Theoretical Context _____	6
2.2.1 Environment and aging research _____	7
2.2.2 Gerontology and Geography _____	7
2.3 Empirical Context _____	9
2.3.1 Aging in Place _____	9
2.3.1.1 Impact of aging on communities _____	10
2.3.2 Scale _____	10
2.3.3 Place _____	11
2.3.4 Place Attachment _____	14
2.3.5 Home _____	15
2.3.6 Community _____	17
2.4 Recent Research Projects _____	18
2.4.1 Meanings of Home _____	18
2.4.2 Environment and Identity in Later Life _____	19
2.5 Community Context _____	22
2.5.1. Health and Place _____	23
2.5.2 Community engagement _____	26
2.6 Gaps and opportunities _____	27
Chapter 3 Methodology _____	29
3.1 Research Approach _____	29

3.1.1 Rationale for a Qualitative Design	29
3.1.2 Ontological Perspective: On the Nature of Being*	31
3.1.3 Epistemological Perspective: On the Nature of Knowing*	31
3.1.4 Methodological Perspective: On Ways of Finding Out*	32
3.1.5 Role of the Researcher	32
3.2 Description of the Study Site	33
3.2.1. Population	33
3.2.2 Mobility	37
3.2.3 Housing Characteristics	38
3.2.4 Diversity	39
3.2.5 Education	40
3.2.6 Unemployment	40
3.2.7 Qualicum Beach Quality of Life Survey	41
3.3 Profile of Participants	42
3.3.1 Sampling	42
3.3.2 Length of Residence	42
3.3.3 Age	42
3.3.4 Area of Residence	43
3.3.5 General Characteristics	43
3.4 Research Procedures	43
3.4.1 Secondary Analysis	44
3.5 The Primary Data	45
3.5.1 Why the data were collected	45
3.5.2 What questions were asked?	47
3.5.3 What assumptions were made by those who collected the data?	48
3.5.4 How does this study differ from the <i>Home Sweet Home</i> Study?	49
3.6 Data Analysis	49
3.6.1 Preliminary Analysis	49
3.6.2 Analysis	50
3.6.3 First, the deductive approach	50
3.6.4 Then, an inductive approach	51
3.7 Methods for Verification	51
3.7.1 Additional Procedures	52
3.8 Reflections on the Methodology	54
3.8.1 Methodological and ethical considerations with secondary analysis	54
3.8.2 Limitations of secondary analysis	55
3.8.3 Challenges of thematic analysis	56
Chapter 4 Findings	58
4.1 Dimensions of Home	58
4.1.1 Physical Aspects: Natural and Built Environment	58
4.1.2 The Social Environment	60
4.1.2.1 Cultural environment	63
4.1.3 Personal aspects	64
4.1.3.1 Personal Identity	64
4.1.3.2 Past place experience	64
4.1.3.3 Place attachment	66
4.2 Community	66
4.2.1 Community = people + place	67
4.2.2 Belonging to Community	68

4.3 Community Context	70
4.3.1 Diversity	70
4.3.2 Difference	71
4.3.3 The Trade-off: Access to health care	71
4.3.4 Mobility	73
4.3.5 Community Change and Rapid Growth	75
4.3.6 Future plans	76
4.4 Summary of Findings	76
<i>Chapter 5 Discussion and Interpretation</i>	78
5.1 Framework of understanding	78
5.2 Home	78
5.2.1 Dimensions of Home Framework	79
5.2.1.1 Physical	79
5.2.1.2 Social	80
5.2.1.3 Personal	81
5.3 Geographical Lens: Place as a process	82
5.4 Community Context	85
5.4.1 Neighbourhood elements	86
5.4.2 The Culture of Oceanside	88
5.4.3 Healthy communities	90
5.4.4 Structural Factors	92
5.5 Revisiting the objectives	93
5.5.1 Empirical: Dimensions of Home	93
5.5.2 Theoretical: Contribution of Human Geography	94
5.5.3 Community Context	95
<i>Chapter 6 Conclusion</i>	97
6.1 Summary of the research	97
6.2 Reflections on the process	99
6.3 Limitations	101
6.4 Looking ahead	102
6.5 Implications and opportunities	103
<i>Bibliography</i>	106
<i>Appendix A Home Sweet Home Consent Form</i>	121
<i>Appendix B Home Sweet Home Interview Guide</i>	123
<i>Appendix C Home Beyond the House Ethics Approval</i>	132

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Conceptualizations of Place in Geographical Gerontology _____	13
Table 2.2 Key elements of a positive environment for aging _____	26
Table 2.3 Theories that inform the empirical investigation _____	28
Table 3.1 Themes of Qualitative Inquiry _____	30
Table 3.2 Practical and Ethical Guidelines for the Conduct of Secondary Analysis ____	46
Table 3.3 Strategies for establishing qualitative 'rigour' in geographic work _____	53
Table 3.4 Checklist for evaluating qualitative interview research _____	54

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Oswald and Wahl's Dimensions of Home Framework _____	19
Figure 2.2 Fragmented 'Environmental Layers' _____	22
Figure 3.1 Map of study site: Oceanside, B.C. _____	34
Figure 3.2 Oceanside Age Distribution, 2001 Census _____	35
Figure 3.3 Oceanside Mobility, 1996-2001 _____	38
Figure 3.4 Dwelling Type, Oceanside, 2001 _____	39
Figure 3.5 Period of Construction, Oceanside Housing Stock _____	39

Acknowledgments

I am appreciative of all who have supported me in this journey, from the initial conceptualization through to the final writing. Specifically, I'd like to thank:

- My supervisor, Dr. Denise Cloutier-Fisher for her thoughtfulness and guidance.
- My committee members, Dr. Sandra Smith and Dr. Patricia MacKenzie for their encouragement. Pamela M., guidance in the direction of my strengths.
- Staff, Faculty and Students in the Geography Department and the Centre on Aging: Analisa B., Dave D., Doug P., Eric D., Darlene L., Diane B., Holly D., Jill J., Jodi S., Ken J., Kerri B., Laura F., Lindsay C., Neena C., Sarah L., and Sandy A.
- My family who have loved and supported me all the way: my partner Rory, my parents, David and Rita, and my sister Shannon.
- My friends who have reminded me to laugh, to love, and to dance like nobody's watching: Alison, Beth, Holly, Josh, Kaitlan, Keltie, Liz, Maggie, Matt, Rebecca, and Sarah N.
- Finally, project funders. The original *Home Sweet Home* study was supported by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. This thesis work was supported by a University of Victoria Graduate Student Fellowship, the BC Medical Services Foundation Summer Student Scholarship, and Junior Research Trainee Fellowship from the Michael Smith Foundation for Health Research and the BC Medical Services Foundation.

Merci.

Dedication

In memory of Grandpa Harvey (1908-2005)

*His home spanned both place and time
His generosity and hard work paved my way*

Chapter 1 Introduction

Why study aging? To better understand ourselves (Mondale, 1988:369).

1.1 Introduction to the Research Topic

Geographers are interested in the environment and the people within it, the role of space and place, and the relationships between people and places. Specifically, human geographers are interested in a number of themes relating to person-environment relations, including landscape, habit and behaviour, perception, meaning, power relations, boundaries, identity, scale, and representation (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991; Holloway and Hubbard, 2001). As we enter “an era of unprecedented aging” (Katz, 2005a:13), this research examines the experience of place for older adults living in a community that is made up of a high proportion of older adults. In geography, experience of place refers not simply to the character of places and regions, but rather to “the consciousness people have of places holding a special significance for them” (Kearns, 1993:140).

This thesis research is one project within the SSHRC-funded project “Home Sweet Home? Contrasting Experiences of Place for Elderly In-Migrants and Aged-in-Place Persons in Small Town British Columbia”. The larger three-year project examines the experiences of elderly in-migrants and aged-in-place seniors in the area known as ‘Oceanside’, a region that includes areas of the Nanaimo Regional District, the City of Parksville, and the Town of Qualicum Beach on Central Vancouver Island. In 2001, persons over the age of 65 comprised 30.8% and 38.0% of the total populations of Parksville and Qualicum Beach respectively, a proportion that is nearly three times higher than the National and Provincial averages of 13% (BC Stats, 2001; Statistics Canada, 2005).

1.2 Research Context

As a thesis in human geography, this work is both qualitative and interpretive, in that it is “concerned with the understanding and analysis of meaning in specific contexts”

(Eyles, 1988:2). Indeed, in recent decades, human geography has shifted from a focus on positivist approaches to an approach more grounded in everyday experience and in the processes that influence this experience (Gesler and Kearns, 2002). In order to capture the 'lived experience' of individuals in everyday settings, this study employs a qualitative design that is discussed further in the methodology chapter.

The examination of "home beyond the house", and the home-community continuum, in later life draws upon research on the topic of environment and aging in the disciplines of geography (Wiles, 2005; Peace, Holland and Kellaher, 2006), environmental gerontology (Oswald and Wahl, 2005a), and multi-disciplinary collaborations (Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005a).

1.3 Research Goal

The overall goal of this research project is to explore experiences of home and community, place and space, and to consider the implications for planning future environments for an older population that support health and well-being. Three specific research objectives guide this qualitative, explorative project.

1.4 Research Objectives

Theoretical: Draw upon theoretical approaches and themes from human geography to build on existing conceptual frameworks from environmental gerontology and environmental psychology (such as the 'dimensions of home' framework proposed by Oswald and Wahl, 2005a) in order to illustrate the experience of place at different scales – spatial and temporal – for older adults living in a small community.

Empirical: Conduct a qualitative, thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with older adults in order to illustrate the meanings of home for individuals in later life. After Oswald and Wahl (2005b), concepts to be examined include: housing amenities, features of the surrounding residential area and activities performed in

this environment, and biographical aspects relating to thoughts, feelings and social relationships.

Knowledge Translation: Use the information gained to suggest how the experiences of older adults may be used by individuals and decision-makers in a community context to plan places and create spaces that are supportive for people of all ages in the coming years.

Over the course of this research, I drew from a range of frameworks to build up my understanding of the data. Such 'emergent design' is a key characteristic of qualitative research (Patton, 2002). The following chapters will expand on the outcomes of the research, and detail how the research meets the objectives outlined above.

1.4.1 Theoretical

Increasingly, contemporary thinking in the study of aging draws from ideas and conceptual frameworks generated within other disciplines (Biggs, Hendricks and Lowenstein, 2003; Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005a). For example, this work is situated at the confluence of human geography and environmental gerontology. This is a natural overlap due to the reciprocity between environmental gerontology and human geography. One of the themes of human geography is the scale of experience, situated in time and space. Geographical scale is a consideration that is closely tied to other dimensions of human geography, such as identity (i.e., national, regional, personal), boundaries or borders both real and imagined, power relations, the meaning people ascribe to place, people's perception of places, how people organize their use of space and time, and the creation, transformation, and use of landscape (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001). Temporal scale can refer to past, present and future. Together, spatial and temporal "layers" contribute to meaning in our situated lives (Peace *et al.*, 2006). A treasured souvenir from a family vacation, the view from a kitchen table, and the site of one's first kiss are examples of some of the spatial and temporal 'layers' in our lives.

1.4.2 Empirical

The empirical objective is related to the meanings of home in later life. As the title of this work suggests, ideas of 'home' stretch 'beyond the house' and include physical, social, personal, cultural, and structural dimensions. Examples of the community as home could include a front porch, a grocery store, or an informal dog walk. This home-community continuum is the focus of the empirical research.

The community context of later life is particularly important for at least three reasons: first, there are inequalities in the spatial distribution of the aging population. Oceanside, the study area of interest, has a high concentration of persons aged 55 and older (over 40% of the population) compared to National and Provincial averages (24%) (Statistics Canada, 2004). Much of the area's rapid growth has been due to the in-migration of persons in later life. While other Canadian communities may be experiencing population aging due to processes similar or different from Oceanside (i.e. the aging in place of long-term residents and the out-migration of younger people), given the progressive aging of the Canadian population, Oceanside can serve as a window into the future of Canada's population pyramid. Second, meeting the service needs of an aging population requires attention to the natural and planned community contexts in which people age and move both into and out of. Finally, growing interest in the concept of social capital and social inequalities in health at the community scale requires integration and response from researchers, policy makers, and practitioners (Robert, 2002). These trends highlight the importance of the connection between health and the environment – physical, social, personal, and structural.

1.4.3 Community Context

Knowledge translation is the exchange, synthesis and application of knowledge (Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2005: paragraph 2). How can the knowledge generated within this project be translated? Enrique Peñalosa, the former mayor of Bogotá, Columbia helped turn his city around through the guiding principle that places

that are good for the youngest and the oldest members of our society are good for everyone (Walljasper, 2004). Keeping in mind that, like other qualitative case studies (Patton, 2002), the findings of this study are not intended to be extrapolated to other situations, other time periods, or other people, this research is relevant to community planners, community developers, social workers, and health and social service providers. It is also important for ordinary citizens, as it highlights the everyday role of individuals in creating healthy, age-friendly communities.

A written thesis is just one way for knowledge to be exchanged, synthesized and applied. Conference presentations and everyday dialogue provide other opportunities to share and discuss the ideas presented in this research. In addition, conducting this research has provided the training to continue to translate knowledge – to exchange, synthesize and apply information from a variety of sources.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This introductory chapter has set out the aims and context of the research. The next chapter will review the relevant literature. The research context is elaborated by reviewing concepts of aging in place, geographical perspectives of place and scale, place attachment, home, community, health and the built environment, age-friendly communities and civic engagement. The methodology chapter outlines the qualitative design and research procedures used to help meet the research objectives. Next is a chapter that reports study's findings based on the framework outlined in the literature review. Following the results chapter is a synthesising chapter that focuses on interpretation and discussion of the findings as they relate to the literature and the research objectives. Finally, the concluding chapter reiterates key study findings and demonstrates why this study matters.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Overview

The goal of this research project is to explore notions of home and community, place and space, and consider the implications of the findings for planning future environments for an older population. The intent of this chapter is to frame the study by showing how the inquiry fits within the contexts of broader public discourses regarding population aging, health, and sustainable development. First, the breadth of aging and environment research is described. This provides context for the initial research objective – to draw on perspectives from human geography and gerontology and explore the opportunities to bridge disciplines in studies of aging. In order to contextualize the notion of “home beyond the house”, core concepts from human geography including place, aging in place, home and scale are discussed. Two research projects, *Meanings of Home* (Oswald and Wahl, 2005a; 2005b) and *Environment and Identity in Later Life* (Peace *et al.*, 2006), are described in order to provide a framework for examining the second research aim: to illustrate the many dimensions of home in later life. Two related concepts, i.e. health and the built environment and community engagement, provide a backdrop for focusing on the third research aim: the role of the physical, social, and structural environment in the creation of healthy communities for all. Finally, gaps and opportunities are identified in order to suggest the research’s potential contribution to policy and practice.

2.2 Theoretical Context

This section provides justification for the first research objective: to draw upon theoretical approaches and themes from human geography to build on existing conceptual frameworks in environmental gerontology. Recent directions in environment and aging research from a variety of disciplines are introduced. The chapter then focuses on two

specific approaches to these studies – geographical gerontology and environmental gerontology – and discusses how they are complementary.

2.2.1 Environment and aging research

The topic of aging and environment has increased in profile since I first reviewed the literature in the fall of 2003, with several new books, serials and projects on the topic (c.f. Schaie, Wahl, Mollenkopf and Oswald, 2003; Wahl, Scheidt and Windley, 2004; Andrews and Phillips, 2005; Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005a; Wahl, 2005; Brownoff, 2006; Peace *et al.*, 2006; World Health Organization, 2006). Despite the increase in research on aging and environment, there is still work to do in the discipline of geography and beyond. Contemporary thinking in both geography and gerontology draws heavily on ideas and conceptual frameworks generated within other disciplines (Biggs *et al.*, 2003; Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005b). Geographers, though the originators of the concept of ‘place’, do not have a monopoly on issues of place and well-being (Cutchin, 2005). Indeed, tremendous opportunities exist for further multi-disciplinary collaboration, as is evident in this literature review that draws from geography, gerontology, sociology, architecture, planning, anthropology, public health and environmental psychology.

2.2.2 Gerontology and Geography

Katz summarizes gerontology’s primary professional goal as being “to determine the conditions and contexts in which an individual’s adaptation to aging is either facilitated or limited” (Katz, 2005a:204). All experience occurs across space and over time, a basic geographical notion that is being revisited in environmental gerontology (Schoenberg and Rowles, 2002). Person-environment relations are at the core of the field of environmental gerontology, which for the past four decades “has addressed the description, explanation, and modification or optimization of the relation between the elderly person and his or her environment” (Wahl and Weisman, 2003:616). Thus,

environmental gerontology has established itself as an interdisciplinary field in its own right (Wahl and Weisman, 2003). The meaning of 'environment' in environmental gerontology studies is very broad; environmental psychologists Canter and Craik have suggested the term 'sociophysical environment' to describe the physical, social, organizational and cultural environments that influence the aging process and outcomes (Wahl and Weisman, 2003).

Like the concept of place, geographers tend to embrace broad definitions of environment. Yet, while work in environmental gerontology has examined the environmental context of later life, it seldom acknowledges the importance of a geographical perspective. This research brings themes and theoretical approaches from human geography together with conceptual frameworks from environmental gerontology to build understanding. A key theme of this research is how human geography, with its dual focus on temporal and spatial scale, can lend insight to gerontological theories of aging and the context in which aging occurs.

Though not often cited in the literature on environmental gerontology, geographers can play a key role in this ongoing discovery of person-place ties. Wiles (2005:100) describes the role of geographers in the study of aging, what she calls *geographical gerontology*, a subfield of social geography:

Geographical gerontologists are interested in the spatial and environmental contexts of aging; the ways that space and place are related to the experiences and needs of older people. Specifically, they seek to understand both how aging affects specific places and spaces, and the influence that specific contexts or places have on issues related to ageing and older persons.

In a recent contribution to *The Gerontologist* forum, Golant (2003) argues in favour of revisiting temporal and behavioural issues in environmental gerontology, and emphasizes the significance of place and time in place attachment (see Golant, 1984) that has been overlooked during the past decades in environmental gerontology. By ignoring the temporal aspects of the environment and aging relationships of older people, we can get only contextual snapshots rather than "frames of an ongoing environmental movie"

(Golant, 2003:639). Thus, geographers can help meet the need for further research on place; Cutchin's "place integration" model is another example that considers the interconnectedness of time and place in the lives of older adults (Cutchin, 2001).

2.3 Empirical Context

This section describes several concepts that guide the empirical aim of the research. Aging in place and place attachment are two concepts used within many disciplines. The geographical concepts of scale and place provide a foundation for the empirical inquiry into the dimensions of home in later life. This section adds to this foundation by discussing one of the central concepts in human geography, that of 'home'. The 'home beyond the house' metaphor used in the title of this thesis is based upon consideration of the home-community continuum. The concept of community is briefly described. Finally, two recent research projects, one from environmental gerontology and one from geography, are described in order to provide background as well as a framework for the empirical research objective.

2.3.1 Aging in Place

Underscoring the significance of studies linking aging and environment are current demographic trends and the fact that the majority of older persons live on their own or with a spouse or partner in the community. The policy definition of aging in place refers to "the ability to remain in the current setting as one ages" (Cutchin, 2003:107). Simply put, aging in place means not leaving the home they have lived in for a good part of their adult lives, and/or remaining "in a familiar setting imbued with various meanings" (Cutchin, 2001:33; Golant, 2002). Interpretations of the term *place* in 'aging in place' can vary. For some people, 'aging in place' may refer to remaining in the same dwelling, while for others it may mean living in the same neighbourhood or community. In addition, aging in place can mean continuing to participate as a member of the community (Fornaro, 2006).

Aging in place is a dynamic phenomenon because the relationship between a person and his or her environment is constantly changing to achieve or maintain a degree of “fit” (Rowles and Ravdal, 2002; Peace, Holland and Kellaheer, 2005a). The phenomenon of aging in place “beckons an understanding of the evolving experience of home and the continuing relationship of person to place” (Rubinstein, 1998:93). Adjustment to settings – new or continuing – involves a process of transference of past environmental experience, integration of new circumstances, and redefinition of our being in place (Rowles and Watkins, 2003).

2.3.1.1 Impact of aging on communities

An aging population, whether the product of aging in place or retirement in migration, can have significant social and political impact on the community. Seniors have tremendous political clout, something that is just beginning to be recognized by politicians and academics (Harper and Laws, 1995). An example of this so-called ‘grey power’ is the AARP, formerly the American Association of Retired Persons. With over 35 million members, the AARP is the largest lobby group in the United States (AARP, 2006). Retirement migration has an impact on local economies; in British Columbia, every hundred retired migrants are considered to generate approximately fifty new jobs in the destination community (Walters, 2002).

2.3.2 Scale

Scale is one of the fundamental concepts in geography and it can be used to better understand the experience of place and to illustrate the many dimensions of home and community in later life. For example, as outlined by Oswald (2005b), dimensions of home include: housing amenities, features of the surrounding residential area, and activities performed in this environment, biographical aspects relating to thoughts, feelings and social relationships. As already noted, scale is also helpful for considering the temporal dimensions of our lives (Golant, 2003).

A number of authors have examined the degree of “fit” between person and environment across several spatial scales – ranging from the micro level of the self (Rubinstein and de Medeiros, 2004) to the interior home environment (Rowles, Oswald and Hunter, 2004) to the neighbourhood (Krause, 2004) and macro level of the region (Longino, 2004). Because our lives span all of these spatial scales, Peace *et al.* (2005b) stress the importance of examining both the micro and the macro level environment and identity interactions. Cuba and Hummon (1993) use scales of dwelling, community, region as a framework for understanding dimensions of ‘at homeness’ for residents of Cape Cod. Gustafson (2001) examines different meanings of place – self, environment and others – across the local, regional, national and global scales.

Through extensive experiential fieldwork, Rowles (1978) came to define four kinds of geographical experience that made up the older persons’ lifeworld: action, orientation, feeling, and fantasy. While each of these kinds of geographical experience can occur across spatial and temporal scales, Rowles’ description of *orientation* specifically refers to an understanding of space across several scales: experientially distinctive domains of home, surveillance zone, neighbourhood, city, and ‘beyond spaces’. A continual adjustment was required along the four geographical domains for the study participants to negotiate between person and environment (Rowles, 1978). With declining physical ability, “home takes on supreme importance” as there is a progressive limitation in the realm of action accompanied by expansion in the role of what Rowles calls geographic fantasy (Rowles, 1978; Mondale, 1988:359). In such a situation, the interconnectedness of spatial and temporal environmental layers is apparent.

2.3.3 Place

“Place is one of the trickiest words in the English language, a suitcase so overfilled that one can never shut the lid” (Hayden, 1997:112). Approaches to place in human geography have changed over time. These include a regional approach which was most popular during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exemplified by the French

school under Vidal de la Blache that focused on the social and physical complexity of different regions and a more analytical “space as container” approach adopted by Hartshorne that considered space as an “‘unchanging box’ within which objects exist and events occur” (Gregory, 2000a:768; 2000b; Wiles, 2005). In the geographical study of aging, the mapping of the distribution of an aging population has often resulted in documenting the quantitative proportion of older people in different areas and their patterns of migration (for example Moore and McGuinness, 1999; Rogerson, 1999). But, there are many ways that geographers conceptualize space and place and there is no agreement on the best way to think about these concepts (Wiles, 2005).

Most recently, geographers have also started to consider place as a process. This means that place is thought of not as a static background to events, but as an integral part of social relations. There exists a ‘mutually constitutive’ relationship between society and place (Wiles, 2005). In other words, as people construct places, places construct people. This reciprocity creates identity and meaning (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001).

Wiles (2005), who situates herself as a geographical gerontologist, describes six ways that place is conceptualized in geographical gerontology (Table 2.1). Though not always acknowledged as geographical, these conceptualizations of place are evident in recent work in place and aging (c.f. Andrews and Phillips, 2005; Burholt and Naylor, 2005; Oswald, Hieber, Wahl and Mollenkopf, 2005; Phillipson and Scharf, 2005; Wahl, 2005) and provide a useful framework for exploring the first objective of this research, which is to illustrate how theories from geography can contribute to gerontology’s understanding of the dimensions of home in environment and aging.

Like the experience of aging, meaning of place is ultimately a very personal phenomenon, intimately bound up with autobiography (Rowles, 1990; Savishinsky, 2001; Rowles and Ravdal, 2002; Schoenberg and Rowles, 2002). Rowles uses the term ‘autobiographical insideness’ to describe “an affinity for place that stems from the lifelong accumulation of layer upon layer of experiences within a setting” (1983b:305).

Table 2.1 Conceptualizations of Place in Geographical Gerontology

Conceptualization	Description
Places are processes	Geographers have begun to think of place as a kind of process, rather than a static or simple 'background' to events. There exists a mutually constitutive relationship between society and place. This relationship is mutually reinforcing and ongoing; it is a process that changes over time and space. As processes, places are complex and are subject to ongoing negotiation by different groups who may have different experiences of places at different times.
Places are subject to ongoing negotiation	"As individuals age, their relationship to the places around them are constantly renegotiated" (p.102) Places physically change, as do the ideas and associations with place.
There exist many different experiences and contested interpretations of places	Some of these may compete or conflict. An example would be the differing impacts of the increased emphasis on homes as places for the care of older persons. Place would be interpreted differently by care recipients, family members, and healthcare workers.
Power relations are expressed through, and shape, places	Social relations and people's differing positions in society may be partially related to the different ways people experience places.
Places are interrelated	Places are related to other places, at different scales, at different times. The relative location of a home, for example, affects an individual's access to resources such as parks, shops and medical services, as well as to social relationships such as neighbours and family members. The different scales of place – from armchair to home to city – are also interconnected.
Places are simultaneously material/physical AND symbolic and social.	Home, for example, can be a powerful symbol of the self. The physical, social and symbolic aspects of place are interconnected and directly dependent on each other.

Source: adapted from Wiles (2005)

A second component of meaning of place involves social immersion, "the transformation of physical spaces into social places" (Rowles and Ravdal, 2002:85). Eyles (1985) conceptualizes place as the simultaneous centre of lived meaning and social position that implies a link between body, mind and society. Gustafson (2001) describes

self, environment and other as three corners of a triangular continuum of meanings of place.

Cutchin (1999) focuses on the emergence of place as more complex, with the affairs of place rooted in the past and also with indeterminate futures. The open-ended situations and transactions in place are continuous with one another. Place, as conceptualized by Cutchin, is the combination of historical, the present and the possibilities of the future.

Some reports deny the importance of place in later life. For example, in their profile of seniors residing in different Calgary neighbourhoods, Austin *et al.* conclude that “the specific environment of the community in which a senior resides, may have less impact on their daily lives than broader, systemic realities that affect seniors regardless of where they live.” (2001:149-50). Examples of systemic factors that may span across different neighbourhoods include the challenges of living on a fixed income and difficulties accessing information, services, and benefits. Place effects on health are also subject to debate, and are not well understood, leading Macintyre *et al.* to call for research into the “black box of place” and its relation to individual and population health (2002:131).

2.3.4 Place Attachment

Complementary to experiential approaches to place is the tradition of place attachment. Given that places are the “repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur, ... it is to those social relationships, not just to place qua place, to which people are attached” (Low and Altman, 1992:7). This attachment derives from the individual interpretation of geographic behaviour, identity and interdependence within the larger societal context (Rowles, 1987; Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992).

Both places themselves and memories of places are dynamic (Massey, 1995; Blockland, 2001). Memories may be selectively recounted – memories recalled in a group situation may paint a different picture from those recalled in a one-on-one

conversation (Peace *et al.*, 2006). Through selective memory, the past is interpreted and re-interpreted through the lens of the present (Blockland, 2001). There are long-established social networks and bonds associated with place, be it gossiping with a neighbour, meeting at the local coffee shop or restaurant, or sitting on a front stoop that create some of the conditions for intense place attachment (Blockland, 2001).

2.3.5 Home

An understanding of place experience in later life requires an exploration of another of the central concepts of human geography, home (Porteous and Smith, 2001). This literature review focuses on contextualizing home, which involves acknowledging the interrelations between home and other places. This recognizes the role of macro environments and of places 'beyond' the home in addition to individual, social and cultural experience – past and present – in creating a meaning of home (Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005c). Experiences of place at the scale of neighbourhoods, communities, cities, regions, and countries are varied and multifaceted. In addition, social, cultural and political dimensions vary at each level according to the level of engagement and interaction between individuals and place.

What is home, and how does it influence the study of aging? According to Hayward, "'home' is a label applied voluntarily and selectively to one or more environments to which a person feels some attachment" (1975:3). Homes vary with regard to past, present and future periods, the scale of temporal events, the pace of activities and the temporal rhythms of events in homes (Werner, Altman and Oxley, 1985). Despres and Lord (2005) report that residential biography and length of residence are two key influences on people's experiences and emotions towards home.

Developing meaning through place is not a passive process; individuals play an active role in creating personal place, turning spaces into places, transforming a "house" into a "home" (Rowles, 1987; Rowles and Ravdal, 2002). For many elderly people, home, as the locus of 'dwelling', is a significant setting that fosters a sense of personal

competence (Rowles, 1987). Home is also a protective environment, a place of control and mastery, and plays a critical role in the maintenance of self-identity and connection (Rowles, 1987). As an aside, medical traditions are beginning to recognize the power of therapeutic landscapes and the contextual feelings of belongingness and “being at home” and how these strongly influence health and well-being (Porteous and Smith, 2001:199; Gesler and Kearns, 2002). In this global age, it has been suggested that people long for community and put greater value on ‘place’ as a source of belonging and as a venue for meeting emotional needs (Parkes and Kearns, 2006). Though these themes are often difficult to distinguish and articulate, they are critical in considering the issue of place in later life.

Residential satisfaction can happen across different scales – from a corner of a room to a neighbourhood, country, or region. Individual characteristics that influence residential satisfaction include length of residence, socioeconomic status, physical health/competence, and general subjective well-being (Pinquart and Burmedi, 2004). While longer residence may lead to better integration into the local milieu and higher residential satisfaction, higher residential satisfaction, in turn, produces a longer duration of residence. The more economic resources individuals have, the greater their ability to select a better neighbourhood and to improve the comfort and appearance of their home. Poor health makes managing the household and taking advantage of neighbourhood amenities more difficult, which would negatively influence residential satisfaction. Finally, one’s general life satisfaction can influence one’s residential satisfaction (Pinquart and Burmedi, 2004).

Home can be considered in very concrete terms. Rapoport (2005), for example, points out the lack of consistency among researchers in the use of the term “home”, noting that disciplinary orientation and personal preferences can contribute to the challenge of constructing home as both an object and a subject-object relationship. On the other hand, Dovey (2005) celebrates the ambiguity of home, which she believes is at the core of human existence. Whether considered from a positivistic perspective or as a

more experiential expression, “the notion of home provides a rich potential for experiential understanding of human behaviour and affect in environmental context” (Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005b:11). The concept’s strong emotional resonance “captures the diversity, complexity and richness of an essential aspect of being in the world” (Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005b:10-11). While this plurality of meanings of home can lead to a deeper understanding of human experience, it can also complicate understanding because it is too broad and too diverse.

2.3.6 Community

Like the concepts of place and home, “community is a value-laden term, difficult to discipline and harness” (McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 2005:250). As Raeburn and Corbett (2001) report, there are over 100 definitions of community, making a thorough description of community beyond the scope of this chapter. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* describes community as “a social network of interacting individuals, usually concentrated into a defined territory” (Johnston, 2000:101). Building on this description, Rubin and Rubin (2001:115) suggest that

The term community refers to a geographic place or an identifiable social group, but most importantly it describes the sense of belonging that people have when they share obligations, support each other, and feel concern for one another.

This conceptualization begins to uncover the scope of community and helps guide the analysis in the direction of the third objective – using the findings from the empirical study to comment on how we can plan places and create spaces that are supportive for people of all ages in the coming years. The many meanings of community, particularly in later life, are elaborated in the following section, which examines two recent research projects on environment and aging.

2.4 Recent Research Projects

Two recent research projects on aging and environment inform and provide context for this research. Frank Oswald and Hans Werner Wahl, environmental gerontologists from Germany, examine the meanings of home for community dwelling older adults. Sheila Peace, a geographer from Britain, working with colleagues Caroline Holland and Leonie Kellaher complements this work by examining the meaning of environment and identity in later life for a diverse group of older adults. Together, these two studies form the foundation of this research's conceptual framework.

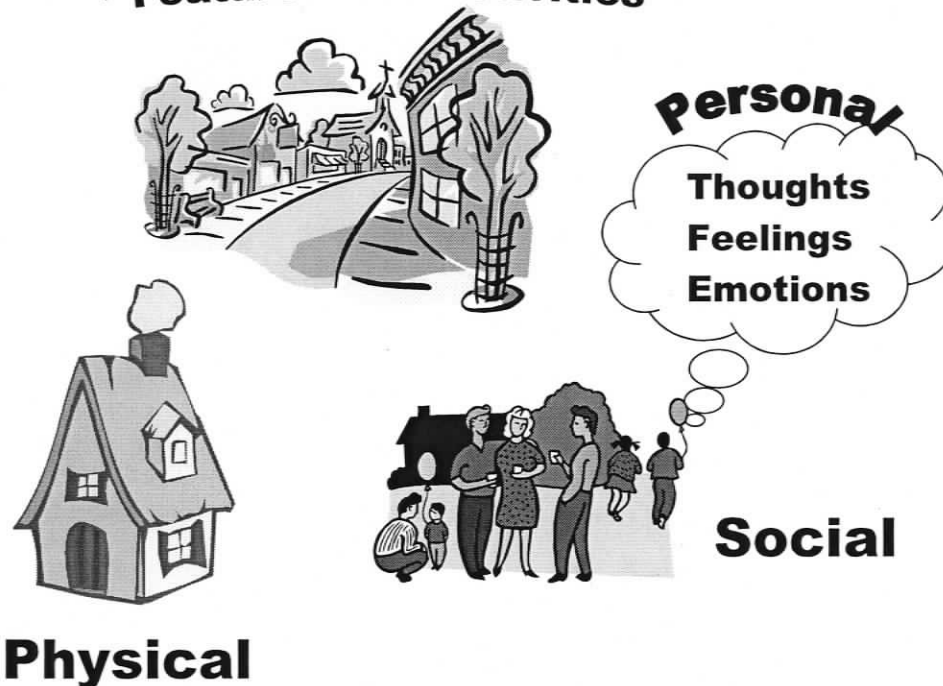
2.4.1 Meanings of Home

In the developmental literature, development is framed in terms of ongoing person-context dynamics which become increasingly complex from childhood to adult life (Oswald and Wahl, 2003). Oswald and Wahl's examination of home at the micro level took a lifespan approach to meaning of place, considering the "lifetime process of person-environment exchange" (2005b: paragraph 1). Their study concluded that the home can take on many different meanings in old age besides physical aspects, such as housing amenities, features of the surrounding residential area, activities performed in this surrounding residential environment, and biographical aspects relating to thoughts, feelings and social relationships (Oswald and Wahl, 2005b).

In an effort to reduce complexity and encourage empirical replications, Oswald and Wahl (2005a) introduce a framework based on well-replicated empirical findings from environmental psychology and gerontology with respect to the meaning of home in old age. Their framework emphasizes the interrelations between *physical* aspects (including, for example, physical home, physical insideness, community, and body-centered processes), *social* aspects (including social home, connection, social insideness, and social-centered process) and *personal* aspects (including personal home and person-centered process) of the meaning of home (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Oswald and Wahl's Dimensions of Home

Surrounding Residential Environment Features and Activities



This framework emphasizes the transactional relationship between persons and their environment over time and is intended to guide comparative studies on the topic (Oswald and Wahl, 2005a). The framework leaves room for a geographical perspective of 'place' and 'home', and the temporal dimensions of place experience.

2.4.2 Environment and Identity in Later Life

For the *Environment and Identity in Later Life* research project, Peace *et al.* (2005a; 2005b; 2005c; 2006) used an ethnographic approach to explore the connections between living environments and the maintenance of identity and well-being in later life. The relationships between social, psychological and material aspects of the environment and social and psychological aspects of identity were explored along various axes: locations, housing, neighbourhood, age cohort, health status, and mobility (Peace, 2005; Peace *et al.*, 2005b).

Like Oswald and Wahl's *Meaning of Home* project described above, the *Environment and Identity in Later Life* study focuses on a wide definition of environment, encompassing the dwelling; the external environment surrounding the dwelling, the street-life and beyond (Peace *et al.*, 2005b). This conceptualization of environment revealed an untapped area of environment and identity data – the intervening meso space between private accommodation and public street life that may extend across the range of private to public space. This might refer to an apartment lobby, a garden, or a courtyard. Moving beyond the house, Peace *et al.* examine the relationships between neighbourhood and identity. Their work revealed that as people become more focused on the home with age, the salience of their neighbourhood – the home beyond the house – increases (Peace *et al.*, 2006).

Neighbourhoods are distinct from communities, and can be thought of as “geographical areas with personal and social meaning related to the physicality of the environment” (Peace *et al.*, 2006:70). Neighbourhood boundaries may include fixed elements, but can also be vague and undefined. Peace *et al.* (2005c:307-08) describe the following six key aspects of any neighbourhood that might influence their enjoyment by older residents:

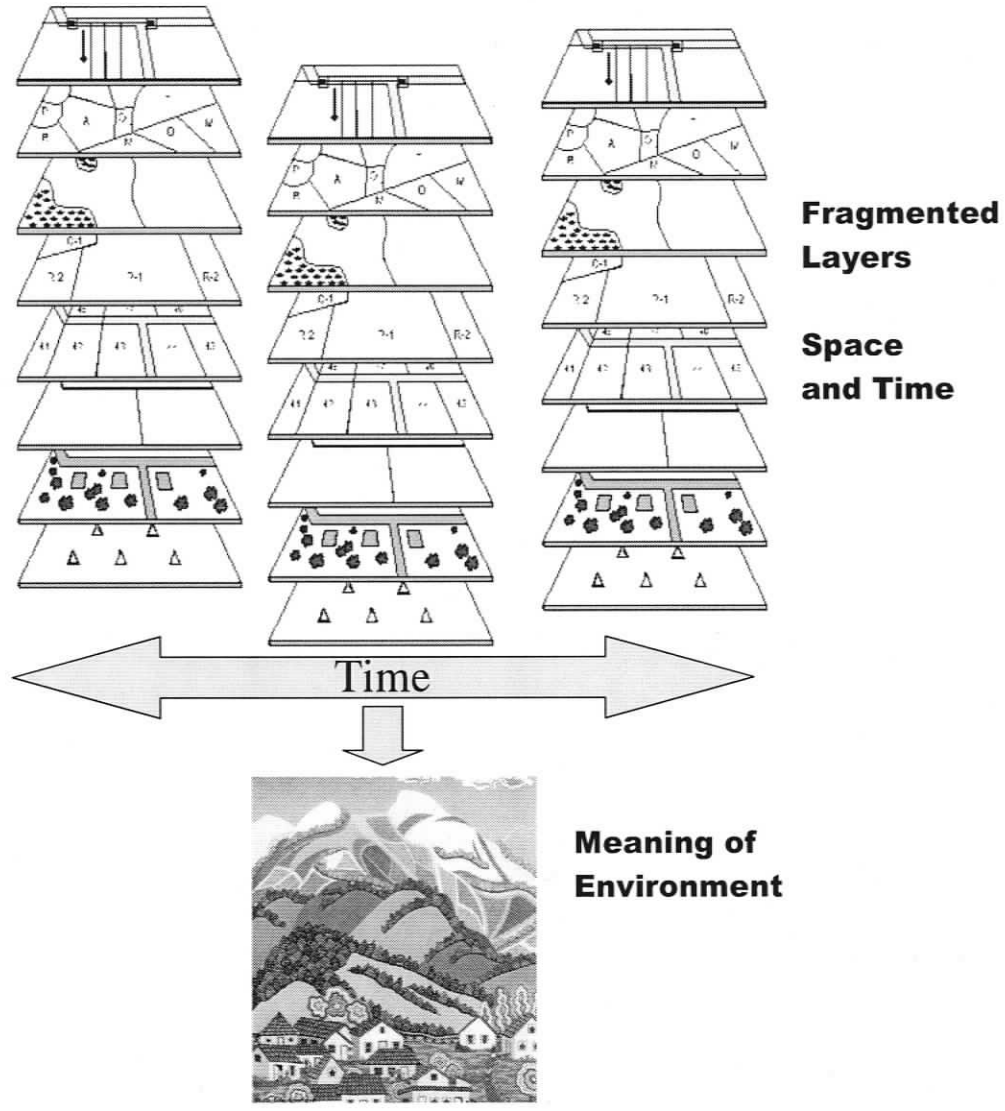
1. Material complexity of the neighbourhood: including such elements as the diversity of housing, street layouts including parking places, the variety of uses of public spaces, and the availability of accessible transportation;
2. The level of urbanization: rural, semi-rural, suburban, urban, metropolitan;
3. The social heterogeneity of the neighbourhood community including the mix of race/culture, age, wealth, class and so on;
4. Material affordances: the barriers/aids to mobility such as traffic flow, street gradients and curbs;
5. The situation relative to proximate neighbourhoods; whether up- or down-market, routes in and out, and the amount of context with the wider area; and
6. Organizational [structural] factors: including the degree to which governance is locally devolved; the provision of health and welfare services; and recreational facilities.

Peace *et al.* examine the above six elements in different neighbourhood contexts – rural, urban or suburban. They are important throughout the lifecourse, but are particularly significant in later life because day to day interactions are more likely to be confined to the immediate neighbourhood (Peace *et al.*, 2006). Community involvement is another key to attachment to the neighbourhood and to place more generally. In Peace *et al.*'s (2006) study, getting involved in social and community life was especially important in discussions of relocation and adjusting to a new place.

Peace *et al.* (2006) suggest the concept of 'environmental layers' to explain the many spatially and temporally fragmented elements of our lives that create meaning. This suggests that it is not a smooth continuum between home and community; rather, individuals make sense of their world through these fragmented layers (Figure 2.2). The *Environment and Identity in Later Life* research reveals the many layers of 'environment' in people's lives – from a room to a faraway place. These varied and fragmented spaces and places are open to different forms of person-place interaction and may have different meaning and forms for different people. Ultimately, the spatially and temporally fragmented elements of our lives are what contribute to a life of quality (Peace *et al.*, 2006).

Peace *et al.*'s (2005a; 2006) findings confirm and extend the seminal work of Rowles (1978; 1983b; Rowles and Ohta, 1983; Rowles and Watkins, 2003), Golant (1984; 2002), and Rubinstein (1989; Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992) and complement recent work on neighbourhood and community context in later life from other geographers and environmental gerontologists (Krause, 2004; Oswald *et al.*, 2005; Phillips, Siu, Yeh and Cheng, 2005). The *Environment and Identity in Later Life Study* is an example of research into the experience of place in later life across multiple scales.

Figure 2.2 Fragmented 'Environmental Layers' contribute to meaning in our lives



2.5 Community Context

Building on the concepts described so far in this chapter, this section provides additional context for the third research objective – using the research to create places that are healthy and supportive for people of all ages. A first goal is to examine ideas of health and health promotion, the connections between health and place, specifically the built environment, and health and community engagement.

2.5.1. Health and Place

We ought to plan the ideal of our city with an eye to four considerations. The first, as being the most indispensable, is health.

Aristotle,

Politics (ca. 350 B.C.)

(Cited in Frank, Engelke and Schmid, 2003:1)

What is health? The word comes from the old English *haelth* meaning whole, wellness, and ‘hello’ at once (Gesler and Kearns, 2002). Since 1948, the World Health Organization (WHO) has defined health as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or injury” (World Health Organization, 2003: paragraph 1). Building on this definition of health, the Ottawa Charter (World Health Organization, 1986: paragraph 20) highlights the relationship between everyday life and health:

Health is created and lived by people within the settings of their everyday life; where they learn, work, play and love. Health is created by caring for oneself and others, by being able to take decisions and have control over one’s life circumstances, and by ensuring that the society one lives in creates conditions that allow the attainment of health by all its members.

One of the processes to improve population health is to mobilize and channel “existing community assets (e.g., individuals’ expertise, energy, creativity, and material resources) into productive investments that bring about desired returns” (Stokols, Grzywacz, McMahan and Phillips, 2003:5). Rather than focusing on health (or illness) care, this way of thinking celebrates the everyday contribution to health made by individuals and society.

Community design can promote health by helping people meet their biological, behavioural and socio-cultural needs. As noted above, lifestyle and everyday activities are recognized as a key to understanding patterns of chronic disease, the most prevalent form of ill health in North America (Dannenberg *et al.*, 2003; Frank *et al.*, 2003; Frumkin, 2003). Frank *et al.* (2003) describe how non-structured forms of exercise,

particularly moderate exercise such as walking, help to encourage healthy lifestyles and help prevent chronic disease.

Given that 60% of older adults are not sufficiently active to achieve optimal full health benefits (Health Canada, 2002), changes to urban form that promote non-motorized, active transport can have a significant impact on health (Cervero and Duncan, 2003; Frank *et al.*, 2003; Srinivasan, O'Fallon and Dearry, 2003). There is a strong relationship between a city's recreational amenities and residents' well-being and personal satisfaction (Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1997). Recreational facilities have been found to be the services most used by older in-migrants in their new communities (Glasgow, 1995).

Older adults are amongst those least likely to report walking on a regular basis (Eyler, Brownson, Bacak and Housemann, 2003; Canadian Fitness and Lifestyle Research Institute, 2005). Neighbourhoods with streets that are safe for walking and that have convenient access to physical recreation facilities are more likely to provide a social and physical environment that is conducive to physical activity such as neighbourhood walking (Health Canada, 2003; Canadian Fitness and Lifestyle Research Institute, 2005). Such features are important for shaping habitual walking behaviour and slowing the decline in older adults' physical activity over time (Health Canada, 2003; Li, Fisher and Brownson, 2005).

Aging in place is a worldwide phenomenon that is just beginning to receive attention from a policy perspective. The WHO's age-friendly communities framework is one such example of mobilization around aging in place. According to the WHO (2006:4), an age-friendly community facilitates participation by encouraging several key elements:

- Positive images of older persons,
- Accessible and useful information for older persons,
- Accessible public and private transportation,
- Inclusive opportunities for civic, cultural, educational and voluntary engagement,
- Barrier-free and enabling interior and exterior spaces.

Smart Growth is a collection of land use and development principles that can support age-friendly communities (Howe, 2001). These principles include a mix of land uses, compact neighbourhood, a variety of transportation choices, diverse housing opportunities, infill growth, unique neighbourhood identity, and engaged citizens (Smart Growth BC, 2002). The principles of urbanism can also be applied to elder-friendly communities. Sarte (2005) describes how the principles of urbanism can help create positive environments for aging by fostering six key elements (Table 2.2).

The principles outlined in Table 2.2 are hailed by a variety of writers. Beatley suggests that "... a genuine place, a place that feels real and authentic to us, is a place... that is diverse, and this must necessarily include age diversity" (2004:272). Oldenburg (1999) uses the terms "third place" and "great good place" to describe the many public places such as cafés, libraries, and parks, where people of all ages can gather for the pleasures of good company and lively conversation not as family members or employees, but as social beings. Mixed-use neighbourhoods encourage people onto the streets and sidewalks, where they encounter each other and chat. These areas are safer because there are people in the public realm throughout the day (Jacobs, 1961; Young, 1990). These spaces allow for spontaneous exchange, which is crucial to building a neighbourhood network of support and that contributes to the quality of neighbourhood life (Engwicht, 1999).

According to Engwicht (1993), humans live in cities in order to maximize two kinds of exchange: planned and spontaneous. Planned exchanges are the ones for which we make a deliberate journey: a trip to the shop for milk, a trip to the bank to deposit a cheque, a trip to school to get an education. Spontaneous exchanges usually get transacted while making a trip to a planned exchange (Engwicht, 1993).

Table 2.2 Key elements of a positive environment for aging

Element	Description
Diversity and flexibility	Support a heterogeneous population, sensitive to life transitions and adapt to internal and external change through adaptable design guidelines
Continuity and maintenance	Embrace the role of place in shaping experiences, place attachment, honouring life-story, self-identity across lifecourse, ease of way finding and orientation, social ties and networks.
Security and safety	Support to compensate for lost or reduced competencies, crime prevention in environmental design, and accessible walkways
Autonomy and independence	Support mobility by ensuring proximity, connectivity, accessibility, control, and choice of services and amenities. A five-minute walking circle is one of the key principles of urbanism.
Challenge and stimulation	Maintain an element of surprise, support spontaneous activities and exchange, active living by design, and active and passive participation. Support mental, physical and social stimulation.
Interdependence	Support individual, family and community health and coordination of the health system.

Source: Sarte (2005)

2.5.2 Community engagement

The social bonds and relations that arise from belonging to a community do not exist ‘naturally’ or automatically, rather they are the result of social and cultural capital (Marin, 2001). This may be at the *individual* level, the *community* level, or both (Parkes and Kearns, 2006). Putnam’s (2000) book *Bowling Alone* laments the decline in civic engagement in recent years. Civic engagement is thought to be directly related to social cohesion, which is connected to neighbourhood stability and is reflected in mobility levels (Farrell, Aubry and Coulombe, 2004; Chee, 2006). Getting involved in the community through formal or informal mechanisms is one way of fostering place attachment and a sense of belonging (Peace *et al.*, 2006). Community involvement has been found to be more closely linked to better health amongst affluent individuals and in older people than in younger people (Parkes and Kearns, 2006).

Increased volunteering and social engagement is associated with physical activity and greater life satisfaction (Health Canada, 2002; Parkes and Kearns, 2006). Similarly, community design, particularly neighbourhood 'walkability' that supports physical activity, may foster getting to know one's neighbours, leading to increased civic engagement and social capital (Leyden, 2003).

The studies described in sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2. suggest that health is connected to the places in our lives and the social connections that these places foster. Transportation and land-use are of special significance, as they can strongly impact our everyday lives and the opportunities for health-promoting behaviour such as walking. These elements of place are of interest in relation to Oceanside as a case study, particularly given the area's demographics, which are described in detail in the next chapter.

2.6 Gaps and opportunities

In her address to the Gerontological Society of America, Sandy Markwood, the CEO of the National Association of Area Agencies on Aging, outlined why the aging network needs to wake up to community issues of aging in place (Markwood, 2004). This sentiment is echoed in recent literature; in 'Leaving Home', the final chapter of *Home and Identity in Late Life*, Rowles and Chaudhury (2005c) make several recommendations in terms of directions for future research on the topic of home in later life. They describe a gap in the literature on the nature and meaning of home at different spatial and temporal scales (Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005c). As Rowles and Chaudhury (2005c:381-382) suggest,

...in the paradoxical quest to find home, we believe that success may result from a combination of probing ever more deeply some of the questions explored in this book, addressing key questions that have been ignored in the previous pages, answering new questions that have been introduced by our contributors, and opening our eyes to new and unexpected manifestations of the phenomenon.

This "paradoxical quest to find home" is one of the core quests in our lives, and provides a window of opportunity for this research.

A decade ago, McHugh and Mings (1996) raised the issue of the geographical elasticity of home referring to this notion of spatial scale and home. We know little about the manner in which home is distinguished and understood at a personal level when being 'at home' is considered on multiple levels such as the dwelling, the immediate neighbourhood, the community and the nation. Because the community is important throughout the lifecourse, there needs to be further research into how exposure to and interactions within different community contexts over the lifecourse result in cumulative advantages or disadvantages at older ages (Robert, 2002). Similarly, communities change over time, influencing the lifecourse, and vice versa. The work of Oswald and Wahl (2005a; 2005b) and Peace *et al.* (2005b; 2006) provides insight into these different scales, but there is room for further investigation into community perspectives on meaning of home for older adults. The significance of physical and social environments can increase with age, becoming more visible as they facilitate or obstruct degrees of engagement (Peace *et al.*, 2006).

This literature review outlines numerous theories from which to draw insight into the objectives of this thesis. Five theories are selected to guide the empirical analysis. These theories draw from work in environment and aging, human geography and environmental gerontology. Together, they cover issues of aging, scale, home, neighbourhood, personal experience, and time (Table 2.3) and represent a synthesizing framework for the thesis research.

Table 2.3 Theories that inform the empirical investigation

Theory	Reference	HG	EG	Aging	Scale	Home	Neighb.	Exp.	Time
Dimensions of Home	Oswald and Wahl (2005a; 2005b)		x	x	x	x	x	x	
Environmental Layers	Peace <i>et al.</i> (2006)	x		x	x			x	x
Elements of Neighbourhood	Peace <i>et al.</i> (2005c)	x		x	x		x		
Dimensions of Place	Wiles (2005)	x		x	x			x	x
Place Integration	Cutchin (1999)	x		x				x	x

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Research Approach

3.1.1 Rationale for a Qualitative Design

This is an exploratory, interpretative study that focuses on understanding unique qualities of personal experiences of older adults who reside in a particular context, that of 'Oceanside', on Vancouver Island. This is an area characterised by its physical features (e.g. a mild climate and scenic beauty) as well as demographic features (e.g. a large proportion of older in-migrants). Because the focus is on meaning, and the phenomena of interest (i.e. the experiences of older adults relating to place and home) cannot be easily be separated from its context (e.g., physical, social, and temporal) this is a qualitative case study (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2002). The emphasis is on subjective truths, perceptions, and understanding rather than replicability and statistical validity.

Table 3.1 outlines twelve themes of qualitative inquiry. "Taken together, these twelve themes or principles constitute a comprehensive and coherent strategic framework for qualitative inquiry" (Patton, 2002:39). Although they are strategic ideals and not absolute and universal characteristics of qualitative inquiry, they provide a direction and framework for developing specific designs and concrete data collection tactics. In practice, "conducting holistic-inductive analysis and implementing naturalistic inquiry are always a matter of degree" (Patton, 2002:67). In the following section, I will describe how the themes described in Table 3.1 match my ontological, epistemological, methodological perspectives and the role of the researcher. These perspectives recognize the researcher's influence on the research findings, and that interpretation is always partial.

Table 3.1 Themes of Qualitative Inquiry

Design Strategies:	
1. Naturalistic inquiry	Studying real-world situations as they unfold naturally; non-manipulative and non-controlling; openness to whatever emerges (lack of predetermined constraints on findings).
2. Emergent design flexibility	Openness to adapting inquiry as understanding deepens and/or situations change, the researcher avoids getting locked into rigid designs that eliminate responsiveness and pursues new paths of discovery as they emerge.
3. Purposeful sampling	Cases for study (e.g. People, organizations, communities events) are selected because they are “information rich” and illuminative, that is, they offer useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest’. Sampling, then, is aimed at insight about the phenomenon, not empirical generalization from a sample to a population.
Data Collection & Fieldwork Strategies	
4. Qualitative Data	Observations that yield detailed, thick description; inquiry in-depth; interviews that capture direct quotations about people’s personal perspectives and experiences; case studies; careful document review.
5. Personal experience & engagement	The researcher has direct contact and gets close to the people, situations, and phenomenon under study; the researcher’s personal experiences and insights are an important part of the inquiry and critical to understanding the phenomenon.
6. Empathic neutrality & mindfulness	An empathic stance in interviewing seeks vicarious understanding without judgement (neutrality) by showing openness, sensitivity, respect, awareness, and responsiveness; in observation it means being fully present (mindfulness).
7. Dynamic systems	Attention to processes; assumes change as ongoing whether focus is on an individual, an organization, a community, or an entire culture; therefore, mindful of, and attentive to, system and situation dynamics.
Analysis Strategies	
8. Unique case orientation	Assumes each case is special and unique; the first level of analysis is being true to, respecting, and capturing the details of the individual cases being studied; cross-case analysis follows from and depends on the quality of individual case studies.
9. Inductive analysis & creative synthesis	Immersion in the details and specifics of the data to discover important patterns, themes, and interrelationships; begins by exploring, then confirming; guided by analytical principles rather than rules; ends with a creative synthesis.
10. Holistic perspective	The whole phenomenon under study is understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts; focus is on complex interdependencies and system dynamics that cannot meaningfully be reduced to a few discrete variables and linear, cause-effect relationships.
11. Context sensitivity	Places findings in a social, historical, and temporal context; careful about, even dubious of, the possibility or meaningfulness of generalizations across time and space; emphasize instead careful comparative case analyses and extrapolating patterns for possible transferability and adaptation in new settings.
12. Voice, perspective, and reflexivity	The qualitative analyst owns and is reflective about her or his own voice and perspectives; a credible voice conveys authenticity and trustworthiness; complete objectivity being impossible and pure subjectivity undermining credibility, the researcher’s authenticity in all its complexity while being self-analytical, politically aware, and reflexive in consciousness.

Source: Patton, 2002:40-41

3.1.2 Ontological Perspective: On the Nature of Being*¹

Age is increasingly recognised as a social construct. The social processes and power relationships surrounding chronological age (i.e., number of years lived), physiological age (i.e., the physical changes of the body relating to health, fitness and appearance), and social age (i.e., how the aging body is perceived in society) are increasingly recognized and challenged (Pain *et al.*, 2001). The lifecourse is not pre-determined, but rather it is a dynamic, ever changing series of life events. Rowles describes the “knotty trilemma” of aging, age cohorts, and ageism (1980:68). It can be difficult to distinguish the changes attributable to the inherent biological and psychological processes of aging, changes in membership in a specific generation or cohort, and the changes resulting from the impact of the particular social context in which a person is aging (Rowles, 1980).

3.1.3 Epistemological Perspective: On the Nature of Knowing*

This research is influenced by the humanistic tradition, which is guided by two epistemological characteristics: anthropocentrism, and holism (Ley and Samuels, 1978). This means that each phenomenon is part of a field of human concern, and cannot be removed from its context (Ley and Samuels, 1978). Such a perspective is well suited to the case-study methodology selected for this research. Stemming from this is the pragmatic epistemology that ‘knowing’ should be grounded in experience and that “all knowledge is partial and subject to change” (Wilson, 2001:474). Qualitatively, the study of aging is characterized by an increased acceptance of, and engagement with, inconsistency and subjectivity (Schoenberg and Rowles, 2002). Increasingly, research, both qualitative and quantitative, is being recognized not as a value-free craft, but as a mirror of the temporal and cultural expectations and constraints of the society of the era (Bailey, White and Pain, 1999; Schoenberg and Rowles, 2002). Each of us is a product of

¹ Headings marked with * are from Schoenberg and Rowles (2002)

our milieu, the role of the researcher and the researcher's values are significant in all research (Schoenberg and Rowles, 2002:10).

3.1.4 Methodological Perspective: On Ways of Finding Out*

Changing notions of what 'research' is have brought on a proliferation of methods of data gathering and interpretation techniques as well as opportunities for the study of aging and place (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The rhetorical (creative) and the scientific (rational) aspects of qualitative research cannot be separated; critical qualitative inquiry can help achieve a balance between the two (Bailey *et al.*, 1999). The task of qualitative human geographers is to understand the "interplay between the subjective experiences of everyday life and the broader historical and structural relations" (Bailey *et al.*, 1999:174).

Interpretation is a process that considers the ever-changing gaps between the 'field site' as it is, the 'field site' as represented, and the 'field site' as interpreted (Bailey *et al.*, 1999). As Luborsky suggests, even during analysis "themes are markers of processes, not fixed structures" (1994:193). Because of this ongoing construction and reconstruction of reality and experience, interpretations are always partial (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Bailey *et al.*, 1999).

3.1.5 Role of the Researcher

As the researcher, I cannot remove my "self" from my interpretation of the data. By most standards, I am not considered "old". Having not experienced "old age", I cannot claim to know the experience of older people. I do, however, have common experiences I can draw upon in my interpretations. For example, for three months this past summer, my mobility was severely limited due to a broken foot. This influenced my physical, emotional and social experience of place. I adapted to my indoor environment by using a wheeled office chair to move from room to room. Like the participants described by Peace *et al.* (2005a) and others, I centralized my activities within my home by creating a 'control centre' in my living room, with telephone, computer, books and

papers all within reach, positioning myself in such a way that I can see the immediate outdoor environment in three directions – my surveillance zone (Rowles, 1981). Over the course of writing this thesis I have also moved to a new community where I have made new friends and worked to create a new home. Thus, overall, my personal experience and values influence the direction that the research takes me, as well as how I interpret observations of the ‘field site’.

When analyzing qualitative data, I have tried to keep in mind that “what is described from the experiential perspective is often not pure experience but rather immediately interpreted experience” (Rubinstein, 1998:96). Because the research is part of a larger study that will use the same data, my ‘partial interpretation’ will allow for a variety of perspectives and insights into sense of place and aging from those of other researchers with different experiences and values.

3.2 Description of the Study Site

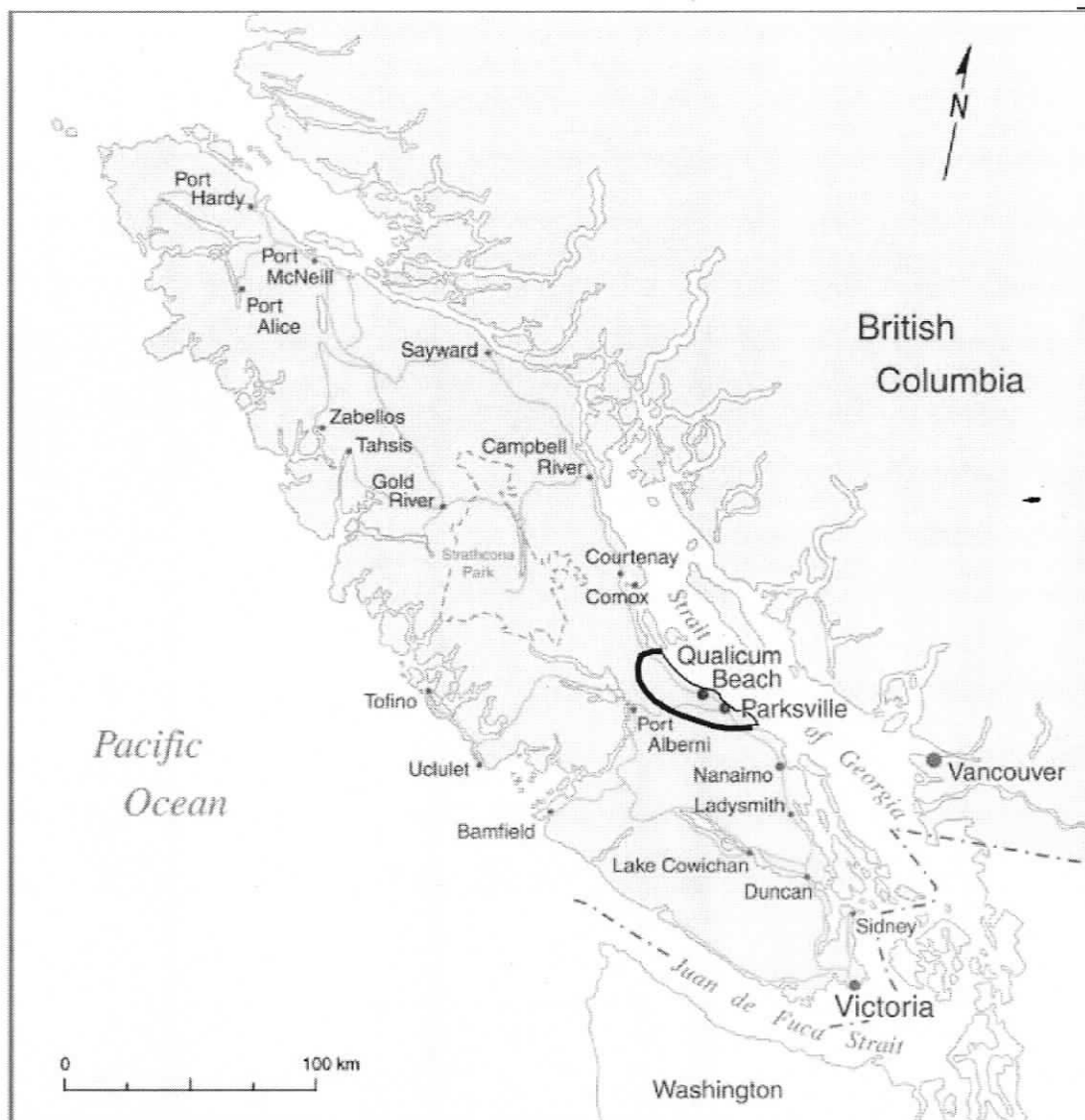
This section provides a detailed demographic profile of the area in an effort to give a sense of the community context of the research. A detailed description of the study’s context is important for transferability – the degree to which constructs are meaningful to other groups and in other contexts (Baxter and Eyles, 1997).

This is a case study of persons aged 55 and over in the area known as Oceanside on Vancouver Island (Figure 3.1). This area includes the City of Parksville, the Town of Qualicum Beach, French Creek, Nanoose, Lighthouse Country, Errington, and two reserves – Qualicum and Nanoose. Given the population distribution within Oceanside, the area may be considered to have rural, urban, and suburban elements.

3.2.1. Population

The population of Oceanside was 38,000 in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2004). In 2001, nearly 27% of the area’s population was over the age of 65, and more than 41% of the population was over the age of 55 (Statistics Canada, 2004). This is twice the

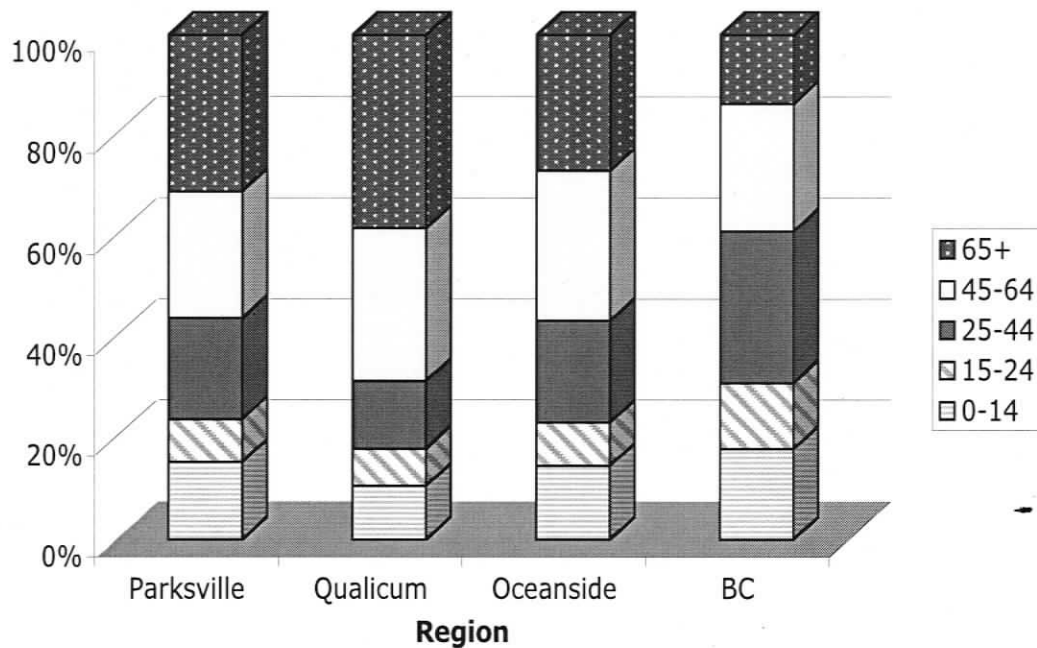
Figure 3.1 Map of study site: Oceanside, B.C. including Parksville and Qualicum Beach



national average of 13.6% aged 65+ and the national average of 24% for those aged 55+ (Statistics Canada, 2005).

Oceanside's population is not uniform throughout the area; the proportion of the population aged 65+ ranges from 10.5% in Errington, to 38% in Qualicum Beach (Statistics Canada, 2004). The proportion of the population aged 55+ ranges from 21% in Errington to 54% in Qualicum Beach (Figure 3.2). Like many small communities in Canada, Oceanside's aging population is the result of the in-migration of retirement

Figure 3.2 Oceanside Age Distribution, 2001 Census



Source: Statistics Canada, 2004

migrants coupled with an out-migration of younger populations due to educational opportunities elsewhere and the lack of jobs in resource-based economies and the aging in place of other older adults (MacKenzie and Cloutier-Fisher, 2004).

Oceanside enjoys Canada's mildest year-round climate and is known for its scenic beauty (Oceanside Tourism Association, 2005). As a result, the area is experiencing rapid growth as a highly desirable retirement destination. Though population change and growth rates are difficult to track due to changes in administrative boundaries (Westland Resource Group, 2001), the Regional District of Nanaimo is the fourth fastest growing region in British Columbia, with an overall population increase of 2.3% from 2001-2005 (BC Stats, 2005).

With a population of 10,323 in 2001, the City of Parksville is the largest community in Oceanside (Statistics Canada, 2004). Parksville's growth rate from 2001-2005 was an estimated 3.8%, with a population of 11,708 in 2005 (BC Stats, 2005). Nanaimo Regional District's Area G, known as French Creek, is located between

Parksville and Qualicum Beach, and had a population of 7,041 in 2001; 24.6% of whom were over the age of 65 (Statistics Canada, 2004). In 2001, 6,921 people lived in the Town of Qualicum Beach (Statistics Canada, 2004). Population estimates for Qualicum Beach indicate 19% growth since 2001, with an estimated population of 8,807 in 2005 (BC Stats, 2005). This high growth may reflect other already named processes and also the recent incorporation of the Chartwell Subdivision and Glengarry Golf Course, formerly part of French Creek Area G, into Qualicum Beach (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2005).

Voter turnout for Qualicum Beach at the November 2005 municipal election was over 64%, considerably higher than that of neighbouring areas (Horner and Dane, 2005). Only 28% of Parksville's registered voters cast ballots, and 15% of eligible voters from Area G (French Creek) voted (Horner and Dane, 2005). This high voter turnout in Qualicum Beach may be indicative of 'grey power', the higher inclination to vote in later life that results from having the oldest population in the region (Harper and Laws, 1995).

North of Qualicum Beach is the area known as Lighthouse Country (Nanaimo Regional District Area H), which includes Qualicum Bay, Deep Bay, and Bowser (Oceanside Tourism Association, 2005). In 2001, Lighthouse Country had a population of 3,108, more than one quarter (26.4%) of whom were over the age of 65 (Statistics Canada, 2004). South of Parksville is Nanoose (Nanaimo Regional District Area E) which in 2001 had a population of 5,227, one quarter (25%) of whom were over the age of 65 (Statistics Canada, 2004). Finally, to the west is Nanaimo Regional District Area F, known as Errington. This area includes Coombs and Arrowsmith with a 2001 population of 5,546, only 10.5% of whom were over the age of 65 (Statistics Canada, 2004).

For the purposes of this study, participants from Nanaimo Regional District Areas E (Nanoose), F (Errington), G (French Creek), and H (Bowser/Lighthouse Country) will be grouped as "Oceanside – Nanaimo Regional District (NRD)" in order to preserve

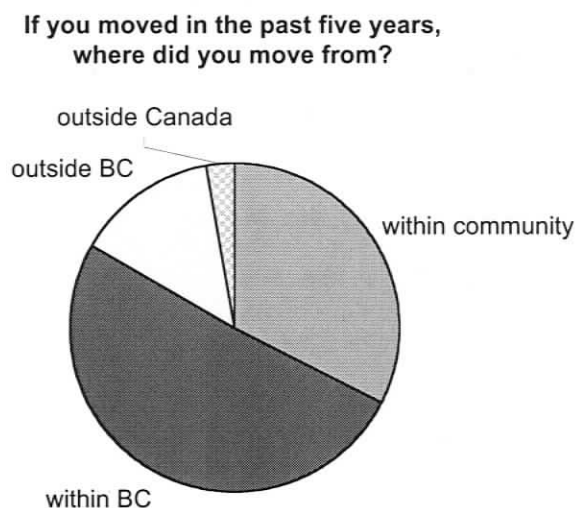
participants' anonymity. The 2001 population for this area is 20,922, with 21.1% of the population over the age of 65 (Statistics Canada, 2004).

3.2.2 Mobility

Most older persons continue to live where they have always lived, both in the sense of community as well as in the sense of a specific home or dwelling (Rubinstein, 1998). This is not the case in Oceanside, where few older residents were born in the area (Birch-Jones and Redrup, 1999; City of Parksville, 2002). Between 1996 and 2001, 14% of residents moved within the community (Census Sub-Division), and nearly one third of Oceanside residents (31%) over the age of five moved to the area from another Census Sub-Division (Statistics Canada, 2004). Thus, Oceanside's mobility is different from Provincial and National mobility patterns. In the period between 1996 and 2001, 22.4% of Canadians and 23% of British Columbians moved within their community, and 19.5% of Canadians and 23% of British Columbians moved to a different Census Sub-Division (Statistics Canada, 2004).

Parksville had the highest proportion of migrants in the area, with 36% of the population having moved from another Census Sub-Division in the 5 years prior to the census. Mobility on the Qualicum Reserve is lowest, i.e., 15% of the population were migrants in the 5 years prior to the census. Of the migrants to the region, 76% are intra-provincial migrants, meaning they've moved to Oceanside from elsewhere in B.C. (Figure 3.3). Twenty percent of the migrants are inter-provincial migrants, and have moved to Oceanside from another province in Canada. Five percent of migrants to Oceanside are external, meaning they've moved to the area from a country other than Canada. Both Qualicum Beach and Nanoose had the highest proportion (28%) of migrants from places other than B.C.

Figure 3.3 Oceanside Mobility, 1996-2001



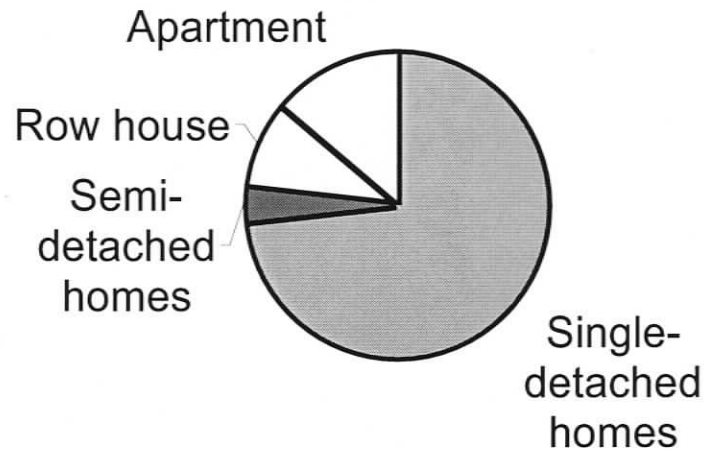
Source: Statistics Canada, 2004

3.2.3 Housing Characteristics

The majority of the housing stock in Oceanside is single family detached, and over 78% of the housing in Oceanside is owner-occupied (Figure 3.4) (Statistics Canada, 2004). More than half of Oceanside's housing has been constructed in the last 25 years (Figure 3.5) and is not in need of major repairs (Statistics Canada, 2004).

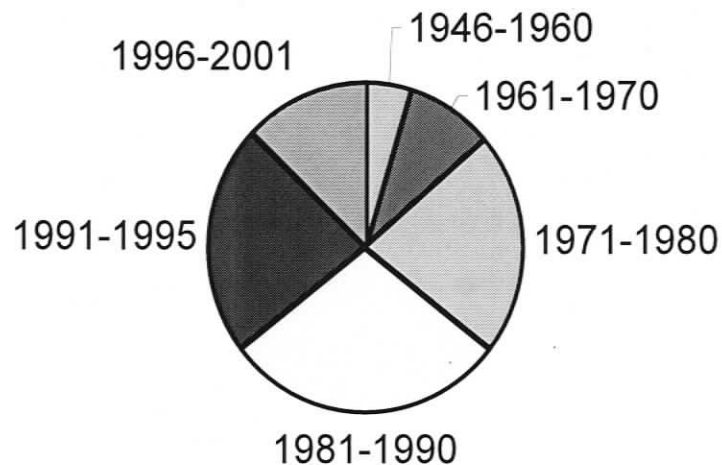
Like the Lower Mainland and Victoria, Oceanside's housing prices have increased steadily in recent years. The average value of a dwelling in Nanoose was highest in the region, at \$250,000 in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2004). The most recent statistics for Parksville and Qualicum Beach's housing market indicate a doubling of the percentage of market share of houses valued over \$250,000 between 2003 and 2005 (Vancouver Island Real Estate Board, 2005a). Homes priced between \$150,000 and \$200,000, which made up nearly 30% of the market share in 2003, comprised only 7% of the market in the third quarter of 2005. The average sale price for a house in October 2005 was more than \$325,000, a 25% increase over the October 2004 average price of \$265,000 (Vancouver Island Real Estate Board, 2005b).

Figure 3.4 Dwelling Type, Oceanside, 2001



Source: Statistics Canada, 2004

Figure 3.5 Period of Construction, Oceanside Housing Stock



Source: Statistics Canada, 2004

3.2.4 Diversity

Like the residents of Sun City, Arizona described by McHugh and colleagues (McHugh and Mings, 1996; McHugh, 2000; McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 2005), older adults in Oceanside are overwhelmingly white. In 2001, visible minorities comprised only 2% of the population of Oceanside, compared with 21.6% of the population of B.C.

(Statistics Canada, 2004). Four percent of Oceanside's population are of aboriginal origin, this is slightly lower than the provincial average of 4.6% (Statistics Canada, 2004; BC Stats, 2006).

3.2.5 Education

According to 2001 census data compiled by the Human Early Learning Partnership, 7.7% of adults aged 20+ in Parksville have a university degree, compared with 12.6% of Qualicum/Coombs, and 10.8% for Errington/Nanoose, and 17.4% for residents in the Waterfront areas of Qualicum and Parksville (Trafford and Human Early Learning Partnership, 2005). This suggests that residents of the more expensive waterfront areas of Oceanside are better educated and have higher incomes in order to afford these properties.

3.2.6 Unemployment

Many of the participants in the study cite high unemployment in the area as an influence on the composition of the community, because there are fewer adults working to support families in the area. Data indicates that the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate for persons in the area aged 25 and over for Oceanside is no higher than surrounding areas. Within Oceanside, unemployment is highest in Northwest/Lasqueti, at 12.4%, for the Waterfront areas of Oceanside unemployment is 8.1%, for Parksville 8.6%, and for Qualicum/Coombs, 6.6% (Trafford and Human Early Learning Partnership, 2005). These unemployment rates are lower than elsewhere in the area, particularly neighbourhoods of South Nanaimo (18.7%), and downtown Nanaimo (15.9%) (Trafford and Human Early Learning Partnership, 2005). Unemployment data classifies retirees as unemployed members of the workforce which is problematic when considering communities with high proportions of retirees.

3.2.7 Qualicum Beach Quality of Life Survey

The Town of Qualicum Beach conducted a Quality of Life (QoL) Survey in 2004. This information provides valuable insights into how residents of Qualicum Beach feel towards their place of residence, and how this relates to their quality of life. The majority of the estimated 185 respondents who participated in the survey had lived in Qualicum Beach for at least 5 years, though 27% of respondents were new to the area (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). The age of respondents reflects the higher tendency for retirees to fill out a mail survey: 14% of respondents were age 45-53, 28% were age 55-64, 32% were aged 65-74, 16% were aged 75-84, and 3% were aged 85+ (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004).

The top five QoL survey responses describing the character of Qualicum Beach capture the importance of the natural environment to the “Oceanside Lifestyle”: small town/village feeling, the natural beauty of the area, climate, pleasant/attractive downtown shopping area and seaside location (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). The lowest ranking responses describing the character of Qualicum Beach were: concern for the environment, good place for children, pedestrian friendly and maintenance of heritage character. Interestingly, only 19% of respondents would describe Qualicum Beach as a retirement town (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004).

According to respondents, Qualicum Beach’s top recreational activities are: walking, gardening, nature walk, golf, and performing arts/entertainment. Parking, beaches, teen recreation, residential sidewalks, and transportation were reported as amenities most in need of improvement. Residents expressed the highest level of dissatisfaction with Health Services (31%) provided by the Town of Qualicum Beach. Nearly 95% of respondents were either satisfied or very satisfied with library services, the civic centre, and garbage collection (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004).

3.3 Profile of Participants

3.3.1 Sampling

As part of the original *Home Sweet Home* research project, twenty-seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of thirty-nine participants. The sample was purposefully selected, and a snowball sampling method was also used, for example to generate participants from the local Stroke Recovery Group and from the region's two Newcomers clubs.

Fifteen of the interviews were with individuals (12 Females and 3 Males), and twelve of the interviews were with couples (Male/Female). The sample of interview participants revealed a range of characteristics that provided a rich source of data for this study. Demographic characteristics were not collected for the entire sample, and therefore cannot be used for a full assessment, but the brief profile that follows is based on the information that is available.

3.3.2 Length of Residence

Participants' length of residence in Oceanside ranged from less than one year to 35 years. None of the participants had spent their entire lives in Oceanside. One participant was born in Oceanside, but spent much of her working life elsewhere on Vancouver Island and returned to Oceanside to be closer to her aging parents. Eight interviews were with individuals or couples who had lived in Oceanside for ten years or more. The remaining 19 interviews were with persons who had lived in the area for less than ten years. The majority of participants had moved to the area following retirement. Some people who moved to the area before retirement brought their children with them, but the majority of participants moved once their children were grown.

3.3.3 Age

Of the subset of the 39 participants ($n = 25$) with demographics available, ages ranged from 57 to 80 years, with a median of 71 years. Those who had moved to

Oceanside in the last ten years tended to be younger (age 57-74) than those who had lived in Oceanside for a longer period of time (age 71-80). This reflects the tendency for people to move to the area for retirement reasons.

3.3.4 Area of Residence

Seven interviews were with residents of Parksville, ten interviews were with residents of Qualicum Beach, and ten interviews were with residents of other areas of the Oceanside-NRD. Though not representative of the population distribution within the areas of Oceanside, this reflects the convenience sample that was used for the primary data collection.

3.3.5 General Characteristics

Like the majority of the Oceanside population, all participants were white, and the majority were of English/Scottish/Irish ancestry. All participants were able bodied at the time of migration, though some had suffered major health traumas such as strokes or heart attacks. For these people, health problems were factors in their decision to move to a milder climate.

3.4 Research Procedures

This thesis research is based on a secondary analysis of qualitative interview data collected as part of the *Home Sweet Home* research project. Twenty-seven of the twenty-eight interviews that were conducted by the investigators were also transcribed verbatim by research assistants. One participant declined to have their interview tape-recorded, therefore this interview was not included in the secondary analysis because a transcript was not available. Pseudonyms were assigned to all participants to protect their anonymity and ensure confidentiality. As described by Clandinin & Connelly (1998), hard copies of the interview transcripts served as 'research texts', and were the primary data source for the qualitative data analysis that forms the basis of this thesis.

3.4.1 Secondary Analysis

According to Heaton, “secondary analysis involves the utilization of existing data, collected for the purposes of a prior study, in order to pursue a research interest which is distinct from that of the original work” (1998: paragraph 1). Secondary analysis may be conducted by the original researcher or another researcher who may or may not have any contact with the original research (Szabo and Strang, 1997). While secondary analysis is an accepted method in health research (see Hinds, Vogel and Clarke-Steffen, 1997; Szabo and Strang, 1997; Thorne, 1997; Heaton, 1998), there is scarce information pertaining to methodological issues around secondary analysis in qualitative geographical research (Brown, 2002).

As a graduate student, I became involved with the *Home Sweet Home* project after the data had been collected. The original *Home Sweet Home* research proposal made provision for a graduate student to conduct the interview analysis. The original researchers were available throughout the process to help to contextualize the interviews, though this does not replace ‘being there’ for interview data collection. The detailed demographic description of the study site in section 3.2 is an attempt to elaborate on the research context without having “been there”.

Secondary analysis affords an important opportunity for the research education of students (Szabo and Strang, 1997). Though it eliminates the research steps of sample selection and data collection, according to Szabo (1997), these skills can be obtained in seminars or research courses. For the student engaged in secondary analysis, more emphasis is placed on the actual analysis itself and on the interpretation of findings (Szabo and Strang, 1997). However, due to the challenges of performing secondary analysis in an independent capacity, some argue that if the researcher was not part of the original research team, secondary analysis should only be conducted by experienced researchers (Thorne, 1994).

The feasibility of using the data for secondary analysis is something that should be determined through a discussion with the primary researcher(s) (Szabo, 1997). The discussion about data feasibility was ongoing throughout the research process since as the student, I had the opportunity to connect with the principal investigator of the primary research who acted as my thesis supervisor. Heaton (1998) suggests four practical and ethical guidelines for the conduct of secondary analysis. Table 3.2 describes these, along with my interpretations, as the researcher, of how this research ascribes to these guidelines.

3.5 The Primary Data

When conducting a secondary analysis, it is important to ask three questions about the data: 1) Why were the data collected? 2) What questions were asked? and 3) What assumptions were being made by those who generated (and asked) the questions? (Brown, 2002). Each of these questions is examined in turn to clearly situate this secondary analysis within the primary research study and to be able to distinguish this study from the larger project.

3.5.1 Why the data were collected

The main objective of the Home Sweet Home research project was to gain insight into the 'lived experience' of retirement in-migrants by asking the general questions: "When you retired to Oceanside, what were you searching for and did you find it?" (MacKenzie and Cloutier-Fisher, 2004). Specifically, the objectives are described in the original research proposal (Cloutier-Fisher, no date) as follows:

1. Theoretical: Use theoretical approaches from structuration theory and humanism to explore the literature and develop an appropriate conceptual/interpretive framework to this study of elderly in-migrant and aged-in-place experiences in particular rural communities.

Table 3.2 Practical and Ethical Guidelines for the Conduct of Secondary Analysis

Guideline	Description	Application in this research
Compatibility of the data with secondary analysis	This will depend on the 'fit' between the purpose of the analysis and the nature and quality of the original data. Interview designs using semi-structured schedules may produce more rich and varied data.	The interviewing style used in the original study was done in a manner that created meaning and aided in the construction of the individual's story of his or her experience. In this study, the research objectives fit well with the original study, and data obtained from the original study regarding individuals' experience of place and community provided a rich source of information suitable for secondary analysis. The secondary analyst had access to 19 audiotapes, verbatim transcripts, and some demographic data from the original study.
Position of the secondary analyst relative to the original research team.	Access to the original data is easier if the secondary researcher was part of the original research team. If not, they should be able to consult with the original researcher in order to assess the quality of the original work and contextualize the material. Further consultation may be helpful for crosschecking the results of the secondary analysis.	Because the researchers who collected the original data are on my thesis committee, I had the opportunity to consult the original researchers in order to investigate the circumstances of the original data generation and processing and ask the important questions described in the next section.
Reporting of original and secondary data analysis	Study design, methods and issues involved should be reported in full.	This methodology chapter reports on the study design, methods, and issues in full.
Ethical Issues	How was consent obtained in the original study?	The original consent form signed by participants includes a provision for analysis by members of the research team. (Appendix A)

Source: Heaton, 1998: paragraphs 16-19

2. Empirical: Use a case study methodology to develop profiles of elderly in-migrants and aged-in-place persons. Correspondingly, a profile of the community context will be developed to consider the structures and resources in communities that promote or constrain healthy aging. Questions to be addressed by the empirical objectives at the individual scale and at the community scale are expanded upon below.

2.1 Individual: Are the expectations of elderly in-migrants and aged-in-place persons different and if yes, how do these differences influence the experiences of individuals and their need for particular kinds of services?

2.2 Community:

a. Are these communities service disadvantaged or relatively well-supplied in terms of supportive housing, home support services (e.g. homemakers and visiting nurses), transportation networks and housing stock? These are the most commonly reported service deficiencies in rural communities.

b. Characterize the 'other' social resources that these communities possess relative to voluntary networks, church groups and other supportive organizations.

c. What is local political leadership like and does it support healthy aging?

3. Policy implications: Highlight the relevant implications of the findings for key stakeholders such as: policymakers, regional health authority staff, planners, service providers, and other administrators to provide decision makers with more detailed information for promoting healthy aging (i.e., health, well-being, and quality of life) among elderly populations.

3.5.2 What questions were asked?

The research team conducted 28 interviews with individuals and couples in their homes during the period between December 2002 and July 2003. Interviews were exploratory and semi-structured around the interview schedule provided in Appendix B. The following areas were addressed in the interview schedule: Housing/neighbourhood characteristics, life in the community (i.e. safety and security, settling in, feeling "at home", satisfaction with municipal governance), quality of life, clubs, friends, social support, informal networks, health, and formal service use.

New themes were discovered during the interviews and subsequent fieldwork. Three key themes that emerged during the original stage of the primary research with

recent in-migrants are: recreating personal identities and personal meaning, finding a sense of community and belonging, and concerns about community resources (MacKenzie and Cloutier-Fisher, 2004). Some of the later interviews included additional questions exploring and verifying some of the emerging themes, as elaborated by Luborsky's (1994) general guidelines for the discovery of themes and patterns. Many of the participants provided direct feedback on emerging themes as presented in the later interviews. This active pursuit of themes during the research interviews provided an opportunity for direct feedback from the informant and was a useful guide to ground later interpretations (Luborsky, 1994; Gubrium and Holstein, 2002).

Informed consent was obtained from all informants and included provision for secondary analysis (Appendix A). The primary research study received ethical approval from the Office of the Vice President, Research Human Research Ethics Committee. In addition to the original ethics review process, students engaged in secondary data analysis may have to apply for approval of an ethics waiver for secondary analysis of existing data (Appendix C). Subsequent to this approval, the interview transcripts and tapes in which the participants' names had been changed to maintain confidentiality were made available to me for the purpose of this M.A. research.

3.5.3 What assumptions were made by those who collected the data?

As mentioned in section 3.4.1 above, the larger *Home Sweet Home* research project uses theoretical approaches from structuration theory and humanism. One key assumption made by those who collected the data is that aged-in-place persons (defined as persons residing in the area for more than ten years) would have different experiences, perceptions and values than persons who have lived in the region for fewer than ten years.

3.5.4 How does this study differ from the *Home Sweet Home* Study?

Both this thesis study (*Home Beyond the House*) and the *Home Sweet Home* study employ a qualitative case study methodology to examine the same social, temporal and community context, however, the phenomena under investigation as outlined in the objectives of each study are somewhat different. Conceptually, the most significant difference between the two studies is the emphasis placed on the distinction between aged-in-place and in-migrants in the broader study, whereas this project does not use the same ten-year length of residence to distinguish residents as aged-in-place or in-migrants as the *Home Sweet Home* project. It recognizes that all residents have moved to the area as adults and have experienced adjustment to their new community, regardless of when they moved to the area. The principal investigators of the *Home Sweet Home* study are on the supervisory committee for this thesis and have been available to clarify methodological issues (e.g. sampling and data collection) pertaining to their study.

3.6 Data Analysis

3.6.1 Preliminary Analysis

As part of the *Home Sweet Home* Project, a round of preliminary analysis took place between July 2004 and July 2005. Between three and five researchers, including myself and the Principal Investigator, engaged in open and axial coding to review interview transcripts and to organize the concepts by recurring themes as they related to the *Home Sweet Home* research objectives described above. Open coding broke the data into broad categories suggested by the data, while axial coding involved organizing the concepts into recurring themes (Bailey *et al.*, 1999). Transcripts were first analysed for themes and patterns by each team member separately. Next, transcripts were discussed and compared across interviews and between team members. Notes were compiled following the development of a template that had the following headings: general notes; new themes/issues or things that stand out; similarities with other interviews; and overall thoughts on the project. Seven interview transcripts were coded in this manner.

This preliminary round of analysis provided me as the researcher valuable training and an opportunity to get to know the data better. In addition, it was a helpful process for illustrating the scope and limitations of the data. Furthermore, it helped to focus the development of several objectives for my own *Home Beyond the House* research project.

3.6.2 Analysis

As previously outlined, one of the research objectives is to illustrate the experience of home across spatial and temporal scales using a geographical perspective on the concept of *place* as a complement to the environmental gerontology concept of *environment*. Thematic analysis was used because it is an effective method for bridging the geographical and environmental gerontological perspectives (Luborsky, 1994; Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005b).

3.6.3 First, the deductive approach

According to Stake, “the case study is both a process of inquiry about a case and a product of that inquiry” (2005:444). Because this research employs secondary analysis of qualitative data and several critical issues are known in advance (e.g., through the publication of initial findings by MacKenzie and Cloutier-Fisher, 2004), this can be considered an *instrumental* case study approach (Stake, 2005). With an instrumental case study, the research question determines the issue under investigation, and the case is used instrumentally to illustrate the issue. The case is of secondary interest, playing a supportive role in facilitating our understanding of something else (Stake, 2005). The advantage of the instrumental case study is that the researcher can take advantage of existing theories and knowledge when analyzing data (Stake, 2005). An instrumental case study design can also take advantage of already-developed instruments and preconceived coding schemes that connect data, issues, and interpretations (Stake, 2005). In this deductive approach to the research project, the whole set of primary data was considered a “case” under investigation.

3.6.4 Then, an inductive approach

Case studies require thorough knowledge of all the research material. The research then moves between the details of the material and the objectives of the research which mutually reinforce one another (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith, 2002). As Bennet and Shurmer-Smith point out, “writing case studies... is not about truth in the singular, but about partial truths and multiple understandings” (2002:207). Rather than creating theory, as is often true with inductive approaches, the interview transcripts portray the experience of aging and place in a particular spatial and temporal context. The purpose is not to organize the portrayals into neat and tidy categories, but rather to create a mosaic, to help convey my interpretation and understanding of the portrayals of older adults living in a particular context for the reader (Piantanida and Garman, 1999).

During the course of the analysis, there was a gradual shift to a more inductive approach to the research. During the coding process, it became apparent that the data did not “fit” the neat and tidy categories from the analytical framework I had laid out based on my initial review of the literature. At the time of analysis, I considered existing literature, revisited the data, revised my framework, and reconsidered my analysis. Bailey *et al.* (1999:173) describe a process similar to my experience:

Through research activities ... the researcher develops tentative explanations or propositions. These are then ‘tested’ and revised to guide a fresh collection of data, to review the original data and literature, to appraise new literature and to form new explanations. This process continues until emerging concepts ... are grouped into categories ... that make a theoretical contribution to the explanation of the original research problem.

While the above passage referred to the conduction of a grounded theory study, this passage describes the emergent process that was part of my research design and analysis.

3.7 Methods for Verification

Much of the thinking about quality of research originated in ideas about quantitative research (Gibbs, 2002). The strong emphasis on ensuring the validity, reliability and generalizability of quantitative results has merit with qualitative results,

though methods of ensuring rigour are different (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). As mentioned, qualitative research seeks to understand subjective, everyday experiences. Though it is not possible for research to adopt a standardized evaluation method, Table 3.3 lists some general principles or ideals suggested by Baxter and Eyles (1997) for a systematic evaluation of qualitative research. According to Baxter and Eyles (1997), evaluation includes three components: the plausibility of research design, the plausibility of accounts, and appeal to the interpretive community. Because this work is based on secondary analysis of interview data, clearly not all strategies outlined in Table 3.3 are applicable, however, the methodology, accounts, and corroboration of research findings provide three opportunities for evaluation. In addition to the strategies outlined in Table 3.3, Baxter and Eyles (1997) suggest four basic information requirements for the appraisal of qualitative work that uses interviews as the main method of data collection (Table 3.4).

3.7.1 Additional Procedures

In this study, the interviews collected as part of the primary research were transcribed verbatim. Following thematic analysis of the transcripts and the writing of an early draft of the thesis, I listened to a subset of the interview tapes to check the transcripts for errors and omissions and to add dimensions to the data analysis that were not possible to obtain from reading the transcripts alone. Reconnaissance trips to the study area took place during the Fall of 2003 and January 2006 in order to familiarise and better understand the area, observe, and meet with locals.

Throughout the thesis, from project conceptualization to writing up of the conclusions, writing has been a key method of inquiry. Regular journaling and freewriting have traced the evolution of this thesis and it has helped to develop and solidify my understanding of the research process. It is also a place to document personal values, preconceptions, feelings and experiences that occurred throughout the research process. Such journaling is also intended to leave a 'paper trail' audit of the ongoing

Table 3.3 Strategies for establishing qualitative ‘rigour’ in geographic work

Strategy	Notes
Rationale for Methodology	Qualitative methods are argued to be the most (or only) appropriate way to address the research question.
Multiple Methods	More than one method used for studying the problem
Respondent	A description of the group(s) of respondents (e.g. number and gender ratio is given).
Interview quotations	The words of the respondent may be read.
Interview Practices	Details of how interviews were conducted (e.g. use of interview schedules and autobiography are provided).
Procedures for Analysis	A description of how data were converted/condensed into theoretical constructs is given.
Immersion/lengthy fieldwork	It is argued that long field seasons (self-proclaimed or stated to exceed one year) develop rapport with respondents and /or enable deeper understandings of the research situation.
Revisits	Revisits to respondents are made usually (but sometimes unstated) to clarify meanings and build rapport.
Verification by respondents	Respondents were contacted to verify interpretations/ meanings.
Appeals to Interpretive Community	An existing theory is supported (or refuted) by the findings, i.e. there is more than reference to the literature.
Rationale for Verification	Rationale for showing that there is agreement between constructs/interpretations and the meanings held by respondents is provided.

Source: adapted from Baxter and Eyles, 1997:507

analysis. This documentation includes information on coding procedures, research procedures, questions and thoughts about connections between the data and the emerging theory. The personal journal was also useful for recording ongoing notes related to the role of the researcher as a research tool and as a method of identifying theoretical biases. Furthermore, it has helped me to engage with and question the research texts, to trace emerging theory, and use writing as a form of inquiry. According to Bailey *et al.* (1999), such reflexive management strengthens qualitative validity.

Table 3.4 Checklist for evaluating qualitative interview research

Question	Elaboration/Examples	Corresponding section(s) of this thesis
1. What was the natural history of the research?	Original purposes of the research. Rationale for the methodology. How research developed over time. Fieldwork relations.	1.4; 3.1; 3.5.1;
2. What data were collected and by what methods?	Method of note-keeping; method of tape-recording.	3.2;3.4
3. How was the sampling done?	Explicit delineation of sample frame and rationale.	3.3
4. How was the data analysis done?	Procedures for summarizing and presenting data. How data were selected for presentation.	3.6

Source: Baxter and Eyles (1997:518)

3.8 Reflections on the Methodology

3.8.1 Methodological and ethical considerations with secondary analysis

Given that qualitative research is often thought to involve an inter-subjective relationship between the researcher and the researched, Heaton (1998) considers whether secondary analysis of qualitative studies is justifiable. In response, given the interdisciplinary nature of research projects, it is common for a team of researchers to be involved with primary qualitative data gathering via interviews or observation. Data is also often contextualized by those within the research team who were not present for the original data gathering (Heaton, 1998). Heaton (1998) suggests that all forms of inquiry, both qualitative and quantitative, depend on the researcher's contextualization and interpretation of subjects' situations and responses, therefore secondary analysis is no more problematic than other forms of empirical enquiry.

A second methodological consideration is where primary analysis stops and secondary analysis starts (Heaton, 1998). It is not uncommon for faculty members to collect their own data, with students learning the ropes by assisting with collection,

coding and analysis and using the data for their own theses and dissertations (Hofferth, 2005). Szabo and Strang (1997) present a description of the use of secondary analysis in graduate student health research. They suggest that a contractual letter of agreement between the secondary analyst and the primary researchers would help to clarify the rights, responsibilities and obligations of the original and secondary researchers (Hinds *et al.*, 1997; Szabo and Strang, 1997; Heaton, 1998). Such a letter could include a description of the data that were accessed, method of access, and provisions for reference citations in publications and presentations (Szabo and Strang, 1997).

3.8.2 Limitations of secondary analysis

Two limitations dominate the use of secondary analysis. The first is a lack of control in generating the data set for the secondary study (Szabo and Strang, 1997). This might be related to how the data set was conceived and recorded, or it may be related to biases and assumptions in the original research. A related issue is the extent of ‘missing data’ – issues explored in one interview but not addressed in all interviews (Hinds *et al.*, 1997). This lack of control can be mitigated by considering Brown’s (2002) three “questions” about the primary data and establishing an effective communication link between the researchers, i.e. those working on the secondary analysis and those involved with the primary analysis. As mentioned, lack of control over data collection, and not having a full sense of the context is a concern to some degree for all research projects, particularly those with multiple researchers who may be responsible for separate aspects of the project (Heaton, 1998). Accessing original interview tapes can help clarify the contexts for the interviews and provide additional background data to the written transcripts (Szabo and Strang, 1997). Having access to the researcher(s) who collected the primary data is also helpful.

The second limitation of secondary analysis is the inability to strictly follow the guidelines of the chosen data analysis method (Szabo and Strang, 1997). Secondary analysis precludes the combined and simultaneous collection and analysis of data (Szabo

and Strang, 1997). In this study, the discovery of themes begins most appropriately during direct discussions and observations during the interviews and fieldwork, not just during armchair review of completed field notes, transcripts, or other media (Luborsky, 1994). While the interviews followed a semi-structured format, in the interviews that were conducted later in the project, there is evidence of the interviewer actively pursuing specific, and different, themes. Though this does create 'missing data' (Hinds *et al.*, 1997), the pursuit of these emerging themes in the transcripts is of value in this study's secondary analysis.

Because verbatim texts leave out large chunks of vital information, secondary analysis places limited emphasis on discussion and observation (Luborsky, 1994). With verbatim texts, body postures, gestures, eye contacts, and speech qualities that express information about the speaker's attitude toward what they're saying are lost (Luborsky, 1994). Since this may introduce ambiguities into the text, it is one of the major drawbacks of armchair methods of text analysis.

Similar to Szabo's (1997) graduate research, the original data provided me with a rich data set with relevance for my research objectives. Secondary analysis allowed me to make maximum use of this data set. Secondary analysis also provided a convenient and efficient way to obtain useful research skills. Finally, like Szabo (1997), I learned not only about my own research process but also had the opportunity to reflect and dialogue with my supervisor and committee about the research process used in the original study.

3.8.3 Challenges of thematic analysis

Luborsky (1994) points out that even when built from meticulously transcribed conversations, themes may be overused or misused. The diverse interpersonal and discourse contexts in which the theme or topic was either a personally or a culturally meaningful statement can be lost when the replies to standardized open-ended questions are summarized to identify one main topic (Luborsky, 1994). By their very nature as condensed meaning, thematic analysis strips away the explicit contexts, complexity and

richness of the original expression (Luborsky, 1994). Situational sources such as interactions between the speakers may provide insight into the individuals' meanings and feelings associated with a theme (Luborsky, 1994). This is something best identified through direct observation in an interview situation.

I went into the study with a set of categories based on immersion in the literature. I expected the interview data to fit neatly into these predefined categories, in the deductive manner in which I'd been trained. Ultimately, the research process is much messier than this, as it is not the linear process I expected when I came on board. In the end, categories and themes emerged from the data – more inductively – which has contributed to my growth as a qualitative researcher. The findings are described in the following chapter.

Chapter 4 Findings

The main objective of this chapter is to portray the findings of the empirical investigation, focusing on the second and third research objectives: the dimensions of home in later life and examining the relevance of place experience in later life for how communities are created and sustained. The findings are arranged into three different sections that move from the smaller scale of home to the larger scale of community and reflect the research objectives: the dimensions of home, meanings of community, and community context. This chapter begins by examining the dimensions of home described by interview participants. Chapter 5 will discuss, interpret, and elaborate the findings using the lens of human geography and make connections with the literatures reviewed in chapter 2.

4.1 Dimensions of Home

Similar to Oswald and Wahl's (2005a) framework, the interviews provide insight into the many dimensions of home: physical, social, cultural and personal.

4.1.1 Physical Aspects: Natural and Built Environment

All but one of the interview participants moved to Oceanside as adults. Many of the participants made a deliberate, calculated decision to move to Oceanside. When discussing reasons for moving to the area, two elements of the physical environment – natural and built environments were the most commonly cited reasons.

Surprisingly, very few of the participants had friends or family in Oceanside prior to moving to the area. Though they didn't have friends or family in the area, some had prior experience with the area (e.g. family or holidays), while others literally started looking in Victoria and drove up the island, and when they reached Oceanside said "*this is it*".

We'd always wanted to come to the island. We were going to go up to Courtenay to look up there and we had our lunch on Qualicum Beach on that lovely bay there. And I says 'I really like this!' This is so beautiful!

(Penelope, long-term resident of Qualicum Beach)

In particular, the natural environment described by participants includes the mild climate and scenic beauty of the area. As Audrey, a long-term resident of Qualicum Beach said, "*Where else would you want to be? Beaches, mountains, parks, trails!*" These elements were pull factors, or substantial draws to the area for in-migrants, many of whom were seeking refuge from cold winters elsewhere in Canada. Other natural elements are the small town and rural character, clean air and water, presence of trees, wildlife, and absence of noise pollution. Upon moving to the area, the natural environment, combined with elements of the built environment such as walking paths and trails, encourages an active outdoor lifestyle.

Some participants cited the affordability of housing in Oceanside relative to the Lower Mainland and Victoria as a major reason to locate to this area. As Figure 3.4 indicates, the housing stock in Oceanside is fairly new, this is a sign of the rapid growth the area has experienced in recent years. Respondents came to be in their houses in many different ways: some conducted their search from a distance via the internet, phone and fax, some purchased a home during a weekend visit to the area, others spent extended periods of time in the area renting or camping while searching for just the right house. Others built their dream house, and some just happened upon their home by chance.

For some individuals the importance of place is explained less by the natural environment than by the built environment – the street layout, the quality of local shops – and the subsequent feeling of friendliness and connection one might feel walking down the street or into a local shop. This is exemplified by knowing the grocery clerk, or strangers saying hello to one another on the street. These are passive elements of community that aren't actively pursued and yet they contribute to a feeling of connection and acceptance in the community.

For many respondents, the natural, built, social, and cultural environments are intertwined, and give this place special significance and contribute to attachment and belonging.

There's a lot more to this community than most see. One of the most important things is to be comfortable, and this is a good climate. One of the most interesting things is to feel welcome. I mean, it's nice to walk down the street and people say hello when you walk by. You can always stop and start a conversation.

(Keith, less than one year in Qualicum Beach)

Oceanside as a place facilitates a sense of belonging and community through the natural setting, the small town atmosphere, and the demographic composition of the population – many of the residents are new to the area, are there by choice, and are looking for friends.

After I was here a couple of weeks, I mentioned I live in Pleasantville. Because you walk down the street and everybody smiles as you go by, everybody stands so obediently at the traffic light and waits for it to change, and you know it's just so cheerful. It's very nice. It's Pleasantville. (laughs)

(Helga, less than one year in Qualicum Beach).

4.1.2 The Social Environment

Several topics that emerged from the secondary analysis of the data illustrate how the social environment of Oceanside has influenced participants' experience of place and home. First, most of the population is from away. One third of Oceanside residents (31%) over the age of five moved to Oceanside from another Census Sub-Division between 1996 and 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2004). As several participants pointed out, it's a certain type of person who moves to Oceanside. They've taken a risk to uproot and move somewhere where they don't necessarily have friends or family. These people are active in making new friends, being part of the community, which makes them feel 'at home' because they're not alone in their situation. These people make Oceanside the place that it is.

A second theme related to the social environment is that people actively make the place a community. For some participants, both recent arrivals and long-term residents of the area, social relationships and feeling at home go hand in hand: "*It took about 4 or 5 years before we felt this was home. It takes a while to warm up in a place and to make friends. To really relate to people*" (Esther, 11 years in Parksville).

Rachel, who moved to Oceanside-Nanaimo Regional District (NRD) 3 years ago, also experienced this period of adjustment of a year or so, "*then suddenly, you're just at home.*" Long-term resident Penelope describes the connection between home and social connections: "*This is my home, my friends and everything are around here*". This sense of social connections contributing to feeling 'at home' is discussed in more detail in the context of community and place later in this chapter.

A third theme relating to the social dimension of Oceanside is the ease with which most newcomers have made friends. Several participants commented that though they had only been in Oceanside a short while, they never had so many friends in their whole lives. Many participants cite the important role of their local Newcomers Club in helping them to make friends. Both Parksville and Qualicum Beach have Newcomers social organizations which are open to anyone who has moved to the area in the past five years (Parksville Newcomers Club, 2006; Qualicum Beach Area Newcomers, 2006). There are 225 current members of the Parksville Newcomers Club, and 517 current members of the Qualicum Beach Area Newcomers Association (Ballantyne, 2006; Gebhardt, 2006). In addition to monthly meetings, regular newcomers activities include a book exchange, 5-pin bowling, bridge, camping, euchre, games, golf, dinner parties, winemaking, pub nights, lunch, scrapbooking and wine tasting (Parksville Newcomers Club, 2006). Newcomers are a large pool of people, so there are likely to be many people who get along, and some who don't, but the chances of finding friendship with someone with shared interests are high.

Another formal organization that has helped participants feel connected in Oceanside is the Parksville Golden Oldies Sports Association (PGOSA), a group

dedicated to active lifestyles in later life. This club currently has over 1,000 members. Wintertime activities include bowling, snowshoeing, tubing, games, breakfasts and luncheons, hockey tournament, floor curling, ice curling, badminton, volleyball, cycling, walking, and hiking (Parksville Golden Oldies Sports Association, 2006). The Stroke Recovery Group, the Society of Organized Services (SOS), Probus, community gardening groups, church groups, the Seniors Activity Centre, and the Old Schoolhouse Arts Centre are all organizations that provide opportunities for building social relationships and building community. While these organized groups provide a venue for building community and social relationships, it is the people who, by choosing to become involved, really make this happen.

Not all participants have found it easy making friends in their new community. One participant explained that she found making new friends stressful because she didn't know how much to open up and reveal about herself. Though people tend to have many new friends in Oceanside, the quality of new friendships and the ties may be weaker than those that have developed over longer periods of time. One participant believed that we have few close friends in our lives, that most are little more than acquaintances. Rebecca and her husband, who recently moved to the area, have maintained close friends in Edmonton. Though they've made new friends in Oceanside, it's not the same closeness as with people in Edmonton. Like many other participants, they maintain connections with friends and family in other geographical areas via email, letters, and frequent phone calls.

While the shorter-term residents have taken advantage of formal organizations to help foster community building and social relationships, longer-term residents tend to rely more on informal sources for social relationships. Some participants emphasized the importance of getting out and about. "*The public is my medication*" said Diane, who has lived in Parksville for 35 years and who suffers from chronic health problems. Penelope, a long-term resident of Qualicum Beach, echoed this sentiment:

On weekends I'm loneliest...I miss going to the store for my groceries, I miss going to the bank or whatever, library. That's sort of part of my daily routine...Keeping busy is the key. And if you've got your health, you know, when you start to break [the habit of keeping busy], your health breaks down.

While some participants commented on the importance of a dwelling that allows them to entertain and to foster social relationships, the majority of comments in regards to social environment were focused on the public realm, thus supporting investigation into the 'home beyond the house'.

4.1.2.1 Cultural environment

An element of place experience closely tied with the social environment is the cultural environment. The cultural environment can be distinguished from the social environment as being broader, i.e., being identified at the population level, while the social environment is characterised by relationships between individuals. The cultural environment can be more easily recognized by someone who does not live in the area, for example someone visiting the region on holiday, than the social environment, which requires a knowledge of individuals and social organizations in the community. Oceanside's cultural environment provides many opportunities for recreation, socialization, and community service. The mild year-round climate was a draw for many participants, as it facilitates a lifestyle that includes activities such as gardening, walking, and golf. The cultural environment also provides opportunities for art, theatre, lifelong learning, and religious observance.

Some participants commented that the laid back nature of life on Vancouver Island relative to the rest of the country, affectionately referred to as "B.C. Time" or "Island Time" took some getting used to, but they now feel they have adopted this lifestyle themselves. Referring to Oceanside's lifestyle, Beth commented "*it's like a holiday all the time*" (Beth, newly retired, moved to Oceanside in the past four years). Other participants share this sentiment. As the saying goes, "Like attracts like", suggesting

that Oceanside's cultural environment may be self-perpetuating as more people move to the area in later life.

4.1.3 Personal aspects

4.1.3.1 Personal Identity

The work of geographers such as Peace *et al.* (2006) and Rowles (1978) brings attention to the continuing role of personal identity throughout the lifecourse. It may be a particular type of person who moves to Oceanside, someone who is willing to move away from long-established ties to place, friends, and family and to start fresh. Although the move may have been carefully planned and researched, such individuals may be risk takers. Yet, patterns and behaviours established in early life are also important elements in later life (Martel, Bélanger, Berthelot and Carrière, 2005).

As participants noted, they can be whomever they want to be in Oceanside. They make friends not based on who they went to school with or have known for a long time, but based on common interests. Newcomers is a large 'pool' of potential friends from which to draw, and several participants noted that they have more friends than ever before.

4.1.3.2 Past place experience

The experience of place varies with both present location and past place experience. Past place experience was coded in three ways: personal history, which would give context to the present place experience; comparison with other places, highlighting the interrelations of places; and personal identity linked to past and present places.

Some participants have moved around a great deal, while others have lived on Vancouver Island for their entire lives. Past experience with Oceanside is common among recent in-migrants; many of the participants had holidayed in the area, and many have always thought it would be a nice place to live. For several participants, their

experience of visiting Oceanside influenced their experience of home elsewhere. The more places they had visited and lived, the more they knew what they liked, and for many participants, this is Oceanside.

Once they've moved to Oceanside, participants' experiences are further shaped by personal identity – the accumulated values, meanings and feelings of a lifetime. They may be constantly evaluating their experience by comparing it with other places. Edward, who moved to Oceanside-NRD from Saskatchewan close to 20 years ago, draws from his past experience to put Oceanside's proximity to a hospital in perspective: "*If you're two hours from medical care in Saskatchewan you're doing pretty well*". Liz and Hank, who moved to Parksville six years ago from a suburb of Vancouver, describe how their past place experiences differ from one another, and how this has influenced their expectations and experience of Oceanside. Hank grew up in rural Manitoba, and is more used to small town life in Oceanside than his wife, who has expectations of big city cultural amenities such as theatre. Other participants also mentioned similar expectations shaped by their past experience living in larger cities. For others, Oceanside reminds them of the small towns where they grew up, and of better, simpler times.

The influence of past place experience differs for participants depending on their length of residence in Oceanside. People who are newer to the area may be used to making new friends if they've moved around a lot. For longer-term residents, there is an autobiographical insideness that comes with being in a place for a long time. The participants with the lowest income were long-term residents of the region and their geographical experience tended to be correspondingly more limited. Long-term residents tended not to be members of newcomers clubs, and participated in fewer community activities than the newer arrivals to the area. The longer-term participants tend to rely on friends or children who live nearby for assistance and they get out and about to the extent that they are able. Though satisfied with her life in Oceanside, Penelope reported her sense of belonging to community as being only somewhat strong, "*but this is my own doing you see, I could be a lot more involved if I wanted to*".

4.1.3.3 Place attachment

Place attachment is an underlying feature of the physical, social and personal dimensions of home described by participants. This is consistent with the design of case study research because it considers the phenomenon of interest to be inseparable from its context. There is a strong attachment and sense of belonging exhibited by Fiona and Diane, two long-term residents of Oceanside. *“I think I been here for so long I belong to this area. I tried to move away from it, but I always come back here, so I know the community itself”* (Diane, 35 years in Parksville). The following interview excerpt from Fiona, another long-term resident of Parksville illustrates the physical, social, and personal aspects of home for her:

Interviewer: How would you describe your sense of belonging to this community?

Fiona: Well, my roots are very deep here. I was born in this community, so I have a sense of belonging, even going swimming in the evening in the summer it is something that is so familiar to me. We lived on the beach as a child so it's not as though I was just new to the district.

Interviewer: So what would you describe as “feeling like home” to you?

Fiona: I think the people, the family around ... and to me the beach and the walks, being out in the woods and this sort of thing.

Fiona's sense of belonging to the community encompasses time and place. It is a deep attachment to place. Her memories of being a child at the beach, and her enjoyment of the woods illustrate the many layers of place and environment that make for meaning in her life.

4.2 Community

The discussion of “what does community mean?” elicits some of the richest and most detailed responses from participants. A key point that emerges is that community can be viewed as a geographical space or place and can include a social component. Building healthy communities means creating the spaces for community to happen and be

nurtured. Community is not necessarily immediate; it is something that builds, though many participants reported that they felt comfortable and familiar in the Oceanside community after living there for only a short period of time. *“We have just always felt good in this town... we get a good sense, a good feel of community here”* (Karen, new to Oceanside-NRD).

According to many participants, community is something that takes work; it is not something that will magically appear. While participants report that Oceanside is a friendly community, many emphasize that community isn't going to reach out and grab you – you must make an effort to reach out. Jack, who has lived in Qualicum Beach for 16 years, described this sense of reciprocity: *“I think it depends upon what you contribute to your own community. Not just feed off it. I think in our own way we both contribute to our community”*. For several participants, building community requires a personal effort, a personal investment in a place.

As mentioned in chapter 2, the home-community continuum is not well defined in the literature. In addition, when asked what makes a place home, many participants commented on community factors that require involvement in order to feel at home. In summary, participants perceived community as a geographic place, as social connections, and as the intersection of people and place. Peace *et al.*'s (2006) notion of environmental layers is useful to help understand and organize the many meanings of community.

4.2.1 Community = people + place

Emphasizing the spatial extent of community, one participant speculated that the community in her more rural area of Oceanside-NRD is largely a product of geography and the layout of the community. *“I think geography makes community in this rural area different from Qualicum Beach or Parksville or French Creek”* (Rachel, three years in Oceanside-NRD). Upon moving to the area, neighbours helped Rachel and her husband feel a strong sense of community in their rural area, emphasizing the interconnection between the spatial and social elements of community. Similarly, some participants felt a

strong sense of community within their housing complexes. The physical layout and proximity of housing units thus encourages the development of community.

Penelope, a long-term resident of Qualicum Beach, stressed the importance of keeping Qualicum Beach as a 'nice' community: *"What is community? I'd say it's having nice shops and nice park areas ... and beautiful flowers. I love the way they keep Qualicum. They have kept it as a nice community"*. This is an indication of the potential for public space to foster pride in the community and a sense of belonging. Participants also cited community-building amenities such as the swimming pool and library.

Community, for many participants, has a strong social dimension. For Liz, who has lived in Parksville for 6 years, community means connections, *"an all-encompassing kind of feeling that, you are able to reach out and make friends and feel like you belong"*. Many participants rely on formal opportunities for community building, such as the Stroke Recovery Group. The Newcomers groups provide an entrée into the community, using social relationships that are strengthened by geographical proximity. The Newcomers clubs may be very territorial; one participant from Oceanside-NRD said he felt unwelcome at the Parksville Newcomers because he was not from the city. Rebecca described what, for her, are the many layers of community:

Community is a broader thing, I guess, like we have different communities. We have our golfing community, and that overlaps with some of these, you know, the people that live here, the community in this complex, our church community.

The above quote provides a nice summary of the many aspects of community that facilitate belonging.

4.2.2 Belonging to Community

When discussing belonging to the community, participants spoke of two important elements that facilitate belonging: small town atmosphere, and informal exchange. These are two more passive elements of community, in that they don't require active participation, and individuals don't have to "work at them". Having someone you don't

know smile at you on the street is an example of passive community. One participant described community as knowing the clerks at the grocery store. There is a sense of belonging that comes with seeing familiar faces, even if it's not someone you know very well. A local store is a place where people could take part in what Engwicht (1993) calls "spontaneous exchange" – the unplanned exchanges with strangers, friends and acquaintances that happen when we leave our homes and that greatly improve our quality of life. As Rachel commented, *"you go for a walk in the morning and see just about everybody in the neighbourhood"*.

Spontaneous exchange was evident during participant observation at the newly rebuilt grocery store in Qualicum Beach. People were stopping to chat in the parking lot, and the design of the store and surroundings, with a café-deli, retail and offices encourages lingering and visiting. Informal exchange is more likely to occur in a small community; several participants commented that it had never happened when they lived in the suburbs of a larger city. Audrey, a long-term resident of Oceanside, recently moved to Qualicum Beach from a more rural area of Oceanside-NRD for the community connections. She describes why this is important:

Knowing there are people close by that care about you, that keep in touch with you, that when you walk into town, you're going to meet people you know – close friends, or merely acquaintances, or just friendly people...Being recognized in stores and banks and other places where you do business. [It's also nice] having people be glad to visit you and come to your home.

After living in many places throughout his life, Rick finally settled in Qualicum Beach six years ago. He said, *"I don't think we could find a better community anywhere. I haven't seen it; I haven't been part of it. This is probably the best and most supportive community situation you've ever been in."* Sometimes places and people just 'fit' together, as in the case of Rick, above.

4.3 Community Context

4.3.1 Diversity

Some participants describe the community as 'WASPY'. It is a very white, middle-class, heterosexual society. Some participants, particularly those who don't live in planned communities, mentioned a sense of "sameness" in the planned communities – similar houses, residents of similar age, and similar activities. This doesn't necessarily mean that diversity isn't accepted, but that there simply may be little diversity present. Four participants specifically mention that they'd like more of an intergenerational mix in the community, e.g. that it is more interesting to have young people around. Some participants who do live in planned communities mentioned that there are families and younger people. Patty and Phil, who moved to the Parksville area eight years ago, appreciate the reciprocity that comes with being in an intergenerational neighbourhood. They've become friends with their neighbours, some of whom have children. Patty said *"I like to be where there are children and I don't like to be by myself with just old people"*. Though their grandchildren are far away, Parry and Phil enjoy acting as surrogate grandparents for neighbourhood children.

There is a perception among interviewees that there are few jobs in the area, which would explain why there are few families in the area. Unemployment in Oceanside, however, is lower than in surrounding areas, particularly Nanaimo (Trafford and Human Early Learning Partnership, 2005). Perhaps, given the high median age of the community, families are masked by the "sea of grey" in the community. One participant, Jeff, described Qualicum Beach as *"handicapped"* in terms of providing services and opportunities for families and younger people. He suggested that *"most of the young people are very unhappy here because ... there's nothing for them"*. Helga, who recently moved to the area thinks that this is not the case: *"there's a lot of good teenagers in the area ... there's a good variety of ages. Certainly I thought it was going to be a lot more old grey hairs like me [when I moved to Oceanside], but it's not"*. People are influenced

by local media that may perpetuate a negative image of local youth by focusing on only bad news stories, rather than celebrating the many youth who are doing well and who are contributing to their community through sports, volunteering, arts and culture.

4.3.2 Difference

Having a name for the area may contribute to a sense of identity and belonging. The area is referred to as Oceanside, District 69 (the school district and local health area), the Nanaimo District, and Parksville/Qualicum. “Oceanside” is a name given to the area by the tourism association and local real estate agents. It covers different municipalities and different parts of the NRD. Because Oceanside covers a range of places with unique characteristics, there is bound to be a sense of “difference” between places. As well, such differences can be viewed from either an insiders or an outsiders’ perspective; some participants – both residents of Qualicum Beach and elsewhere – commented on Qualicum Beach’s ‘snobbiness’, while others referred to the ‘Honky Tonk’ nature of Parksville. Again, this highlights the role of scale in people’s experience of place – there are different ‘enclaves’ within communities within the study area.

At times, however, there is an ‘us and them’ tension between the different communities, particularly between residents of Parksville and Qualicum Beach. Some people don’t really like the name Oceanside, because it’s such a large district and they feel that this name doesn’t necessarily convey any meaning or sense of community itself. On one hand, Oceanside is an attractive name to outsiders, one that is enticing for tourists and potential new residents. On the other hand, District 69 is identified by locals and long-term residents, but does not have any meaning for outsiders. Not all participants like Parksville-Qualicum, another name commonly used to describe the area, perhaps because there are many other communities in the area in addition to the two largest centres.

4.3.3 The Trade-off: Access to health care

“We have some of the most beautiful scenery in the world, so I’m prepared to take my chance.” (Michael, 7 years in Oceanside-NRD)

Participants described the trade off they have made between place and proximity to a hospital. Oceanside's nearest hospital is in Nanaimo, a 45-minute drive south. More than one of the respondents pointed out that in a large city, it's quite possible that it would take you nearly this long to reach a hospital, given traffic and urban sprawl. In addition, it was pointed out that even if someone lived right next to the Nanaimo hospital, the specialists are not necessarily there.

While ambulance service has improved throughout the area, at the time of the interviews, service was patchy. The large geographical area presents challenges; one resident of rural Oceanside-NRD referred to the ambulance as the "*DOA service*" because of the length of time it takes to respond. Most of the participants knew that Oceanside lacked a hospital before they moved here; but as one participant said, you've got to take your chances. This individual, know as Michael, is a retired physician living in Oceanside-NRD. He described the trade-off between proximity to health services and place characteristics:

If you choose to live in a very pleasant place, with no crime, no noise pollution and all that sort of stuff and nice scenery, you can't expect to have a busy general hospital three minutes down the road. It's not possible.

Although historically there have been difficulties with people having access to physicians, none of the respondents reported having a difficult time finding a physician in the area. The Qualicum Beach Area Newcomers' website even advertises the names of physicians who are accepting new patients, and announces the arrival of new wellness professionals (chiropractors and massage therapists) to the area (Qualicum Beach Area Newcomers, 2006). Some participants mentioned that they may prefer a physician closer to their home if one were available, but in general, all participants were able to access a physician as needed. Participants visit medical specialists elsewhere, particularly people who have moved from Victoria some of who continue to visit physicians there.

Absence of health services is not often a problem until health services are needed. Several of the participants said that distance to hospital and health care was not much of a

concern when they moved to the area but indicated that it has become an issue now that they've aged and their health needs have changed. Because there are fewer health services and fewer options for assisted or supported living or home nursing care, most respondents anticipate moving out of the community once their health declines. Though they are still physically, socially, and emotionally attached to the area, a couple of participants reported that they have plans to move closer to medical services in Comox or Victoria in the near future.

4.3.4 Mobility

Mobility is a consideration for many participants. "Losing their wheels" is associated with a loss of independence and future moves may be required as a result of the loss of driving opportunities. Transportation is a consideration for Edward, a long-term resident of Oceanside. He and his wife would like to stay in the area when they are no longer able to drive, and transportation would be a factor in their next choice of residence: *"we'd probably plunk ourselves somewhere on a bus route."* Overall, transit was not a consideration in discussions of mobility or scale. There is public transit in the area, which runs from Qualicum Beach through Parksville and Nanoose to Nanaimo's Woodgrove shopping mall. Though they were aware of the transit service, and were proud to have the service available, most participants had never used the transit service, and only one participant reported using public transit on a regular basis. Audrey commented that public transportation service is *"... pretty good. I've never used it, but I think it's pretty good"*. In some of the areas, such as Nanoose and Bowser, mobility without a car is very challenging. Planning has allowed for car-dependent development, and does not allow for amenities such as corner stores within walking distance to most residential areas.

Walkability is an important component of people's satisfaction with place and sense of social cohesion (Leyden, 2003; Beatley, 2004). Walking in the local neighbourhood is one way that participants became familiar with their immediate

surroundings and with the people living there when they first moved to the community. A morning dog walk is an important place ritual for some participants. Several participants described how walking encourages a sense of community. For Audrey, Qualicum Beach “...is a great town for walking, and we have trails back here where you can walk into town. And so you always meet people and they’re always friendly... that is a big part of community”. As Audrey’s comment suggests, meaningful spontaneous exchange occurs while walking – from walking the dog to walking to town, greeting people on the street is an indication of friendliness, but also of people ‘reaching out’ to others to create community.

Safe streets are important, as is availability of a variety of housing options within walking distance to shops and amenities. Despite Qualicum Beach’s small, compact town centre, when residents were asked to describe their community in the 2004 QoL survey, “pedestrian friendly” was one of the least cited responses (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). Survey respondents supported more single family detached homes rather than higher density apartments within walking distance of downtown (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). Despite some resistance due to concerns over density, walkable development is becoming a reality in the region; new town homes and assisted living facilities are visible within a couple of blocks of Qualicum Beach’s town centre. Participants noted that Qualicum Beach has more walking trails than Parksville, and many noted that they would like to see Parksville’s walking facilities improved.

Some participants commented that walking to the village/town core was not a consideration when they moved to their present home, but, because they now appreciate the social connections associated with such an activity, this would be a consideration if they were to move in the future. For some participants, this is in part because they moved from a less favourable year-round climate that facilitates walking – highlighting the role of past place experience in shaping present outlook.

4.3.5 Community Change and Rapid Growth

Oceanside's population has grown rapidly over the past thirty years. Last year, Qualicum Beach had a 19% population increase, though this may be due in part to administrative boundary changes (BC Stats, 2005). Participants expressed mixed feelings about the pace of growth. The character of the area is changing, "*Qualicum Beach used to be a tourist town with some seniors. Now it's a senior's town with some tourism*" (Jeff, six-year resident of Qualicum Beach). When Ruth moved to Qualicum Beach, nearly 30 years ago, there were fewer than 1,000 residents. Now, as one participant described it, "*Flyin' fifty-fivers' are coming to Oceanside in hoards*".

Growth brings with it tensions between maintaining the village atmosphere and development. Dan and Marie, who have moved to the area very recently, said there is a joke among their peers – "*now we're here shut the doors*". Helga, another newcomer to Qualicum Beach, realizes that change is inevitable, though she is

... a little concerned that, you know; just don't open the bridge too much. We want to keep it small, but as you say these communities that are building up, they're not right within the village so much but I think that works out well.

Karen lamented, "*they're just throwing up houses all over the place. I guess the only thing I hope that doesn't happen is that it becomes a little more honky tonk like Parksville*". Variations in zoning regulations between the Regional District of Nanaimo, Parksville, and Town of Qualicum Beach have led to large housing developments such as the Chartwell Subdivision in French Creek (Nanaimo Regional District), where a number of participants reside (Regional District of Nanaimo, 1998; City of Parksville, 2002; Town of Qualicum Beach, 2005). Some of the planned communities cause concern for residents, who feel that they will put undue strain on already stretched water supplies. Careful planning could help preserve the natural environment, and the Official Community Plans for Parksville, Qualicum Beach, and Areas of the Nanaimo Regional District recognize this (Regional District of Nanaimo, 1998; City of Parksville, 2002; Town of Qualicum Beach, 2005). Rapid growth has contributed to concerns over health

care in the area, which, according to some participants, has not kept up with the population growth.

4.3.6 Future plans

Participants were split when it comes to future plans. Some participants have no intention of moving – as Keith puts it, “*we’re going to stay until they have to shovel us out*” – while others anticipate moving closer to family and health services as their health deteriorates. Rachel, who recently moved to Oceanside-NRD, described the strong attachment she feels to her home: “*I wouldn’t want to leave [my home] now, let alone, you know if I got older*”. Other participants, like Jonathan, who feels “*the place has outgrown us*”, plan to move to a more manageable home, closer to health services and family.

Rebecca and her husband know that they will eventually move away from Oceanside. Their home works for the time being – as long as they’re healthy and can drive. “*We realize we may not always be able to stay here, but we may ... so we’re enjoying it while we’re here*”.

4.4 Summary of Findings

A total of 39 participants were interviewed alone or in couples. Participants lived throughout the region: ten in Qualicum Beach, seven in Parksville, and ten in other areas of Oceanside. Length of residence in Oceanside ranged from one to 35 years, and their ages ranged from 57 to 80 years.

The physical environment – both natural and built – played an important role in participants’ decision to move to Oceanside. Upon arrival in Oceanside, the social environment became increasingly important. Because most of the population is from elsewhere, there are many formal and informal opportunities to reach out and create community and a sense of belonging. This is an important dimension of the cultural

environment which provides many opportunities for recreation, socialization, community service, arts and religious observance.

Personal identity, past place experience, and place attachment are personal aspects that influenced participants' experiences of home and place. They provided many different perspectives on community, the dominant themes being that community has both physical and social components, and that one must reach out to be a part of the community. Participants described the community context as one of little age, class, or ethnic diversity. They did, however, describe differences between the communities of Oceanside, and spoke of unique neighbourhood identities.

Participants expressed three major concerns with their experience of Oceanside. Firstly, Oceanside is experiencing rapid population growth, which participants fear will change the character of the area. Secondly, there exists a trade-off between the physical place characteristics and proximity to services, particularly proximity to a hospital and specialists. Finally, most development in Oceanside is beyond walking distance from local shops and services, and is best suited for private transportation. This is a concern for some residents, who, with age or declining health status, may not be able to drive. These are three reasons why participants may be considering moving away from Oceanside.

This chapter portrayed the findings of the empirical investigation, focusing on the dimensions of home in later life and the connections to community. It also examined the relevance of place experience in later life for how place is experienced and how communities are created and sustained. The next chapter discusses and interprets the findings by drawing from the literatures reviewed in chapter 2.

Chapter 5 Discussion and Interpretation

This chapter uses the literature to support the evidence presented in the preceding findings chapter. While focusing on the empirical findings, this chapter also addresses the theoretical and knowledge translation/practical objectives of the thesis.

5.1 Framework of understanding

To understand the findings presented in the preceding chapter, we can draw from existing work in environment and aging research. In the previous chapter, the findings were laid out according to the 'Dimensions of Home' framework from Oswald and Wahl (2005a) which takes into account the physical, social, and personal aspects of home. This provides a means to organize the empirical findings according to different elements of environment in the lives of participants and the "home beyond the house". To this framework we can add some themes from human geography and revisit recent work by geographers including Wiles (2005) and Peace *et al.* (2005c; 2006), to meet the theoretical objective of this study.

Wiles' (2005) description of the dimensions of place (Table 2.1) strengthens the above framework because it captures the mutually constitutive relationship between society and place. Peace *et al.* (2006) suggest that place and time are not a smooth continuum, but are better understood as fragmented "environmental layers" which help us understand and give meaning to our lives.

5.2 Home

"Home" is a complicated term. It has both positivistic (e.g. the concrete terms described by Rapoport, 1995; 2005) and experiential (e.g. the ambiguity celebrated by Moore, 2000; Dovey, 2005) dimensions, it can be both a concrete "thing" and an abstract feeling (Rowles and Chaudhury, 2005c). Although home is at the core of our experience of place, meanings of home are ever-changing and more difficult to pin down than I initially anticipated.

Furthermore, home occurs across spatial scales. The literature reveals many different ways of describing the progression from micro scale of the individual or room to macro scale of region – the home beyond the house. Oswald and Wahl (2005b), for example, suggest that housing amenities, features of the surrounding residential area and activities performed within it dovetail with biographical aspects relating to thoughts, feelings, and social relationships as a framework for understanding the dimensions of home. Peace *et al.* (2005a) consider private and public aspects of home and the intersection of these spheres. The community and local neighbourhood acts as a bridge between the micro and macro scales of place experience and home (Peace *et al.*, 2005c). The findings support this, with evidence of the intervening meso space such as the balcony and patio that intersects private and public spheres.

The findings reveal a high degree of residential satisfaction based on features of the physical dwelling and the surrounding environment. Specific features of the dwelling that contribute to satisfaction for older participants include being all on one level and house size. Some people speak of their ‘dwelling’ as their dream home. Others, however, consider their dwelling “*only a retirement home*” or a temporary residence. This counters the findings of Pinquart and Burmedi (2004), who suggest that a longer length of residency is most commonly associated with higher residential satisfaction.

5.2.1 Dimensions of Home Framework

Drawing from Oswald and Wahl’s (2005a) framework, the findings can be arranged according to physical, social, and personal dimensions of home.

5.2.1.1 Physical

Physical features and amenities are most often used to promote retirement communities (Lucas, 2004) and Oceanside is no exception – the region’s mild climate, scenic beauty, and amenities are strong assets touted both locally and nationally (Jacobs,

2000; Oceanside Tourism Association, 2005). The findings suggest that when making the decision to move into the area, it is the physical environment that is most enticing.

The term “small town atmosphere” was used by interview participants and respondents of the QoL Survey to describe the character of Oceanside (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). This “small town atmosphere” bridges the domains of the sociophysical environment, because it refers not only to the physical characteristics of the place, but also to the social environment and sense of community it fosters.

5.2.1.2 Social

With time, the social environment claims a central spot in people’s lives. The findings suggest that when people are relatively new to Oceanside, they tend to rely on formal organizations as a source of social relations. Many participants commented that they have made more friends in Oceanside in a short period of time than during the course of their entire lives. This contributes to their overall satisfaction with the place and their feeling of belonging and community. This familiarity, or “insiderness” usually comes with time (Rowles, 1990; Tuan, 1996), and yet participants reported feeling at home and part of the community after a relatively short settling-in period.

The small-town environment facilitates what Engwicht (1993) describes as ‘spontaneous exchange’ that is one of the highlights of people’s experience of living in Oceanside. The opportunity for spontaneity is one of the principles of aging in place described by Sarte (2005). Participants’ spontaneous exchange while ‘out and about’ is important for community building and to foster a sense of belonging and personal attachment. Shortly before the data was collected, the local grocery store in Qualicum Beach burned down. People described it as a personal loss, suggesting a strong attachment. The local store has since been rebuilt and its new design features make for exchange opportunities – both planned and spontaneous.

Residents who have been in the area for a longer period of time tend to be members of fewer formal organizations. The findings suggest that they also tend to rely on

spontaneous exchange for social relations that occur when they leave the house. This was clearly the case with the planned exchanges at the bank and library that long-term Qualicum Beach resident Penelope relied on as part of her daily routine. When these formal institutions are closed during weekends, Penelope reported she felt the loneliest. I suspect that it is not the banking or the books that Penelope needs to keep her busy during the week, but the spontaneous exchange with people that occurs while making these planned trips.

These findings support Marin's (2001) assertion that social bonds and relations that arise from belonging to a community do not exist 'naturally' or automatically. As several participants pointed out, community and belonging require willingness and effort on the part of the individual.

5.2.1.3 Personal

In the interviews, home is discussed in the context of its relationships with other places – both near and far. Past place experience gives meaning to the present. The findings on the role of personal identity and past place experience echo the work of Winstanley *et al.* (2002) on the role of personal ontology – beliefs about home, community, neighbourhood, and social relations – in residential mobility. In order to turn an unfamiliar space into a meaningful place, we draw upon personal history, past environmental experience, integrate new circumstances, and redefine our being in place (Rowles and Watkins, 2003). This is the case with residents of Oceanside, whose personal histories and past place experiences give meaning to their present place and experience. One participant, Helga, for example, commented on how her move to Oceanside represents, for her, re-inventing self and re-inventing community. Because places are constantly changing and there is an ongoing negotiation between person and environment, our 'being in place' is constantly redefined.

Within geography's humanistic tradition is the sentiment that home can be given meaning through being away (Buttimer, 1980). Being away may give perspective and

enhance attachment. As highlighted in the previous chapter, getting out and about on a daily basis was important for two long-term residents, Penelope and Diane. When the ability to physically leave the dwelling becomes difficult, past experience helps sustain a sense of home and community. This is suggested by Rowles (1978), who describes the role of fantasy and of far-away places for sustaining the self when geography in the present is limited.

When describing their first impression of the area, many participants expressed a feeling or view that “this is it” referring to their immediate feeling for Oceanside. This suggests that the feeling of a place can be understood at a deep level fairly early, that it does not necessarily require repeated experience or day-to-day contact. Like the social aspects of home, this is an interesting contrast with Rowles’ (1983b; 1990) concept of “insiderness” which requires long term exposure, and Tuan’s (1996) assertion that it is only through extensive contact with a place that it gets under our skin.

The act of moving is often so dreaded that it may lead people to stay in their dwelling for as long as possible. One participant’s assertion that “*they’ll have to bring me out feet first*” reveals sentiments of place attachment and independence as well as the challenge of giving meaning to a new space (Rowles and Watkins, 2003).

5.3 Geographical Lens: Place as a process

Our experience of place is not a smooth scalar continuum across space and time. We are not necessarily aware of the geographical complexity of our day-to-day lives. Rather, our lives are made up of a fragmented continuum of geographical and temporal layers – the concept of these ‘environmental layers’ (Figure 2.2) is useful in thinking about how these layers add meaning to our lives (Peace *et al.*, 2006). Of particular importance is the integration of fragmented time and space that allows people to remain relatively autonomous and socially engaged (Peace *et al.*, 2006).

As people construct places, places construct people. The geographical understanding of place as a process can be used to frame the findings and to add a further

dimension to the sociophysical environment. Referring back to Table 2.1, we can apply Wiles' (2005) conceptualization of place in geographical gerontology to the findings.

Place is a process. The community change and rapid growth captured in one participant's tongue-in-cheek statement "*now that we're here shut the doors*" illustrates the different experiences and contested interpretations of place. We can be many conflicting and competing "selves" simultaneously – the newcomer, the "Not In My Backyard" (NIMBY) citizen, the entrepreneur or developer. These "selves" are continually negotiating with and experiencing place.

Oceanside's rapid growth is a reminder that places are processes. As longer-term residents continue to age in place, "*flyin' fifty-fivers are coming to Oceanside in hoards*" as Jonathan, a long-time resident described it. Interviews suggest some tension between long-term residents and newcomers. There may be some resentment towards newcomers, who may be perceived to be changing the atmosphere of the community and the character of the landscape. Society is impacting the place as the landscape is altered to make room for new housing, new businesses are established to serve the needs of the population, and legislative boundaries are changed.

Places are subject to ongoing negotiation. Places themselves are changing physically, as are people's experiences of them. Loss of mobility or a change in health status, for example, may cause someone to reconsider his or her 'place'. Connections with environment are constantly generated, reinforced, and dissolved (Peace *et al.*, 2006).

Similarly, there are many different experiences and contested interpretations of place. Change on a particular street may be applauded: Jeff is fond of the families who have built houses on his street in Qualicum Beach because they have added an intergenerational component to the area. Others, who would prefer to be in adult-only planned communities, might interpret such change differently. There is a need to find a balance between jobs for families and supports for an aging population. Individuals' past place experience influences their present circumstances.

Places are interrelated; the local community is impacted by external forces such as regional and global markets that may be pushing up the price of housing. National demographic trends, with the aging of the baby boomers, guarantee that Oceanside will continue to be a desirable destination for those in later life (with sufficient means). Many of the participants draw on past experience with other places to evaluate their experiences in Oceanside. Different neighbourhoods and living situations provide different feelings, and personal aspects may influence their expectations and interpretation of a place. For example, some people would never dream of living in anything but a single family, detached home. One participant described townhouses, for example, as not true home ownership. For this participant, home ownership helps meet the need for balance between privacy and community.

Power relations relating to the intersection of class, race, gender, age, sexuality and physical ability are expressed through, and shape places (Pain *et al.*, 2001; Wiles, 2005). This is the case in any place, and Oceanside, the study site, is no exception. While this was not specifically a topic of investigation, power relations are evident in the findings – discussions of affordability, the nature of difference in the community, zoning, interpretations of “niceness”, and of intergenerational relations. A critical examination of the power relations in a place such as Oceanside would be an interesting direction for future research.

Many of the participants cited affordability of the region relative to Victoria and Vancouver as one of their reasons for moving to Oceanside. With the average price of a single family house in Victoria being \$475,000 in November 2005, housing in Oceanside, with an average price of \$325,000 in October 2005, is still more affordable than Victoria, and yet may be out of reach for many people considering a move to the area (Vancouver Island Real Estate Board, 2005b; Victoria Real Estate Board, 2005). The rising cost of housing in Oceanside may serve to slow the rapid growth the area has experienced over the last five years. Furthermore, it is possible that the increase in average house prices

will change the make-up of the population, making retirement in the region more exclusive than ever before.

Places are simultaneously social and material; the dimensions of the physical and the social environments such as the “small town atmosphere” are intertwined. More than a container, place is dynamic, and allows for social relationships to wax and wane. Places are symbolic: the ferry is an example of a symbol that serves as a reminder of the fact that Oceanside is on an island, ferries connect Oceanside with other places. Otherwise, it doesn't seem so isolated, given the number of people the amenities, and the ease of communication and connection with people in other places. One participant described the “curtain” of French Creek as symbolic of the difference between Parksville and Qualicum Beach.

A second geographical perspective is that of temporal scale. Cutchin's (1999; 2001) theory of place integration considers the past, the present, and the future in the place experience of older adults. This is supported by the findings: past place experience and autobiography, present circumstance, and future plans are intertwined in participant's experience of place. Like Peace *et al.*'s description of ‘environmental layers’, Cutchin's theory of place integration considers time and space to be inseparable dimensions of place and environmental experience.

The geographical lens can add to the gerontological conceptualization of environment. The findings reveal how place is experienced not as a static container, but as a process subject to negotiation and interpretation. This section provided a bridge from the ‘home’ to ‘community’, which is examined in more detail in the next section.

5.4 Community Context

This section examines the community context of the study, and summarizes what we can draw from the findings and the literature. There are many definitions of community in the literature. The findings capture these diverse articulations, and suggest that for participants, community can be many different things. Community can refer to

relationships, to a physical place, to a sense of belonging and to “home beyond the house”.

5.4.1 Neighbourhood elements

What are the characteristics of Oceanside that contribute to community?

Considering community in a physical sense, Peace *et al.* (2005c) suggest six elements of neighbourhood which contribute to well-being in older adults: material complexity, level of urbanization, social heterogeneity, material affordances, the situation relative to proximate neighbourhood, and organizational (or structural) factors. While Peace *et al.* (2005c) present these six elements at the level of an individual neighbourhood, we can briefly examine these elements in the context of the range of neighbourhoods within the study area of Oceanside.

The first element of neighbourhood is material complexity, which includes the diversity of housing, street layouts, the variety of uses of public spaces, and the availability of accessible public transportation (Peace *et al.*, 2005c). In terms of diversity of housing, single-family dwellings dominate most Oceanside neighbourhoods, and there are few neighbourhoods with a mix of housing types (c.f. City of Parksville, 2001). Parking was not reported as an issue in residential neighbourhoods, however, it was reported as a concern in the town centre of Qualicum Beach (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). There are a variety of public spaces including beaches, parks, sidewalks, and civic buildings such as libraries and recreation centres that are used by a variety of people. Though there is public transportation, service is not frequent and few participants report using it on a regular basis.

The second element, the level of urbanization, varies within the region, from rural, semi-rural, suburban, and urban. This has implications for the other neighbourhood elements. There is little social heterogeneity in neighbourhoods, the third element from Peace *et al.* (2005c). Oceanside’s population is substantially older than most other communities in BC and Canada. There are very few minorities compared with the

province as a whole (Statistics Canada, 2004). The cultural environment is one of friendliness, but also one of little “difference” or demographic diversity. In this regard, Oceanside is similar to the retirement communities of Arizona described by McHugh and others (McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 2005). Unlike the communities studied by McHugh, however, few residents of Qualicum Beach consider it a “retirement community” (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). Participants also have different opinions about the lack of diversity or ‘difference’ in the area. Some participants would like to see more families and young people, while others are happier in a quiet, child-free neighbourhood. Young (1995) would argue that a lack of diversity in Oceanside means that this is not a true community.

The fourth element, material affordances – the barriers and aids to mobility such as traffic flow, street gradients, and curbs – varies by neighbourhood. Qualicum Beach, for example, has a good system of walking trails and paths, something participants from Parksville would like to see more of. More rural areas may not have sidewalks, but roads are wide with little traffic. Since the construction of the new Island Highway that bypasses most of Oceanside, traffic flow is less of a concern.

The fifth element, the situation relative to proximate neighbourhoods, was discussed by participants in regards to ‘difference’ among areas of Oceanside. Some residents of Qualicum Beach, for example, found Parksville too down-market or ‘honky tonk’ as one participant described it, while Qualicum Beach was viewed by some as ‘snobby’. While there are both low- and high- income areas in Oceanside, there are few areas that have a broad mix of incomes.

Finally, structural factors play a role in the quality of neighbourhood experience in later life. This is evident in Oceanside, where the proximity to health care is a major issue in the area due to its rapid population growth. The Oceanside region includes three local governments: the Regional District of Nanaimo, the City of Parksville, and the Town of Qualicum Beach. All have different zoning, which can lead to inconsistency in development, particularly in the corridor between Parksville and Qualicum Beach (Town

of Qualicum Beach, 2005). As participants noted, most development in the area requires private transportation to access services and amenities.

The above elements could create a useful framework for further investigation into neighbourhood-level differences within Oceanside, or another community. The remaining sections follow up on neighbourhood elements, considering the area's culture and what the case of Oceanside tells us about healthy communities for all.

5.4.2 The Culture of Oceanside

The cultural environment – the lifestyle of the area that is more than relationships between individuals – is also important, and is closely connected with the social environment. Oceanside's cultural environment is one of peer interaction, leisure, volunteering, and recreation. Such an environment increases perceptions of well-being and self-activity for retirees (Biggs, Bernard, Kingston and Nettleton, 2000). The retirement lifestyle was a difficult adjustment for some, while others love "being on holiday all the time". Though retirement may take some adjustment, there is something for everyone, and *"you can be as busy as you want to here"* (Penelope, long term resident of Parksville). *"If you can't find something to do here, there's something wrong with you"* (Rick, newly retired). There may be a shift in self-identity when one moves to a community with such a high median age. One participant described his unease being among the sea of grey haired people in the grocery store. As another participant pointed out, "like attracts like". The demographic characteristics of the place appear self-perpetuating, and the area's rapid growth suggests no sign of slowing down.

There is a certain "culture" of every place. Marin (2001) describes cultural capital as the habitus of individuals. For many, Oceanside's culture can be described as "Pleasantville", friendly, orderly, and scenic. But this is not the experience of everyone. One participant contrasted Oceanside with the Prairies, where people walk into a coffee shop and greet everyone and there is a friendly exchange. He viewed Oceanside as lacking that quality of prairie friendliness. From his experience in Oceanside, people sit

around in restaurants and stare at one another rather than engaging with each other. In this manner, there's a sense of difference – Oceanside has many different “pockets” or enclaves parallel or nested within one another. As discussed in 5.4.1., elements of neighbourhood, the situation relative to proximate neighbourhoods plays a role in Oceanside's cultural environment. People find identity by not being in another place such as a big city, Parksville, Qualicum Beach, or the Prairies. This illustrates Wiles' (2005) different experiences of place, as well as identity through comparison with other places.

Much of the population is new to the area. Nearly one third of the population of Oceanside have moved from another Census Sub Division in the five years prior to the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada, 2004). A further 14% of the population of Oceanside changed residences during this period (Statistics Canada, 2004) (Figure 3.3). In many communities, such high mobility would be associated with low social cohesion and community engagement (Farrell *et al.*, 2004; Chee, 2006), however, in Oceanside, high mobility appears to have resulted in active engagement in the community as a strategy to create a sense of belonging and home. This is consistent with previous research examining the effect of individual-level factors on social capital and sense of community. Specifically, Putnam (2000) reported that mobility levels were not associated with declining social capital.

The present finding suggests that high mobility levels and the self-selection factors associated with migration in later life can create a cultural environment that is conducive to membership in formal and informal organizations and to high levels of social capital. Given the demographic makeup of the community and of the study participants, there is evidence to support Parkes and Kearns' (2006) theory that community engagement is more likely to lead to better health for older, more affluent people than other segments of the population.

Oceanside shares many population characteristics with the American Sun Belt retirement destinations of Florida, Arizona, Texas and California. As McHugh (2000:113) comments,

Sun Belt retirement communities are defined as much by the absent image – old poor folks in deteriorating neighbourhoods in cold, grey northern cities and towns – as by the image presented: handsome, healthy, comfortably middle-class ‘seniors’, busily filling sun-filled days.

Oceanside, to use Katz’s (2005b) term, is an *elderscape*, where people create a cultural space for retirement. Katz suggests that places such places “are little more than massive real estate ventures beckoning to well-to-do mid-lifers who are already anxious about their retirement-fit futures” (2005b:209). While this may be true for participants in the case study, there is another side to Oceanside. There are long-term residents who are living on low incomes, do not drive, and may be socially isolated. They are just as much a part of the *elderscape* that is Oceanside as the fit, healthy, middle-class people spending their days on the golf course, but they were not part of this thesis and their stories are not included here.

5.4.3 Healthy communities

The WHO’s (2003) broad definition of health frames health as not merely the absence of disease, but as a sense of complete physical, mental and social well-being. Interview participants cited physical and social elements of environment that play an important role in their well-being. Macintyre *et al.* (2002) emphasize the importance of considering both material and social environments when considering place effects on health. The freedom for participants to be who they want to be, and do what they want to do in Oceanside exemplifies the goals of the Ottawa Charter and the connections between health, everyday activities and lifestyle choices (World Health Organization, 1986; Wharf Higgins, 1992).

Lifestyle is key to understanding patterns of chronic disease (Dannenberg *et al.*, 2003; Frank *et al.*, 2003; Frumkin, 2003). Oceanside’s physical and social environment

enables an active lifestyle that is key to helping to prevent or reduce the impacts of chronic disease. This is facilitated through both informal and formal structures. Walking is described by most participants as a leisure activity, rather than a viable means of transportation. In the 2004 QoL survey, walking was described as the number one recreational activity for 86% of survey respondents (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004). Active living patterns in later life are shaped in early life. The many active walking groups, the high membership levels in the Parksville Golden Oldies Sports Association, Newcomers Groups, and recreational programs combined with the sheer number of people visibly “out and about” pursuing active leisure activities in Oceanside indicate that it is a healthy, active population who tends to move to the area. Furthermore, Oceanside’s mild climate allows people to get out every day, even if for just a while.

While social and physical environments can support a broad definition of health, there exists a trade-off in Oceanside between the therapeutic characteristics of place and proximity to health care. The findings suggest that access to health care services does not tend to be of concern for participants until they are needed. Though Qualicum Beach QoL Survey respondents cited health care services as the Town service they were most dissatisfied with (Town of Qualicum Beach, 2004), many interview participants identified an awareness of the trade-off between place characteristics and access to health services. This may be a unique finding for this area that is not supported by other research. Glasgow (1995), for example, reports that late life migrants, because of their higher education, tend to have higher demands in terms of health services. A survey of over 2,000 Americans aged 45+ found that having a hospital, doctor’s offices, and drug stores nearby are three of the most important community characteristics that would allow them to age in place (Greenwald and Associates, 2003).

People move to Oceanside when they are relatively healthy. With increasing age, their health tends to decline, and proximity to health services, particularly a hospital and specialists, becomes more of an issue. Many participants recognize this and though they are emotionally, financially, and socially attached to the area, they have plans to move

closer to medical facilities in the future. This will likely have implications for future population characteristics of the area.

5.4.4 Structural Factors

Structural factors including the degree to which governance is locally developed, the provision of health and welfare services, and recreational facilities are key aspects of neighbourhoods that might influence their enjoyment by older residents and will have implications for the planning of surrounding areas (Peace *et al.*, 2005c). Local amenities are also related to the structural environment, and are regulated by local government. According to the Project for Public Spaces (2005), great places can lessen the need for municipal control and services by building and supporting the local economy and by nurturing and defining community identity.

There are a number of amenities in the local area. Many respondents are able to meet their grocery shopping needs locally, however, many need to travel beyond the local community on a regular basis for other needs. One participant described Qualicum Beach as “handicapped” when it comes to services and shopping opportunities, largely because the town restricts the types of businesses permitted in order to maintain its small-town flavour. Most participants reported going further a field for major shopping. Some participants reported that they shop at Nanaimo’s big box stores weekly. Other participants visit Vancouver regularly for its cultural amenities and much larger selection of shops.

Planning policies should support local businesses, as Engwicht points out: “Shopping locally is important ... because it provides for higher levels of spontaneous exchange which further reduces the need for planned trips and improves the overall quality of life” (1993:140). In this quote, Engwicht captures the physical, social, personal, cultural and structural aspects of community and place experience. Local shops within easy walking distance help to maintain physical activity levels and a sense of community to facilitate aging in place.

There is an opportunity for local and regional planning bodies to encourage Smart Growth principles throughout Oceanside. Qualicum Beach's new Quality Foods complex is an example of development that incorporates the principles of Smart Growth. It includes a grocery store, café, gift shop, offices and a senior's centre and is an example of mixed-use infill development that is sensitive to the needs of the community, particularly older community members. In the face of rising housing prices throughout the region, it is also important to adopt policies that encourage a range of housing options to support a diverse population that includes a mix of demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

5.5 Revisiting the objectives

5.5.1 Empirical: Dimensions of Home

In summary, home is a complex concept with physical, social, cultural, personal and structural dimensions. The findings suggest that these elements are significant at different times: the physical environment may be an important draw for migration to the area, and continues to play a role in the day to day place experience for Oceanside residents. The dimensions are also interrelated: the physical environment, for example, impacts the extent of social relationships such as spontaneous exchange on the street, or being able to get out and about for physical activity due to the mild climate. This supports Oswald and Wahl's (2005a; 2005b) theory of the dimensions of home (Figure 2.2). The findings also add to this framework by uncovering two additional dimensions: the cultural and structural environments.

There exists a home-community continuum, suggesting that home extends well beyond the house. Community, as part of the continuum, can be many things, and includes neighbourhood elements as well as cultural and structural components. The cultural dimensions of Oceanside are related to the demographics of the area. High median age, high in-migration to the area and mobility within the area, high average house prices, combined with the physical environment contribute to a lifestyle that, for

many participants, includes recreation, social contact, and community connections. In this study, structural dimensions of home include, for example, land use policies that encourage dependency on automobiles and a shortage of affordable housing, and the lack of health care services in close proximity.

5.5.2 Theoretical: Contribution of Human Geography

Gerontological theories deal specifically with issues of later life. This empirical investigation is built around Oswald and Wahl's (2005a) dimensions of home framework presented from gerontology. While this framework is based on well-replicated findings from environmental psychology and gerontology, there is room for a geographical perspective. The geographical lens considers place as a process, subject to ongoing negotiation and conflicting interpretations (Table 2.3). Under such a lens, the findings suggest that contrary to reports such as Austin *et al.* (2001), place, in all its conceptualizations, *does* matter in later life. As described above, meaning of home and place is made up of many layers of environment, which do not describe a smooth trajectory, but rather one fragmented across space and time (Figure 2.3). In addition to the spatial scale of experience, a geographical perspective is also concerned with the temporal scale – past, present, and future. Such a twinning of time and space is captured in the theories of geographers such as Peace (Peace *et al.*, 2006) and Cutchin (1999; 2001). Oceanside presents an interesting *elderscape* because all of the above-mentioned factors are situated in time and place and are closely related. Broadening the analysis to include Peace *et al.*'s (2005c) elements of neighbourhood revealed two additional dimensions of home: cultural and structural. In addition, Wiles' (2005) conceptualizations of place (Table 2.1) provides a geographical lens for the gerontological framework. Finally, Peace *et al.*'s (2006) description of environmental layers allows for subjectivity and a focus on individual experience.

In addition to a geographical perspective, there is an opportunity with this case study and with others, to consider the community as a whole. This means focusing not

only issues of later life, as is the central interest of gerontology, but also considering the community context for everyone, regardless of age.

5.5.3 Community Context

The third objective of this research is to apply the knowledge that was generated through the qualitative analysis to community planning to suggest how we can plan and create healthy, vibrant communities for people of all ages in the coming years. The findings provide insight into physical, social, personal, cultural, and organization dimensions of the home-community continuum – the home beyond the house. Community can be thought of as a geographical space that includes a social component. A theme in the interviews is that community is something that requires ‘buy-in’ from people and there is a sense of reciprocity.

The physical, social, personal, cultural and structural dimensions of home have a close connection to the health of individuals and the community as a whole. This is in large part a result of the everyday activities and experiences that such dimensions of home facilitate or inhibit. On one hand, the mild climate and presence of both informal (e.g., walking trails) and formal opportunities (e.g., the Parksville Golden Oldies Recreation Association) for physical activity encourage an active lifestyle. On the other hand, one of the most important community characteristics for aging in place – access to health services – is a challenge for Oceanside residents.

An important question is: what will allow people to stay in Oceanside, to age in place in their neighbourhood and to participate as a member of the community? The answer includes local shops within short walking distance of most residences, a range of housing options, formal and informal supports, public transportation, opportunities for physical activity that are safe and enjoyable and a range of health care options. These features foster the key elements of positive environments for aging: diversity and flexibility, continuity and maintenance, security and safety, autonomy and independence, challenge and stimulation, and interdependence (Sarte, 2005). Incorporating such

elements into Oceanside would make for an “age-friendly” community – not just for “the aged”, but also for people of all ages.

Recent community plans for the region make reference to “community nodes”, a “village core”, promoting alternative means of transportation and protecting the natural and cultural character of the area (City of Parksville, 2002; Regional District of Nanaimo, 2003; Town of Qualicum Beach, 2005). While such bylaws suggest a step in the right direction, it may prove challenging to undo the type of single-use development that caused the region to grow so rapidly in recent decades.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

If, as Mondale (1988) suggests, we study aging to better understand ourselves, this chapter considers the implications of the research for people of all ages including researchers, community members, and policy makers. This concluding chapter provides a summary of the research findings and discusses the insights gained as well as the limitations and opportunities for future research.

6.1 Summary of the research

This is a geographical study into the experience of place for older adults in the area known as 'Oceanside' on Vancouver Island. The population of Oceanside is one of Canada's oldest: more than 40% of the population is aged 55+, and over 27% is aged 65 and older. It is an area experiencing rapid growth, largely due to retirement migration fuelled by the area's mild climate and scenic beauty. The community will continue to "age" as its population ages in place, as older people move to the area and as younger people leave the region for educational and employment opportunities.

The goal of the research was to explore notions of home and community; place and space, and to consider their implications for planning future environments for an aging population. This work aimed to identify and to use theoretical approaches and themes from human geography to build on work from environmental gerontology. Empirically, a secondary qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews was conducted to illustrate the experience of home and place across spatial and temporal scales. Finally, the research aimed to provide commentary on how an understanding of the spatial experiences of older adults may be used to plan places that are supportive for people of all ages in the coming years.

This research is based on secondary qualitative analysis of 27 in-depth interviews with a total of 39 older adults aged 55+ residing in Oceanside. Interviews were conducted as part of a broader three-year project. The qualitative case study featured

here is instrumental to the research issue – the experience of place, home and community for older adults in a specific temporal and spatial context. Over the course of the analysis, the approach shifted between induction and deduction, as the process of analysis unfolded, new findings emerged, and new literatures were explored. All participants had moved to the area in adulthood, some more recently than others. Participants' length of residence in the area varied from less than one year to 35 years.

From a human geography perspective, the situated nature of experience and the conceptualization of place as a process that is constantly under negotiation and subject to interpretation is used to understand the experience of aging. Through such a lens, different dimensions of place e.g. physical, social, cultural and structural, may be significant for individuals at different times. For example, when considering a move to the area, it was physical environment that was most important for study participants. Once they had been in the area a short while, social and cultural environments became central in peoples' lives. Persons new to the area tended to rely more on formal organizations and networks to create social relations, while longer-term residents tended to rely on informal exchange opportunities. The cultural or lifestyle aspects of place, largely a product of demographics, also contribute to the experience of Oceanside. Finally, the structural environment, particularly the shortage of health services, may cause people to leave the area, especially when their health declines. Many participants anticipate that transportation may be a restrictive factor in the future. This highlights the importance of compact, walkable, and connected places.

Considering the high residential mobility of the population in the area, participants have made conscious attempts to create community. This is through both formal and informal mechanisms, such as the newcomer's organization, visiting with neighbours, or simply saying "hello" to strangers on the street. Personal identity and past place experience influence participants' experience of the present as well as their evaluation of the future. People's residential history and personal feelings and values affect their experience of place and home. Home is a multifaceted concept, with many potential

meanings and interpretations. Home refers not only to “dwelling” but also to intermingled elements of neighbourhood, community and region, places near and far both temporally and spatially. The concept of environmental layers suggested by Peace *et al.* (2006) is useful for understanding the fragmented spatial and temporal layers that give meaning to our lives.

Case studies should highlight both common and unique themes – of interest both for the phenomena under study and for its relevance to other settings (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2002). Oceanside has unique characteristics: an older population, high residential mobility, scenic attributes that encourage in-migration. It has elements within it that could be characterized as rural, urban, and suburban. As a case study, Oceanside also has common elements, e.g., the case study is interesting because it is a window into Canada’s aging population, and is an indication of what other communities may experience in the future. People choose to be in Oceanside for a variety of reasons, and they make a decision to stay (for as long as they can) despite a lack of health services in the area.

6.2 Reflections on the process

Even when specifically asked about the topic, people don’t necessarily articulate their meanings of “home” and “place”. This suggests that these are subtle and complex concepts. We are not all trained as geographers to constantly think about ‘place’ and ‘home’ being uppermost in our minds!

My background in quantitative geographic research did not prepare me for the subtleties and challenges of qualitative research. For me, this process has reinforced the importance of flexibility and reflexivity throughout the research process, particularly when conducting qualitative research. While training in both qualitative and quantitative paradigms is advantageous, no amount of coursework or books could have prepared me for the challenges and rewards of qualitative research, i.e. learning by doing.

In these processes, the role of the researcher as an interpreter is particularly important. Personal values, experiences, biases are constantly affecting the research process. Qualitative research allows some of these elements to be incorporated into the project. Though I did maintain a research journal, in the future, I would be sure to be more thorough in the documentation of my reflections on the relationship between the role of the researcher and emerging theory.

Generally speaking, graduate training leads towards increasing specialization rather than generalization. Sometimes the nature of graduate school and the demands of academic life prevent the creativity, sharing and collaboration that would open up the possibilities for new ideas. The opportunity to attend conferences and workshops and the extra year of coursework outside of the geography department exposed me to a range of people and ideas that I wouldn't otherwise have come into contact with. By taking courses in Sociology, Studies in Policy and Practice, and Educational Psychology and Leadership, the interconnections between disciplines were exemplified, and my identity as a geographer was reinforced. Though my training and experience was different from that of my classmates from nursing, dispute resolution, social work, or public administration, I realized that the sharing and learning opportunities that come with the differences were very valuable and I feel that my research was strengthened overall as a result.

Working as a member of a research team allowed for many interpretations to be brought forward. Everyone has different ideas about how things should be done. This is an opportunity I wouldn't have had if I had initiated my own project. While a project with my own data collection may have been better suited to a Master of Arts research project, I came on board as part of a team, and benefited from the learning experiences that came as a member of the research team. The nature of contemporary research projects is that funding agencies are interested in inter-disciplinary collaborations. It is possible that bringing together people from different backgrounds may complicate the research process, compromising what may be considered "pure" qualitative research. It

is hard to please everyone, and it is hard for everyone to have an equal role in the research process. However, the benefits of inter-disciplinary research seem to outweigh the drawbacks.

Furthermore, research is not the neat and tidy linear process that I expected when I started out on this journey nearly three years ago. I now have a better idea of what research is and what it is not. There is always room for new questions, new interpretations, and new ideas. While I have gained new skills and learned to think about things differently, for me, this thesis represents a launching pad for future investigations and additional applications of the insights gained.

6.3 Limitations

Conducting secondary analysis has both advantages and disadvantages. Among the disadvantages, one is that I didn't have any input into the interview questions. If I had this chance, I would have liked to ask questions that were more specific to my objectives, for example specific to the dimensions of "home beyond the house". A follow up interview would have allowed for this. However, from the standpoint of advantages, there is value in embracing all of the interview data, which provided me with a much broader picture than I would have had if I had focused on only one specific research question. Secondary analysis also allowed me to consider factors I may have overlooked if I had crafted the original interview questions e.g., the depth of social relationships, and the challenges of health care. Because the interviews didn't consistently focus on "place" and "home," these topics emerged in a more indirect fashion from discussion of other elements. Though it made it difficult to classify home and place into neat and tidy categories, interpretive work provided a rich contextual picture and valuable lessons about the flexibility and reflexivity required in conducting qualitative research.

Had I collected the primary data myself, I would have structured my interviews based on my own objectives and my reading of particular literatures. I anticipate that this would have made for a tidier "fit" between my research question and the data. By

conducting secondary analysis, I had the chance to think about the ever-changing meanings of place and home. The literature gave me a way to understand this – but maybe left me with just as many questions as answers. I do have a better understanding of the complexity of these terms in inquiry. Indeed, the many dimensions of our lives can change from day to day, and are hard to capture in a 90-minute interview.

An unanticipated benefit of reading and listening to the stories of the participants is that it helped me to understand my own life – past, present, and future. Personal decisions, thoughts, feelings are not intended to be fully understood, interpreted and analysed by ‘outsiders’, and yet that is just what I have tried to do.

6.4 Looking ahead

There are several questions I would have asked and issues I would have like clarified or probed further had I conducted the interviews myself. This affords an opportunity for further research on the topic. Returning to Kearns’ (1993) description of experience of place as people’s consciousness of places of special significance, and the role of autobiography described by Rowles (1983b), one theme I would like to explore in the future is attachment to memories. This is one of the themes Despres and Lord (2005) examined in their study of persons living in postwar suburbs in later life. There is also an opportunity for a personal place-based narrative that could employ a tool similar to the ‘wheel of life’ interview guide used by Peace *et al.* (2006). Furthermore, a community mapping exercise (Lydon, 2002; 2003; 2005) would also be a valuable tool in uncovering personal meanings and narratives as they relate to aging and place.

When it comes to healthy communities, Hancock (1997:46-47) contends that

We cannot sit contentedly in our disciplinary and departmental silos any longer, because individual sectors can no longer respond to and meet peoples’ needs. Instead we have to begin to work intersectorally and collaboratively to achieve our common purpose.

There is potential for ties between this project to many existing research projects and organizations, including the Human Early Learning Partnership², the Centre for Community Health Promotion Research³, Coasts Under Stress⁴, the BC Rural and Remote Health Research Network⁵, the WHO Age-Friendly Cities Project⁶, and others. Such trans-disciplinary partnerships would move towards a common goal of healthy, sustainable communities for all.

Another opportunity involves bringing this research back to the community of Oceanside. Interviews with community planners, social service providers, the volunteer sector, health officials, and the general population would be an excellent sounding board to confirm or review the findings of this research. Future research could focus on specific retirement-oriented enclaves, and identify what “works” for these developments in this particular setting.

6.5 Implications and opportunities

Why does the experience of people aged 55+ living in Oceanside matter to the audience reading this thesis? Because aging in place (or aging in community) provides the litmus test for a liveable community (Sarte, 2005). This research provides only a glimpse into the lives of just under forty individuals in 27 interviews, in a specific geographical, temporal and social context. The case study has both unique and common elements and the findings have relevance for policy, practice and everyday life. While it is important to avoid extrapolating the findings too broadly, i.e., to other situations, other time periods, or other people – there are some opportunities to link the learning from this research to a wider population or context. Older persons have a great deal of wisdom to share with us about how to live, how to build, how to work hard, how to play, how to

² www.earlylearning.ubc.ca

³ <http://web.uvic.ca/calendar2005/CAL/Rese/CfCoHPR.html>

⁴ <http://www.coastunderstress.ca/>

⁵ <http://www.berrhm.ca/>

⁶ World Health Organization, 2006

visit and how to be a good neighbour. This is connected to what makes home. Hopefully, this research will help generate new ideas, and perspectives to help us better understand and evaluate our own experiences and help to create and recognize spaces for community in our own lives.

There is an opportunity for a policy shift away from a singular focus on 'aging in place' to a more collective 'aging in community' (Blanchard, Golant, Moody, Anthony and Heumann, 2004). There are numerous examples of successful initiatives for aging in place and the creation of vibrant communities for everyone. In British Columbia, the Municipality of Saanich's adaptable housing guidelines, active aging strategy, and Senior Friendly Pilot Project provides a local example of how policy and planning can affect practice and help create age-friendly communities for people of all ages (Brownoff, 2006; Municipality of Saanich, 2006). Great places are dynamic: they provide for sociability, a range of uses and activities, comfort and image, and access and linkages (Project for Public Spaces, 2005). Great places can occur at the scale of home, neighbourhood, region or beyond.

"If our planning does not include the elderly with a lifetime of experience to share, or children who have fresh and magic ways of seeing the world, then who is planning for?" (Lydon, 2002:120-21). Change is not up to accredited planners or policy makers alone, it is up to each of us to work together in our own way to rethink and rework existing communities to create healthy communities (Hancock, 1997).

As demonstrated by the work of geographers such as Rowles (1978; 1983a; 1983b; 2000), Peace *et al.* (2005a; 2005c; 2006), and McHugh (McHugh and Mings, 1996; McHugh, 2000; McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 2005), studies at the local level help to understand the processes of place experience in later life. Attachment to home is not a universal phenomenon, and the role of place in the experience of home may be changing due to generational effects such as increased mobility and communications technologies (Rowles, 1983b; 1993). More and more, we are reminded that home spans beyond the house.

In a session at the meeting of the Gerontological Society of America devoted to aging in community, Harry Moody shared Bill Thomas' anecdote about the change we can expect with the aging of the baby boomers. When many of the baby boomers were born, there were three kinds of ice cream: chocolate, vanilla, and strawberry. Over their lifetime, ice cream choices have increased exponentially. What the baby boomers did for ice cream they will do for retirement (Blanchard *et al.*, 2004). The 'seniors' of tomorrow are different from their predecessors in regards to a spectrum of lifestyle and housing preferences, and they are increasingly mobile (Wahl and Gitlin, 2003). By better understanding what makes great communities today, we can hopefully continue to meet the needs of people of all ages tomorrow.

Bibliography

- AARP, 2006: *History*. Retrieved March 21, 2006, from http://www.aarp.org/about_aarp/aarp_overview/a2003-01-13-aarphistory.html
- Andrews, G. J. and Phillips, D. R. 2005: *Ageing and Place: Perspectives, Policy, Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Austin, C., Flux, D., Ghali, L., Hartley, D., Holinda, D., McClelland, R., Sieppert, J., and Wild, T., 2001: *A Place to Call Home, Final Report of the Elder Friendly Communities Project*. Retrieved August, 2005, from www.calgary.ca/docgallery/BU/community/elder_friendly_communities.pdf
- Bailey, C., White, C., and Pain, R. 1999: Evaluating Qualitative Research: Dealing with the Tension between 'Science' and 'Creativity'. *Area*, 31, 169-78.
- Ballantyne, N. 2006: Membership Coordinator, Qualicum Beach Area Newcomers. Qualicum Beach, Personal Communication.
- Baxter, J. and Eyles, J. 1997: Evaluating Qualitative Research in Social Geography: Establishing 'Rigour' in Interview Analysis. *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22, 505-25.
- BC Stats 2001: *Regional and Community Facts: Parksville and Qualicum*. BC Stats, Victoria.
- BC Stats 2005: *Municipal Population Estimates*. BC Stats, Victoria.
- BC Stats, 2006: *Statistical Profiles of Aboriginal Peoples*. Retrieved March 30, 2006, from http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/cen01/abor/ap_main.asp
- Beatley, T. 2004: *Native to Nowhere : Sustaining Home and Community in a Global Age*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Bennett, K. and Shurmer-Smith, P. 2002: Handling Case Studies. In Shurmer-Smith, P., editor, *Doing Cultural Geography*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 199-210.
- Biggs, S., Bernard, M., Kingston, P., and Nettleton, H. 2000: Lifestyles of Belief: Narrative and Culture in a Retirement Community. *Ageing and Society*, 20, 649-72.
- Biggs, S., Hendricks, J., and Lowenstein, A. 2003: Where Is Theory Headed? In Biggs, S., Lowenstein, A., and Hendricks, J., editors, *The Need for Theory: Critical Approaches to Social Gerontology*. Amityville, N.Y.: Baywood.
- Birch-Jones, S. and Redrup, R. 1999: *Times Remembered: A Collection of Memories*. Qualicum Beach: Qualicum Beach Seniors' Activity Centre Writing Group.

- Blanchard, J., Golant, S. M., Moody, H., Anthony, B., and Heumann, L. 2004: Aging in Place: A Look Beyond These Four Walls. *Gerontologist*, 44, 104.
- Blockland, T. 2001: Bricks, Mortar, Memories: Neighbourhood and Networks in Collective Acts of Remembering. *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25, 268-83.
- Brown, T. 2002: Extensive Methods: Using Secondary Data. In Shurmer-Smith, P., editor, *Doing Cultural Geography*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 101-13.
- Brownoff, J. 2006: Saanich: A Senior Friendly Community, *WHO Age-Friendly Cities Project*. Vancouver, BC.
- Burholt, V. and Naylor, D. 2005: The Relationship between Rural Community Type and Attachment to Place for Older People Living in North Wales, Uk. *European Journal of Ageing*, 2, 109-19.
- Buttimer, A. 1980: Home, Reach, and the Sense of Place. In Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D., editors, *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. London: Croom Helm, 166-87.
- Canadian Fitness and Lifestyle Research Institute 2005: *Local Opportunities for Physical Activity Trends 1999-2004*. Canadian Fitness and Lifestyle Research Institute, Ottawa.
- Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2005: *About Knowledge Translation*. Retrieved March 3, 2006, from <http://www.cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/29418.html>
- Canadian Parks/Recreation Association 1997: *Benefits Catalogue*. Gloucester, ON: Canada Parks/Recreation Association.
- Cervero, R. and Duncan, M. 2003: Walking, Bicycling, and Urban Landscapes: Evidence from the San Francisco Bay Area. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93, 1478-83.
- Chee, K. H. 2006: Community Mobilization in the Context of Population Aging. *Sociological Spectrum*, 26, 43-61.
- City of Parksville 2001: *Housing Study*. City of Parksville Department of Community Planning, Parksville, BC.
- City of Parksville, 2002: *Official Community Plan Bylaw 1370*. Retrieved June 5, 2006, from <http://city.parksville.bc.ca/cms.asp?wpID=122>
- Clandinin, D. J. and Connelly, F. M. 1998: Personal Experience Methods. In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S., editors, *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 150-78.

- Cloke, P. J., Philo, C., and Sadler, D. 1991: *Approaching Human Geography : An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Cloutier-Fisher, D. no date: *Home Sweet Home? Contrasting Experience of Place for Elderly in-Migrants and Aged-in-Place Persons in Small Town British Columbia. Sshrc Project Description*. University of Victoria, Victoria.
- Cuba, L. and Hummon, D. M. 1993: A Place to Call Home - Identification with Dwelling, Community, and Region. *Sociological Quarterly*, 34, 111-31.
- Cutchin, M. P. 1999: Qualitative Explorations in Health Geography: Using Pragmatism and Related Concepts as Guides. *Professional Geographer*, 51, 265-74.
- Cutchin, M. P. 2001: Deweyan Integration: Moving Beyond Place Attachment in Elderly Migration Theory. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development*, 52, 29-44.
- Cutchin, M. P. 2003: The Process of Mediated Aging-in-Place: A Theoretically and Empirically Based Model. *Social Science and Medicine*, 57, 1077-90.
- Cutchin, M. P. 2005: Spaces for Inquiry into the Role of Place for Older People's Care. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 14, 121-29.
- Dannenberg, A. L., Jackson, R. J., Frumkin, H., Schieber, R. A., Pratt, M., Kochtitzky, C., and Tilson, H. H. 2003: The Impact of Community Design and Land-Use Choices on Public Health: A Scientific Research Agenda. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93, 1500-08.
- Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. 2005: *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (3rd edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Despres, C. and Lord, S. 2005: Growing Older in Postwar Suburbs: The Meanings and Experiences of Home. In Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H., editors, *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 317-41.
- Dovey, K. 2005: Home as Paradox. In Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H., editors, *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 361-70.
- Engwicht, D. 1993: *Reclaiming Our Cities and Towns : Better Living with Less Traffic*. Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society.
- Engwicht, D. 1999: *Street Reclaiming: Creating Livable Streets and Vibrant Communities*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society.
- Eyler, A. A., Brownson, R. C., Bacak, S. J., and Housemann, R. A. 2003: The Epidemiology of Walking for Physical Activity in the United States. *Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise*, 35, 1529-36.

- Eyles, J. 1985: *Senses of Place*. Warrington, England: Silverbrook Press.
- Eyles, J. 1988: Interpreting the Geographical World: Qualitative Approaches in Geographical Research. In Eyles, J. and Smith, D. M., editors, *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1-16.
- Farrell, S. J., Aubry, T., and Coulombe, D. 2004: Neighborhoods and Neighbors: Do They Contribute to Personal Well-Being? *Journal of Community Psychology*, 32, 9-25.
- Fornaro, M. 2006: *Relocation in Later Years: Aging-in-Place in American's Urban Neighborhoods*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse.
- Frank, L. D., Engelke, P. O., and Schmid, T. L. 2003: *Health and Community Design : The Impact of the Built Environment on Physical Activity*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Frumkin, H. 2003: Healthy Places: Exploring the Evidence. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93, 1451-56.
- Gebhardt, V. 2006: Webmaster, Parksville Newcomers Club. Parksville, Personal Communication.
- Gesler, W. M. and Kearns, R. A. 2002: *Culture/Place/Health*. New York: Routledge.
- Gibbs, G. 2002: *Qualitative Data Analysis: Explorations with Nvivo*. Philadelphia: Open University.
- Glasgow, N. 1995: Retirement Migration and the Use of Services in Nonmetropolitan Counties. *Rural Sociology*, 60, 224-43.
- Golant, S. M. 1984: *A Place to Grow Old : The Meaning of Environment in Old Age*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Golant, S. M. 2002: Deciding Where to Live: The Emerging Residential Settlement Patterns of Retired Americans. *Generations*, 26, 66-73.
- Golant, S. M. 2003: Conceptualizing Time and Behavior in Environmental Gerontology: A Pair of Old Issues Deserving New Thought. *The Gerontologist*, 43, 638-48.
- Greenwald, M. and Associates 2003: *These Four Walls... Americans 45+ Talk About Home and Community*. AARP, Washington, DC.
- Gregory, D. 2000a: Human Geography and Space. In Johnston, R. J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G., and Watts, M., editors, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. (4th edition). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 767-73.

- Gregory, D. 2000b: Regions and Regional Geography. In Johnston, R. J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G., and Watts, M., editors, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. (4th edition). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 687-90.
- Gubrium, J. F. and Holstein, J. A. 2002: The Active Subject in Qualitative Gerontology. In Rowles, G. D. and Schoenberg, N. E., editors, *Qualitative Gerontology: A Contemporary Perspective*. New York: Springer, 154-73.
- Gustafson, P. 2001: Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21, 5-16.
- Hancock, T. 1997: Healthy, Sustainable Communities: Concept, Fledging Practice, and Implications for Governance. In Roseland, M., editor, *Eco-City Dimensions: Healthy Communities Healthy Planet*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society, 42-50.
- Harper, S. and Laws, G. 1995: Rethinking the Geography of Ageing. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19, 199-221.
- Hayden, D. 1997: Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space. In Groth, P. E. and Bressi, T. W., editors, *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 111-33.
- Hayward, D. G. 1975: Home as an Environmental and Psychological Concept. *Landscape*, 20, 2-9.
- Health Canada 2002: *Healthy Aging: Physical Activity and Older Adults*. Division of Aging and Seniors, Health Canada, Ottawa.
- Health Canada, 2003: *Physical Activity Guide for Health Active Living for Older Adults*. Retrieved July 20, 2005, from <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/pau-uap/paguide/older/index.html>
- Heaton, J. 1998: Secondary Analysis of Qualitative Data. *Social Research Update*, 22, online serial, Available www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU22.html.
- Hinds, P. S., Vogel, R. J., and Clarke-Steffen, L. 1997: The Possibilities and Pitfalls of Doing a Secondary Analysis of a Qualitative Data Set. *Qualitative Health Research*, 7, 408-24.
- Hofferth, S. L. 2005: Secondary Data Analysis in Family Research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 67, 891-907.
- Holloway, L. and Hubbard, P. 2001: *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.
- Horner, N. and Dane, C., 2005: *Strong Voter Turnout in Qualicum Beach*. Retrieved November 26, 2005, from www.bcelection.ca

- Howe, D. A., 2001: *Aging and Smart Growth: Building Aging-Sensitive Communities*. Retrieved October, 2004, from http://www.fundersnetwork.org/usr_doc/aging_paper.pdf
- Jacobs, C. 2000: Ten Best Places to Retire in Canada. *Where to Retire*, 9, 56-67.
- Jacobs, J. 1961: *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Johnston, R. J. 2000: Community. In Johnston, R. J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G., and Watts, M., editors, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. (4th edition). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 101-02.
- Katz, S. 2005a: *Cultural Aging: Life Course, Lifestyle and Senior Worlds*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.
- Katz, S. 2005b: Spaces of Age, Snowbirds, and the Gerontology of Mobility: The Elderscapes of Charlotte County, Florida. In Katz, S., editor, *Cultural Aging: Life Course, Lifestyle and Senior Worlds*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 202-31.
- Kearns, R. A. 1993: Place and Health - Towards a Reformed Medical Geography. *Professional Geographer*, 45, 139-47.
- Krause, N. 2004: Neighborhoods, Health, and Well-Being in Late Life. In Wahl, H. W., Scheidt, R., and Windley, P. G., editors, *Aging in Context: Socio-Physical Environments (Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 2003)*. New York: Springer, 223-49.
- Ley, D. F. and Samuels, M. S. 1978: Introduction: Contexts of Modern Humanism in Geography. In Ley, D. F. and Samuels, M. S., editors, *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*. Chicago: Maaroufa Press, 1-17.
- Leyden, K. M. 2003: Social Capital and the Built Environment: The Importance of Walkable Neighborhoods. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93, 1546-51.
- Li, F., Fisher, K. J., and Brownson, R. C. 2005: A Multilevel Analysis of Change in Neighborhood Walking Activity in Older Adults. *Journal of Aging & Physical Activity*, 13, 145-59.
- Longino, C. F. 2004: Socio-Physical Environments at the Macro Level: The Impact of Population Migration. In Wahl, H. W., Scheidt, R., and Windley, P. G., editors, *Aging in Context: Socio-Physical Environments (Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 2003)*. New York: Springer, 110-29.
- Low, S. M. and Altman, I. 1992: Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry. In Altman, I. and Low, S. M., editors, *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, 1-12.

- Luborsky, M. R. 1994: The Identification and Analysis of Themes and Patterns. In Gubrium, J. F. and Sankar, A., editors, *Qualitative Methods in Aging Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 189-210.
- Lucas, S. 2004: The Images Used to "Sell" and Represent Retirement Communities. *The Professional Geographer*, 56, 449-59.
- Lydon, M. 2002: (Re)Presenting the Living Landscape: Exploring Community Mapping as a Tool for Transformative Learning and Planning. Masters thesis, Interdisciplinary through the School of Environmental Studies, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.
- Lydon, M. 2003: Community Mapping: The Recovery (and Discovery) of Our Common Ground. *Geomatica*, 57, 131-43.
- Lydon, M. 2005: *Mapping Our Common Ground: A Community and Green Mapping Resource Guide*. Victoria: GroundWorks.
- Macintyre, S., Ellaway, A., and Cummins, S. 2002: Place Effects on Health: How Can We Conceptualise, Operationalise, and Measure Them? *Social Science & Medicine*, 55, 125-39.
- MacKenzie, P. and Cloutier-Fisher, D. 2004: Home Sweet Home: Experiences of Place for in-Migrant Persons in Small Town British Columbia. *Journal of Rural Social Work*, 7.
- Marin, M. 2001: Successful Ageing: Dependent on Cultural and Social Capital? Reflections from Finland. *Indian Journal of Gerontology*, 15, 145-59.
- Markwood, S. 2004: Aging in Place: A Partnership between Partners for Livable Communities and the National Association of Area Agencies on Aging, 57th *Scientific Meeting of the Gerontological Society of America*. Washington, DC.
- Martel, L., Bélanger, A., Berthelot, J.-M., and Carrière, Y. 2005: *Healthy Today, Healthy Tomorrow? Findings from the National Population Health Survey: Healthy Aging*. Statistics Canada Demography Division, Ottawa.
- Massey, D. 1995: Places and Their Pasts. *History Workshop Journal*, 39, 182-92.
- McHugh, K. E. and Mings, R. C. 1996: The Circle of Migration: Attachment to Place in Aging. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86, 530-50.
- McHugh, K. E. 2000: The "Ageless Self"? Emplacement of Identities in Sun Belt Retirement Communities. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 14, 103-15.
- McHugh, K. E. and Larson-Keagy, E. M. 2005: These White Walls: The Dialectic of Retirement Communities. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 19, 241-56.

- Mondale, C. 1988: Under Reduced Circumstances - Space and Place for the Aging. *Journal of American Studies*, 22, 347-70.
- Moore, E. G. and McGuinness, D. 1999: Geographic Dimensions of Aging. In Pandit, K. and Withers, S. D., editors, *Migration and Restructuring in the United States*. Lanham, Maryland: Roman and Littlefield, 139-73.
- Moore, J. 2000: Placing Home in Context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20, 207-17.
- Municipality of Saanich 2006: *Adaptable Housing, Cordova Bay Community Place, Police Programs for Seniors, and Active Aging Strategy Program Descriptions*, Saanich, BC.
- Oceanside Tourism Association, 2005. Retrieved December 5, 2005, from <http://www.oceansidetourism.com>
- Oldenburg, R. 1999: *The Great Good Place : Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*. New York: Marlowe.
- Oswald, F. and Wahl, H. W. 2003: Place Attachment across the Life Span. In Miller, J. R., Lerner, R. M., Schiamberg, L. B., and Anderson, P. M., editors, *Encyclopedia of Human Ecology*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 568-72.
- Oswald, F., Hieber, A., Wahl, H. W., and Mollenkopf, H. 2005: Ageing and Person-Environment Fit in Different Urban Neighbourhoods. *European Journal of Ageing*, 2, 88-97.
- Oswald, F. and Wahl, H. W. 2005a: Dimensions of the Meaning of Home in Later Life. In Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H., editors, *Home and Identity in Late Life*. New York: Springer, 21-46.
- Oswald, F. and Wahl, H. W., 2005b: *Project "This Is My Home" - on the Meaning of Home. An Empirical Study with Healthy and Mobility Impaired Elderly*. Retrieved September 14, 2005, from http://www.dzfa.uni-heidelberg.de/english_version/asoeg/w_zuhause.html
- Pain, R., Barke, M., Fuller, D., Gough, J., MacFarlane, R., and Mowl, G. 2001: *Introducing Social Geographies*. London: Arnold.
- Parkes, A. and Kearns, A. 2006: The Multi-Dimensional Neighbourhood and Health: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of the Scottish Household Survey, 2001. *Health & Place*, 12, 1-18.
- Parksville Golden Oldies Sports Association, 2006. Retrieved February 6, 2006, from <http://www.island.net/~pgosa/intro.html>

- Parksville Newcomers Club, 2006. Retrieved February 6, 2006, from <http://parksvillenewcomers.org/>
- Patton, M. Q. 2002: *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. (3rd edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Peace, S. M., 2005: *Environment and Identity in Later Life: A Cross-Setting Study Plain English Summary*. Retrieved September 13, 2005, from http://www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/Plain_English_Summaries/LLH/health_wellbeing/index144.aspx
- Peace, S. M., Holland, C., and Kellaheer, L. 2005a: Making Space for Identity. In Andrews, G. J. and Phillips, D. R., editors, *Ageing and Place: Perspectives, Policy, Practice*. New York: Routledge, 188-204.
- Peace, S. M., Holland, C., and Kellaheer, L. 2005b: *Environment and Identity in Later Life: A Cross Setting Study Full Research Report*. Economic and Social Research Council, Swindon, UK.
- Peace, S. M., Holland, C., and Kellaheer, L. 2005c: The Influence of Neighbourhood and Community on Well-Being and Identity in Later Life: An English Perspective. In Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H., editors, *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 297-316.
- Peace, S. M., Holland, C., and Kellaheer, L. 2006: *Environment and Identity in Later Life*. New York: Open University Press.
- Phillips, D. R., Siu, O.-L., Yeh, A. G.-O., and Cheng, K. H. C. 2005: Ageing and the Urban Environment. In Andrews, G. J. and Phillips, D. R., editors, *Ageing and Place: Perspectives, Policy, Practice*. New York: Routledge, 147-63.
- Phillipson, C. and Scharf, T. 2005: Rural and Urban Perspectives on Growing Old: Developing a New Research Agenda. *European Journal of Ageing*, 2, 67-75.
- Piantanida, M. and Garman, N. B. 1999: *The Qualitative Dissertation: A Guide for Students and Faculty*. Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press.
- Pinquart, M. and Burmedi, D. 2004: Correlates of Residential Satisfaction in Adulthood and Old Age: A Meta-Analysis. In Wahl, H. W., Scheidt, R., and Windley, P. G., editors, *Aging in Context: Socio-Physical Environments (Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 2003)*. New York: Springer, 195-222.
- Porteous, J. D. and Smith, S. E. 2001: *Domicide : The Global Destruction of Home*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Project for Public Spaces, 2005: *What Makes a Successful Place?* Retrieved March 24, 2006, from http://www.pps.org/topics/gps/gr_place_feat?referrer=gps_sidebar

- Putnam, R. D. 2000: *Bowling Alone : The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Qualicum Beach Area Newcomers, 2006. Retrieved February 6, 2006, from <http://www.qbnewcomers.org>
- Raeburn, J. and Corbett, T., 2001: *Community Development: How Effective Is It as an Approach in Health Promotion? Paper Presented at the Second International Symposium on the Effectiveness of Health Promotion, University of Toronto*. Retrieved January 31, 2006, from <http://www.utoronto.ca/chp/Symposium.htm>
- Rapoport, A. 1995: A Critical Look at the Concept 'Home'. In Benjamin, D. N., Stea, D., and Saile, D., editors, *The Home: Words, Meanings, and Environments*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury, 25-52.
- Rapoport, A. 2005: On Using "Home" and "Place". In Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H., editors, *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 343-60.
- Regional District of Nanaimo, 1998: *French Creek Official Community Plan*. Retrieved June 5, 2006, from <http://www.rdn.bc.ca/cms.asp?wpID=409>
- Regional District of Nanaimo 2003: *Regional Growth Strategy Bylaw No. 1309*. Regional District of Nanaimo Community Services, Nanaimo.
- Robert, S. A. 2002: Community Context and Aging: Future Research Issues. *Research on Aging*, 24, 579-99.
- Rogerson, P. A. 1999: Geography of the Baby-Boom Cohort. In Pandit, K. and Withers, S. D., editors, *Migration and Restructuring in the United States*. Lanham, Maryland: Roman and Littlefield, 174-92.
- Rowles, G. D. 1978: *The Prisoners of Space? : Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Rowles, G. D. 1980: Toward a Geography of Growing Old. In Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D., editors, *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. London: Croom Helm, 55-72.
- Rowles, G. D. 1981: The Surveillance Zone as Meaningful Space for the Aged. *The Gerontologist*, 21, 304-11.
- Rowles, G. D. 1983a: Between Worlds - a Relocation Dilemma for the Appalachian Elderly. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development*, 17, 301-14.
- Rowles, G. D. 1983b: Place and Personal Identity in Old Age: Observations from Appalachia. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3, 299-313.

- Rowles, G. D. and Ohta, R. J. 1983: *Aging and Milieu : Environmental Perspectives on Growing Old*. New York: Academic Press.
- Rowles, G. D. 1987: A Place to Call Home. In Carstensen, L. L. and Edelstein, B. A., editors, *Handbook of Clinical Gerontology*. New York: Pergamon, 335-53.
- Rowles, G. D. 1990: Place Attachment among the Small Town Elderly. *Journal of Rural Community Psychology*, 11, 103-20.
- Rowles, G. D. 1993: Evolving Images of Place in Aging and 'Aging in Place'. *Generations*, 17, 65-70.
- Rowles, G. D. 2000: Habituation and Being in Place. *Occupational Therapy Journal of Research*, 20, 52S-67S.
- Rowles, G. D. and Ravdal, H. 2002: Aging, Place and Meaning in the Face of Changing Circumstances. In Weiss, R. S. and Bass, S. A., editors, *Challenges of the Third Age: Meaning and Purpose in Later Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 81-114.
- Rowles, G. D. and Watkins, J. F. 2003: History, Habit, Heart and Hearth: On Making Spaces into Places. In Schaie, K. W., Wahl, H. W., Mollenkopf, H., and Oswald, F., editors, *Aging Independently: Living Arrangements and Mobility*. New York: Springer, 77-96.
- Rowles, G. D., Oswald, F., and Hunter, E. G. 2004: Interior Living Environments in Old Age. In Wahl, H. W., Scheidt, R., and Windley, P. G., editors, *Aging in Context: Socio-Physical Environments (Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 2003)*. New York: Springer, 167-94.
- Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H. 2005a: *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer.
- Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H. 2005b: Between the Shores of Recollection and Imagination: Self, Aging, and Home. In Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H., editors, *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 3-18.
- Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H. 2005c: Leaving Home. In Rowles, G. D. and Chaudhury, H., editors, *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 379-86.
- Rubin, H. J. and Rubin, I. S. 2001: Understanding Community. In Rubin, H. J. and Rubin, I. S., editors, *Community Organizing and Development*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 97-116.

- Rubinstein, R. L. 1989: The Home Environments of Older People - a Description of the Psychosocial Processes Linking Person to Place. *Journals of Gerontology*, 44, S45-S53.
- Rubinstein, R. L. and Parmelee, P. A. 1992: Attachment to Place and the Representation of the Life Course by the Elderly. In Altman, I. and Low, S. M., editors, *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, 139-60.
- Rubinstein, R. L. 1998: The Phenomenology of Housing for Older People. In Scheidt, R. J. and Windley, P. G., editors, *Environment and Aging Theory: A Focus on Housing*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 89-110.
- Rubinstein, R. L. and de Medeiros, K. 2004: Ecology and the Aging Self. In Wahl, H. W., Scheidt, R., and Windley, P. G., editors, *Aging in Context: Socio-Physical Environments (Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 2003)*. New York: Springer, 59-84.
- Sarte, A. 2005: Aging Gracefully in the Urban Village: Concepts to Guide Neighbourhood Design That Facilitates Aging in Place, *EDRA 36*. Vancouver BC: Environmental Design Research Association.
- Savishinsky, J. S. 2001: Lonesome in the Saddle: Or, How to Feel at Home in Later Life. In Pastalan, L. A. and Schwarz, B., editors, *Housing Choices and Well Being of Older Adults: Proper Fit*. New York: Haworth Press, 85-96.
- Schaie, K. W., Wahl, H. W., Mollenkopf, H., and Oswald, F. 2003: *Aging Independently: Living Arrangements and Mobility*. New York: Springer.
- Schoenberg, N. E. and Rowles, G. D. 2002: Back to the Future. In Rowles, G. D. and Schoenberg, N. E., editors, *Qualitative Gerontology : A Contemporary Perspective*. New York: Springer, 3-29.
- Smart Growth BC, 2002: *10 Smart Growth Principles*. Retrieved February 16, 2006, from http://www.smartgrowth.bc.ca/index.cfm?Group_ID=3524
- Srinivasan, S., O'Fallon, L. R., and Dearry, A. 2003: Creating Healthy Communities, Healthy Homes, Healthy People: Initiating a Research Agenda on the Built Environment and Public Health. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93, 1446-50.
- Stake, R. E. 1995: *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Stake, R. E. 2005: Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S., editors, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 443-66.
- Statistics Canada, 2004: *E-Stat 2001 Census of Population (Provinces, Census Divisions, Municipalities)*. Retrieved December 4, 2005, from www.gateway.uvic.ca

- Statistics Canada, 2005: *Population by Sex and Age Group, Canada*. Retrieved February 13, 2006, from <http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cst01/demo10a.htm>
- Stokols, D., Grzywacz, J. G., McMahan, S., and Phillips, K. 2003: Increasing the Health Promotive Capacity of Human Environments. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 18, 4-13.
- Szabo, V. 1997: Experiencing Control in Caregiving. Masters Thesis, Faculty of Nursing, University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Szabo, V. and Strang, V. 1997: Secondary Analysis of Qualitative Data. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 20, 66-74.
- Thorne, S. 1994: Secondary Analysis in Qualitative Research Issues and Implications. In Morse, J., editor, *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 263-70.
- Thorne, S. 1997: Ethical and Representational Issues in Qualitative Secondary Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 8, 547-55.
- Town of Qualicum Beach 2004: *Town of Qualicum Beach Quality of Life Results*, Qualicum Beach.
- Town of Qualicum Beach 2005: *Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 590*, Qualicum Beach.
- Trafford, K. and Human Early Learning Partnership, 2005: *Socioeconomic Maps for Sd 68 and 69 Nanaimo-Ladysmith/Qualicum*. Retrieved October, 2005, from www.earlylearning.ubc.ca
- Tuan, Y.-F. 1996: Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective. In Agnew, J. A., Livingstone, D. N., and Rogers, A., editors, *Human Geography : An Essential Anthology*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 444-57.
- Vancouver Island Real Estate Board, 2005a: *Market Update: Parksville and Qualicum Beach Real Estate*. Retrieved December 11, 2005, from <http://www.coastrealty.com/markets/parksville.html>
- Vancouver Island Real Estate Board, 2005b: *October 2005 Mls Sales Summary*. Retrieved December 11, 2005, from <http://www.vireb.com/2005/Sales-10-2005.htm>
- Victoria Real Estate Board, 2005: *Monthly Sales Summary November 2005*. Retrieved December 20, 2005, from http://www.bcrealtyweb.com/bcvreb/monthly_stats/vrebmss.html

- Wahl, H. W. and Gitlin, L. N. 2003: Future Developments in Living Environments for Older People in the United States and Germany. In Schaie, K. W., Wahl, H. W., Mollenkopf, H., and Oswald, F., editors, *Aging Independently: Living Arrangements and Mobility*. New York: Springer, 281-301.
- Wahl, H. W. and Weisman, G. D. 2003: Environmental Gerontology at the Beginning of the New Millennium: Reflections on Its Historical, Empirical, and Theoretical Development. *The Gerontologist*, 43, 616-24.
- Wahl, H. W., Scheidt, R., and Windley, P. G. 2004: *Aging in Context: Socio-Physical Environments (Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 2003)*. New York: Springer.
- Wahl, H. W. 2005: Ageing Research Along the Urban–Rural Distinction: Old Questions and New Potential. *European Journal of Ageing*, 2, 131-36.
- Walljasper, J. 2004: Cities of Joy. *Making Places Newsletter*, online serial, Available http://www.pps.org/info/newsletter/november2004/november2004_joy.
- Walters, W. H. 2002: Later-Life Migration in the United States: A Review of Recent Research. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 17, 37-66.
- Werner, C. M., Altman, I., and Oxley, D. 1985: Temporal Aspects of Homes: A Transactional Perspective. In Altman, I. and Werner, C. M., editors, *Home Environments: Human Behavior and Environment*. New York: Plenum Press, 1-32.
- Westland Resource Group 2001: *Demographic and Socioeconomic Trends in the Regional District of Nanaimo*. Regional District of Nanaimo, Nanaimo.
- Wharf Higgins, J. 1992: The Healthy Community Movement in Canada. In Wharf, B., editor, *Communities and Social Policy in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 151-80.
- Wiles, J. 2005: Conceptualizing Place in the Care of Older People: The Contributions of Geographical Gerontology. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 14, 100-08.
- Wilson, G. 2001: Conceptual Frameworks and Emancipatory Research in Social Gerontology. *Ageing and Society*, 21, 471-87.
- Winstanley, A., Thorns, D., and Perkins, H. 2002: Moving House, Creating Home: Exploring Residential Mobility. *Housing Studies*, 17, 813-32.
- World Health Organization 1986: *Ottawa Charter of Health Promotion*. World Health Organization, Geneva.
- World Health Organization, 2003: *W.H.O. Definition of Health*. Retrieved February 10, 2006, from <http://www.who.int/about/definition/en/>

World Health Organization 2006: Global Age-Friendly Cities Project. *First Meeting of the WHO Age-Friendly Cities Project, Vancouver BC.*

Yin, R. K. 2002: *Case Study Research : Design and Methods.* (3rd edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Young, I. M. 1990: *Justice and the Politics of Difference.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. 1995: The Ideal of Community and the Politics of Difference. In Weiss, P. and Friedman, M., editors, *Feminism and Community.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 233-58.

Appendix A Home Sweet Home Consent Form

Home Sweet Home?

Experiences of Community for Movers and Non-Movers in Small Town British Columbia

Investigators:

Dr. Denise Cloutier-Fisher.
Assistant Professor, Centre on Aging
and Department of Geography
Phone:
Email:

Dr. Patricia Mackenzie
Professor, School of Social Work
University of Victoria
Phone:
Email:

Consent to be Interviewed: Individuals/Spouses

You are invited to participate in a study funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). Participation is entirely voluntary and will in no way affect the care that you receive from the health care system. You may decide not to participate or may withdraw from the study at any time. In addition, you are free to refuse to answer any question. If you agree to participate, the information that you provide will be tape-recorded and transcribed and may be used by planners, policymakers and students interested in these issues. If possible, the researchers would also like to interview you in the future, for example, once a year over the next three years for a total of three interviews. At any time, you may ask for any taped information to be erased or destroyed. You may also ask for sensitive information not to be divulged.

Purpose

The purpose of this research project is to investigate issues relating to the health and well-being of recent movers (people who have relocated to Qualicum Beach and Parksville in the last 10 years) and non-movers (people who have lived in these communities for over 10 years). A related question is concerned with how well these communities support their seniors populations as they age. This research is important because both of these areas have grown rapidly in the last couple of decades and services may or may not be keeping up with demands. The information gained from this project will be useful for service planners, policymakers and students interested in issues of aging and service provision in rural environments.

Procedures

You are being asked to participate in this study because of your experiences with living in your community. If you agree to participate, the interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes and will be tape recorded and typed. A time and place for the interview will be set up that is convenient for you. At the completion of the study, you will be sent a summary of the results if you would like them. Participation in this project should not inconvenience you other than taking up a few hours of your time.

Appendix B Home Sweet Home Interview Guide

Home Sweet Home? Contrasting Experiences of Place for Elderly In-Migrants and Aged-in-Place Persons in Small Town British Columbia

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interviewer Name

Identification Number

Start Time

Date

Gender

Demographics

In what year were you born?

Where were you born?

If not born in Canada, when did you come to Canada?

What is your ethnic or cultural background?

Marital Status?

What is your level of education?

Work and Pre-Retirement

What is/was your last occupation?

There are many reasons why people retire. Which of the following reasons describe why you retired? *Or why you may retire, if still working.*

Your health?

Your need to provide care to a family member?

Having adequate retirement income? (Such as pensions and investments)

Mandatory retirement policies?

Company early retirement plan?

Your job ending and you being unable to find other work?

Pressure from co-workers to retire?

Other?

Housing/Neighbourhood Characteristics

Area
Qualicum Beach
Parksville

Postal Code

Type of Housing
How many people, if any, live with you?

What is their relationship to you? How old are they?

Do you?

Own your accommodation
Rent your accommodation

Do you live here year-round?

If no, how many months per year do you live here?

How long have you lived in Oceanside?

Housing Satisfaction/Meeting Needs

How well does your home meet **your needs** for accessibility (convenience) to stores and services?

How well does your home meet **your needs** for contact with friends and family (e.g., entertaining, having overnight guests, etc.)?

How well does your home meet **your needs** for hobbies and other activities you enjoy?

How well does your home **match your current level** of mobility and/or physical ability?

How satisfied are you with your current housing?

Reasons for Moving

Why did you move to Oceanside?

To what extent did the cost of living at your previous place of residence influence your decision to move to this location?

Did you have any family and/or friends living in this area prior to moving here?

Have you met many friends since moving here? Are they mostly other newcomers or have you met some people who have always lived in this area?

Are you planning to move to another community in the next five years?

If yes, why are you moving and where are you moving to?

How satisfied are you with life in your community today? Why or why not?

What is the one thing that would make this an even better place to live?

Previous Accommodation

Where did you move here from?

How long were you there?

What type of housing were you in before your move?

Did you downsize?

Life in the Community

Are you happy with your decision to move to Oceanside?

How would you describe your sense of belonging to this community? Would you say it is: very strong? somewhat strong? somewhat weak? very weak?

What feels "Like Home" to you?

Do you feel safe in this community and in your place of residence? Are you worried about crime, order and disorder within the community?

What are some of the negative aspects, if any, you face living here?

In this community, how well do you think the municipal government understands the population? Do you think that some groups get more attention than others?

Clubs, Friends, Social Support

Do you belong to any organizations or clubs in the community? Which ones?

Do you do any volunteer work in the community? If yes, what types of things?

Would you like to participate in more things (e.g., clubs, events, activities)?

If yes, why can't you?

Quality of Life

What type of person are you? *Self-sufficient, loner, help-seeking, need a friend to do activities.* How well you adjust to new situations?

How would you rate your feelings at the present time about each of the following?

Satisfied	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very
Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	

Your health

Your finances

Your housing

Family relations

Friendships

Life as a whole

Would you describe yourself as usually (please check one):

Happy and interested in life

Somewhat happy

Somewhat unhappy

Unhappy with little interest in life

Are the things you do everyday a great source of pleasure and satisfaction or a source of pain and boredom?

A great deal of pleasure and satisfaction

Routine, neither pleasurable nor boring

A source of pain and boredom

Social Support/Informal Networks

The next few questions are about your friends and family members.

How many relatives (including in-laws) do you see or hear from at least once a month?

Tell me about the relative with whom you have the most contact. How often do you hear from that person?

How many relatives do you feel close to? That is, how many of them do you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, or can call on for help?

Do you have any close friends? That is, do you have any friends with whom you feel at ease, can talk to about private matters, or can call on for help?

How many of these friends do you see or hear from at least once a month?

Tell me about the friend with whom you have the most contact. How often do you hear from that person?

When you have an important decision to make, do you have someone you can talk to about it?

When other people you know have an important decision to make, do they talk to you about it?

Does anybody rely on you to do something for them each day? For example: shopping, cooking dinner, doing repairs etc.)

Do you help anybody with things like shopping, filling out forms, doing repairs etc?

Use of Formal Services

Now I will ask you about your use of **paid and volunteer services** in the past 12 months. That is, all services provided by persons **other** than family and friends. First I will ask you about health services.

In the past 12 months, have you used the following services:

A family doctor
 Specialists other than a family doctor
 Hearing Specialist
 SOS
 Optometrist
 Foot Clinic
 Geriatric Clinic
 Chiropractor
 Home nursing
 Rehabilitation (physiotherapist or O.T.)
 Elderly Outreach Program (Mental Health)
 Counsellor, therapist, social worker
 In-patient hospital (if yes, specify # of days _____)
 Out-patient clinic
 Emergency room
 Other

Have you used any of the following services in the past 12 months and did you pay for any of these services?

Did not receive paid none paid some paid all

Adult day care
 Homemaker/housekeeper services
 Island Deaf or Hard of Hearing program
 Medical Alert Systems sharing kitchens
 Sendial (grocery shopping service)
 Veterans Affairs
 SWAP (home help by university students)
 Senior Citizens housing society
 Seniors peer counselling
 Seniors activity centre (Silver Threads)
 Handi-dart bus service
 Seniors serving seniors
 Needs crisis line
 Other Volunteer services
 Other social or recreational programs
 Respite services
 Massage therapist
 Chiropractor
 Naturopath
 Acupuncturist
 Other non-traditional healer: e.g., Herbalist
 Other health-related services

Were any of the services you used cutback or withdrawn in the past 12 months?

If yes, could you tell us which service(s) were withdrawn or cutback and why?

As you get older, what services would you need to help you stay in place?

Transportation

What method of transportation do you use?

Health of You and Your Spouse

[Perceptions of the health care that is available]

First of all, do you have a doctor? Was it difficult for you to find a doctor in this area and are you satisfied with the health care that you are receiving? Do you have any unmet needs?

During the past 12 months, was there ever a time when you felt that you needed health care but you didn't receive it?

Thinking of the most recent time, what was the type of care that was needed?

Every so often we all rely upon others for help. In your day-to-day living, who or what do you rely on?

If you became ill for a week and *didn't* have to go to the hospital, who would take care of you?

We hear a lot about Oceanside as Canada's oldest community and as an area that is losing doctors. How do you feel about that? Are these big issues or a worry for you? Are there other issues about living in Oceanside?

Do you use any come-to-the-home services? (e.g. prescription delivery, homemakers, meals on wheels, home care nursing, foot care, public health nurse, occupational/physiotherapist, social worker, protect alert/lifeline)?

Are there any outside-the-home services, which you feel you need, that are not available to you at the present?

What do you think about the possibility of a pilot project in Oceanside that would be a Centre of Excellence for mid-life to late life health. Do you think this would be a good idea?

Personal Health

How would you describe your **current** state of health? Would you say, **in general**, your health is ?

Is your health now better, about the same, or worse than it was one year ago?

How much do your health troubles stand in the way of your doing the things you want to do?

How would you describe your **current** state of health compared to other people your age? Would you say, **in general**, your **current** health is . . .

Excellent compared to others my age

Good compared to others my age

Fair compared to others my age

Poor compared to others my age

DK

On average would you say that your health:

Never prevents activities

Rarely prevents activities

Occasionally prevents some activities

Very often prevents activities

Usually or always prevents activities

I am going to read you a list of common, daily activities and for each I would like you to tell me if you are able to manage these without any help, with some help, or cannot do it at all. We are interested in **whether you feel you are able to do these activities**, not whether you actually do them everyday.

Without any help With some help Unable to do it

Can you do light housework? (e.g. such as dusting, making the bed, doing dishes?)

Can you do heavy housework? (e.g. vacuuming, scrub floors, wash windows)

Can you prepare your own meals?

Can you do your own yard work and gardening?

Can you go shopping for your groceries or clothes?

Can you do your own laundry?

Can you take a bath or shower?

Are you able to use the toilet?

Can you get in and out of bed?

Are you able to eat?

Are you able to dress and undress?

Do you wear a hearing aid?

Do you smoke?

We would like to know if you and your spouse/partner (if you have one) suffer from any chronic illnesses. Could you please tell me which of the following illnesses you and your spouse/partner have had within the last year or had earlier but still experience after effects from?

Self Spouse

Heart problems, angina

High blood pressure

Stroke

Cancer

Respiratory ailments (i.e., asthma, emphysema)

Stomach or digestive problems

Bowel or urinary problems
Arthritis or rheumatism
Diabetes
Osteoporosis
Orthopaedic problem or injury
Eye problems not relieved by glasses (i.e., cataracts, glaucoma, retinal degeneration)
Hearing impairment
Skin problems
Parkinson's disease
Alzheimer's disease
Other serious memory problem
Mental or emotional distress
Drinking problem
Other (specify)

Which of these illnesses you do consider to be the **most** serious? Second? Third?

Do you have any health-related problems that you need help with, but are currently not receiving help for?

If yes, what are they and what type of help do you feel you need?

Are there any household activities (such as housecleaning, home maintenance, yardwork) that you need help with, but are not currently receiving help for?

If yes, what are they and what type of help do you feel you need?

Final Questions

Average Monthly Household Income (Show Cards and allow person to choose)

Thank you so much for your time and trouble. It was a pleasure interviewing you.

Appendix C Home Beyond the House Ethics Approval



University
of Victoria

Human Research Ethics Committee
Office of the Vice-President, Research
University of Victoria
Room 425 Business and Economics Building
Tel (250) 472-4545 Fax (250) 721-8960
Email ovprhe@uvic.ca Web www.research.uvic.ca

Human Research Ethics Committee Certificate of Approval

<u>Principal Investigator</u> Jennifer Harvey Graduate Student <u>Co-Investigator(s):</u>	<u>Department/School</u> GEOG	<u>Supervisor</u> Denise Cloutier-Fisher	
<u>Project Title:</u> A Place to Grow Old			
<u>Protocol No.</u> 161-04	<u>Approval Date</u> 19-May-04	<u>Start Date</u> 19-May-04	<u>End Date</u> 18-May-05

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Committee has examined this research protocol and concludes that, in all respects, the proposed research meets appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Subjects.

Dr. Martin Taylor
Vice-President, Research

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the procedures. Extensions or minor amendments may be granted upon receipt of "Request for Continuing Review or Amendment of an Approved Project" form.

161-04
Harvey, Jennifer