

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study provides knowledge and images of life styles and their association to housing that improve the comprehension and possibility of appreciation of housing preference from a life-style perspective. It opens up the possibility of using this understanding for housing prediction and planning purposes.

Preceding chapters have dealt with planning theory and urban housing issues, reformulation of the urban housing problem in Indonesia, a theoretical framework to comprehend life style and housing phenomena, research design, background of surveyed areas, data analysis, and findings.

This final chapter reflects on the significance of the research and its limitations, its contribution to planning theory and the policy implications. Finally, it considers possible further research. It does not provide a detailed summary of findings but assesses the consequences and recommendations that emanate from this particular research.

Section 6.1 presents an assessment of four different aspects of the results. First, the empirical results are evaluated. Second, the research method is assessed. Third, the theoretical development of life style is evaluated. Lastly, this section assesses the utility of the concept of life style as a practical forecasting tool, as well as the lessons that can be drawn directly from the market segmentation.

Section 6.2 deals with two broader implications. First, at the higher level, it discusses the incorporation of life style in planning theory. Second, the relevance of life styles to policy decisions is discussed, followed by some notes on specific policy implications which can be drawn from the research findings.

The last section of this chapter explores some ideas for further research on life style and housing preference.

6.1 Significance and Limitations

Findings of this research have both significance and limitations. Of significance are the empirical results of the analysis which serve as both a test of the hypotheses about the congruence of life style and housing preference and a demonstration of a prototypical application of the concept of life style for household and housing segmentation. But limitations will be encountered in the application of the research method. Also important is the theoretical development and operationalization of life style that puts housing preference or choice in the context of life decisions and life styles. The prospect of using a life-style approach to housing market segmentation as a practical forecasting aid is promising.

6.1.1 Assessment of the Empirical Results

The empirical results have confirmed that life style, as defined, is a relevant factor that can be used as a basis for the segmentation of housing preference or housing market. The test of the first hypothesis does not reject the statement that there are differences among life-style groups as related to housing preference. Thus, segmentation of households based on life-style similarity provides life-style groups that constitute different housing market segments. The test of the second hypothesis - that life style is a better descriptor of housing preference than income - is not confirmed. But it is neither totally rejected nor accepted. Some housing aspects that relate directly to "price" (e.g. house price, floor size, garden size, land size, building type, garage, location, and transportation) are better predicted from a household's income. Hence, it means that income is much more powerful than life style. But some other housing aspects are better predicted from household's life style (e.g. housing area, road quality, neighborhood homogeneity, and some accessibility priorities). Also, the joint use of both life style and income information for housing prediction shows considerable improvement compared to the use of income information

only. Although, in this case, the results are mostly not statistically significant due to the size of each life-style group that is too small to be further segmented by income. Nevertheless, based on a sound theoretical framework life-style segmentation has the capacity for explaining housing preference and has the potential for improving the predictive power of income segmentation.

There are three other assessments of the empirical results in addition to testing of the hypotheses; these include theoretical, methodological (practical), and utility. First, the description of the identified ten subgroups or clusters in an earlier chapter indicates the possibility to perceive the subgroups as life-style groups²⁵². Thus, the results are theoretically interpretable. However, the results are not meant to imply that the full potential of the life-style concept has been captured in this analysis due to the limitation of small sample.

The second assessment is the cost-effectiveness of the application of the life-style concept in predicting housing preference. If the use of a single variable such as income can perform equally well in explaining and predicting housing preference, or if reducing the number of household variables included in the life-style operationalization will not lessen the explanatory and predictive power of the segmentation, it would hardly be justifiable to develop the more costly life-style segmentation approach. This study indicates that income segmentation is better in terms of cost-effectiveness for predicting more housing preferences. Although, life-style segmentation provides better prediction of fewer housing aspects than does income segmentation, the increased cost may put to question the efficacy of life-style segmentation. However, when life style and income segmentations are combined, or, in other words, when income segmentation is done within life-style groups, the predictive power is increased considerably. The results provide high PREs (Lambdas and Taus) but the use of a relatively "small" sample in this study has led to reduced statistical significance of the results. Thus, employing a larger

²⁵² However, group seven, consisting of only four households cannot be used because of its small size.

data set or, alternatively, sampling higher rates in population groups which can, *a priori*, be assumed to be of different life styles could have demonstrated the cost effectiveness of the concept in a more conclusive manner.

The third assessment concerns the utility of the results. If our intention is accommodating value differences in society and aiming at the balanced development of material and non-material (spiritual) welfare such as is proposed in Section 6.2.1., then the (relatively higher) research cost of life-style segmentation should not be perceived as the sole consideration that constrains its usage. Moreover, the more preferable and satisfying housing produced by a "life-style" tailored plan may be more marketable, effective, and efficient. Thus, it may yield higher revenue to home builders and the total production cost can be less expensive. The growing urbanization and economic development may increase life style differences that make this life style approach more relevant.

6.1.2 Assessment of the Research Method and Technique

This research has relied on social survey methods and multivariate statistical techniques for data compression and construction of composite variables. While other methods and techniques are also used they are less salient in generating the life-style groups. Therefore, the concluding assessment is focused on these method and techniques.

First, it must be emphasized that the survey incorporates a somewhat limited sample. Although, the sample size is relatively sufficient for the life-style segmentation analysis, it is not sufficiently large for the second level income segmentation within the life-style groups. Hence, we assume that if the sample was sufficiently large for the second level income segmentation, the conclusion - that income segmentation within the life-style groups has much higher predictive power - could have been statistically significant and conclusive. The unrepresentativeness of the sample in this "preliminary" study (see Section 3.3.6.) also limits the generalization of the results. We cannot assume the ten life-style groups identified in this study to be an ideal

life-style grouping for Indonesian metropolitan cities in general or even for the city of Bandung in particular.

It was difficult to obtain a good response from higher income households in the survey. This difficulty may have produced a systematic bias that limits the representativeness of this "higher income class" in the sample. There is no easy alternative to solve this problem. To obtain a higher level of response from the high income class it would be necessary to seek endorsement of the study from class leaders in the form of letters of introduction and other such means (personal channels). These endorsements can be obtained but much time and patience is required of the researcher. Such efforts were beyond the temporal and financial resources of this study²⁵³.

Second, the dimensions produced through PRINCALS have been used for clustering the sample. The results indicate that the dimensions are representing both qualitative (nominal) and quantitative (ordinal and interval) variables. Thus, it indicates the potential of PRINCALS for extracting dimensions from nominal variables. This favours the use of less expensive socio-economic-demographic data rather than the use of the more expensive attitudinal data that is increasingly popular in (life-style) marketing studies. Socio-economic-demographic data include numerous variables (such as sex, ethnicity, and religion) that are much less subject to influence from environmental change. Practical reasons exist for the continued use of these data in segmenting housing markets. They are easier to collect, easier to communicate to others, and often more reliable in measurement than many of the competing approaches to segmentation. Moreover, only through these data are planners able to project results to the urban or national population, because the Bureau of the Census collects and updates only demographic profiles²⁵⁴.

²⁵³ For discussion of research methods for elite studies see Moyer and Wagstaffe (1987).

²⁵⁴ However, the Indonesian government has excluded record on ethnicity from the censuses since 1971 due to its political sensitivity.

Third, the cluster analysis that exhaustively assigns the households into life-style groups inescapably creates groupings that contain "outliers". Theoretically, these outliers are not typical members of the life-style groups, thus they slightly distort the essential characteristics of these groups. The existence of these outliers can be detected using discriminant analysis. Ideally, these outliers should be excluded from the analysis and description of the life-style groups in order to get a sharper picture of the characteristics of the life-style groups. If we take into account only the core members of the life-style groups in our statistical analysis, it may give more confidence on the actual significance of the results. However, to do so would have inflated the size of sample required for this study beyond the available time and financial resources. Thus, while this study does not bring the identified life-style groups into sharp focus, we can refer, advisedly, to this study as a "preliminary" study.

6.1.3 Development of Life-Style Theory

The theory developed in this thesis suggests that life style is a concept describing household orientation which summarises and integrates socio-economic-demographic attributes. It is developed not only to account for buying power and money-related values that traditionally were captured by income or expenditure variables, but also to account for other cultural values in order to capture, holistically, the agents of household decisions in housing choice.

This research is one way to validate the explanatory power of the theory to help in the comprehension of Indonesian urban housing. The City of Bandung has been used as a context for the empirical validation. The research has successfully explored possible life style groups in an Indonesian metropolis. It also confirms the hypothesis on the association between household attributes and housing choice derived from the theory of life style. But theoretical development usually extends beyond a single empirical validation. Based on the encouraging results of this preliminary research, further empirical analysis is recommended to broaden and support the relevance of the theory provided here. The scope of the empirical analysis should be broadened

by including a wider range of households types and by replicating the study in other metropolitan cities in order to refine the description of life-style segmentation. It may be hypothesized further that city size and "cultural setting" (indigenous culture) influence the variety of life styles.

Although, it is still preliminary, this study contributes to detailed description of local life styles in an Indonesian city. In other words, it has laid the first foundation toward the development of "local culture" based theory. It is also a contribution toward the development of planning theory which seeks to accommodate diversity in values. (see Section 6.2.1.).

6.1.4 Life-Style Segmentation Scheme for Planning

Because this study is concerned not only with identifying life-style groups and their association with housing preferences, but also with providing a practical tool to be used in forecasting, one may ask how this suggested methodology is, at all, practical. Assuming that we have refined the life-style groups and their association with housing profiles and the census can provide the data on the joint distribution of all relevant variables used as life-style indicators, for forecasting purposes we require only the projection of the joint distribution on the target date so that life-style groups can be identified.

Although it is impossible to predict the joint distribution with certainty²⁵⁵, it is argued that based on the information about current trends combined with professional judgement a probable future joint distribution can be estimated. In other words life-style distribution can be projected and also the associated housing demand of these life-style groups.

In observing the trends of change in the various attributes used in defining life-style groups, it is possible to identify some patterns which can reasonably be assumed to persist for a long period. For

²⁵⁵ Even in economics, - the most "exact" social science -, the use of the most sophisticated econometric models offers no hope for the elimination of all uncertainty; management judgment is still needed (Ivancevich et al, 1991, p. 84).

example, given the current population trends the age composition of households can be projected with a high degree of certainty. In the same way, the educational levels, language and ethnicity (if it can be obtained) can be projected with a high degree of certainty.

Of course, any prediction is only probabilistic and is subject to errors. However, it is helpful to have some clues as a rational-objective basis for future images of life-style groups and their housing demand in creative planning activities. In fact, professional "intuitive" insight in planning does never totally rely on exact predictive calculations nor a synthesis of accumulated knowledges (see footnote on intuition p. 375). Bounded rationality cannot take into account many of the factors that determine future events, while the stochastic nature of social events does not allow a strict mechanistic projection. Hence, for future projection of life-style groups, hunches can be based on simplified indicators of life-style groups that reduce the cost of prediction. For example, the age, education, and working status of both husband and wife may give clues to their life style (e.g. whether it is "Young Professional Couples", or "Conservative Professionals", or "Home Oriented Retired Couples", or "Mature Entrepreneurs", or "Professional *Priyayi*", or "Traditional Informal Workers"). In short, we can learn some lessons from the structure of life-style segmentation and take the main indicators of each life-style group as a simplified guide for hunches.

6.2 Contribution to Planning Theory and Policy Implications

While this research primarily focuses on practical housing (policy) issues (see subsection 2.3), it is driven by the intention to find an appropriate direction in planning theory (see subsection 1.1). This section provides recommendations on these two levels; theory and policy. First, it justifies life-style theory as one possible basis for the development of substantive theory that explain objective housing phenomena. It proposes the appreciation of diverse life styles as the foundation of prescriptive "culture-based" planning theory. And consequently, to appreciate value orientations - the spiritual force of life style - the planning procedure must combine a rational systematic

procedure in the first phase and the intuitive artistic process in the final phase. Second, it provides some possible urban housing policy implications²⁵⁶.

6.2.1 Life Style and Its Culture-based Planning Theory

This study indicates that the hypotheses derived from the theory of life style developed in Section 3.3 are not rejected. Thus, while it should always be tested further, we can argue that the theory of life style is relevant in explaining objective housing phenomena, thus contributes to existing substantive planning theory (theory that explains the objects of planning).

If we simply define theory in terms of connections and relationships; substantive theory is a set of logically connected concepts about objective reality that have been operationalized and verified by experience-grounded observations. Substantive theory deals with the world of objective phenomena, and, accordingly, is also called empirical theory. It is an assertion of "cause and effect", association, or relationship between separate realities. Thus, substantive theory describes and explains phenomena as they are now or as they were in the past although it has potential for dealing with things as they may happen such as in projection. For example, it has predictive capacity when framed in an "if ... then" manner: If concentration of "Young Professional Couples" and "Conservative Professionals" (that have a lot of school children and put a high priority on school and public transport) increases in a neighborhood, then a demand for school and public transport from the neighborhood is likely to increase. In this way, the general, universal, principle - that value orientations are the seed of both household's life style and housing choice so that both life style and housing choice are associated - can be extended into more specific theory that explains the urban housing phenomena in the city of Bandung.

²⁵⁶ Although what is proposed in this section is value laden, the basic value is nurturing the human and life creative force. This is considered to be universal value.

As a result of this empirical study, we can explain the association between housing phenomena and household characteristics (demographic-social-economic-cultural attributes) in the metropolitan city of Bandung. It can be theorised that the variety of value orientations of mostly middle class households in metropolitan cities in Indonesia, specifically in the city of Bandung, has influenced the creation of at least nine life-style groups and their associated housing preferences. These life-style groups are the "Young Professional Couples" with their orientations toward education and career, the "Home Oriented Retired Couples" having value orientations toward home and gardening or outdoors activities, the "Rising Young Businessmen" oriented toward career and family life, the "Mature Entrepreneurs" with their orientation toward money and entertainment or recreation, the "Conservative Professionals" interested in education, conservative norms in religion and family, and power, the "Senior Professional *Priyayi*" retaining an orientation toward status and nature, recreation or comfortable environment, the "Retiring *Santri*" concerned about religion, family life, and their children's education, the "Nurtured Professional Novices" occupied with establishing family and career, and lastly, the "Traditional Informal Workers" oriented toward home, family life or kinship, and social life.

Each life-style group has specific household structure and socio-economic-cultural background. This background has been explained in terms of its association with housing tenure (ownership and price), type, size (space), neighborhood and facilities as described in Section 5.4. Thus, Section 5.4 actually contain a "detail" embryonic substantive theory that gives understanding about "current" urban housing and life-style phenomena in an Indonesian metropolitan city. However, it should be noted that the empirical-objective phenomena - both housing and household characteristics - is only adapted "appearance" of the subtle value orientations or intentions that can never be holistically captured by objective-rational description or theory.

Since objective knowledge and rational theory is always limited, systemized and rigid; it grasps and explains only the superficial phenomena of experiential-contextual world. There is always a danger

that the use of rigidly systemized theory such as in the "rational (comprehensive) theory" may bring one's indigenous sensitiveness into confusion and inhibit one's innovativeness and creativeness. This should not necessarily happen, for sensitiveness is just as important as theory (otherwise, nobody bothers to formulate a theory). Thus, in the second level theory - the procedural planning theory - the proposed planning procedure must combine rational systematic procedure in the first phase (in the analysis and exercise) with the intuitive artistic process in the final phase.

Rational theories can provide good advice only if it is presupposed that those who lean upon them grasp the right relationship between the theories and their scope of explanation (the idea, object, environmental setting, technology, time) and between the theories and the underlying principles. Thus, the theories should lead to the aesthetic intuition of the actor (see footnote on Eastern intuition on page 6). In other words, they should be transformed and incorporated into the emotion that explodes into interest, intuition and aesthetic union that produce the solution (plan) as art creation. If the theoretical formulas conduct action, the creative intuition is strangled and made mute²⁵⁷.

The third level of planning theory that deals with planning goal can also be derived. The appreciation of "value orientations" underlying the diverse life styles, - the spiritual force of life style - is proposed as the foundation of "culture-based" planning theory. These value orientations are the diverse manifestation of the spirit of life in the human being as part of nature. Thus, the deeper goal or the

²⁵⁷ Yet, usually, such formulas have been instituted by creative artists or innovative scientists themselves for certain personal purposes of their own. It seems as through these theories - instituted according to the personal inclinations (intuition) of the actors - the actors control their work, but actually their intuition control their theories and work. That is to say: after all, the actors' intuition is the deciding tribunal. Wagner III and Hollenbeck (1992, p.8) provide a model of managerial-skill acquisition that describe a novice as practicing applying textbook theories in case analyses and experiential exercises, and an expert as developing the ability to respond intuitively to a wide range of management problems.

essential philosophy of "culture-based" planning is the appreciation and attunement of natural force or spirit of life in the universe and in the specific setting. This planning paradigm is actually parallel with the current "environmental movement". However, while the objective and goal of "environmental movement" (such as green movement, sustainable development, "our common future") are focused on the physical level - the creation of environmental balance and sustainable development - this "culture-based" development paradigm cultivates the spiritual level - the attunement or harmony with the spirit of life or nature. Thus, there is no "standardized" objective nor "rigid" strategy. The world ("plan" or "development") must move naturally and harmoniously expressing its life force. The physical development is not taken as the standard of development, it is only a sign or appearance of spiritual growth and change (which is called culture or life style).

The proposed paradigm is compatible with Indonesia's motto "Unity in Diversity". The motto is supposed to provide guidance for Indonesian development. Another guide for national development formulates "The essence of National Development" as holistic human development and the development of all Indonesian society"²⁵⁸. Also, the National Ideology of Pancasila describes the holistic human development as the development of harmony and balance in "human life as individual", "in individual's relation to other individuals in its society", "in individual's relation to nature and God", "in the pursuit of material and spiritual welfare", and "in relation between nations" (BP-7, 1990, p.30). This harmony and balance imply tolerance of others or diversity. It conforms with the "culture-based" paradigm that appreciates diversity of households values and preferences, cultivates a balance spiritual and material development.

Hence, an "integrated" planning theory explaining planning object, procedure, and goal is proposed in this life-style study. The life-style theory has been the entering point in this proposal. While the substantive aspect of life-style theory is developed through the

²⁵⁸ translated from "Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara / GBHN" (The Main Direction of National Development) of 1988-1993 of the Republic of Indonesia.

accumulation of empirical knowledge, the planning "procedure" will never be learned without practice. Moreover, without accepting "unconsciously"²⁵⁹ the spirit of the culture based "paradigm", the former theory and practice are dull. They will become "standardized models" that lose their appropriateness.

6.2.2 Policy Implications

There are two types of policy implications that can be derived from the theory of life style as developed throughout this research. The first type is policy that accommodates, facilitates or reinforces the existing life-style trends. This type of policy is taken if the current life-style trends are not in conflict with each other or with "societal goals". For example, policies that are directed to solve perceived problems in a specific housing area or to match households' priorities with supply of facilities. The second type is policy that directs or develops the potentials of life style to meet certain future goals. This type of policy limits trends that may lead to social conflicts, or environmental problems; but encourages the development of potential future life styles that lead to harmonious development of material and spiritual welfare. For example, the encouragement of policies that prevent increased segregation and encourage diverse life-style interactions. This type of policy necessitates that planners have an ability to appreciate the existing values and to envision an imaginative future world that is rich in values.

By virtue of the definition of life style, almost any policy which affects life style would have implications for housing preference. In observing both current public policies and private activities in real estate, it is possible to denote many of them as influencing and generating new life styles (e.g. family planning program, tourism policy, *kampung* improvement program, low-cost and luxury apartment

²⁵⁹ A rational (conscious) acceptance is not enough nor necessary to practice this paradigm. To some extent, the "healthy" people, while planning and organizing their life and its environment, have practiced this paradigm without conscious will. Their unconscious attunement with the natural spirit of life keeps them healthy.

development, homogeneous real estate development, new road construction, new public transport routes, policy on car import, parking and traffic regulation, education policy, income tax policy that encourages wives to work, urban land use policy, new town development, industrial estate development, *Adipura* or cleanest city award program, improvement of regional transportation, development of "golf course, health club, super market, mall") which subsequently influence and change future housing preferences. However, all of these changing life styles are taken for granted as "modernization" without reflection on its spiritual forces and implications for future life-styles compatibility with the national ideology.

In the context of this study, the description of the nine life-style groups and their housing preferences, although still in a preliminary form, may provide inspirations in formulating urban and housing policies or a private strategy of real estate development. Some examples of policies implications are illustrated here.

The most common problems experienced by the nine life-style groups is adequate quantity and quality of water supply. Twenty percent of the entire sample mentioned this problem. The "Conservative Professionals", the "Young Professional Couples", the "Retiring *Santri*", and the "Nurtured Professional Novices" are life-style groups who are most concerned with these problems. Almost a quarter of these four life-style groups suffer from this problem. Most of these life-style groups live in new housing areas on the periphery of the city such as Cijerah, Sumbersari, Margahayu and Sukaluyu. The Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Program (IUIDP) that is implemented in the city of Bandung should consider these areas. The IUIDP seems to address the most experienced problems in urban housing. This study recommends the continuation of this program. However, preventive policy is recommended too. For example, real estate developers should be required to provide good quality and reliable water supply, and it should be monitored.

The problems of utilities²⁶⁰ and crime are identified only by 11 percent of the samples. Utilities problems are also being addressed by the IUIDP. But the problem of crime in the neighborhoods of "Mature Entrepreneurs" and "Young Professional Couples" may be better solved by strengthening neighborhood organization and prevented by creating more defensible neighborhood design²⁶¹ for these life-style groups. Thus, these neighborhood organization and design improvements are recommended.

The high proportion of those intending to move (22 percent) may indicate directions of future change in the housing market, especially on the demand side for the "Nurtured Professional Novices" (32.6 percent), and the "Young Professional Couples" (32.1 percent). Their priority for accessibility to schools, bazaar, public transport, and workplace should be considered in planning housing for them. Interest in moving can be reduced by providing or improving schools, bazaar and public transport route in areas where these life-style groups are strongly represented.

Since the "Traditional Informal Workers" are ranked fourth in their satisfaction with overall housing and life, it can be inferred that the housing problem defined for them is biased with economic and materialistic values of modernization. If it is the commitment of development to reduce the economic gap, economic policies that address the informal sector should be more relevant than housing policies. At least this economic goal should be consciously considered in formulating indirect policies such as housing policies for this life-style group. Thus, the improvement and provision of educational facilities (e.g. of public library, public school, educational play-ground, adult skill

²⁶⁰ The utility problems such as sewerage, electrical power, and garbage collection, are concentrated in Margahayu and Paledang.

²⁶¹ A seminal work, entitled *Defensible Space*, by Oscar Newman (1972, 1977) brought together a number of major insights concerning the conditions under which opportunity for criminal behavior could be enhanced or displaced by design considerations. These notions obviously do not occur in a vacuum, and other considerations such as management practices, the degree of social cohesion of residents, and criminal intent combine to determine what happens in any given place. (see also Fairley, 1971; Hopf, 1979; Poyner, 1983; Sinnott, 1985; Blacklock, 1991; Crowe, 1991).

education) and health-care facilities (e.g. family planning and health education program, health care clinic, "fitness" facilities) are recommended to improve economic welfare in the long term. The more direct economic policy related to neighborhood physical design is the provision of "co-operative" office buildings for the community. If any housing policy should be addressed, the Informal Workers' house is the most important target since almost 14 percent of this home and family oriented life-style group is not satisfied with its housing. But due to the financial limitation of this group, the "co-operative" approach combined with government financial help may be the best approach²⁶². However, whatever "objective" planning goal, the approach should attune Informal Workers' orientations toward home, family life and social life.

The three most dissatisfied life-style groups are the "Conservative Professionals" (dissatisfied with the location and the neighborhood), the "Nurtured Professional Novices" (dissatisfied with the house), and the "Senior Professional *Priyayi*" (dissatisfied with the facilities). This should be considered in any housing policy or plan targeted to them. The "Conservative Professionals" are concerned with distance to school, bazaar, public transport route, and place of worship; and this life style prefers homogeneity in education and income. The "Nurtured Professional Novices" have problem with large household size and too small floor size. The "Senior Professional *Priyayi*" need access to urban facilities but this life-style group also prefers a suburban atmosphere. If the housing plan for this life-style group is not provided with these facilities, it will generate a lot of traffic to urban centres. This "Senior Professional *Priyayi*" has the highest rate of private car ownership and may cause traffic problems.

A general guide for urban housing policy and planning can be drawn from the main orientations of each life-style group. The "Young Professional Couples" are oriented towards education and career. The "Home Oriented Retired Couples" are oriented toward home and gardening or outdoors activities. The "Rising Young Businessmen" are

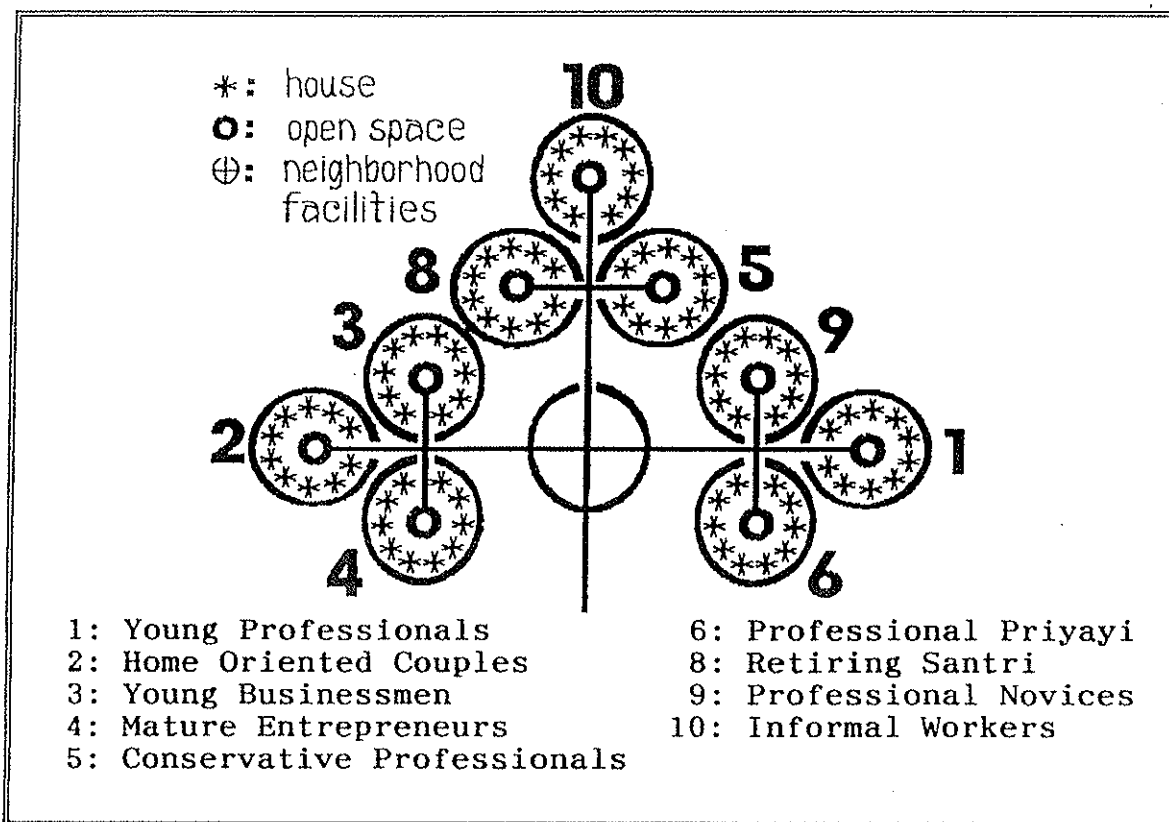
²⁶² A "co-operative" housing project for "scavengers" initiated by Hasan Poerbo (personal conversation, May 1990) in Bandung was successful.

oriented toward career and family life. The "Mature Entrepreneurs" are oriented toward money and entertainment or recreation. The "Conservative Professionals" are oriented toward education, conservative norms in religion and family, and power. The "Senior Professional *Priyayi*" have an orientation toward status and nature, recreation or comfortable environment. The "Retiring *Santri*" are oriented toward religion, family life, and their children's education. The "Nurtured Professional Novices" are occupied with establishing family and career. Lastly, the "Traditional Informal Workers" are concerned with home, family life or kinship, and social life. Moreover, the guide for fundamental housing features such as lot size, floor size, garden size, number of garages, price, accessibility priority etc. can be referred to Table 23 (p. 188). But it is not supposed as general standards due to its "static" and "average" character. Recent housing may not fit any more nor be ideal for future development, and even within a life-style group there are still variations that cannot be mathematically averaged (e.g. differences in income within a life-style group "causes" differences in lot size, floor size, and price). Hence, the life-style groupings and associated recent housing choice (may be added with social, economic, and demographic trend) serve only as basic information for creative future projections by planners.

The second type of policy that is suggested here is the creation of mixed homogeneous-heterogeneous clusters of life-style groups that have similar locational needs. The research has shown that only about 50 percent of the households prefer homogeneous neighbors. Real estate developers should not exaggerate this preference by unduly limiting the range of housing choice. Homogeneity in education and income is preferred more than homogeneity in ethnicity and religion especially by middle and higher income life-style groups having school children. One alternative design solution to homogeneity problems is to mix different small clusters of homogeneous houses (e.g. 8 to 12 houses) so that the feeling of homogeneity can be felt but interaction among different "compatible" life-style groups can take place. Thus, the "Unity in Diversity" slogan as part of national ideology can be maintained. Figure 26 gives a proposed residential model based on the spatial juxtaposition

possibilities explored in Section 5.5. Again, it only serves as an inspiring image. Further intuitive adjustment is required if we plan for a specific setting.

Figure 26
AN ALTERNATIVE OF RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION OF LIFE-STYLE GROUPS



Another cause of homogeneity in the new real estate development is the method of marketing or marketing network that is practiced by the developers. Developers tend to approach a company that may commit itself to support its employees in the purchase of housing. Also the owners of the real estate tend to use their "friendship" network to market their products. This "business" mechanism is difficult to alter, but it is not impossible to diversify using modern, multi-access marketing networks. Both public and private housing development agents should consider seriously this mixing policy before it is too late and urban areas are locked into problematic housing patterns that are

spatially segregated by ethnicity, language, religion, education and income.

6.3 Further Empirical Research

This study has elaborated a theory that offers a framework in which "values" can be utilized for purposes of prediction and planning. Given the insightful and promising results of this preliminary research, further research on this life-style issue is recommended. However, both the operationalization of the life-style concept and its empirical application deserve further study and will always need to be modified and adapted to different setting contexts. This last section suggests some ideas for consideration in the future operationalization and empirical application of the life-style concept in housing studies, and also suggests other research approaches and applications in other fields.

In the operationalization of the life-style concept, this research has included data on ethnicity and religion, both "sensitive", political subjects in Indonesia. Moreover, data on ethnicity is not available in the census type survey in Indonesia²⁶³. While, theoretically and empirically, these two variables are verified to be relevant indicators of life style, sensitivity may cause the replication of this research on a national scale to be politically undesirable. To overcome this political constraint, these two variable may be omitted from the operationalization. Doing so will reduce the representability of latent life-style values but hopefully the values can still be captured, marginally, by other variables such as "language used at home", occupation, and perhaps education. Refined classification of occupation is also suggested for the future research. Since status is theoretically related to life style, this classification of occupational status should be based more on "local" empirical research.

On the dependent variables, the data on satisfaction, neighborhood perception, accessibility priority, organizational activity, and time allocation, help in the formulation of life-style orientation. But

²⁶³ But, ethnicity is recorded by *Kelurahan*.

the problem of getting a full data response (a lot of missing values) on time allocation and the data's unreliability discourage reliance on this data. For other "small" scale preliminary life-style identification studies in other cities this "crude" time allocation data might help to explain life-style orientation. At the national scale, the cost implication may discourage its inclusion.

The empirical application of the life-style concept in housing studies can be expanded to the architectural aspect of housing such as the need and organization of spaces within the house and within the rooms, the conception of space, the aesthetic preference, the house form style preference, the choice of finishing materials and so forth. This will give architects insight into the nature of "local values" in housing architecture.

This research starts by examining the "effect" of life style on housing preferences. Another research approach can examine the effect of a policy on the behavioral pattern of each life-style group already identified. For example, what might be the effect on life style of a housing relocation project? What might be the effect on life style of the living environment in low-cost apartments? What might be the effect on life style of the recent development of luxury high rise apartments in Jakarta? What might be the real effect on life style of a mixed homogeneous-heterogeneous neighborhood plan? All the answers to these research questions may give insight to the elaboration of policies and housing plans which may affect patterns of behavior in a desired manner.

While the current comprehension of life-style choices in Indonesia is quite limited, its logic assures the expansion of this type of "market" research into other fields (e.g. transport mode choices, product preferences, customer preferences, media choices, or fashion choices). This prospect warrants the development of both urban and national scale data bases accommodating life-style profiles.

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