The Value Stretch Model — Tooling for Long-Time Horizon Lifestyle Studies

Baruch A. Kipnis
Haifa University*

Most lifestyle studies have dealt with lifestyle attributes as a one-dimensional phenomenon. However, many aspects of human life should be viewed on a long-range continuum, extending over most a person's life time. This paper is taking this direction using the 'value stretch model'. It is believed that the model, besides its explanatory value, could be used as a planning tool for a long-range view of lifestyle aspects and aspirations. Using data from eight hundred and six questionnaires collected in three case studies covering seventy-two lifestyle attributes, this paper reveals eight lifestyle profiles and examines their relative value/order and their role in our lives.

Keywords: *Lifestyle attributes, value stretch model, lifestyle profiles, long-view range, planning.*

Most lifestyle studies have dealt with lifestyle attributes as a one-dimensional phenomenon.[1] Yet many aspects of our life essentials should be viewed on a long-range stretched development continuum, extending over most of our life span horizons. This is especially true when lifestyle elements are used as planning inputs, and are expected to guide a long-range development strategy or policy (Schnell and Kipnis, 1989; Kipnis, 1982; 2004a; 2004b Kipnis and Aspis, 1996). This paper aims to show how a value stretch model might be employed as a planning tool for a long-range view of lifestyle aspects and aspirations. This article uses data from eight hundred and six questionnaires collected in three case studies, where interviewees were asked to rank seventy-two lifestyle attributes presented to them in a value stretch framework. More specifically, it examines the following:

1. The constituents and applications of a value stretch model;
2. The qualities of lifestyle profiles (families, or groups of closely associated lifestyle attributes) that are revealed by means of value stretch methodology;
3. How useful the output of a value stretch model is as a tool for a stretched continuum of a plan and/or policy time horizon.

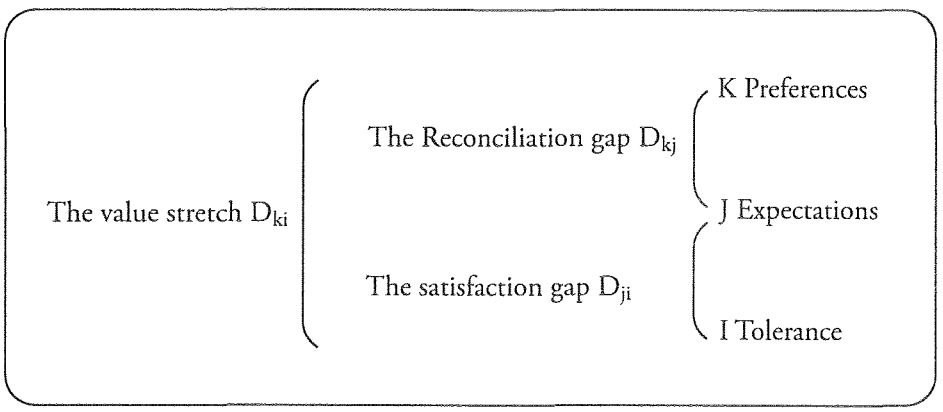
The three case studies were conducted in various places in Isreal and covered various segments of Israeli society.

* Department of Geography, University of Haifa, Haifa 31905, Israel. E-Mail: baruch@univ.haifa.ac.il

THE VALUE STRETCH MODEL

Della-Fave (1974) was the first to make use of a value stretch model in his study of career preferences and expectations of high school students. Since the late 1970s the model has been used by several of my graduate students in their research theses (Mansfeld, 1983; Kipnis and Mansfeld, 1986; Aspis, 1991; Yaniv, 2000; Goldman, 2001; Kravchyk, 2003) and in a variety of policy planning projects (Kipnis, 1978; 1982; Kipnis and Barhad, 1991; Kipnis, Aspis and Barhad, 1991). Later it was adopted by Mansfeld for his Ph.D. thesis and for his more advanced research on the geography of tourism (Mansfeld, 1987; 1992a; 1992b; 1995). The model simulates the relative magnitude of each attribute under consideration when situated on three reference levels stretching along a continuum from *preferences* to *expectations* and *tolerance.* This magnitude is the value (score) assigned to the attribute from 5, very important, to 1, not important or not relevant. The model's gaps are the distances (the differences) between the values assigned to the attributes at the three reference levels. They are an indicator of a person's propensity to compromise over a given attribute at each of the above levels (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Value Stretch Model



Source: Schnell and Kipnis, 1989 following Della-Fave, 1974.

LEVELS AND GAPS OF THE 'VALUE STRETCH MODEL'

The model presumes a long time horizon continuum having three levels of reference or levels of subjective aspirations, and three stretched gaps. The levels are:

- ***Preference***–K. The highest level of a given lifestyle attribute one aspires to attain over a long time horizon of 20-25 years.
- ***Expectations***–J. The level of a given lifestyle attribute a person expects to attain in a short time horizon of five years, assuming he/she is ready to mobilize his/her

resources and energies to this end.

- ***Tolerance***–I. The lowest level of a given lifestyle attribute a person is ready to accept, assuming that his/her expectations cannot materialize. Some refer to this level as the present level (Mansfeld, 1983), the person's last experience (Mansfeld, 1983; 1987), or the minimum necessary for the person's survival (Kipnis, 1982; Schnell and Kipnis, 1989).

The three stretched gaps situated between the model's levels are:

- ***A reconciliation gap*** (RG) D_{kj} indicating the difference between the values assigned to a lifestyle attribute at the *level of pr*eference and between the values allocated to that attribute at the *level of expectation.*
- ***A satisfaction gap*** (SG) D_{ji} measuring the difference in the value assigned to a lifestyle attribute at the *level of ex*pectations and that he/she has assigned to his/her tolerance state.
- The value stretch (VS) D_{ki} is the sum of the reconciliation gap (RG) and the satisfaction gap (SG).

THE THREE LIFESTYLE STUDIES

This paper examines how a value stretch model might be used as a methodological tool for long time horizon lifestyle studies, which could in turn create useful input for policy making and planning. To this end seventy-two lifestyle attributes were drawn from a questionnaire completed by 806 respondents in three conceptually and methodologically coordinated lifestyle studies. Table 1 shows the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the three sampled populations. It also shows the distribution of the main characteristics (gender, age, place of residence at young age, type of work) and interviewees' subjective evaluation of their economic conditions (good, intermediate, poor). The first study (Kipnis, 2003), in 1999, surveyed students at five university campuses and two control groups of older students attending enrichment programs of the External Studies Unit at the University of Haifa and the Eshkolot program of the Open University. The main hypotheses of this study were that age, gender, type of employment, and type of settlement in which a person grew up will impact on the way he or she evaluates his or her lifestyle attributes at each level K, J, and I of the model. Moreover, the above variables will determine the degree of compromise the individual reveals in his or her D_{kj} reconciliation and D_{ji} satisfaction gaps. Special attention is given to the scores awarded to attributes by the young interviewees who, according to Schwartz (1996), are those who might act as agencies of change hence they supply the most valuable input for planning purposes. The survey yielded three hundred and four workable questionnaires.

The second study (Goldman, 2001; Goldman and Kipnis, 2003) surveyed three Jewish neighborhoods of the city of Haifa during 2000[3] and produced four hundred

and four workable questionnaires. The neighborhoods, situated along the northern slope of Mount Carmel, are:

1. An upper class neighborhood located on the ridge of Mount Carmel;
2. A section of Hadar Hacarmel, a neighborhood lying midway down the slope of Mount Carmel on a narrow terrace stretching east-west. At present it is inhabited largely by Russian immigrants, and is known as 'Little Moscow';
3. Qiryat Eliezer, a neighborhood lying on the plain at the foot of Mount Carmel. This is an early statehood public housing estate built in the early years of Israel's statehood. Most of its population is elderly immigrants from the 1950 and 1960s, with a mixture of younger households, mostly the second or third generation after the original settlers.

Table 1: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the sampled population (%).

Characteristics	*Students' sample (n=304)*	*Haifa sample (n= 404)*	*High-tech sample (n=98)*
		Gender	
Male	45	45	58
Female	55	55	42
Total	100	100	100
		Main age group	
Young (< 35)	42	54	56
Middle ages (35 -50)	52	32	44
Seniors (> 50)	6	14	--
Total	100	100	100
		Main occupation	
High status jobs	12	45	59
Low status jobs	25	30	41
Unemployed	63	25	--
Total	100	100	100
		Subjective economic conditions	
Good	25	50	75
Intermediate	39	17	18
Low	36	33	7
Total	100	100	100
		Type of settlement he/she grew up in	
Central city of metropolis	17	40	27
Suburban center >50,000	68	23	68
All other settlements	15	37	5
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field surveys 1999-2002.

The central hypothesis of this study was that due to the explicit socio-economic and demographic differences between the neighborhoods, the interviewees would also assign different value scores to the seventy-two lifestyle attributes, and that these values would reflect age, gender, employment and the settlement in which the interviewee had lived in during his or her early years.

The third study (Kravchyk, 2003; Kravchyk and Kipnis, 2004) targeted the Israel high-tech industry. Its main hypothesis was that those employed in R&D will tend to assign different values to their lifestyle attributes from those who are not R&D workers. The study was initiated in 2000 at the peak of Israel's high-tech prosperity, but the fieldwork started only in 2002, at the nadir of the high-tech recession (Kipnis, 2002). Its participants were contacted through the Internet as a snowball sample. Due to the high-tech crisis and the delayed survey, only fourty-seven of the seventy-two original attributes received an appropriate or relevant reply. Among the twenty-five inappropriate attributes were a few such as the use of a cellular phone at work, or some that proved irrelevant to high-tech workers who wished to cease being unemployed as soon as possible, regardless of the type of job offered to them. As a result, some of the lifestyle attributes evinced strange scores, inconsistent with some of the hypotheses or with scores observed in the earlier surveys of 1999 and 2000. Most of the inconsistencies were in the values assigned to the preference (K) and the tolerance (I) levels, resulting in longer reconciliation and satisfaction gaps. Most instances of this were found among the consumption, residence, and leisure attributes.

These above variations were detected by the irregular R coefficients of the Spearman Rank Correlation R shown in Table 2. It is calculated as follows:

$$R = 1 - (6 \times (\Sigma d^2) / (n^3 - n)$$

where d is the difference between the scored averages of the lifestyle attribute in each of the samples.[4] Observe how the students' and the Haifa samples reveal relatively good correlations, while the high-tech sample scores lower and at times even negative R coefficients.

Table 2: Spearman's rank correlation coefficients between the rank order of the preferences (K), the reconciliation (RG) and satisfaction (SG) gaps of the attributes of the three samples.

Pairs of samples	*Students' sample*	*Haifa sample*	*High-tech sample*
Students vs. Haifa	0.897	0.802	0.530
Students vs. high-tech	0.772	0.420	-0.968
Haifa vs. high-tech	0.406	-0.310	-0.825

RESULTS

The following are the highlights of the above findings from the three samples. They are analyzed as a unified group even though the hi-tech sample was smaller and seemed somewhat different from the other two.

The most and the least desired lifestyle attributes

Table 3 shows the interviewees' ten most wanted and five least wanted lifestyle attributes. Note how small the differences between the samples are, in both the wanted and unwanted attributes. Among the former are work, leisure, residence, and consumption-related attributes, but the number of the family-related attributes is the most visible: four among the Haifa interviewees, four among the students, and two among the high-tech employees.

Table 3: The most and the least wanted lifestyle attributes by sample.

Students' sample	*Haifa sample*	*High-tech sample*
	Most wanted lifestyle attributes—whole sample	
Live as a couple	Own my own residence	Live as a couple
Raise my children	Raise my children	Spend time with my family
Professional advancement	Live as a couple	Work at a workplace that allows career development
Own a private car	Spend time with my family	Professional advancement
Spend time with my family	Work at a workplace that allows career development	Full freedom at work
Own my own residence	Own a private car	Own my own residence
Work at a workplace that allows career development	Professional advancement	Have a creative hobby
Professional job	Work in a comfortable working environment	Own a private car
Experience gender equality	Experience gender equality	Regular vacations
Live in a well-serviced neighborhood	Regular vacations	Engage in sports activities
	Least wanted lifestyle attributes—whole sample	
Live in high rise dense neighborhood	Own a yacht	Have designer clothing
Be politically involved	Be politically involved	Live in high rise dense neighborhood
Live in a dense neighborhood of detached homes with gardens	Live in a dense high rise neighborhood	Own a luxurious car
Own a yacht	Live in a dense neighborhood of detached homes with gardens	Live in a luxury apartment building
Live an orthodox religious lifestyle	Live an orthodox religious lifestyle	Work professionally from home
	Least wanted lifestyle attributes—sampled population aged < 35 years	
Live in a dense high rise neighborhood	Own a yacht	Earn much money
Be politically involved	Live in a dense high rise neighborhood	Own a yacht
Live in a dense neighborhood of detached homes with gardens	Live in a dense neighborhood of detached homes with gardens	Be politically involved
Own a yacht	Be politically involved	Live in a dense neighborhood of detached homes with gardens
Live an orthodox religious lifestyle	Live an orthodox religious lifestyle	Live an orthodox religious lifestyle

Source: Field surveys 1999, 2000, and 2003.

The assignment of high values to '*live as a couple*', '*raise children*', '*spend time with the family*', and to '*gender equality*' by the interviewee's needs explanation. In Israel, as in most advanced economies, divorce rates have significantly increased, reaching close to the 10,000 mark in 2001 (the most recent year for which data are available), namely a third the numbers of marriages of that year. Without detailed deliberations, one may conclude that the highly scored attributes and the divorce rates are closely linked. An equal and close partnership in family life has gained the same level of legitimacy as divorce has. Therefore, if the marriage does not work well according to the above lifestyle preferences, divorce becomes inevitable as a legitimate act.

Among the least wanted attributes, that is, the lifestyle attributes that won the lowest scores, notable are, particularly among the (secular) young people, the negative responses to *a dense urban environment*, being *politically involved*, and rejection of a *religious (ultra-orthodox) lifestyle*. Observe too the relatively low score given by high-tech workers to the *consumption*-oriented attributes. This is partly explained by the high-tech crisis, resulting in smaller available income and more vigilant spending. High-tech workers also rejected the idea of *professional working from home*. High-tech, particularly its R&D segment, requires abundant formal and informal opportunities for brainstorming. These require most of the working day being spent at the plant. The unavoidable outcome, in terms of its impact on children of high-tech workers, is illustrated in this volume by Blumen (2004).

Lifestyle profiles (families)

For an examination of the impact and the role of different 'profiles' of lifestyle attributes on our society, the seventy-two attributes were clustered into seven 'profiles' (families). Some attributes appear in more than one profile. Table 4 shows the profiles ranked according to the average of preference (K) values scored in each of the three samples. The table shows the reconciliation (D_{kj}) and the satisfaction (D_{ji}) gaps too, along with the standard deviation (σ) of their K values in each sample.

Again, that the average scores of the profiles are similar is significant. The few exceptions are these: the average K value of the personal status profile of Haifa interviewees is lower than that of average K of consumption; the average K score of the personal attitudes profile of the high-tech sampled people is more important than their average K for family; and the average K for leisure is more valuable than that for residence. Still, all these differences are negligible. More significant are the standard deviation values. When the size of $\sigma \geqq 0.500$ for preferences, and $\sigma \geqq 0.300$ for RG and for SG, they appear in boldface and are underlined. While large $\sigma \geqq 0.500$ for preferences indicates great variations in the values assigned to the attribute by the interviewees, large $\sigma \geqq 0.300$ for the gaps reveals the degree of concession/compromise that people are willing to accept. The higher the standard deviation, the lower the priority that the said attribute should get in a planning process. This critical planning input, simulating the subjective evaluation of the people involved in the planning process, is a vital contribution of the value stretch model when used as a

planning tool aimed at generating planning goals, objectives, and priorities (Kipnis, 2003; Kravchyk and Kipnis, 2004).

Table 4: Rank order of average preferences level (K) of the main 'profiles' (families) of lifestyle attributes of the three samples, and their calculated coefficient of variance[a].

	Students' sample			*Haifa sample*			*High-tech sample*		
	Preferences	*RG*	*SG*	*Preferences*	*RG*	*SG*	*Preferences*	*RG*	*SG*
				Family-related attributes					
Average	4.032	0.219	0.199	4.058	0.147	0.214	**4.062**	0.062	0.194
σ	0.478	0.247	0.264	**0.589**	0.281	**0.339**	0.417	0.120	0.184
				Personal attitudes related attributes					
Average	3.655	0.139	0.128	3.668	0.064	0.090	**4.111**	0.076	0.243
σ	0.377	0.197	0.167	0.465	0.124	0.187	**0.545**	0.148	**0.307**
				Work-related lifestyle attributes					
Average	3.532	0.238	0.226	3.486	0.132	0.249	3.613	0.193	0.320
σ	**0.534**	0.232	0.241	**0.572**	0.172	**0.363**	0.233	0.186	**0.381**
				Residence-relates attributes					
Average	3.392	0.275	0.236	**3.388**	0.191	0.230	**3.009**	0.255	0.290
σ	**0.523**	**0.300**	0.295	**0.653**	0.263	**0.345**	0.482	0.290	**0.397**
				Leisure-related attributes					
Average	3.199	0.184	0.247	**3.376**	0.126	0.150	3.232	0.374	0.224
σ	0.481	0.196	0.224	**0.553**	0.186	0.213	0.480	0.219	**0.359**
				Personal status-related attributes					
Average	3.011	0.263	0.226	**2.991**	0.137	0.220	2.903	0.169	0.287
σ	**0.665**	0.237	0.244	**0.738**	0.185	0.257	**0.653**	0.204	**0.317**
				Consumption-related attributes					
Average	2.677	0.503	0.530	**3.060**	0.500	0.564	2.733	0.651	0.835
σ	**0.601**	**0.241**	0.236	**0.814**	0.285	0.298	**0.674**	**0.331**	**0.381**

(a) σ of preferences > **0.300** and of reconciliation (RG) and satisfaction gaps (SG) > *0.500* are marked
Source: Calculated by the author

The relative magnitude of attributes

Six of the seven profiles of the lifestyle attributes (nine to sixteen attributes in each) were ranked according to their average preferences (K) scores and were listed for each of the following twelve sub-groups of interviewees:

1. The three samples: students; Haifa residents; high-tech workers;
2. The two gender groups: male, female;
3. Interviewees' 3 age sub-groups: younger than 35 years; 36–50 years; 51+ years;
4. The two types of employment: high level and low level;
5. The two settlement types in which an interviewee grew up: a central city of a metropolis; other urban center with population of 50,000 and more.

For each of the six lifestyle profiles for each of the 12 sub-groups, the five at-

tributes having the highest average *preference* (K) scored values were identified, and assigned weighted values from 5 to the first in the list (the one with the highest average score) to the fifth in the list whose weighted value is 1. Table 5 shows the number of times each of the five attributes was ranked in a given place, and the weighted total score of each of the attributes.

Table 5: Rank order of lifestyle attributes and their weighted rank. (a)

		Rank of attributes					*Weighted*
Attributes	*The profile*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*score*
	Family profile						
Live as a couple		6	6				42
Raise children		4	4	1	1	1	42
Spend time with the family		2	1	7			27
Gender equality				1	11		25
Celebrate family events				1		10	13
	Work profile						
Professional advancement		11		1			58
Convenient comfortable work environment		1	6	3	1		40
Professional job			4	3	4	1	34
Work at a workplace that allows career development			2	3	1	2	21
Short commuting distance							
	Residence profile						
Own my own residences		12					60
Live in a service-rich neighborhood		11	1				59
Live close to work			1	2	8	1	27
Have a room of my own				8	1		26
Good residence for my family but long commuting for me				1	2	8	12
	Leisure profile						
Regular vacations		11		3			64
Host friends at home		1	9		1		44
Engage in sports activities				9	1	1	30
Have a creative hobby				1	7		17
Attend lectures / courses					2	7	11
	Personal status profile						
Earn a lot of money		9	2				53
Have a managerial position		2	6	1	2		41
Be socially influential			1	6			22
Enjoy personal esteem / status		1		1	1	1	22
Live in a prestigious neighborhood				1	3	5	14
	The Consumption profile						
Buy luxury goods without limit		10	1	1			57
Buy expensive appliances		2	8	2	1		50
Spend a weekend abroad			4	6	2		38
Buy/replace expensive furniture frequently				3	8		25
Dine at expensive restaurants					2	11	19

(a) The highest ranked attributes in six of the seven profiles (families) of lifestyle attributes. The weights are 1=5, 2=4, 3=3, 4=2, 5=1. The missing profile is the personal attitudes profile.
Source: Calculated by the author.

Internal variations in the ranking within the profiles notwithstanding, the over-

all picture is that regardless of the hypothesized differences in lifestyle preferences among the interviewees' sub-groups, they tended to indicate the same preferences of lifestyle attributes. Observe how in each of the profiles only two attributes attained high total weighted score. Differences in the weighted score between the second and the third attributes are relatively large in the *family*, the *residence*, and the *personal status* profiles. This further denotes how narrow the interviewee's preferences are. By contrast, the differences between the second and third attributes are insignificant in the *work, leisure*, and *consumption* profiles, in which the interviewees revealed a wider range of choice.

Table 6: Selected lifestyle attributes scoring very high values at all levels of the value stretch model by profile[a].

Attributes	*Average in preferences*	*Average Reconciliation gap*	*Average satisfaction gap*	*Number of interviewees assigning high values*	*Percent of total (n= 772)*
			The residence profile		
Live in service-rich neighborhood	4.689	0.246	0.239	269	35
Live in a spacious rural detached house	3.711	0.274	0.270	155	20
Live in a specious urban detached house	3.745	0.247	0.286	114	15
Live in a spacious suburban –detached house	3.829	0.310	0.227	104	14
Live in a prestigious neighborhood	3.202	0.261	0.264	75	10
			Consumption profile		
Spend a weekend abroad	3.299	0.289	0.254	117	15
Buy luxury goods without limit	3.475	0.234	0.293	61	8
Buy designer clothes without limit	2.788	0.135	0.187	54	7
Own a yacht	2.028	0.145	0.118	51	7
Dine at expensive restaurants	3.009	.0246	0.256	48	6
			Personal status profile		
Enjoy personal esteem and status	3.642	0.206	0.227	147	19
Be socially influential	3.721	0.233	0.242	116	15
Earn much money	3.131	0.193	0.278	105	14
Have a managerial position	3.513	0.212	0.312	101	13
Have political influence	2.127	0.124	0.134	31	4
			Consumption of high culture – theater and concerts		
Season ticket for theater	3.023	0.122	0.253	75	10
Season ticket for concerts	2.348	0.128	0.164	46	6

(a) Preferences (K) and expectations (J) 5, tolerance (I), not less than 4.
Source: Calculated by the author.

Another aspect of the lifestyle phenomenon was ascertaining which of the attributes gathered a greater number of high values: these were 5 for the K and J (for preferences and expectations) levels, and not less than 4 for the I (tolerance) level. Table 6 shows these attributes for three profiles: *residence*, *consumption*, and *personal status*. Two elements deserve attention:

1. The number of people who assigned a very high score to a given attribute is

rather small. An outstanding number is *living in a service-rich neighborhood*, amounting 35 percent of the total interviewees. However, for most attributes only 20 percent to 4 percent of the interviewees selected them as their highest *preference*.

2. Most of the attributes shown in table 6 reveal relatively small stretched *reconciliation* and *satisfaction* gaps. An exception is *living in a spacious sub-urban single family home*, preferred by 14 percent of the interviewed people, which scored a larger *reconciliation gap*. This might indicate that the interviewees did not place this type of residence as their ultimate priority. Finally, owing to my personal interest in the unfortunate decline in the 'consumption' of cultural activities of *theater* and *concert*, I added the two to Table 6. Note, how both scored very small percentages of high votes (people who see going to the theater or a concert as a must), 10 percent and 6 percent respectively.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: LIFESTYLE ATTRIBUTES AS A PLANNING INPUT

This article has sought to augment the scope of lifestyle studies employing a value stretch methodology, as a long and short time horizon tool for the formulation of long-range planning goals and short-range planning objectives. The first to stress this potential of the value stretch model as a planning tool was Yaniv (2000), though lifestyle attributes had served as planning input long before. Instances are planning projects covering the areas of the aged, entrepreneurship, the housing market, driving safety, and retail marketing. Biggs et al. (2000), for example, used lifestyle attributes of the aged in designing a retired community, and Hirshman (2001) studied the propensity of retirees to continue to work. He used their lifestyle attributes to draw up an employment policy aimed at creating appealing working conditions for those who wished to extend their productive life. Shapira (1997) inquired how to upgrade and to enrich the lives and the cognitive abilities of the old, hence their productivity, and how to positively affect their health, physical condition, sexual activity, family life, and education in order to enrich their lives. The relationship between entrepreneurial qualities and lifestyle attributes were investigated by Ateljevic and Doorne (2000), and by Kaman and his colleagues (Kaman et al., 1988). Both studies showed how lifestyle attributes could be more valuable than economic ones for the development of tourist attractions. Cooper et al., (2001) study offered a method of fighting accidents by influencing people's lifestyle attributes. In the housing market lifestyle inputs were used by McDowell (1997), who estimated the demand for housing by middle class bank workers, and by Cooper and his associates (2001), who portrayed the extreme social and lifestyle duality of bank workers, and how such a duality impacted on their housing market. Finally, Eduards (2000) examined the issue of land use changes along major thoroughfares like Champs

Elysee in Paris.

Although all the above studies made proper use of lifestyle attributes as their planning input, they were wanting in telling us how important each lifestyle attribute is, and how vital they are in the long and the short time horizons. More importantly, the above studies could not reveal to a planner or a decision maker the propensity of people to reschedule the development of a given attribute in the short or the long run, or in both, and in so doing to help establish and plan implementation priorities. We have already indicated that attempts in this direction were made by Yaniv (2000), Kipnis (1978; 1982; 2004a), Kipnis and Aspis (1996), and Kravcyk and Kipnis (2004).

Another point of interest is the role played by consumption aspirations and patterns in determining our lifestyle. This study tells us that interviewees ranked *consumption*-related attributes quite low. Sobel (1981) was the first to suggest that consumption reflects other lifestyle attributes, primarily work and leisure. He suggested that notwithstanding the relatively higher weight given to work and leisure as opposed to consumption, their salience over consumption is because work does not reflect, as consumption does, a great deal of a choice. Even though most people view work as a significant and satisfying activity, the rewards, according to Sobel, derive not directly from the work itself but rather from its social meaning. Some of these meanings are mirrored by the person's ability to consume and by his/her consumption patterns.

It is the same with leisure. Sobel (1981) doubted that the reduced number of working hours meant more time for leisure. In fact, he argued, much of the saved hours were expended in commuting and household activities, and the rest were not fully utilized for leisure. He stressed that the argument for leisure cannot rest on a quantitative assessment of free time. The utilization of free time often involves prior or simultaneous consumption. In addition, recreation agents and advertisers offer recreation, movies, and sports as a partial solution to a person's free time. Even for those who have higher wages and shorter working hours, most of their free time activities appear in the form of consumption (Sobel, 1981). We may add that household appliances and other equipment geared to improved utilization of one's free time reflect increased consumption. In sum, utilization of free time is also linked to consumption.

True enough, Sobel's work predates the present study by more than 20 years and his observations held during the early days of the post-industrial age and of the global economy. Nevertheless, they remain valid today. Furthermore, their significance is much more important in our times when work and leisure have evolved as pivotal elements of our high-consuming society. This issue should be placed at the forefront of our research agenda, preferably in the context of the emerging lifestyles of those defined by Sklair (1994; 2000) as the 'transnational capital class' by Beaverstock and colleagues (2002) as the 'global super rich', and by Schwartz and Schwartz (1998) as the 'living lightly post-consumer society'.

NOTES

1. For an introductory review of the value stretch model see Kipnis (2004b) in this volume.

2. A summary of the second and third studies follows this paper.

3. Only the Jewish population was surveyed so as to avoid interethnic group differences. Such differences were found between Jewish and Arab students in the first study, but the number of Arab students in the sample was too small for significant conclusions to be reached. The number of Arab households living in two of the Haifa neighborhoods is negligible, while in some sections of the third neighborhood, Hadar Macramé, their presence is relatively large, particularly in Hadar's western part. Study 0f interethnic differences in lifestyle is on our forthcoming research agenda.

4. Recall that the number of attributes *n* of the students' and the Haifa samples is seventy-two, while that of the high-tech study is fourty-seven.

REFERENCES

Aspis, Y. (1991) The Value Stretch Model in Defining Critical Needs for Public Policy. Case Study: Housing Needs for Arab Villagers in Israel. MSc. Thesis, the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, The Technion, Haifa.

Ateljevic, J. and Doorne, S. (2000) Staying within the fence: Lifestyle entrepreneurship in tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*,5:378-392.

Beaverstock, J.V., Hubbard, P.J. and Short J.R. (2002) Getting away with it? The changing geographies of the global super-rich. *Research Bulletin 93, www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb/93.html*

Biggs, S., Bernard, M., Kingstone, P. and Nettleton, H. (2000) Lifestyles of belief: Narrative and culture in a retirement community. *Aging and Society*, 6:649-672.

Blumen, O. (2004) Fathers' work and children's distinctive lifestyle: children of Israeli high-tech men. *Geography Research Forum*, 24:77-99.

Cooper, J., Reyley, T. and Smyth, A. (2001) Contemporary lifestyles and the Implications for sustainable development policy: Lessons from the UK's most car dependent city, Belfast. *Cities*, 18, 2:103-113.

Della Fave, R. (1974) Success values: Are they universal or class-differentiated? *American Journal of Sociology*, 79:153-169.

Eduards, B. (2000) To be within. *Metropolis*, pp. 86-90. (Hebrew)

Goldman, A. (2001). Lifestyle Attributes, Are They Class and Place Differentiated?

A Value Stretch Analysis of a Case Study in Haifa, Israel. MA Thesis, Department of Geography, the University of Haifa.

Goldman, A. and Kipnis, B. A. (2003) Similarities and differences in lifestyle attributes of residents of Haifa, Israel. *Bitachon Sotzialy*, 64:83-99. (Hebrew)

Hirshman, C. (2001) Exit strategies. *Human Resources Magazine,* 12:52-57.

Kaman, D.J.F., Strijker, D. and Sijtsma, F.J (1998) A 'Reverse Network Engineering' framework to develop tourism using lifestyle approach. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie,* 89:310-319.

Kipnis, B. A. (1978) *Housing aid policy for Arab villagers: A pilot study.* Haifa: The University of Haifa, Yesum Ltd. (Hebrew)

——.(1982). *Planning Housing Aid Policy for the Urbanizing Arab Villages of Israel.* Monograph Series on the Middle East, No. 1, Haifa: University of Haifa, the Jewish-Arab Center.

——.(2002) The Global Crisis and Israel's High-Tech Industry. *Research Bulletin #72, in GaWC site: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc*

——.(2003) Lifestyle attributes of young Israelis on the eve of the 21st century: Their weights, gaps and time horizons in the value stretch model, and their planning applications. *Ofaqim Ba-Geografia,* 55:5-23. (Hebrew)

——.(2004a) Post-industrial lifestyles attributes of work and leisure of Israelis at the End of the 1990s: A value stretch analysis. In Le Heron, R. and Harrington, J.W. (eds.) *New Economic Spaces: New Economic Geographies* (forthcoming).

——.(2004b) Lifestyle—An editorial introduction. *Geography Research Forum*, 24: 1-20

Kipnis, B. A. and Aspis, Y. (1996) Defining needs for neighborhood services in Arab urbanizing settlements of Israel: Application of the value stretch model in social policy planning. *Bitachon Sotzialy*, 3:31-51. (Hebrew)

Kipnis, B. A., Aspis, Y., and Barhad, A. (1991) *Housing Aid Policy for the Muslim and Christian Villages in Israel.* Haifa: The University of Haifa, Haifa and Galilee Research Institute. (Hebrew)

Kipnis, B. A., and Barhad, A. (1991) *Housing Aid Policy for the Druze and the Circassian Villages in Israel.* Haifa: The University of Haifa, Haifa and Galilee Research Institute. (Hebrew)

Kipnis, B.A., and Mansfeld, Y. (1986) Workplace utilities and commuting patterns: Are they class or place differentiated? *Professional Geographer*, 38:160-169

Kravchyk, L. (2003) Lifestyle Attributes of High-Tech R&D Employees: Are They Different from the Lifestyle Attributes of Other Industrial Employees?

A Value Stretch Analysis. MSc Thesis, the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, The Technion, Haifa. (Hebrew)

Kravchyk, L. and Kipnis, B. A. (2004) Similarities and dissimilarities in the evaluation of lifestyle attributes by hi-tech employees in Israel: A value stretch analysis. *Tichnun*, 1: 17-33. (Hebrew)

Mansfeld, Y. (1983). *Commuters' Behavior and Spatial Patterns in the Urban Field of a Metropolis: A Case Study of Haifa Region.* MA thesis, Department of Geography, University of Haifa, Haifa. (Hebrew)

——.(1987) Destination-choice and spatial behavior of tourists: Evaluating the potential of psychological-geographical collaboration in geography of tourism research. *London School of Economics, Geography Discussion Papers,* 21:20-44.

——.(1992a) Group differentiated perceptions of social impacts related to tourism development. *Professional Geographer*, 44: 377-392.

——.(1992b) Tourism: Towards a Behavioral Approach. *Progress in Planning,* 38: 1-92.

——.(1995) The Value-stretch model and its implementation in detecting tourists' class different destination choice. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 4: 71-79.

McDowell, L.M. (1997) The new service class: Housing consumption and lifestyle among London bankers in the 1990s. *Environment and Planning A,* 29:2061-2078.

Schnell, I. and Kipnis, B.A. (1989) Well-being in a pluralistic society: Toward a policy-oriented methodology. *Geoforum*, 20:303-313.

Schwartz, P. (1996) *The Art of Long View.* New York: Doubleday.

Schwartz, W. and Schwartz, D. (1998). *Living Lightly. Travel in Post-consumer Society.* Oxfordshire: Jon Carpenter Pub.

Shapira, R. (1997) A question of lifestyle. *Niv Hagimlai*, 173: 29. (Hebrew)

Sklair, L. (1994) Capitalism and development in global perspective. In Sklair, L. (ed.) *Capitalism and Development* .London: Routledge, pp.165-189.

——.(2000) The transnational capitalist class and the discourse of globalization. *http://www.hp.com/* Also in *The Cambridge Review of International Affairs.*

Sobel, M.E. (1981). *Lifestyle and Social Structure: Couples, Definition, Analysis.* New York: Academic press.

Yaniv, N. (2000) *Application of the Value Stretch Methodology in Plan Evaluation: Case Study of Israel's 2020 National Plan.* Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Geography, the University of Haifa, Haifa. (Hebrew)