Retirement Housing in Urban Neighbourhoods: Some Inner City Options

by Don Epstein
1976

The Institute of Urban Studies
FOR INFORMATION:

The Institute of Urban Studies
The University of Winnipeg
599 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg
phone: 204.982.1140
fax: 204.943.4695
general email: ius@uwinnipeg.ca

Mailing Address:
The Institute of Urban Studies
The University of Winnipeg
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 2E9

RETIREMENT HOUSING IN URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS: SOME INNER CITY OPTIONS
Published 1976 by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg
© THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES

Note: The cover page and this information page are new replacements, 2016.

The Institute of Urban Studies is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner. The Institute examines inner city, environmental, Aboriginal and community development issues. In addition to its ongoing involvement in research, IUS brings in visiting scholars, hosts workshops, seminars and conferences, and acts in partnership with other organizations in the community to effect positive change.
RETIREMENT HOUSING IN URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS:
SOME INNER CITY OPTIONS

INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG
1976
RETIREMENT HOUSING
IN URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS:
SOME INNER CITY OPTIONS

by Don Epstein

Institute of Urban Studies
University of Winnipeg
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

July 1976
The Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) was established at the University of Winnipeg in 1969. The objectives of the Institute are to undertake applied research aimed at practical, innovative solutions to urban problems; to assist groups and individuals seeking constructive change in the urban environment; and to develop programs for community education and participation.

Limited portion of this publication may be used without permission of the Institute of Urban Studies, providing accepted standards are met for the crediting and citation of the author, publication, and IUS. For information, and for permission to reproduce or use whole or extensive sections, please contact:

Institute of Urban Studies,
University of Winnipeg,
515 Portage Avenue,
WINNIPEG, Manitoba,
CANADA R3B 2E9
CONTENTS

Aclnowledgements xi.

1. INTRODUCTION 1
   1-1 Dimensions of the Problem: Growth and Concentration 2
   1-2 Housing the Elderly: The Manitoba and Winnipeg Cases 4
   1-3 Background to the Study 7
   1-4 Objectives and Organization of the Study 8
   1-5 Some Definitions 9

2. THE STUDY DESIGN 11
   2-1 The Target Population 12
   2-2 Sampling Method and Selection of Respondents 12
   2-3 Questionnaire Construction 13
   2-4 Interview Procedures 15
   2-5 A Statistical and Analytical Note 17

3. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS 18
   3-1 Summary 19
   3-2 Retirement 19
   3-3 Age 19

   3-4 Activeness 20
   3-5 Income 20
   3-6 Sex 20
   3-7 Marital Status 20
   3-8 Household Size 21
   3-9 Background 21
   3-10 Present Housing Type 21
   3-11 Housing Tenure 22
   3-12 Area of Residence 22

4. HOUSING PATTERNS AND MOVING 24
   4-1 Present Housing Type 25
   4-2 Housing Patterns and Dissatisfaction 26
   4-3 Expectation of Moving 28
   4-4 Reasons for Moving 28

5. HOUSING PREFERENCES 30
   5-1 Rank Order of Housing Type Preferences 31
   5-2 Rejection of Housing Types 34
   5-3 Overview of Preference Order: A Synthesis 35
   5-4 Polarization of Attitudes Toward Single Detached Houses 36
   5-5 Problems with Three-Storey Walkups 37
   5-6 Rejection of the High Rise 38
12-4 Option 2: Walkup Apartment Renovation 108
12-5 Option 3: Warehouse Conversion 113
12-6 Option 4: Row House - Medium Rise Apartment Combination 120

APPENDIX A: Invitation Letter and Reply Card Sent to Potential Survey Respondents 128

APPENDIX B: Basic Questionnaire 130

SOURCES CONSULTED 152

LIST OF FIGURES 153
Acknowledgements

Funds for this study have come originally from the New Horizons Program of Health and Welfare Canada and from Part V grants of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Thanks go to the local recipients of those funds, the Greater Winnipeg Senior Citizens Non-Profit Housing Corporation and the Institute of Urban Studies, for making the survey and ensuing studies possible.

Many persons assisted me along the way. For yet another time, I wish to express my appreciation to them.

In the survey stage, Mrs. G. Irvine and Mrs. G. Ralston of the Senior Citizens Survey Committee, and several University of Winnipeg students--Trevor Axworthy, Greg Chanway, Mary Croteau, and Henry Penner--were the major contributors. Special thanks go to them, the other elderly and student interviewers, and to the over 200 elderly persons in Winnipeg who agreed to share their views and preferences with us.

In the analysis and production phases, these persons deserve special mention and thanks: Maria Haroon, formerly of the Institute, provided several computer analyses of the data and an early literature review. Christine McKee of the Institute prepared a valuable earlier draft of the survey findings. Hugh Locke of the University of Manitoba laboured long and well on executing all the report's graphics, sketches and plans. Kathy Kleinschmit provided the coup de grace through her excellent typing and layout skill. My appreciation is warmly extended to all of those who assisted so well.

My hope now is that after hearing the preferences of the elderly themselves and after refining planning and design alternatives such as those suggested here, we may quickly take the needed action.

Don Epstein
July 26, 1976
1-1. DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM: GROWTH AND CONCENTRATION

How to house and care for the nation's older population? While always a substantial problem, only during the last decade and a half has it so significantly altered its essential dimensions as to require a new search for alternative approaches. In both the relative magnitude of the elderly population and its changing distribution, the dilemma has become ever more difficult to resolve.

In the ten years from 1951 to 1961, the proportion of elderly (55+) to the total population of the nation declined slightly. Within this overall percentage decline, however, significant variations existed among jurisdictions. While the old City of Winnipeg and Metro experienced a percentage drop, the percentage of elderly in the province as a whole slightly increased. In general, though, those 55 and over constituted a relatively stable 15% of the national population during that period. (See figure 1a.)

The decade from 1961 to 1971, however, saw a particularly dramatic rise in the proportion of older people in all of the nation's jurisdictions. By 1971, 16.1% of the Canadian population was 55 years of age and over, compared to 14.7% ten years earlier. During the same period, the proportion of elderly 65 and over also rose, from 7.6% to 8.1%.

Manitoba experienced an even larger percentage increase during this period. The Province contains a greater percentage of elderly than does the country. Compared to the national average of 8.1%, 9.7% of Manitoba's population were aged 65 and over in 1971, giving the province the third highest proportion of elderly in the nation, after Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan. Those 55 years and over comprised 18.7% of the Province's population, compared to 16.1% of Canadians nationally. By 1971, this meant that 184,405 Manitobans had reached or exceeded their 55th year; 95,600 were 65 and over.

While Manitoba has a greater concentration of elderly than the nation, the proportion of elderly in Metropolitan Winnipeg (now the unified City of Winnipeg) has fallen below that of the Province as a whole. Largely due to the rapid growth of the suburbs and the attraction of large numbers of young people and families to Winnipeg, this smaller proportion of elderly is only a reflection of the relatively slower rate of growth of the elderly population. For while the percentage of elderly 55 and over in Metro Winnipeg actually fell from 18.4% to 16.6% between 1951 and 1961, it rose back to its former level by 1971, when 18.5% of the population was 55 and over.
# Population 55 Years and Over, 1951-1971, for Canada, Manitoba, City of Winnipeg (Metro), and Inner City (Old City of Winnipeg)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Canada

### 55-64
- 1951: 1,076,842 (7.7%)
- 1956: 1,204,161 (7.2%)
- 1961: 1,289,410 (7.4%)
- 1966: 1,471,710 (7.4%)
- 1971: 1,791,740 (8.0%)

### 65+
- 1951: 1,086,275 (7.8%)
- 1956: 1,249,350 (7.7%)
- 1961: 1,351,514 (7.6%)
- 1966: 1,587,504 (8.0%)
- 1971: 1,744,380 (8.1%)

### 55+
- 1951: 2,165,115 (16.4%)
- 1956: 2,330,099 (14.9%)
- 1961: 2,640,514 (16.7%)
- 1966: 20,014,880 (16.1%)
- 1971: 21,368,940 (16.1%)

## Manitoba

### 55-64
- 1951: 26,805 (3.0%)
- 1956: 28,084 (3.0%)
- 1961: 28,086 (2.9%)
- 1966: 30,005 (3.0%)
- 1971: 30,000 (3.0%)

### 65+
- 1951: 28,468 (3.4%)
- 1956: 29,667 (3.0%)
- 1961: 29,285 (3.1%)
- 1966: 30,085 (3.1%)
- 1971: 30,000 (3.1%)

### 55+
- 1951: 52,271 (16.4%)
- 1956: 42,791 (16.6%)
- 1961: 159,174 (16.6%)
- 1966: 167,649 (16.6%)
- 1971: 160,000 (16.6%)

## Winnipeg

### 55-64
- 1951: 33,224 (9.3%)
- 1956: 38,003 (9.4%)
- 1961: 42,066 (9.0%)
- 1966: 46,544 (9.1%)
- 1971: 48,820 (9.0%)

### 65+
- 1951: 31,432 (9.0%)
- 1956: 71,899 (17.8%)
- 1961: 76,440 (16.6%)
- 1966: 88,278 (16.5%)
- 1971: 90,715 (16.5%)

### 55+
- 1951: 454,006 (40.0%)
- 1956: 475,992 (40.0%)
- 1961: 500,758 (40.0%)
- 1966: 540,240 (40.0%)

## Inner City

### 55-64
- 1951: 24,838 (10.5%)
- 1956: 25,528 (9.1%)
- 1961: 25,508 (8.0%)
- 1966: 25,700 (10.0%)
- 1971: 26,035 (10.9%)

### 65+
- 1951: 24,542 (10.0%)
- 1956: 27,787 (10.0%)
- 1961: 28,326 (11.0%)
- 1966: 30,762 (12.0%)
- 1971: 31,765 (12.0%)

### 55+
- 1951: 48,861 (20.5%)
- 1956: 51,005 (20.0%)
- 1961: 53,190 (20.0%)
- 1966: 58,491 (22.0%)
- 1971: 58,491 (22.0%)

### Total Population
- 1951: 259,710
- 1956: 259,083
- 1961: 259,428
- 1966: 257,085
- 1971: 248,290
It is in Winnipeg's Inner City, however, that the most dramatic concentration of elderly has taken place. During the same decade (1961-1971), as the Inner City was losing over 20,000 inhabitants, it was actually gaining nearly 5,500 elderly persons.

This increase in absolute numbers of elderly during a period of general population reduction is reflected in percentage terms. In 1961, 20% of the Inner City's population was 55 and over. By 1971, nearly 24% of persons living in the Inner City were over 55. More than half of that number were over 65. While the Inner City constituted only 46% of Unicity's total population in 1971, it held 62% of all elderly 65 and over.

This pattern is expected to intensify even further in the next decade (see figure 1b). By 1981, the percentage of elderly 55 and over in Unicity is projected to rise to 20.6%, up from 18.5% in 1971. While no projections are specifically available for the Inner City, there is reason to believe that present trends will continue at least to 1981. Thus, by that year, it is quite likely that more than one of every four persons, and perhaps as many as three in every ten in the Inner City will be at least 55 years of age.

1 Province of Manitoba, Aging in Manitoba, p. 33.

1-2. HOUSING THE ELDERLY: THE MANITOBA AND WINNIPEG CASES

The growth and longevity of older citizens in Canadian society, and in particular their concentration in the central cities, has placed considerable strain on the nation's housing resources.
Of course, this growth and longevity cannot be deemed the major cause of overall housing shortage. On the other hand, they significantly affect the access, availability, and compatibility of the housing stock to persons of different ages and situations. In other words, not only is greater pressure being placed on our ability to produce the needed units, but the turnover time and "trickle down" movement of existing housing to younger generations is being substantially slowed.

In response to the need and demand for elderly persons housing, a large number of units were constructed in the sixties. During that decade, Manitoba achieved a superior record in providing NHA-financed housing for its elderly population. By the end of 1970, 2,151 dwelling units and 1,640 hostel beds for persons over 65 has been financed under the National Housing Act. Almost 90% of these dwelling units and 100% of hostel beds were provided by non-profit sponsors, in the main by service clubs, ethnic groups, and churches. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of all elderly persons housing developments in the province were situated in the Winnipeg metropolitan area.

For every thousand elderly in 1970, 22.5 "self-contained" dwellings existed in Manitoba, compared with 13.7 in Canada as a whole. The Province's provision of 17.2 hostel beds per 1,000 elderly, relative to the Canadian norm of 4.5, was the best in the nation. Overall, Manitoba by 1970 led the way among provinces in its per capita usage of federal NHA program funds for elderly persons housing.2

Many more units followed in the next five years. From 3,791 elderly persons housing units (both self-contained and hostel beds) in 1970, approximately 7,650 existed in the province by 1975--over a 100% increase in five years.

Perhaps the most dramatic change during this period, however, occurred with respect to the sponsorship of elderly persons housing. Whereas only 12% of all dwelling units and no hostel beds were built by government up to 1970, 66% of all dwelling units and hostel beds built in Winnipeg since 1970 have been constructed by the Provincial Government. Currently, about 4,000 elderly live in public housing, another 2,000 in non-profit projects.

Thus, in the seventies, the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation became the prime initiator of new housing for the low income elderly. But after dramatic production initiatives in

2 CCSD, Beyond Shelter, pp. 38-40
ELDERLY PERSONS HOUSING UNITS INITIATED IN WINNIPEG BY PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, CIRCA 1970-1975, LISTED BY COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assiniboine Park</td>
<td></td>
<td>191</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centennial</td>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kildonan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Garry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Rouge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>347</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Selkirk</td>
<td></td>
<td>238</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midland</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>170</td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Boniface</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>475</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James-Assiniboia</td>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Kildonan</td>
<td></td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Per Year</td>
<td></td>
<td>712</td>
<td>2046</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>4099</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, Annual Reports, 1971-1974
Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, "Elderly Persons Housing - Winnipeg", February 24, 1975
Note: Data includes public housing managed by the Winnipeg Regional Housing Authority or non-profit sponsors.
its first two years, even more dramatic declines occurred in each year from 1972-1975 (see figure 1c). The waiting lists consequently became ever lengthier, between 1500-2000 persons on the public housing list in 1976, and probably many more on the non-profit lists. People must wait between two and ten years to gain entrance.

Despite more dispersed need, elderly housing units initiated during the seventies became increasingly concentrated in the Inner City. Over the five year period 1970-75, over three quarters (76.6%) of all Winnipeg elderly persons units were constructed or committed in the Inner City. In 1974-75, 100% of e.p.h. units were initiated in the Inner City. Such emphasis, however, both exceeds the existing or projected demographic distributions and serves to accentuate concentration in downtown districts for the future. On the other hand, the greatest physical, social and economic needs exist in the older sections of Winnipeg.

1-3. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

It is against this background of growth of the elderly population, the increasing concentration of elderly in the Inner City, and the rising need to provide ever increasing numbers of adequate and affordable housing units for them that the present study was initiated.

In the summer of 1973, a small group of senior citizens in Winnipeg applied for and received a grant from the federal New Horizons Program for a housing study of older persons in that city. Closely allied with the Greater Winnipeg Senior Citizens Non-Profit Housing Corporation, the New Horizons Housing Survey Committee initially decided to concentrate on the conditions, needs and desires of middle income elderly. In part, the objective of the study was to provide information directly relevant to the organizational needs of the Housing Corporation, to the acquisition of tenants for their first apartment project then under construction, and to the design and planning of their next intended project. Thus, the committee wished to zero in exclusively on Winnipeg elderly of 65 years and over and of

3 Inner City here is defined as the combined communities of Centennial, Fort Rouge, Lord Selkirk, Midland, and St. Boniface. Including Assiniboine Park, the percentage of e.p.h. units in the Inner City would rise to 83.3%.

4 The Province's major study of the elderly published in 1973 found that the Inner City, and Centennial and Midland communities in particular, exhibited the highest disparity between their high percentage of elderly and their "residential resource capability" for elderly persons housing. Aging in Manitoba, vol. 11, p. 255.
"mid-income", i.e. roughly between $4,000 and $7,000 a year.

The committee then approached the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, for conceptual and technical assistance in executing their study. I was to serve as consultant to the group and overall research supervisor. An agreement was reached whereby students in the University's Urban Studies Programme would assist by providing research and interview services in return for course paper material, term credit, and/or practical field experience. The research design, its execution, and accumulation of the data were to be mutually agreed to by the New Horizons committee, the Institute and the students. Each party was assured full access and rights of use to the information and data gathered. The senior citizen committee was to allocate funds from their federal grant to cover specific costs of printing, postage, manpower, data processing and computer time, secretarial assistance and supervision. The members of the committee, under terms of their grant, were also to involve as many volunteer senior citizens as possible in as many project activities as possible.

The committee has recently published its report, entitled Housing After Retirement. It includes most of the summary results of the data collected at that time, as well as supplementary information from their own subsequent activities and experience.5

1-4. OBJECTIVES AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This report has several objectives:

1. to determine the preferences and attitudes of the users of elderly persons housing, i.e. the elderly themselves (chapters 5, 6, 7, 10);
2. to document certain facts about the conditions and life styles of elderly persons, e.g. in housing, activities, finances (chapters 4, 8, 9);
3. to extrapolate from the data certain guidelines for public policy and housing programs relative to the elderly (chapter 11); and
4. to detail specific optional plans and designs for housing elderly persons in the inner city (chapter 12).6

5 Some differences exist between the date reported in that New Horizons publication and this study. This is due to two basic reasons: first, the senior citizens delineated a particular sub-group out of the total sample, and second, different people interpreted and recorded data for each study. On the whole, the differences are not major, but readers of both publications are reminded to bear them in mind.

6 The research design and actual respondents are described in chapters 2 and 3.
The report was not intended to provide an extensive survey of available literature or to go over old ground. This is not to say that what is recorded in these pages is new or surprising. On the contrary, the data substantiates much current opinion or perceived fact. It is always fascinating, however, to see how often contrary conclusions and action are drawn from common evidence. Perhaps the data documented here will serve to clarify and establish certain understandings and the degrees of validity of various courses of action.

On the other hand, much of the information and propositions in this study challenge some preconceived notions about how elderly persons live or wish to live. And the plans and designs offered are an attempt to illustrate the viability and desirability of housing options other than those presently in vogue.

1-5. SOME DEFINITIONS

The term "elderly" or "older persons" in this study is used to define individuals aged 55 and over. On the other hand, "senior citizens", a term rarely used here, refers specifically to those 65 and over.

The elderly of this study are divided between the "retired", i.e. those considering themselves to be retired, mostly over 65 and receiving pensions, and the "pre-retired", i.e. those 55 and over who still consider themselves to be part of the labour force.

Thus, a major difference of this study from most others is that data has been collected and analyzed for both those already retired and those approaching retirement, i.e. the next generation of pensioners. This was done to not only contrast the two groups, but also attempt some forecast of changing preferences for housing purposes.

"Mid-income" at the time of the survey in 1974 was deemed to be roughly $3600-7200 annually, or $300-600 per month. Consequently, "lower income" was seen as less than $3600, and "higher income" greater than $7200.

Finally, respondents lived in "general housing units". By "general housing" is meant all dwellings available to the general public, exclusive of those reserved as special accommodation for the elderly, e.g. purpose-built elderly persons housing, extended care or nursing homes, hostels, and hospitals. Thus, this study differs markedly from the Canadian Council on Social Development study, Beyond Shelter, which used residents of NHA elderly persons developments. Similarly, this study differs from Aging in Manitoba,
which surveyed special groups of elderly. Thus, this study is intended to reflect the views and conditions of most older people in Winnipeg's Inner City.
THE STUDY DESIGN
2-1. THE TARGET POPULATION

The study sample was drawn from persons 55 years and over, receiving in retirement or expecting to receive upon retirement $8000 in income or less, and residing in general housing units in Winnipeg. In each of Winnipeg's thirteen communities in 1971, between 90-98% of persons 65 years and over lived in general housing units. The percentages, of course, for those 55 years and over are higher still. Thus, the sample selected for this study, subject to methodological, statistical, and income limitations, is designed to be reflective of and to give expression to nearly all persons of older age living within the Inner City.

2-2. SAMPLING METHOD AND SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

No method was available for easily isolating a random sample of the target population. The only lists of persons 55 or 65 and over, with their names and addresses, are held by the federal and provincial governments and are not accessible to the public. Had those lists been made available, a random sampling could have been accomplished, even though respondents would still have had to be selected according to the designated income range used for this study.

Without those lists, however, a random sampling of the total population would have involved a massive investment of time and effort. At best, only one of every fifteen households contacted would have fallen within the age and income parameters established. Thus, random sampling techniques could not be realistically employed.

Area stratified sampling was considered, therefore, the most appropriate technique for the study. Based on the 1971 census data for Winnipeg, specific census tracts were selected that showed relatively high concentrations (e.g. over 15%) of older persons. Enumeration Area data for these tracts were then consulted, and the highest concentration E.A.'s were determined. Eliminated from this list were areas known to be higher income areas. A selection was then made of the enumeration areas from which the sample would be drawn. The areas designated fell within five community areas: Centennial, Midland, Fort Rouge, St. James-Assiniboia, and Lord Selkirk.

From this pre-selected or stratified base, a random sampling would still mean that perhaps one of every six or seven households approached would qualify by virtue of age and income.

1 Aging in Manitoba, op. cit.
Limitations of manpower, money and time precluded this approach.

Exploring alternatives, a mail-drop system was decided upon as the most practical and efficient method to derive a sample of the target population. Specific postmen's "mail walks", approximating the selected enumeration areas, were selected for door-to-door delivery of the survey invitation. Ten thousand letters, introducing the Senior Citizens Housing Corporation and outlining the intention of the study, were sent together with a postage-paid reply card. It was estimated that approximately 2000 of those letters would find their way into the hands of persons 55 and over and within the income range specified.

Within a few days, 375 cards were received. (In all 414 cards were finally returned to the Corporation.) The return rate was roughly 20% of the estimated target population as contacted by mail. This immediate response revealed substantial interest in both the housing corporation's activities and the survey.

Potential respondents were then called by phone, given further information about the Corporation and the survey. Where possible, a specific time was arranged for the interview. Due to time and manpower constraints, only 250 respondents were contacted of which 219 interviews were finally completed. Thus, over 10% of the estimated total target population was interviewed. The main interview was held with the head of household, plus a spouse or other resident in the same household eligible to be included.

2-3. QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION

During this period, the questionnaire was developed. A draft interview schedule was constructed by the IUS project leader and students and presented to the New Horizons group for approval. After several revised drafts, and lengthy negotiations, mutual agreement was finally achieved as to the extent and content of the questionnaire.

The result, essentially a realistic compromise, satisfied the basic objectives of the senior citizens group, as well as many of the larger research and planning interests of the Institute and students. From the group's perspective, much of what was included in the survey was not essential or necessarily germane to their initial intent. From the Institute and students' point of view, the questionnaire was also not ideal for research purposes and was more limited than it otherwise might have been.

On the other hand, while obviously compromised to some degree, the
The questionnaire was continually improved and refined by virtue of the close working association between academically skilled researchers and user-oriented clients. Each restrained the other in most appropriate ways from pursuing unproductive inclinations. And it is to be recognized, of course, that the survey and the valuable information gathered from it would simply not have occurred at all had it not been for the initiative and industry of a dedicated group of retired local citizens.

The final questionnaire was designed to elicit from respondents:

- past, present and future preference choice of housing types;
- reasons and rankings for housing type preferences and rejections;
- facilities and amenities desired within housing and within easy walking distance of housing;
- degree of willingness to share on a permanent basis certain facilities and spaces with neighbours;
- inadequacies and problems of present residence;
- expectations and reasons for moving;
- relative importance of neighbourhood and housing type;
- self-assessment of degree of activeness;
- assessment of public transit bus service;
- preferred activities, frequency, location, and means of travel;
- interest in various kinds of part-time employment or volunteer work;
- sources of important retirement information;
- degree of importance of possible kinds of government assistance;
- degree of knowledge of existing government programs;
- attitude toward degree of present government assistance;
- degree of importance of living with persons of similar age, income, ethnicity, and religion;
- levels and sources of income; and
- expenditures for housing.

In addition, substantial base information was obtained on the respondents, including age, sex, retirement status, marital status, background, area of residence, car ownership, housing tenure, and household size.

Two questionnaires were prepared. The basic version for retired respondents was modified slightly in a second questionnaire administered to those not yet retired. The only difference between the two was that of tense and phrasing.

---

3 The basic survey instrument (questionnaire) is included as Appendix B.
From the outset, therefore, a collaborative effort among elderly, students and professionals was organized. This collaboration extended into the interview phase. Two-person teams—an elderly member and a student—conducted all interviews. The older person typically made the initial contact, established rapport with the elderly respondents, and asked the questions. The student recorded information on the response sheets, served as a substantive and methodological check on the interview process, and inserted where required any necessary probes or amplification.

All participants and the project director assessed this pairing system as having worked unusually well. It kept the interview going, it provided good variation, reduced somewhat the tedium of a long questionnaire, and it minimized bias within the administration of the survey.

By no means the least of benefits was the heightened understanding and friendship that developed between the two members of the interview team. Old and young knew each other better after the most unusual experience of working together. Each appeared to benefit in a personal sense from close contact with the other.

In addition to the questionnaire itself, three visual aid cards were prepared and used to assist respondents through the more complex questions. The most important of these was a simple illustration of basic housing types designed to provide a clear residential image for respondents without encountering verbal bias in their description. Figure 2a provides an example of the actual “housing type card” used for this purpose. The housing types illustrated were those generally available in Winnipeg, particularly in the Inner City. They were pre-tested for bias and honed down to their most basic characteristics. Respondents when selecting an answer from this group were to reply by using the letter above the appropriate picture.

In addition, cards were given to respondents to assist them in making choices among degrees of “importance” and “willingness.” A printed list of government programs was also given as an aid in answering that particularly complex question.

The interviewers, prior to their division into teams, were instructed in the use of the questionnaires, visual aid cards, interview procedures, and recording techniques. Most interviews were accomplished in about fifty minutes, and all were conducted within a three-week period in February 1974.
2-5. **A Statistical and Analytical Note**

Upon completion of the field survey, all interview schedules were coded and the answers prepared for computer analysis. Initially, simple frequency tables were generated, after which more intricate cross-tabulations and special manipulations of the data were performed. The widely-used Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was employed to a considerable extent.

It must be noted, however, that due to the non-random sampling technique used, sophisticated statistical tests of significance could not be applied. No assumptions can be made, therefore, about the methodological accuracy of the data recorded in this study. On the other hand, as many precautions as possible have been taken, and caution exercised in drawing conclusions from the data, to ensure maximum accuracy and significance as consistent with the particular research circumstances encountered.

The strength of the information gathered in this study, however, is less the specific numbers and percentages, and more the qualitative messages they suggest. Therefore, presentation of the data, while often quantitative, has been geared toward illustrating relative importance and mixes or clusters of preference. Priority has been given to data which have clear operational implications. The reader is urged, therefore, to view this study in terms of a range of desires and conditions. The directions it suggests for policy, planning and housing environments should be evaluated in this light and on their merits.
PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS
3-1. SUMMARY

Respondents in this survey comprised a reasonably representative cross-section of older people in the Inner City of Winnipeg. Where comparative data are available, the sample appears not to be substantially biased in any way.

In general, we interviewed a group of 219 active, older people largely in their sixties and seventies. Two-thirds were retired, one third not yet retired. Nearly all had low to moderate incomes and most lived in Inner City walkups or singly detached homes. More than half were married; about a third lived alone. More than half were women.

A more precise breakdown of the characteristics of our respondents follows. (Totals for each variable do not always equal 219 due to non-responses.)

1 Three persons listed as semi-retired have been considered for purposes of this survey to be retired. Some uncertainty of classification existed for elderly housewives who had never worked outside the home, but in general, retirement was related to whether or not a pension was being received, either by oneself or one's spouse.

3-2. RETIREMENT

Of the total survey population of 219 persons:

-- 65% retired (n=142)
-- 35% were pre-retired (n=77)

3-3. AGE

-- 58% were 65 years of age and over (n=124)
-- 42% were 55 to 64 years of age (n=90)

The largest group (29%) included persons 60 to 64 years of age. The bulk of respondents (80%) was between 60 and 79.

Relating age and retirement status reveals that about a fifth of those in the below 65 group had already retired.

The distribution of age groups over 65 in this sample generally approximates that of the Province's extensive 1971 survey of persons over 65.

1 Three persons listed as semi-retired have been considered for purposes of this survey to be retired. Some uncertainty of classification existed for elderly housewives who had never worked outside the home, but in general, retirement was related to whether or not a pension was being received, either by oneself or one's spouse.

2 Seven respondents slightly under 55 have been included in the 55-64 group.

3 Aging in Manitoba, op. cit.
3-4. ACTIVENESS

- 33% considered themselves "very active" (n= 71)
- 51% considered themselves "fairly active" (n=109)
- 13% considered themselves "fairly inactive" (n= 28)
- 4% considered themselves "very inactive" (n= 8)

Thus, five of every six respondents considered themselves to be generally active individuals.

Inactivity was not found to be related to increasing age. Indeed, no relationship existed between age and activeness, persons of all age groups considering themselves about equally active and inactive.

3-5. INCOME

Of 144 respondents answering the question regarding income (i.e. over two-thirds of the total sample):

- 20% received between $100-199 per month (n=29)
- 18% received between $200-299 per month (n=26)
- 17% received between $300-399 per month (n=25)
- 19% received between $400-499 per month (n=28)
- 13% received between $500-599 per month (n=19)
- 12% received between $600-900 per month (n=17)

Thus, about half of the sample elderly population received what might be termed a mid-income in 1974, i.e. between $300-$600 per month, or $3600-$7200 annually. Thirty-eight percent (38%) received lower incomes, i.e. less than $300 per month; and 12% received an upper income of more than $600 a month. We believe this distribution to be a reasonable approximation of income distribution of Winnipeg elderly residing in general market housing.

3-6. SEX

- 55% were females (n=120)
- 45% were males (n= 97)

This distribution approximates that among the general population.

3-7. MARITAL STATUS

- 60% were married (n=130)
- 26% were widowed (n= 56)
- 9% were single (n= 20)
- 6% were divorced or separated (n= 12)
This distribution very closely matches the 1971 Winnipeg sample used in Aging in Manitoba. 4

3-8. HOUSEHOLD SIZE

-- 32% lived alone (n= 69)
-- 54% lived with one other person (n=116)
-- 15% lived with more than one other person (n= 32)

3-9. BACKGROUND

-- 56% had rural backgrounds (i.e. grew up in towns, farms or ranches) (n=121)
-- 44% had urban backgrounds (i.e. grew up in cities or suburbs) (n= 96)

Nearly two-thirds of those with urban backgrounds, or over one quarter of the entire sample, had grown up in Winnipeg.

-- 60% had grown up in Manitoba (n=130)
-- 10% had grown up in Saskatchewan (n= 21)

Thus, over three quarters of the sample had grown up in Canada, nearly all in the Prairie provinces.

With respect to early experience with specific housing types:

-- 90% had grown up in single detached houses (n=192)
-- 4% had grown up in walk up apartments (n= 9)
-- 4% had grown up in row houses (n= 9)
-- 3% had grown up in duplexes (n= 7)

None of the respondents had had any early living experiences in either medium rise or high rise apartments.

3-10. PRESENT HOUSING TYPE

At the time of interviewing,

-- 39% lived in walkup apartments, generally three storey (n= 84)
-- 38% lived in single detached houses (n= 80)
-- 9% lived in duplexes (n= 20)

4 In that study of persons 65 years and over, 60% were married, 29% widowed, 10% single, and 2% divorced or separated. Op. cit., p. 55.
-- 7% lived in medium rise apartment buildings, generally six storey (n= 15)
-- 6% lived in high rise apartment buildings, generally 10-12 storey (n= 13)
-- 0.5% or only 1 person lived in a row house (n= 1)

This distribution differs markedly from the sample used in the province’s 1971 Metro study.5 In that study, 38% of respondents were renters, 62% owners. However, since that sample appears to have been biased in favour of owners, and since our sample was drawn from the Inner City rather than the metropolitan region, we believe the 2:1 renter to owner ratio more accurately reflects the true nature of housing tenure in that area, particularly for the age and income group surveyed.

3-12. AREA OF RESIDENCE

Figure 3a plots the location of those interviewed. Respondents resided within the boundaries of five Community areas of the City of Winnipeg:

-- 37% lived in Midland Community (n=78)  
  - half in Memorial Ward
-- 23% lived in Fort Rouge Community (n=49)  
  - most in Riverview Ward
-- 19% lived in Lord Selkirk Community (n=40)  
  - most in Norquay Ward
-- 16% lived in Centennial Community (n=34)  
  - most in Balmoral Ward
-- 5% lived in St. James-Assiniboia Community (n=10)  
  - all in Deer Lodge Ward

Thus, nearly all respondents lived in Winnipeg's Inner City.

5 Ibid.
FIG. 3a. LOCATION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS, BY COMMUNITY
HOUSING PATTERNS AND MOVING
4-1. **PRESENT HOUSING TYPE**

Most older persons in general housing live in either three storey walkups (39%) or single detached homes (38%). The remainder of respondents were dispersed among duplexes (9%), medium rise apartments (7%), high rise apartments (6%); only one respondent lived in a row house (0.5%). (Figure 4a)

The types of housing lived in by retired persons were virtually the same as the pre-retired. (Only one exception existed: the comparatively few high rise dwellers tended to be not retired.) The distribution of present housing types also appeared unaffected by age of respondent.

On the other hand, marital status, or life phase, was related to certain housing types. Single persons and those separated or...
divorced tended to live in three storey walkups, while married or widowed persons tended to live in single detached homes.

As one might expect, those respondents with relatively higher monthly incomes ($400 plus) were more likely to live in single detached housing. Forty-four percent of respondents living in such housing had monthly incomes of $400 or over, whereas only 25% of single detached home dwellers had monthly incomes of less than $400.

4-2. HOUSING PATTERNS AND DISSATISFACTION

Studies on housing for the elderly generally agree that the main determinants of current living arrangement are income, age and health. Consequently the causes of most housing dissatisfaction among older people are low income, age and health. While citing the same factors, researchers differ, however, in their emphasis.

Rosow, for example, contends that housing dissatisfaction is primarily a manifestation of an income problem. Thus, the limited incomes of pensioners, exacerbated by rising housing costs, often make it most difficult, if not impossible, for them to acquire the housing type or arrangement they prefer. Supporting this view, Smith reported a positive association of very low incomes with high proportions of elderly sharing relatives’ households. On the other hand, it would appear to be more a combination of low income and the need for personal attention that force many aged people to stay with relatives.

Smith, in general, claims that the housing patterns of the elderly may be more directly bound up with factors such as advanced age and poor health, rather than low income. Of course, while Rosow emphasizes income, he also concedes that many become dissatisfied with their present housing accommodation out of fears that it will become inadequate if their health continues to deteriorate. With increased age there is a reduction of elderly people able to continue as resident-owners in single-family dwelling units and a corresponding rise in the number of

2 W.F. Smith, "The Housing Preferences of Elderly People" in Research in Psychological and Social Sciences, 1961, p. 261-266.
3 Ibid.
4 Rosow, op. cit.
elderly renting apartment units. While such correlations certainly exist, it still cannot be claimed that age rather than a shortfall in housing supply, income deficiencies, inflation, or other reasons is the primary cause of the relationship.

Marital status is also suspected as an important determinant of actual and preferred housing arrangements among the aged. It is suggested that the housing needs of married couples are quite different from those of widowed or single persons. Evidence cited is an apparently stronger preference for independent housekeeping by married couples than by unattached persons, who are more willing to accept rooming house arrangements.5 Widowed men and women are also forced to face up to a readjustment in their living arrangements more quickly than couples.6 This is probably because most widowed persons find the lack of a partner a deterrent to continued maintenance of a house.

As will be seen, evidence from this study casts some doubt on several of these conclusions. Previous studies have certainly identified most of the apparent determinants of housing choice and dissatisfaction. But they have at the same time tended to neglect or minimize the importance of physical features of the dwelling unit, its location and the immediate neighbourhood environment as causes of housing dissatisfaction. It is true, of course, that such features are linked quite closely with factors such as age and health or activeness, but their importance as controlling physical influences in their own right deserves greater recognition.7

The present study highlights the difficulties of maintenance and repair as the major problem experienced by older persons in their present residences. Over a third of respondents (35%) cited this problem. Beyond that, 18% felt there was too many stairs and an equal number said storage space was inadequate or lacking. Other complaints noted were faulty temperature control, noise, inadequate lighting, and distance from shops and bus stops.

5 W.F. Smith, op. cit.


7 See Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Housing the Elderly, Ottawa, 1972.
4-3. EXPECTATION OF MOVING

Six of every ten respondents definitely anticipated moving from their present residence; another 6% were thinking of doing so. Only one in four did not expect to move.

Proportionately more residents of walkups (70%) expected to move than did single detached home dwellers (54%).

Slightly more pre-retired persons expected to move (66%) than did those already retired (58%). The simple and obvious reason may be that pensioners have already made the move necessitated by their changed economic and life stage circumstances. At the same time, it may indicate a greater uncertainty among those not yet retired about being able to keep on in their present home.

Probably more to the point, however, is the fact that a large majority of elderly persons are encountering great difficulties in finding relatively permanent accommodation. The large expectation of moving, then, may be less a sign of the often cited phenomenon of high "mobility" among the population and more a testimony, first, to a basic lack of adequate, adaptable housing types and, second, to the economic uncertainty produced by the widening gap between income and housing costs.

4-4. REASONS FOR MOVING

The CCSO study reported that most residents of purpose-built elderly persons housing projects moved from their previous dwellings due to limited income and high rents, and the difficulty of maintaining homes that had become too large for them. Our study also found those to be the predominant reasons for older people expecting to move.

Twenty-seven per cent (27%) of expectant movers cited the difficulty of maintaining their present residence. This is basically a problem of ownership and closely associated with large single detached houses. Indeed, of 73 expectant movers whose size of dwelling was a problem, 45 stated their place was too large, while 28 felt it was too small. Fifty-seven (57) movers felt their size of residence was about right, indicating that for nearly half of all expectant movers, dwelling size was not a consideration or a source of their maintenance problem.

The second most common reason for moving (among 18% of movers) was that the rents were too high. This is obviously a tenant concern and most associated with apartment living.

8 Beyond Shelter, op. cit.
Beyond those two major reasons, however, the CCSD and this study differ. The former cited the desire of elderly persons for more company and for being close to others, for increased security and safety, for help in housekeeping, and for more comfortable, modern housing. Interestingly, none of those reasons, as such, were given by respondents in this survey. Instead, reasons given were that their suites were too small (13%), that they encountered too much noise (10%), and that the blocks they were living in were to be demolished (9%). Again, all of these highlight the vulnerability and problems of tenancy, particularly in the older walk-ups and subdivided houses of the inner city.

It was thought that a major reason for expecting to move might have been an anticipated change in household size or life phase, brought on by death of a spouse, the moving away of children, and other sudden shifts in life stage. None of the eventualities were mentioned by respondents, however. Over two-thirds of those expecting to move intended to retain the same household size after moving.
HOUSING PREFERENCES
5-1. RANK ORDER OF HOUSING TYPE PREFERENCES

Respondents were asked to rank the type of housing in which they would most like to live, next most like to live, and so on. Six housing types were illustrated from which they could select. (See Chapter 2 for discussion of interview method and sample of "housing type card" used.)

The type of housing most frequently recorded as the first choice of respondents was the medium rise apartment block, followed by the single detached dwelling and the row house. Walkup apartments occupied the fourth rank, followed by high rise apartments and duplexes. Figure 5a illustrates these first choice preferences.

Worthy of note is that, in general, this basic preference ranking did not vary either with age or degree of activeness.

![Figure 5a: Housing Types Most Preferred (1st Choice Rankings)](N=214)
Only one variation did appear. Persons between 55 and 65 preferred row houses over other housing types.

Two related characteristics, on the other hand, did appear to be strongly associated with first-choice housing preference. These were housing tenure (see figure 5b) and present housing type (see figure 5c). (It should be noted that, since they comprise nearly 80% of all respondents, only present residents of walkups and single detached homes are included in the following analyses.)

Both renters and present residents of walkups most preferred apartments in medium rise buildings. Owners and present residents of single detached houses, on the other hand, strongly preferred row houses and single detached homes.
favoured single detached homes. Moreover, the degree to which
more renters than owners preferred row houses further illus-
trates the substantial relationship between tenure and housing
type preference.

One other point should be noted as well. Of those residing in
single detached homes, less than half (44%) selected that
housing type as their first choice, while more of them (48%)
chose either medium rise or row house living. More will be
said about this.

One other characteristic—marital status—seems to affect one's
choice of housing. Married persons tend to prefer single de-
tached homes, while those living alone—whether single, widowed,
divorced, or separated—tend to prefer medium rise apartments.
The next analytical step in examining housing preferences involves moving beyond simply first choices. It was thought that by aggregating the first, second, and third choices of respondents, a more useful and practical rank order might be developed (see figure 5d).

Using this method, the medium rise apartment remains and indeed intensifies its position as the most preferred dwelling type for elderly persons. However, when second and third choices are taken into account, row housing followed by walkups assume the second and third rankings, relegating the single detached home from second to fourth rank.

Once again, when responses were correlated with tenure and present housing type, the same pattern emerged as illustrated in Figures 5b and 5c.

On the other hand, respondents' sixth and final choice of housing type reveals both a consistent unpopularity of the high rise apartment and a surprisingly large number of last choice positions accorded the single detached home. Figure 5e records the last choice preference pattern.

### Figure 5e: Housing Types Least Preferred (6th Choice Ranking)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing Type</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Rise Apartment</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Detached</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Storey Walkup</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplex</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowhouse</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Rise Apartment</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>207</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2. REJECTION OF HOUSING TYPES

In addition to being asked to rank their preferences, respondents were also requested to indicate specifically any housing types in which they would not want to live. These rejection responses provided added evidence of the elderly's general rejection of high rises and their polarization of feeling about single detached homes. The degree of rejection for each housing type is recorded in figure 5f.
High rise apartments were rejected nearly four times as much as medium rise apartments, and single detached homes were rejected almost twice as much as row houses.

The relatively high rejection of single detached housing is in stark contrast to the fact that 90% of all respondents had grown up in single family homes. Clearly, particular life circumstances of persons 55 years and over affect to a very substantial degree their choices of housing type.

5-3. OVERVIEW OF PREFERENCE ORDER: A SYNTHESIS

Relatively simple analysis of first to sixth choices, and a measure of rejection, gives a useful but still incomplete picture of housing type preferences. It has been alleged that first choices, in particular, may often represent ideal choices, rather than realistic ones. In large part, this might tend to be the case with ownership housing types like single detached homes.

No such phenomenon, however, appears to have taken place in this survey of elderly. Of 60 respondents who listed single detached homes as their first choice, over 40% in fact lived in such houses. Less than half of those who owned their homes, 80% of those holding clear title, preferred to live in single houses. Indeed, about the same number of single detached dwellers selected that type of housing as their fourth, fifth or last choice as those selecting it as their first.

Thus, contrary to some expectations, the elderly in the survey appear

---

to have given rather well thought out and practical answers in response to the housing preference questions. They were not engaging in wishful thinking or hypothetical selection. Housing preference, therefore, tended to be a balanced calculation between pragmatic possibilities and personal desires.

Nevertheless, a method was devised to acquire an overall rank order of elderly persons' housing preferences that would take into account all choices. It was felt that the most realistic preference order could be obtained by utilizing a form of weighting scheme.

All first choices were given a value of 3, second choices 2, and third choices 1. Conversely, all fourth choices were given a value of -1, fifth choices -2, and sixth and last choices -3. Overall net preference for each housing type was computed by taking all negative values from total positive values. Figure 5g records the overall preference order of housing types.

Medium rise apartment living remains the clear preference of retired and pre-retired. It was the dominant first and second choice of more respondents than any other housing type. Row housing, however, proves to be a very popular alternative. Indeed, it was the predominant backup choice after medium rise

![Overall Housing Type Preferences](image)

and single detached housing.

5-4. POLARIZATION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SINGLE DETACHED HOUSES

As has been clearly demonstrated, single detached homes more than any other housing type separate older people into strong proponents and just as strong rejectors. Just as the second highest
number of first choices were accorded this housing type, so were the second highest number of last choices. Moreover, single detached homes received the lowest number of second and third choices of older people (see figure 5h).

Fig. 5h. PREFERENCE PATTERN FOR SINGLE DETACHED AND WALKUP HOUSING

Those who prefer single detached houses tend to be married, to have moderate and higher incomes ($400 or more per month), and to be owners with clear titles to their property. The most prominent reason for their choice, given by 70% of them, is privacy. Possession of a garden is also an important reason.

On the other hand, rejection of single detached homes is primarily based upon the troubles older people experience in trying to maintain a single detached home, difficulties largely based on its large size and the expense of repairs and maintenance.

It is important to note, however, that attitudes toward single detached houses did not appear to be affected by age, or degree of activeness. Contrary to an often-made assumption, the attributes of the single detached home become no less important to the elderly as they become older and less active. It should also be noted that widowed persons, while technically living alone, rate single detached homes quite a bit higher than do other alone individuals, i.e. the divorced, separated and single. Thus, even for widows and widowers, for whom large houses may be a substantial burden, the benefits of privacy and gardening may on balance still outweigh the liabilities of a single detached house.

5-5. PROBLEMS WITH THREE STOREY WALKUPS

While walkups are not the first choice of a large number of respondents, they do serve as a second and particularly frequent third choice for many (see figure 5h). The basic reason given for liking walkups is that they are not too high. Some people
actually seem to prefer stairs, while others appreciate the privacy and maintenance features of walkups.

On the other hand, about 90% of those disliking or rejecting walkups did so due to the obvious feature of stairs. A few commented on the smallness of rooms in such apartments, and the presence of too much noise.

Nearly as many present walkup residents selected walkups as their most preferred housing type as chose single detached homes. When their first to third choices are aggregated, they prefer red walkups nearly as much as the top-rated medium rise buildings.

5-6. REJECTION OF THE HIGH RISE

It was certainly anticipated that high rise apartment dwellings were unlikely to be the first choice of elderly people. But the intensity with which older persons rejected the high rise was an unexpected and important finding. Nearly one of every three respondents categorically rejected living in high rises. Only 5% considered it their first choice (see figure 5i).

2 CMHC, Housing the Elderly, p. 11.

3 CCSD, Beyond Shelter, p. 372.
4 CMHC, op. cit.
Many of these disadvantages of high rise apartment buildings were borne out in this study and indeed emphasized. Fear of height was mentioned by 55% of those who disliked high rises. Danger due to fire and the crowding together of too many people were also mentioned as significant disadvantages. Others mentioned the impersonality and confinement of this form of housing. Elevators, however, were seldom mentioned as a problem. The evidence of this study suggests that worries about height tend to increase with age, although worries about confinement tend to decrease with age.

Only a handful (less than 5%) had anything positive to say about high rise apartment buildings. A few said they would like the view and plenty of neighbours.

5-7. "NO" TO DUPLEXES

In terms of overall preference duplexes were about as unpopular as high rises, but for different reasons. Most considered the duplex a housing form involving too close contact to neighbours. The presence of stairs, noise and maintenance problems in the case of owner-landlords were also noted.

Those few who attributed positive characteristics to duplexes mentioned close contact with neighbours and the availability of separate yard space.

An interesting question emerges when comparing the very low preference response to duplexes with another "attached" housing form—the rowhouse. Certainly, the "housing type card" used in the interview (figure 2a) portrayed the duplex as an upper-lower arrangement, and not a side-by-side or "semi-detached" variety. Thus, its image was more representative of the type of duplex arrangement found in the older and converted housing stock of the inner city.

Why then should the duplex, which seems to share many of the positive characteristics of rowhousing, e.g. size, manageable maintenance, and proximity to neighbours, not also achieve a relatively high preference position? The answer lies in the distinctive qualities of row housing. Whereas the rowhouse offers a self-contained, private dwelling unit with a relatively wide choice of voluntary neighbour contact, the duplex is seen as involving too close contact with a particular person or persons. There appears to be a much more indefinite and insecure distinction about "mine" in a duplex than is present in any other housing type.

And, again, even though duplexes generally have fewer stairs
than walkups, they lack the degree of self-containment and privacy of an apartment. The proximity of and/or dependency upon only one neighbour or resident landlord is seen as being just too close for comfort.

5-8. PREFERENCE FOR MEDIUM RISE APARTMENT LIVING

Age is neither a determining nor an important factor in elderly person's housing choice. Rather, marital status and income appear to be much more influential reasons for people's preferences of one housing type over another. Over 50% of the widowed, divorced or separated, and 40% of single persons, gave medium rise apartments as their first choice compared with 28% of married respondents.

Area of residence also seems to be significant in relation to medium rise housing preference. Elderly residents of the Midland and Fort Rouge areas are more likely to prefer medium rise apartment buildings than respondents living in other areas.

The distinction made between medium rise (about six storeys) and high rise (about fourteen storeys) proved to be very important. The overall first choice preference for the former and the greatest rejection accorded the latter is clear and ample evidence of this fact.

Indeed, it was the very lack of height and scale distinction that gave rise to a misleading conclusion in Beyond Shelter. Unfortunately, those researchers defined "high rise" as exceeding three floors in height. The conclusion reached after questioning residents of elderly person developments was that "the sample as a whole was neither very opposed to nor very in favor of high-rises."5 Quite clearly, it was apparently a definition in this case that completely hid the actual opinions of elderly persons by homogenizing very positive attitudes toward larger high rise structures.

They did note, however, that about two-thirds of residents of low rise developments disliked high rises, while only one-third of high rise dwellers disliked them. Conversely, many more high rise dwellers liked high rises than did low rise dwellers. Their conclusion was that this clear relationship "is a striking illustration of how experience affects perceptions and evaluations of a housing environment."6 On this point, our evidence is compatible, but only to a degree. Sixty percent (60%) of residents of medium rise apartment blocks preferred their housing type. However, more significantly, 62% of residents of high rise

5 CCSD, Beyond Shelter, op. cit., p. 371.
6 Ibid., p. 372.
buildings preferred, not their own housing type, but medium rise blocks instead. Thus, the effect of "experience" on "perceptions and evaluations of a housing environment" cannot be said to be always positive. Again the distinction of apartment buildings by height or scale reveals a dominant preference of medium rise structures over high rises.

5-9. **Row Housing as a Popular Alternative**

Perhaps the single most important result which emerges from the overall examination of housing preference is the popularity of row housing.

Although the majority of respondents live in three storey walk-ups and single detached dwellings, on balance they most prefer different housing types, i.e. the medium rise apartment building and row housing. In other words, two types of housing are preferred with which the large majority have no direct living experience, either in their youth or at present. Most startling is the fact that only one respondent presently lived in a row house, the form that proved to be the second most preferred when overall choices were analyzed.

This apparently growing preference for row or town houses was borne out in another satisfaction study in 1972. Although some elderly were included, this Vancouver-based survey sampled mostly young families with children living in medium density, low-to-moderate income housing developments. While single detached dwellings were ideally the choice of most respondents, when asked to make an "economic" choice, that is, one they

---

7 The Housing Game, op. cit.
could afford, 69% selected a townhouse.

As has been already pointed out, this form of housing tends to combine many of the advantages of the single detached dwelling, such as privacy, one's own yard, etc., without the disadvantages of high maintenance costs, too large a dwelling and loneliness. It also offers many of the characteristics most liked about medium rise apartments, e.g. close proximity of neighbours without an unacceptable loss of privacy and self-containment. On balance, therefore, row housing offers a very attractive merger of the most important criteria—privacy and neighbouring.
NEIGHBOURHOOD AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT
6-1. THE IMPORTANCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

For those contemplating moving, the location of housing was found to be very important. Respondents were asked “If you were looking for a place to live, which would be more important to you, the type of housing in which you will live or the area or neighbourhood in which that housing is located?” Figure 6a shows that for half the respondents, both were equally important. However, for the other half making a distinction, the area or neighbourhood was considerably more important than the housing type.¹

Those persons for whom the type of housing was more important than the area or neighbourhood tended to prefer single family homes and three story walkups over other types, in contrast to the overall preference for medium rise apartments and row housing.

It appears, therefore, that housing preference is affected by one’s attitude toward neighbourhood and “neighbouring”, and by one’s realistic notions of the kind and quality of environment typically associated with specific housing forms.

¹ Wilson also found some indication that the elderly are more concerned about the character of their neighbourhood than about the individual house or development. Op. cit., p. 47.

The importance of neighbourhood to older persons was highlighted in the Province’s 1971 Metro survey. At that time, 84% of the general respondents stated their desire to remain in the community in which they lived, most of them being unwilling to leave.²

Moving patterns recorded in that study also indicate a strong attachment to neighbourhood. Almost three of every four (73%) of Metro elderly surveyed moved to their present residence from within the immediate area or in the same neighbourhood as that residence. The percentages are even higher, closer to 80%, for those living in the Inner City.³

FIG. 6a. RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF HOUSING TYPE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD FOR CHOICE OF RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TYPE OF HOUSING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AREA/NEIGHBOURHOOD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOTH EQUALLY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DON’T KNOW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N = 210)

² Aging in Manitoba, op. cit., p. 65.
³ Ibid.
Despite the physical infirmities and handicaps afflicting persons of advancing age, "age doesn't seem to diminish the desire to be where the action is". Thus, ease of access to public facilities, services, visiting destinations, and the amenities of downtown "must place high on the list of priorities...prime urban land becomes a first choice when planning for a senior citizens' housing project".

In this study, the primary importance of location is confirmed by the elderly themselves. But it should not be assumed that prime urban land is required in all or perhaps even the majority of cases. In fact, there seems to be considerable evidence that prime land in the minds of the elderly most often means space within or adjacent to their existing neighbourhood.

In many cases this does involve land in the downtown and on its periphery, since great concentrations of older persons occur there. But it seems to be their ability to retain their personal and physical relationship with a familiar neighbourhood that appears to be their predominant desire, irrespective of its proximity to downtown. Women particularly seem to be concerned about location and proximity to friends and relatives. As long as that retention within the neighbourhood also involves ease of access to facilities, services, and visiting destinations, the very important criterion of location will be largely satisfied.

6-2. UNIMPORTANCE OF LIVING WITH SAME ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS OR INCOME GROUP

Very few respondents (only 11%) had a feeling of belonging to any particular or of being part of an ethnic community. Considering their largely western and Canadian backgrounds, it is not surprising that respondents indicated very little sense of ethnic belonging. It should be noted, however, that of the 25% who grew up abroad, probably about one third retained a sense of ethnic belonging. This was particularly noticeable among those with British backgrounds.

It is not surprising, therefore, that only 6% thought it very important to live among people with the same ethnic background as themselves. Nearly 80% considered it not important to do so. (See figure 6b.)

4 CMHC, op. cit., p. 65.
5 Ibid.

6 W. S. Lake, "Housing Preferences and Social Patterns", in Tibbits and Donahue, eds. Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging, op. cit.
Even fewer respondents (2%) considered it very important to live among people of the same religion, 85% considering it unimportant (figure 6b).

Living with people of similar incomes was considered somewhat more important than religion or ethnicity. Nonetheless, 61% considered similar income as not important at all. Fourteen percent (14%) thought it very important, the remaining quarter believing it to be of moderate importance (figure 6b).

6-3. DO THE ELDERLY WISH TO BE SEGREGATED OR INTEGRATED?

Studies of the elderly have often wrestled with the problem of age integration or age segregation in housing. Niebanck, for example, advocates social and age integration, claiming that "physical integration of the generations fosters socializing, maintaining continuity in the lives of older persons, and prevents a narrowing of interests that will cause them to age faster and withdraw more frequently".7

To date, however, the weight of evidence and prevailing building practice has tended to promote age segregation. Ankes reports that the relations of the younger and older groups in a Chicago

project were dominated by prejudice and lack of mutual interest and understanding. Rosow sees advantages in age segregation, contending it is economically more feasible to provide services to a concentrated market of older persons. In his opinion, the concentration of people with common status and problems, and with similar life experience, also maximizes the opportunity for new friendships.

A more recent Canadian survey concluded that elderly residents "were strongly against sharing their building with persons of other ages and children", and that "considerably more residents were opposed to such an age mix (in the immediate neighbourhood of their development) than favored it".  

The results of this Winnipeg study, however, suggest that neither side of the argument appears to have a monopoly on the truth. While generally equal numbers of elderly support each position, the intensity of those favouring segregation was very much lower than those considering such segregation unimportant. About half the respondents (51%) thought it not important to live among people of the same age. Only 14% thought it very important to do so; the remainder, about a third, considered it of moderate importance (figure 6b).

With respect to children specifically, 32% of our sample considered it very important not to have children within their housing and 23% moderately important. A full 39%, however, thought it not important to exclude children.

This result clearly contrasts with the conclusions of Beyond Shelter. There, 17% definitely preferred living in the same building with others of their age, and another 70% somewhat preferred to do so. Only 10% somewhat or definitely preferred living with persons of other ages, including children. Similar results were obtained with respect to age segregation in their neighbourhood as distinct from their individual building unit.

It should be recalled, however, that the CCSD survey was of persons already living in rather homogeneous elderly persons develop-

---


9 I. Rosow, op. cit., p. 335.

10 CCSD, Beyond Shelter, p. 397.

11 Ibid., p. 328.
opments. The results, therefore, are reflective of those who may have clearly chosen to live in such an environment or adapted to it. That being the case, the high proportion in favour of age segregation is more understandable.

In contrast, those still out in general housing show a much higher tolerance and desire in fact for mixed age living environments. The basic fact seems to be that at least as many retired persons, and indeed probably many more, want a diverse housing environment in terms of age as those who prefer to live strictly among other elderly. Thus a major disparity appears to exist between those already living in homogeneous elderly persons developments and those retired and pre-retired individuals living outside those developments but often desiring in.

Surprisingly, a greater proportion of those 55 to 64 and not yet retired felt it very important to live with others of the same age after retirement as those who were already retired and over 65.

Similarly, twice the percentage of men as women felt it was very important to live with those of similar age.

An interesting result appeared when income was related to the importance of living with other elderly. While the results are not as significant statistically, the group that felt it of greatest importance to live with persons of similar age were those receiving $300-399 per month—in general, the group just above the effective government support level.

Attitudes toward living with other old people did not vary for those of different marital status or of different household sizes.

6-4. SEGREGATION BY SEX

No question was asked regarding the importance that respondents accorded to living with others of the same sex. One can presume, however, that most would consider it unimportant.

It should be noted, however, that segregation of elderly by sex seems to be occurring in most elderly persons developments. The 1973 CCSD study of such NHA-financed projects reported that nearly 70% were female.12

This appears to be consistent with the pattern observed in Winnipeg, although no specific data have been accumulated. It

12 Ibid.
has been noted with respect to senior citizens activity centres, as well, that most participation tends to be by women. While we are not suggesting that either discrimination or chauvinism is involved, it is an easily demonstrated fact that such centres are geared to feminine activities and that women, for whatever reason, find more satisfaction in using them than do men.
HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD FACILITIES
7-1. USER ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Respondents were asked a series of questions regarding specific facilities and services they thought were important to have both within their housing and within easy walking distance of it. In addition, they were asked which if any they were willing to share on a permanent basis with a neighbour or neighbours.

Figure 7a draws together all responses regarding location and sharing for a series of facility and service types. Examination of this composite schedule reveals some very clear patterns and suggests rather definite directions for planning and designing elderly persons housing.1

1) Food: With respect to food-related facilities, a clear preference for independence and self-containment is indicated. A private kitchen and a convenient grocery store are nearly universally desired. The presence of a convenient grocery is most important to the oldest and most inactive of elderly persons. Respondents are most unwilling to share either food preparation or eating facilities. Comparatively little importance is placed on either meal delivery services or the nearby location of eating and drinking establishments.

On the other hand, it should not be overlooked that between 10-20% of elderly strongly desire the availability of meal delivery services and the existence of convenient, shared eating facilities. These would appear, however, to be desired in the form of occasional options or alternatives to normally self-reliant preparation and private consumption of food.2

2) Sleep: The great majority of respondents feel very strongly about having their own sleeping room. There is extremely little willingness to share sleeping space. This, of course, suggests very limited demand among the elderly for hostel accommodation. Only about 20% felt a strong need for a place to put up overnight visitors or guests, either within their own dwelling or in the immediate vicinity. These persons tended to be those preferring single detached and row houses.

3) Property Maintenance: A relatively high priority is accorded maintenance and repair services. Respondents indicate

1 See Chapters 11 and 12.

**Fig. 7a. Relative Importance of Types of Facilities and Services, by Location and Willingness to Share**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities and Services, by Type</th>
<th>Consider Very Important to Have Within Housing (1)</th>
<th>Willing to Share on Permanent Basis (2)</th>
<th>Consider Very Important to Have Within Walking Distance (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Food</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Own Kitchen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Dining Room</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Kitchen Facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cafeteria (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Food Locker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Grocery Store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Meal 12 d. Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Common Dating Facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Pub, Cafe, or French Shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Sleep</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Separate Bedroom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Extra Bedroom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Sleeping Room</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Government Accom. for Visitors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Property Maintenance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Caretaker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Home Repair or Yard Equipment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Hardware Store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
1. Only "Very Important" Responses are Recorded Here; "Moderately Important" responses are omitted. Fig 7a includes "Not Important" Responses.
2. "Willing to Share" has been considered to be both those "Very" and "Moderately" willing. Thus, the remaining proportion to 100% were "Not Willing".
### FACILITIES AND SERVICES, BY TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. OUTDOOR SPACE</th>
<th>a. CONSIDER VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE WITHIN HOUSING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. PRIVATE YARD OR BALCONY</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. YARD OR BALCONY SPACE</td>
<td>10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. PUBLIC PARK, GARDEN OR REST AREA</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. MOBILITY</th>
<th>b. WILLING TO SHARE ON PERMANENT BASIS (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. PARKING SPACE</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES*</td>
<td>10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. BUS STOP</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAFFIC LIMITS/STREET CROSSINGS</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCESS TO DOWNTOWN</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELL - LIT STREETS</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. INDOOR RECREATION</th>
<th>c. CONSIDER VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE WITHIN WALKING DISTANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. RECREATION/HOBBY FACILITIES *</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. RECREATION ROOM</td>
<td>10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. LIVING ROOM</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. SENIOR CITIZEN DAY CENTRE</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. LIBRARY OR READING ROOM</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. LAUNDRY</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. LAUNDRY FACILITIES</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. LAUNDRY FACILITIES</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. LAUNDRY FACILITIES</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NOTES
- (3) FACILITIES AND SERVICES IN QUOTATION MARKS WERE VOLUNTARILY MENTIONED. THE PERCENTAGES, THEREFORE, WOULD TEND TO UNDERSTATE THEIR REAL IMPACT.
Fig. 7a. (CONT'D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities and Services, by Type</th>
<th>Consider Very Important to Have Within Housing: %</th>
<th>Willing to Share on Permanent Basis (%)</th>
<th>Consider Very Important to Have Within Walking Distance: %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Few Stairs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security System</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Conditioning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children Around Pets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Storage Space.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Modern Appliances.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Handrail in Bath.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnished Place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cablevision</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Protection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humidifier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Bathroom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Telephone.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Pharmacy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor's Office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Shopping Centre.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Post Office.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Hairedresser, Barber, Dry Clean.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a strong desire to have a caretaker to provide these services, and in the case of do-it-yourself activity, an equally strong willingness to share the use of home repair and yard maintenance equipment with their neighbours.

This is consistent, of course, with the prominent concern elderly persons have with their physical ability to accomplish maintenance tasks and their financial ability to pay for them. Assistance in property maintenance through a caretaker is particularly important to those living alone and to those most preferring apartment living of all kinds.

4) Outdoor Space: Options with respect to the provision of outdoor space for the elderly are considerably more open than those for indoor spaces. About the same proportion of older people express a desire for a private yard or balcony (53%) as express their willingness to share one with neighbours (57%). Moreover, a full third of respondents strongly desire a public park, garden or rest area near to their housing units.

The importance of a private yard is particularly noticeable among those elderly most preferring to live in single detached homes or row houses. Balconies appeared much more important to those preferring medium rise apartment blocks than high rises.

5) Mobility: Independent movement by public transit, foot, private car, or other means is another important aspect of retirement. Parking space is only considered important by those already owning cars; it does not appear to be a latent desire for those non-owners at present. Moreover, its importance decreases drastically as age increases and as household size decreases.

On the other hand, nearly all elderly deem it very important to have a bus stop, traffic lights or safe pedestrian crossings in the neighbourhood. Voluntary responses further underline the importance of publicly provided assistance to the mobility and safety of older people. Respondents specifically mentioned the importance of downtown access and well-lit streets, as well as their willingness to share additional transportation facilities. These might include special mini-bus or van service, dial-a-bus, taxis, and the like.

6) Indoor Recreation: Despite the absence of direct questions on the subject, the importance of indoor recreation and hobby facilities was underscored by significant numbers of respondents. At least a third desired recreational facilities within their_

---

3 See also P. L. Niebanck, op. cit., p. 62.
housing environment; a third also thought a senior citizens day centre and a library or reading room were very important facilities to have nearby.

Over two-thirds are clearly willing to share such facilities with others. But once again, with respect to internal residential space, few are willing to share their living room. In summary, indoor recreation is seen as rather important by the elderly and, outside of their clearly self-defined private living space, they are willing to entertain a variety of approaches in providing recreational and hobby facilities.

7) Laundry: Most respondents conceive of laundry facilities as being within easy walking distance of their housing, although a substantial number feel it rather important to provide such facilities within the housing structure itself. By no means do elderly think of laundry facilities as being private, over 90% of respondents being willing to share them.

8) Miscellaneous: Few stairs to climb is clearly a housing characteristic important to the elderly. Of course, it is particularly critical for those of advanced age, physical in-capacity and limited activeness. Few stairs, however, does not mean the absence of them, as the evidence regarding walkups and row housing indicates. The small group for whom stairs pose no problem tend, of course, to be walkup dwellers.

A security system was an important feature to many. The only housing type less associated with such a system than the rest was the single detached home.

The modern nature of the building and especially air conditioning are considered very important by about half of the respondents. Air conditioning tended to be more important to all types of apartment dwellers - walkups, medium and high rises - than to housedwellers. A "modern" building was far more important to those preferring high rises than any other housing type.

With respect to the presence of children, a little more than a third felt it very important to exclude them. These individuals largely tended to be those preferring to live in row houses and walkups, as opposed to choosers of medium or high rise apartments, or single detached houses. While we can only speculate as to the source of this relationship, one reason may be the greater association of the latter housing types with privacy control and ability to get away from the potential annoyance of children. Both row houses and walkups appear from previous evidence as well to

4 See CMHC, op. cit., and R. L. Wilson, op. cit., p. 35.
be associated with a more communal, sharing environment, within which children are either not required as a source of diversion or not desirable as an over-addition of social contact.

Only about a fifth considered pets to be very important to have within housing, a minority that often finds itself legislated against by neighbouring tenants of large projects.

Among the voluntary responses, adequate storage space was the most important concern. Other facilities mentioned were of more individual concern, such as modern appliances, bathroom handrails, and furnishings. The relatively low importance given to such managerial nightmares as cablevision and humidifiers indicates a policy of individual purchase whenever possible.

Of miscellaneous facilities and services considered very important to have within walking distance, a pharmacy was most often selected, followed by a bank, church and doctor's office. Substantial voluntary mentions were given to a shopping centre, post office and personal services, e.g. hairdressers, barbers, dry cleaners, etc. Figure 7b provides a consolidated illustration of all neighbourhood facilities respondents desired external to and easily accessible from their dwelling units.

Other than some specifically health or sex-related housing facilities or characteristics, virtually no differences exist between elderly men and women in their assessments of important facilities and services. The fact that few stairs are more often mentioned as very important by males (71%) than females (58%) may merely be reflective of the lower state of health and activity of the men interviewed, and of retired men generally. Similarly, men considered parking space more important than women, a fact easily explainable in that more men own and operate automobiles. On the other hand, more women than men were more concerned about having a caretaker, again a fact easily explainable by traditional sex roles.

7-2. PREDOMINANT IMPORTANCE OF INDEPENDENCE AND PRIVACY

One of the most significant messages consistently received from the elderly, and in most instances the least listened to, is their almost universal desire for continued independence in living arrangements for as long as possible.5

Our evidence in this study clearly supports this conclusion. Nearly all respondents consider it very important to have their

5 See, for example, W. Donahue, "Where and How Older People Wish to Live", op. cit., p. 27; and R. L. Wilson, op. cit., p. 18.
own private kitchen, bedroom, bathroom, living and eating space. In addition, an important element of privacy appears to be the ability to avoid unwanted social contact. This is not, of course, to equate privacy with imposed or structured isolation, but rather with moment to moment choice.

Private space, moreover, must be maintainable, accessible and "defensible". Thus, a majority of respondents select the provision of a caretaker, the absence of too many stairs, and the existence of a security system as very important characteristics of their housing.

Finally, the importance of quiet as a component of privacy is reflected in many of the responses given by the elderly in this and other studies. Examples include those regarding presence of children, modern characteristics of buildings, and complaints about the present dwelling. Transmission of outside noise into private space, therefore, must be severely curtailed.

7-3. PRIVATE VERSUS SHARED FACILITIES

With respect to sharing facilities on a permanent basis with a neighbour or neighbours, respondents make a clear distinction between those traditionally considered internal to one's dwelling unit and those not inherent or often found external to it. Their intense unwillingness to share sleeping, living, kitchen, bath, and dining space constitutes overwhelming evidence that older people, regardless of marital status, age, activeness or any other characteristic, still retain a generally unshakable commitment to private, self-contained housing units.

It is useful to compare these findings with those of CMHC's valuable design report, Housing the Elderly. That report points to the probability of increasing dissatisfaction with "bed-alcove units". Our evidence from the standpoint of users and potential users clearly reveals such dissatisfaction and points categorically to the necessity of providing separate sleeping space. Indeed, CMHC in 1972 cited with favour the existence of one province that provided nothing smaller than one bedroom units.

6 See R. L. Wilson, op. cit., p. 23.
8 See also R. L. Wilson, op. cit., p. 35.
9 CMHC, op. cit.
On the other hand, CMHC suggests from an economic and managerial perspective that the sharing of kitchen and bathroom facilities might be more incorporated in elderly housing, together with multi-bedroom units, which "could benefit both the elderly and management". On this point, our study clearly produces contrary evidence.

Elderly persons are distinctly unwilling to share kitchen or bathroom facilities. At most, 10% would be willing to consider such sharing. While shared facilities may make sense to management, the elderly users themselves show no inclination toward them. Whether "imaginative planning, and thoughtful and careful designs", as the CMHC study suggests, can overcome such strongly held commitments to independent and self-contained living environments is doubtful indeed.

On the other hand, the clear willingness of over half of the sample to share laundry facilities, a balcony or yard, and home repair or yard equipment suggests several suitable areas in which experimentation in cooperative use seems practicable.

As balconies are often seen as expensive and marginal amenities, they are often the first to suffer the cost estimator's axe.

"A more rational and satisfactory solution would seem to lie in inclusion of some balconies, especially for the lower floors, or one common balcony per floor".

Our evidence indicates that this type of solution would meet with the approval of many users. Only about half the respondents felt strongly about having a private balcony or yard space. Another half clearly indicated their willingness to share such space with others.

On the other hand, however, we can not be very optimistic about this prospect envisioned in Housing the Elderly:

In view of changing life-styles and attitudes, perhaps the philosophy of single accommodation should be re-examined and alternatives reviewed to provide for greater flexibility. Consultation with old people on this matter could be both revealing and educational. Two, three, or possibly four-person apartments may encounter not only acceptance but also encouragement from elderly friends and relatives wishing to share accommodation and household chores.

11 Ibid., p. 31.
12 Ibid., p. 4.
From this study, however, we can only conclude that the support base for shared living arrangements among the elderly, those approaching retirement as well as those already retired, is exceedingly low. Whether the next generation of retirees will exhibit less commitment to independence and self-contained accommodation is of course an open question, but one not likely to be answered affirmatively.

Even shared living arrangements among the young on this continent appear to include, increasingly on a non-negotiable basis, private sleeping and social space. Cooperative housing, the most sharing form of general residential environment, still is more of a financial arrangement than a sharing of living or working space. Moreover, the numbers of persons residing in such arrangements have always been and continue to be very small indeed. Even if such arrangements were to be retained through life or returned to in old age, the numbers would remain rather low.

Not surprisingly, elderly presently living in walkup apartments are more willing to share laundry and repair facilities than single detached dwellers. But interestingly, those favouring row housing were those most willing to share such facilities.

7-4. NEIGHBOURHOOD FACILITIES AND "EASY WALKING DISTANCE"

The most outstanding unmet need of the elderly, for both those living in the general community and those living in purpose-built projects, is for resources to be more accessible. Consistently, research findings show that, even where the elderly find resources to be available, they do not find them to be always accessible. Figure 7b summarizes the judgments of Winnipeg elderly concerning the relative importance of having various facilities within easy walking distance of their dwellings.

As noted, a food outlet, a public transit stop, safe street crossings, and a laundry facility are considered most important. While the separate responses regarding parks, activity centres, libraries, and recreational facilities were more diffused, there is reason to believe that such facilities are collectively a very important priority as well. Beyond these apparent necessities, elderly also desire the proximity of a pharmacy, bank, church, and doctor.

Critical distance from facilities, however, appears to be closely associated with frequency of use. Thus, one block for daily con-

13 Aging in Manitoba, vol. 11, p. 256.
**Fig. 7b. Importance of Neighbourhood Facilities to Have Within Easy Walking Distance**

*Indicates facilities and services which were voluntarily mentioned. The percentages, therefore, would tend to underestimate their real importance.*

- Grocery Store
- Bus Stop
- Traffic Lights or Street Crossing
- Laundry Facility
- Pharmacy
- Bank
- Church
- Doctor
- Park
- Library
- Day Centre
- Recreational Facilities
- Shopping Centre
- Meal-a-Day Service
- Accommodation Fee Visitors
- Post Office

**Fig. 7b (Continued)**

- Common Eating Facilities
- Hairdressing, Barber, Dry Cleaner
- Pub/Cafe
- Access to Downtown
- Well-Lit Streets
- Hardware Store

**Very Important**
venience shopping is generally described as comfortable walking distance, while longer distances are acceptable for most other facilities.\textsuperscript{14}

About 45\% of respondents in this study felt capable of easily walking more than three blocks. About the same proportion felt limited to one to three blocks. The remainder, about one in ten respondents, felt physically limited to less than one block.\textsuperscript{15} (See figure 7c.)

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure7c.png}
\caption{Definition of "Easy Walking Distance" (N=208)}
\end{figure}

Contrary to some expectations, only slight differences were noted between the easy walking distances of "active" and "inactive" elderly. Similar to the total sample, only about half the active persons considered easy walking distance to be more than three blocks.

Of the small number of relatively immobile persons, i.e., of the less than 10\% of the total whose walkable distance was less than one block, over two-thirds of them nonetheless considered themselves very or fairly active individuals. Only 2 of 19 persons who felt themselves physically limited to less than a block actually considered themselves very inactive. Conversely, only slightly more than 50\% of those considering themselves inactive felt their easy walking distance to be limited to 2 blocks.

As we can see, while a person may assess his or her easy walking distance at just a block or two, that same individual may still be quite active in many other ways. Indeed, this appears to be the case when one relates "easy" walking distance, being a measure of physical mobility, with self-assessment of "activeness", being a psychological state of mind.

Thus, in the planning and design of residential environments for the elderly, at least as much importance should be vested in the

\textsuperscript{14} P. L. Niebanck, op. cit., p. 62

\textsuperscript{15} When asked to define "easy walking distance", nearly all respondents in this study voluntarily used a spatial measurement, i.e. an average city block. This was unqualified by factors of time, convenience or climate.
subjective self-perceptions of the users regarding their own activeness and in judgements regarding the desirability of promoting activeness, as in the more "objective" and quantifiable measurements of physical limitation, age and health.
8-I. LEISURE ACTIVITIES

In the CCSD survey of residents of elderly persons housing projects, their main activities were found to be shopping, informal visiting, and going for drives or walks. Residents of downtown developments tended to make more frequent outdoor trips than their counterparts in the suburbs. Participation in community activities declined considerably with entry into the development. With some residents, therefore, social interaction within the development served as a substitute for community participation.1

For those in general housing, however, i.e. for those living outside of such developments, participation in and access to community recreation and social facilities are often important if not essential aspects of a satisfactory residential environment for older persons. Wilson noted their importance when he recommended as a locational criterion the existence of a community centre in the vicinity of new elderly persons developments.2 Pleasant, easily accessible outdoor areas and convenient indoor recreational facilities, therefore, can be considered prime requisites in the successful transition to retirement for many older persons. This is especially the case for those whose mobility is limited due to physical infirmity, low income or other reasons.

Our survey results differ rather substantially from the CCSD data on project dwellers and tend to confirm evidence about residents of general housing. While walking and driving were common activities, few respondents engage in visiting to any large extent. And shopping seems not to be identified at all as a preferred retirement activity.

Respondents identify nine basic types of activities in which they are interested and involved. They were asked to indicate the three types they most frequently enjoyed. Figure 8a illustrates the relative interest of older people in those activities.

In general, while reading is the one activity chosen by most respondents, older persons very clearly tend to prefer a wide variety of rather active pursuits, often involving others.

Reading, a generally passive, individual pastime engaged in by a third of all respondents, takes place mainly at home. But a substantial number also read in neighbourhood libraries, churches and community centres. Several also travel further

1 CCSD, Beyond Shelter, pp. 333-336.
2 R. L. Wilson, op. cit., p. 47.
afield in the city to pursue their reading interests.

Between 30% and 17% of the elderly indicate most interest in each of four active forms of recreation. It is significant to note that the neighbourhood provides the most prevalent location for their pursuit of these pastimes.

First, nearly a third prefer to participate in active games, most of which occur indoors around a table, as in bingo and cards. Others enjoying indoor games do so in a larger facility, such as for bowling, swimming and curling. The relatively few engaging in active outdoor games mention golf and lawn bowling. In the main, these active games are played, in order of frequency, in the neighbourhood, in community centres, elsewhere in the city, and finally in the home.

Second, the elderly participate in active outdoor recreation. The most frequently mentioned form this takes is walking, mostly in parks. After walking, camping and gardening are the choice. And finally, several take their outdoor recreation in the form of driving. Most of these outdoor activities are done either in the neighbourhood or outside the city. Home is the next most frequent location; only a few find this type of recreation in other parts of the city.

Another active form of recreation—hobbies and crafts—comprises the next most popular leisure time activity. In the main, this takes the form of sewing or knitting, and handicraft or woodwork. A few mentioned photography and housepainting. All of this activity, which occurs very often, takes place inside the home.
Work, most of it volunteer rather than paid part-time work, constitutes the next popular activity. This tends to take the form of auxiliary work and babysitting. The bulk of work activity is performed in or near the neighbourhood, in churches, community centres and hospitals. More will be said of work activity below.

An interesting result is that spectating is a relatively less popular form of elderly activity than most others. This is particularly surprising in the case of watching television and other cultural events, such as movies and concerts. Even fewer elderly attend the more seasonal sports events, those mentioned being football games and the races. Those that do participate in these activities generally get there by bus.

Finally, relatively few elderly consider visiting with friends and relatives or travelling to be favourite activities.

8-2 MOBILITY BY CAR AND BUS

'Getting about' is important to the elderly persons in this study. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the total sample owned a car. Car ownership was far more prevalent among "active" individuals, 89% of that group owning a car. This is not to say, however, that the car owners are dominantly car users. Of course, for some activities, the car is heavily used by its owner. On the other hand, most of the car owners travelled to many of their destinations by public transit and foot. Indeed, only 4% of all respondents stated that they never use a bus.

Of the entire sample, 62% considered the Winnipeg bus service to be well suited to their needs. However, those whose easy walking distance was three blocks or more were more satisfied with the bus service than those whose walkable distance was shorter.

Thus, the bus service does not satisfy well enough those most in need of it. Of the small number of relatively inactive persons interviewed, half felt the bus service not well suited for them. Consequently, they never used the service.

Extended waiting time, indicated by complaints about poor scheduling, is the chief problem encountered by the elderly. Poor connections and distance from bus stops are other difficulties mentioned. Consequently, the most frequent suggestion for improvement of the bus service, mentioned by 45% of those volunteering suggestions, is 'more frequent buses'. Suggestions
of 'more bus stops', 'more bus shelters', 'heated bus shelters', a 'dial-a-bus service', and 'snow clearing at stops' were other responses to user problems, particularly encountered in inclement weather.

8-3. INTEREST IN VOLUNTEER OR PART-TIME WORK

Fewer than two in ten respondents mentioned work as one of their favourite activities. Yet more than four of every ten (44%) declared definite interest in doing volunteer or part-time work in retirement. Another 15% indicated they might be so interested.

Thus, the work potential among the retired is very strong indeed--between 50-60%. On the basis of present performance, it would appear that this work if done would tend to be heavily volunteer, rather than part-time paid work. 3

Interest in volunteer activity tended to decline, of course, with increasing age and declining activeness. Despite a lowering of interest among those 70 years and over, no less than 40% of this older group consistently indicated interest in

volunteer work.

Respondents were asked to indicate their degree of interest in doing specific types of work. Most responses were polar, that is, either the person was interested or not; comparatively few said they "might" be interested. Figure 8b records the degrees of positive interest in the following work activities (in order of priority):

1. VISITING - "visiting other retired people in their homes."
2. HEALTH CARE - "assisting in hospitals, old age care homes, etc."
3. HOUSING ADMINISTRATION - "administration of housing for retired people."
4. TEACHING - "teaching crafts, sewing, knitting, woodwork, etc."
5. RECESSION - "reception, telephone work in hotel, organization."
6. FOOD SERVING - "serving in coffee shop, restaurant."
7. KITCHEN WORK - "kitchen work, preparing food, etc."
8. BABYSITTING - "babysitting for area families."
9. OFFICE WORK - "office work, e.g., typing, filing."

---

3 This phenomenon may be heavily influenced, of course, by prevailing pension and taxation regulations.
Significantly, the kinds of work that interested most respondents involved helping other older persons. Moreover, a definite preference was shown for the most personal and intimate type of help—visiting other older persons in their homes.

The second rank of strong interest in volunteer activity involved work in health care facilities, elderly persons housing, hobby instruction, and reception/telephone contacts.

Much less interest was shown in more manual service jobs, such as food serving, kitchen work, babysitting, and office work. In addition, small numbers of elderly indicated some interest in church volunteer work, working with young people, caretaking and carpentry.

With particular reference to housing, substantial interest was indicated among respondents regarding involvement in a group of older persons in order to sponsor elderly persons housing. A total of 78 persons, or 37% of the sample, stated they would be definitely interested in participating in such a group. (Another 18% indicated potential interest in doing so.) Of course, this rather high positive response rate was probably influenced by the selection bias of the sample and the study's sponsor group. Nevertheless, the degree to which elderly are concerned with their housing and their willingness and time to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest in Part-time or Volunteer Work</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>90</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Serving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babysitting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N: approx 18%) INTERESTED MIGHT BE INTERESTED
become involved with other old people for purposes of mutual self-interest should not be minimized.

Thus, there appears to exist a most substantial reservoir of volunteer talent among the elderly. Channelled into those forms for which they express clear interest, these older volunteers could provide much needed services. As indicated, most interested persons were most concerned with helping other elderly and retired persons with their loneliness and health problems. If more opportunities were opened up to such volunteers, many potentially valuable helpers appear ready and willing.

8-4. SOURCES OF IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT RETIREMENT

Respondents were also asked where they obtained important information about retirement, pensions, senior citizens activities and so on. The mass media, i.e. the 'metropolitan daily newspapers', and 'T.V. and radio', were found to be the most important sources of information. Interpersonal communication with family, friends and other senior citizens were together an important source. Information from government brochures and pamphlets ranked fourth in order of importance. Magazines, local weekly newspapers, books, and surprisingly, publications and meetings of senior citizens groups were much less important sources of information. (See figure 8c.)
9-1. INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND DECLINE IN INCOME AT RETIREMENT

Not surprisingly, those already retired had a generally lower range of income than those not yet retired (see figure 9a). Twice as many retired people as pre-retired had monthly incomes of less than $200, $300 or $400. At the other end of the scale, nearly three times as many pre-retired as retired received over $600 a month. In what might be called the "mid-income" range of $400-$600 per month, somewhat larger proportions of pre-retired than retired received those amounts. The average monthly income of the retired group was $360. The average for the pre-retired was $510.

Retirement, of course, has a profound financial effect on most people. That effect, however, is often a surprising one. In broad terms, 56% of retired people in this sample suffer a decline in income at retirement. On the other hand, forty-one percent (41%) enjoy an increase, while 3% experience no change. Not surprisingly, a higher percentage of men suffer declines in income than do women. Women often experience increases due to their change in status from "non-earning" housewives to recipients of pension and other benefits.

What is most interesting is the fact that lower income persons largely increase their income at retirement, while higher income persons decrease (see figure 9b). In the middle range, $300-$399 per month, as many elderly increase as decrease in income.

Thus, retirement and the pension system, perhaps more effectively than any other government mechanism, serves as an income equalization device. This is not to say, of course, that...
all elderly receive roughly the same income, but rather that the income gap among those over 65 is reduced. In other words, at retirement, the poor get richer and the rich poorer.

The pre-retired have varying expectations as to how retirement will affect them. These expectations are in some cases accurate appraisals of what actually appears to happen upon retirement, but in other cases are contrary to what actually does occur.

For example, those pre-retired individuals of lowest income, i.e., below $200 per month, anticipate a further falling off of income after retirement. As we have seen, the opposite appears to happen at this income level. Those with incomes between $200-$399 per month expect higher income after retirement—an apparently correct prediction. For some reason, those pre-retired with incomes of $400-$599 anticipate a rise in income, while the experience of retired people in that income range shows a substantial decrease. Finally, those in the upper middle income range, $600-$900, correctly expect a decrease.

9-2. SOURCES OF RETIREMENT INCOME

Certainly the most generally received source of income for the
retired is the basic old age security pension. Income from the Canada Pension, private retirement pensions, and investments are also important sources. The extent of receipt of these and other sources, as well as the expectation of receipt by the pre-retired, are recorded in Figure 9c.

Of those who will retire within the next 5-10 years, a much larger percentage expect to receive income from the Canada Pension Plan, private retirement pensions, and savings, than retired people presently receive. In part, this can be explained by the increasing coverage of and benefits received from both Canada Pension and private pension plans as a result of evolving government policy, business and industry practice, and collective bargaining agreements.

On the other hand, there is a significant decrease in the proportion of pre-retired expecting to receive the supplementary government pension and investment income when they retire than those presently in retirement receive.

The greater reliance on savings rather than investment income expected by the pre-retired may be explained by current unstable economic conditions. Elderly people in general may be changing the form of their pre-retirement financial planning by keeping whatever investment resources they have in ready
cash accounts rather than stocks, bonds, and other instruments.

Finally, the smaller percentage of persons expecting to receive supplementary government pensions is the product of the higher proportion of the pre-retired who anticipate incomes above the extra support ceiling. On the other hand, because many pre-retired persons with incomes in the mid-range of $400-$599 wrongly believe that they will be in better financial circumstances upon retirement than they in fact are likely to be, more of their number should actually anticipate receiving the supplement at that time.

9-3. HOUSING EXPENDITURE AND RETIREMENT RENTS

Figure 9d summarizes the extent to which housing costs consume the income of renters and owners, and of retired and pre-retired elderly.

Not surprisingly, considering their lower income, retired people spend proportionately more on housing than pre-retired people. This is true whether they are owners or renters.

At the same time, renters, whether retired or pre-retired, spend a larger proportion of income on housing than do owners. Twice as many renters as owners spend over 30% of their income on shelter, and about three times as many renters spend over 50%.

This is not to say that home-owning pensioners have a secure economic position. While relatively better off, about one of every three retired homeowners still expends over 30% of his income to maintain that home.

One homeowner subgroup is in particularly difficult circumstances. The 10% who pay over 50% tend to be those who are still paying off their mortgages, even though the interest
rates of those mortgages are extraordinarily low by today's standards. Of course, ownership still provides an opportunity to translate one's equity into ready cash when required.

In terms of housing cost, therefore, it is the retired renter of general market housing who is without question in the most difficult position. A full 60% of retired renters expend for shelter more than the current CMHC standard of 30% of income. And three of every ten pay over 50%.

At the time of this survey in 1974, this 30% of retired renters were paying over $150 per month for housing. With the rapid inflationary spiral affecting rents in Winnipeg since then, both the real dollar amounts and percentage of income paid by pensioners for housing are reaching crisis dimensions, and have already forced severe hardship on many pensioners. The recent institution of rent control, which as we will see was strongly desired by the elderly in 1974, should provide at least some relief.
GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TYPES OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

The impact of declining real income at retirement and the further decline often experienced due to inflation afterwards is undoubtedly the central source of dissatisfaction and hardship among the low and mid-income elderly. The spiraling rise in the cost of living, notoriously acute in recent years, has not at all been met by comparable increases in pensions, interest, dividends, or other income sources. Thus, an increasing number of elderly persons are more and more dependent upon special government assistance programs as primary means of supplementing income, either in the form of cash or services. But to what extent do the elderly desire the income supplement and special service approach to relieving their economic problems?

To ascertain how to best meet the perceived needs of the elderly, respondents were asked to indicate the importance to them of thirteen types of government assistance. At the time of inquiry (1974), some were already available in the form of existing programs, others were pending, still others were merely speculative (and in most cases, still are).

Respondents felt the following types of assistance to be most important (in their order of priority):

1. ECONOMIC CONTROLS - "controlling the economy more, including all prices, incomes profits, rents and interest rates."
2. PROPERTY TAX REBATE - "paying a rebate of a percentage of property taxes to all tenants and homeowners."
3. GUARANTEED MINIMUM INCOME - "paying you a guaranteed minimum monthly income that would rise with inflation."
4. LOW-RENT, NON-PROFIT HOUSING - "subsidizing non-profit corporations and co-operatives to build low-rental housing."
5. RENT CONTROL - "controlling the rent charged to you by private landlords."
6. FORCING LANDLORDS TO MAINTAIN BUILDINGS - "forcing your landlord to repair and maintain your building."
7. LOW-RENT PUBLIC HOUSING - "building Government low-rent housing."
8. HELPING SERVICES - "providing 'help you' people to assist you in housework, snow shovelling and other hard jobs."
9. REPAIR GRANT - "paying you a cash grant to help you maintain and repair your home or apartment."
10. FREE REPAIR LABOUR - "paying you with free labour to do maintenance and repairs for you."

11. RENT SUPPLEMENT - "paying a cash supplement to you to help you to buy your own home."

12. ASSISTED HOME OWNERSHIP - "making loans and grants to you to help you to buy your own home."

13. PROPERTY TRANSFER - "guaranteeing that you can remain in your own home for as long as you live, if you transfer your ownership of your property to the city."

Figure 10a illustrates all responses of the entire sample. Respondents tended to make rather clear and intense judgements regarding government assistance programs. In general, they considered each particular program either very important or not important at all, with moderate responses limited to an average of only about 15%.

Respondents showed clear preference for a set of broad based economic and income security measures. In particular, programs that would allow the elderly to better cope with inflation, i.e. controlling the economy, rebating a portion of property taxes, and guaranteeing them an income indexed to the cost of living, were those most strongly favoured.

Next in importance to the elderly was a set of programs connected with the problems of tenancy. Programs to control rents, to subsidize and build low-rental housing, and to force private landlords to repair and maintain property exemplified this approach.

Highly individualistic or personal helping services, usually connected to failing health, immobility or inconvenience, were considered next most important.

Finally, a set of programs largely aimed at home owners were accorded considerably less emphasis. The provision of monetary and labour assistance to repair and maintain property, assistance in purchasing a home, and a scheme to guarantee residence for life in return for property transfer to the city all met with little enthusiasm.

Also included in this least important group, and somewhat surprisingly so, was a rent supplement program.

It might well be suspected that the higher preference ranking given to tenant-related programs over owner related programs might simply be a result of the larger proportion of renters than owners in the sample. In large measure, however, this...
### Fig. 10a. Relative Importance of Types of Governmental Assistance

|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|

### Fig. 10a. (Continued)

|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|

**Note:** The bars indicate the level of importance from 0 to 100%, with 100% being the most important.

Very Important: Moderately Important: Not Important (N=Approx. 2,13)
relationship was not present at all. For example, virtually no
differences existed between owners and renters with respect to
increasing the supply of low-rental housing and enforcing repair
and maintenance requirements on landlords. Indeed homeowners
apparently see property maintenance of rented accommodation as
important to themselves as do those residing in rented dwellings.

It should be noted, as well, that even where differences existed,
they were rather small—generally around 10%. Thus, even in
tenant-related programs, only 10-12% more renters than owners
deemed rent control and rent supplements to be very important.
The same is true of most owner-related programs. Once again,
between 7-10% more owners than renters considered free repair
labour and the assisted home ownership program to be very im­
portant.¹ Eleven per cent more owners felt the importance of
helping services, largely perceived to be those relating to
homeowners.

Larger differences between renters and owners did show up,
however, with respect to a few programs. Fully 20% more
renters than owners considered the guaranteed income plan to
be very important. (On the other hand, only 5% more renters
than owners considered economic controls to be very important.)
Conversely, 17% more owners than renters felt repair grants
to be very important.

Other variables, such as income, retirement status, age and
household size, were also examined with respect to government
programs. Responses to the importance of government programs
were generally unrelated to income, except that in general
those with higher incomes ($500 per month and more) not sur­
prisingly felt considerably less strongly about government
assistance. Those of lower to mid-income (i.e. $200-$499 per
month) thought government programs generally to be as impor­
tant as those of lowest income (below $200). The only large
variations to emerge with respect to income related to eco­
nomic controls, which were most emphasized by higher income
persons, and to the enforcement of maintenance standards on
landlords, thought to be most important by those of lowest
income.

Generally speaking, the pre-retired felt nearly all forms of
government assistance to be more important than did those

¹ The AHOP conclusion may be modified somewhat, in that the
great majority of homeowners in the sample already owned
their homes outright. Balancing that possibility, however,
is the probability that the renters surveyed, by virtue of
their age and income, may have already renounced any hope
of owning a home of their own.
already retired. This may be due, in spite of their generally higher income, to a heightened sense of economic and psychological insecurity about what is in store for them. The retired in large measure have probably found ways to cope with their circumstances or have become resigned to the hard realities of retirement and have adjusted accordingly.

In addition to this generally heightened sense of importance accorded to government assistance by the pre-retired, their relative program preferences also revealed a particular pattern at variance to the norm. In contrast to the pensioners, the pre-retired placed greater importance in guaranteed income, enforcement of maintenance standards on landlords, and low-rent non-profit housing, than on economic controls, property tax rebates or rent control.

Those of advanced age, i.e. 75 years and over, clearly indicated different priorities than those younger. They more than any other group stressed economic controls, the property tax rebate, and rent control. But they placed their next greatest emphasis, in contrast to younger elderly, on helping services, the repair grant, and free repair labour. Thus, this direct service package of special programs would appear to have its most clearly defined clientele in the 75 and over age group.

A potentially significant finding is that those living with one other person generally view government assistance programs to be much more important than do those living alone or with more than one other. This pattern was especially noticeable with respect to economic controls, encouragement of non-profit and low-rent housing, rent controls, helping services, and repair grants.

The data also revealed what might be termed program profiles, that is, a picture of the type of person most attracted to, and those seeing themselves best served by, each particular form of government assistance. By no means is this analysis intended to describe a singular clientele for a single program. It is only to suggest that certain elderly, to varying degrees, consider certain programs more important to them than do other elderly.

Again, in order of overall importance, the following summary conclusions have been drawn:

1. The importance of economic controls tends to rise with age and income, and are seen as more important by couples and larger households than those living alone.

2. The property tax rebate is deemed very important by renters and owners alike, particularly the oldest pensioners of mid-
income.

3. The guaranteed income scheme is most prized by pre-retired (not necessarily younger) renters of low and mid-income, living alone or with only one other person.

4. Subsidies to non-profit housing groups are considered more important by younger, mid-income, pre-retired couples than by other elderly.

5. Rent controls are most favoured by both pre-retired renters and the oldest retired renters of low and mid-income. Rent controls also tend to increase in importance as household size increases.

6. Maintenance enforcement upon landlords is considered very important by both low income renters and higher income owners, as well as the youngest pre-retired and oldest retired persons. Its importance also tends to rise as household size increases.

7. Low-rent public housing, as was non-profit housing, appears to be more important to mid-income younger couples than to others.

8. Helping services were seen as more important by homeowner couples and larger households (surprisingly, not as much by those living alone), by the oldest pensioners (but also by the youngest pre-retired), and by those of lower and higher incomes.

9. A grant for home repairs was most relevant for mid-income homeowner couples. Its importance tends to rise with increasing age.

10. Similarly, free repair labour is most prized by older homeowner couples (but of all incomes). Its importance is greater among the pre-retired than among current pensioners.

11. Rental supplements are considered more important by low and mid-income renters of younger age, particularly those not yet retired.

12. The assisted home ownership program was more important to lower and higher income retired owners, particularly those living alone and of advanced age.

13. Finally, the property transfer scheme was viewed as more important to low and mid-income renters (perhaps out of empathy) than others.

In summary, the evidence with respect to government assistance certainly suggests that the elderly resist specialized or direct help in the form of cash, loans or labour. Only the oldest elderly appear to be relatively dependent upon a direct, special service package. On the other hand, most elderly consider it much more important for the government both to control the dominant economic forces that more indirectly affect their lives,
e.g. inflation, taxes and the cost of housing, and to make available more low-rental housing in which to live.

In short, elderly persons maintain that so long as a stable and equitable economic climate can be maintained and so long as an adequate shelter and income framework is assured, they are certainly capable and indeed insist upon making their own spending decisions. After all, most have done so all their lives; why stop now?

10-2. KNOWLEDGE OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Only two of seven existing programs were known by a majority of the elderly (see figure 10b). The Manitoba property tax rebate scheme, no doubt due to its inclusion in the annual income tax forms, was the most known program. Nonetheless, nearly a fourth of all elderly respondents appeared to be unaware of its existence and presumably not in receipt of its benefits.

Furthermore, the fact that the government itself builds low-rent housing was unknown by almost four of every ten elderly persons. And 60% were unaware of government subsidies for low-rent non-profit housing.

Six assistance types were not in existence at the time of the survey, although some elderly thought they were. The greatest misinformation held by the elderly was the belief by nearly half of them that the guaranteed minimum income scheme, the well publicized Mincome Manitoba scheme, was already in operation. As of this writing, of course, the experiment is underway in several locations. But when the survey was conducted in early 1974, it had not yet begun.
Besides this prospective program, no more than one in five believed wrongly that other possible types of assistance were actually available (see figure 10c).

What is most worthy of note, however, is that of the six top-ranked assistance types, i.e. those most selected as very important by elderly people, four were not then in existence. Of course, since then (about two years after), economic control measures, rent controls, and a degree of maintenance enforcement have been enacted. The guaranteed minimum income scheme also appears to be slowly on its way. The other two top-ranked programs were in operation. However, low-rent non-profit housing was known by only 40%, and the property tax rebate by 78%.

10-3. GENERAL OPINION REGARDING GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

It is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions about the extent to which respondents considered government assistance to retired people to be adequate. Forty-two percent (42%) were satisfied with the present level of government involvement. An additional 13% felt the government was doing enough in some areas, but presumably not in others. Thirty-six percent (36%) thought the government was not doing enough. (See figure 10d.)

It is interesting that more retired (46%) than pre-retired (36%) thought the government was doing enough. Once again, this suggests possibly greater ability to cope by retired people and greater anxiety among the pre-retired. Indeed, 40% of the pre-retired thought the government was not doing enough, compared to 34% of those already retired.

Income also seems to affect respondents' satisfaction with the degree of government assistance. Those with incomes of less than $500 were more likely to think the government was not doing enough (36%) than those with incomes of more than $500 (22%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Ranking (see Fig. 10b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guaranteed Minimum Income</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Controls</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forcing Landlord To Maintain Buildings</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent Control</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Transfer</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent Supplement</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N = 214)
**FIG. 10d. OPINION OF ELDERLY ON EXTENT OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE**

**GOVERNMENT IS DOING:** 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 100%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOO MUCH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENOUGH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENOUGH IN SOME AREAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOT ENOUGH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTHING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N=212)
IMPLICATIONS AND GUIDELINES
11-1. THE CRISIS OF RETIREMENT: SOME POLICY GUIDELINES

Retirement or the end of one's working life represents to most people one of the most difficult adjustment periods in the human life cycle. Because retirement causes men and women to change many of their basic relationships with others and with their own physical surroundings, it is a time often characterized by anxiety and fear. The absence of work—the dominant activity of adult life—and the consequent loss of income are major sources of that anxiety. These changes generally occur at just the time that profound changes are also taking place in family life, in health and degree of activeness, and in the psychological and emotional ability to adjust to radically changing circumstances.

While a high level of income does not guarantee greater success in coping with retirement, economic security certainly enlarges the chances of successful adjustment. That security also expands the options available to satisfy highly variable individual adjustment needs. At the very least, maintenance of a standard of living comparable with that enjoyed prior to retirement can provide the continuity and stability in living environment that many new pensioners require. This in turn provides the basis for making those changes that later will become necessary.

Substantial reduction of income, however, is the typical consequence of retirement. In spite of improved pension plans, retirement benefits, and special assistance programs, the majority of elderly persons can only maintain a reduced standard of living upon retirement. The cost and physical demands of maintaining homes become increasingly prohibitive, despite the fact that most mortgages have already been paid off. Apartments that people have been occupying for years suddenly become too expensive relative to newly fixed incomes. Many are forced as a result to reduce the quality and type of food and other essentials they consume. Indeed all aspects of life are affected by the lower and relatively fixed incomes of retirement. Those effects are all the more burdensome and oppressive in time of severe inflation, as we have experienced of late.

Heaped upon these adjustment problems are those produced, sometimes suddenly but sometimes insidiously, by declining health. Mobility and activeness are lessened; disability strikes. Independence and self-reliance are reduced.

In a real sense, this is a stereotypical picture of retirement and old age. Many are the cases of successful adjustment, of old age being in fact "the golden years". Numerous are the benefits and reliefs of old age—reduction or elimination of responsibility for children, ability to use more money for oneself, the end of a life of unsatisfying work and the tensions
of the workplace, much more time to engage in personal and leisure activities. Indeed, there are those who wait impatiently and warmly embrace retirement and its benefits.

How many achieve such welcome liberation and how many suffer extreme hardship are not known. The quantitative distribution of retirees between these poles is also unknown. Indeed, to know them at any point in time is not to know them at the next. To adopt policies and programs based on one time set of data is to develop rigidities in service direction and delivery. To attempt to define specific group needs and match them with long-term response mechanisms and regulations is to maximize administrative box-fitting.

Rather, the knowledge that the patterns and needs of older persons are so widely varied should lead to a recognition that only through a universal base of economic security can individuals most efficiently pursue their own goals of personal happiness. Indeed, our evidence in this study seems to bear this out. Older people appear not to wish special status; they do not favour in general a multiplicity of specialized programs and forms of assistance particularly designed to meet certain needs. Their greatest desire, on the other hand, seems to be the security of a stable economic position that will protect them, and indeed all others in the society, against sudden and uncontrollable financial hardship. Their maturity gives them the confidence that they can best decide how to pursue their best interests given the necessary resources. Over and above this guaranteed base, those who are incapable of physically or rationally pursuing their best interest must still be served by additional and more specialized forms of assistance.

The implications of these principles for public policy are numerous. Policy and program adjustments are needed to facilitate the achievement of such goals. Among these:

1. Clear priority should be given to a direct and universal income security approach and broad economic control and stabilization program, rather than special-purpose mini-grant-and-loan programs. As the security base is solidified, costly and administratively cumbersome special assistance programs can be phased out.

2. Specialized user-directed programs where available should be brought together in a package of options available for individual selection by recipients in combinations reflecting their varying life stage needs. The overall ability to draw upon this service package could be limited to a specified and realistic subsidy maximum geared to income.

3. Programs which have the effect of maintaining or facilitating independence and stability should be maximized, while those
promoting dependence and uncertainty should be phased out.

4. As a prerequisite to successful delivery of assistance programs and income supplements, pre-retirement information and education should be maximized. Unions, employers, municipal service and social service agencies, health service personnel, financial institutions, adult education schools, and the media should be utilized in a collaborative development of program knowledge among those approaching and into retirement.

5. Consistent with an overall income security approach, government housing policy should place increased emphasis on neighbourhood-based, non-profit development organizations producing full recovery housing units for the elderly and others in the community.

6. Housing programs and regulations should be broadened and adjusted to promote maximum flexibility and viability for development sponsors. A useful model for adaptation to Canadian conditions is the comprehensive Scandinavian approach to basic security, non-profit housing supports, and community service delivery.

11-2. THE NEED FOR HOUSING OPTIONS: SOME PLANNING GUIDELINES

As the proportion and concentration of elderly persons in Canadian cities continues to grow, and whenever inflation is most severe, the demand for elderly persons housing escalates. Public officials experience increasing pressure to build the largest number of units for the best dollar value per unit. This generally leaves little time or inclination to more closely match the products of elderly housing policy with the demonstrated needs, preferences and feelings of their elderly occupants.

In the inner city especially, older single detached houses physically are rather desirable, but managerially are a terrific burden to older homeowners. When bought up and assembled by a landlord, rather than housing older tenants—in theory the answer to the maintenance dilemma—they are sooner or later demolished to make way for new apartments. While often medium rise, their new rents are generally unaffordable by the old residents. The same pattern affects elderly tenants of older walkups in the same way. Moreover, when new custom-developed elderly persons housing has been developed in the inner city to take up the slack, it has taken in the main the most undesirable form—the high rise.

In Winnipeg's inner city, as elsewhere, this has resulted in the construction of a substantial number of apartments in high rise buildings. This study, of course, shows that given a choice as at present, those elderly who live in well-designed and well-serviced high rise apartment buildings generally feel good about them. Time and necessity yields a generally successful adjustment to high rise living. How many can adapt to this life and how many should be required to do so are still unanswered social and ethical
questions. For it is clear that no matter how well the adjust-
ment, most wish to be elsewhere upon retirement.

It is the longer run implications of the "tower concept", how-
ever, that require even greater investigation and decision.
There are powerful reasons to believe that the generally single-
minded and pragmatic approach to elderly persons housing down-
town may be storing up longer-term social and economic problems. The residential downtowns of the nation's cities are being trans-
formed into ghettos of old people and "swinging singles" rather 
than balanced communities. The same phenomenon is eating away 
at the established neighbourhoods on the fringe of the central 
business district. The result is an increasing isolation of 
the elderly from the rest of the civic community, an increasing 
strain on health and social services in concentrated districts 
or projects of old people, and a distortion in the location and 
investment of public and private resources.

Moreover, our evidence suggests that the senior citizen tower 
will only work so long as few alternatives or market choices 
exist. Once relative "surpluses" of housing units are achieved 
and vacancy rates climb, then the clear preference of older 
people toward just about any other form of housing will produce 
severe dislocations. Once more adequate economic security is 
achieved and pensioners can make more independent choices, they 
will tend to select non-high rise accomodation. At that point, 
the presumed efficiency of high density towers with their con-
centration of services and facilities will begin to diminish. For the high rise is inherently one of our most inflexible 
living environments, suitable for only a limited number of per-
sons with a limited type of life-style.

This discussion is not to suggest in any way, however, that our 
currently limited stock of high rise elderly persons apartments 
will be an economic and social liability in the immediate future. 
What we are saying, though, is that attention must now be given 
to enlarging the options available and altering our housing 
priorities. We are saying that if our present building trends 
continue, we may shortly be in a serious counterproductive 
situation.

We seriously question, therefore, the financial, social, and 
and common sense of deeply subsidizing the elderly in new ex-
pensive high rises as opposed to subsidizing them, probably to 
a considerably lesser degree, in their own rehabilitated homes 
and apartments. We certainly question the rationale and ratio-
nality of permitting old yet usefully adaptable buildings to be 
torn down in order to build new yet inflexible towers that change 
the physical and demographic characteristics of small neighbour-
hoods.
It is for these and other reasons that we suggest a moratorium on these elderly persons high rises unless accompanied by broader and effective benefits to their surrounding neighbourhoods. We suggest the provision of added incentives to produce more mid-rise apartments, row houses and walkups for the elderly rather than the "highest use" development. In short, we require priority attention for "best use".

In keeping with this principle, provision of elderly persons housing units should be conceived as part of overall neighbourhood restoration, not as an isolated symbol of newness. The sensitive selection of sites for such units can itself go far toward maximizing the spin-off benefits of development. Properly located, they can help ensure the survival of marginal convenience stores and personal services by retaining in the community a steady, loyal clientele. The elderly's need for improved traffic controls, street crossing corridors, and transit stops can also provide other neighbourhood residents with long sought-after pedestrian and child-oriented safety improvements. Aesthetic and productive gardens maintained by the elderly can provide neighbourhoods with new focal points and street and lane beautification similar to that now provided in a more dispersed fashion on countless city streets by older homeowners. Similarly, frequently used service outlets, such as laundry facilities, can be designed as places of social interaction, thus usable for meeting, conversing and games playing, rather than as noise-ridden and sterile machine spaces.

In addition to providing housing more responsive to the preferences of the elderly themselves, we should also be looking ahead toward the design of new projects and forms that possess greater change capability. This goal need not be achieved as much through individual building or unit adaptability as by a broader variation of spaces within integrated in the following chapter, that would cater for a wide spectrum of need and life stage residents is the combination of existing row house units and a new medium rise apartment building within a single city block.

Such combinations can yield an economic provision of improved caretaker and other services, as well as improved and more extensive recreational and open space facilities. In larger combination projects, personal care units could either be specifically included from the beginning or certain units reserved for adaptation later on. These types of combinations maximize the ability of residents to retain a familiar environment even as their states of health, activity or preference alter.

Another means of providing for life-stage adaptation is intra-neighbourhood movement. An administrative mechanism could be established whereby persons requiring a new housing form and
service combination could merely switch with others. In this way, mutual benefit could be organized, as in the case of an elderly couple no longer wanting to maintain a large home switching with a growing family requiring more space than their present apartment or bungalow.

While the anticipated mobility of elderly clients should be an important locational and design criterion for elderly persons housing, the sheer availability and affordability of sites instead are largely determining the location and 'activeness' of future residents. For example, in the case of projects built a relatively inaccessible distance away from most needed and desired amenities, residents selecting to live there will tend to be inactive, highly dependent upon management-provided arrangements, if any, and quite segregated from the general population.

To avoid that kind of inherent stratification, we must be extremely sensitive to the neighbourhood context when selecting sites and building forms for elderly persons housing. If we wish to provide for residents the maximum latitude in balancing their privacy and communal interests within a basic guarantee of personal independence, we must be willing to reject undesirable buildings and unsuitable sites. For in the short as well as the long run, poor selection of building and site, even if cheaper, will probably create many more problems and be even more expensive than the acceptance of initially high land and development costs.

Thus it is that the production and rehabilitation of more flexible general housing units can be seen as a broad-based social housing investment. In this context, such housing is quite distinct from, and more useful in the long run than, crisis-oriented, special purpose housing for the elderly.

We must find new ways, then, to accomplish our retirement housing goals. Rarely has the older housing stock, physically and economically the most desirable and practical for older residents, been secured and adapted by non-market landlords to serve the current generation of elderly. And even more rarely has the old been successfully blended with the new in a practical and holistic manner to provide decent, safe and affordable housing for needy elderly in the neighbourhoods of their choice.

It is this strategy that is recommended here. It is the underlying approach for the plans and site designs for inner city retirement housing suggested in the following chapter.
PLANNING AND DESIGNING ELDERLY PERSONS HOUSING
SOME INNER CITY OPTIONS
12.1. APPROACH

This section provides several physical and design applications of the information and planning guidelines developed in this elderly persons housing study. Four inner city options have been derived which utilize different combinations of the elderly's most preferred housing types and neighbourhood facilities most important to them.

Selection of these options and the manner in which they are developed have been influenced by several criteria. In short, these are that housing for inner city elderly should:

1) be developed in needed and desired locations, i.e. it should be provided for those who require it, within or adjacent to the neighbourhoods in which they reside,

2) take advantage of all important assets of that neighbourhood at the same time as contributing to neighbourhood improvement, i.e. by providing needed amenities, physical rehabilitation, incentives for additional public and private improvement efforts,

3) provide a broader range of desired housing types i.e. more medium rise apartments, row houses, single detached houses and walkups rather than highrises,

4) provide a balance and choice between age integration and age segregation,

5) be developed at modest cost and in a manner compatible with the existing neighbourhood scale and context.

The context used for these housing options are existing sites and buildings located in existing inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. They have not been selected as special cases, however. On the contrary, they are representative of many residential areas on the fringe of downtown and thus are very relevant to current problems and opportunities in core area redevelopment and structural recycling.

As such, these sites share certain characteristics. All are located within neighbourhoods characterized by a range of older housing in good to poor condition. Many of the structures in these districts are detached homes and three storey walkups. Typically, they contain a high proportion of renters, of single person households, of new and old immigrants, and of large numbers of elderly. Bus transit availability is good to excellent in all cases. Open space and recreational facilities, both indoor and outdoor, are typically lacking, however. On the other hand, the facilities deemed most important by the elderly are generally within easy walking distance. The most important of these, i.e. laundry facilities, food stores, bus stops (direction of route indicated by arrow), traffic lights...
(or pedestrian crossings), and a pharmacy, are symbolized in figure 12a.

The characteristics of such inner city neighbourhoods have important implications for the planning and designing of elderly persons housing units. First, existing buildings, as much as limited new construction, can be used to house elderly in neighbourhoods they know.

Second, elderly persons housing on a smaller and more dispersed basis can merge more naturally and invisibly into the existing fabric of inner city neighbourhoods than can large high density redevelopment projects.

Third, provision of high or even medium ratio parking space, generally an incentive to increasing car ownership and decreasing public transit quality, need not be considered a program requirement for inner city elderly housing. Thus, the land recaptured from a reduction in parking requirements can be used to maximize open space and amenity area. At the very least, modest size projects will not worsen the pressure on existing facilities.

Finally, already existing neighbourhood retail and small service businesses can be supported further by retaining their established older clientele, and stabilizing the degree of social change in the area.

Beyond this basic neighbourhood context applicable to all the options, the specific provision of dwelling units, activity centres and other uses differ to some extent in each. As will be seen, however, their detailing and feasibility have been examined only to a limited degree in this study. While many specifics are discussed, we have intended for the most part to
point out some different yet practical options for housing our elderly and to stimulate creative interest in their detailed development. One such interest and commitment is present, intensive feasibility studies, cost estimates and design work are to follow.

12-2. CONCEPTS

The concepts to be examined below utilize and mix four basic elements, represented by the symbols in Figure 12b. They define the basic planning components of housing for the elderly.

Symbol 1 represents the immediate neighbourhood context, the limited residential area within which facilities are easily accessible. The second symbolizes the particular dwellings units provided for the elderly. The third element is an activity centre to serve elderly residents from either within or without a purpose-built project. The fourth symbol represents other new facilities than can be provided to serve other neighbourhood needs, such as parks, child day care centres, laundromat, tot lot.

The symbols themselves tend to represent physical or spatial entities. The relationships between them, however, are meant more in a user-oriented or functional sense.

Figure 12c represents the typical concept used in developing elderly persons housing in this country. The relationship between the elements defines a distant and separate existence of the housing project from its surrounding neighbourhood. The prime exemplar of this today is the elderly people’s high-
rise downtown development, including an internal and private activity centre. Generally, no new facilities are added for neighbourhood use. In contrast, the four options examined here represent different concepts for relating elderly persons housing to its surrounding neighbourhood.

Option 1 is composed of a series of existing detached houses scattered along one residential block. Utilizing renovation and infill, the project incorporates 20-29 dwelling units, an activity centre, private green space for outdoor recreation, and adds to the neighbourhood a small public park (figure 12d).

Option 2 involves renovation of an existing walkup apartment. This block could be altered to provide 30 dwelling units, an

activity centre on the ground floor, private green space, and adds a tot lot for neighbourhood children (figure 12e).

Option 3 uses an existing warehouse converted to a walkup apartment. This conversion could provide eight units and an activity centre, and incorporates a laundromat and day care centre to serve the neighbourhood (figure 12f).

Finally, Option 4 involves the renovation of three existing row houses linked across a rear lane to the construction of a new medium rise apartment. This combination development could result in about 36 dwelling units, an activity centre, and provide green spaces and a children's play area (figure 12g).
Neighbourhood Context

The site of Option 1 is a residential block close to the central business district. Commercial areas extend along two major streets bordering the block. These streets provide all facilities preferred by the elderly within easy walking distance of their housing. (See figure 12h.)

The rents and prices for adequate older housing in this area are among the most reasonable in the city. But the operative zoning is in place for rather massive redevelopment and high-density, large scale residential and commercial uses. It was considered vital, therefore, not to disturb the existing economic climate by introducing or stimulating any substantial
FIG. 12H  OPTION 1: SCATTERED DETACHED HOUSE RENOVATION AND INFILL
development or land use changes.

The concept developed for this purpose utilizes eight existing properties scattered along both sides of this one inner city street. Typically, the houses in this area are on deep, narrow lots and are set close to each other but back off the street. There is usually a garage and/or a garden off the rear lane and some lawn area out front. Option 1 has been designed to preserve in all significant respects the social and physical characteristics of the area.

Concept

Option 1 is designed to provide:

—14-21 self-contained elderly persons dwelling units in seven renovated scattered detached houses, two to three units per house;
—3 self-contained dwelling units in one infill house;
—3-5 self-contained bedrooms in a hostel-type accommodation in part of one house;
—an activity centre, including an administrative office, on the first floor of the same house; and
—public open space and private green areas.

The basic development methods used in executing this option are rehabilitation and renovation of existing dwellings, alteration of outdoor space adjacent to the houses, and construction of a new "infill" house, i.e. one that fills in the space between existing structures.

Dwelling Units

1) Renovation

Seven medium-sized older homes would be renovated to meet the housing needs of two or more elderly people, depending upon whether the occupants of the two or three units within each house are single, married, or friends living together. These renovations would not involve changing the exterior character of the house. The houses would both secure privacy and give adequate opportunity for associating with others of the same age, as well as with area residents of all ages. The extent of renovation should be determined both by quality and user needs as well as safety standards. Thus, rents would have to be reasonable, physical design flexible enough to accommodate certain changes in the physical capabilities of residents, and services such as yard upkeep, snow shovelling, etc. provided whenever needed.

As part of the renovation approach, serious attention must be
paid to the adaptation of outdoor space for use by older persons (see figure 12i). Such changes should be guided by the following considerations:

- Just as each unit within each house is to be autonomous and self-contained, it also should be possible for the occupants to use the yard without being in each other's way.
- The yard should be simple in layout, easy to move around in, easy to maintain, and should provide for flower and vegetable gardening if desired.
- Residents of these houses, located so close to downtown and well served by public transit, should have no need of a car. Therefore, the existing garages, often in bad condition, can be removed and the cement pad, if any, utilized as a paved patio, shuffleboard court, bowling or chess surface.
- A sitting area should be provided in a sheltered location in the front for relaxation and for watching street and sidewalk life.
- All outdoor sitting areas should have protection from the afternoon sun.
- Garden space should be provided which, if not used by the residents, could be rented out or offered to nearby apartment dwellers.
- Permanent lawn furniture should be provided with adequate back support and wide arm-rest for comfort, setting books and knitting on, etc.
2) **Infill**

In older areas such as this, there are often "sister houses" which have mirror image floor plans. While set adjacent to each other, they have a relatively wide space between and behind them (figure 12j).

![FIG. 12 J  EXISTING SISTER HOUSES](image)

In this space toward the rear could be built on infill house with three units: two on ground level for use by wheelchairs and a third unit above. The setback would ensure continuing use of most existing windows and result in the creation of a pleasing, three-sided common courtyard, which should be partially covered to provide a sheltered seating area and entrance to the units. In addition to the common court, all three houses would be provided with private patios. (See figures 12k and 12l.)

The two garden areas toward the lane should be improved and a storage shed provided for common tools and yard equipment. The

![FIG. 12 K  PROPOSED INFILL](image)
site of one old garage on the site could be transformed into a paved sitting and games area.

The use of infill in this way yields significant development and operating cost benefits. Three new dwelling units can be built on the same land, thus lowering per unit land cost. In addition, capital and operating costs for heating could be cut by increasing the capacity of the furnace of one of the existing houses and extending ducts to the infill house. Material savings could also be achieved by using the walls of the existing houses as structural elements for the new infill house.

Just as rehabilitation of older houses should as far as possible preserve their exterior appearance, so should any infill construction conform to the scale and character of adjoining houses and of the street. Thus, in this example, roof heights and pitch, porch lines, and window types should be carefully designed to conform to the surrounding dimensions (figure 12m).

While existing houses of the type renovated are very difficult to adapt for use by those confined to wheelchairs, the ground floor infill units can be ideally suited for handicapped residents. Therefore, priority consideration should be given to the outfitting of such ground level units for use by handicapped persons.

Activity Centre
One of the eight houses on the block was selected for use as an activity centre. Its objective is to add three important
elements to the project and the neighbourhood: indoor/outdoor recreational facilities, hostel accommodation, and an administrative office. (See figure 12n.)

In assessing the facilities accessible to the residents in this downtown neighbourhood, park or open space was one amenity which was severely lacking. With this in mind, the house selected for the activity centre was one with an available vacant lot adjacent to it. Part of this lot is to be used for a substantial extension of the ground floor of the activity centre itself. The remaining portion facing the street serves as public open space, thus providing a needed public facility and providing a positive interface between the elderly and the neighbourhood. The third section of the lot to the rear is private green space, a further extension of the elderly persons activity centre.

The second floor of the activity centre could be renovated to provide hostel type accommodation for single pensioners or as temporary or emergency housing for those without permanent accommodation at the moment. The closeness of these hostel units to the facilities and manager below might encourage residents, often lonely and somewhat introverted single persons, to socialize more freely and naturally.

Working out of a front office on the ground floor would be a property/program manager. This person would provide for the maintenance and repair of the 20-29 units, financial planning, tenant selection, general assistance to the elderly residents, and program planning for the activity centre.

Development of an activity centre as part of this scattered house option is rooted in the need for a common facility to serve as a social, recreational and managerial focus for the elderly residents of the area. This facility is not intended to substitute for any senior citizens day centre that may already exist within an existing housing development in the area. While the specialized and more expensive facilities of a large project cannot and need not be provided in such small-scale renovation options, an informal lounge/meeting area, usable outdoor space, and some relatively inexpensive general-use amenities are important to include wherever possible in elderly persons housing.

Three design features of the activity centre deserve additional explanation. First, the covered deck in front is partly in response to existing patterns in the area. Extensive use is made of sidewalks for childrens play (they also use the street) and for casual walking and chatting by older persons. Viewing these activities from a veranda or front steps is an established custom in the neighbourhood.
Secondly, designing for wheelchair users is felt to be essential. The boulevard could be altered to facilitate access by wheelchair vans. A ramp connects the grade level to the first floor. Once at that point, all facilities are on one level to allow easy use by wheelchair. In the garden area, one section could be raised 2½ feet to ensure that the handicapped and those less agile can still use the garden. (See figures 12n and 12o.)

Finally, even though the ground floor is enlarged to about twice the original amount of usable floor space; care is to be taken to maintain the scale and character of the street and other houses.

Thus, materials are to be harmonious, much of the expansion tucked in the rear, and the landscaping compatible with neighbourhood tradition.
Neighbourhood Context

The second option is located in another inner city neighbourhood slightly further from the central business district. Important facilities are located on a major commercial street as well as dispersed within the more residential area. Most needed facilities are within easy walking distance. A small public park is directly across from the site. Heavy traffic and parking, however, severely restrict children's use of the limited open space in the area. (See figure 12p.)

The neighbourhood is generally composed of larger older homes, often converted to multiple use. The present trend in the area, however, is toward the construction of new medium and high rise apartments. Demolition of many detached dwellings has taken place to make way for such development. Despite more impending demolition and the overzoning of the area, buildings and property are generally well maintained and structurally sound. The older walk-up apartment blocks are often in very good condition and sometimes quite large.
Option 2 involves renovating an existing 3½ storey walk-up apartment and its grounds to include 30 dwelling units, an activity centre, private green space, and a children's tot lot. It also involves certain important changes in the existing location of the rear lane and use of parking areas (figures 12q and 12r). Efforts should also be made to obtain an improved pedestrian crossing between the apartment and the park across the street.

**Dwelling Units**

The apartment units already existing would be renovated to meet the needs of elderly residents. Ground floor apartments could be specially converted for wheelchair residents and accessible from the outside via wheelchair ramps.

Due to the first floor expansion required to house the activity
centre, one apartment unit on the second floor would also be enlarged. A level change in the roof is provided to permit natural light to enter (figure 12s). This expanded apartment could possibly accommodate a retired couple who still have an older child or relative living with them.

At present, inter-floor circulation is handled by two flights of stairs up from the main floor and one flight down. While these stairs do not necessarily present a barrier to use by most active elderly, the situation could be improved by the installation of an elevator. This could be installed in the large internal light well opposite the front entry. Location there would permit easy integration with the existing circulation system and represents the most inexpensive way of adding an internal elevator.\(^1\)

Inclusion of an administrative office for a caretaker-manager is considered both desirable and necessary. This person, located on the main floor, would oversee the maintenance of the 30 apartment units, handle tenant selection, collect rents, deal with individual problems, and direct the operation and programming of the activity centre.

### Activity Centre

One section of the main floor is expanded to provide space for an activity centre. It was felt that an activity centre that was functional and inviting could serve as a social focus not only for those living in the block but also for all elderly of the area. By merely utilizing existing ground floor space, it would have seemed too much a part of the apartment itself, and thus an intrusion on private space. Both to acquire more activity area without losing too much residential space, and to create a more attractive vista for this more public space, one section of the main floor was expanded along the street frontage. To accommodate this expansion, the existing back lane would have to be slightly rerouted and part of an adjacent parking area eliminated or relocated (figures 12q and 12r).

An exterior deck is provided for use in summer as an extension of the activity area. It could contain seating, shuffleboard, flower gardens, and so on. Additional facilities could take the place of part of the existing gravel parking lot behind the apartment.

---

1 External elevators are not desirable for older persons; major internal changes to accommodate such a facility are generally uneconomical, in part due to the costs involved in strengthening the roof structure.
Additional Facilities

While ample public park space is available nearby, accessibility and public use could be improved with the provision of a designated pedestrian crossing or other device, particularly benefitting the elderly in the block, smaller children in the area, and others whose mobility is in any way limited.

While additional park space need not be supplied, there may well be a need for a tot lot or small children's playground. Space of this kind is often lacking in the inner city and needed by residents of many of the neighbouring apartments and homes. The contribution to the neighbourhood of this walk up renovation option could be the provision of such recreation space for young children.

A portion of the rear parking area, not needed by elderly residents, could be reallocated and landscaped for tot lot purposes. Its location fronting on the side street would tend to encourage its use and to separate it from the seating deck and activity centre (the garden being between). Parents would also find this location more desirable, as it permits greater supervision of their children.

12-5. OPTION 3: WAREHOUSE CONVERSION

Neighbourhood Context

This site is adjacent to that in the first option and shares most of its neighbourhood characteristics. Most needed facilities are generally available (figure 12t). No laundry, however, exists nearby.

The area differs in one major respect. Several warehouse-type buildings are located within what are essentially residential blocks. However, they are not generally of the nuisance variety and are kept in good condition. They also tend to be relatively compatible in scale to, although larger in floor area, than adjacent buildings. Nonetheless, the existence of warehouse/
industrial buildings next to residences often results in the nearest building deteriorating faster than usual, even though the rest of the housing in the area remains well maintained.

Concept
Drawing upon the existence of these warehouse-type buildings, the concept of Option 3 involves the conversion of one of them for elderly persons apartments, activity centre, and related uses. The particular warehouse chosen fits quite well into its surroundings by virtue of its scale, roof line and texture (figure 12u).

The warehouse can be thought of as essentially an empty shell. The few walls that presently divide the interior space are non-
structural. A second floor extends for half the length of the building, and is supported by posts.

To obtain more space, it is proposed to extend the second floor. The supporting posts establish a planning grid for subdivision of the space below. The support posts for the second floor complete the grid. (See figure 12v.)

Within these structural parameters, the warehouse could be converted into a small, two-storey multi-purpose building providing three basic types of space:

1) private apartment units with shared veranda/balcony space facing the street;
2) recreational and lounging areas for use by the elderly, both resident in the building and those from the surrounding neighbourhood; and
3) laundromat, child daycare, and courtyard areas for use by the general public, including the elderly.

The spatial zoning and definition of these three very different functions is illustrated in figure 12w, and the conversion plan contained in figure 12y.

**Dwelling Units**

The private portion of the converted warehouse would consist of eight self-contained apartment units for the elderly, plus common outdoor seating areas facing the street. The handicapped and others so requiring would be given first priority for the five units at ground level.

These residents would share an enclosed veranda, screened in summer and glassed in winter. This veranda would incorporate the large windows already existing in the warehouse. A false floor would raise this area about two feet above street level.
to provide a greater sense of security and privacy. Access to the veranda would be provided from the internal hallway by stairs and wheelchair ramp.

The three apartments on the second level would be placed directly above those below. They would share an enclosed balcony similar to the veranda below. They would be provided with natural light by means of constructed skylights extending between the roof's structural members. Adequate storage space could be obtained by using the usually "dead space" under the eaves, between the usable living area and the external walls (figure 12x).

Activity Centre

The common area is composed of an activity centre divided between both floors. The activity area on the first floor would provide a large lounge/conversation and television/games area. Directly above on the second level, a smaller recreation/hobby room could be provided, plus an administrative office. These rooms are located in the area created by extending the second floor. The manager would be responsible for administering and maintaining all areas of the building and attending to resident needs and those of other users.

Facilities and services provided in the activity centre areas would be available to all the elderly of the neighbourhood. Resident elderly would have direct access from their private apartment area. Elderly users from outside would gain entry mainly through the rear courtyard and waiting area, which serves as a well-articulated transition zone between the public facilities provided off the courtyard and the activity centre within (figure 12y and 12z).

Even in the event that a large senior citizen development with an extensive activity centre is located close by, as it is in this particular case, the inclusion of an activity centre in the warehouse is most desirable. The large complexes tend to
FIG 1ZY WAREHOUSE CONVERSION

PLAN: 2ND FLOOR

PLAN: 1ST FLOOR

REAR LANE
PARKING

COURTYARD
LAUNDROMAT
WAITING AREA
DAY CARE

TELEVISION/GAMES AREA
LOUNGE/CONVERSATION

APARTMENT UNITS

STORAGE
ADMIN OFFICE

RECREATION/HOBBIES

VERANDA

RAISED VERANDA
WHEELCHAIR RAMP

SCREEN

APARTMENT UNITS
emphasize programmed and centre-generated activity and thus tend not to attract non-residents. Whenever possible, however, outsiders could make best use of the more expensive recreational facilities (looms, pools, exercise equipment, etc.) that they often contain but which cannot be supplied in smaller locations.

It should not be contended, however, that wasteful duplication exists if games or hobby rooms and more intimate, informal gathering areas for small groups are included in the plans for the smallest of projects. Indeed a multiplicity of such little centres is of particular importance for the elderly of more densely inhabited inner city districts. Thus, the modest warehouse facility could serve as an important alternate contact point for elderly activities, not in competition with but complementing any larger facility already in existence.

Additional Facilities

Two amenities currently lacking in the neighbourhood are a laundromat and a childrens day care facility. Provision of both facilities within the warehouse conversion plan constitutes its main contribution to the surrounding neighbourhood (figure 12y).

The warehouse presently contains at the rear a large garage entrance secured by an overhead garage door. Placing the interior facilities on either side of this entrance creates in effect a sheltered inner courtyard. The laundromat and the

![Diagram of warehouse conversion plan](image-url)
day care facility, therefore, would be located on either side of this court with access via the waiting area just inside. Both facilities would be easily seen from the rear lane, as large windows face the courtyard (figure 12z).

The courtyard itself could serve as a sheltered outdoor play area for the children of the day care facility and as a seating area for laundromat users, parents, and elderly residents. In inclement weather, the interior waiting room would be used.

An altered form of the existing garage door would be retained for security purposes. Thus, after evening use of the laundromat was concluded, the manager of the project could close off access to the apartment and activity centre areas, as well as the additional facilities at the rear.

12-6. **OPTION 4: ROWHOUSE-MEDIUM RISE APARTMENT COMBINATION**

*Neighbourhood Context*

In general, the area is similar to that in Option 1. It contains a mixture of older housing, mostly well kept. (See figure 12aa.)

However, there exist small packets of housing that are very poorly maintained. One of the worst examples of deteriorated conditions is a set of three rowhouses which, though still structurally sound, are an acknowledged neighbourhood eyesore. In addition, several buildings across the lane from the rowhouses are showing strong signs of deterioration.

Little open space and play area is available. Children play road hockey and other games in the streets and other children's activity spills over the sidewalks and boulevards due to lack of usable private or public space.

Finally, traffic volume and speed is becoming an increasingly dangerous problem. Perhaps more disturbing is an apparently increasing use of some back lanes as shortcuts between major thoroughfares.
Concept

The concept developed for Option 4 involves first, the rehabilitation of the rowhouses yielding 12 elderly persons units. Second, across the lane, a medium rise apartment block is to be constructed which will produce an additional 24 units. Two houses will be removed to permit this construction; one of the houses to be torn down is presently in poor condition.

In addition to the dwelling units, an activity centre and management office would be located on the ground floor of the apartment block. Additional facilities to be provided for general public use would be a children's play area and neighbourhood "common" located in the lane, which is to be closed to through traffic. To include the provision of a small landscaped park off the street adjacent to the apartment block would require the demolition of a third house.

Dwelling Units

1) Rowhouse Renovation

The basic problems with the rowhouses are their unsightly condition, lack of proper repair, extremely poor use of space, and absence of clear definitions between private and common area. With those problems solved, their homogeneous, in some eyes monotonous, appearance and identical yard layouts and porches could become positive features. Renovations would be desirable that would facilitate easier identification and a greater sense of personal control for the elderly living in each house.

Several changes to the exterior might be made. The frontal approaches might be varied somewhat, as might the exterior colours and trim. At the rear, the large common yard fronting the lane could be subdivided and fenced, creating separate and private yard space for each house of four units. Adequate garden space could also be provided. The general layout of yard and garden should permit easy movement and non-conflicting use. Provision of enclosed garbage containers would improve the visual appearance of the rear yard area, as would conveniently located storage areas. (See figures 12bb and 12dd.) Protection would be provided over both the front and rear entrances. As front porches and verandas are used a great deal for sitting, they should be divided to provide improved privacy.

2) New Medium Rise Apartment

On the site created by the removal of the two houses across the lane an elderly persons medium rise apartment building, containing an activity centre, would be built. With five levels above
grade and one below, 24 self-contained apartment units could be provided. The space accorded the lobby on the first level would become common balconies for the residents of upper floors. (See figures 12cc and 12dd.)

To improve the impact of this apartment building on the area, it would be desirable to acquire the adjacent property to the north and create a neighbourhood pocket park.

**Activity Centre**

The activity centre would occupy part of the ground level of the apartment block. It would be visually distinct from both the street and lane, as well as functionally separate from the residential portion inside (figure 12cc). Access would be had directly from the rowhouses across the lane and through the patio. The centre would be open to all residents of both housing components, as well as elderly from the area in general.

The activity centre would also contain the office of a full-time manager of the combined project. The manager would be responsible for maintaining all 36 dwelling units, programming activities in the centre, and overseeing the care and use of all open areas, private and public.

**Additional Facilities**

As a result of the development of this combined renovation/construction project, the neighbourhood would not only be the beneficiaries of the rehabilitation of a major local eyesore and redevelopment of deteriorated housing sites. It would also gain improved and safer play space for its children, relief from lane traffic and parking pressures, and provision of a small amount of landscaped open space.

The lane serves as the link between the activity centre and the rowhouses. Safe and easy pedestrian access and circulation is provided via blockage of through vehicular traffic at the property lines of the apartment site. An easy and perhaps covered crossing could be provided between the row houses and the patio, manager's office and activity centre within the apartment.

A children's play area and neighbourhood "common" could be defined by hard surfacing the former, grassing the latter, and providing appropriate surface markings and street furniture, a high fence protecting the rowhouses, and a lower broken wall along the apartment side (figures 12cc and 12dd).

A slightly raised and ramped path (4" high) along the west side would allow freer and safer pedestrian and bicycle movement.
while games were in session (e.g. road hockey, etc.). Limited parking space would also be provided in the cul-de-sac on the north side just before the play area. This would serve the manager, some residents and their guests, and visitors to the activity centre. Finally, between the parking area and the street, a small landscaped public park or rest area could be developed (figure 12ee).
ARE YOU 55 OR OVER?

WILL YOU BE LIVING ON LESS THAN $6,000 PER YEAR AFTER RETIREMENT?

We, a group of older citizens, have formed the Greater Winnipeg Senior Citizens Non-Profit Housing Corporation and are now constructing our first apartment building (97 suites).

We and other organizations will be planning more housing in the near future. We would like to know the kinds of retirement housing you need. Will you help us?

Please fill in and return the enclosed postcard, and we will be in touch with you very soon. No postage is necessary. Thank you.

Greater Winnipeg Senior Citizens
Non-Profit Housing Corporation
610-283 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 2B4
Phone: 943-8194

Yes, please be in touch with me.

Name __________________________

Address _______________________

Telephone _____________________
Greater Winnipeg Senior Citizens
Non-Profit Housing Corporation
610-283 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 2S4
Phone: 943-8194

Housing After Retirement!!

Business Reply Mail
No Postage Stamp Necessary if mailed in Canada
Postage will be paid by

Greater Winnipeg Senior Citizens
Non-Profit Housing Corporation
610-283 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 2S4
0. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF AT PRESENT TO BE:
   1. Retired
   2. Not retired

   (IF RETIRED, READ STANDARD QUESTIONNAIRE AND RECORD)

   (IF NOT RETIRED, READ REVISED QUESTIONNAIRE, BUT RECORD ON STANDARD QUESTIONNAIRE)

1. IN WHAT YEAR DID YOU RETIRE? _______________________

2. IN WHAT YEAR WERE YOU BORN? _______________________

3. WHILE YOU WERE GROWING UP, DID YOU LIVE:
   1. In a city
   2. In a suburb
   3. In a town
   4. On a farm or ranch
   5. Other (Specify) _______________________

3A. WHAT WAS THE NAME OF THE PLACE? WHERE WAS IT?

   PLACE NAME:
   COUNTRY:
   OTHER INFORMATION:
NOW, I'D LIKE TO SHOW YOU SIX SIMPLE EXAMPLES OF HOUSING TYPES GENERALLY AVAILABLE IN WINNIPEG. (HAND "HOUSING TYPES" CARD TO RESPONDENT.)

4. WHICH OF THE HOUSING TYPES DID YOU LIVE IN WHILE YOU WERE GROWING UP?

5. NOW, WOULD YOU PLEASE RATE, BY LETTER, IN THE ORDER OF YOUR CHOICE, WHAT TYPE YOU WOULD MOST LIKE TO LIVE IN, WHAT TYPE YOU WOULD NEXT MOST LIKE TO LIVE IN, AND SO ON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Choice</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Choice</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Choice</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Choice</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Choice</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Choice</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. WHY DID YOU CHOOSE LETTER _____ AS YOUR FIRST CHOICE? (PROBE EXTENSIVELY)

7. WHY DID YOU CHOOSE LETTER _____ AS YOUR LAST CHOICE? (PROBE EXTENSIVELY)

8. ARE THERE ANY HOUSING TYPES THAT YOU WOULD DEFINITELY NOT WANT TO LIVE IN?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. D.K.
   4. N.A.

8A. IF YES: WHICH ONES?

8B. WHY?
9. RETIRED PEOPLE CONSIDER DIFFERENT THINGS TO BE IMPORTANT TO HAVE WITHIN THE HOUSING THEY WANT TO LIVE IN. WE'D LIKE TO KNOW HOW IMPORTANT YOU THINK CERTAIN THINGS ARE TO YOU.

WHEN I READ TO YOU THIS LIST OF ITEMS, I'D LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU THINK THE ITEM IS 1. "NOT IMPORTANT" TO YOU, 2. "MODERATELY IMPORTANT" TO YOU, OR 3. "VERY IMPORTANT" TO YOU TO HAVE WITHIN THE HOUSING YOU WANT TO LIVE IN. (HAND "IMPORTANCE" CARD)

1. A private yard or balcony 1 2 3 DK NA
2. A separate bedroom 1 2 3 DK NA
3. An extra bedroom 1 2 3 DK NA
4. Air conditioning 1 2 3 DK NA
5. Few stairs to climb 1 2 3 DK NA
6. Your own kitchen 1 2 3 DK NA
7. A security system 1 2 3 DK NA
8. No children around 1 2 3 DK NA
9. A modern building 1 2 3 DK NA
10. A furnished place 1 2 3 DK NA
11. A caretaker 1 2 3 DK NA
12. Pets 1 2 3 DK NA
13. Parking space 1 2 3 DK NA

9A. ARE THERE ANY OTHER THINGS YOU CONSIDER IMPORTANT TO HAVE WITHIN HOUSING FOR THE RETIRED?
10. NOW, WE'D LIKE TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT SOME THINGS THAT SOME RETIRED PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO SHARE ON A PERMANENT BASIS WITH A NEIGHBOUR OR NEIGHBOURS. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW WILLING YOU WOULD BE TO SHARE THEM.

WHEN I READ YOU THIS LIST OF ITEMS, I'D LIKE YOU TO TELL ME FOR EACH ITEM WHETHER YOU WOULD BE

1. "NOT WILLING",
2. "MODERATELY WILLING", OR
3. "VERY WILLING"

TO SHARE IT ON A PERMANENT BASIS WITH A NEIGHBOUR OR NEIGHBOURS. (HAND "WILLINGNESS" CARD)

1. Kitchen facilities 1 2 3 DK NA
2. Bathroom facilities 1 2 3 DK NA
3. Laundry facilities 1 2 3 DK NA
4. Home repair or yard equipment 1 2 3 DK NA
5. Yard or balcony space 1 2 3 DK NA
6. Sleeping room 1 2 3 DK NA
7. Dining room 1 2 3 DK NA
8. Living room 1 2 3 DK NA

10A. ARE THERE ANY OTHER THINGS YOU WOULD BE WILLING TO SHARE ON A PERMANENT BASIS WITH A NEIGHBOUR OR NEIGHBOURS?
11. WHAT IS YOUR MARITAL STATUS?

1. Married
2. Single (never married)
3. Widowed
4. Divorced or Separated
5. Other (Specify)

12. WITH HOW MANY PEOPLE DO YOU LIVE AT THE PRESENT TIME? (PROBE ANY SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES.)

13. DO YOU CONSIDER THE SIZE OF YOUR PRESENT RESIDENCE:

1. Too large for you
2. Too small for you
3. About right
4. O.K.
5. N.A.

13A. WOULD YOU EXPLAIN. (PROBE FOR REASONS AND ADDITIONAL COMMENTS.)
IS THERE ANYTHING ABOUT YOUR PRESENT RESIDENCE THAT YOU FIND INADEQUATE?
14. DO YOU EXPECT TO MOVE FROM HERE?

1. Yes
2. No
3. D.K.

14A. IF YES: WHY DO YOU EXPECT TO MOVE?

1. Type
2. Area or Neighbourhood
3. Both equally
4. D.K.
5. Other

14B. IF YES: DO YOU EXPECT THE SAME PEOPLE TO BE LIVING WITH YOU WHEN YOU MOVE?

15. IF YOU WERE LOOKING FOR A PLACE TO LIVE, WHICH WOULD BE MORE IMPORTANT TO YOU, THE TYPE OF HOUSING IN WHICH YOU WILL LIVE, OR THE AREA OR NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WHICH THAT HOUSING IS LOCATED?

(NOTE ALL COMMENTS, BUT PROBE FOR ONE ANSWER (I.E., TYPE OR AREA).

1. Type
2. Area or Neighbourhood
3. Both equally
4. D.K.
5. Other
16. Now, I'd like to read to you a list of things that some retired people consider important to have within easy walking distance of their housing.

For each item, would you please tell us whether you think it
1. "not important",
2. "moderately important", or
3. "very important"

for you to have within easy walking distance. (Hand "importance" card)

1. A laundry facility
2. A bank
3. A public park, garden or rest area
4. A senior citizen "meal-a-day" facility
5. A food shop or grocery store
6. A pub, cafe or coffee shop
7. A library or reading room
8. A common eating facility
9. Traffic lights at street crossings
10. A bus stop
11. A church or synagogue
12. A pharmacy
13. A doctor's office or health clinic
14. Overnight accommodation available to visiting friends and relatives
15. A senior citizens day centre

16A. Are there any other things you think are important to have within easy walking distance of housing for the retired?

17. In general, at the present time, what do you consider "easy walking distance" to be for yourself? (Note all comments and qualifications. Then, try to get a general measure of distance, e.g., blocks, "½ mile", time, etc.)
18. Do you own a car, lease a car, rent a car occasionally, or have the use of someone else's car?

1. Own a car
2. Lease a car
3. Rent a car occasionally
4. Have the use of someone else's car
5. Other (Specify) ____________________________

19. How well suited to your needs do you think the Winnipeg bus service is?

1. Very well suited
2. Well suited
3. Not too well suited
4. Not well suited at all
5. Other (Specify)
6. D.K.
7. N.A.

19A. Would you explain please.
Are there any improvements you would like to see made in the bus service?

20. In terms of how much you get around and do, at the present time, how active a person do you consider yourself to be?

1. A very active person
2. Fairly active
3. Fairly inactive
4. A very inactive person
5. Other (Specify)
6. D.K.
21. HOW, WE'D LIKE TO TALK TO YOU A LITTLE ABOUT WHAT YOU DO NOW THAT YOU'RE RETIRED. SUCH INFORMATION IS USEFUL TO US IN PLANNING HOUSING FOR RETIRED PEOPLE.

WHAT KINDS OF THINGS DO YOU MOST LIKE TO DO? (WRITE THREE (3) ACTIVITIES BELOW.)

FOR EACH ACTIVITY, ASK:

A. HOW OFTEN DO YOU DO __________________?  
B. WHERE DO YOU __________________?  
C. HOW DO YOU GET THERE?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>A. HOW OFTEN</th>
<th>B. WHERE</th>
<th>C. HOW GET THERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
22. **Would you be interested in doing some (more) part-time work or volunteer work?**


23. **Retired people, as you know, can do many kinds of jobs, either as part-time employment or voluntary work. Here are some examples of those jobs. Which of them would you be interested in?**

1. Office work, e.g., typing, filing. Yes No Maybe DK
2. Babysitting for area families. Yes No Maybe DK
3. Reception, telephone work in hotel, organizations. Yes No Maybe DK
4. Serving in coffee shop, restaurant. Yes No Maybe DK
5. Kitchen work, preparing food, etc. Yes No Maybe DK
6. Administration of housing for retired people. Yes No Maybe DK
7. Teaching crafts, sewing, knitting, woodwork, etc. Yes No Maybe DK
8. Visiting other retired people in their homes. Yes No Maybe DK
9. Assisting in hospitals, old age care homes, etc. Yes No Maybe DK

23A. **Are there any other kinds of jobs you might be interested in?**

24. **Might you be interested in becoming actively involved in a housing group of older people, such as the Greater Winnipeg Senior Citizen's Non-Profit Housing Corporation?**

25. NOW, WE'D LIKE TO GET AN IDEA OF WHERE YOU GET YOUR INFORMATION ABOUT RETIREMENT IN GENERAL, PENSIONS, SENIOR CITIZEN ACTIVITIES, AND SO ON. FROM WHICH SOURCES DO YOU GET MOST OF THE INFORMATION THAT YOU CONSIDER IMPORTANT FOR YOU AS A RETIRED PERSON?

1. Television and Radio (Specify channel or station, programs)

2. Metropolitan daily newspapers (Specify)

3. Local area newspapers (weeklies) (Specify)

4. Publications and meetings of senior citizens groups (Specify)

5. Talking to other senior citizens (Specify if as individuals or members of senior citizens group)

6. Talking to family and friends

7. Government brochures and pamphlets (Specify)

8. Books (Specify)

9. Magazines (Specify)

10. Others (Specify)
26. Now, we'd like to talk to you about some possibilities of government assistance that some retired people are interested in. (Hand "government assistance" card to respondent). On this card are some suggestions of the kinds of government assistance that might be received by retired people.

Taking into account your present situation, would you please tell us how important each kind of government assistance is to you. For each item, do you consider it 1. "Not important" for you 2. "moderately important" for you, or 3. "very important" for you (hand "importance" card).

1. Paying a cash supplement to you to help pay your rent. 1 2 3 DK NA
2. Forcing your landlord to repair and maintain your building. 1 2 3 DK NA
3. Controlling the rent charged to you by private landlords. 1 2 3 DK NA
4. Subsidizing non-profit corporations and co-operatives to build low-rental housing. 1 2 3 DK NA
5. Building government low-rent housing. 1 2 3 DK NA
6. Paying a rebate of a percentage of property taxes to all tenants and homeowners. 1 2 3 DK NA
7. Paying you a cash grant to help you maintain and repair your home or apartment. 1 2 3 DK NA
8. Providing you with free labour to do maintenance and repairs for you. 1 2 3 DK NA
9. Guaranteeing that you can remain in your own home for as long as you live, if you transfer your ownership of your property to the city. 1 2 3 DK NA
10. Making loans and grants to you to help you to buy your own home. 1 2 3 DK NA
11. Controlling the economy more, including all prices, incomes, profits, rents, and interest rates. 1 2 3 DK NA
12. Paying you a guaranteed minimum monthly income that would rise with inflation. 1 2 3 DK NA
13. Providing "help you" people to assist you in housework, snow shovelling and other hard jobs. 1 2 3 DK NA
26A. ARE THERE ANY OTHER KINDS OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE YOU THINK ARE IMPORTANT FOR RETIRED PEOPLE?

27. GOING BACK OVER ALL THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE LISTED ON THE CARD, CAN YOU TELL US IF YOU KNOW OF ANY GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS ALREADY OPERATING THAT COVER ANY OF THEM.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. IN GENERAL, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESENT ASSISTANCE TO RETIRED PERSONS? DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING

1. Too much
2. Enough
3. Not enough
4. Nothing
5. D.K.
6. N.A.
7. Other (Specify)

28A. PROBE FOR COMMENTS, EXPLANATION, SUGGESTIONS.
29. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE A PART OF A PARTICULAR ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN WINNIPEG?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. D.K.
   4. N.A.

29A. IF YES: WHICH ETHNIC COMMUNITY?

30. TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU THINK IT IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO LIVE AMONG PEOPLE OF THE SAME ETHNIC BACKGROUND AS YOURSELF?
   1. Not important
   2. Moderately important
   3. Very important
   4. D.K.
   5. N.A.

31. TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU THINK IT IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO LIVE AMONG PEOPLE OF THE SAME AGE AS YOURSELF?
   1. Not important
   2. Moderately important
   3. Very important
   4. D.K.
   5. N.A.

32. TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU THINK IT IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO LIVE AMONG PEOPLE OF THE SAME RELIGION AS YOURSELF?
   1. Not important
   2. Moderately important
   3. Very important
   4. D.K.
   5. N.A.

33. TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU THINK IT IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO LIVE AMONG PEOPLE OF THE SAME INCOME AS YOURSELF?
   1. Not important
   2. Moderately important
   3. Very important
   4. D.K.
   5. N.A.
EVERYONE SEEMS TO BE VERY CONCERNED THESE DAYS ABOUT HOUSING COSTS AND FINANCES. AND SO, WE'D JUST LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW FINAL QUESTIONS ABOUT MONEY.

WE WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT ALL THE INFORMATION YOU GIVE WILL BE HELD IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE. YOUR NAME WILL NOT BE CONNECTED AT ALL WITH THE INFORMATION YOU CHOOSE TO GIVE US.

FIRST, WE'D LIKE TO HAVE, IF WE MAY, SOME INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR HOUSING COSTS.

34. **DO YOU OWN YOUR RESIDENCE, RENT YOUR RESIDENCE, OR LIVE WITH FAMILY OR FRIENDS?**

1. Own  
2. Rent  
3. Live with family or friends  
4. Other (Specify)

IF **OWN**, GO TO QUESTION 35.  
IF **RENT**, GO TO QUESTION 36.  
IF **LIVE WITH FAMILY OR FRIENDS**, GO TO QUESTION 37.  
IF **OTHER**, CHOOSE THE MOST RELEVANT OF QUESTIONS 35, 36, OR 37.
35. IF OWN: ARE YOU STILL PAYING FOR YOUR HOME (APARTMENT), OR DO YOU NOW OWN IT OUTRIGHT?

1. Still paying
2. Own outright

35A. WOULD YOU PLEASE TELL US HOW MUCH YOU PAY PER MONTH FOR YOUR HOME (APARTMENT)?

ABOUT HOW MUCH PER MONTH DO YOU PAY FOR:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>$/Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mortgage payment (Principal &amp; Interest)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Property taxes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Heat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Electricity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Maintenance and Repairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Telephone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total

35B. NOW THE TOTAL COMES TO $__________ a month.

ABOUT WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR MONTHLY INCOME WOULD THAT BE?

35C. IF STILL PAYING A MORTGAGE: COULD YOU TELL US WHAT THE TERMS ARE OF YOUR MORTGAGE.

FOR EXAMPLE:

1. What is the INTEREST RATE of your mortgage? __________
2. What is the TERM (no. of years) of your mortgage? __________
36. **IF RENT:** WOULD YOU PLEASE TELL US HOW MUCH YOU PAY PER MONTH FOR YOUR (ROOM) (APARTMENT) (HOUSE).

ABOUT HOW MUCH PER MONTH DO YOU PAY FOR:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>$/Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rent (or &quot;Room&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Meals (or &quot;Board&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Heat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Electricity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Maintenance and Repairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Telephone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Parking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36A. NOW, THE TOTAL COMES TO $________ A MONTH.

ABOUT WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR MONTHLY INCOME WOULD THAT BE?

36B. TO WHOM DO YOU PAY YOUR RENT?

1. A resident landlord (individual)
2. An absentee landlord (individual)
3. A corporate landlord (or agent)
4. A co-operative
5. A non-profit housing corporation
6. The Provincial Government (MHRC)
7. Other (Specify) ________________________
37. IF LIVE WITH FAMILY OR FRIENDS:

NOW, WOULD YOU PLEASE TELL US HOW MUCH YOU PAY PER MONTH FOR YOUR (ROOM) (APARTMENT) (HOUSE)?

ABOUT HOW MUCH PER MONTH DO YOU PAY FOR:

1. Rent (or "Room")

2. Meals (or "Board")

3. Water

4. Heat

5. Electricity

6. Gas

7. Maintenance and Repairs

8. Telephone

9. Parking

TOTAL

$ / Month

37A. NOW THE TOTAL COMES TO $_________ A MONTH.

ABOUT WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR MONTHLY INCOME WOULD THAT BE?
38. NOW, WE'D LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR INCOME. FIRST, LOOKING BACK TO THE LAST FIVE YEARS BEFORE YOU RETIRED -- ON THE AVERAGE, HOW MUCH INCOME PER MONTH WERE YOU EARNING THEN?

39. NOW THAT YOU ARE RETIRED, WOULD YOU TELL US HOW MUCH TOTAL INCOME PER MONTH YOU NOW RECEIVE.

40. IF YOU CAN, WOULD YOU TELL US ABOUT HOW MUCH YOU RECEIVE PER MONTH FROM EACH OF YOUR SOURCES OF INCOME? (IF ANSWERED, PLACE AMOUNTS BELOW)

IF NOT ANSWERED, ASK:

40A. WELL, IF YOU CAN'T TELL US THE SPECIFIC AMOUNTS, PERHAPS YOU CAN JUST TELL US IF YOU RECEIVE ANY INCOME FROM ANY OF THESE SOURCES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source:</th>
<th>$/Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Old Age Security Pension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Private retirement pension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Canada Pension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Supplementary government pension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Annuities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Veteran's benefits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Savings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Interest and dividends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(on savings, stocks, bonds, investments)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rents from property that you own</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Own business or employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gifts, inheritances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Others (List)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total
41. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION. BEFORE WE GO, ARE THERE ANY THOUGHTS OR SUGGESTIONS YOU HAVE FOR US REGARDING HOUSING FOR THE RETIRED. ANYTHING YOU THINK IS NEEDED - OR THAT YOU YOURSELF WOULD LIKE. WE'D VERY MUCH LIKE YOUR IDEAS.

42. RECORD SEX OF RESPONDENT.
   1. Male
   2. Female

43. RECORD RESPONDENT NUMBERS OF ADDITIONAL RESPONDENTS IN THE HOUSEHOLD.
1. Description of Immediate Neighbourhood.

2. Description of Dwelling Unit.

Respondent #
If Additional Respondents in Same Household, Record Respondent Numbers _______
Address ____________________ (between ____________ and ____________ Streets)
Telephone no. ________________

Date of interview ________________
Time In _________________________
Time Out ________________________
Interviewers _____________________

OBSERVATION AND OFFICE DATA TO BE RECORDED BY INTERVIEWER
Sources Consulted


Donahue, W. "Where and How Old People Wish to Live", in Donahue and Tibbitts, (see below).


Lake, W.S. "Housing Preferences and Social Patterns", in Tibbitts and Donahue (see below).


Randall, O.A. "Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of Older People", in Donahue and Tibbitts (see above).


1a. Population 55 Years and Over, 1951-1971, for Canada, Manitoba, City of Winnipeg (Metro), and Inner City (Old City of Winnipeg).

1b. Percent of Population 55 Years and Over, 1951-1981 (Proj.) by Nation, Province, City and Inner City.


2a. "Housing Type Card" used in Interview.

3a. Location of Survey Respondents, by Community.

4a. Present Housing Type.

5a. Housing Types Most Preferred (1st Choice Ranking).

5b. Four Most Preferred Housing Types, by Tenure.

5c. Four Most Preferred Housing Types, by Present Housing Type.

5d. Aggregated Housing Type Preferences (Combined 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Choice Rankings).

5e. Housing Types Least Preferred (6th Choice Ranking).

5f. Housing Types in Which Respondents Would Not Want to Live (Ranking of Rejections).

5g. Overall Housing Type Preferences (Weighted Rankings).

5h. Preference Pattern for Single Detached and Walkup Housing.

5i. Preference Pattern for High Rise and Duplex Housing.

5j. Preference Pattern for Medium Rise and Row Housing.

6a. Relative Importance of Housing Type and Neighbourhood for Choice of Residence.

6b. Importance of Living with Persons of Similar Age, Income, Ethnicity and Religion.

7a. Relative Importance of Types of Facilities and Services, by Location and Willingness to Share.

7b. Importance of Neighbourhood Facilities to Have Within Easy Walking Distance.

7c. Definition of "Easy Walking Distance".

8a. Participation in Leisure Activities.

8b. Interest in Part-Time or Volunteer Work.

8c. Sources of Important Retirement Information.

9a. Present Income of Retired and Pre-Retired Elderly.

9b. Percent of Retired Experiencing Increase and Decrease in Income at Retirement, by Present Income.
9c. Sources of Actual and Anticipated Retirement Income, by Retirement Status.

9d. Expenditure on Housing as Percentage of Total Income, by Retirement Status and Housing Tenure.

10a. Relative Importance of Types of Governmental Assistance.

10b. Knowledge by Elderly of Existing Government Programs.

10c. Belief by Elderly that Non-Existing Types of Governmental Assistance Exist.


12b. Symbols Defining the Basic Planning Components of Housing for the Elderly.

12c. Typical Concept Used in Developing Elderly Persons Housing in This Country.

12d. Option 1 Concept.

12e. Option 2 Concept.

12f. Option 3 Concept.

12g. Option 4 Concept.

12h. Option 1: Scattered Detached House Renovation and Infill.

12i. Renovation

12j. Existing Sister Houses.

12k. Proposed Infill.

12l. Section A-A.

12m. Elevation of Street.

12n. Activity Centre: Site Plan.

12o. Section B-B.


12q. Existing Situation.

12r. Walkup Apartment Plan.

12s. Section A-A.


12u. Front Elevation.

12v. Support Grid and 2nd Floor Expansion.

12w. Functional Zones.

12x. Section A-A.

12y. Warehouse Conversion Plan: 2nd Floor.

12z. Section B-B.

12aa. Option 4: Rowhouse and Medium Rise Apartment.

12bb. Rowhouse Renovation: Site Plan.
12dd. Section A-A.