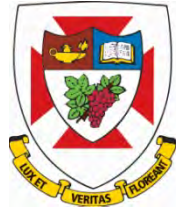


Housing Innovation and Neighbourhood Improvement: Change in Winnipeg's Inner City

**edited by Donald Epstein
1974**

The Institute of Urban Studies





THE UNIVERSITY OF
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HOUSING INNOVATION AND NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT: CHANGE IN WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

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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.

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NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT:
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Institute of Urban Studies
University of Winnipeg
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

March 1974

#27

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.

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Acknowledgements of the help of particular individuals in the five research projects reported in this volume are contained in the studies themselves. However, in this space, we wish to extend our collective appreciation to several institutions and individuals who have materially assisted in the overall production of this volume.

The financial support of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Province of Manitoba's Department of Urban Affairs, the University of Winnipeg, and the Winnipeg Foundation has made it possible to operate as an Institute and to conduct the various studies.

The encouragement and support of numerous people at the University of Winnipeg, particularly President Harry Duckworth; Assistant to the President, Dr. Graham J. Pincock; and members of the Institute's Advisory Board, are most appreciated.

Particular members of the Institute staff deserve credit for their skill and cooperation. Carl Blanchaer produced the studies' plans and sketches. Terry Zdan prepared the photographs. Jim Cassidy prepared the titles and provided general production assistance. Our secretaries, Lorraine Good and Irene Kahlian, performed the demanding and precise tasks asked of them with accuracy, skilled judgement and good humour.

To Lloyd Axworthy, Director of the Institute, I wish to extend my personal appreciation for his encouragement and substantive insights throughout the hard process of putting together this book.

Finally, we wish to extend our most profound appreciation to the numerous citizens, residents and neighbours, who gave of their time and privacy to assist us in our efforts. We only hope that, consistent with our mandate, we will have given at least as much as we have received.

D.E.

March 1974.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDIES

What is required is incremental change, on a small, trial and error scale, in our own institutional processes, organizational forms, and in the form and nature of the housing services offered. These changes will not yield large financial returns to those who develop them. They will most likely come from small builders and interested professionals, non-profit organizations and government housing corporations.¹

The five research studies that follow all appear in this volume for the first time in published form. They represent most of the housing work of the Institute of Urban Studies over the past two years.

The authors, for the most part current staff members of the Institute, represent in background and training a wide cross-section of experience and specialization. Their previous work experiences have ranged widely among positions in governments, universities and private firms here and abroad, and as advisors and consultants to governments, builders, and non-profit groups. Their combined skills are those of the architect, designer, engineer, economist, psychologist, social scientist, planner and politician. All have come together within the framework of an action-oriented, urban research institute located within the heart of Winnipeg.

Because of the varying skills and experience of the researchers and because of the nature and requirements of the projects

1. Michael Dennis and Susan Fish, Programs in Search of a Policy: Low Income Housing in Canada, Hakkert, Toronto, 1972, p. 369.

themselves, the studies provide an intriguing mix of research methods and techniques. Operational elements have been taken from behavioural social science, statistics, economics, and environmental design. As a package of useful tools, they offer considerable promise as a practical interdisciplinary approach to urban research and project implementation.

This book might be regarded as a compendium of research studies. On the other hand, it can be seen as a collection of project histories and evaluations. Both perceptions are correct. For in the work of the Institute of Urban Studies, research and project action are seen as complementary and indeed necessary in the search for solutions--or at least practical, effective responses--to the problems of an urban society.

In general, the Institute carries on research as an integral part of its involvement in actual projects or programs in the community. Its research, therefore, is never abstracted from its various active involvements in projects, from conception to implementation. Indeed, it would be fair to say that the Institute most often parlays its research studies out of its delivery of services to community or interest groups.

While this is by no means the only way to operate, it is our way. The mix of research and action is not always a happy one. The marriage is replete with tension, conflict and compromise. Decisions must continually be made regarding the relative emphases to be placed on scientific research methods and the practical considerations of serving groups of citizens and influencing official policy and administration. While we are working continually to refine our techniques and methods, the satisfaction of our essential mandate--to make new things happen--is the predominant objective.

As in the case with any active urban participant, the Institute runs into conflict with competing interests and is occasionally caught in their crossfire. In such situations, the research component has been a valuable means to bring conflicts into a more factual, pragmatic focus. It has provided, in many cases, the information needed to translate ideas into proposals, and evaluations into the next stage of programs and projects.

The political, administrative and other difficulties encountered by the Institute have generally not been avoided. Indeed, in many instances, they have been welcomed. They often serve as a prelude to action or a stimulus to decision. The Institute has been able to operate effectively within its changing environment, in large part due to its independent operational position.

IUS resides physically and institutionally within the University of Winnipeg. It has been financed mainly through an operational grant from the federal government, with additional core funds provided by the Manitoba Provincial Government as well as the University, which provides additional overhead support services. With the cooperation of these institutions and by means of a high degree of organizational autonomy, the Institute has been able to do its work with substantial independence, flexibility and responsiveness to local needs as they emerge.

This volume stands as testimony to the opportunities and services offered by such an independent institute. Thus, we at IUS are increasingly concerned at the apparent trend for government research and operational funding to be increasingly circumscribed by officially defined problems, specified research directions, and official constraints on publication or release of results. While the patron may not exactly call the pipers' tunes, the everpresent

danger is that he/she will set their style. On the other hand, what is suggested, and what the Institute's work illustrates, is that through a mixture of styles, experimental themes can pervade most performances.

The bases for such operational risk-taking are secure long-term financial support, official protection of independent inquiry, removal of most forms of secrecy and publication control, and the full and effective support of a committed, liked-minded institution, such as a university in IUS' case. There is, of course, a need to protect the public against actual (not potential) abuses of institutional independence. Such protective devices are usually the now standard ones of audit, periodic evaluation of performance, and full disclosure of activities and research. Interestingly, full disclosure is, in a very real sense, a method for both freedom and responsibility. In the case of the Institute and some others, however, there is an additional and very important device for monitoring its use of research and operational independence--the satisfaction of the citizen groups and residents that call upon the Institute for assistance.

Housing innovation and neighbourhood improvement are the two central concepts of this book. The studies deal with "housing" projects that range in scale from the repair and rental of individual houses in various parts of the city; to a high density group of four new housing units in a low-income neighbourhood; to a multi-purpose redevelopment project combining senior citizens housing, a church facility, and various community facilities and services; to a cohesive residential block of nearly twenty homes.

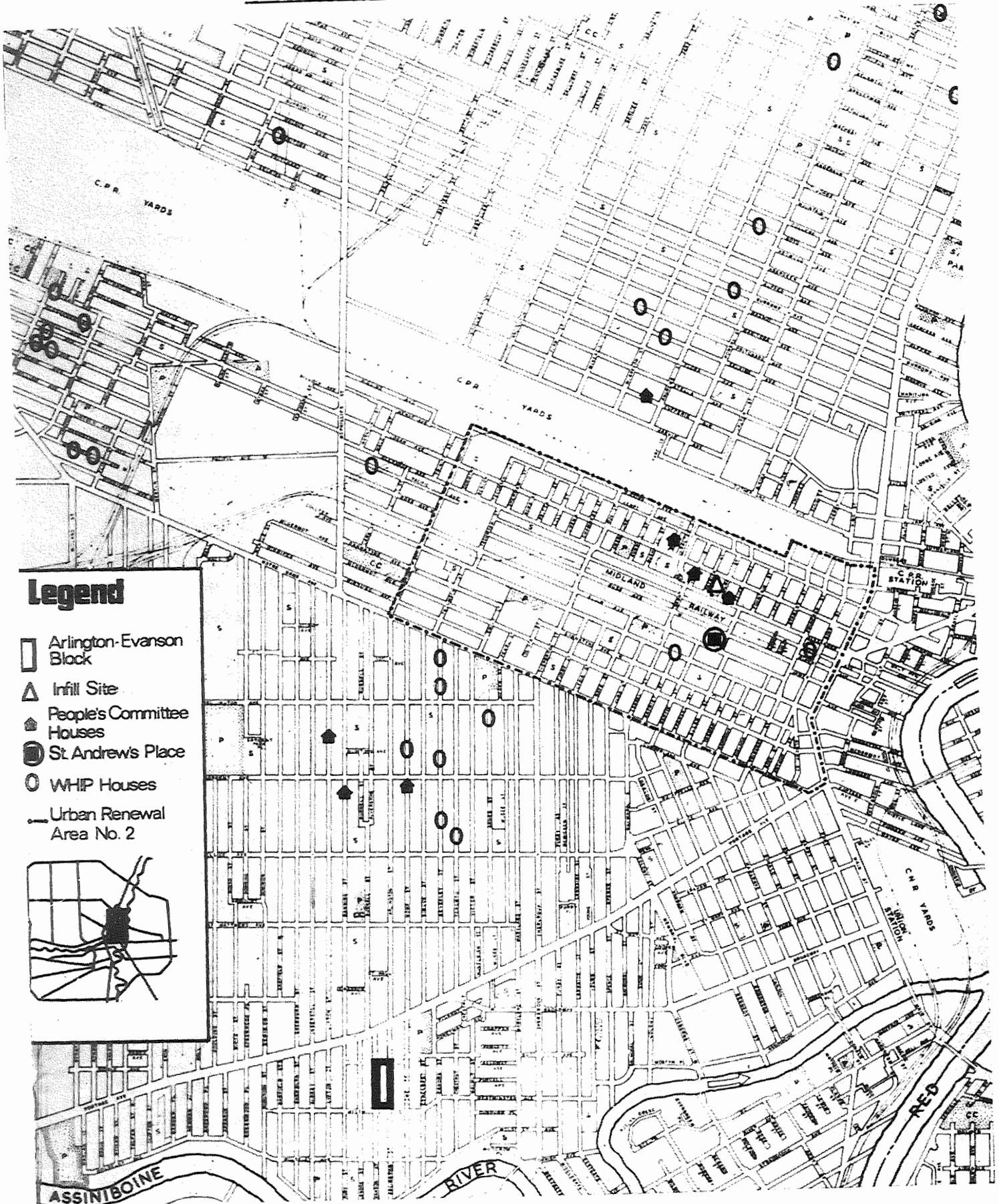
Moreover, as they implicitly make clear, the studies deal with housing as much more than simply residential structures. Housing involves the use of private and public space, the attitudes and behaviour of occupants and neighbours toward the residential environment and toward each other, access to nearby and distant facilities, forms of occupancy and tenure, the short and long-run costs and benefits of various housing forms and funding approaches, and much more. By housing innovation, therefore, we are referring to change and experimentation in all aspects related to residential environments.

The studies included in this volume were conceived as separate research components of individual innovative housing projects. As such, they retain their separate identities, their specific research objectives and particular techniques. But through them all runs a common theme: that housing innovation, followed by evaluative research, and then by the next stage of innovative action, constitute essential building blocks of neighbourhood improvement.

Consistent with this theme, the studies were joined for presentation in this volume. It has become apparent that they are in reality very closely linked together. For as a package of operational elements, combined with others, they constitute potentially effective action elements in a larger neighbourhood improvement program. It is within that operational framework, then, that the projects and research described in these studies derive their ongoing applicability.

Donald Epstein
Winnipeg, Manitoba.
February 1974

Locations of the Five Projects



LIMITED HOUSE REHABILITATION
AND JOB TRAINING:
THE WINNIPEG HOME
IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

Eric J. Barker / Carl J. Blanchaer / Donald Epstein



INTRODUCTION*

In early 1972, the Institute of Urban Studies, an urban research and resource centre of the University of Winnipeg, sponsored a project under the Local Initiatives Program (LIP) called the People's Housing Rehabilitation and Repair Inc. The objective of the committee was to provide employment and improve poor housing in low income, inner city areas through work in house repair. At the same time and for the same reason, Neighbourhood Service Centres, a government supported social services agency, sponsored the Logan Heights Environmental Committee.

The services of both projects were in great demand as small scale repairs were sorely needed in many houses. The free labour offered by both projects acted as an incentive for area residents by either cutting the cost of repairs in half or enabling twice as much work to be done for the same cost. But the projects could not continue to operate on short term LIP funding. Both projects investigated the potential for long term financing and began negotiations with the Provincial Department of Health and Social Development for "work activity" funding. This is a federal/provincial program whose objective is to upgrade the social and vocational skills of unemployable/unemployed persons through on-the-job training.

* The authors wish to express their appreciation to the participants and staff of the Winnipeg Home Improvement Project (WHIP), residents of repaired houses, and various residential appraisers and contractors for their assistance and cooperation.

The Winnipeg Home Improvement Project

These negotiations proved successful and on November 1, 1972, the Winnipeg Home Improvement Project (WHIP) was formed through a merger of the majority of the members of the two LIP projects. As such, it became a work activity project sponsored by the Provincial Department of Health and Social Development with a yearly budget of \$324,800 throughout a three year period. The funds are provided on a 50/50 basis by both the provincial and federal governments through the Canada Assistance Plan.

One of the basic goals of WHIP is to prepare an individual, with a history of social/employment problems, for more specialized training or employment. At the same time, it is intended that WHIP provide a service to persons of lower income living in inner city communities. This is achieved through a program of small scale house repairs, which provide both a community service and an opportunity for on-the-job vocational training. This program is integrated with other academic and social development programs within the project. In this way, an attempt is made to deal with the "whole" person.

The project presently has a complement of fifty-six participants with the eventual goal of working with one hundred men and women. It is directed at a policy level by a ten man Board of Directors; four are participants with the remaining six drawn from business, government and university. WHIP is administered at an operational level by a staff of sixteen people consisting of an Executive Officer, Operations Coordinator, Education Coordinator, Social Development Programmers, Training Foremen and clerical staff. The participants divide their time between vocational training in the houses or project workshop, remedial training in the classroom and library, and counselling with social development personnel.

The majority of their time however, is spent in vocational training. In addition, they take part in the decision-making on the project at both the operational and board levels. The participants remain in the program until, in the opinion of staff, they have received sufficient training to enable them to take more specialized training in other vocational programs or obtain other employment.

Crews of approximately ten participants are assigned to one of six job training foremen. Each foreman is responsible for two to three jobs to which he assigns an appropriate job crew of three to four participants. The workshop is used by the foremen and crew to fabricate cupboard/counter/cabinet units required in certain jobs. They are then transported to the house and installed.

The operational method is similar to previous LIP projects in that the labour cost is underwritten by the government and offered free of charge to the resident. The resident is obliged to purchase and supply the material.

The repair process usually begins with the resident telephoning WHIP and a job application being sent to the resident. Once the application has been returned to WHIP, a participant evaluator then visits the resident to determine if, in fact, the job should be done. The basic criteria for job approval are that the resident be of low income and that the repair work appears to be a priority in the house. In this way, needed repairs are done for residents who could not otherwise afford them. The evaluation form, as completed by the participant evaluator, is submitted to the Operations Coordinator for a decision and a letter is sent to the resident informing him/her of the decision.

A month prior to the anticipated commencement of a job, a foreman and participant visit the house and assess the detailed nature

and size of the job, giving the resident a list of required materials for the job. At the same time, a liability release and job description is signed with the resident.

It is a policy of WHIP not to become involved in the purchase or transport of materials. As such, a week prior to job commencement, the resident is requested to purchase the material. The crew then begins work, meeting each morning at the site and cleaning up every evening before quitting time. Once the job is completed, a release form is signed by the resident agreeing that the job has been completed satisfactorily. The final phase in this process is an interview with the resident by a project recorder two weeks to a month after completion to assess resident satisfaction.

Context

The WHIP offices are located in an inner city area immediately south of the CPR yards and west of Main Street. In the main, it operates in this and other similar inner city areas of Winnipeg. These areas are characterized by:

- two storey, wood frame dwellings, approximately 20' x 40', which are sixty to eighty years old and located on small lots.
- housing which is deteriorating because of worn out material, crumbling foundations, lack of maintenance, outdated electrical, plumbing/heating systems and for many other reasons.

- a significant number of houses owned by absentee landlords¹ using the houses as a cheap investment and who are loath to reduce profits by doing the necessary repairs.
- houses whose interiors are often small and poorly organized, and not suitably geared to the needs of the occupants.
- a significant number of houses which are sound enough to justify repair work and whose life span can be extended.²
- rising house prices which, when combined with the rising costs of renovation work, often preclude economically the extensive repair of an increasing number of houses.
- a heterogeneous population of lower than average income and with a poor employment history and potential.³
- a mobile population using the area for transitional accommodation.

Extensive Renovation

Within this context, government has attempted to prevent further deterioration and significantly increase the life span of older houses through a program of total or extensive renovation. The rationale for this program is that:

1. Grace Parasiuk, Satisfaction Survey on Roosevelt Park. Institute of Urban Studies, 1969.
2. Eric J. Barker, A Report on the Rehabilitation of Older Houses in a Lower Income, Inner City District. Institute of Urban Studies, June 1971.
3. Community Welfare Planning Council, Social Service Audit. 1969.

- it is cheaper in the long run than allowing the house to deteriorate to the point of demolition and replacement by new housing.
- it is the only way to prevent the deterioration of the house and to increase its life span.
- it will avoid the socially and economically undesirable consequences of wholesale demolition and relocation.
- it provides housing with more space than could be provided in a new house, for the same cost.
- it will strengthen the sense of community and desire of residents to remain and invest in the area, as well as encourage outside investment into the community.

Extensive renovation means the complete repair or renewal of all parts of a house -- foundations, walls, floors, roof, and electrical/plumbing/heating systems, as well as the internal reorganization of the spaces. In doing this work, it is necessary to upgrade the house to present-day municipal codes and CMHC standards.

Characteristics of this approach are:

- an initial assessment of the nature and extent of repair work and a determination of the feasibility of repairs.
- the purchase of property and relocation of the occupants to alternate accommodation.
- the preparation of working drawings and specifications for the work and tendering to private contractors on either a stipulated

sum⁴ or cost-plus contract⁵.

- the high cost and long duration of repairs because of demolition work required, the time for fitting new materials to old and the unforeseen problems encountered.
- the extensive supervision time required of the contractor and client.
- the repair of a small number of houses because of the high cost of acquisition and repairs.
- the provision of an excellent living environment.

Limited Repair

From the previous discussion, it is clear that some inner city areas have poor housing occupied by a diverse population of lower income persons some of whom have poor employment and social histories. The extensive renovation program, which attempts to deal with some of these problems, is a lengthy, costly program affecting a low percentage of houses, whose occupants are relocated.

The limited repair program is an alternate approach to the physical and social problems of inner city areas. Limited repair simply means the repair of minor problems in and around the house.

-
4. A stipulated sum contract specifies a total cost for a job as negotiated between the contractor and the sponsor.
 5. A cost-plus contract specifies an hourly labour rate, for work to be done with some time limits attached. The client is charged for the job, including time spent with no guarantee of total cost.

Examples of this type of work are:

- patching and painting of walls and ceilings.
- laying of new floor tile.
- repair of windows and doors.
- addition of cupboards and counters.
- repair of steps and handrails.

The basic contention of this approach is that the repair of minor, everyday problems will significantly improve the immediate living environment to the occupants' satisfaction.

The characteristics of a limited repair program are that

- it requires only a short time period and minor disturbance.
- the costs to government and to the occupants are relatively small.
- unskilled labour can use the program for training.
- it is appropriate to the limited repair needs of houses in such poor condition that large expenditures are unwise investments.
- it minimizes government "red tape" regarding permits and approvals permitting the job to be undertaken on short notice and completed quickly.
- it can react quickly to need as it arises.

WHIP's basic contention was that, through a limited repair program, it would satisfy its general goal -- to improve the poor housing stock of low income persons while providing training and employment opportunities for persons living in the inner city.

Goals

The specific goals of WHIP's limited repair program are:

1. To employ socially disadvantaged and unskilled persons in a program of integrated academic, vocational and social development.⁶
2. To rehabilitate houses to the limited extent that, given the same time and government expenditure, more houses are repaired than would be by an extensive rehabilitation program.
3. To rehabilitate inner city houses in poor condition at a cost that is a reasonable investment in terms of increased property value and extended life expectancy of those houses.
4. To rehabilitate both tenant and owner occupied houses for low income persons at a cost they can afford.
5. To rehabilitate houses without relocating the occupant and with a minimum of disturbance to the occupant.

6. The degree to which this goal is being met is examined in WHIP Work Activity Evaluative Study, September 1973.
Division of Research, Planning and Program Development,
Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development.

6. To improve the immediate living environment to the satisfaction of the occupants by doing repairs determined important by them.

Evaluation

During the three month period, April 15 to July 15, 1973, an evaluative study of WHIP's limited repair program was undertaken by the Institute of Urban Studies at the request of WHIP's board of directors.⁷

The intent of this evaluation is:

1. To examine the degree to which the specific goals of WHIP's house repair program, stated above, are being met.
2. To examine any significant relationships that may exist between various characteristics of residents, their home environments, and their repair needs.
3. To offer recommendations to improve the performance of WHIP and to aid in the future planning of rehabilitation programs.

-
7. At the same time a work activity evaluation (see WHIP Work Activity Evaluative Study, September 1973) has been done by the Division of Research, Planning and Program Development, and a management study (See Project #3-33-7A, WHIP Administrative Study, October 1973) has been done by the Special Studies Group. Both research groups are adjuncts of the Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development.

FINDINGS

Comparison of Extensive Renovation and Limited Repair by Job Time and Government Expenditure

The impact upon a community of either a limited repair program or an extensive renovation program can be described in terms of the impact on single individuals and the number of individuals affected. It would seem that the impact upon individuals of an extensive renovation program is great, because such a program rehabilitates homes to the extent that, in many respects, they resemble new homes. Limited repair does not rehabilitate homes to this extent.

On the other hand, while the degree of impact on specific individuals is less, limited repair can rehabilitate houses more quickly and with less money than extensive renovation, thus having an impact on more residents. To see if in fact WHIP is doing this, information was gathered on the repair time and government expenditure required per house by each rehabilitation technique.

Time Per House: An average on-site work time was calculated for the extensive renovation of two houses by the City of Winnipeg Planning Department in 1971 and for the renovation

of seven other houses in 1972 by the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC). The average work time on site for these renovation jobs was 55 days. In addition, the preparatory time for renovation, that is house selection, assessment, purchase and redesign, was on the average 4 days. Therefore, the average total time per house, extensively renovated, was 59 days.

An average work time on site for limited repair as done by WHIP was obtained from the job files of 35 houses. The average work time for these jobs was 12 days. (It should be recalled, of course, that this average "work time on site" was inclusive of training time.) In WHIP's case, preparatory time includes the processing of applications, the interviewing of residents, and the estimating of materials required for repairs. On an average, preparatory time is one day. Therefore, the average total time for limited repairs by WHIP, was 13 days.

In the time it takes to extensively renovate one house, WHIP does limited repairs in 4.5 houses (i.e. $59 \text{ days} / 13 \text{ days} = 4.5$). That is, 4.5 families had limited improvements done by WHIP in the time that one family had its house totally renovated. Also, the family that has its house extensively renovated must relocate for 4.5 times as long as a limited repair family, who while remaining in its home, must contend with some degree of disturbance to its daily routine. Therefore WHIP services more people with less inconvenience in a given time than does extensive renovation.

Government Expenditure Per House: The components of expenditure are different for WHIP (labour, overhead, and administration) and extensive renovation (government staff, land purchase,

labour, materials, overhead, administration, and profit).

Construction and land acquisition costs were obtained and averaged for seven houses extensively renovated by MHRC in 1972. An average cost for preparatory work was also obtained. Computed in terms of 1973 prices, the resulting average total cost for an extensively renovated house was \$33,800. Of the total, \$8,700 was the purchase cost of land and building, and \$25,100 represented the actual cost of renovation.

In arriving at an average total cost per house of repairs done by WHIP, it was necessary to isolate the costs related only to home repair, as opposed to those related to WHIP's educational program. This was done with information provided by WHIP's bookkeepers.⁸ The average cost of limited repair per house

8. Costs of the educational program were obtained separately for overhead, administrative salaries, and participant salaries. To obtain the repair overhead, the cost of educational supplies and the educational share of rent and utilities were subtracted from total overhead. The educational share of rent and utilities was calculated on the basis of the amount of floor space in the office occupied by educational facilities. It was found that 30% of overhead costs were educational costs. To obtain the amount of administrative costs related to repairs, the salaries of the educational coordinator, the social programmer, and one secretary were subtracted from total administrative salaries. It was found that 18.2% of administrative costs were strictly educational costs. Finally, to obtain the amount of participant salaries devoted to repairs, the participants' educational time was multiplied by their hourly wage, and the result was subtracted from total participant salaries. As a result 6.3% of participant salaries were devoted to education. These figures were obtained during the commencement of the classroom program. At the present time participant salaries devoted to education would be greater.

in a five week period in the summer of 1973 was \$1,730.⁹

Therefore, for the expense of one totally renovated house, over 19 houses (i.e. $\$33,800/\$1,730 = 19.3$) had limited repairs. Again, this means that 19.3 families are affected for every one family whose home is extensively renovated.

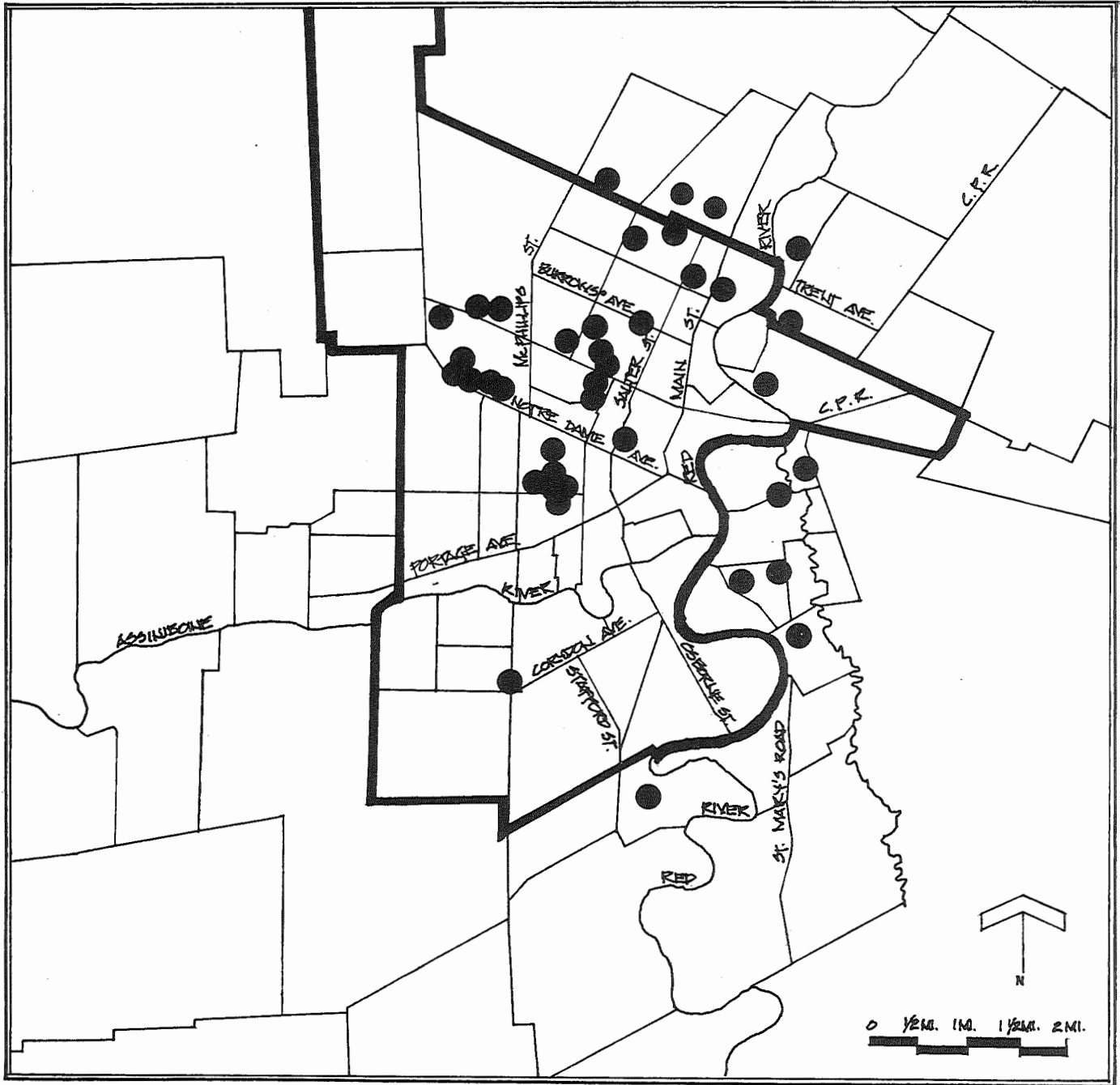
In summary, then, WHIP's limited repair-manpower training program affects nearly five times as many houses and families in the time required to renovate one house. Moreover, for the same government expenditure, WHIP affects nearly twenty times as many houses and families as extensive renovation.

Location of Limited Repair Houses

The area comprising the old city of Winnipeg is used as the definition of the inner city. Of 39 residents served by WHIP, 27 (69%) lived in the inner city (see Figure 1). Therefore while WHIP is giving priority to inner city houses, a substantial number of houses outside the inner city have been repaired. Because of the large amount of poor housing requiring repair in the inner city, it is recommended that future work for WHIP be restricted to the inner city (see Summary and Recommendations).

9. The number of houses repaired in the given time was obtained in this way: the evaluator, using on going jobs and data in job description forms, estimated the number of houses repaired in that time. Included in the estimate were proportions of work done on jobs that began before or finished after the five week target period. The result was corroborated by the average time per house found in the job files.

FIGURE. 1 THE LOCATION of 39 HOUSES REPAIRED by WHIP
April 15 - July 15, 1973.



● REPAIRED HOUSES
— INNER CITY BOUNDARY.

Condition of Limited Repair Houses

The condition of houses repaired by WHIP was recorded on a general information sheet subsequent to interviews with 39 residents for whom WHIP had done repairs. Houses were rated as being in poor, average, or good condition. Rating was done subjectively by the evaluator on the basis of apparent deterioration of the house.

77% of the houses appeared to be in average to good condition while 23% were in poor condition. The repair of a large number of houses in better than poor condition is in part due to the fact that, because WHIP needed work, it did not initially restrict itself to repair of houses in poor condition and accepted almost all applications. However, now WHIP has a waiting list of approximately 150 residents, and the selection process must be improved in order to meet the original goal of repairing houses in poor condition first.

Limited Repair as Investment

It might be said that the increase in property value of a house is limited by factors such as its age, condition, and location. Moreover, it must be ensured that an expenditure of money for repairs constitutes a reasonable investment.

Limited repairs may constitute a reasonable investment in that they can influence the change of property value of a house. Residential home appraisers maintain that the expenditure on limited repairs should not exceed 15% of the anticipated market value of the house after repairs. Further-

more, these repairs must be readily visible upon inspection of the house.¹⁰

The average expenditure for a house repaired by WHIP was \$1,883, inclusive of material, labour, overhead, and administration costs. If this average expenditure represents the maximum 15% of the anticipated new market value, in order that the expenditure not represent an over investment, the average anticipated market value for houses repaired by WHIP would be at least \$12,500. According to a CMHC residential appraiser, the range of average inner city property values is \$15,000 to \$18,000. Therefore, in general, the expenditure of money per house repaired by WHIP is well within the range of reasonable investment.

Furthermore, limited repairs may be an investment in that they may extend the life expectancy of a house. Life expectancy is generally determined by the condition of a house's services, foundation, structure, and roof. Extensive renovation work is largely devoted to these areas. However, certain limited repairs may also be very important to these basic components of life expectancy. For example, panelling, framing for a new partition, installing new floor sheathing,

10. The amount of influence that repairs have on property value changes from year to year. For example, before 1970 repairs had no influence on property value; they only had an influence upon the attractiveness for sale of a house.

and dry walling,¹¹ may all provide added rigidity to the structure of a house. Regular reshingling of a roof and exterior painting may prevent deterioration of the roof and structure of a house.

Further research into the dynamics of aging houses is needed before any specific recommendations can be made regarding limited repair as a means of preserving homes.

There are conditions in which an expenditure on limited repairs is a poor investment. Residential home appraisers maintain that limited repairs must be visible in order to constitute a good investment. Also, an expenditure on repairs is a poor investment if the life of repairs is decreased by the age or condition of a house. For example, patching a crack in a wall that was caused by a shifting house structure is a wasted investment: the crack will more than likely return. Eleven of an approximate total of eighty-nine houses repaired by the previous People's Housing and Rehabilitation Inc., were visited. These houses were chosen randomly and all had had repairs done more than a year ago. Two of the eleven houses visited had signs of repair deterioration. Questioning of the residents revealed that the causes of deterioration had not initially been remedied; only their symptoms had been repaired.

11. One example of drywall adding to the rigidity of a house structure was found in eleven houses repaired by People's Housing and Rehabilitation Inc. Drywalling had been done in the kitchen and a connected lean-to, which was open to the kitchen for its full width with no structural partition. Because a lean-to does not have a foundation, differential shifting often occurs between itself and the house. In this case no such signs were visible.

Repair of Owner-Occupied and Tenant-Occupied Houses

Presently WHIP, as a policy, repairs only owner-occupied dwellings. Repair of tenant-occupied dwellings has been temporarily suspended until a rent control agreement between WHIP and landlords can be designed.

However it is clear that tenant-occupied dwellings require at least as much repair and rehabilitation attention as owner-occupied dwellings.

Table 1. Percent of Low-Income Owner- and Tenant-Occupied Dwellings in Need of Major and Minor Repairs, 1961.

	Major Repair*	Minor Repair
Owner Occupied	94.8	89.5
Tenant Occupied	95.2	91.6

Source: DBS-CAT. 98-505 "Incomes of Households" (Ottawa, DBS, 1965) Tables E-3, E-4, E-7, and E-8.

* Houses were defined as in need of major repair if they had one of the following:

- a) sagging or crumbling foundation
- b) faulty roof or chimney
- c) rotting door, sills, or window frames
- d) interior badly in need of repairs.

Although these percentages are now considered over estimates, they still indicate the very large number of both owner and tenant occupied dwellings that require rehabilitation.

Indeed, because many more low income families rent accommodation than higher income families, probably greater emphasis should be placed on the repair of tenant-occupied dwellings.

One concern is that maintenance of dwellings by tenants may often be poorer than that of owner-occupied dwellings. Unfortunately, no data on this question was available.

The major difficulty and policy objection to this approach, however, is that assisted repair of tenant-occupied dwellings tends to serve, in effect, as a subsidy to the landlord and due to the subsequent increase in rent, adversely affects the economic position of low income tenants. With the aid of legal counsel, WHIP is currently attempting to design a contractual agreement between itself and a landlord client to control rent increases subsequent to repairs.

Income of Residents in Limited Repair Houses

Low income people are defined as those people whose incomes fall in the bottom two quintiles of income distribution. The low income ceiling in the 1966 census, was \$6,000 for families, and \$2,000 for unattached individuals. In 1969, preliminary estimates from DBS surveys indicate that \$7,000 was the low income ceiling for families.¹²

12. Michael Dennis and Susan Fish, Programs in Search of a Policy: Low Income Housing in Canada, Hakkert, Toronto, 1972, p. 37.

Incomes were obtained for only 12 of 51 residents serviced by WHIP before July 15. Eleven of the twelve residents had incomes below the 1969 ceiling. The one resident that had an income above, was an unattached individual. Therefore, from the available sample, nearly all residents served by WHIP had low incomes.

However, there was an extremely high refusal rate on the income question in the post-repair interview situation. All 12 to 51 residents that gave information on their income did so before repairs were done. This suggests that, in future, this information be obtained before repairs are done (see Summary and Recommendations). Pursuit of information on residents' incomes is essential, in that the present sample is not necessarily representative of all residents serviced by WHIP.

Cost of Limited Repairs to Residents

WHIP's practice has been to require the residents of limited repair homes to pay only for materials. In some cases, senior citizens receive up to a \$500. grant to cover the cost of repairs (labor and material) through the Provincial Job Office (PJO). Since the PJO has referred work to WHIP, which provides free labor, the total grant can be used exclusively for materials, thereby increasing the size of the job.

The average cost of materials for the residents was \$153. Residents were asked after repairs had been completed whether or not they could afford the cost of materials. A large majority of residents did not consider the cost to be a problem.

Table 2. Total Low-Income Family Expenditure, and Expenditure Devoted to Repairs of Owner-Occupied Dwellings, 1969.

	Income Classes					
	All Classes	Under \$3,000	\$3,000-\$3,999	\$4,000-\$4,999	\$5,000-\$5,999	\$6,000-\$6,999
Total Yearly Expenditure (dollars)	\$8,161	\$2,579	\$4,085	\$5,112	\$5,974	\$7,009
% of Total Expenditure Devoted to Repairs	9.7	9.1	10.2	8.4	8.4	8.4
Expenditure on Repairs (dollars)	\$ 794	\$ 235	\$ 417	\$ 455	\$ 502	\$ 590

Source: DBS, "Family Expenditure in Canada", vol. 1, 1969, p. 66 and p. 156.

Table 2 seems to corroborate the fact that low income people can afford a repair expenditure of \$153. This is not surprising, in that residents determine the amount of work to be done in their homes after WHIP foremen have estimated the cost to them for materials. These estimates were generally very accurate.

Even more importantly, the expenditure data show that low income residents can get more repairs for their money because of WHIP's labour-free service. If done by a private contractor, the total cost of repairs to residents would far exceed the average expenditure of \$153., since labour constitutes about 60% of total repair costs. To be able to do more repairs per house is most valuable, in light of the large number of low income people living in poor houses that require many repairs.

Resident Disturbance Caused by Limited Repairs

Residents were asked if any disturbance to their daily life was caused by having repairs done. Thirty-four of thirty-nine residents were interviewed after repairs were completed. 25 of 34 residents considered that there had been no disturbance to their daily life during repairs.

Most of the nine residents that considered that there had been a disturbance complained about the time it took to do repairs. There appeared to be a correlation between an increase in these complaints and the commencement of academic upgrading for WHIP participants. That is, the duration of work in a house increased because some participants were absent for part of each week. Even residents who considered the repairs no disturbance, commented on the unexplained absence of participants from their homes during the work. Therefore, even though in the majority of cases disturbance was tolerated by residents, the time that it takes to do repairs seems to be an increasingly important problem. A remedy for this would be a greater separation of academic and repair activities (see Summary and Recommendations).

Residents' Repair Needs and Resident Satisfaction

In order to evaluate WHIP's success in satisfying resident repair needs, the following descriptions of repairs done, resident satisfaction, and residents' reasons for repairs, are provided.

Most of the information for the following results was collected using several techniques:

1. A semi-structured interview¹³
2. A questionnaire filled out by residents, rating the rooms of their home in terms of qualitative characteristics.
3. A general information sheet filled out by the interviewer.

In all, thirty-nine residents were interviewed of a total of fifty-one residents that had had repairs begun after November 1, 1972 and completed before July 15, 1973. Although the above techniques were designed for interviews before and after repairs were done, only four of thirty-nine residents were actually interviewed both before and after repairs were done.¹⁴

Repairs Done: A list of 64 repairs done was obtained in interviews with 39 residents serviced by WHIP. The frequency with which repairs occurred is shown in Table 3.

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13. Usually, a participant recorder visits residents after repairs have been completed, to ask about satisfaction to repairs. During the evaluation period, this normal practice was suspended so that only the researcher visited residents after repairs had been completed.
 14. This was a result of a number of factors. First of all, a below average number of houses were repaired during the evaluation period. This was due in part to the fact that repairs in several houses during this time were extensive and time consuming. Also during this period considerable time and manpower was used in the renovation of the WHIP offices. Secondly, because of poor organization in WHIP, the researcher was not informed about the commencement of repairs in a number of houses.

Table 3. Frequency of Occurrence of Repairs Done by WHIP
for 39 Residents.

<u>Repairs Done</u>	<u>Number of Times They Occurred</u>
A. Interior	53
1. Painting	16
2. Installing flooring	10
3. Wood panelling	4
4. Drywalling and taping	4
5. Installing doors and frames	3
6. Wallpapering	2
7. Installing glazing	2
8. Installing carpet	2
9. Patching basement flooring	2
10. Roughing in rooms	2
11. Patching walls and ceiling	1
12. Installing ceiling tile	1
13. Installing countertop	1
14. Installing shower tile and bathtub grab-bar	1
15. Resetting door hinges	1
16. Installing cabinet doors	1
B. Exterior	11
1. Reroofing	3
2. Fencing	3
3. Removing old and installing new wood steps	2
4. Painting	1
5. Building paper underlay and wire lathe for stucco	1
6. Repairing garage door	1

By far the most frequently performed repairs were interior painting and the installation of flooring. Also, interior repairs were performed much more frequently than exterior repairs. This might be, in large part, due to the fact that WHIP only does exterior repairs in warm weather and therefore had only begun this work shortly before the expiry date of the evaluation period.

Resident Satisfaction: A description of resident satisfaction to repairs done was to be obtained through the use of a questionnaire in which residents rated the rooms in which repairs were done as to certain qualitative characteristics. It was intended that the room ratings be obtained in interviews before and after repairs were done since both situations would probably have been constant except for the repairs in those rooms. It was felt that this indirect method would be preferable to that of directly questioning residents about their general satisfaction to repair work, because residents might hesitate to criticize free assistance given to them.¹⁵

However, because of the limited opportunity to obtain before and after interviews and the desire for more specific repair-related responses, the room rating method was not used. Instead a description of satisfaction was obtained from answers to questions concerning what differences the repairs had made and what residents considered the quality of the repair work to have been. While this method does not ask directly about satisfaction per se, it was felt that the results would be more indicative of several dimensions of resident satisfaction.

15. Evidence of these feelings was found. Those residents that did express dissatisfaction in most cases qualified their dissatisfaction with comments such as, "The best bunch of boys I could have hoped for!", or "The supervisor did his best". In the same way, residents that expressed satisfaction might have withheld comments of minor dissatisfaction.

It was found that in 51 of 64 (80%) instances in which repairs had been done, residents expressed no dissatisfaction. In the 13 instances of dissatisfaction, the major reason was the poor quality of work ("The doors still stick!").

Another measure of satisfaction is the degree to which repairs done are those that are "needed", i.e., important to the residents. Residents were asked to describe their repair needs regardless of the work they actually had done and regardless of whether their needs were for major repairs, which were beyond WHIP's scope. In addition to this open-ended question, residents were asked specifically about major repair problems, i.e., those concerning plumbing, heating and electrical systems, the structure of the house, and its room arrangement.

Of the total number of repair needs expressed by 39 residents, only 11.9% were major repairs. This result is partly a function of the fact that half the homes in the sample were in average or good condition. The result is also a function of the fact that some residents were told by telephone that WHIP does not do major repairs. An approximate estimate of the number of residents discouraged in this way is one out of every ten. Therefore, although major repairs are more important than represented here, limited repairs could be estimated to occupy from 50% to 75% of all repair needs.

There are two important conclusions from the above discussion. First of all, WHIP is generally satisfying residents' stated overall repair needs. Secondly, limited repairs are important to people. Only 5 of 39 residents considered major repairs to be most important (see Most Important Repair Needs).

Due to the limitations of our data, though, it is not possible to make definitive statements about the relative importance of limited and major repairs to inner city residents in general. The data only suggest that limited repairs are important to residents.

Still another aspect of resident satisfaction with WHIP's performance is the residents' opinions of the relationship of the work crew. When questioned as to whether or not they found WHIP participants cooperative, all but three residents said yes. This is interesting in light of the fact that some of these residents were dissatisfied with the actual repair work. Although this in part may indicate residents' hesitation to express dissatisfaction, it also indicates the success of WHIP's participants in their use of certain social skills.

An additional factor affecting satisfaction, i.e. the disturbance of daily life caused by repairs, is discussed in Resident Disturbance Caused by Limited Repair.

Reasons for Repairs: Residents' reasons for having repairs done were obtained from answers to an open-ended question in the interviews with 39 residents. For the total sample, reasons related to:

- Cleanliness - "We'd clean (the living room) up spotless, and dust would be flying all over by the afternoon."
- Appearance - "I was fed up looking at (the walls) that colour."
- Ease of Maintenance - "(The walls) will just have to be wiped down every couple of years."

- Safety - "So I won't slip. My sister fell down (the stairs) and broke a bone."
- Physical comfort - "There was an awful lot of cold air coming in (the door)."
- Prevention of Deterioration - "The old (window) was rotten; it caught all the rain."
- Privacy - "You don't like to be sitting (on the toilet) and somebody walks in!"
- The need for more space - "We had seven beds in one room."

The improvement of appearance was by far the most frequent reason given for having repairs done; safety was the second, and cleanliness, the third. One might conclude that people are less concerned about the functioning of a house than they are about its appearance.

Consistencies in reasons for having specific repairs done were also found. The major reason, by far, for having interior painting done was the improvement of appearance, whereas the major reason for having flooring installed was safety.

The above information is valuable in that it requires the re-examination of often untested assumptions made by physical designers about what aspects of a living environment are important to persons living in it and the reasons for their choices. This study does not provide certain preliminary insights and certain research directions. For example, more factual data would test the general assumption that limited repairs are desired more for functional reasons than for reasons of appearance.

With insights gleaned from such data, the architect/designer can work with greater confidence and relevance to those served.

Most Important Repair Needs, Resident Characteristics and Home Environment

The evaluation has produced additional results, applicable in a broader sense than just to the performance of WHIP. They provide additional insight into the relationship of human behaviour to built environment, such insights ordinarily being limited to the conjecture of architects and designers.

The Most Important Repairs to Residents: The repairs that people had done are a good, but incomplete, indication of their repair priorities. First of all, WHIP does only limited repairs, and therefore any other needs that residents have are not represented in WHIP's data. Secondly, most of the repairs done up to the expiry date of the evaluation were interior repairs. Therefore, needs for exterior repairs are not represented. Thirdly, residents may not have had certain important repairs done for a number of reasons. They might not have been able to afford certain repairs; they might have thought or been told that WHIP did not do certain repairs; or they might not have wanted to impose by having a lot of work done. However, one intent of the evaluation was to gain an understanding of what kinds of repairs were most important to people, regardless of the repairs that they actually had done.

Residents listed all their repair needs and described the reasons why they had these needs in answer to an open-ended question in the semi-structured interview. The repair needs were then classified into the following repair types:¹⁶

- A) Repairs to interior surfaces with which residents normally have no contact. E.g. repairs to walls and ceilings.
- B) Repairs to interior surfaces with which residents normally have contact. E.g. repairs to doors, windows, and floors.
- C) Alterations to interior surfaces which change:
 - i) The amount of living space,
 - ii) The functioning of living space,
 - iii) The amount of storage space.E.g. new rooms, changed use of existing rooms, closets and cupboards.

16. Classification was necessary because there were over twenty different repairs that occurred frequently. The meaningfulness of the classification was based upon the following assumption: the importance of various parts of a house to a person must be related to the behaviour "required" of that person by those various parts of a house. The only observable link between people's behaviour and repairs is the contact or lack of contact that people have with the surfaces repaired. Therefore the classification does not depend on an interpretation of how people perceive, for example, walls or floors, but upon an observation of whether or not they touch walls or floors in their day to day life. Differentiation is made between interior and exterior surfaces on the basis of the difference in the amount of exposure that people have to these surfaces. Also, because certain repairs changed the character of spaces within or without a house, they were felt to be unique, although they might involve repairs to surfaces with which residents did or did not have contact.

- D) Repairs to interior services. E.g. electrical, plumbing, heating.
- E) Repairs to exterior surfaces with which residents normally have no contact. E.g. house siding and roofing.
- F) Repairs to exterior surfaces with which residents normally have contact. E.g. steps and sidewalks.
- G) Alterations to exterior surfaces which change,
 - i) The amount of exterior space,
 - ii) The functioning of exterior space,
 - iii) The amount of storage space.E.g. fence and garage.

The most important kind of repair for each of 39 residents was assumed to be that kind of repair that residents spent most time speaking about. These results were compared to residents' own statements as to which repairs were most important. No statistically significant difference in the results obtained by both methods was noted.

It was found that in terms of individual repairs, painting was important to many more residents than any other repairs. Papering, drywalling, panelling, the installation of doors, the installation of flooring, repairs to heating systems, the addition of rooms and cupboards, roofing, and finally fencing were important to equal numbers of residents. When these repairs were categorized into types, more meaningful results were found.

Interior repairs were most important to many more residents than were exterior repairs. This tends to reinforce the assumption made that the importance of interior and exterior surfaces depends upon the amount of exposure that residents have to each kind of surface. Further, it tends to discredit the assumption sometimes made that exterior surfaces are more important because of their potential for portraying the image of a resident. Beside providing some general understanding of people's needs, this result also suggests that we should give priority to interior repair needs in certain cases (see Summary and Recommendations).

An equal number of residents felt that repairs to surfaces with which they have contact and repairs to surfaces with which they do not have contact were most important. Therefore, in terms of the total sample, the hypothesis that the importance of repairs depends upon the degree of contact with the repaired surfaces is not proven. However, using more homogeneous subsamples of residents, evidence was uncovered that there is a relationship between certain characteristics of residents and the type of repair of most importance. These correlations are reported below.

Residents repair needs did not exclude major repair needs (all those beyond the scope of WHIP). In fact 5 of the 39 residents interviewed stated major repairs to be their most important needs. The implications of this in terms of the importance of limited repairs to residents is discussed in Resident Repair Needs and Resident Satisfaction.

Characteristics of Residents and Repair Needs: It was evident from the results that there was not a consensus among residents as to which kind of repair was most important. That is, different residents found different kinds of repairs more important. An attempt was made to find any significant correlations between the kind of repair considered most important and certain characteristics of residents. It was hoped that a better understanding of what influences people as to the things that they find most important in their living environments, would be gained from this analysis. The characteristics examined were: age, condition, and location of the house; number and age of parents; number of children; density of people per room; length of residence; total number of repair needs (as stated by the resident in the semistructured interview); and the room that the resident said was most used in the house.

Thirty-nine residents were interviewed. Their age distribution was:

2 residents between 0 - 20 years of age
14 residents between 21 - 40 years of age
10 residents between 41 - 60 years of age
13 residents between 61 + years of age

The average age of residents was 49 years.

Slightly more than half the families had two parents.

17 residents had 0 children
15 residents had 1 - 3 children
7 residents had 4 + children

The average number of children per family was 1.5.

On the average, the houses of the residents were 47 years old. 77% of the houses were in good or average condition, and 23% of the houses were in poor condition. 69% of the houses were in the inner city.

The average density in the homes was one person for every two rooms (i.e., 0.5), compared to 0.62 for the city. Residents had lived in their homes for 14 years on the average. The average number of stated repair needs per house was eleven. 54% of the residents considered the kitchen to be the most used room in the house; 33% considered the living room to be; the remaining 13% considered various other rooms to be the most used rooms.

Several significant correlations emerge in the study between resident characteristics and the most important repairs as stated by the residents.

Residents for whom repairs to interior surfaces with which they have no contact were most important, were the oldest residents, had lived longest in their homes, had fewer than average stated repair needs, and lived in an above average number of houses in good condition. Those residents for whom repairs to exterior surfaces with which they have no contact were important were very similar to those residents described above. They also had a fewer than average number of children.

Why should such correlations exist? People may tend to value repairs to surfaces with which they do not have contact more when other kinds of repairs have been done previously (i.e., houses with long ownership, in good condition, with few repairs wanted by residents). Certain jobs, like painting, may be too physically demanding for older people to do themselves.

Or perhaps older people see the surfaces with which they have no contact more often than younger people and tend to use surfaces with which they do come in contact less than younger people. That is, their life is more relaxed, perhaps confined, and they have older and fewer children to take care of.

Another significant correlation was found in the characteristics of residents and the need for alterations to interior surfaces to change space. These families had two parents in an above average number of cases, had an above average number of children, had stated the largest number of repair needs, lived in the oldest homes, and were unanimous in considering the kitchen as the most used room.

Again there may be several reasons for these correlations. Most older houses tend to be smaller and broken into small rooms, with small kitchens. The spaces are often inadequate for families with many children. The need for space that large families have may be related, in part, to the fact that large families use their kitchens more than other rooms in their homes. If the kitchen is used a great deal, but is inadequate, the expressed need for alterations is probably most strongly felt.

Those residents that chose alterations to exterior surfaces to change space were similar to the residents described above, except that they were younger and had more children. Basically, the same reasons apply to these correlations as those related to interior space needs.

Not only does the above kind of discussion provide insights into the kinds of repairs that different people value; it has another potential function. It could be used to anticipate and plan the delivery of the types of repair services most desired by a specific population whose characteristics were known. For example, if a large number of residents were older and had lived in their homes for many years, one could anticipate more repairs such as painting, panelling, or wall papering. The fewer the children, the more likely jobs such as exterior painting, would be desired. On the other hand, if a large number of residents were younger and had more children, one could anticipate more jobs such as the "roughing in" of bedrooms or bathrooms. The more children, the greater would be the likelihood of repairs such as fencing. As these different repairs require different skills, anticipation of the amount of emphasis on and training in certain skills would be beneficial.

Characteristics of Residents and their Home Environment: The collection of information about the characteristics of 39 residents serviced by WHIP revealed certain interesting correlations, which although not specifically applicable to the evaluation of limited repair, do provide some insights into several assumptions commonly made by designers of living environments. They also suggest topics for future research into people's perceptions of their homes.

Certain assumptions are commonly made about the relationship of the condition of a house to characteristics of residents. The results show no significant relationship between house condition and the number or age of parents. Therefore the assumption that might be made that older people live in houses in poorer condition because they are physically unable to maintain them is not borne out by our findings. Also, the

assumption that might be made that single parents live in houses in poorer condition because they don't have the time to maintain them is not borne out by the results.

A correlation was found, however, between house condition and the number of children in a family. That is, the fewer the children, the better the condition of the home. The reason for this correlation might be that children normally subject a house to considerable wear and tear. On the other hand, the reason might be that large low income families often cannot afford to buy houses of adequate size in good condition.

Another correlation found was that houses in poorer condition tended to have less space per person. This reinforces an assumption often made that poor condition and inadequate space are housing characteristics generally found in combination. The reasons for this are similar to those given for the previous correlation.

A weak correlation was found between the condition of a house and the number of repair needs perceived by the occupant of that house. Those residents living in houses in good condition perceived only slightly fewer repair needs than those living in houses of poor or average condition. The lack of strength in the correlation suggests that the way that an occupant and outsider perceive the quality of living environment in a house may be different. However, the results neither prove nor disprove assumptions made about home occupants' ability to judge their own need.

Other correlations also existed between the kind of resident and the number of expressed needs. Older parents expressed fewer needs than younger ones. People who had no children expressed fewer needs than those who did. People expressed

more repair needs when there was less space per person in the house. Perhaps older people become less sensitive to their physical surroundings. Perhaps, parents' concerns for children increase sensitivity to their physical surroundings. Or perhaps it is the density of living which really increases people's sensitivity to physical surroundings.

It might be expected that the number of perceived needs would decrease, the longer someone had lived in a home. The results do not substantiate this hypothesis. On the other hand, a correlation did exist between the number of needs expressed and the age of a house: the older the house, the larger the number of expressed repair needs.

Finally, there were some correlations apparent between the kind of resident and the room that was considered most used. Older parents used the living room most, and younger parents the kitchen. Moreover, as the number of children in a family increased, the most used room changed from the living room to the kitchen.

In some cases, the hypotheses tested and the correlations discovered might seem obvious. It has been the intent of this part of the study, however, to derive some solid data -- data that we might begin to use with more confidence in the design of built environments. This field has been too long one in which guessing and personal interpretation have been the tools of translating assumed behaviour and attitudes into physical form.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

WHIP has been successful in achieving a number of its goals. It repairs more houses and by implication affects more people with given time and money than does extensive renovation (see Comparison of Extensive Renovation and Limited Repair). WHIP does so at a cost to residents that they can afford (see Cost of Limited Repairs to Residents). The majority of residents are satisfied with the repairs done by WHIP and consider limited repairs important (see Residents' Repair Needs and Resident Satisfaction). Little disturbance is caused in most cases by repairs in residents' homes (see Resident Disturbance Caused by Limited Repairs).

The need for home improvement in the inner city is great. Seventy-five per cent of the houses in former Urban Renewal Area Number 2 were estimated in 1968 to have been in fair to poor condition.¹⁷ It is the opinion of the researchers that while this figure is an exaggeration, it does indicate that a substantial amount of the housing stock in this and other similar inner city areas is in need of repair work. The backlog of repair applications that WHIP has is another indication of the need for home improvement.

17. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Final General Report, Urban Renewal Area Number 2, 1968, p. 18.

WHIP should now chart its future operations along certain guidelines.

1. Because WHIP has achieved the majority of its goals related to house repairs and because there is a demonstrated need for home improvement work, the project should be expanded. The rate of expansion should be related to current demand, program needs, and the capacity of staff. The initial project should intensify its work in the central part of Winnipeg, and similar programs should be developed in other areas of the city.
2. WHIP repairs more houses with given time and government money than does extensive renovation. However, it is not as efficient as a private profit making company doing limited repair. Table 4 compares the relative efficiency in terms of average cost per repair of WHIP and a private profit making company. Cost in this comparison represents government expenditure; the cost figures for the private company in this case represent those of a stipulated sum contract (excluding material costs paid by residents) between the company and a government agency.

Although the average total cost per repair for WHIP is greater than that for a private profit making company, there are several benefits of the WHIP program that are not realized with the private company. First of all, WHIP provides a training program. Moreover, it is a very special training program in that it is training participants in the skills of rehabilitation as opposed to new construction. In the past much of the rehabilitation work has been done by workmen familiar only with new construction techniques. In the future, rehabilitation can be done by workmen from WHIP specifically trained to do repair work in older homes.

Table 4. Average Costs per Repair for WHIP and a Private Profit Making Company.

<u>Average Costs</u>	<u>WHIP Government Sponsored</u>	<u>Private Profit Making Company Government Contracted</u>
Labour	\$336. ¹	\$245. ³
Material	-	-
Overhead and Administrative	252. ²	110. ⁴
Profit	<u>-</u>	<u>25.⁵</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$588.</u>	<u>\$380.</u>

1.
$$\frac{\text{[Sum of Average Times (Work \& Training) for 8 Types of Repairs (Man Hours)]}}{8} \times \text{[Wage per Hour]} = \frac{\text{Average Labour Cost}}{\text{Repair}}$$
2.
$$\frac{\text{Average Labour Cost}}{\text{Repair}} \times .75 \text{ (based on bookkeeper's records).}$$
3. Similar to 1., based on information supplied by eleven private contractors.
4. Labour plus Material Cost $\times .225$ (based on information supplied by contractors).
5. 9% of Total Cost (based upon information supplied by private contractors).

Secondly, WHIP provides training for people previously receiving government support from unemployment of social assistance agencies. This training enables these people to become independent of social assistance and therefore may eventually realize a cost saving to government. Finally, WHIP has great social benefit in

that it enables previously unemployable persons to enter the labour force. This helps to improve their lives as well as to increase their contribution to society. Therefore, although private industry appears more efficient than WHIP in doing limited repairs, the additional social and economic benefits of WHIP and the potential for increasing efficiency (see recommendation number 3 below) allow WHIP to compare most favourably with private industry as a viable approach to limited repairs.

In addition, WHIP provides training in a type of rehabilitation that private industry generally ignores. Much of the renovation work by private industry is done for business or for the wealthy and not for low income people in poor housing. It is generally not profitable at a small scale. Most rehabilitation work performed by private industry is of the major renovation type and performed with new construction techniques.

In order to further develop the rehabilitation skills of participants and to service low to middle income people with small scale repair needs, local, private and non-profit repair companies should be "spun-off" from WHIP.

On July 13, 1973, the WHIP Board called for the development of a new private company into which participants would move through a phased program. This program and company should be established. In addition, an alternate form of non profit company should be developed which would operate on a share capital basis, with incentive bonuses provided to staff. This form of company has certain tax advantages, has protection against personal liability, and can accept government grants to allow it to provide a lower cost service to the client.

Either form of company should have an agreement with WHIP regarding hiring and further developing the skills of WHIP participants. Such an organizational relationship could be the beginning of a truly local rehabilitation industry.

3. The cost component of labour for WHIP is greater than for a private profit making company. Although the hourly rate paid to WHIP workers is approximately half that of skilled tradesmen, the time necessary to do the repairs is so much greater for WHIP that the resultant average labour cost per repair is higher.¹⁸

Several factors affecting the amount of time necessary to do repairs were pinpointed in discussions with residents and private contractors. Many residents interviewed commented on the extended coffee and lunch breaks taken by the crews. Excessive socializing within the work crews was thought to cause considerable waste of time. This seemed

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18. This is corroborated by the fact that WHIP did only five houses in the time necessary to do one extensively renovated house, but 19.3 houses for the cost of one extensively renovated house (see Comparison of Extensive Renovation and Limited Repair). In addition, foremen documented the time necessary to complete repairs in nine houses and estimated the time necessary for private industry to complete the same repairs. They estimated that on the average, WHIP took 4.4 times as long as it would take private industry. This was corroborated in a comparison of the times necessary to do repairs by WHIP, as recorded on the time sheets, and the times necessary for the private industry to do the same repairs, as calculated from information provided by private contractors.

to have been encouraged by large crew sizes and by the extended absence of foremen.

WHIP participants were encouraged by the foremen to "take their time and try to do it right". The intention was to minimize material wastage, maximize quality and enhance basic learning. Nevertheless, time wasted through mistakes or waiting for instruction was also thought to be a function of the foremen's absences. These absences, in their turn, were a function of the fact that foremen had to visit and supervise an average of four sites per day distributed over a large area of the city. It is recommended that one of the participants be made "crew leader" on each job, with limited responsibility to act on behalf of the foreman in his absence. This position should rotate to other crew members on a monthly basis as a training device.

To reduce labour cost, it is recommended that crew sizes should be reduced to two or a maximum of three workers per house. The present foremen to total crew ratio, however, should remain the same. Thus, in order to reduce the job crew size, the participants will have to be spread over more jobs. This creates some logistical problems discussed in the following section. By adopting the changes recommended above, the labour cost of WHIP might be reduced substantially.

Presently, the Operations Coordinator, in assigning jobs, attempts to cluster jobs in one part of the city to minimize the foreman's travel time. It is recommended that practice be translated into selection policy. Proximity to other jobs, or specific travel time, therefore, should be a major job selection criterion. Furthermore, prior to commencement of

a job or while repairs are being done in a specific sector, publicity staff should solicit work in these areas to better concentrate work sectors.

To help increase efficiency of supervision, to reduce labour costs, and to maximize community impact, WHIP should restrict the area of the city that it services. In this way, foremen would be able to visit sites more often and for longer periods of time and spend less time travelling from site to site. These recommendations are reinforced by another conclusion of the evaluation. Lack of quality control was the major reason for residents dissatisfaction (see Residents' Repair Needs and Resident Satisfaction). Quality control would be improved if foremen visited sites more frequently. Also, this recommendation is an extension of the recommendation to enlarge the size of the project. If the project was enlarged and serviced the same area of the city, foremen would have smaller jurisdictions and would therefore spend less time in travel. Unfortunately, it cannot be recommended that the foremen-crew ratio be altered because this would greatly increase the cost of repairs.

4. The cost component for overhead and administrative costs is greater for WHIP than for a private, profit making company. Of course, the training program accounts for a substantial amount of total administrative costs. Inefficiencies, as a result of WHIP being a new company, are another reason for its high overhead and administrative costs. The involvement of the participants in operational and board meetings, i.e., training in decision making, is another cost factor. There is additional administrative time utilized to aid the

government in monitoring the project. And, finally, WHIP may be slightly overstaffed.¹⁹

Private contractors have estimated that a private company, with the same number of workmen as WHIP's present complement of participants, would have only one secretary and one bookkeeper. Presently WHIP employs three secretaries and two bookkeepers. Two of WHIP's secretaries, however, have administrative duties that extend beyond the repair program. It is recommended, therefore, that WHIP reduce its staff by one bookkeeper. However, due to the fact that this person's experience would be most valuable in another WHIP-type program, every effort should be made to place him or her in such a program. It should be noted that, regarding administrative staff, this recommendation has less effect upon improving efficiency than do those related to labour cost.

If the project is to expand, the appropriate ratio of administrative staff to participants would have to be reanalyzed.

5. The majority of residents are satisfied with the repair work done by WHIP. However, some residents were dissatisfied with the quality of work. Reduction of crew size and the increase in supervision by foremen attempts, in part, to rectify this dissatisfaction.

Although there is no evidence of the deterioration of WHIP repairs, the deterioration of some surfaces repaired by

19. A detailed analysis of possible reasons for high overhead and administrative costs is to be found in the Project #3-33-7-A, WHIP Administrative Study, op.cit.

one of the previous LIP projects was observed. In these cases, only the symptom of a more severe problem was dealt with. This is a potential problem with limited repair and foremen should be cautioned to ascertain the root cause of any problem. This may mean advising against doing repair, solving the cause of the problem, or devising a repair method which will last over a period of time.

A growing factor in resident dissatisfaction was the length of time necessary to do repairs (see Resident Disturbance Caused by Limited Repairs). Because time devoted to academic upgrading increases the duration of work in houses, it is recommended that the repair work in houses no longer be interrupted by classroom time. This could be achieved in several ways. For example, participants could do a term of academic upgrading and then a term of repair work. This term would be determined by the length of time suitable to the upgrading course, as well as by the average length of time spent per house in repair work.

Although residents, in large part, were satisfied with repairs, the repairs that they had done were not necessarily the most important. A large majority of residents felt that interior repairs were more important than exterior repairs, regardless of the work being done on their house (see The Most Important Repairs to Residents). For this reason, it is recommended that WHIP not restrict itself to exterior work in warmer weather. Resident need, and not climate, should be the most important criterion in the selection of repair work to be done.

6. As discussed previously, several WHIP goals were not met satisfactorily. Only 23% of the houses repaired were found to be in poor condition and 31% of the houses repaired were

located outside of the inner city. WHIP should place greater emphasis on increasing the number of poor houses repaired, increasing efficiency, and concentrating its work in the more deteriorated areas of the inner city.

To facilitate this, it is recommended that, in future, a stricter house selection method be employed by WHIP's participant evaluators. Such a method has been approved by the Board.²⁰ It includes a procedure for establishing house condition and location and outlines a process of maintaining adequate job records. (During the course of the evaluation, information was lacking in the job files.)

Because of the reticence of the inner city population to apply for repairs, it is recommended that a publicity campaign be undertaken and repeated, if necessary, to make inner city residents aware of WHIP's services. Door to door, in-person canvassing would be most effective. The role of the participant, presently acting as a public relations officer, should be expanded to include this responsibility.

7. The goal of repairing both owner-occupied and tenant-occupied dwellings is not being met. In light of the great need of repair found in tenant-occupied dwellings, it is recommended that WHIP examine two methods of dealing with this problem.

- a) Building By-Law Enforcement

WHIP could establish an agreement with both the municipal authority and local non profit housing corporations to enforce the existing maintenance and building by-laws.

20. See Evaluation and Selection of Repair Work, April 10, 1973. Report to WHIP Board by Ken Middleton, Greg Dorland, Carl Blanchaer and Eric Barker.

Once informed of a tenant-occupied dwelling in need of repair, the municipality would give the landlord a period of time to repair the dwelling. If these repairs are not done, the municipality would then expropriate the property at market value, transferring ownership to the non profit housing corporation. WHIP would then be contracted to do the required repairs, funded by the municipality or by grants through the non profit housing corporation. Thus, the condition of old housing stock is improved and the area rental rates stabilized.

b) Rent Control Agreement

Prior to any work being done in a tenant-occupied dwelling, an agreement between the landlord, WHIP, and a municipal board of jurisdiction would be signed. It would specify the amount of work to be done, the rent to be charged in a specified time period, and resale limitations. In this way, the tenant is protected from escalating rents as a result of repair work. The landlord is allowed to raise rents based solely on documented cost increases. The inducement to the landlord is the increase in property value and half price repair work.

It is important within this agreement to limit the repair work as the intent is not to completely renovate the property but to do limited repair. With the proper controls it is more important to improve the living environment of the tenant than to be concerned with a small subsidy to the landlord. Otherwise, as experience has shown, the landlord will do nothing but continue to collect the rent.

The key to any rent control agreement is having the jurisdiction and ability to enforce it. In that sense, any agreement will have to be approved and enforced by the municipality.

A comprehensive approach to the maintenance of tenant-occupied dwellings in lower income areas may be a combination, in some form, of both approaches.

8. The evaluation provides valuable information for the anticipation of rehabilitation needs useful in developing programs possibly utilizing the new neighbourhood improvement legislation. It is recommended that research should be done into the population characteristics of specific areas of the city. Then, to an extent, the kind of rehabilitation program most suitable for an area could be anticipated and developed. This study has shown that old people with few children value repairs such as painting and wall papering, while younger people with more children value additional rooms or fence installations. That is, a program anticipating the needs of the former kind of resident might be less extensive than one anticipating the needs of the latter kind of resident. When a decision is reached on the type of repair work to be done or the population to be served, work can be solicited in those areas of the city where demand will be high. In addition, foremen with specific skills, e.g. painting, drywall, or rough carpentry, can be hired in anticipation of the demand.

9. As a result of examining the limited repair technique by using the extensive renovation method as a basis for comparison, it is clear that both programs have deficiencies and benefits.

The extensive renovation program is costly, time consuming, has impact on few houses, and forces the relocation of occupants.

But, it has the benefits of truly salvaging existing housing stock, creating a fine living environment for the occupants, and providing good housing for years to come. In addition, it may create some community stability by encouraging investment and retaining beautiful old houses often found in older communities.

The limited repair program is limited in terms of its impact on the life span of the houses and does not solve the severe problems which may require the repair work to be repeated at a later date. This program, though, has many benefits. It takes a short time, can respond quickly to need, is inexpensive, has an impact on many houses, does not force the relocation of the occupants, can act as a training/employment program for unskilled persons, and facilitates work to be done in poor houses and for tenant-occupied premises because of the low cost of repairs.

The goal of the extensive renovation program is to salvage aging housing stock, while the goal of limited repair is to quickly improve housing for people who would not otherwise have repairs done, as well as provide a training/employment program for unskilled labour. These goals are not mutually exclusive and a comprehensive rehabilitation scheme with the

goal of improving the housing conditions in an area, should include both programs.

Thus, extensive renovation may be used to provide good housing through repairs that are less expensive than the cost of replacing the house with a new unit, to transfer ownership of properties to a non profit organization to stabilize housing costs, and to preserve the assets of older houses, which, in most cases, would be difficult to replace with new housing. The limited repair program would work in those properties where extensive repairs were not economically feasible. This may involve simply maintaining a fair house for a number of years or temporarily improving a poor property slated for demolition. A phased, new housing program should be integrated with a temporary repair approach to compensate for properties demolished and to ease relocation problems. Thus, an intensive analysis of the housing stock in a given area should be undertaken to determine the feasibility and proper mix of repair work and new construction.

If WHIP were to expand, it could do both kinds of work-- limited repair and extensive renovation. If a local, non profit housing corporation were given the funds and authority to purchase houses, it could act as the sponsor of this program. WHIP, or other similar programs, would compete with private industry for the job, with the contract being awarded to the low bidder. It is likely that, with experienced crews and increased efficiency, WHIP could compete successfully with private industry. By charging both labour and material, WHIP's budget would be subsidized by funds otherwise directed to private industry. It would also provide an opportunity for WHIP participants to gain further training and develop a higher level of skill in rehabilitation, thus fostering local rehabilitation companies.

An ideal framework for this program would be the new Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP). This program would enable WHIP's clients in a designated NIP area to take advantage of the \$5,000. maximum loans and \$2,500. maximum forgivable grants being offered for rehabilitation of private homes under the Resident Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP).

Thus, it is recommended that WHIP examine the feasibility of working with government and local non profit housing corporations on a Neighbourhood Improvement Program. Equally, WHIP should strengthen its relationship with existing government programs, such as the Provincial Site Office, which offers a variety of work opportunities.

Regardless of NIP, it is recommended that WHIP attempt, on a trial basis, a small amount of more extensive renovation work, charging both labour and material costs. But, it is understood that the major focus of the program should remain limited repair.

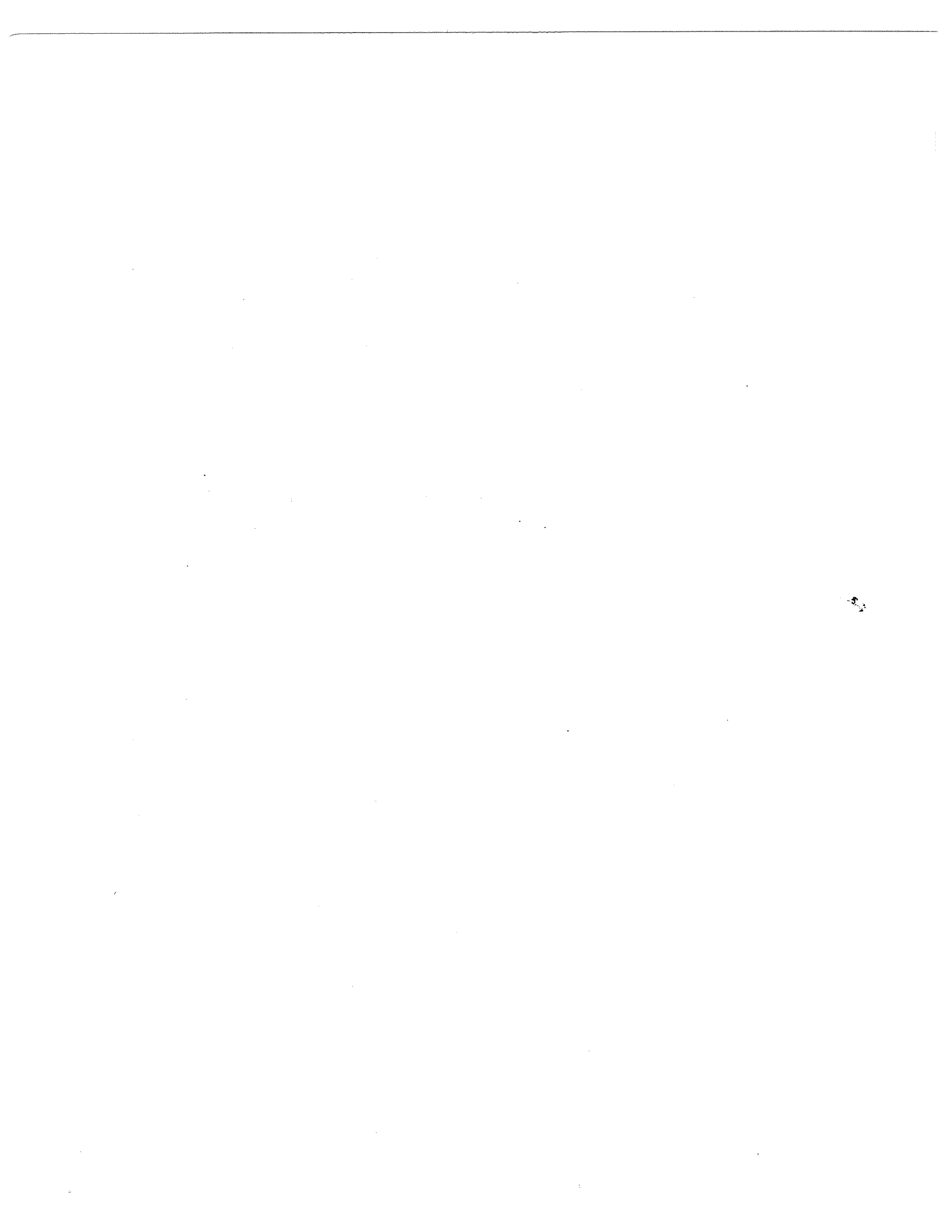
10. Finally, it is recommended that WHIP continue to evaluate the impact of its repair program on the residents, the participants, the houses, and the neighbourhood. Moreover, the economic effects of limited repair on property values, assessments, property taxes, and rental structure should be studied.

To facilitate this, selected residents and properties in specific areas should be studied over an eight month period by collecting data before and after the repairs are completed.

This will provide a strong base of factual data on which to evaluate WHIP's performance and impact, to recommend further changes in WHIP's program, and to suggest new directions in neighbourhood improvement programs.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCING OF
NON-PROFIT HOUSING:
THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE FOR
A BETTER NEIGHBOURHOOD, INC.

Terry J. Partridge / Lloyd Axworthy



INTRODUCTION*

With the introduction of improved financial incentives to non-profit housing under the new National Housing Act, attention must now be focused on the practical difficulties encountered by non-profit groups and the areas in which additional support is required. While past experience has created questions about the value of non-profit housing in meeting overall housing needs, the new amendments provide an opportunity to test the worth of this housing approach.¹

As set out in a previous report, the advantages of non-profit housing can be assessed according to tangible and intangible benefits.² In a tangible way, the issue is what kind of housing contribution can be made by supplying a below market interest rate to a community group. Are specific housing needs of low-to-moderate income families really served? Does non-profit housing serve as an alternative to public housing, or does it fill a need not presently supplied by either public or private

*We wish to thank Terry Zdan of the Institute staff for his help in preparing the statistical information and the section on comparing the tenants' old and new housing.

1. For an examination of some of the wider implications of non-profit housing, see Lloyd Axworthy, "A Strategy for Self-Help Housing and Renewal", Plan, Volume 13, No. 2, 1973.
2. Ibid.

housing? In terms of intangible benefits, there is the basic issue of how the involvement by a community group in finding a solution to its own problems is a benefit in itself. That is, the very act of involvement by community residents can be an important contribution to neighbourhood renewal.³

This report provides some light on the practical problems and needs of non-profit housing groups. It describes how a citizens' group operating in a low income area of central Winnipeg used the non-profit provisions of the National Housing Act (prior to amendments) to provide rental housing at below market interest rates to low-to-moderate income families living in the area. During the course of developing this modest experimental project, the group encountered a number of financial, procedural and organizational difficulties. Assisted by outside resources, it developed some innovative responses. At the same time, the project demonstrates some of the tangible benefits of non-profit housing and provides some suggestions as to how the administration of the non-profit program might be improved.

3. ibid., pp. 147-148. Also see John Orbell, Toro Orvin, Al Actus, "A Theory of Neighbourhood Problem Solving: Political Action vs. Residential Mobility", American Political Science Review, Volume LXVI, June 1972.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PROJECT

The People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood Inc. is a group of citizens in central Winnipeg who were organized in 1969 with the assistance of staff from the Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) and a volunteer lawyer and accountant. Their purpose was to engage in community based planning and improvement in the old Urban Renewal Area II district of Winnipeg. Their first project was the relocation and rehabilitation of an old apartment block which they successfully completed in 1971 with the cooperation of Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, the City of Winnipeg and IUS. In addition, they have undertaken a number of other initiatives in the field of neighbourhood planning and improvement.⁴

In the spring of 1972, they decided to purchase older homes in the area for the purpose of housing families with large numbers of children or those who preferred to remain in the area but could not afford the then market price. They submitted a proposal to the Winnipeg Foundation for a grant to initiate the program, entered into discussions with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and began working with a group of students from the University of Winnipeg who were operating an OFY-sponsored, IUS-supervised Urban Field Service.

4. For a more detailed account of the early work of the People's Committee, see L. Axworthy, "Roosevelt Park Redevelopment", in L. Axworthy, ed., The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, IUS, 1972.

In late June, local CMHC officials in Winnipeg set out specific requirements that the People's Committee had to meet in terms of description of property, appraisals and access to properties.⁵ The students and the People's Committee then began interviewing possible tenants and assessing their need in terms of income, family size and quality of existing homes. A search was made for available properties in the area that would match the requirements of the proposed tenants. However, because of the experimental nature of the project, approval of a loan in principle took several months and the group had to abandon plans to purchase the homes originally selected.

In November of 1972, a final proposal for a \$100,000 loan was submitted to CMHC, and the People's Committee again began selecting homes and taking out options on several properties, using Foundation money. Most of the options called for possession in January or February, 1973. Final approval of the loan was not, however, received until March. Thus, in order to avoid losing the homes this time, the Committee was forced to pay interest on the purchase price from the original possession date until loan funds were received. In the meantime the homes sat vacant until April, when the new tenants moved in. To cover expenses in setting up the operation, the Committee received a \$5,000 start-up grant from CMHC.

This short summary of steps taken by the People's Committee, assisted by students, professional consultants, the Winnipeg Foundation, IUS and CMHC branch officers is designed only to set the chronological order of events. The following portion of the report contains a comparison of the previous and present housing of the Committee's tenants and an indication of their satisfaction. This is followed by a discussion of the particularly troublesome problems faced by the People's Committee and the specific

5. David Vincent, IUS internal memorandum, June 20, 1972.

innovative administrative and financial procedures developed to meet those problems. This information should serve as a useful guide for expansion of the program or the initiation of similar programs by other non-profit groups.

COMPARISON OF PREVIOUS AND PRESENT HOUSES AND NEIGHBOURHOODS

In the case of each family, if one compares their previous accommodation to that obtained under the People's Committee's non-profit program, it appears that families gained in terms of space, improved facilities, or neighbourhood qualities. Table 1 provides a comparison of the previous and present residences of each family in terms of rent, space and facilities. Further evidence of space and environmental improvements has been obtained from brief interviews with most of the families.

Family A had inadequate bedroom space in their previous home and disliked the neighbourhood environment, especially the presence of drunks and delinquent youth. Although the number of bedrooms did not increase, the larger size of the new bedrooms was of prime importance to the residents. Also important was the improvement in the neighbourhood environment, which was seen as less noisy, less trafficked, and safer.

No information could be obtained from Family B.

Table 1. Comparative Rent, Space and Facilities of Previous and Present Housing of Seven Tenant Families.

FAMILY A: 7 people, 5 children (3 male, 2 female).

	<u>Previous</u>	<u>Present</u>
Rent/month	\$85.	\$135.
Family Housing Type	multiple	single
Lot Size	13,068 sq. ft.	2,475 sq. ft.
No. of rooms (bedrms.)	6 (3)	6 (3)
Rooms (bedrms.)/person	.86 (.43)	.86 (.43)
Other Features	no garage unkept backyard	garage fenced backyard

FAMILY B: 6 people, 4 children (4 males).

	<u>Previous</u>	<u>Present</u>
Rent/month	\$125.	\$125.
Family Housing Type	single	single
Lot Size	7,350 sq. ft.	3,500 sq. ft.
No. of rooms (bedrms.)	6 (4)	8 (5)
Rooms (bedrms.)/person	1 (.67)	1.3 (.83)
Other Features	1 two piece washrm. (bath and toilet) garage	1 three piece washrm. one extra toilet no garage

FAMILY C: 13 people, 11 children (5 male, 6 female)

	<u>Previous</u>	<u>Present</u>
Rent/month	\$120.	\$150.
Family Housing Type	single	single
Lot Size	2,615 sq. ft.	3,201 sq. ft.
No. of rooms (bedrms.)	7 (5)	8 (5)
Rooms (bedrms.)/person	.54 (.38)	.61 (.38)
Other Features	1 three piece washrm.	1 four piece washrm. 1 two piece washrm.

FAMILY D: 6 people, 4 children (1 male, 3 female).

	<u>Previous</u>	<u>Present</u>
Rent/month	\$80.	\$125.
Family Housing Type	row housing	single
Lot Size		2,500 sq. ft.
No. of rooms (bedrms.)	6 (4)	9 (5)
Rooms (bedrms.)/person	1 (.67)	1.5 (.83)
Other Features	very small yard	front lawn fenced plus rear garden

Table 1. (cont'd.)

FAMILY E: 10 people, 8 children (5 male, 3 female).

	<u>Previous</u>	<u>Present</u>
Rent/month	\$67.	\$115.
Family Housing Type	duplex	single
Lot Size	5,785 sq. ft.	2,673 sq. ft.
No. of rooms (bedrms.)	8 (5)	9 (6)
Rooms (bedrms.)/person	.8 (.5)	.9 (.6)
Other Features	1 three piece washrm.	1 three piece washrm. fenced yard

FAMILY F: 9 people, 7 children (3 male, 4 female).

	<u>Previous</u>	<u>Present</u>
Rent/month	\$115.	\$115.
Family Housing Type	single	single
Lot Size	2,060 sq. ft.	3,750 sq. ft.
No. of rooms (bedrms.)	7 (3)	7 (5)
Rooms (bedrms.)/person	.78 (.33)	.78 (.56)
Other Features	1 three piece washrm.	1 three piece washrm. one extra toilet garden

FAMILY G: 5 people, 3 children (3 male).

	<u>Previous</u>	<u>Present</u>
Rent/month	\$125.	\$135.
Family Housing Type	single	single
Lot Size	4,900 sq. ft.	3,072 sq. ft.
No. of rooms (bedrms.)	5 (3, est.)	9 (5)
Rooms (bedrms.)/person	1 (.6, est.)	1.8 (1)
Other Features	partial basement 1 two piece washrm.	full basement 2 three piece washrm. 2 car garage fenced yard

Sources: Multiple Listing Service (Winnipeg Realtor's Board)
City of Winnipeg Assessment Branch
Personal Interviews

Family C's former residence was a "cold house". The neighbourhood had some delinquent children and an unsightly yard next door. The new residence, located in the same general area, was seen as having better immediate surroundings and a favourite school. "If it weren't for Dufferin School", commented the mother, "I would have probably moved out of the area".

The housewife of Family D indicated that the strongest factor motivating their move was the neighbourhood. She stated that their former residence was "an MHRC project, and you never knew when you would be woken by other people fighting". She complained about the general lack of privacy and the difficulty of commuting by bus from the project. Their new house was an improvement on both grounds, and even though it was older than their previous dwelling, it was no harder to keep clean.

Family E liked having six bedrooms in their present home, as opposed to five in the previous one. There were also "more kids and drunkards at the other place". However, the head of the household did not see any improvement in property management or maintenance. "As for improvement," he stated, "it's the same thing as to landlords;" promised improvements were still not being carried out.

Family F remarked that the former housing was lacking in space and was across the street from a "noisy park". The new house had neither of these problems.

Family G perceived that the lack of a basement in their previous home required the washing of clothes and the preparing of meals in the same location. The children had to be prohibited from playing on the front street, due to the amount of traffic. The new home was seen as having both more space and a better, safer environment.

Clearly, for nearly all families, neighbourhood or environmental qualities were at least as important as particular housing qualities in their degree of satisfaction with their new homes. All saw distinct overall improvements, with neighbourhood improvement most important for some families.

This factor of major improvement in housing and neighbourhood quality and facilities justified the increase in monthly rent that accrued with five out of the seven families. The increase in costs were covered by additional government support in the case of these families receiving some form of public assistance. In others the increase in costs were managed within the family income, because they had been paying very low rents for poor standard housing. The key component in the program is that it made available units for large families at reasonable cost. (For further discussion of finance see following sections on Capital and Rental Subsidies.)

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

This section details various difficulties encountered by the People's Committee and their advisers in working through the non-profit housing project, various administrative and financial procedures developed to resolve those difficulties, and some recommendations for future development of non-profit housing programs.

Tenant Selection

Tenant selection was conducted jointly by university students and members of the People's Committee. The criteria used were:

- 1) present state of dwelling unit, 2) social environment, and
- 3) willingness to participate in the People's Committee.

It was apparent, however, that the tenants eventually selected were those well known to members of the Board of the People's Committee (see Table 2, line 2) and while they had obvious needs, they also had obvious advantages over those who were not known to the Committee.

The students recommended that in the next round of housing, selection be made by a special committee comprised of present tenants and non-Board members of the People's Committee⁶ in an effort to avoid favouritism.

While it is true that tenant selection by a citizen group is bound to reflect the biases of the group, and favour those known to the group, this should not be seen necessarily as a negative feature of the project. One of the objectives is to encourage people to solve their own problems for their own people. Discrimination occurs if there is only one group serving only one stratum of neighbourhood interest. If non-profit housing proliferates, then a pluralism of self-help solutions will occur and a multiplicity of interests will be served. Duplication of services and organizations, in this instance, is a significant social asset.

House Selection

Several difficulties were faced by the Committee in house selection. To begin with, adequate houses within Urban Renewal Area No. 2 were found to be very high in price relative to their quality. This is because homes with sufficient space for large families were normally revenue producing to their owners and had a higher price tag. Thus, the Committee was compelled to go outside the boundaries of the renewal area. They found that just south and west, larger houses were more available and more reasonably priced.⁷ (For the location of houses selected, see map on page 6). This suggests the need to research more extensively those locations in

6. Elizabeth Coyle, Murray Trachtenberg, Shaun Axelrod, Helen Aldreson, and Trevor Axworthy, Report of Urban Field Service, internal document prepared for IUS, Summer 1972.

7. Ibid., p. 7.

Table 2. Family Costs.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
1. Family size	7	6	13	6	11	9	5	
2. Member of committee	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	
<u>Rents and Subsidies Per Month</u>								
3. Rent in previous home	85.00	125.00	120.00	80.00	67.50	115.00	125.00	
4. Monthly cost of present home to Corporation	130.81	98.33	157.51	144.29	139.29	126.91	149.43	946.57
5. Rental agreement	135.00	125.00	150.00	135.00	135.00	125.00	140.00	945.00
6. Rent paid by tenant	135.00	125.00	150.00	125.00	115.00	115.00	135.00	900.00
7. Subsidy to tenant	-	-	-	10.00	20.00	10.00	5.00	45.00

Table 3. Capital Costs and Payments.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
<u>Capital Costs</u>								
1. Purchase price	12,500.00	8,700.00	15,500.00	14,000.00	13,000.00	12,000.00	14,500.00	90,200.00
2. Tax adjustment	- 18.96	-	- 31.88	- 20.20	- 43.42	- 38.00	- 64.41	-216.87
3. Insurance adjustment	12.80	75.61	38.33	40.84	10.54	21.29	-	199.91
4. Legal fees and disbursement	221.40	228.00	286.00	222.90	270.00	257.50	276.00	1,761.80
5. Interest to vendor	220.71	53.67	181.96	205.33	126.91	95.96	91.27	975.81
6. Total	12,935.95	9,057.28	15,974.91	14,448.87	13,364.03	12,336.75	14,802.86	92,920.65
<u>Capital Payments</u>								
7. Payment by Foundation	695.95	499.73	774.91	723.87	659.03	586.75	649.07	4,589.31
8. Mortgage loan	12,240.00	8,557.55	15,200.00	13,725.00	12,705.00	11,750.00	14,153.79	88,331.34
9. Total	12,935.95	9,057.28	15,974.91	14,448.87	13,364.03	12,336.75	14,802.86	92,920.65

Table 4. Operating Costs and Revenue.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
<u>Annual Operating Cost Estimates</u>								
1. Taxes (Actual Taxes)	227.52 (297.03)	189.22 (257.09)	259.07 (365.13)	242.46 (313.10)	272.54 (344.31)	227.97 (298.86)	257.66 (330.72)	1,676.44 (2,206.24)
2. Insurance	22.00	22.00	22.00	22.00	22.00	22.00	22.00	154.00
3. Maintenance	120.00	120.00	120.00	120.00	120.00	120.00	120.00	840.00
4. Administration	74.56	56.05	89.78	82.24	79.34	72.34	85.17	539.48
5. Replacement reserve	56.10	33.30	74.10	66.90	65.10	53.10	69.72	418.32
6. Mortgage payment (at 7 7/8% over 50 years) (Market rate 10%-35 years)	991.02 (1,235.00)	700.36 (865.00)	1,230.68 (1,530.00)	1,111.26 (1,385.00)	1,028.67 (1,280.00)	951.35 (1,185.00)	1,148.91 (1,425.00)	7,162.25 (8,900.00)
7. Contingency 5%	78.48	59.00	94.51	86.57	83.56	76.15	89.66	567.93
8. Total	1,569.68	1,179.93	1,890.14	1,731.43	1,671.21	1,522.91	1,793.12	11,358.42
<u>Monthly Expenditures and Revenue</u>								
9. Monthly cost (est.)	130.81	98.33	157.51	144.29	139.29	126.91	149.43	946.57
10. Monthly revenue	135.00	125.00	150.00	125.00	115.00	115.00	135.00	900.00
11. Surplus/deficit	+ 4.19	+ 26.67	- 7.51	- 19.29	- 24.29	- 11.91	- 14.43	- 45.43
<u>Management Costs</u>								
12. Capital Expenditures: Adding machine, Desks, Chairs, Filing Cabinets, etc.=	699.00							
Operating Account:			<u>Monthly</u>			<u>Annually</u>		
13. Wages and Benefits (bookkeeper)			370.00			4,440.00		
14. Rent			75.00			900.00		
15. Cleaning			20.00			240.00		
16. Telephone			10.00			120.00		
17. Hydro			20.00			240.00		
18. Office Supplies and Miscellaneous			10.00			120.00		
19. Total/Year					6,060.00			

the housing market particularly suitable to non-profit housing groups so that they can target their activity most efficiently.

Many of the older, larger homes in the inner city suitable for large families have been converted to multi-family use. CMHC regulations at the time forbade giving loans on units where there was multiple metering, eliminating many homes from potential purchase by the People's Committee. Recognizing this problem, CMHC waived the regulations with respect to the Committee's latter few homes and required only that the additional meters are disconnected.

Another difficulty faced was the procedure of having the tenant select the home of his or her choice. Tenants often chose homes beyond the economic reach of the program, and in hopes of obtaining an unrealistic choice, would bypass a home within their reach.⁸ The basic constraint affecting the selection of homes was that the monthly rental rate by CMHC reckoning should not exceed 30% of total gross income, and should be approximately 1/100 of the purchase price. This proved to be unrealistic, especially for families with large numbers of children. A more flexible system of relating allowable purchase price to income is required, especially when it applies to family size.

One further problem in house selection was the Committee's attempt to conduct its own searches for property. Once the word was out, committee members found themselves besieged by high pressure real estate men. They then decided to use the services of one agent which provided a significant speed-up and improvement in service.⁹

8. ibid., p. 8.

9. ibid., p. 6.

Delays in Approval

One of the most vexing problems faced by the People's Committee was in gaining approval of their loan application. It appeared that a program such as this was not given particularly high priority by CMHC. It should be noted, however, that the proposal was experimental in nature and could not be processed in a routine way. Also it was considered under the constraints of the old provisions of the NHA, while new proposals were pending. Whatever the reason, the delays caused serious problems for the People's Committee.

The most serious tangible consequence of these delays was the loss of \$976 in interest payments to vendors (see Table 3, line 5). Equally troublesome was the anxiety and inconvenience of the tenants who were in a constant state of frustration. In some cases, tenants had made arrangements to leave their old accommodation on the expectation that the loan would be approved. Then there was a hold up in the Executive Committee of CMHC in Ottawa, and the item was set back another month or two.

It is hoped that the proposed de-centralization of CMHC and the establishment of specific corporation officials to deal with non-profit groups will overcome this difficulty in the future. But, the Corporation should ensure that its procedures are designed to expedite the process and avoid unnecessary delays with their consequent hardships on the sponsor group and its clients.

Accounting System

At the inception of the program, the People's Committee had a number of separate accounts, corresponding to its different projects, which prevented it from having a proper awareness of its full financial picture. This has caused difficulties in operation and

confusion in determining how to apportion costs.

One of the prerequisites for the inception of a non-profit housing venture should be a good bookkeeping system. Of considerable value would be a booklet setting out the necessary system to be available to groups starting out in the business. Where necessary, the written material should be reinforced and applied by skilled practicing accountants on behalf of the group while it develops its own expertise.

Coordination

One of the problems encountered in this particular project was the difficulty in coordination. Several different groups and agencies were involved and each had different pieces of information, with no one having it all. This can be corrected simply through establishing a system in which the People's Committee takes over more of the functions of coordination, using the advisory groups as support services. This requires the keeping of a central file and circulation of relevant documents to each of the key advisors.

Computing Taxes and Rehabilitation Costs

One area which has caused important problems is in the area of computing the ultimate costs of the project. Here a miscalculation was made by advisors to the People's Committee. To begin with, cost estimates were based on net taxes, i.e., gross taxes minus an anticipated provincial property tax rebate. This rebate, however, does not apply to landlords, the refund going to either a homeowner or a tenant under the provisions of the provincial act. The People's Committee, as a non-profit "landlord", was not eligible to receive the rebate and was thus liable for the

gross tax bill, which amounted to \$530 more than estimated (see Table 4, line-1). The tenants, on the other hand, continued receiving relief up to \$150 a year in 1973.

Furthermore, the People's Committee has been faced with the necessity of finding a total of \$1,103 above what was originally budgeted for the project. This is due in part to the tax miscalculation and the delay in discovering it. But it is also due to a lack of proper information regarding the payment schedule for municipal property taxes. In order to avoid interest charges on due taxes, the Committee had to pay its current tax bill in advance of the receipt of the equivalent revenue through rents. This information was not known at the time that the loan agreement was signed and, therefore, was neither capitalized in the original loan nor figured in the rents.

Both problems required re-negotiation between the People's Committee and CMHC officials. The result will be a slight increase in rents. The Provincial government, however, might well consider amending the legislation to enable non-profit groups to receive the property tax rebate, thereby adding another financial incentive for these groups. And in the future, complete tax information should be provided to non-profit groups, so that total tax liabilities can either be capitalized in the loan or the necessary equity obtained.

Another one of the financial difficulties faced by the Committee was that the actual cost of rehabilitating the homes, about \$2,500, was not included as part of the original loan figure. The application for a CMHC loan is based on the actual value of the property as it exists, and not at a potential improved value as a result of improvements. Thus, rehabilitation costs, as such, could not be declared, and the argument for its inclusion might

not have been accepted by CMHC and certainly would have further delayed the processing of the application. Such a delay would have again endangered the acquisition of the houses selected and increased the costs to the Committee.

The actual \$2,500 expenditure for rehabilitation was incurred after the loan application was approved by CMHC. These costs were held down somewhat, because the Committee in some cases used the limited repair service of the Winnipeg Home Improvement Project, which gave it free labour.* The new Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) could have been very useful to the Committee, had it been available at that time. Fortunately, however, the People's Committee had the Foundation fund to draw upon to cover rehabilitation costs.

The People's Committee appears not to have developed a system of cost estimating, tendering, and budgeting for rehabilitation. In future, such a system should be provided, perhaps using the services of local contractors or repair groups such as WHIP. More precise estimates, based on stipulated sum bids, could then be included in the Committee's purchase price estimates and applied for under RRAP.

Capital and Rental Subsidies

The basic advantage of this non-profit housing project is that it offered the seven families in question better quality housing than they previously occupied and at a cost approximately 20% below what they would have had to pay if the housing had been amortized by market rates (see Table 4, line 6). They were helped by the existence of the Foundation grant that covered the 5% equity requirement under the old National Housing Act. The People's

*Ed.: A report on WHIP is contained elsewhere in this volume.

Committee thereby avoided the necessity of going to the private financial market to cover its down payments.

The new provisions of the NHA which will provide 100% financing plus a 10% capital grant, now more than cover this financial requirement. It was found, however, even with the lower cost due to the lower interest rate, that some families, especially those with many children, could not afford the full rent for the new unit. This was solved in two ways: pooling and rent indexing.

Pooling: First, in matching tenants and rents, all houses were treated as a single project to allow for a pooling of total costs and adjustment of rents to give greater support to larger families (see Table 2, lines 4 and 5). Thus in one case, Family A would pay \$135 a month although the monthly cost of that unit was \$130.81, while Family C paid \$150 against a monthly cost of the unit of \$157. Even with this pooling arrangement, it was found that in some cases the rent was still too high.

Rent Indexing: To lower the rents further, the concept of rent indexing was developed.¹⁰ The basic principle is that in an inflationary situation, with a fixed mortgage, rents should be subsidized in early years and then allowed to rise with incomes in later years. In this way, it is possible to give immediate benefits of improved housing to lower income families, rather than at the tail end of the mortgage period. It puts people into housing at an earlier stage rather than having house prices continually outrunning increases in income. In this case, the Foundation grant was used to provide a subsidy of \$45 per month (\$540 per year) for four of the seven families (see Table 2, lines 5, 6 and 7).

10. See Terry Partridge, "Financial Implications of Different Housing Tenure Arrangements", Research Paper, Institute of Urban Studies, October 1972.

Conceivably, the initial subsidy could be paid back by increasing rents in later years to a surplus position, although it is unlikely it would be done in this case. The system also argues well for working out a general rental subsidy formula that can be made available to non-profit groups in their early years. It would not have to be a continuous subsidy, but could be scaled down over a period of say ten years.¹¹ This should be given serious appraisal by both federal and provincial officials as a way of improving the financial benefits of non-profit housing.

Management Costs

The rents charged tenants in the People's Committee project included a 5% allocation for administration of the project, amounting to a total of \$540 a year from the seven homes (see Table 4, line 4). The apartment block also owned by the People's Committee is not yet at a financial stage where it contributes anything to overall management costs.

This \$540 a year is not sufficient to cover at this stage the administration and management operations of the People's Committee. To maintain a presence in the neighbourhood, they have opened an office in the area, and to help with the accounting they have hired a part time bookkeeper. The costs of their office operation total over \$6,000 a year (see Table 4, line 13-19).

These costs were initially paid by a CMHC management start-up grant of \$5,000, then supplemented by Foundation money. The Committee is now seeking a further grant. Payment of initial management costs by CMHC was justified at that stage on the basis of the experimental nature of the program. In the future,

11. Ibid., p. 10, 11.

however, to support the management costs with the present size of operation would be extremely difficult unless the rents were raised significantly, clearly an undesirable course.

This leaves two choices. First, the group's operation could be increased to a scale where management is economical at a 5% levy on rentals. This would require a program of some 80 to 100 units. This appears to be the range of operation sufficient to cover costs, provided that members of the People's Committee themselves continue to provide the same voluntary time and resources as they do now. This "sweat equity" contributed by the members should not be underestimated as it is an important element in making the non-profit concept work. Second, management and administrative costs could be subsidized more heavily by government on the grounds of supporting a neighbourhood group which engages in a number of community initiatives. Indefinite support appears unlikely. What is feasible, however, is that the Corporation reconsider seriously its policy of start up grants. It appears unrealistic to assume that a non-profit housing group will acquire sufficient housing units to make itself self-sufficient within a year. In fact, it may take from three to five years. If there was to be a termination of support after one year this might prematurely abort a healthy development. Therefore, either through CMHC or another agency of government, there should be provision of support, perhaps on a declining basis for a five year period or until self-sufficiency is attained.¹²

12. Irving H. Welfeld, "Toward a New Federal Housing Policy", The Public Interest, Spring 1970, pp. 31-43.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This account of the People's Committee housing program is not complete, because their own efforts at development are continuing. Already they are making plans for new housing to be located in a soon to be abandoned railway right-of-way in central Winnipeg. But, the evaluation of their project thus far does bring to light some important considerations related to the implementation of the new National Housing Act.

First, it is important to re-state the benefits of non-profit housing as exemplified in this project. A group of inner city families with large numbers of children were able to obtain better housing at a cost within their reach. This demonstrates that non-profit housing, operated by a citizen group, can respond to a segment of housing need which is often missed in broader gauged public housing approaches.

As well, the People's Committee itself derived some benefit from the exercise. They strengthened their position as a group within the community by providing a needed service and gained in experience and confidence that will bolster the Committee in its continued community activities.

Still missing from the non-profit system, however, is any basic provision for a form of rental subsidy, perhaps based on the rent indexing method outlined above. Another option is to apply the subsidy scheme presently employed for public housing to non-profit groups.* The lack of this element in the formula is a serious limitation on the non-profit program, preventing them from reaching many families and individuals who have serious housing needs.

It is important to note the role played by support groups in the operation of citizen sponsored non-profit housing. The development of the People's Committee project involved a number of support people and resources: the Winnipeg Foundation, students, legal and real estate consultants, staff of IUS, CMHC officials. In each case they supplied certain essential elements in the development process that the People's Committee lacked-- money, organizing time, technical skills, conceptual and entrepreneurial abilities. Each of these elements was necessary to make the project work.

What happens when a number of citizen groups wish to begin non-profit housing? Either there must be a careful program of training along with sufficient resources for operation to enable such groups to become self-sufficient, and/or there must in major urban centres be a resource pool from which the groups can draw the necessary resources. It is clear that non-profit housing by citizen groups, at least in this stage of development, must have supplementary assistance of a professional kind if they are to make the grade.

*Ed.: For an example of the application of the Manitoba public housing rent subsidy scheme to a non-profit housing project, see, Donald Epstein, "The St. Andrews Place Redevelopment Project".

Thus, when it comes to implementing the new non-profit provisions of the National Housing Act, CMHC should also seek to set up the necessary training and/or resource pool to ensure that non-profit housing is given a proper start. There are several financial measures, i.e., the 100% loans, 10% capital forgiveness feature, \$10,000 start-up grants, and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), that can be of major value to the citizen group wanting to engage in non-profit housing. The new provisions make it more feasible now for them to provide housing for families within the \$4,500 to \$9,000 range, especially those with large families or other special circumstances. Especially valuable will be the RRAP provisions which, had they been available to the People's Committee, would have eliminated their costs over time (although this was covered by Foundation grants). Under RRAP, up to a \$5,000 loan is available, with the first \$2,500 forgivable over the life of the mortgage. Without effective professional support, however, the groups may make harmful mistakes in the administration and financing of the program.

Also of concern is the length of time that financial support could be given to groups for management costs. It should extend beyond one year to be realistic. Very serious care must go into the development of guidelines and support services for the administration of non-profit groups. As noted in the study, there are a number of pitfalls in terms of property selection, assessing costs and revenue, management of property, and overall skills in accounting and budgeting. CMHC would be well advised to quickly develop easy-to-read manuals and information booklets, support the development of serious training programs in housing management for non-profit groups, and assist in recruiting selected professionals in major urban centres. Moreover, the Corporation should organize its procedures to eliminate delay and to ensure that full service and protection are given the groups.

As for the groups themselves, they will find, as did the People's Committee, that being in the housing business is a complicated task, yet a rewarding one. Non-profit groups must be prepared to face the responsibility of managing property well (something the People's Committee is good at), acquiring skill in accounting and management, and being prepared for a long term commitment. Particularly important in the planning of a project should be an estimate of how the operation can eventually become self-sufficient. If that becomes part of the proposal, then the case to CMHC for interim support of management costs becomes more plausible.

One experience in non-profit housing does not tell the whole tale. Obviously other pilot projects must be tried and there must be a continued assessment of performance of these groups to determine how well they are doing and where their problems are.¹³ The non-profit housing sector has the potential of becoming a major component of the housing market. In some European countries, non-profit operations construct a major proportion of the housing for low and moderate income people. Before this happens in Canada, however, there needs to be a period of learning and testing, with strong governmental support for this "third sector" of housing development.

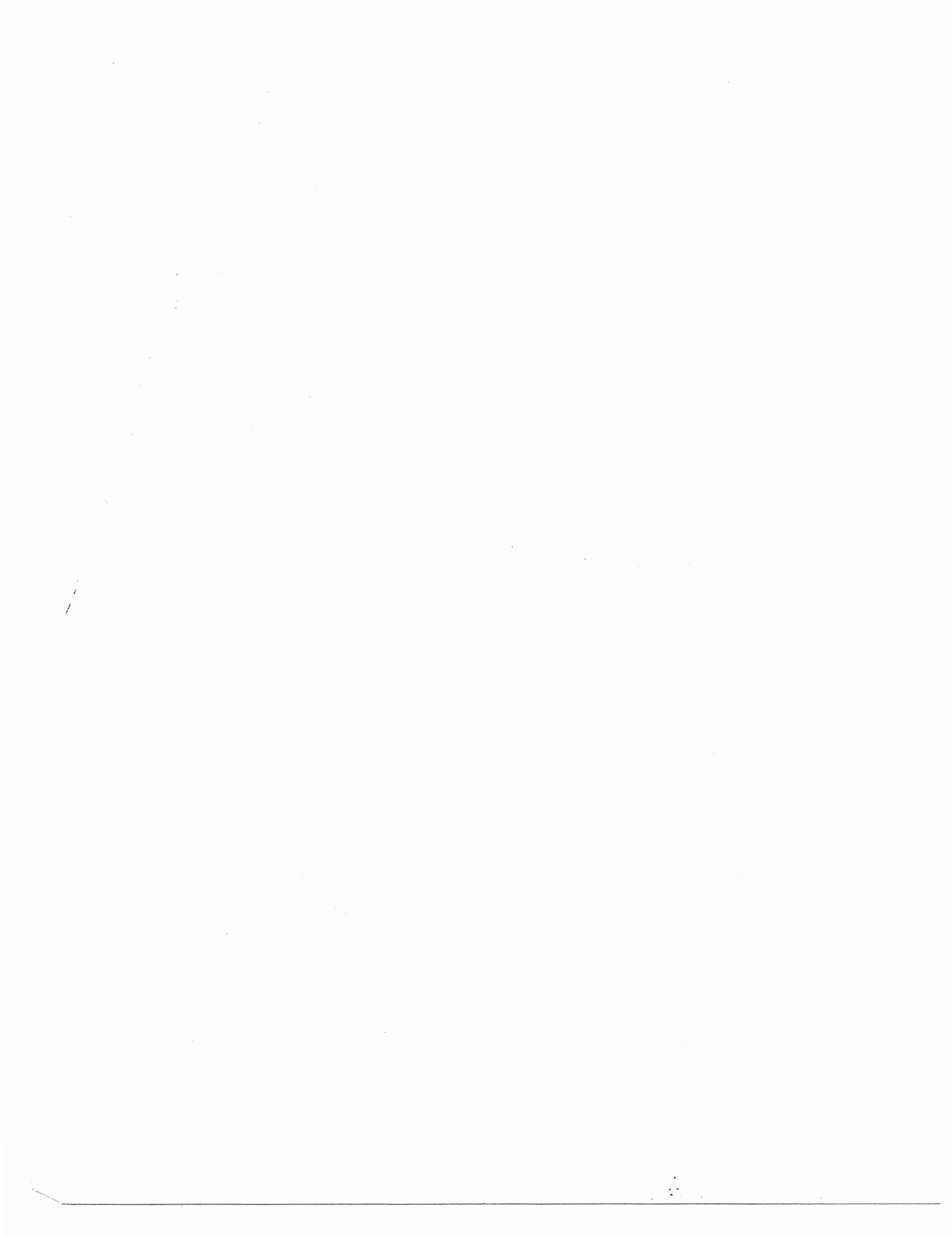
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13. For an evaluation of the Kinew Housing Corporation, a Native people's non-profit housing corporation, see J. D. McNiven, "An Evaluation of Kinew Housing Incorporated", IUS, September 1971; David Henderson, "A Paper on Kinew Housing Incorporated", in L. Axworthy, ed., The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, op. cit.; and David Vincent, "Research Note on Kinew Housing Corporation", IUS working paper, February 1973.



REACTIONS TO NEW HOUSING IN A
LOW-INCOME NEIGHBOURHOOD:
THE MARK VIII "INFILL" HOUSING PROJECT

Nancy J. O'Brien / Eric J. Barker

(Neighbourhood Reaction Study
by Joseph P. Reser)



INTRODUCTION

This report is an assessment of the reactions to and impact of four new family housing units built in a low income neighbourhood in the inner city of Winnipeg. The units were built as part of the Mark VIII "Infill" Housing Project, sponsored by the Housing and Urban Development Association of Canada (HUDAC) and the Winnipeg House Builders Association (WHBA). The Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) worked with the sponsors and a self-help housing group in the area in developing the project.

Context

It is important, first, to understand the community context within which the "Infill" project was conceived and built. The area, Urban Renewal Area No. 2 (UR#2) is seventy-five to eighty years old and one of the oldest in Winnipeg. It was originally a working class area providing accommodation for railway workers employed at the nearby Canadian Pacific Railway yards. The housing in the area is generally of a two storey wood frame variety sited on small lots. The area is spotted with properties left vacant by the demolition of houses. The area has a central location and good access to public transportation, but at the same time, it is cut up by a number of heavy traffic arteries linking downtown to the outer city. There is also a high incidence of mixed land use, including a range of industrial

uses (e.g., a wastepaper company, fruit wholesalers, railway trackage, welding and manufacturing concerns).

The Social Service Audit conducted in 1969, gives some indication of the social problems besetting the area. Comprising 2.9% of Winnipeg's population, the residents of UR#2 had 10.2% of the city's illegitimate births, 25.2% of the venereal disease cases, 10.9% of the income maintenance cases, and 12.7% of the adult offenders.¹ An area study by the University of Manitoba² done in late 1972 reveals:

1. a high degree of ethnic mixing;
2. 34% of the population earning less than \$4,000. and 40% earning between \$4,000. and \$7,000.;
3. 68% of the labour force unskilled;
4. 58% of the population living in the area for less than five years and 20% for less than one year; and
5. a 40:60 owner to renter ratio.

But despite the negative picture portrayed by statistical indicators, there is a base on which to build in the community:

Information gathered from the visits was useful in portraying characteristics of the area that had not been shown in previous studies. For example, it found that about 33% of the property was resident owned, that the fair degree of change in homes by residents was always in the general inner city area, that much of the social and leisure activity was concentrated in the area, This suggested that there was greater community related action and attachment than was normally portrayed by previous studies, which tended to emphasize the pathology of the area, not its strong point. These findings emphasized the possibility of community renewal action.³

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1. Community Welfare Planning Council, Social Services Audit, 1969.
 2. P.H. Wichern, Jr., "Residents and Recreation; A Survey of People in Urban Renewal Area No. 2", November 1972.
 3. Lloyd Axworthy, "Roosevelt Park", internal working paper, IUS, March 1970, p. 76.

The "Infill" Project

Within this context, the basic objectives of a housing project were worked out by the House Builders in conjunction with IUS. They were:

1. to design and build new family housing units to be sold individually to local, low income residents at a price they could afford;
2. to involve residents of the community, in which the units were to be built, in the process of designing and building the units;
3. to maximize the utilization of vacant land devoted to residential use;
4. to integrate the new units into the existing community so that the social, physical and economic fabric is not disrupted;
5. to encourage local families to invest in the community, thereby providing a more stable population base in the area;
6. to stimulate local improvement and to improve the "image" of the neighbourhood in the minds of the residents and the general public; and
7. to develop a housing system that small private builders could duplicate in this and other inner city areas.

To achieve these objectives, an "infill" concept of housing was decided upon.⁴ "Infill" was originally conceived as an experimental approach to developing low cost housing for ownership in the inner city. The key to the solution was finding ways to reduce the costs

4. For a detailed discussion, see Lloyd Axworthy, ed., Mark VIII Infill Housing Project, Phase Two Report, April 2, 1973. Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg.

of the individual units by "filling in" and maximizing the use of the small, vacant lots that presently dot the inner city area. It was decided, due to the high cost and limited availability of land, to place more than one housing unit on a lot, with the single family unit being determined as the most acceptable building form to the prospective occupants. This affected the amount and distribution of available open space between units, i.e., yard areas, walkways and parking areas, as well as affecting the orientation of one unit to another.

Vacant lots were chosen as sites in the expectation that the new units would cause minimum disturbance in the neighbourhood, as no demolition of existing housing and no relocation of residents would be required.

Units were to be developed on two examples of the characteristic vacant lot types in the area: the narrow deep lot with a lane at the rear, and the wide shallow lot with only street access. The goals for each site were:

1. to develop siting flexibility to enable each site to be different from another;
2. to integrate the site functionally and visually with the surrounding houses;
3. to provide privacy inside the units, relative to other units on the site and to adjacent existing houses;
4. to locate the units in a way that each owner would have title to house and property on the site;
5. to allow each occupant on the site freedom and ease of access to and from the unit;
6. to provide each unit with a private open space adjacent to the house for quiet adult relaxation and for small childrens play; and

7. to provide each unit with one car parking stall on the site.

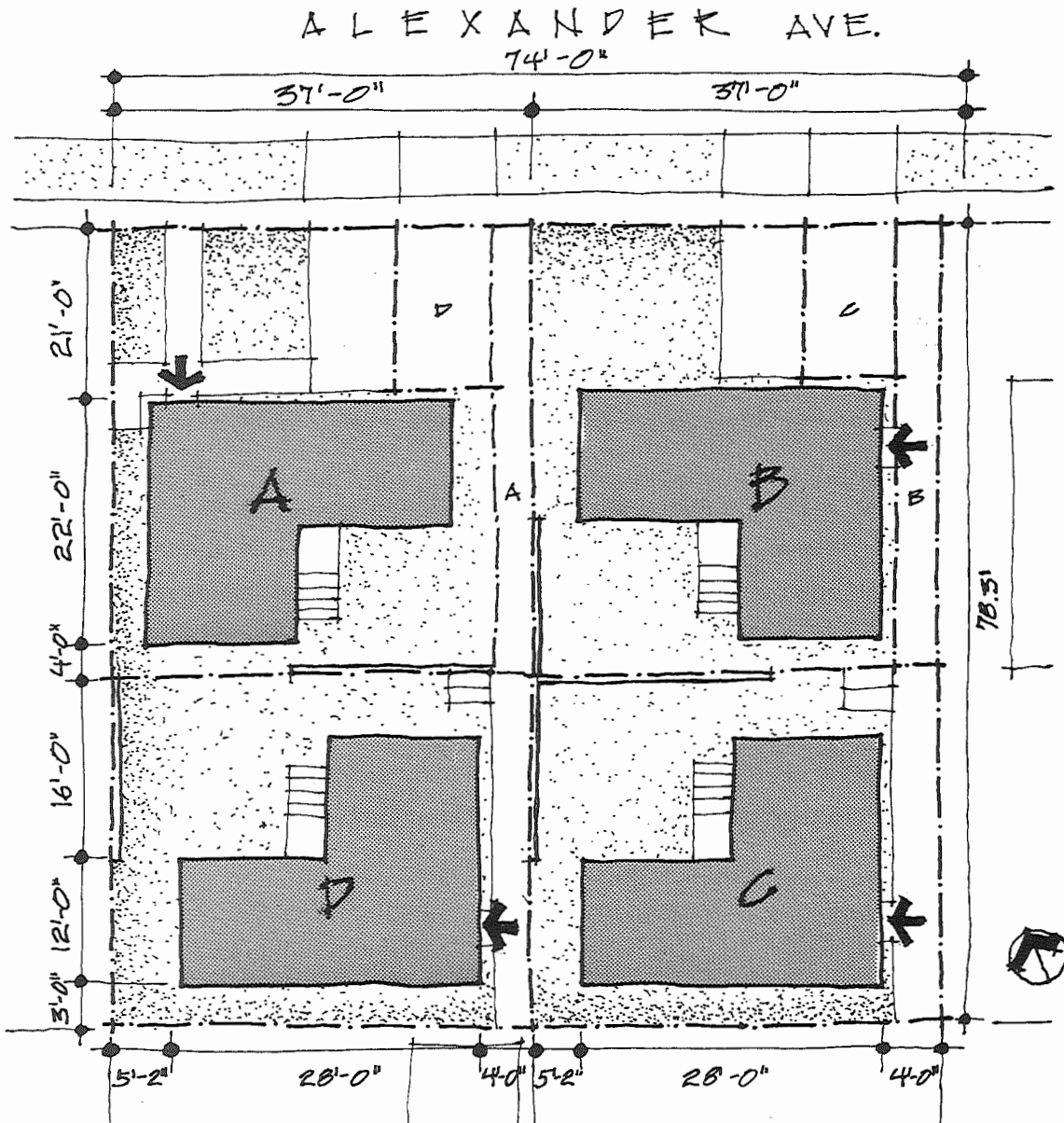
In order to achieve both the basic objectives and the more specific site goals, a special kind of unit was required. The requirements of these units were:

1. to design a unit of sufficient size that is flexible enough to be used on both basic lot types in a variety of ways, while occupying a minimum of the site area;
2. to retain at least a three foot side yard and rear yard around the units;
3. to be similar in appearance to the surrounding houses;
4. to provide a formal and informal entry into the unit;
5. to provide a large, multi-use kitchen;
6. to provide a maximum of living space and a minimum of space used for circulation and plumbing/heating/electrical systems;
7. to provide a flexible unit suitable for a range of accommodation types, e.g., a large family, old couple, young family, and a family renting to a boarder; and
8. to design a unit that is easily and inexpensively built.

To satisfy the maximum number of general, site and unit objectives, an L-shaped, 2½ storey unit was conceived with approximately 1,200 square feet of interior space on three levels. The unit form developed particularly emphasized the advantages of flexible siting on the variety of lot types, minimum site coverage, maximum amount of flexible internal space, minimum visual overlook between units and adjacent houses, and a simple, well integrated structural/mechanical system.

The first experiment of the infill concept utilizing this unit form was constructed on Alexander Avenue in Winnipeg's Urban Renewal Area II (see map, page 6). The Alexander site is an example of two lots of the wide, shallow variety with only street access. The siting variation attempted was the "court" concept of private yards separating the units with one lot using the opposite "L" approach in an attempt to achieve greater separation between units (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. SITE PLAN OF "INFILL" UNITS



Research Background

Site acquisition and design work, in consultation with a local resident group, began in earnest in January of 1972. By May, two sites had been purchased, one on Alexander, another on William Avenue, and the working drawings of seven proposed units had been completed. Construction began on both sites in September. Because of strong resident opposition however, construction of the three units on William was halted; later the number of units was renegotiated with the residents to two and zoning approval was obtained. By the time this process was completed, however, budget problems prevented any further construction on any sites other than on Alexander Avenue.

A series of events and circumstances continually affected the sale of the infill units and the overall research design. Table 1 presents an overview of the post-construction and research history of the Alexander site from December 1972 to October 1973.

On December 7, 1972 the units were formally opened, with one being completed and furnished as a display unit. Despite the fact that the remaining three were not fully finished until mid February, one unit was sold in the first month. (The first and second User Reaction Study interviews with Family A followed shortly thereafter.) The unfinished condition of the units created the first problem for the sale and for a study of the reaction to them of the viewing public (i.e., the Public Reaction Study). In the sense that each unit offered different types of accommodation, the initial viewers could not see or react to the full range of alternatives to be available.

Table 1. Post-Construction and Research History, December 1972 - October 1973.

	1972			1973							
	DEC.	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.
EVENTS	Basic construction ends.	Finishing.	All units ready for sale.	Repair to units ongoing -----							
	Display unit opens to public.	6500 flyers distributed.			Newspaper advertisements.	-----Salesman attempts to sell units-----					
	First unit sold.					Second unit sold.			Third unit sold.		
PUBLIC REACTION STUDY	-----Questionnaires-----			Salesman's interviews (n=30) -----							
NEIGHBOURHOOD REACTION STUDY			First assessment (n=15)						Second assessment (n=6) (n=22)		
USER REACTION STUDY											
FAMILY A	Interview #1		Interview #2							Interview #3	
FAMILY B							Interview #1	Interview #2			
FAMILY C									Interviews #1 #2		

The finishing work on the units was shoddy and the heating and exterior cladding innovations were not working out. The scope of the experiment encompassing both physical design and technical innovation was complicating the sale of the units and the collection of data. The major finishing problems were the result of inadequate supervision and the time pressure to complete the units. Examples of the deficiencies noted were ridging on exterior cladding, poor drywall work, loose handrails and baseboards, and floor tiles improperly installed. Poor heat distribution in the units was the result of inadequate duct space caused by restrictions at each floor level and the blockage of air movement within the duct by loose insulation. The attempt failed to have carpenters, drywallers and insulation trades, rather than sheet metal workers, fabricate and install the heating ducts. Attempts were made during January and early February to correct the heating system and the finishing deficiencies. But, as of mid February, when the initial assessment in the Neighbourhood Reaction Study was made and the Public Reaction Study was still ongoing, the work had yet to be completed.⁵

By mid March, revisions to the heating systems and interior corrections had been completed. In two units, the furnace was moved into the basement and the system re-ducted with sheet metal. In the third unit, the furnace remained upstairs and metal ducting installed. The display unit, whose original heating system had worked most satisfactorily, was not altered. The ridging problem with the exterior cladding still remained unsolved.

5. For a detailed description of technical problems, see H. E. J. Bergman, "Mark VIII Experimental Housing Project", report to the HUDAC Technical Research Committee, December 1973.

In late April, the Mark VIII committee met to discuss the future of the project. Three units were still unsold. A paper was presented containing preliminary impressions, not research results, of why the units had not sold.⁶ The impressions were that:

- The unit was too severe in appearance.
- The poor character of the immediate neighbourhood was a problem.
- Poor construction techniques were perceived by neighbourhood residents.
- The yard size and rear units were perceived as problems by neighbourhood residents; they viewed the units as too crowded.
- There was no concerted sales effort.
- The lack of landscaping severely affected functionality of exterior space and perceived severity.
- The units did not fit the normal "image" of houses to purchase.
- The down payment was difficult to meet.

The minimum down payment required for purchase of the units was \$700. The total purchase price for the homes ranged from \$14,000 to \$15,600. As originally advertised, the yearly income of those eligible to buy them was between \$4,000 to \$7,000. (This was the income range of questionnaire respondents in the Public Reaction Study.) However, due to an error, the minimum yearly income was raised to \$5,600. shortly after the initial advertisement had been distributed, with no maximum advertised.

6. Eric J. Barker, "Preliminary Discussion of Infill Evaluation Research", paper presented to Social Research Committee of HUDAC, Calgary, April 25, 1973.

More recently, based on its experience with the Alexander site, the Mark VIII committee, on which IUS was represented, suggested that sales might be improved for future infill units if: 1) a complete market analysis of potential customer acceptance is done prior to construction, 2) little or no technical innovation is attempted, and 3) professional sales personnel are employed from the beginning.

Finally, in June, a second unit--the display unit--was sold. The User Reaction interviews of Family B followed. But, because the units were not fully occupied, it was clear to the research staff that it would be impossible to conduct an evaluation of the use of outdoor areas and of the dynamics between unit residents during the summer. As of mid summer, the parking areas had been asphalted, sod laid, the exterior trim painted, and the ridging joints in the exterior cladding repaired. This helped the appearance of the units. But still no work had been done on adding trim to the units, and the landscaping work could not begin until this work was completed. The inability to complete this work during the summer probably hampered sales and adversely affected the neighbourhood "image" of the project. As time had gone on, the management committee had found it increasingly more difficult to perform efficiently. The design and drawing work had long since been completed; the required implementation, however, had still not taken place.⁷

In September, the research staff carried out the second phase of the neighbourhood reaction survey to compare current reactions of neighbourhood residents to those seven months earlier. At about the same time, the third unit was sold but still unoccupied, while the fourth was still unsold. (It was December before the final unit was sold.) Interviews of Family C were done, but it has not been possible to include Family D in the User Reaction Study.

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7. To improve its efficiency in the future, the Mark VIII committee has recommended that: 1) its size be reduced, 2) its programming and budgeting be divided into three phases--feasibility, implementation and contingency, 3) its tenders should be let on a stipulated sum basis after the production of a complete set of working drawings, and 4) its supervision and administration of the construction site be improved.

In summary, execution of the initial research design was affected, first, by the termination of the proposed infill project at the William Avenue site and, second, the slow sale of the Alexander units. These circumstances eliminated the possibility of a comparative study of two infill projects and hampered the research on the one experiment. Nevertheless, three separate but related research studies were undertaken:

1. The Public Reaction Study (a report of the views of interested viewers and prospective buyers),
2. The Neighbourhood Reaction Study (a two stage analysis of the views of residents living in existing housing around the infill site), and
3. The User Reaction Study (an in-depth analysis of the attitudes and behaviour patterns of the owner-occupants).

These three research studies are presented in succeeding sections of this report.

Effort was made to ascertain what features of the units and surrounding open space were liked and disliked by people, and to gain insights, as far as possible, into the possible reasons for their answers. In assessing the receptivity of these different groups to the new housing units, it was hoped to gain information that could be useful in the selection of future sites and the design of future units. This discussion is contained in the report's final section.

PUBLIC REACTION STUDY

Research Design Method

Between 100 and 150 people visited the display unit between December, 1972 and April, 1973. Of these, only fifty persons completed questionnaires in which they indicated their opinions of the unit, its particular elements and the adjacent outdoor areas. Of the fifty questionnaire respondents, 88% or 44 people had come from within three miles of the Alexander site, all from areas north of Portage Avenue. (Four were visitors from other cities, and two were home owners from the west end of Winnipeg.) People had learned of the new housing units largely from the advertising flyers and to a lesser degree through word of mouth.

Certain difficulties were encountered in attempting to gain information of this nature from this group of people, which affected to some degree the amount and quality of the data. Many prospective buyers of the units had difficulty expressing themselves in a written form and could not be expected to interpret complicated written instructions. This had been anticipated by the researchers, and it was felt that interviews would have provided more complete, in-depth responses than the questionnaire. However, as there was no way of controlling the number of people that would visit the unit at any one time, interviews were impossible to administer. Despite the limitations inherent in a questionnaire, such as bias

implicit in selecting items and the rather superficial level of questions and answers, it proved to be the only practical technique for data gathering. The attempt was made to allow the respondent as much freedom as possible in answering questions, aiming at general impressions rather than detailed responses. While this made quantification of results more difficult, it nevertheless provided the desired results in the form of people's general impressions (likes/dislikes) of the units and surrounding open areas. If the questionnaire had been more complicated in its format, it is believed that responses would have been even more limited.

The researchers also had no control over who would visit the units. Rather than attempting to select a representative sample of people to answer the questionnaire, effort was made to elicit responses of all people touring the display unit. The 50-100 people who did not complete questionnaires included individuals who did not speak English, those who took a questionnaire away and did not return it, and those who simply refused to answer the questions for one reason or another.

Responses to the completed questionnaires were analyzed in terms of relative frequency of mention across the entire sample.

At the end of April, due to the few number of people then touring the units, the display unit was closed, although a "for sale" sign and phone number remained outside the units. At this time, sale of the units was turned over to a professional salesman. Because he did not wish to jeopardize a potential sale by asking people to fill out a formal questionnaire, no more were obtained.

Advertisements were placed in the two Winnipeg dailies, The Free Press and The Tribune, and about an additional thirty people were shown through the units by the salesman between April and September.

Although he kept few accurate or systematic accounts of people's reactions, the salesman's recollections and impressions of the people he showed through the units are considered to be a valuable source of data for a number of reasons. First, the people who made appointments with him to see the units were definitely interested in buying a home. On the other hand, it had not always been possible to separate prospective buyers from interested viewers in the questionnaires. Second, the respondents to the questionnaire were frequently people who were basing their opinions solely on seeing the display unit. All available units were shown to people by the salesman and, as the units varied in a number of respects, such as their location on the site, organization of bedroom areas, etc., they were in a better position to make comparative judgements. Third is the salesman's advantage of having more in-depth, open-ended discussions with the people, which presumably provided him with more refined responses.

Table 2. What People Liked and Disliked About the "Infill" Houses.

Area	Like (%)	Dislike (%)	No Answer (%)
<u>Interior</u>			
Kitchen/Dining	92	6	2
Basement	86	10	4
Living Room	80	16	4
Bedrooms	70	28	2
Entries	70	16	14
Bathrooms	52	30	18
House Materials, Equipment	40	36	24
<u>Exterior</u>			
Appearance	36	40	24
Yard	18	78	4
Total N = 50			

The Units

Table 2 represents the sum of information obtained from the questionnaires, in which people were asked whether they liked or disliked general areas or features of the houses and adjacent outdoor areas. Comments, for the most part, refer to people's reactions to the display unit.

In addition to these general evaluations, respondents offered comments regarding specific aspects of the interior and exterior of the unit, and the adjacent yard and parking areas. (For floor plans of the display unit, see Figure 29, page 190.)

Figure 2. Kitchen/Dining Area.



Kitchen/Dining Area: The kitchen/dining area of the units proved to be a major attraction. Positive comments centered on the size of the area and the amount of available cupboard space. Other positive comments concerned the ability to supervise children's play from the kitchen window and door. None of the respondents expressed the desire for a separate dining area. On the contrary, the kitchen was seen as the focal point for much of the family's

activity and was frequently referred to as "where the action is" (see Figure 2).

A previous study of two public row housing developments,⁸ one with a kitchen/dining combination separate from the dining room and the other with a living/dining combination, noted that many people complained of the living/dining combination largely due to the effort involved in keeping the area clean. No complaints were received from the development in which units had kitchen and dining in one area. The same study included a middle to upper middle income row housing development which had a living/dining combination. In this case, it was noted that although the family was observed to eat their regular daily meals in the kitchen, the separate dining area was valued for those occasions when the family had guests. This suggests that different socio-economic groups differ in their requirements. Although the actual use patterns do not appear to vary greatly for the family as a group, other status concerns present at a higher socio-economic level and across different cultural backgrounds produce different house design requirements. Within the higher income groups there appears to be a certain stigma attached to guests entering the house through, or eating in, the kitchen.

Initially, IUS staff had been concerned about the layout of the kitchen/dining area; namely, the lack of an efficient work triangle between sink, stove and refrigerator and the absence of a flat surface between these major appliances. It was our opinion that more separation was desirable between the food preparation area and the eating-socializing, or table, area. However, no conflict in this regard was reported by respondents. Whatever inconvenience,

8. N. J. O'Brien, Comparative Behavioural Study of Row Housing Developments, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, October 1972. (unpublished manuscript).

if any, that may have been caused by the layout was outweighed by the perceived positive features of the area. The only negative comments came from three people who objected to the location of the washer and dryer, preferring them in the basement.

Figure 3. Basement

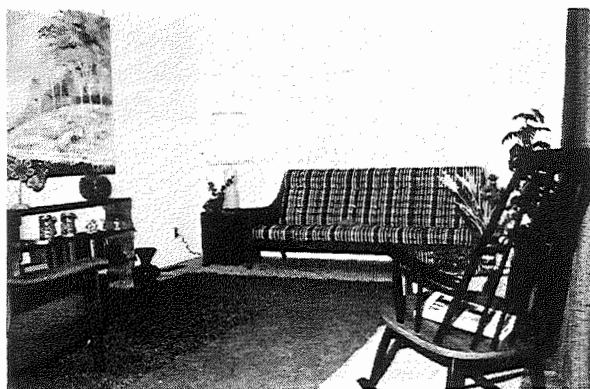


Basement: The fact that the basement was finished and that it provided a bedroom, bathroom and family room was seen as its biggest advantage. These features allowed the space to be used immediately upon occupancy. Only three people disliked the finished basement, preferring to finish it themselves. Seven people objected to the lack of a workshop/utility space in the basement. But, in either case, the self-contained quality of the basement was a distinct asset (see Figure 3).

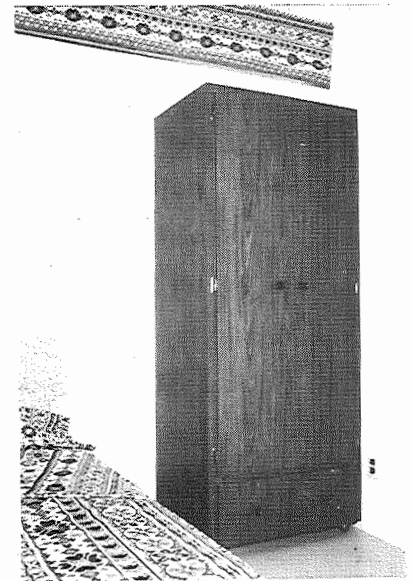
Originally, the intent had been to provide a space which was reasonably self-contained, particularly with the provision of a second bathroom, so that the space could be rented out by the owners to boarders, if they desired to augment their incomes in this manner. Previous studies of low income, inner city residents

had shown the common presence of boarders. However, this possibility was not mentioned as an asset by the respondents, who saw the space as being used entirely by their own families. Indeed, people liked the "extra" bedroom, which they saw as being good for older children who stayed up later and made more noise at night than young children. The provision of a second bathroom in the basement, made the area even more suitable as an additional sleeping area.

Figure 4. Living Room



Living Room: Major positive features were the number of electrical outlets, ventilation in the form of moveable windows, and the warm, rich appearance of the wood parquet floor tile. All negative comments referred to the small size of the living room (see Figure 4).

Figure 5. Children's BedroomFigure 6. Master Bedroom

Bedrooms: All positive comments concerning bedroom areas centered on the layout of the second floor children's room with its bed "nooks" (see Figure 5). This was valued by people for the privacy it allowed each child. People said they could place two or three children of the same sex in this space without interference between children. They did not perceive an acceptable degree of children's privacy in units where the children's bedrooms were not divided. Without the bed "nook" arrangement, they would require additional bedrooms for the same number of children.

Further information was provided by the salesman of the units. He said he could have sold more units of the larger size with the bed "nook" arrangement. People to whom he had shown the units were not interested in the two bedroom unit; most of them had an average of four children. The small unit was seen as acceptable only for a couple without children or a young couple just starting out with one or possibly two young children of the same sex.

This no doubt represents the view of many people visiting the units, for despite the fact that this was the least expensive unit, it was the last of the four to be sold. (And, in fact, it was sold to a young, childless couple.) 72% of the questionnaire respondents had children, the average number being over two. Most of the people visiting the units were either beginning to start families or enlarging them, and were looking to buy their first home. While young children are seen as requiring less privacy than older children, the need for privacy in bedroom areas increases with the age, number and differing sexes of children.

The main negative comments (from about a third of the respondents) related to the small size of the master bedroom and insufficient clothes storage space (see Figure 6). The intention behind the provision of moveable wardrobe units in the bedrooms had been to allow for flexibility of use through different furniture arrangements. Clearly, this was not seen as an advantage by people, probably because the room was not large enough to support different furniture layouts anyway. Moreover, the wardrobes were not large enough to provide sufficient storage space for two adults. It is not surprising, therefore, that people indicated their desire for built-in closets. The smaller moveable storage units in the children's bedrooms, however, were not seen as a difficulty.

Figure 7. Entries



Entries: Positive comments related to the availability of two doors, with fifteen people specifically mentioning the kitchen door as allowing for easy supervision of children in yard areas. Coat storage was also seen as a desirable feature. It had been suggested at the design stage that for economic reasons, only one entrance be provided to the units. This would clearly have been negatively received by people as it would have limited the useability of the yard area and been perceived as a "fire trap".

Negative comments centered on the lack of some sort of covering or enclosure around the kitchen entry to provide shelter from wind and rain and a place to leave dirty boots before entering the kitchen (see Figure 7).

Bathrooms: The size and availability of two bathrooms was seen as a very desirable feature of the units. However, the absence of space under the sink for storing cleaning equipment and cosmetics was a major negative comment (see Figure 8).

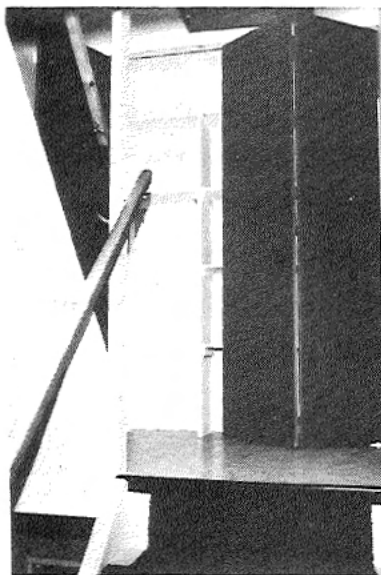
Twelve people, or 67% of the negative comments, expressed the desire for the second bathroom to be located on the main floor, rather than in the basement. Reasons for this related mainly to the ease of use by children coming in from outside and the reduced effort by eliminating frequent trips up and down the stairs. While

Figure 8. Bathroom



there been a bathroom on the main floor. This change alone would have reduced the number of required daily trips up and down stairs to an acceptable level.

Figure 9. Stair

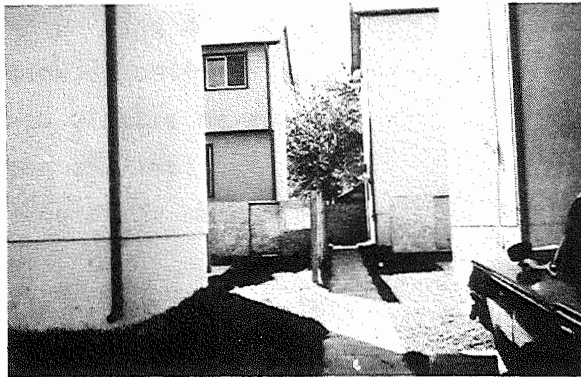


this may have amounted to no more than an inconvenience to most people, the particular plight of three families is worth noting. One was an elderly couple and the other two families had physically handicapped children. For these people, the three level layout with stairs represented a considerable hardship. Without the bathroom on the main floor, it was physically impossible for them to function in these units. They liked the units and said they would have bought one in spite of the stairs had

House Materials, Equipment and

Construction: All positive responses given referred to the interior of the units. Such elements as light fixtures, wood parquet floor tile in living room, and the number of electrical outlets present throughout the house were most often mentioned favourably. Negative comments also centered on the interior. The heating system was described as too noisy. The stair railing was seen as unstable, and cracking plaster was noted at corners (see Figure 9).

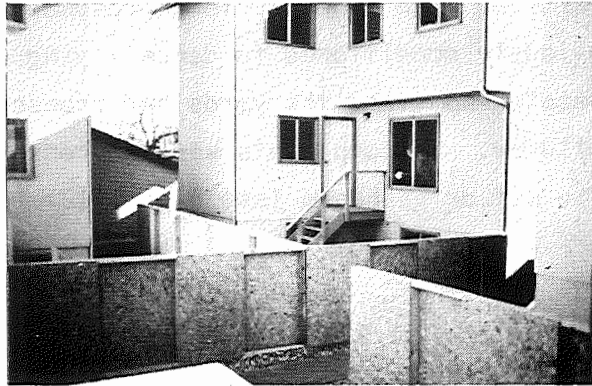
Figure 10. Exterior of Unit



Exterior Appearance of Unit: People were fairly evenly divided in their feelings toward the exterior of the units with the negatives slightly outweighing the positives (see Figure 10). People liked the new, modern appearance of the houses. Some positive comments referred to the shape and colour of the units and the stucco finish.

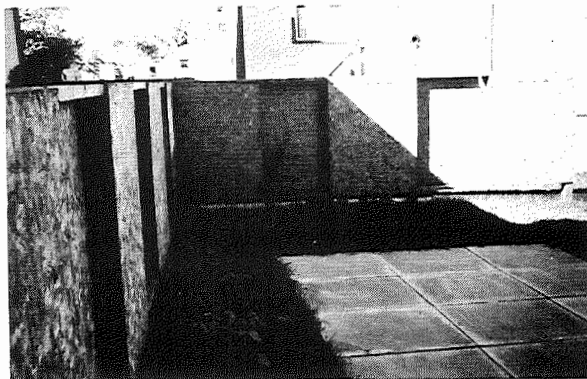
Twelve negative and six positive comments were received on the shape of the units, with people seeing them as too high and narrow. This probably is closely associated with other negative comments relating to the units appearing "crowded" with so many units on one site. Five negative reactions were also received on the appearance of the gravel around the units (this has since been changed to grass), and four commented negatively on the colour of the walls.

Figure 11. Yard Area



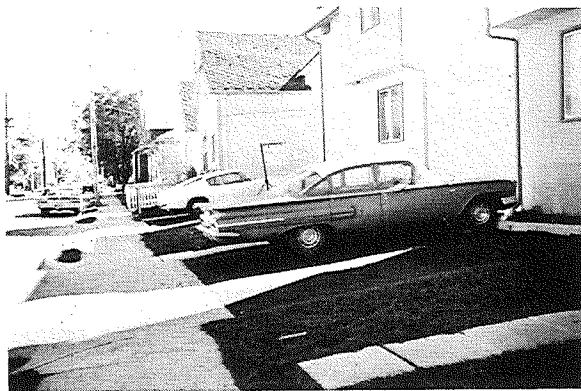
Yard Areas: The most clearly expressed negative feature of the units for questionnaire respondents was the small size of the yard areas. They were seen as providing inadequate space for older children's play and for vegetable gardens. For people born in Canada, particularly those who had grown up on farms, the yards were seen as very small and confining (see Figure 11).

Figure 12. Yard Area



On the other hand, the salesman reported that newly arrived immigrants, such as Italians, Portuguese and Chinese, did not see the size of the yards as much of a problem, presumably because they had been previously conditioned to dense living conditions. The majority of people who liked the yards had pre-school age children or no children. No complaints were expressed on the yards as a place to sit or barbeque (see Figure 12).

Figure 13. Parking



Parking: No comments, positive or negative, were received on the open space or car parking areas at the fronts of the units facing the street. People did complain, however, of having no visual control over their parked cars from units at the back (see Figure 13).

Summary: Where people were asked on the questionnaire if they would like to live in the homes and why, 82% (n=41) replied yes, citing favourable design features of the unit itself, such as the kitchen/dining area, bedroom "nooks" and the finished basement.

Indeed, when people on the questionnaire were asked which house they would prefer to live in, 48% said the display unit because of its access to the street, its bed "nooks" and finished basement.

16% of the residents (n=8) would not wish to live in the units, citing the size of yards, the number of units on the lot and the neighbourhood as the major drawbacks. People complained of a feeling of isolation and of being "hemmed in" in the rear units. (The two front units, in fact, were the first to be sold.) The salesman believed, however, that the density of the units was less of a deterrent to sales than the surrounding neighbourhood.

The Neighbourhood

In all, 22% of the questionnaire respondents (n=11) made negative comments on the neighbourhood. While this result does not indicate the neighbourhood as being a significant negative influence on people's willingness to buy the homes, additional evidence indicates that it was seen by many people as a major deterrent. The salesman estimated that all thirty families he showed through the units said that although they liked the units themselves, and thought them reasonably priced, they did not want to live in the neighbourhood. The majority, if not all, of them later bought homes in other areas of the city. The salesman reported that while all people liked the central location of the infill units relative to downtown, as well as their convenient proximity to other community facilities, such as stores and schools, they rejected the particular Alexander area.

This problem, of course, had been anticipated. It was suspected, as well, that had the infill units been built on the William Avenue site or in other parts of the same general renewal area, they would have been seen as much more desirable and would have been sold much faster.

This view is supported by comments of the thirty families shown through the units by the salesman. All thirty were immigrants: six were Chinese, four were East Indian, the remainder being a mixture of Native Indian people, Italian, Portuguese and Polish. All families were interested in locating close to downtown. The major Chinese community in the city is located between Princess and Main, only a few blocks away from the Alexander site. The Chinese families who viewed the units were interested in buying all four units for friends or family presently living in "Chinatown", or those who would be brought over from the Orient. Owning their own homes was seen as a way of "bettering" themselves, but they also wanted to retain strong ties with their own people. However, the social problems associated with Alexander Avenue represent much of what people are trying to escape from. In the case of Italian viewers, they also liked the units but wished they were located in a better neighbourhood and closer to "their own" area in another section of the city, where they already had family and friends.

The public reaction to the infill units would seem to suggest that when an area, in particular the street on which new housing is located, has a poor reputation, a more extensive physical and social "face lift" is required to contribute to a change in the "image" of the neighbourhood as a whole. People, particularly those people with young children, are very concerned with the quality of the physical and social environment surrounding their homes. The Alexander area was associated with a high incidence of actual and perceived social problems, poorly maintained buildings and outdoor areas, high traffic rates, and is generally unattractive. Four new housing units clearly did not constitute a sufficient enough change to alter the public's perception of the area.

NEIGHBOURHOOD REACTION STUDY*

The assessment of neighbourhood reaction to the infill units on Alexander attempted to accomplish two objectives: 1) to assess perceptions of residents in the proximate neighbourhood with respect to both the completed units and the existing neighbourhood, and 2) to devise a convenient methodology for assessing these same perceptions at subsequent times and at different infill sites. The first assessment was conducted during the second week of February, as the units were then available for occupancy. However, only one family had as of then moved in. It was desirable to obtain perceptions of the neighbourhood and the units just after completion in order to provide a base for later comparison. It was thought that the perceptions of residents would conceivably change in a positive direction over time due to acquaintance with and exposure to the new owner/occupants and the units.⁹ The second assessment was conducted during September 1973.

* We wish to acknowledge our debt to Professor Joseph P. Reser, Department of Psychology, University of Winnipeg, who designed and executed the neighbourhood reaction study, prepared the basic research material, and drafted the report from which this section is drawn. Professor Reser was assisted in the second stage interviewing by Mr. Bob Bamburak.

9. Robert B. Zajonc, "Attitudinal Effects of Mere Exposure", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Volume 9, 1968, Monograph, pp. 1-29.

Method and Problems

A semantic differential technique¹⁰ was chosen for the assessment of the new units and the neighbourhood. The dimensions chosen for the scales were designed to tap perceptions of the units themselves, the existing neighbourhood, and the anticipated effects of the units on the existing neighbourhood, e.g., noise, parking, property value. The scales themselves were standard seven-point semantic scales which the subjects themselves were to rate. Some items were similar to those used in related research concerned with perceptions of neighbourhood,¹¹ but also included a number of additional evaluative dimensions. The ratings were made in a semi-structured interview situation at the respondent's home. General data concerning sex, age, number of children and length of tenancy or ownership were also obtained. It was hoped that this information could subsequently be correlated with mean perceptions of units and neighbourhood, given cell samples of reasonable size.

The rationale of using semantic differential scales, other than allowing for the quantification of perceptions, was to provide a sensitive means of comparing perceptions over time. This can be done by composing a "profile", i.e., a graphic representation of the entire perceptual dimension, rather than simply gross differences between mean ratings on individual scales.¹² The use of perceptual profiles for the single

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10. Charles E. Osgood, G. Suci, and P. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning, Urbana, Illinois, The University of Illinois Press, 1957.
 11. Robert B. Zahner, "Neighbourhood and Community Satisfaction - A Report on New Towns and Less Planned Suburbs" in Joachim F. Wohlwill and Daniel H. Carson (Eds.), Environment and the Social Sciences: Perspectives and Applications, Washington, D.C., American Psychological Association, 1972.
 12. J. L. Horn, "Significance Tests for Use with r_p and Related Profile Statistics", Educational and Psychological Measurement (XXI, 2), 1961.

population was seen as a decided advantage in the use of semantic scales.

The sample of neighbourhood residents for the first assessment, totaled eighteen individuals, representing twelve households. The number of respondents completing actual ratings, however, was fifteen, including five men, one male teenager, and nine women. The households can be considered a reasonably random sample of the proximate neighbourhood, with the qualification that people necessarily had to be home during the day and able to communicate adequately in English. Of approximately twenty households originally contacted, five were Portuguese-speaking, which resulted in no response at three of these residences. Language difficulties were also anticipated in the case of other ethnic groups, such as Ukrainians and even native Indians.

However, some respondents evidently found it very difficult to respond to the semantic scales. It was necessary for the interviewer, in fact, to do the actual rating of the scales in at least four instances, i.e., in over 25% of the total sample. This can substantially affect the usefulness of this type of measure. At present, however, the advantages of this method of statistical comparison still outweigh alternative procedures. Indeed, no viable statistical alternatives are seen to exist. An attempt was made to use multiple choice responses rather than rating scales in some recent research also involving the perception of physical settings,¹³ but with little success.

First Stage Assessment

The results of the first assessment can best be summarized by the profiles given in Figures 14, 15, and 16. Some immediate

13. Joseph P. Reser, "Assessing the Costs of Human Crowding: A Field Experiment". Paper submitted to the World Population Society Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., February, 1974.

Figure 14. Perceptions Toward Units

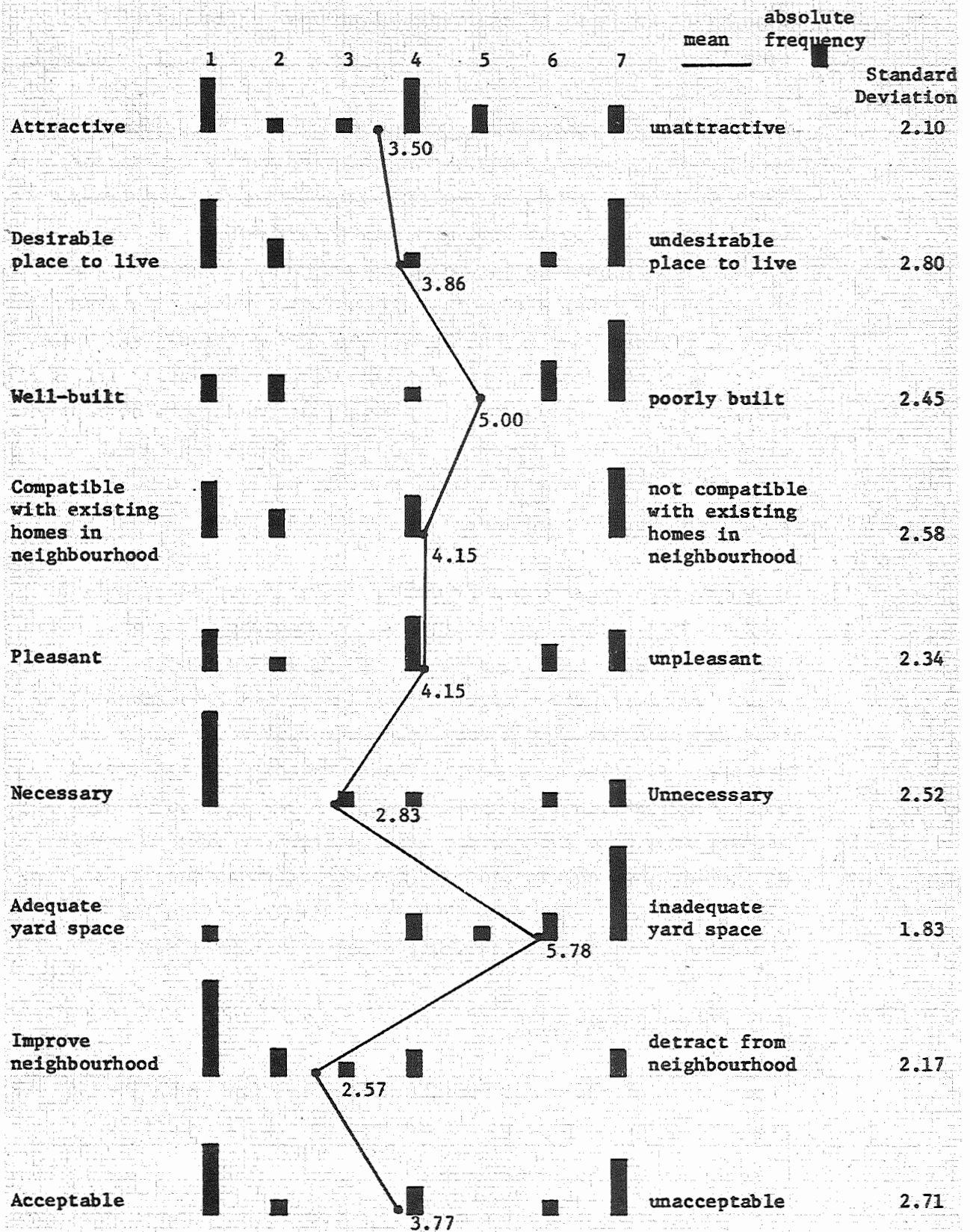


Figure 15. Perceptions of Neighbourhood

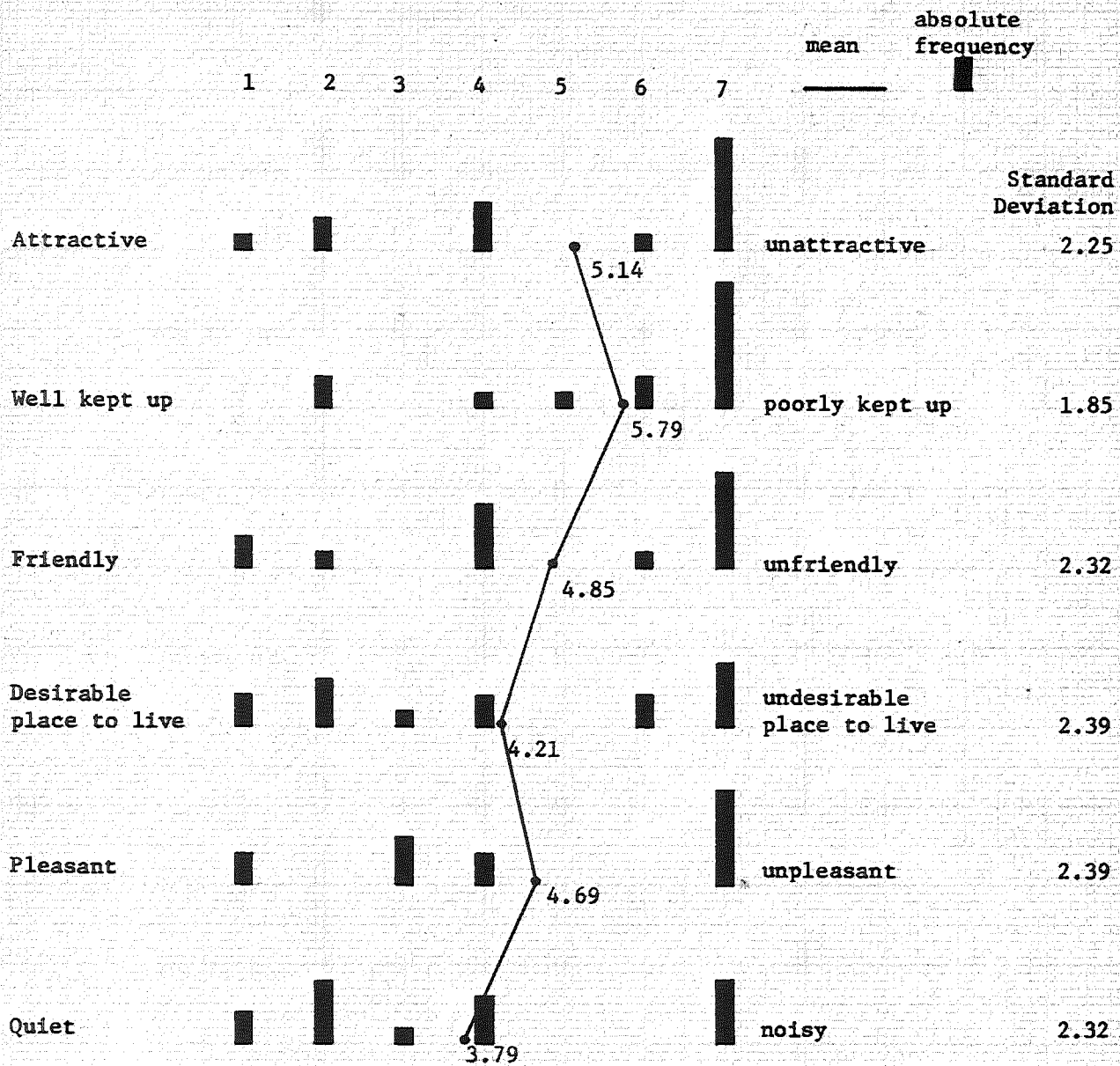
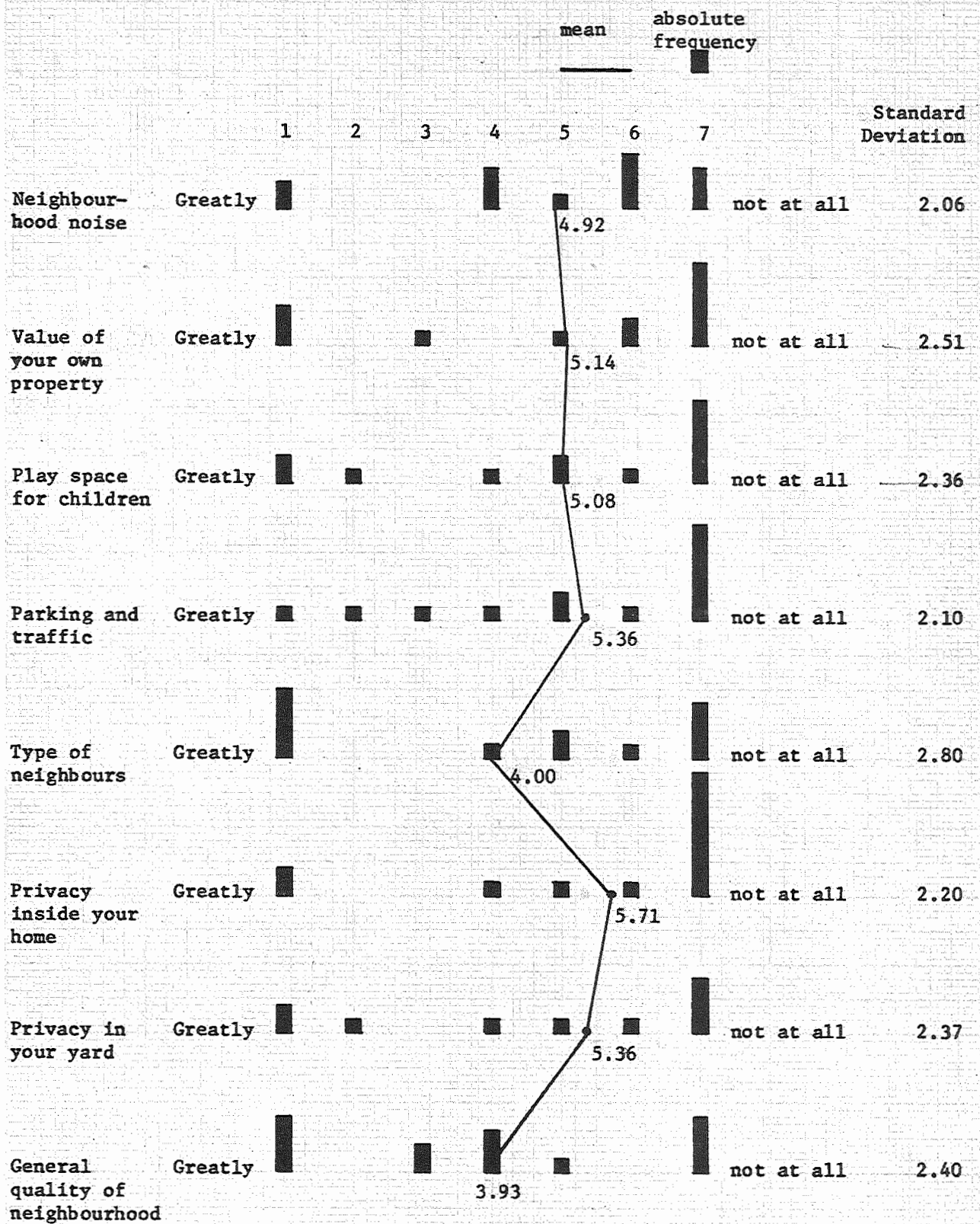


Figure 16. Anticipated Consequences of New Units



observations are that:

1. the most salient positive aspects of the new units were that they were "necessary", and that they "improve the neighbourhood"; and
2. the most salient negative perceptions of the units were that they were "poorly built" and had "inadequate yard space";
3. perceptions of neighbourhood were relatively negative with respect to "attractiveness", "maintenance", and "friendliness"; but
4. were moderate to positive on the dimensions of "desirability", "pleasantness", and "noise" level;
5. the greatest anticipated effects of the new units on the neighbourhood were in the areas of "type of neighbours" and "general quality of neighbourhood" (in both of these instances there was some additional evidence that the effect was thought to be a beneficial one); but
6. most anticipated effects were seen as moderate (although spontaneous comments indicated that respondents saw these effects as being somewhat negative).¹⁴

On the broader, more abstract or conceptual dimensions (f.e., necessity, improvement of neighbourhood), the general reaction to the units appeared to be positive. However, this result may only be reflective of generalized attitudes toward the need for neighbourhood improvement, rather than more individualized

-
14. In future, it would be desirable to change the scales relating to anticipated consequences. The problem with those used is that they rate extent of effect, but not direction. This might be accomplished by using two scales for each item, one for extent and one for direction, e.g.:

Do you think the new units will greatly affect noise level in your neighbourhood?

Greatly _____ not greatly

Do you see this as a positive effect or a negative effect?

Positive _____ negative

focus on the particular units themselves. In other words, some form of new housing is seen as necessary in the neighbourhood. It may even be the case that the infill units are seen as an improvement.

However, it also is the case that neighbourhood residents do not approve of two very specific qualities of the units — the construction quality and the small amount of yard space. This seemingly discrepant finding is actually a rather logical, even sophisticated, distinction between general and specific perceptions.

Another interesting feature of the data is that the negative perceptions rated above were particularly held by residents who had lived in the neighbourhood for some time and who own their own homes.

That same phenomenon was experienced at the two aborted infill sites, since the opposition to the units came largely from home owners. Some of the comments regarding the "shoddy" construction of the units were based upon pretty close scrutiny, especially of the length of nails used, the sheetrock construction, etc.¹⁵ On the other hand, the construction quality and size of yard did not seem to be a problem for tenants of native Indian and Portuguese extraction who were renting apartments or houses in the near area. For these people, the units did have general appeal. The differences in background, economic standing, and

15. However, some of the criticisms were due, in part, to technical innovations being attempted in the basic framing of the units, basement wall construction, heating system and exterior cladding-- techniques which were somewhat misinterpreted as "cheap" construction.

length of residence in the area—which are undoubtedly highly correlated—may well be responsible for the high variability and split polar ratings reflected in the data.

Some immediate qualifications must be amended to the general observations made above. The principal purpose of the rating scales was to allow for later comparisons, and the mean ratings themselves have to be seen as a relatively gross index of individual perceptions. There was, for example, a quite substantial amount of variability in responses which indicates, of course, that people have widely divergent perceptions of the units and their neighbourhood. This can best be seen by an examination of the frequency of ratings on which the given means were based (see Figures 14, 15, and 16). Particularly on the initial scales relating directly to perceptions of the units, there appears to be a real polarization of evaluative attitudes; that is, residents either view the units very positively or very negatively, with relatively few moderate perceptions. It should be noted that the polarity of responses on a semantic differential is usually interpreted as being an indication of strong affect or arousal, or perhaps ego involvement in this case.

The very high variability of the data suggests that it will be difficult to demonstrate significant mean differences between perceptions over time unless sample sizes are fairly large. The technique based on comparisons of semantic profiles, however, may still be sensitive to changes in perceptions. Change over time was predicted - in a positive direction. The real problem would be whether the scale measures would be sensitive to these changes. The second assessment did indeed show some changes, but contrary to expectations, the change was in a somewhat negative direction.

Second Stage and Comparative Assessments

The observations which follow with respect to the second assessment and comparisons are based again upon relatively small samples within which there were highly variable responses. This should temper any conclusions drawn from perceptions over time. Also, the observations are based upon two methods of comparison:

1. a "between groups" comparison of the total samples surveyed in the first assessment in February and the second in September (these were not completely independent samples as there were six respondents whose perceptions were tapped during both assessments); and
2. a "within group" comparison of the ratings of the six respondents who were interviewed in both stages.

The "within group" comparison is the more sensitive of the two for methodological reasons, not only due to the small total sample sizes and high variability, but also because individuals in the second sample tended to live at a greater distance from the units than those in the initial sample. This initial sample was selected with the explicit intention of obtaining as many respondents as possible who lived in very close proximity to the new units. The six individuals in the within group comparison all reside within direct visual access of the units, i.e., from their own house and yard. This number is as small as it is because of the difficulty of contacting original respondents during the second assessment stage.

The data analysis included a profile analysis for within and between group comparisons, as well as individual comparisons of mean ratings on particular items (see Figures 17-22). While the profiles themselves provide a good visual index of perceptions, the profile analysis did not lead to any substantial conclusions.

All that can be said is that for both comparisons, and for all target areas (i.e., units, neighbourhood, and anticipated consequences), no profiles were significantly similar to each other. This certainly indicates some change over time in perceptions, but must be qualified once more by small and not entirely equivalent samples, and a high degree of variability. Also, a gross difference in profiles does not in itself tell you the direction of changes in perceptions.

The standard deviations and absolute frequencies for each target item in the survey provide a measure of consensus on certain ratings. In some cases, the consensus is very high, e.g., perceptions of inadequate yard space, feelings of privacy, and so forth.

Perception of Units: The most general statement that can be made regarding the units themselves is that perceptions become more negative. This was most apparent with respect to the perceived necessity of the units and perceived beneficial value to the neighbourhood (see Figure 17). A less substantial, but still negative change in perceptions was evidenced with respect to rated attractiveness, desirability, compatibility with neighbourhood, and general acceptability.

The two aspects of the units toward which perceptions became more favorable were quality of construction and rated pleasantness. These latter two changes are somewhat difficult to account for, though it should be noted that initial perceptions toward quality of construction were very negative for the within-subject comparison, and become more favorable in a strictly relative sense.

Figure 17. Within-group Comparison: Perceptions toward Units

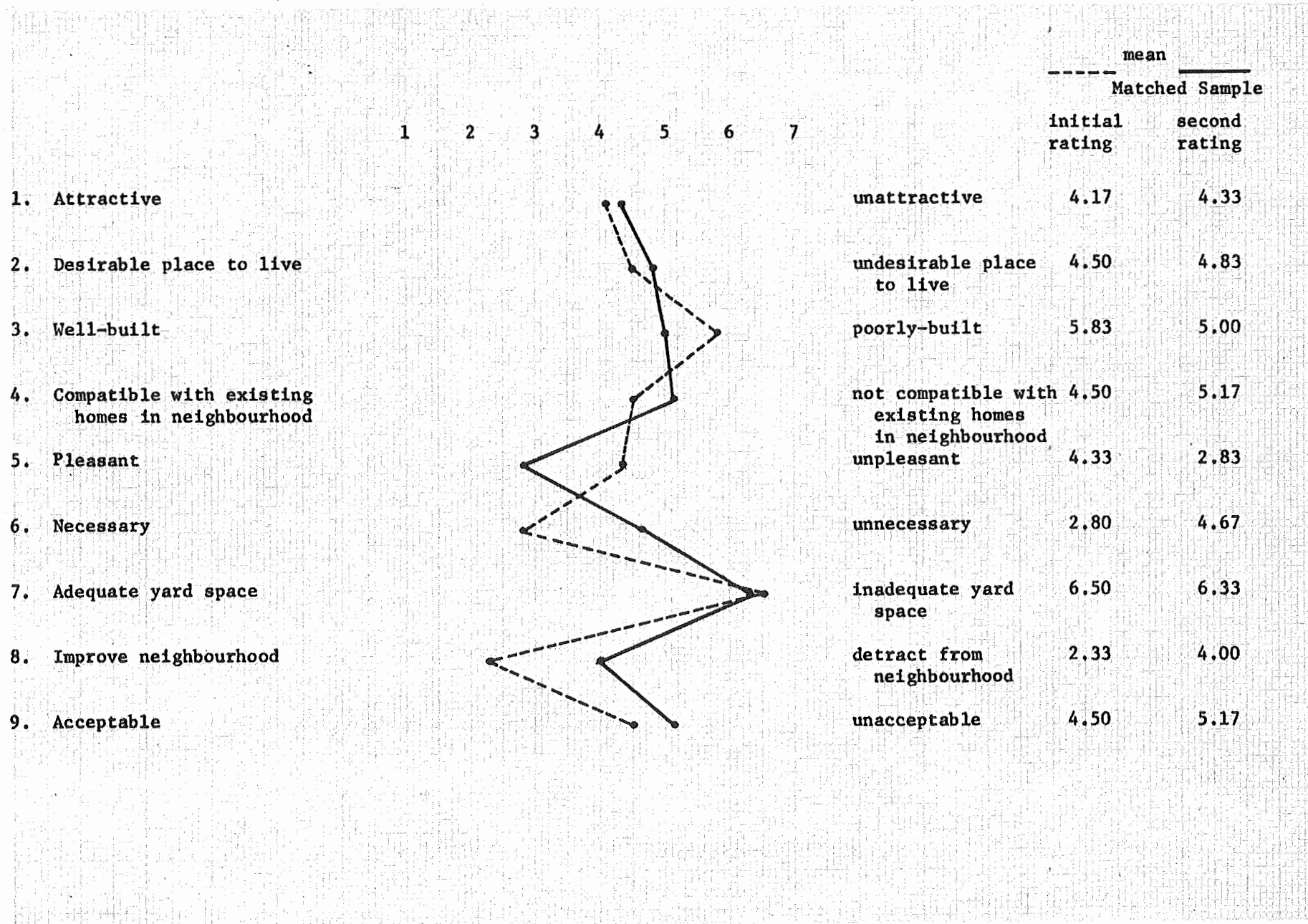
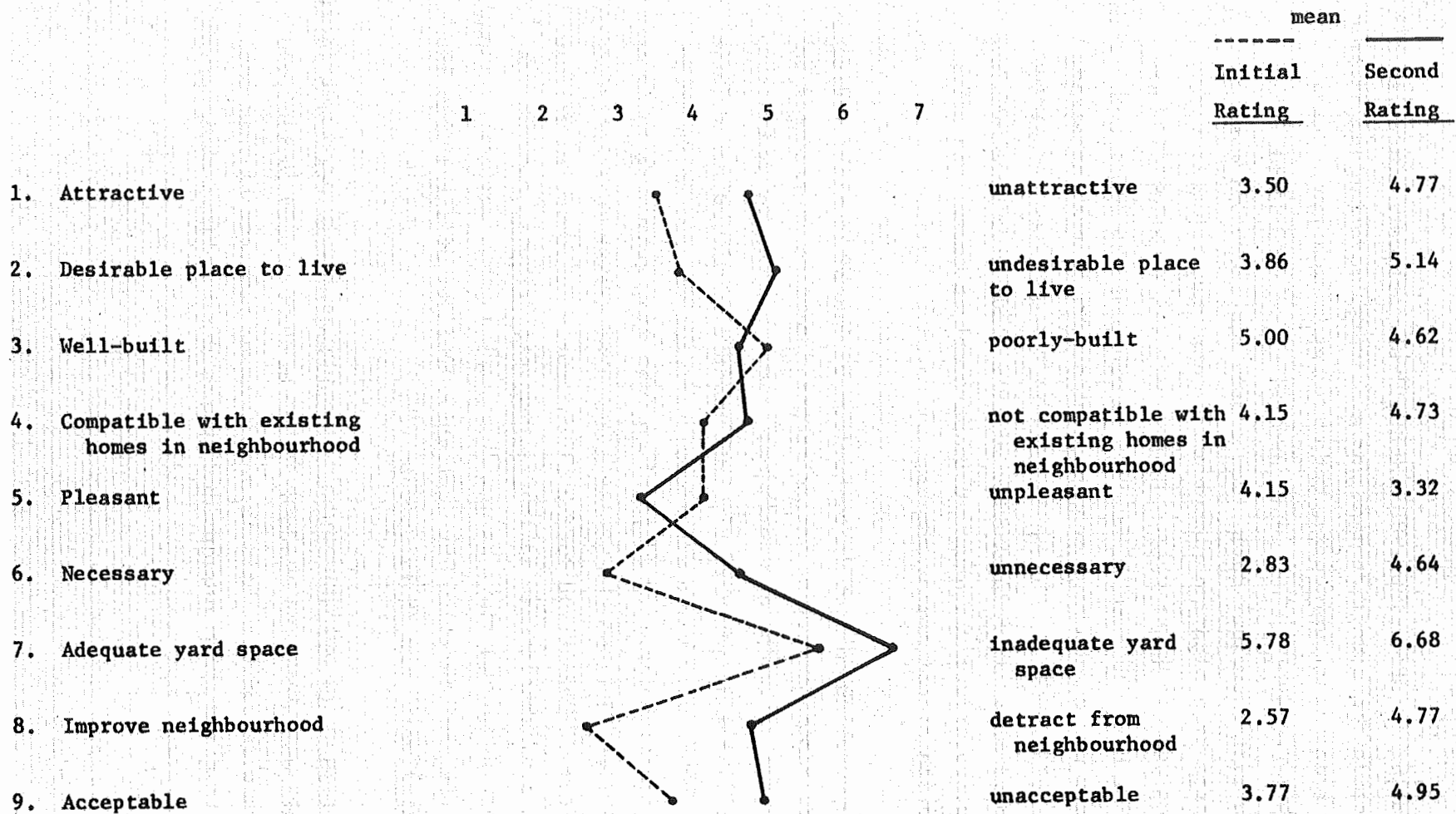


Figure 18. Between-group Comparison: Perceptions toward Units



Changes for both the within and between subjects comparisons were in the same direction for all items, with the exception of adequacy of yard space (see Figures 17 and 18). There was no noteworthy change in perception of yard space for the within subject comparison group, but there was a slight change in a negative direction for the comparison of total samples. It might also be noted that while variability was quite high for most items (and comparisons therefore questionable), there was a very high degree of consensus on the inadequacy of yard space for the units in both the original and second assessments. The inadequacy of yard space also remained the most polarized and negative of perceptions toward the units for the second set of ratings.

The negative changes in perception of the units might indicate that respondents were tailoring their ratings in response to certain political circumstances. For example, leaders within a citizens group in UR #2, the People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood, vocally and strenuously opposed the new units prior to construction. It is possible that they continued their opposition privately between the two neighbourhood assessments, particularly as one of them lived half a block away. Moreover, an article was published on May 15 in The Winnipeg Tribune, quoting the Mayor as saying the site was too crowded. The article continued to say that three of the four units had not sold and that the "experiment" was "a failure".

Perception of Neighbourhood: The perceptions of residents toward their neighbourhood changed almost as much as did perceptions toward the units. This is a noteworthy finding, in that one would assume that perceptions toward one's neighbourhood would

be more stable over time than one's perceptions of newly-constructed housing units which differ substantially from existing neighbourhood housing. Actual changes in perception appeared to be in a qualified positive direction. Perceptions of general upkeep and friendliness were enhanced for both within and between group comparisons, and there was a positive change in perceptions toward the desirability and pleasantness of the neighbourhood for the within group comparison. The one aspect of the neighbourhood towards which perceptions became substantially more negative for both comparisons was the noise factor. Ratings of attractiveness changed very little in the case of both comparisons (see Figures 19 and 20).

These changes in perceptions of the neighbourhood might be accounted for, in part, by events that took place between the first and second assessments. For example, it is possible that the repair work done to the exterior of the units, contributed to the negative changes in perception, particularly related to "noise". In addition, Family A had had thirteen visitors, including about seven children in addition to their own, for two months during the summer. On the other hand, perceptual changes regarding the neighbourhood might indicate that the overall high variability of the ratings is such that true changes in perceptions are very difficult to assess.

Anticipated Effects of Units: It is somewhat difficult to characterize the changes in respondent attitudes toward perceived consequences of the new units. Substantial changes occurred in both the within and between group comparisons with respect to three target areas: privacy in one's home, privacy in one's yard, and general quality of the neighbourhood (see Figures 21 and 22).

Figure 19. Within-group Comparison: Perceptions of Neighbourhood

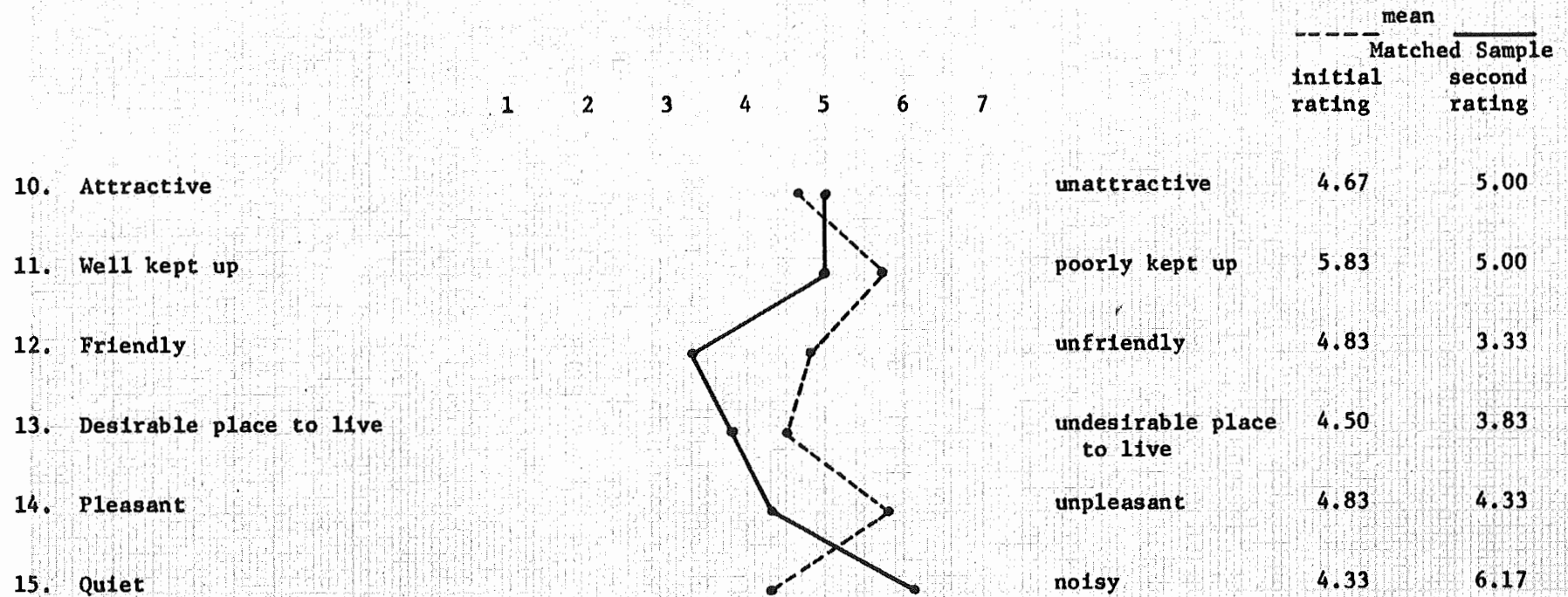


Figure 20. Between-group Comparison Perceptions of Neighbourhood

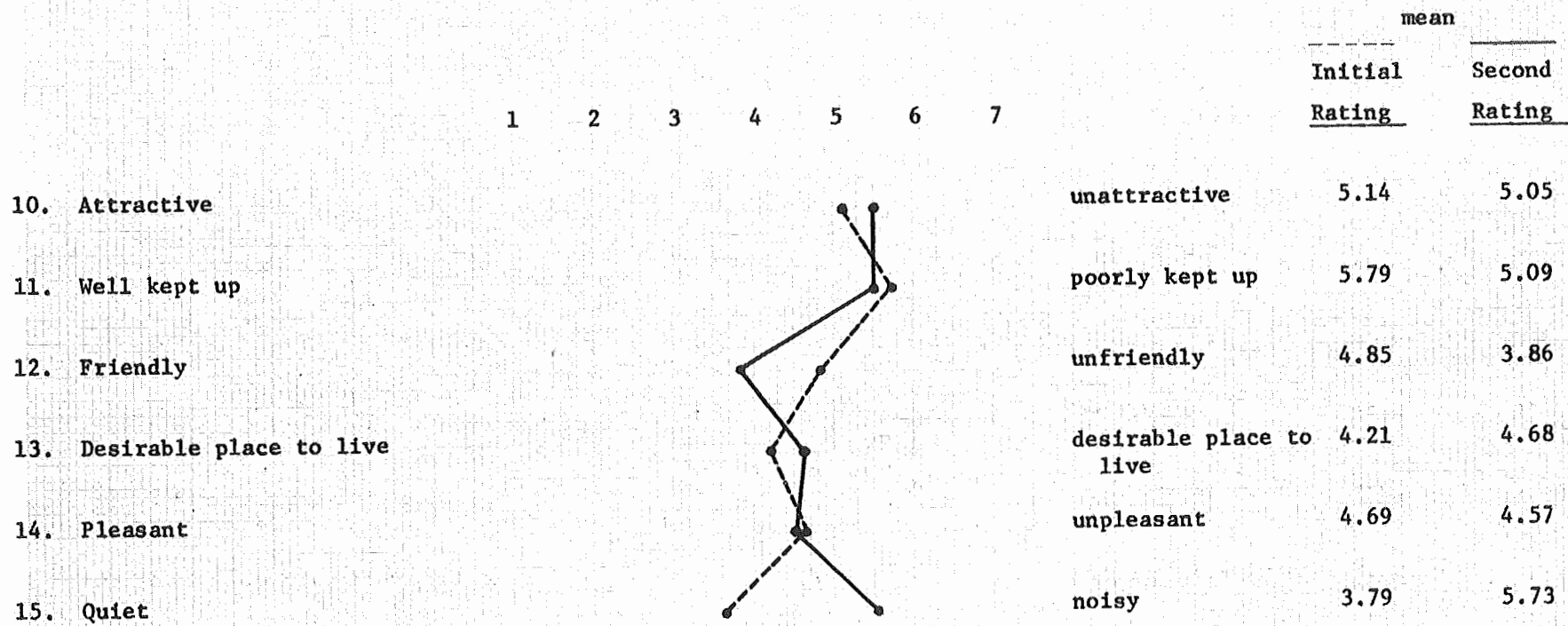


Figure 21. Within-group Comparison Anticipated Consequences of New Units

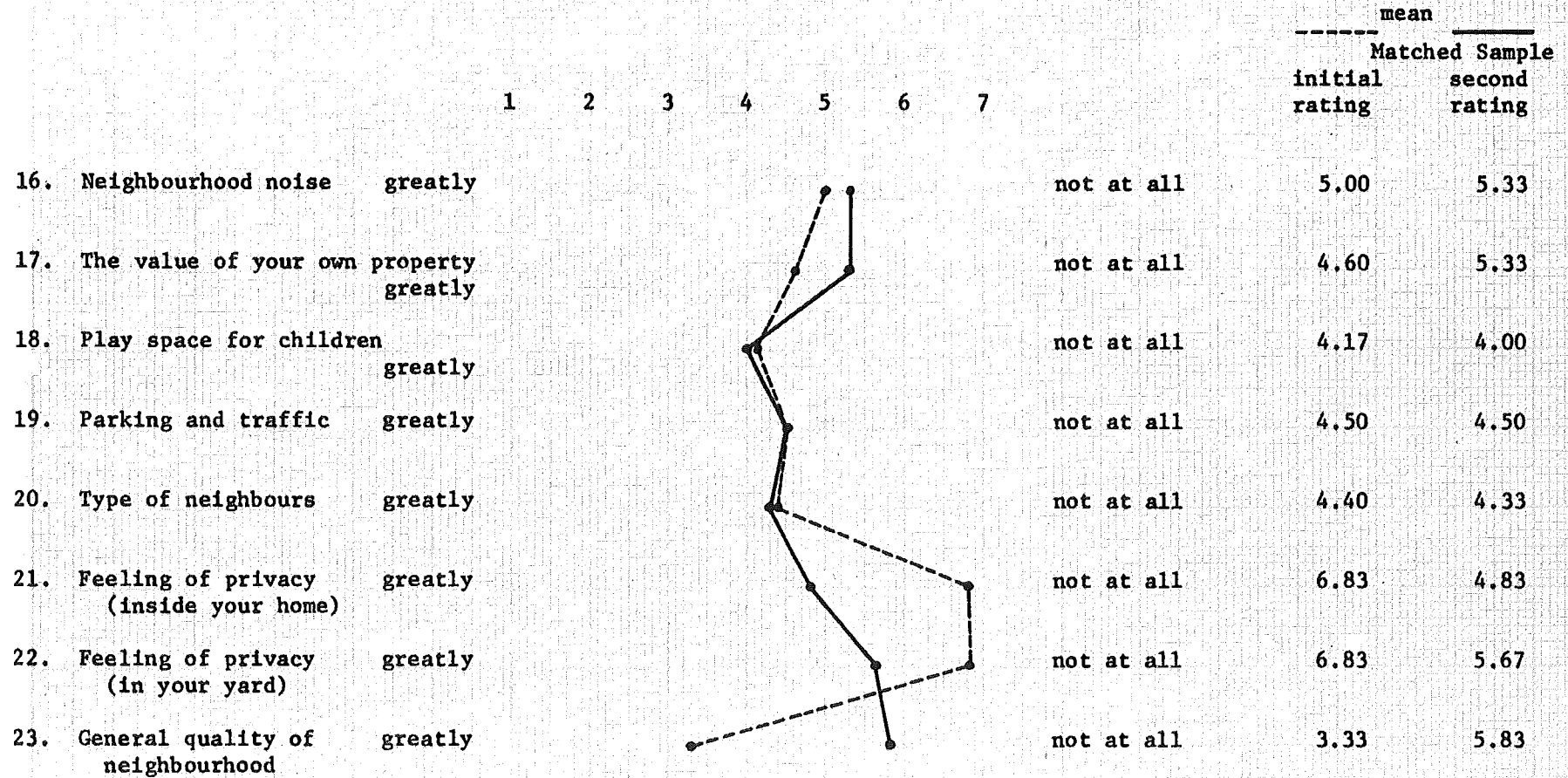
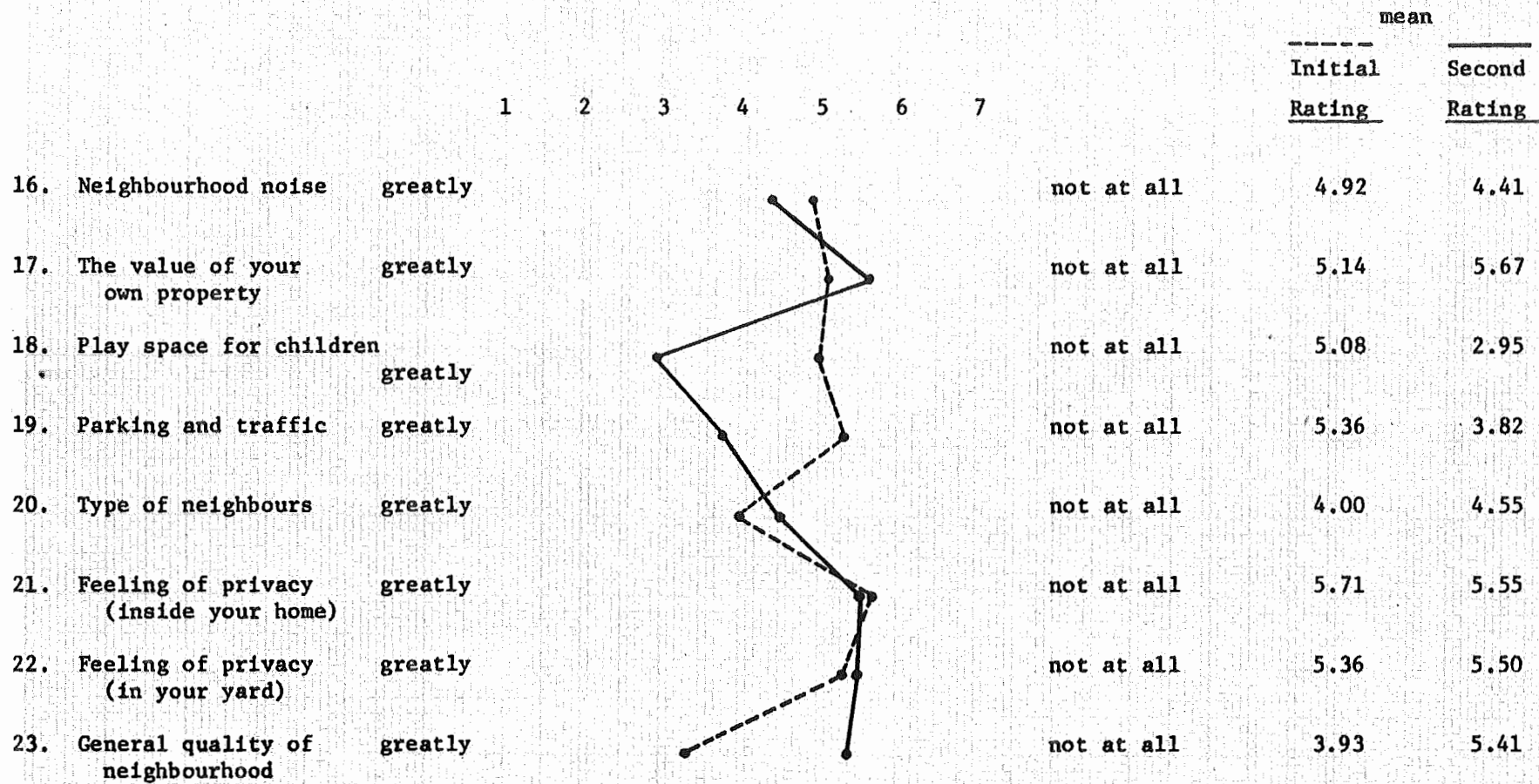


Figure 22. Between-group Comparison Anticipated Consequences of New Units



The within group comparison is again more informative here, as it reflects changes over time in the perceptions of the same group of respondents.

It appears that a substantial deterioration of felt privacy both in one's home and one's yard occurred during the period between the initial and second assessment. Again, this was for the same group comparison which comprised six individuals who live within direct visual access of the new units. Initially these individuals indicated that they had virtually no apprehensions concerning invasion of privacy, yet their perceptions very definitely changed. These changes are not seen in the comparison figures for the total sample groups, but this is easily explained by the greater mean distance from the units for the second total sample group.

In addition to the change in feelings of privacy, there was a sizeable change in how the same group of residents and the second total sample group viewed the effect of the units on the quality of their neighbourhood. While it was initially the consensus that the units would have a substantial influence on the neighbourhood - in a positive direction - this expectation was largely dissipated by the time of the second ratings. This corresponds with the generally lowered ratings of the units themselves.

Two very substantial changes in perceptions which also appeared for the between groups comparison concerned parking and traffic problems and play space for children. At the time of the second assessment, it appears that respondents were seeing the units as being responsible for increased parking and traffic and reduced play space for children.

Summary Note

The above comparisons were prefaced with a cautionary note indicating small sample sizes and high variability. In addition, the profile analyses which were done indicated only that the profiles differed enough so that they could not be judged to be really similar. Notwithstanding either of the above, the data does appear to be indicating some changes in perceptions with regard to the infill units. These are largely negative changes, but they can perhaps best be viewed as simply stronger reaffirmations of initially critical perceptions.

USER REACTION STUDY*

Since December, 1972, as part of the evaluation of the "Infill" housing concept, IUS has undertaken research to determine how well the assumed "needs" of users match up with the actual thinking and behaviour of residents.

The specific objectives of this user study were:

1. To explore and develop methods of gathering, analyzing and presenting data on user reactions to the built environment. ("User" refers to the building occupants, that is, residents or occupant owners of the units. "Built environment", in this case, refers to the units and the exterior open space immediately adjacent to the units, i.e., yard, parking areas and sidewalks, as well as those areas and facilities surrounding the housing site that may affect the environmental quality of the units, i.e., streets, existing housing, commercial buildings, schools and stores, etc.
2. To record and analyze residents' verbal perceptions of, and their actual behaviour within, the built environment over time, in order to understand what makes the Alexander Avenue housing units satisfactory/unsatisfactory living environments.

*Appreciation is due to Marion Dore for her research assistance in interviewing the families and in preparing the results for analysis.

3. To recommend ways and means that the physical environment could be altered in future projects of this kind to render it more supportive of the needs of the users.

Study Design Method

The major concern in this study is not with establishing single "cause and effect" links, but rather with the identification of a set of characteristics which seem to make for satisfaction/dissatisfaction in users' residential living environments. Also sought were those elements in the physical and social environment that appear to have some influence on those characteristics. The concern is with elaborating on "connections" or relationships between variables. No a priori judgements about the impact of specific physical variables or physical features of the environment were made.

The researchers felt that the residents' satisfaction with their residential living environment on Alexander Avenue would be governed to a large degree on how well it met with their aspirations and expectations and that many of these aspirations would be based on their personal experiences with their past and present living environments. It was further anticipated that the behavioural reactions of the residents to their living environment would alter over time.

For these reasons, it was decided that data on the verbal perceptions and behavioural reactions of users should be obtained at the following points in time:

- Stage I - Prior to moving into the unit on Alexander Avenue.
- Stage II - Shortly after moving into the unit on Alexander Avenue.
- Stage III - After having lived in the unit on Alexander Avenue for eight months to a year.

Effort was also made to record the behaviour of users at different times of the year, as the uses made of the environment and residents' satisfaction might vary with changes in season.

The intent was to discover how and in what ways the living environment on Alexander Avenue was serving to hinder or facilitate the desired behaviour goals of the residents. Implicit in such an approach is the belief that the built environment has the power to encourage or discourage certain behaviour by virtue of the kinds of potential opportunities for action it provides the user.

The small sample size made it possible and desirable to assume an in depth case study approach to each of the four families living in the units, recording the verbal and demonstrated actions of all users of the built environment at each of the three time stages.

Research Techniques

Two basic research techniques were utilized:

1. Semi-structured interviews (subjective/verbal perceptions).
2. Observation and photography (objective/demonstrated behaviour).

Interview Format/Procedure: First, all interviews were taped, and began with an open ended question regarding residents' likes/dislikes in the built environment. This was intended to illicit the voluntary responses of residents concerning those issues that were of major concern to them. This data was analyzed in terms of its relative frequency of mention.

Second, direct questions were asked concerning previous residences, the surrounding community and facilities, such as stores, schools, play areas, respondents' reasons for moving, etc., if these issues had not been discussed in the open ended question period. Throughout the interview, effort was made to uncover the "whys" behind the respondents' answers.

Third, respondents were asked to indicate on a map covering a half mile radius of their present home, where they knew people, how they met these people and where meetings generally took place. The quality of one's social relationships was believed to influence people's satisfaction with their living environment.

Finally, the respondent was asked to take the researcher on a tour of the house, during which time he or she was encouraged to comment on positive and negative features of the dwelling and the various uses made of the different spaces. This was intended to provide more detailed information on features of the environment that may not have been mentioned before, as well as serving to sensitize the researcher to the resident's living environment.

Effort was made to interview each member of the family separately so that one person's responses were not unduly influenced by another's. For example, if the wife was interviewed one day, another appointment was set up for the husband. In the case of children, no formal appointments were made and discussions were held whenever they were available. At all times, the researchers tried to keep inconvenience and disruption of the family's daily routine to a minimum. As contact with the members of each family extended over a period of time, a good rapport was established with the residents and in addition to the formal interviews, many casual conversations were held which greatly assisted the researchers in understanding the likes and dislikes, hopes and fears of these people.

To date, some difficulty in obtaining data has been encountered with only one of the three families now living in the units. Although the family was quite cooperative, communication has been limited, as the two people are Chinese and one speaks no English. The male head of the family also refused to allow pictures to be taken, either in the old dwelling or in the new. However, it is hoped that as they become more settled and familiar with the setting and their neighbours, they will not feel threatened by the research activity.

Photographic Procedure: It was not possible to systematically photograph the behaviour of residents as it occurred within the units over time; this would have constituted too great an invasion of privacy. However, a photographic record of the unit's interior and its surroundings was made at each interview stage, so as:

1. to supplement and clarify the verbal data, and
2. to constitute an objective record of space use, inferred through the placement of objects such as furniture. Such a visual record would be useful in comparing the reactions of individual families to their old and new dwellings and for comparing the reactions of different family groupings to one another.

Another potential use of the photographic technique is to provide a socio-economic index indicating certain attitudes and values of the respondents, i.e., concepts of order and beauty, degree of adherence to cultural norms, economic status, and areas of interest to the residents.

Systematic observation, using photography, of the uses made of outdoor areas adjacent to the unit will also be made over time. Concentrated study of the uses made of yards, sidewalks and streets

has not been undertaken to date, as it was felt that this could best be accomplished when all the units were occupied. However, the uses made of outdoor areas have been frequently observed since the first family moved in, in order to observe any changes in use that may occur over time, e.g., with changes in season and as more units are sold.

In analyzing and interpreting the data, both the interview data and the photographic data constituting the "reactions" of the users, have been combined in a search for "patterns".

Table 3 presents a record of research completed to date and that anticipated in the future. Residents will be referred to as Families A, B and C, with first names used to identify specific individuals. Included in the account of interviews with each family are figures showing where each family lived before and after moving to Alexander Avenue, the floor plans of the residences and the functional uses made of the neighbourhood. Figure 23 illustrates the previous location of each family relative to the infill units.

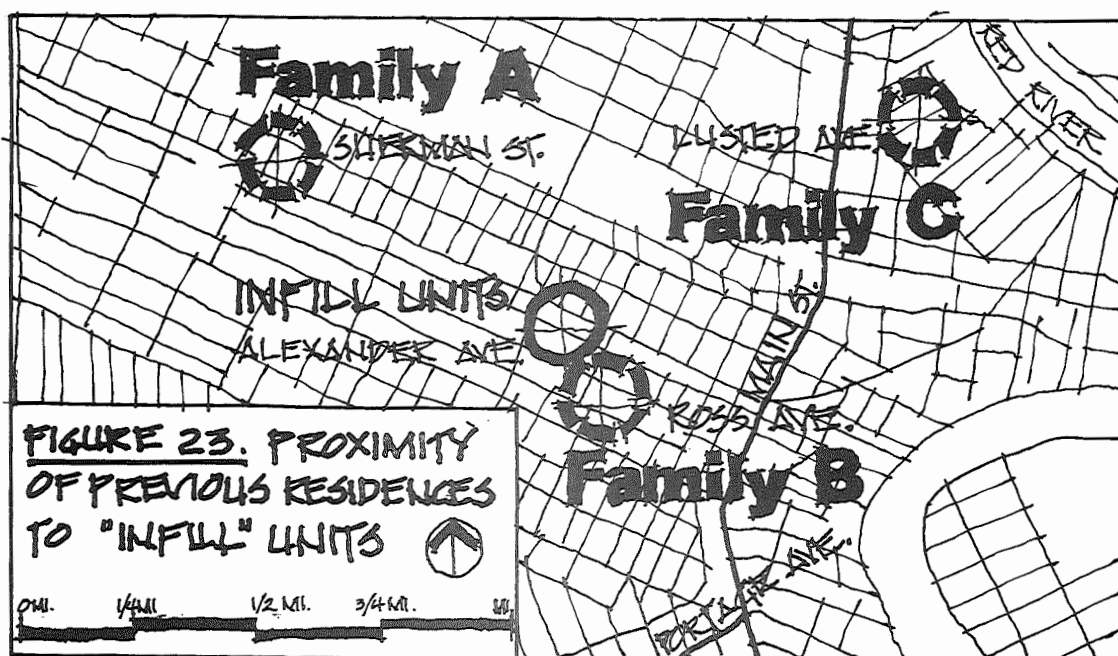


Table 3. Research Record and Schedule of Interviews/Observations*.

	INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS		
	STAGE I	STAGE II	STAGE III
FAMILY A: Mother Father Janette-John Children John, Cathy, Cindy and Joanne.	December 1973	February 1973	October 1973
FAMILY B: Mother Son - Gary	July 1973	September 1973	Expected Summer 1974
FAMILY C: Mother Father Geraldine-Jules Children Richard, Marvin, Glen, Giselle, Jules, Edgar (married), Jolene (married).	September 1973	October 1973	Expected Summer 1974
FAMILY D	Expected Jan. 1974	Expected Feb. 1974	Expected Fall 1974

*The authors would like to express their special thanks to the families living in the units, for without their kind cooperation this study would not have been possible.

Family A Interviews

Interview #1: December 1973. Rented house on Sherman Street. Before moving to Alexander Avenue.

1. Location of House in Neighbourhood (See Figure 24)

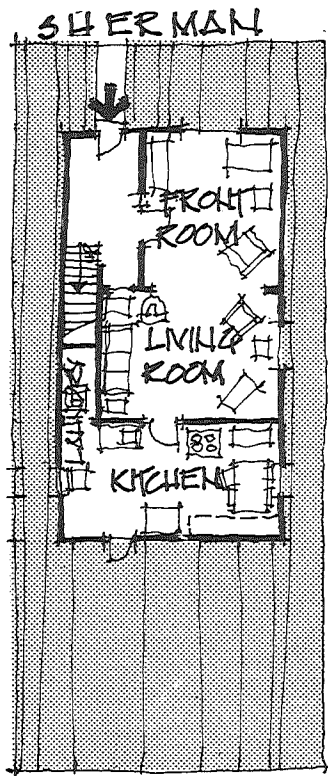
- (i) Patterns of Use: The house was conveniently located within walking distance of public transportation, school, "corner" grocery store and the family church. The family used the car to travel to supermarkets for bulk grocery shopping, as price and selection were better, but liked small stores close by for emergency items. Other shopping took place downtown, fifteen minutes away by bus.

All the children except Cathy, who is three years old, used the school grounds for most recreation activities in both the winter (skating and hockey) and summer (soccer and baseball). Swimming activities were also valued by the children and were organized through the church.

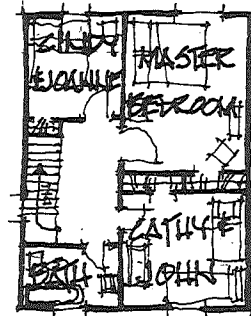
John and Janette belonged to the church but did not belong to other organized groups in the community or use any community recreation facilities, preferring to concentrate on activities within the family.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: Low monthly rent was a primary consideration to the family in selecting a place to live. This necessitated locating in older sections of the city. \$110. a month was considered acceptable to the family for the amount of space and other advantages

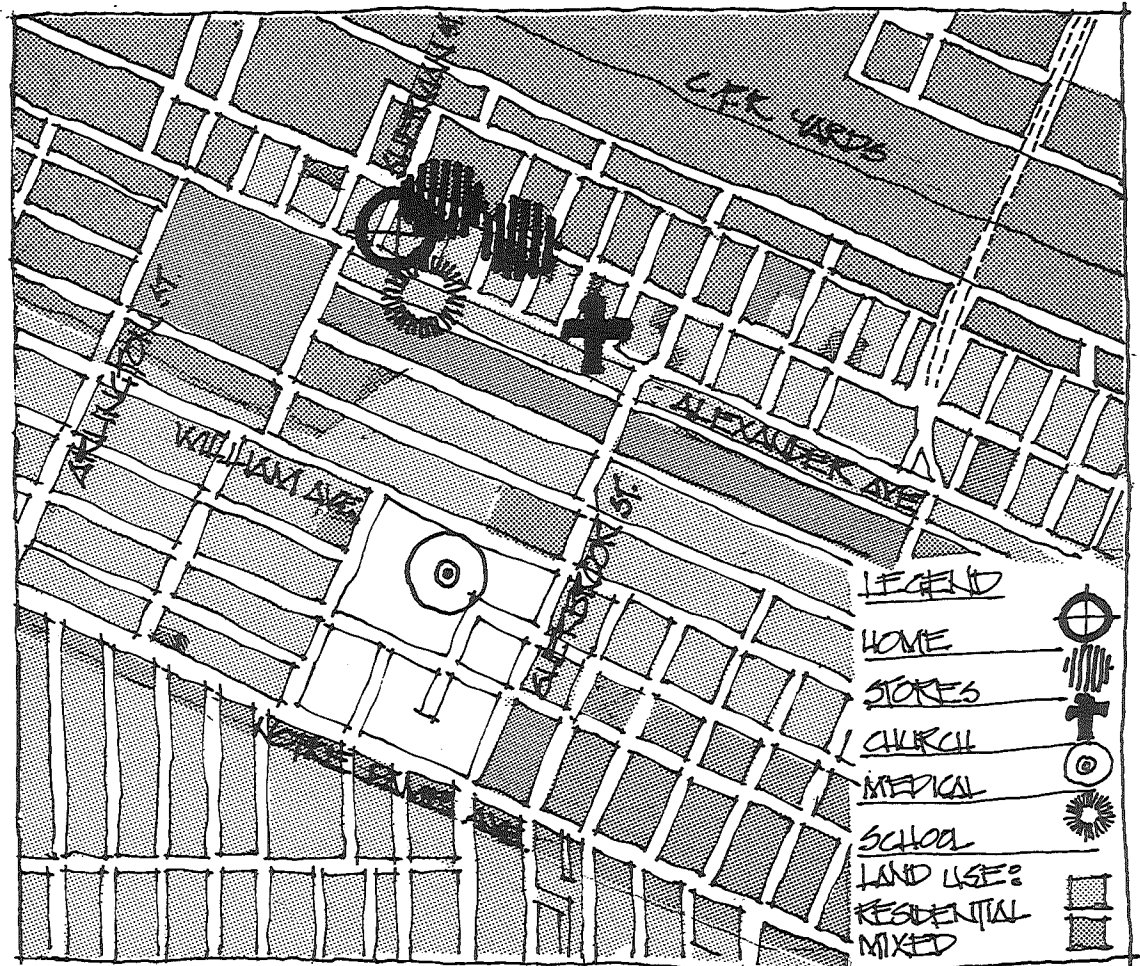
FIGURE 24. FAMILY A: OLD HOUSE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD



MAIN FLOOR & YARD



2ND FLOOR



they had in this setting. In John's words,

When we moved in here we knew that we would be buying a house some day, so we just chose it because it was in this area and it was a reasonable rent.

- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: The proximity to the General Hospital and Children's Hospital provided a strong sense of security to the parents. Illness requiring hospitalization was a frequent occurrence for Janette and two of the children. Not only was the hospital conveniently located for visiting if the car was not available, but the quality of medical attention received was reassuring. In the past, incorrect diagnoses had been given by doctors when the family had lived in a small town in Northern Manitoba and this had led to serious consequences for the health of one of the children.

Neither John nor Janette were interested in mixing socially to any great extent with their neighbours and preferred to be "left alone". Casual relationships had been established with neighbours living on either side of them, but these people had since moved away and no contact with the new people had been initiated. The only contacts on the street were friends of the children whose parents did not speak English. John and Janette both commented on the fact that there were few people on the street with whom they had anything in common. People were either much older or of different ethnic backgrounds. Many did not speak English and appeared unfriendly and "clannish". However, this was not seen

by them as a major drawback and people of similar social/economic backgrounds were not a major criterion applied when choosing a place to live.

Their reticence to become socially involved with neighbours may be understood, in part, by their past experience when living in the apartment on William Avenue, prior to renting their house. Neighbours had complained of noise transmitted through floors, walls, and ceilings and, as caretakers of the block, they were plagued by other people's problems day and night. Increased privacy from neighbours had been a major objective in moving into the single family detached house, and this need had been met. Social interaction with people living around them was now a choice rather than enforced by physical proximity or social role.

The single family detached house, with its front and back yards, was more their image of "home" than an apartment. Both parents had been raised in such houses.

2. Space (See Figure 24)

- (i) Patterns of Use: The Sherman house had slightly more room inside than the apartment on William Avenue, but the location of the bedrooms on the second floor allowed greater separation of children and adults.

Family activities took place in the living room area off the kitchen, and frequently centered around the TV set. The front living room was occasionally used as a play area by Cathy and the older children. The only focal point for the family as a group was the kitchen table.

However, it was crowded into one corner of the room with insufficient space around it to be used comfortably, and as a result was used only for eating meals. Parents entertained visitors in the living room. Cathy played in the living room and front room, close to Janette, while the older children spent most of their time at home in their bedrooms, reading, playing games and entertaining friends.

Bedrooms were the most personalized area of the house. John and Janette kept books in their room and it was considered to be a "private" space, where the children were not supposed to go. They didn't spend much time in their room except at night. The older children kept all their personal belongings and valuables in their rooms. There was insufficient storage space in the form of kitchen cupboards and linen closets. A door leading to the living room had been closed off to provide room at the front door for boots and shoes. Washing and drying clothes took place in a small space under the stairs off the kitchen, as there was no room elsewhere and the house had no basement. Any repair work or carpentry took place in the kitchen and was a great source of disruption to the whole family. As a result, such activity was avoided whenever possible. Insufficient electrical outlets restricted different furniture arrangements in the living rooms. This was particularly difficult for Janette, as it had been a favoured passtime for her and one of the only acceptable ways she had of expressing herself inside the home.

The availability of a back yard area, visible and directly accessible from the kitchen of the house, was used for active children's games, car parking, and as a space for the family dog and garbage containers. It was primarily used by John and the children; it wasn't used for passive activities such as sitting, reading and eating, as it was considered visually unattractive and exposed to neighbours.

The back yard was a major improvement over the apartment which had been seven flights of stairs up from ground level. There had been no place for the children to play outside and meet other children close to home, placing added burdens of confinement on both them and Janette. Nor could they own pets, which was considered a basic necessity for children. It was now only a matter of walking a few feet from the car to the house with groceries, while this simple task had been a major physical ordeal in the apartment.

Trips outside the apartment building had been confined to a minimum by the family.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: The monthly rent was considered reasonable in terms of the advantages offered by the house. However, John and Janette resented paying out money for something that didn't belong to them. There was no way of recovering whatever investment they might make in the house. Even though they were unhappy with the condition the house was in, they didn't see the repairs and upkeep as their responsibility or worth spending money on a temporary home. Heating costs were high due to poor insulation and, although the new house

was a little more money each month, they anticipated that with the lowered heating costs, the two would be about equal.

- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: The two storey house on Sherman Street, with the bedrooms on the second floor, allowed a greater separation of adults and children than the apartment. However, it was still seen as inadequate, in that the most suitable area for all group activities was the living room. Conflict arose when the children's play interfered with the more passive adult activities such as reading or watching television. In order to achieve privacy from the parents and Cathy, the older children limited their activities in the house to their bedrooms. John (7 years), the only boy, shared a bedroom with Cathy (3 years) and Cindy (11 years) and Joanne (10 years) shared another bedroom. Of all the children, John felt the lack of privacy most. He wanted his own room and suggested the furnace room upstairs in the new house, whereas the two girls seemed quite compatible. However, with so much play taking place in the bedrooms, Cindy, a quiet girl and an avid reader, found it difficult to find a place to read uninterrupted.

The detached house provided an acceptable degree of privacy from neighbours, but renting still exposed the family to invasion by the landlord. He could exert considerable control over the family's behaviour through the threat of eviction and the control of rent. The family was severely limited in its ability to personalize their environment and in the kinds of activities they could engage in. For example, they were not allowed to

paint or to hang pictures on the walls or otherwise alter it, and there was no place for John to do carpentry and repair work other than the kitchen.

Floors in the house were cold. Cathy crawled around and played on them. This was considered by Janette as a cause of her colds and frequent bouts with pneumonia.

A sense of security was felt at being able to have the car parked so close to the house where it could be watched. This was considered to be very important, especially if the neighbourhood had a poor reputation.

The house was old, in need of many repairs, such as broken windows, cracked plaster and painting, and it was difficult to keep clean. Both parents were ashamed of the house's poor appearance and took it as a reflection on themselves, even though it was rented accommodation.

3. Expectations for the New Neighbourhood (Alexander Avenue)

- (i) Patterns of Use: In moving from the William Avenue apartment to the house on Sherman Street, the family had retained all the perceived advantages of its location. They were still close to downtown, stores, schools, the hospital, and public transportation. In moving again to Alexander Avenue they expected to continue their established life pattern. It would involve a change of school for the children, although it would still be only two blocks from home, with the same recreation potential and the same church.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: The surrounding neighbourhood on Alexander Avenue was seen as physically and socially less attractive than Sherman Street. However, they believed that the area would improve with time and they viewed the house as a long term investment and were not interested in its immediate resale value.
- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: They perceived the people living in the neighbourhood as undesirable and did not expect to have much in common with them and would continue to stick to themselves as a group. Whatever social ties had been established on Sherman Street, which was only a half mile away, could be continued.

4. Expectations for the New House on Alexander Avenue

- (i) Patterns of Use: Difficulties concerning space encountered in the rented house were expected to be solved in the form of a basement, to be used for laundry facilities, workshop and children's play space.

John (7 years) looked forward to having his own bedroom which he presently shared with Cathy. The new house would have increased storage space in the form of more kitchen cupboards, a linen closet and a coat storage rack at the front door.

The two storey layout of the new house was essentially the same as the house on Sherman Street: the bedrooms and one bathroom were still located on the second floor; the living room and kitchen/dining area were on the main floor. The difference was in the provision of the

basement which the family saw as solving most of its space difficulties.

The family still had a back yard adjacent to, visible, and directly accessible from the kitchen. This was to be used for children's play, barbecuing, sitting and for a new pet (the dog had since died). Rather than the car parked in the back of the house, it would now be at the front, but this was not seen as making any difference to the house for loading and unloading groceries, and could be observed from inside the unit.

- (ii) Economic Expectations: Buying a new house was considered a good financial investment as it would not require a lot of initial repairs and whatever money was spent on maintenance could be recovered in resale.

The monthly payments were within the family budget as heating costs were expected to be less. This meant that they were expecting to pay approximately the same amount of money each month as they had for the house on Sherman Street.

The disadvantages of the location on Alexander Avenue were outweighed by the opportunity to buy the house. It is unlikely the family would have bought the house if they had not been able to work off the down payment in the form of "sweat equity" as they didn't have that much cash on hand and refused to go into "debt". A mortgage, in fact, a debt, was considered unavoidable and acceptable.

- (iii) Social/Psychological Expectations: The increased amount of space in the form of a basement was expected to increase the amount of privacy and lessen conflict between the adults and children.

To both parents owning your own home meant emotional security and stability and was considered a fundamental requirement for a happy family life. As John says, "I want the children to have a permanent home. I had one and think they are entitled to the same." It represented a place where the family "belonged" as a unit, where they were private and independent of outsiders, and free to do whatever they wanted to inside the unit. As John explains, "When you own your own home you can close the door and lock everybody out-- its your own private world." The single family detached house with a front and back yard was the image of "home" that both parents had acquired in their youth.

The emphasis placed on owning a "new" house was interpreted to mean an increase in social status, as "poor" was associated with "run-down" and for many people, tends to confer a negative social status on the occupants. The family saw the new house as something they could be proud to show their friends; they were looking forward to entertaining in the house.

John and Janette, having come from rural backgrounds, initially found the city unbearably crowded, but over time had adjusted. They were introverted and focused their attention on family life inside the unit. Some concern was expressed about who would be moving into the other units on the site, as the units were "close

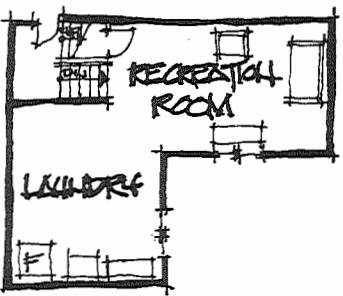
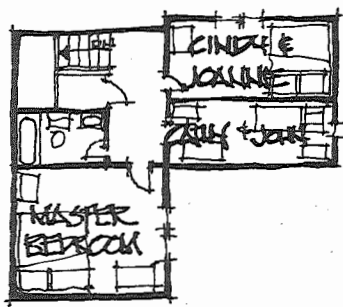
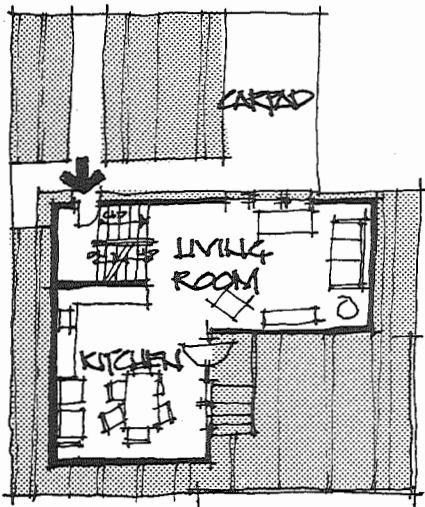
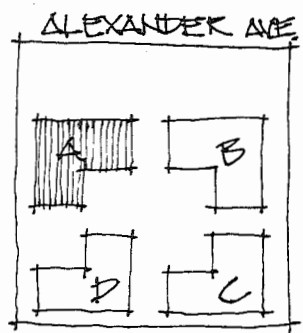
together" and they might not get along together. The people who would be moving into the new units were of more concern than the people already living around them.

Interview #2: February 1973. New house on Alexander Avenue.
One month after move.

1. Location of House in Neighbourhood (See Figure 25)

- (i) Patterns of Use: Expectations regarding the convenient location to shops, schools, downtown and the hospital were fulfilled. The family continued to go to the same church as they had on Sherman Street and the children continued to use the recreation facilities at school. The move had required a change in schools for children, which Gindy and Joanne did not like. There were no objections regarding the school's location or facilities and reasons for the difficulty in adjustment seemed to centre around social relationships, i.e., they missed their friends at the old school. These negative feelings presumably would lessen with time.
- (ii) Economic Considerations: Both parents continued to voice concern about the condition of the other homes in the area. They did not believe that the new units would encourage improved maintenance of the existing homes in the area, as most of them were rented. However, for some reason, they continued to believe that the value of their house and property would increase with time. It is possible they believed that more houses like their own would be built and older homes repaired or replaced.

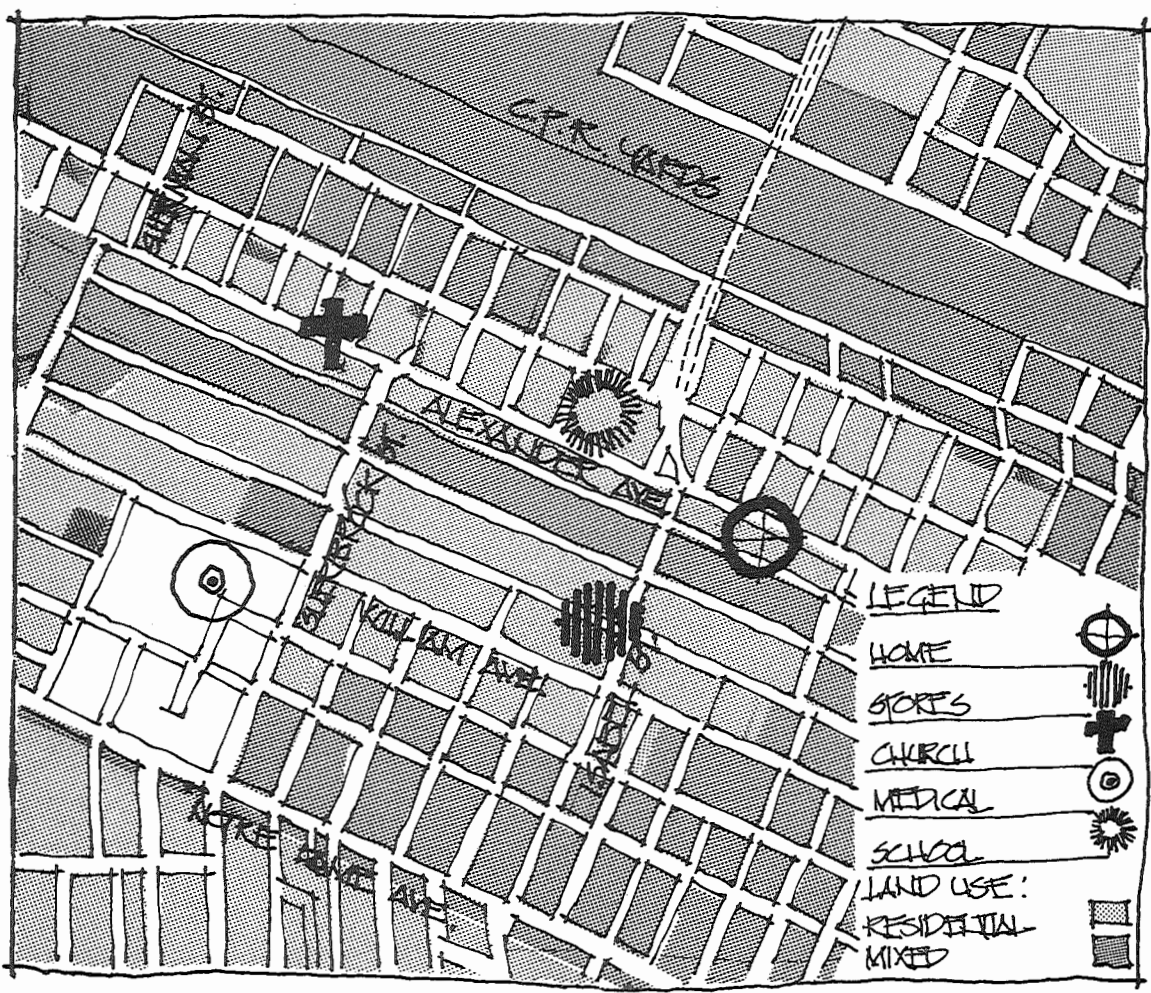
FIGURE 25. FAMILY A: NEW HOUSE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD



MAIN FLOOR & YARD

2ND FLOOR

BASEMENT



(iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: Contact with people living in the neighbourhood on Alexander was minimal. The children had a few friends on Patrick Street (one-half block) that they had met at school, but the parents knew no one living nearby. When Janette was asked if she had any friends she replied,

No, I don't know anybody in the neighbourhood. I stay in the house and watch T.V. There's nobody in the neighbourhood I'd like to know better than I do.

Both parents had expected that there would be few, if any, compatible people living in the area on Alexander Avenue and had not seen this as a major problem. However, the father in particular said that he missed not having any people "like themselves" living in the neighbourhood. When they lived on Sherman Street, he used to say "good morning" and occasionally chat with neighbours as they left for work; however, nobody living around them on Alexander Avenue went to work at the same time. He never saw any men. Immediate neighbours to the east did not speak English, to the west was a parking lot, and people across the street were elderly. The mother said that she didn't mind as long as she was left to herself. Cindy and Joanne maintained a friendship with a girl on Sherman Street but saw her less than before, and John had replaced the friends he had made on Sherman Street with new friends living in the immediate vicinity of the new house, but this was not expressed by Janette as a problem. Cathy had gone to a half day summer nursery school program conducted by the church.

Janette and John were somewhat concerned about the noise made by "drunks" that walked by the house on Alexander. The drunks, however, did not appear to restrict the children's behaviour or their own any more than they had on Sherman Street. The parents just continued not to allow the children out alone at night. At this age, the children did not stay up late at night in any case, although this might be more of a problem as they get older and want to spend more time away from home.

At this point in time no other people had moved into the other new units on the site.

2. Space (See Figure 25)

- (i) Patterns of Use: The focal point of family life had now shifted from the living room to the kitchen. The table was now placed in the centre of the room, with easy access to it from all sides. It was used for eating all meals and socializing. John mentioned that the family now lingered at the table after meals for discussion (a pleasant memory retained from his own youth) and he felt that such occasions drew them closer together as a family. When the family entertained guests, the women tended to gather in the kitchen and the men in the living room. The kitchen was the major activity centre for the family. The flat surface of the table was also used for playing games by the children.

The greatest observed change in children's activity related to the use of the basement. Where they had previously played and entertained friends in their

bedrooms, Cindy, Joanne and John now used the basement. John used the basement to read and relax if the rest of the family was upstairs watching television. Cathy used the basement when the older children were there, but during the day her major activity was watching television.

The children used their bedrooms infrequently and only for activities requiring privacy and quiet, e.g., reading. Cindy and Joanne shared a bedroom as did John and Cathy. This pattern was the same as in the rented house.

The living room was now used almost exclusively as a space for watching television or entertaining adult guests. The living room window also served as an "eye" on the street. All members of the family checked out activity on the sidewalk and street from inside the house.

Storage space was now considered in general to be adequate, particularly the coat storage area at the front entry. The amount of storage space for these items still appeared to be less than sufficient, as the children's outside clothes and shoes were kept in the basement. The most frequently used entry was the front door because storage facilities for coats were available, it was closest to the car, and the older children seldom used the back yard. The wardrobes in the master bedroom did not provide enough space for both parents' clothing. A vanity storage unit was stated as being necessary in the bathroom, for the sake of appearance, and as a place to store cleaning

equipment, shaving equipment, etc. In John's words, "The bathroom needs a vanity; it looks like a 1947 hotel." The linen closet located on the landing half way up between the main and second floors was valued space but inconveniently located, since one had to "remember" towels and soap beforehand. A linen closet in the bathroom would have been an improvement.

There was a problem with the heating system located on the upper level of the house. As the heat was not distributed evenly, the bedrooms tended to be too hot and the main floor and basement too cold. The fan was also noisy. Problems with the heating system had been identified before the family had moved in and were in the process of being corrected by the builders at no cost to the family.

Difficulties encountered in the rented house regarding the amount, type and distribution of space had been corrected in the new house, and expectations in this respect appeared to have been met.

The yard was not used as much by the older children and John as a play area. There wasn't enough room to play ball and other games. These activities now shifted to the parking lot and school ground. Cathy did not use the yard either, as it wasn't totally enclosed and she preferred to stay close to Janette inside the house.

The back yard off the kitchen on Alexander was used more for adult relaxation than the back yard on Sherman. There were new chairs and a barbecue set up on the patio and Janette reported using the yard more than she had

in the rented house, as it was more private from neighbours and visually pleasing. The former family dog had been replaced by a cat, although the dog house remained in the yard. Greater distance from the street was desired in the form of a larger front yard, allowing greater separation from public areas considered to be undesirable, e.g., the street, sidewalk, etc.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: At this point, expectations concerning the ability to meet monthly payments had not altered. Increasing amounts of money were needed in order to furnish and make the desired changes to the house. A "new" house seemed to increase the need for "new" furniture, "new" rugs, "new" drapes, etc., and the monthly payments didn't leave much left for all the extras. The incentive for repairing and buying new items had not been exhibited in the old house. At the time of this interview Janette was not working.
- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: Previous conflict between adult and child activities appeared to have been solved, largely through the provision of space in the basement. The three levels of space allowed opportunities for an adequate degree of separation between the two. Actual group children's play could now occur simultaneously with more passive adult activities. John says, "Life has been easier the past few weeks, feel happier here than where we were before, a lot of tension has gone." and Janette agrees, "The house is pleasant....just like looking around it."

Unanticipated problems related to sleeping areas were beginning to surface. The most reservations and disappointments were experienced by the children. John (7 years), who shared a bedroom with Cathy, had looked forward to having his own room in the space where the heating system had originally been. This was not possible due to the lack of ventilation and the size of the space. He demonstrated a strong desire to be separated from "the girls". The girls, Cindy and Joanne, were also disappointed. Although they had not raised any objections in the rented house to sharing a room, they objected to sharing the one double bed. They had liked the bed "nooks" in the display suite with the separate sleeping areas. The children's need for privacy in bedroom areas seemed to be the major source of misfit between the family and the new house at this time.

In general, the family's initial reactions to the new house were very favourable. They were obviously proud of the house and were happy to show it to people. They were full of short and long range plans regarding decorating the house. Janette stated, "I don't want the house to be the same as the display house, want it to have our own ideas." They planned to finish the basement, creating separate utility and family rooms, to change the colour on the exterior of the house (which Janette didn't like), and to add shutters. They did not like the fact that their house "looked the same" as the other new houses on the site. Many more valued objects were displayed in the kitchen (above the cupboards) than had been in the rented house. A new rug had been purchased for the living room and since transferred to

the basement, as they liked the look of the parquet floor tile in the living room and wanted the basement floor covered as it was cold. It is interesting that John wouldn't allow pictures to be hung on the walls for fear of damaging them. This had been an expressed objection to renting. Both parents, but particularly John, were concerned about the house "lasting".

Interview #3: October 1973. New house on Alexander Avenue. Nine months after move.

1. Location of House in Neighbourhood (See Figure 25)

- (i) Patterns of Use: No changes were evident from the second interview. Cindy and Joanne continued to dislike the new school, but the parents felt that there was no other alternative as the nearest other school was too far away to walk in the winter time (three-quarters of a mile).
- (ii) Social/Psychological Patterns: By this time, two other families had moved into the other units on the site. The parents of Family A had still not made contact with any people living in the surrounding neighbourhood. However, casual contact was established with the Chinese family living next door, as soon as they arrived. The son worked during the day and the mother was at home alone, as was Janette. While Janette perceived the family as "nice" and "quiet", she did not spend much time, if any, with the mother, as she spoke no English. Contact had been established through Cathy while Janette was outside in the yard. It is interesting to note that although the mother was older

and did not speak English, she was very fond of Cathy who soon became a regular visitor to her house. Janette seemed to feel quite at ease with this arrangement, although she was disappointed at not being able to talk to her. Cathy and the mother did not seem to require words to make each other understood.

A short time later, Family C (mother, father and three children) moved into a back unit. Janette introduced herself to the mother (Geraldine) as soon as they moved in and they seemed to like each other and have a lot in common, mainly regarding the houses and children. Janette and Geraldine were shifting daily from one house to the other for coffee and Geraldine was regularly baby sitting Cathy for Janette. Janette says,

We get along real good with them (Family C) which is good because they're so close that if you didn't get along well there would be real trouble.

John (7 years) had struck up a friendship with two of the Family C boys although they were older. Contact between the men on the site at this point was limited to casual conversation when outside in the yard.

2. Space (See Figure 25)

- (i) Patterns of Use: Patterns of use inside the house had not changed to any significant extent from that observed in the second interview.

The unfinished basement "room" was used for the most part by the children as a play area and by the adults for laundry and storage. One significant change was noted

in that an attempt had been made to move all three girls into the master bedroom, in order to give John a room of his own. This effort was temporarily frustrated because of the telephone in the master bedroom, which would have to be repositioned. It was observed that placing three beds and storage space in the master bedroom for the children would be a difficult if not impossible task. The absence of a fourth bedroom or sleeping area was becoming an increasingly pressing problem and it was obvious that the existing space was inadequate for this purpose. The parents had originally not been aware of this potential conflict. Space in the basement converted to this purpose was not considered practical, as the only bathroom was located on the second floor and the basement was unfinished.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: Certain economic pressures were beginning to emerge. The family had bought some new furniture for the house, e.g., a sofa and chair, but plans to "finish" the basement had been postponed due to lack of funds. The family had also had seven visiting relatives from out of town stay with them for a month during the summer and this no doubt caused some additional expense. For example, Janette stated that they "ate better" than they usually do while the company was there. The children were now back at school and had required new clothes and materials, etc. It was evident that the "extras" associated with their new environment were adding up, placing increasing pressure on the family.

Most changes in the way of new furniture had been bought for the living room. This was the "formal" space in the house and was being refurnished first. John and Janette were beginning to worry about money matters. Janette had taken a part time job, working 7:30 p.m. to 2:30 a.m., so that John could baby-sit Cathy when he got home from work. Janette reported that she was getting tired of looking after Cathy and the regular household duties during the day and working at night, and she didn't know how long she would be able to continue, as her health had not been good.

- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: With the exception of the lack of privacy between children, the family had settled into their new home and were enjoying it. The family, particularly Janette, were enjoying their new neighbours. This had proven to be an unexpected positive feature, as the parents, particularly Janette, had expressed concern regarding the people that would live around them on the site. They were not people who ordinarily attempted to establish social relationships with their neighbours. But in this case, it is possible that, with the proximity of one unit to another, a special effort was made to build a positive relationship with the people living in the other units on the site.

Family B Interviews

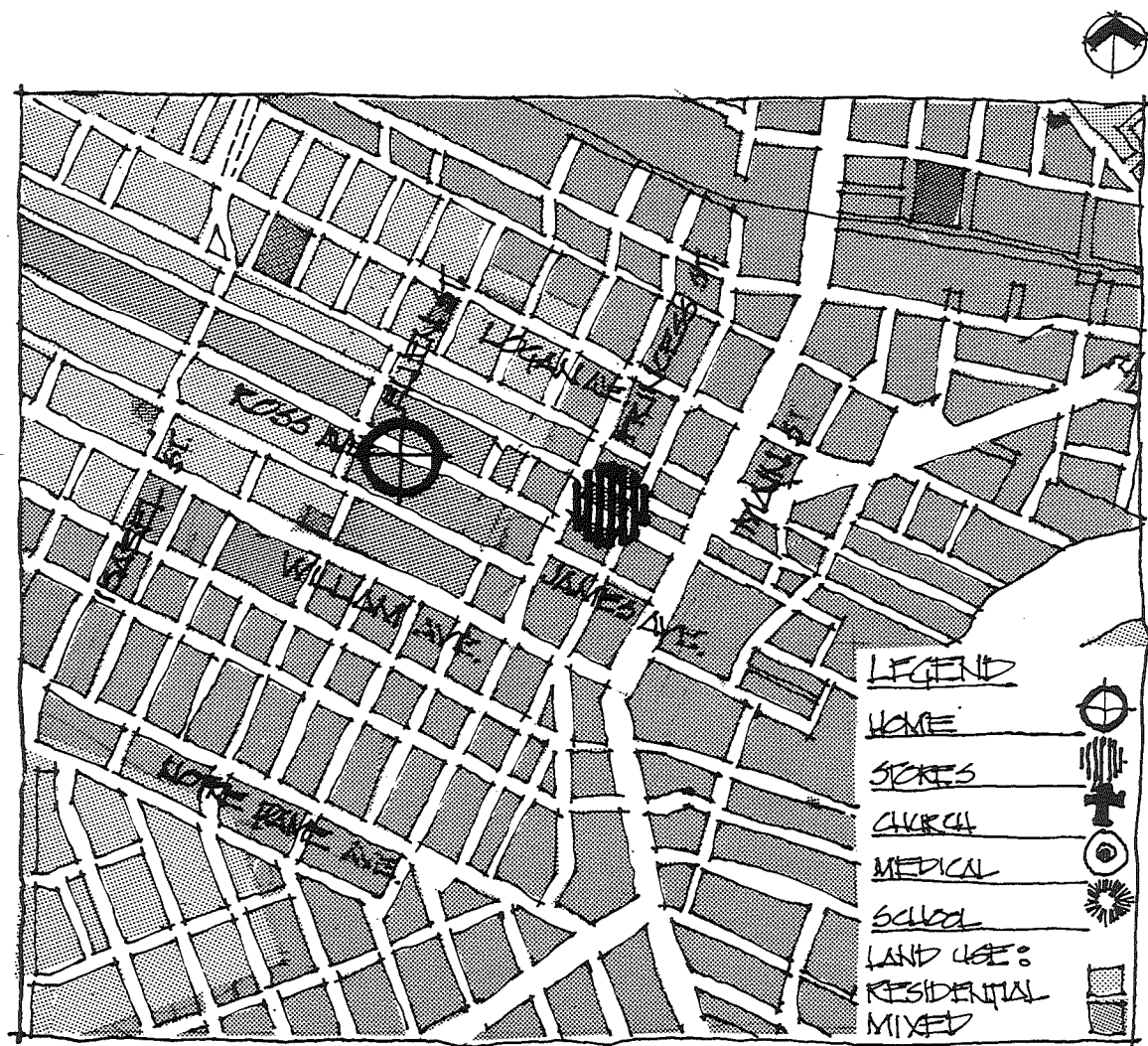
Interview #1: July 1973. Rented room in house on Ross Avenue. Before move.

1. Location of House in Neighbourhood (See Figure 26)

- (i) Patterns of Use: For Gary, the major advantage of the location was its proximity to "Chinatown", (roughly, an area bounded by Princess Street, James Avenue, Main Street, and Logan Avenue), where he did all his grocery shopping and where there were many Chinese restaurants. Occasionally he had made trips downtown by bus for goods other than food. He previously rented a similar room in a house on Fountain. The area was also convenient to bus stops which were his source of transportation. The area was also close to work.
- (ii) Economic Considerations: In addition to its proximity to Chinatown, this location had been chosen because of its reasonable rents. Gary did not like the area physically and socially, but was very interested in saving money.
- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: Gary had come to Winnipeg four years ago from Hong Kong, primarily to study. He worked for the Canadian National Railways and studied part time. His brother had been living in Winnipeg for twenty years. His mother had recently arrived from Hong Kong and was living with Gary in the room.

He experienced a strong sense of security at being close to the Chinese community. Although he didn't belong to

FIGURE 26. FAMILY B: OLD NEIGHBOURHOOD



any formal social organizations, he had many friends and social ties with the community. Proximity to Chinatown was particularly important for the mother as she didn't speak any English and was totally unfamiliar with the Canadian way of life. In this area they could speak their mother tongue, buy familiar foods, and share experiences with other Chinese people.

The other people living in the house were elderly and Gary liked them because they were quiet. He knew no other people living in the neighbourhood, outside Chinatown, and the few people he had met through school he did not see socially.

2. Space (See Figure 26)

- (i) Patterns of Use: The researcher was not allowed access to the living quarters on Ross Avenue (the reason given was the invasion of privacy to other people living in the house), but it was learned that it consisted of one small room in a house. The only cooking facility was a hot plate used for occasional light meals, and the one bathroom was shared with the four other people living in the house.
- (ii) Economic Considerations: The rent for the room was low and it enabled him to save money. However, he considered paying rent a waste of money, and was waiting until he could buy a home of his own.
- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: The mother's arrival from Hong Kong a few months before, was a major motivating factor precipitating the move to Alexander

Avenue. The mother and son in one room proved totally unsatisfactory due to lack of space, facilities and privacy. They did not like sharing a bathroom with the other renters and felt their activities were limited as a result of the proximity to other people. The mother had rented an apartment in Hong Kong and looked forward to being able to own her own house in Canada and to having lots of space, an impossible goal to achieve for the family living in Hong Kong. Her coming to Canada was obviously most strongly motivated by the fact that her children were here and family ties were strong.

3. Expectations for the New Neighbourhood (Alexander Avenue)

- (i) Patterns of Use: Alexander Avenue was selected for its proximity to Chinatown, stores, restaurants, and bus stops for transport to work, school (Red River Community College on Notre Dame Avenue), and downtown. The family had no car and could continue to walk to shop.
- (ii) Social/Psychological Expectations: The new location would still permit close association with the Chinese community. There the mother would be able to make friends. Gary thought that it would be necessary to establish good relations with the people living in the other units as the houses were close together but did not see any problem in this regard. Gary had wanted to improve his surroundings. He didn't particularly like the area surrounding the Alexander unit but its proximity to Chinatown was valued more than this drawback.

4. Expectations for the New House on Alexander Avenue

(i) Patterns of Use: Both the mother and son looked forward to the increased amount of space. The mother was to take the master bedroom on the second floor and Gary planned to use the finished basement, providing him with a bedroom, bathroom and common space. The second bedroom upstairs with the bed "nooks" was seen as useful for friends and family that would visit. The main floor would be used as common shared space. The mother looked forward to cooking activities in the kitchen and intended to plant a vegetable garden in back yard. Gary intended to completely fence off the back yard so that he could have a dog.

(ii) Economic Expectations: Gary looked forward to buying furniture and otherwise personalizing the house. In his words, "You can do a lot of things to a house if it's your own." Owning your own house was seen as a good financial investment. Any money spent on the house could be recovered in resale and a "new" house was seen as a better investment than an old house, as few repairs would be required. He looked forward to increased privacy from outsiders inside the unit.

The house was seen as a long term investment. This was the largest of the four units with the only finished basement and second bathroom. The selling price was \$15,600., and it is interesting to note that Gary paid cash in full for it. Paying cash is a preferred method of payment for many ethnic groups. Conversations with other Chinese people explained that this is not uncommon. A typical pattern within many families is for interest

free borrowing to occur back and forth within the family as legitimate needs arise. Those individuals who are more financially secure make loans to others in the family who require assistance in "getting established". This is one way of maintaining strong cultural and family bonds. It is probable that the brother living in Winnipeg and other members of the family contributed money towards the purchase of the house, particularly since the mother was to live in it.

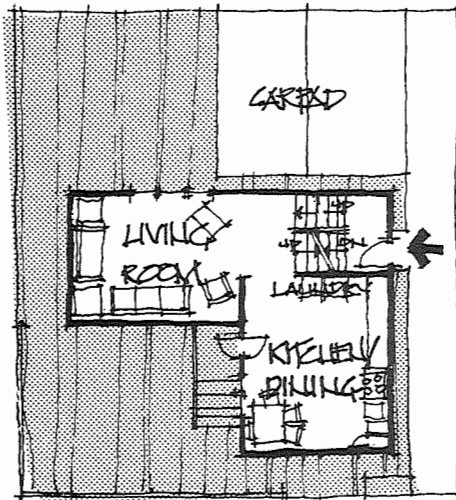
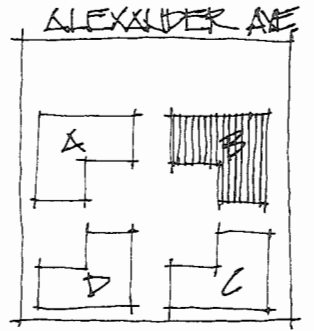
- (iii) Social/Psychological Expectations: The size of the lot didn't bother Gary but his brother felt the house should have "its own lot" so that the family would be independent of neighbours. The family, particularly Gary, looked forward to entertaining and to the increased privacy from each other in the new house, neither of which had been possible in the rented room. Owning a house was seen as a source of emotional and financial security and a symbol of high social status. Only the very wealthy and privileged owned their own single family detached homes in Hong Kong.

Interview #2: September 1973. New house. Two months after move.

1. Location of House in Neighbourhood (See Figure 27)

- (i) Patterns of Use: As expected, the new location was valued for its proximity to Chinatown, stores, restaurants and to bus stops. The mother walked to Chinatown to grocery stores and took occasional trips downtown for other goods.

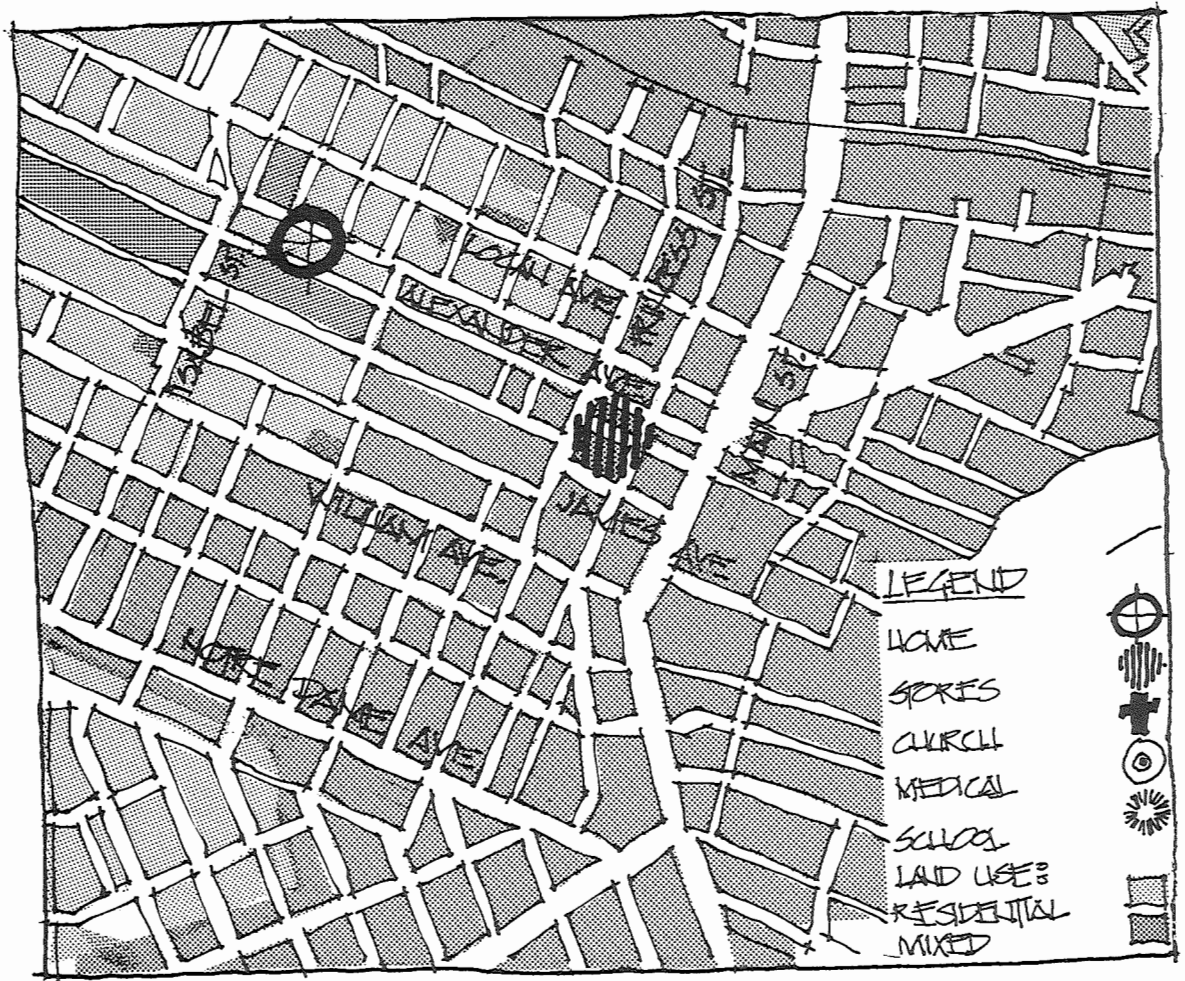
FIGURE 27. FAMILY B: NEW HOUSE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD



MAIN FLOOR & YARD

2ND FLOOR

BASEMENT



- (ii) Social/Psychological Patterns: Contact had been established with Family A who was already living in the house next door. The mother was home all day alone and spent time with Cathy (3 years). Because she did not speak English, communication with Janette was not possible to any large extent, but Gary reported that she liked the family and enjoyed Cathy's company. She had apparently made some friends (details unknown) in Chinatown. However, the mother spent most time inside the house or in the yard. They disliked the "drunks" who passed by in the street, and this caused some concern to the mother when she was at home alone at night.

2. Space (See Figure 27)

- (i) Patterns of Use: The family liked the house "as much, if not more than expected". They had ample room for house guests, and Gary could have parties in the basement without disturbing his mother.

One complaint Gary voiced was that the basement floor was cold. In the traditional Chinese manner he did not wear shoes in the house and at this time did not want to spend money on rugs.

The kitchen was a major focal point for the family. The mother spent most of her time cooking and watching TV in the living room. Sports programs were favoured on television as she used to watch them in Hong Kong and could understand what was happening.

The family also used the living room window for observing activity outside on the street.

It had not been possible to plant a vegetable garden this year, as it was too late in the season when they moved in, although several bushes had been planted. Gary expected to fence the yard entirely and buy a dog next summer.

Although the family did not own a car, they expressed the desire for more space for friends to park, but otherwise saw the outdoor space as fine.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: The family had bought all new appliances: stove, fridge, television set, chesterfields, drapes, beds, etc. Gary had had no furniture of his own in the rented room. In spite of this sizeable capital expenditure, no financial concerns were expressed.
- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: They were obviously pleased with the privacy and independence available within the new house and were enjoying furnishing the interior.

Family C Interviews

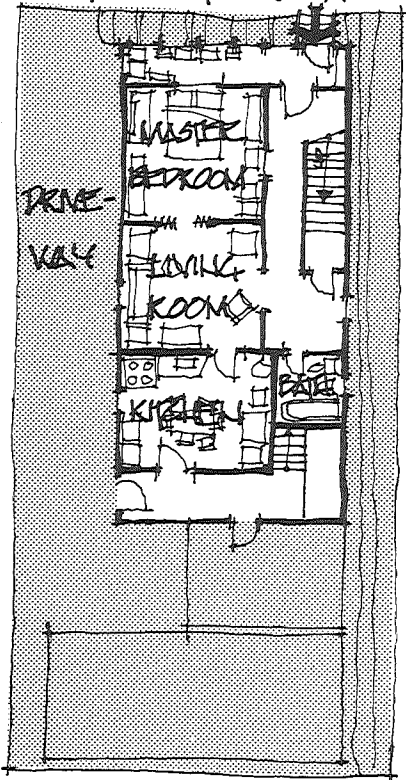
Interview #1: September 1973. Rented house on Lusted Avenue. Before move.

1. Location of House in Neighbourhood (See Figure 28)

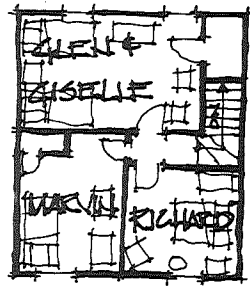
- (i) Patterns of Use: The house was conveniently located two blocks away from Main Street, where the family shopped for food and clothing and where public transport was readily available. They made few trips to downtown,

L LUSTED AVE

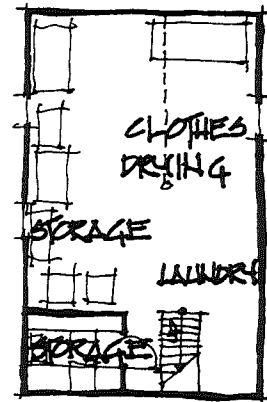
FIGURE 28. FAMILY C: OLD HOUSE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD



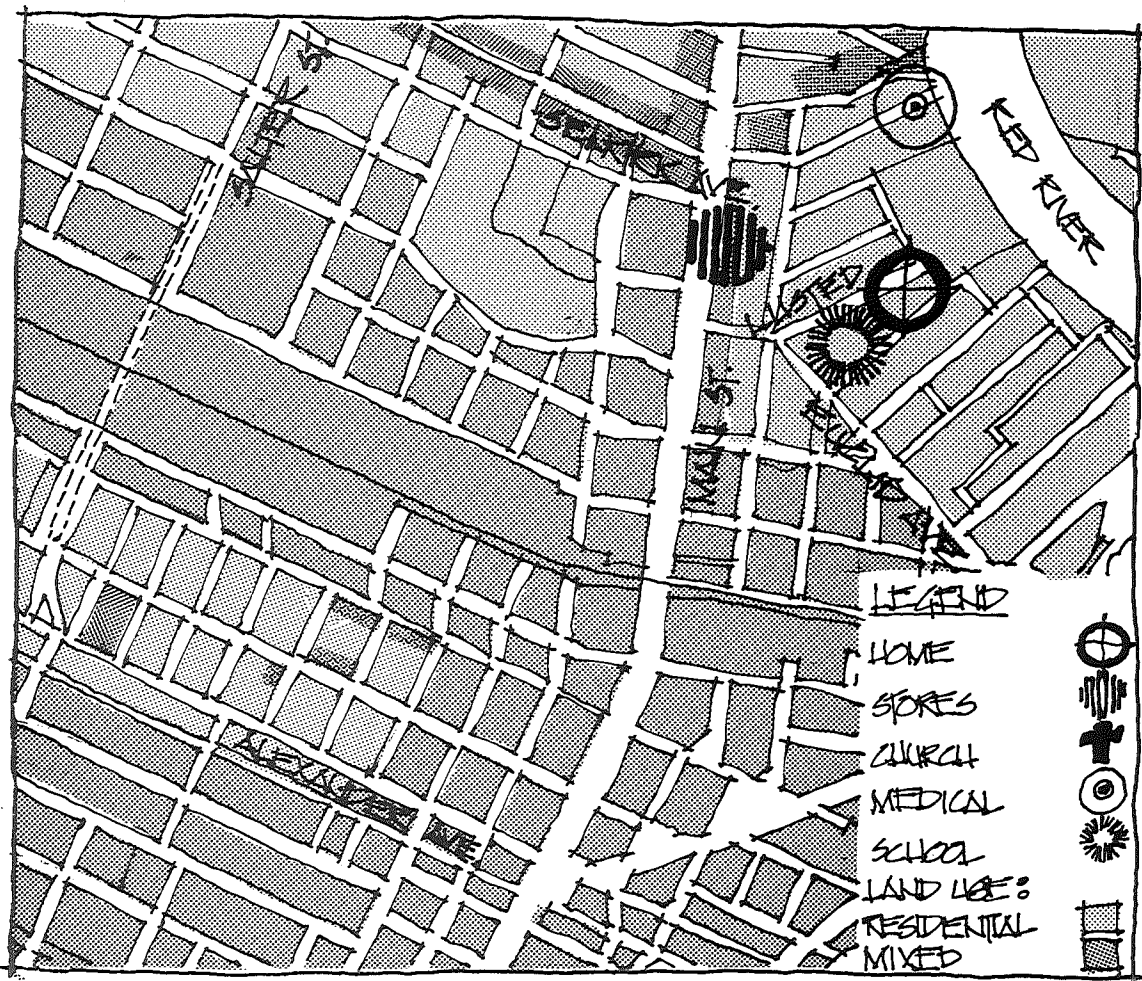
MAIN FLOOR & YARD



2ND FLOOR



BASEMENT



but liked the fact that it was not far away (fifteen minutes by bus). The family had no car and the father, Jules, a city garbage collector, took the bus to his work, transferring once. One son, Marvin (15 years), took the bus daily to school (Technical Vocational School on Wall Street). The community club was located at one end of Lusted Avenue and the grounds and facilities of the elementary school at the other, providing ample recreation opportunities for the children.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: The house had been chosen for the advantages of the neighbourhood, the amount of space inside, and the reasonable amount of rent paid each month (\$70). With seven children in the family, money had always been a serious concern. When all the children had been living at home, they had not been able to afford to buy their own home, although they considered paying rent a waste of money. Two of the children were married now and living in other cities. At the time of the interview, five children were still living at home. With the two eldest boys reasonably independent financially, the parents now had more money available to spend.
- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: The father had worked on a farm in St. Laurent, Manitoba before coming to Winnipeg. Both the parents are of Canadian Indian extraction. The mother has a sister living in Winnipeg, with whom she frequently visits. The husband, however, has had little contact with his family since he left home at fourteen years of age. Although he has some brothers and sisters living in Winnipeg, he doesn't visit them very often,

stating he "can't stand the way they live". The entire family appears to have been largely acculturated into the white, urban world. However, it was noticed that one of the boys had chosen Indians as subject matter for several of his drawings and there was some evidence in the design of cushions in the living room that they had not rejected their Indian heritage completely.

Having lived in the Lusted house for ten years, the family had established a number of social contacts with people living on the street and others in the surrounding neighbourhood. As the children were growing up, a sense of security was felt at being two blocks away from the Mount Carmel Clinic and other medical facilities. The father and one son, Richard (17 years), played in a band at the 294 Club on Ellen Street and Logan Avenue. The family was close as a group, with each member of the family creative in different areas. Richard and Marvin painted and played musical instruments; the father expressed himself through music and refinishing "found" objects; and the mother engaged in many handicraft activities, such as making quilts, carding wool for stuffing, and sewing all the children's clothing and other articles for the house.

They were not looking forward to leaving the neighbourhood on Lusted Avenue. Alexander Avenue was not nearly as desirable, physically or socially, as the neighbourhood on Lusted Avenue. The family had been on the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation's waiting list for five years and had recently been offered public housing in a new development, "The Maples". They didn't like it as

it was too far away from the City Centre (approximately seven miles), and when they had gone to look at it they had seen "a couple of people drunk", others unloading beer cases from their cars, and "fighting". The husband does not drink.

The children also had friends in the immediate area of Lusted Avenue, especially the younger children, Glen and Giselle. Marvin had friends he met at Tech. Voc. who lived close to the school. All the children tended to bring their friends home, the social activities of the elder ones (18, 17 and 15 years) conflicting with the life style of their parents.

They felt they had an adequate degree of privacy from neighbours. However, it was interesting to note that all the windows in the house facing next door neighbours were covered over with drapes all day, making the interior of the house very dark.

2. Space (See Figure 28)

- (i) Patterns of Use: The front porch of the house, which covered the entire north elevation, was used only for storage, bicycles, etc. What was originally intended as the dining room on the main floor was now used as the living room, with the original living room being used as the master bedroom. With five of the children living at home, it had been necessary to create a fourth sleeping area. The master bedroom was separated from the living room by a curtain. The only bathroom in the house was located in the main floor. The main group activity areas of the house were the living room and adjacent kitchen.

The kitchen was used for cooking, eating, playing games and socializing. The living room was used for more passive activities, such as watching television.

Of the three bedrooms upstairs, the largest one was used by Glen (11 years) and Giselle (9 years); the two oldest boys each had a single room. The fifth child was in the hospital at the time of the interview.

The basement was used by the mother and father for storage for their hobbies and for laundry facilities. Geraldine said, "We were going to fix it (the basement) to make some kind of recreation room but the water comes in". The mother used a wringer washing machine and dried the clothes in the basement on racks or outside when possible. The children's personal hobbies took place in their bedrooms.

There was a lack of closet space in the house for linens and for the make-shift master bedroom.

The house was in very poor condition inside and outside. All surfaces needed repairs such as plastering, painting and sanding. The basement leaked and all windows in the house were ill fitting and drafty. The family was constantly plagued by insects inside the house. The landlord refused to provide either money or labour for any necessary repairs. The father spent some time making minor repairs, such as fixing windows, taps and the furnace.

There were no yard areas to speak of. The porch of the house fronted directly onto the street; a driveway on the

west side led to some old buildings at the rear of the lot, which the landlord was attempting to rent but couldn't, and the neighbour's yard butted the house on the east side. It was observed that the steps leading to the porch in the front were frequently used by the children as a gathering place. However, the parents spent little, if any, time outside the house when they were at home.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: The family saw buying the house as a better financial investment than renting. Any money that was put into the house in the form of maintenance or repairs could be recovered through resale. The father now had a steady job he liked, and financial pressures were lessening as the children grew up and were leaving home.

- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: Their view of home was traditional, in that it was a single family detached house with its own yard. The family had always wanted a house of their own which would allow them to be independent of outsiders, particularly the landlord. They were not free to personalize their environment or alter it to any great extent. Nor did they really want to, as it wasn't their property. The house was the poorest on the street, with most of the family acutely aware of the inferior quality of their house. The landlord refused to make minor repairs and whatever was done, was done by the family. Owning your own home, particularly a new house, was a symbol of great achievement, emotional security and stability for the family. Few of their people ever managed to attain this goal, and it meant to a great degree "social" success in a white world.

The parents suffered the most in the old house for lack of privacy from children. The older boys were now staying up late at night, and with the parents' "bedroom" off the living room and beside the front door, they were bothered by the noise. The living room and kitchen were the only available spaces for group activities, and the curtain separating the master bedroom from the living room offered no sound insulation. The problem was further aggravated by the fact that Jules had to be up at 5:30 each morning to go to work, so he tended to retire early.

The family generally felt that the overall amount of space in the house was adequate for the amount of rent they could afford to pay. The pressures for space had eased somewhat, with two of the seven children no longer living at home.

3. Expectations for the New Neighbourhood (Alexander Avenue)

- (i) Patterns of Use: The mother expected to continue shopping at the stores on Main Street, although they would now be two and one-half miles away. They would also be closer to downtown and Marvin was closer to his school. School for Glen (11) and Giselle (9) would be only two blocks away. The father looked forward to not having to wait as long for or transfer on the bus to get to work in the morning. As he had to leave for work at 6:30 a.m. when bus service was irregular, the new location would save him time and discomfort in the winter.

- (ii) Economic Expectations: The family wanted to live in a new house at this stage in their lives and discovered that to rent a "decent" house with the same amount of space would have cost as much as the monthly payments on the house on Alexander. They preferred, therefore, to buy their own home.
- (iii) Social/Psychological Expectations: The mother expected to be able to maintain her contacts with friends living in the old neighbourhood. She was sorry to leave, but expected she would make friends in the new neighbourhood. She and her husband had friends from the 294 Club that lived in the vicinity. The father looked forward to being closer to the 294 Club, which would then be only a block away. Giselle and Glen did not want to leave their school and friends, but looked forward to the new house.

Neither of the parents liked the area around the house on Alexander Avenue, but the opportunity to buy a house had outweighed this drawback and, as was the case with Families A and B, they were most attracted by the inside of the house.

4. Expectations for the New House on Alexander Avenue

- (i) Patterns of Use: They looked forward to the increased storage space, especially the closets in the master bedroom and the linen closet. The basement would be more usable now for storage of goods as it wouldn't leak and damage goods and clothes would dry faster. There would be more room in the house for individual and group activities. Giselle would now have a room of her own

and could make it as "feminine" as she wanted to, which had not been possible when she shared a room with Glen.

They expected that the rest of the house, living room, basement, kitchen, etc., would be used in the same way as the rented house. However, the parents hoped to be able to build a "rec room" in the basement some day for the children to entertain their friends.

They expected to be able to sit outside in the yard and that they wouldn't be bothered by neighbors because of the fences.

- (ii) Economic Expectations: The family believed that they would save some money in the new house as a result of not having to make so many repairs.

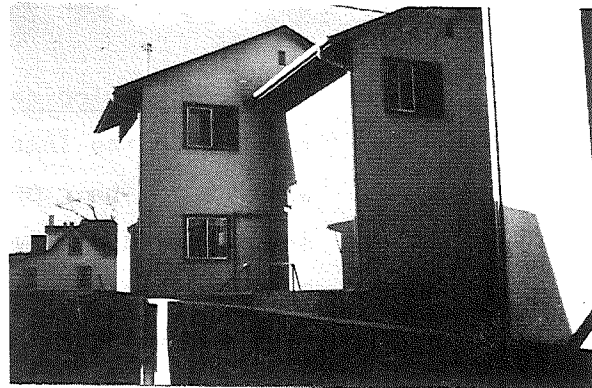
- (iii) Social/Psychological Expectations: The parents looked forward to the increased privacy from children. They would have their own bedroom with a door on it. Life in the new house was expected to be easier and quieter because the two eldest boys were staying behind to live in the old house. (The family had not been able to give notice they were moving and, rather than lose the rent paid to the landlord, gave the house to the boys to use. The boys didn't want to move into the new house, preferring their independence from the parents.) There was no conflict between the parents and the younger children (Marvin 15, Glen 11, Giselle 9) in terms of lifestyle.

The family also looked forward to "fixing up" the house inside.

Figure 29. Family C:
Old House
and Yard.



Figure 30. Family C:
New House
and Yard.

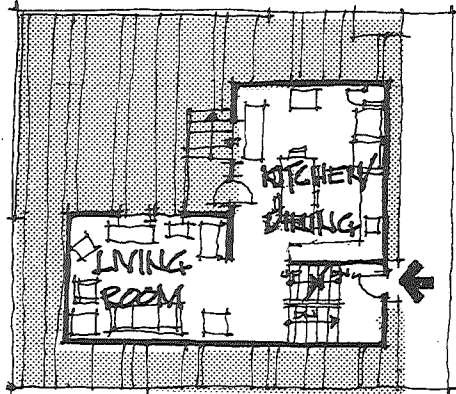
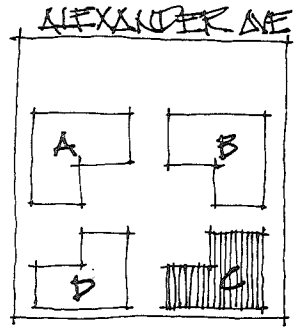


Interview #2: October 1973. New house on Alexander Avenue.
One month after move.

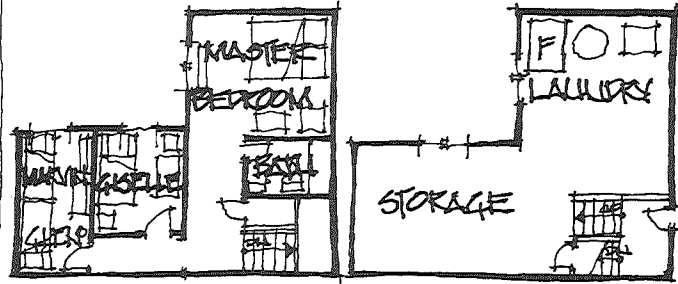
1. Location of the House in Neighbourhood (see Figure 31)

- (i) Patterns of Use: As far as could be determined, everything was as expected, although Geraldine was beginning to do more of her shopping in the new neighbourhood; she found it difficult to get back to

FIGURE 31 - FAMILY C: NEW HOUSE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

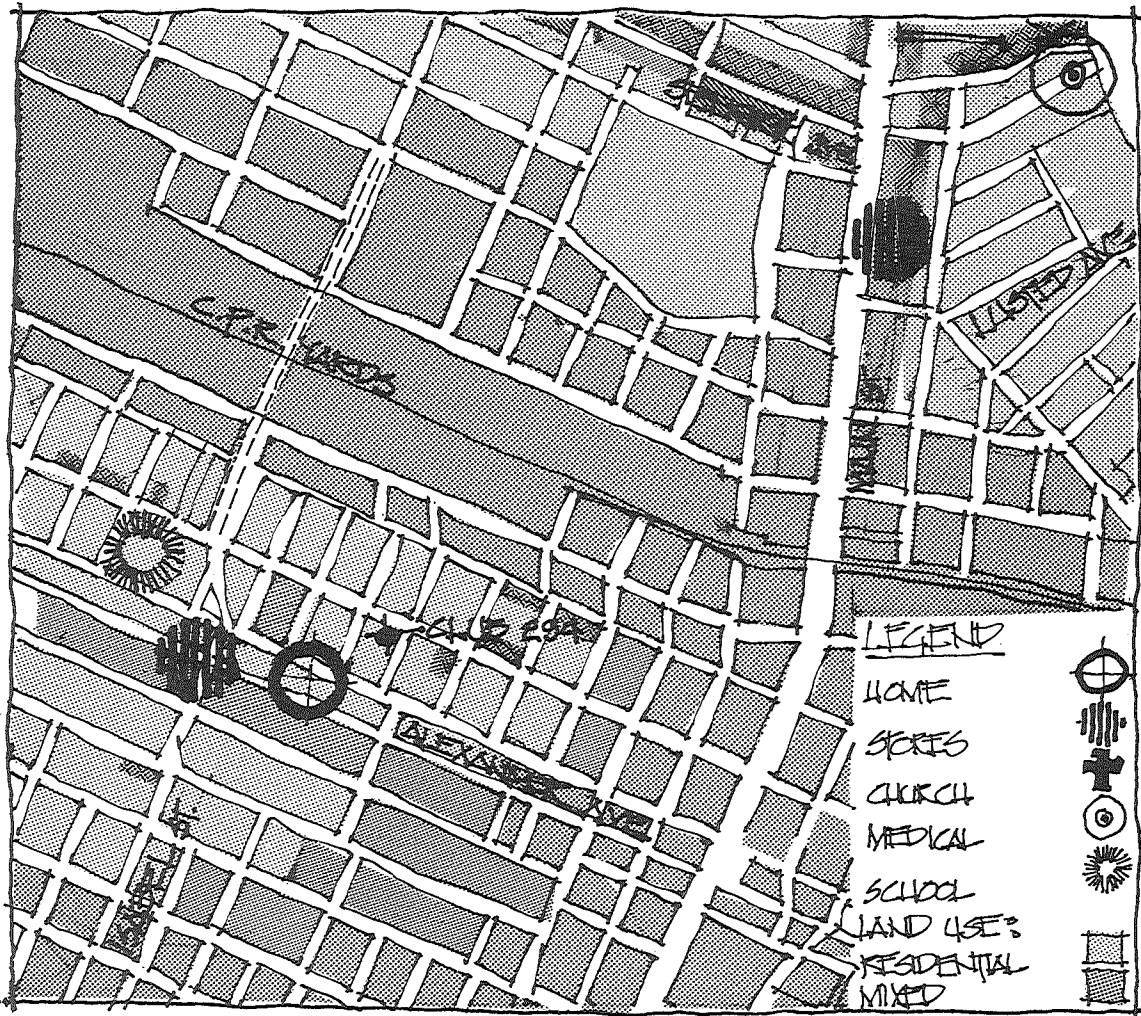


MAIN FLOOR & YARD



2ND FLOOR

BASEMENT



the shops on Main Street without a car. The husband found it more convenient to get to work, and Marvin liked being closer to the Technical Voactional School. They were also enjoying the proximity to the 294 Club on Ellen and Logan.

- (ii) Social/Psychological Patterns: Immediately on moving into the new house, a friendship was established with Family A. Geraldine regularly babysits Cathy (3 years) in the morning and Janette and she are back and forth between their respective houses daily for coffee. Geraldine did not know the mother of Family B, who did not speak English and stayed inside the unit, but she thought that the son (Gary) seemed very "nice".

Close friends from Lusted Avenue and family had come to visit Geraldine in the new house as she had expected they would. It is possible that frequent contact with friends in the old neighbourhood will lessen due to increased distance. The younger children had not been back to see their old friends, as it was difficult for them without a car, and they didn't know the bus routes yet. They continued to dislike the neighbourhood around Alexander Avenue socially. Jules disliked the "drunks" passing by and the "fights" on the street. However, he felt they were somewhat protected by not facing directly onto the street. Presumably, he felt that the family was less vulnerable if problems were out of sight. He liked the people living in the new units on the site, although he didn't know them well at this point. Glen and Giselle had made friends with Family A's children, frequently playing in one another's house.

The family did not use the front door off the living room, as the Portuguese neighbours living in the house beside them threw garbage onto the sidewalk beside the unit. Rather than complain, the family moved in and out through the kitchen door.

2. Space (See Figure 31)

- (i) Patterns of Use: The kitchen/dining area continued to be the focal point for family activities. Geraldine now had room to store her "good" dishes in the cupboards which had been kept in boxes in the old house, and room on the top of cupboards to display various objects that before had had no place to go. The sewing machine was now also placed in the kitchen under the window where there was now room and light to sew. (She had previously had it in the master bedroom of the old house which was crowded and dark.)

The living room was now for adult entertaining and passive activities like watching television. The television had been broken in the old house and the father had not fixed it as it was quieter at night without it.

The basement continued to be used for storage, laundry and adult hobbies.

Geraldine appreciated the available closet space, although she had some difficulty drying all the clothes in either the basement or yard, due to insufficient space. If a clothes line were set up in the yard, it would have been impossible for the family, visitors, and mailmen to get in.

Giselle now had her own bedroom and the two boys, Marvin and Glen, shared the other room.

The family had not used the back yard area much since they moved in, as it had been late in the season. The children did not play in the yard, as it was not suitable for their activities. The boys from Family C had attempted to play ball in the parking lot to the west side of the units, but when a neighbour complained about a fear of breakage to his windows, their parents made them stop. They used the school grounds for most of their active games. Geraldine hoped to plant a small vegetable garden and flowers in the yard next spring.

- (ii) Economic Considerations: Financial concerns seemed to be as expected, although unanticipated expenses did arise. For example, the parents had been forced to buy a new bed as they couldn't get the one they had up the stairs of the new house. Money was still a major concern to the family, as it had always been. Geraldine saved money by sewing the children's clothes and articles for the house. They were trying to wait until they were settled, but they were feeling considerable pressure to buy a dryer. In general, they seemed able to handle the added expense attached to the new house.

- (iii) Social/Psychological Patterns: The family was obviously enjoying living in the new house and were proud to show it to visitors. Geraldine felt as though "she were just starting to live again, no way will I go back to where I was". She stated she had often been depressed in the old house because it looked dark and dirty, no

matter how much she cleaned, and there was no place to put things. The parents now had an adequate degree of separation from children. With only the younger three children living in the house and in two bedrooms, life was quieter and happier. Jules was able to rest better at night, and because he wasn't always tired now, he had more energy and interest in doing other things. He also felt it was better for the children in the new house. "The kids seem quieter here. They used to stay out late but now they come in about eight and they play upstairs in their rooms or play games in the kitchen."

Giselle was also enjoying her own room, where she now had her dolls displayed (see Figure 32). There was a dramatic change between the old house and the new in terms of interior decoration. Of all three units, this house was the most uniquely and creatively decorated. Geraldine had been busy making new drapes, bedspreads, cushions and rugs for the new house, creating a pleasant cheerful environment. Rugs, that had formerly been placed on the walls of the old living room, were now on the floor. (The father did not want anything hung on the walls that might damage them.) The living room now contained displays of various treasured objects, e.g., a silver tea set, photographs of children and flowers that had not been displayed in the old house for lack of space and a fear of breakage (see Figure 32).

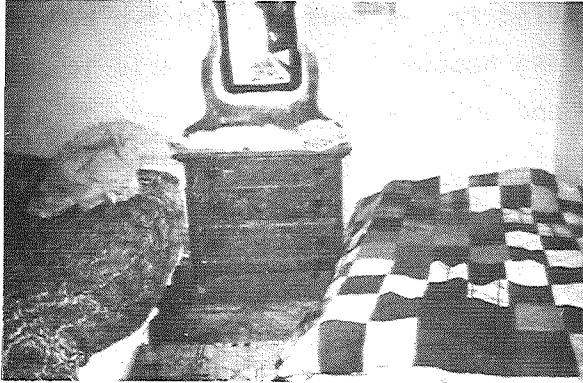
One change was noted in the boys' bedrooms. In the old house, the boys had done rather elaborate paintings directly onto the walls of their bedrooms. The father's restriction in the new house regarding use of the walls was limiting the children's ability to personalize their bedrooms, as they now had no surface on which to paint and tack things (see Figure 32).

Figure 32. Family C: Comparison of Old and New Interior Spaces

Old

daughter's bedroom

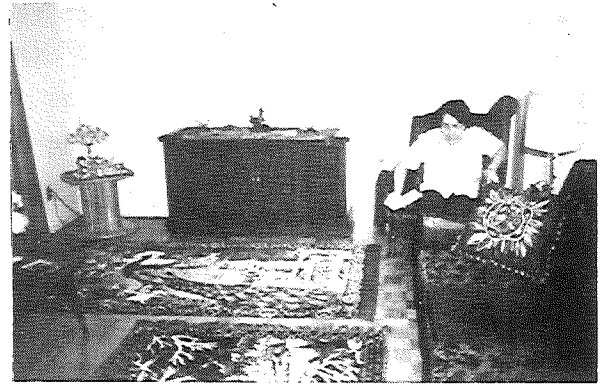
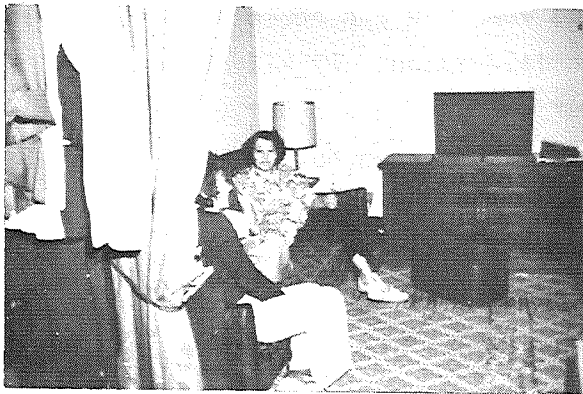
new



Old

living room

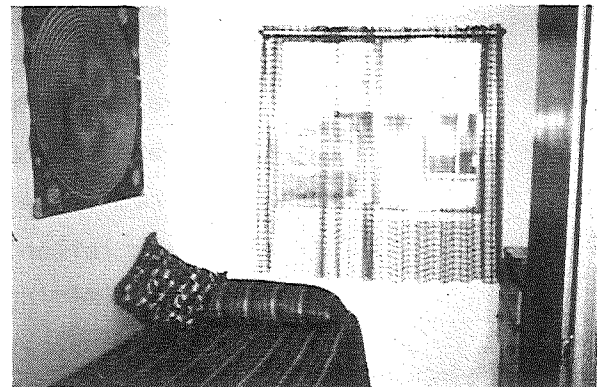
new



Old

sons' bedroom

new



Summary/Conclusions

Although only three out of four of the units are occupied, and the final stage of the research will not be conducted until the summer of 1974, it is possible to make some preliminary observations regarding similarities and differences in behaviour of Families A, B and C.

1. Location of Houses in Neighbourhood

- (i) Patterns of Use: The convenient proximity of the infill units to stores, schools, downtown, public transportation, Chinatown and other facilities, such as the General Hospital, was used by all families as a major criterion on selecting a place to live.

- (ii) Social/Psychological Patterns: The neighbourhood immediately adjacent to the site, especially the portion of Alexander Avenue that could be seen from inside the units and the yard areas outside, was considered by all families to be physically and socially undesirable. The people living in the neighbourhood were seen as transient and unstable. They lived in multiple family dwellings and were representative of a mixture of ethnic backgrounds, although with a greater than usual proportion of native Indians. The frequent occurrence of "drunks" and fights seemed to generate a fear of crime.

Their negative perception of the people living around the site seemed to produce a stronger "in group" feeling amongst the residents in the three new units. The fact that they were a physically distinct group by virtue of living in the only new houses on the street probably

contributed to their perception of themselves as "separate from" the rest of the neighbourhood. This fact, plus the proximity of the units to one another, seemed to encourage the families to make a special effort to get along together.

The emerging social relationships between them are interesting in a number of respects. The families represented three widely different cultural backgrounds and life styles, but appeared to hold other values and interests in common. Their economic position seemed to be similar. They were all introverted in the sense that they focused most of their time and energy on family life taking place inside the unit; all valued their privacy as a family group. The families also shared a tolerance and affection for children. Cathy (3 years) had initiated the contact between the parents of the three families. It is interesting to note, however, that of the seven children living on the site, only one (Cathy) was of pre-school age, spending all her time around the house, while the older children tended to play away from home within the surrounding community. This no doubt kept the noise level and fear of damage to property to a minimum. It should also be noted that the three families have yet to live together on the site during the summer months and one unit was not occupied. When everybody is outdoors in the nice weather, conditions and reactions regarding noise and privacy may alter.

How closely the desire for home ownership is linked to the building form in this case is not known. However, the traditional image of "home" as being a single family

detached unit on its own lot, was held by all three families. In the cases of Families A and C, it was a concept experienced in the parents' youth, and for Family B it was a value acquired on moving to Canada four years ago. This building form provides a more acceptable living environment than other building forms that the families had previously experienced.

2. Space

- (1) Patterns of Use: For all the families, the kitchen was the major focus for family life. It was used for cooking, eating, playing, games, socializing by the family and the casual entertaining of guests. No wish for a separate, more formal dining area was expressed by the residents. For all ethnic groups represented in this context, the kitchen represented "where the action was". The three mothers were strongly home oriented and spent a lot of their time in the kitchen/dining area.

The two storey houses, with their three levels of usable space, provided an adequate amount of space for group activities and adequate opportunity for the separation of adult and children's activities.

The living rooms of the new units were the most formal spaces. They were used for passive family activities such as watching television and as a space for adults to entertain friends. Valued objects in the form of various art objects and photographs of children were displayed in this area.

The amount of space in yard areas was seen for the most part as adequate, with an acceptable degree of privacy from neighbours and the street. However, as was mentioned before, there had not been a summer when all units had been occupied, and reactions to outdoor areas will be studied in more detail next summer. Family A did mention that voices, and sound in general, in the back yard areas tended to reverberate between the units.

- (ii) Social/Psychological Patterns: Privacy within the unit between individual members of the family seemed adequate and a major improvement over all previous residences. No complaints were received concerning a lack of privacy between units related to the distance between units, or the placement of windows.

Visual access to the street was important for the sense of security it provided over parked cars, and the ability to view events taking place on the street. This seems particularly important when the houses are located in an area with a poor reputation. Family C, living in the back unit with no direct access to the street, did not state this as a drawback to the unit, but they also did not own a car.

All families had lived in rented accommodation for at least ten years prior to buying the houses, and in two cases, all their lives. Buying a home of their own represented the achievement of a life long goal and a significant step towards bettering their lives and the lives of their children.

Owning these new homes was valued for the control and privacy the family had over outsiders, for increased amount of and type of space that allowed more activities to take place inside the unit, and for the freedom to personalize and alter the living environment in any way they saw fit. The houses represented a symbol of achievement and increased social status and were fundamental to their traditional concepts of "family" and "home". The interiors of the three units had been noticeably upgraded as compared to their previous dwellings for example, with the addition of new furnishings and accessories.

The improved opportunities for action the houses provided, and the fact that they were new, contributed to an increase in self-esteem of individual members of the family. Sharing the experience of owning and living in the houses seemed to add additional cohesiveness to the individual families as a group.

- (iii) Economic Considerations: Owning the houses was seen as a sound financial investment, as all the families had viewed paying rent as a waste of money. The families were not interested in buying an old house, considering them to be a poor investment due to the number of repairs required. As people at the lower end of the economic scale, they felt they had always been forced to accept "used" commodities in one form or another. Until the Alexander units were built in the area, there had been no alternative available to renting. The low selling price of the units, the low down payment that could be written off in the form of "sweat equity", and the low monthly payments available under the assisted home

ownership program, made it possible for two of the families to buy the houses. Family B had access to other sources of financing that did not require taking an NHA mortgage.

It should be noted that under the assisted home ownership program, Families A and C, in terms of monthly payments, would have been eligible to buy homes in other areas of the city or suburbs but would not have been able to retain their social ties within the inner city or many of the perceived advantages of the location. In addition to wanting to remain in the inner city area, two of the families would have had difficulty meeting the down payment requirement, as the idea of "sweat equity" for work other than construction related tasks is not practiced in the sale of homes under the assisted home ownership program.

CONCLUSIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS

It is difficult to come to any conclusions about the "infill" concept as a whole, since it must be noted once again that our experience has been limited to four units on one site. Furthermore, the Alexander units constitute a somewhat unique example of infill: they are located in one of the poorest neighbourhoods within the urban renewal area; they are sited on the smallest lot type in the area with only frontal access; they are sited on a double lot, as opposed to a single lot, for which infill was primarily designed.

In spite of the known limitations and disadvantages of the Alexander site, and despite the reluctance of the self-help housing group toward the site, the decision was made to go ahead and develop it for two main reasons. First, one of the major objectives of this experimental housing project was to put the housing into a number of different areas with different lot and site characteristics so that comparisons could be made between them. The Alexander site would constitute, then, the first stage of infill. Second, the situation on Alexander Avenue represented the most severe test conditions. If the housing worked well under these circumstances, presumably it would be a viable solution for other less depressed areas.

Accepting the limitations inherent in the development and evaluation of only one site, the experience does allow for some conclusions to

be drawn and recommendations made regarding both the design of future infill units and sites, and the relationship of "infill housing" to neighbourhood change.

Site and Unit Design

The research studies have shown that the units on Alexander Avenue work well. The two and one half storey unit is an efficient use of space. It requires a minimum amount of circulation space and ground area, and provides maximum zoning separation between floors. Particularly positive features of the units were the kitchen/dining area, the bed "nooks", the finished basement, and the second bathroom. In addition to including these features into the design of future units, consideration should be given to "roughing-in" the basement area in some units, giving occupants a choice of finishing materials, i.e., floor tile and wall panelling.

The two bedroom unit was not preferred by the majority of people and, in fact, was the last unit to be sold. However, it should be pointed out that the number of bedrooms provided in a unit tends to limit the number of people likely to live there. It is probable that the quality of the living environment on the Alexander site has been increased by not encouraging large families into all the units through the provision of three and four bedrooms. Future research is needed to verify this hypothesis.

On the other hand, several aspects of the site and unit design could be improved:

1. The Alexander site was perceived as "crowded" by neighbouring residents and the visiting public. This impression was created essentially by the number and height of the units and the

relatively small spaces between them. The impression of crowding was further aggravated by the narrowness of the units and their essentially blank facades. The four units on two small sites, side by side, increases the apparent sense of crowding. The utility of four unit development over time from the user's point of view will have to be studied further.

The separateness of the four units further contributes to a sense of crowding. If the units were combined into two semi-detached, back-to-back forms, rather than four, the sense of crowding would be reduced. Two separate units of this kind would be better built on a larger, deeper lot. The back-to-back concept, with the "L" facing the street, would also make it possible to replace the large, blank facade presently visible with a facade broken into two planes, 12'-0" apart, thereby reducing the exterior's high, narrow appearance.

The scale of the units, particularly with respect to the height of the buildings, should in future be as close to existing dwellings in the area as possible. The narrow and high impression given by the units could also be reduced by the addition of landscaping, in the form of trees and shrubs. Landscaping could serve further to increase visual privacy in back yard areas, although at this point this was not perceived as a difficulty by the users.

To increase the space between units, yard sizes should be made as large as possible within the size constraints of the site. In the Alexander case, two alternatives are possible:

- (i) re-orienting the front units with the "L" facing the street. In this way, the yard would be concentrated in the front of the unit and the back yard eliminated.

However, privacy and visual integration with existing homes would have to be carefully provided for.

- (ii) locating the rear units 1'-0" rather than 3'-0" from the rear property line, and the front units 3'-0" from adjacent side property lines. This would have given each rear unit 66 additional square feet of yard area, and each front unit about 44 extra square feet.¹⁶ A combination of the two alternatives is also possible.
2. While the basic form of the units may remain relatively constant, each house should become visually distinct from every other in the group and means should be taken to reduce the units' tall, severe, stark appearance. This can be done through such means as the treatment of entrances, heavier fascia boards on the eaves, colour, additional wood trim, and landscaping.
 3. A window should be placed in the kitchen door to allow more light in and increase supervision of the yard; the sill height of the living room window should be raised to allow placement of furniture against this wall to increase flexibility in the small space; and a sidelight should be added beside the front door or an "eye" placed in the door to increase security relative to the street.
 4. Built-in closets should be provided in the master bedroom area, and bathrooms should also have built-in storage space under the sink.

16. Regarding fire hazard and set back requirements, see H. E. J. Bergman, "Mark VIII Experimental Housing Project", Report to the HUDAC Technical Research Committee, December 1973.

"Infill Housing" and Neighbourhood Change

The research studies contained in this report document a favourable reaction to the units from the public and the owner occupants, but an unfavourable reaction from the neighbourhood residents. Why does this discrepancy of opinion exist? Why do the neighbourhood residents object to the new units?

While the residents saw new housing as a necessary improvement in the inner city area, they appeared to have a clear vision of what form of change was required, or perhaps more accurately, a clear vision of what kind of change they did not want. In addition to the interviews held with residents for this study, previous work had also shown that the residents already perceived the area in a negative light.¹⁷ It was physically and socially problem-ridden: its buildings, commercial and residential, were old and run down; it had a high incidence of social disorganization; it was crowded, with too many people, cars and trucks; it had inadequate play space for children, as well as insufficient open space in general; and it was noisy. Neighbourhood residents did not anticipate many negative consequences from the new units at the time of the first assessment; however, their perceptions grew more negative with time. The infill units did not alleviate any of the existing problems of the area or the existing pressures on the residents. On the contrary, the units brought more people, cars and noise, not less, and they filled in open areas already in short supply, placing not one house on a lot, which was the norm in the area, but two. A more positive neighbourhood change in the minds of residents might have been fewer units on the site and/or a combination of demolition of old housing and the construction of new housing in its place, and the

17. See "Reaction of Neighbours to Posting of 861 William Avenue and 734 Elgin Avenue for Zoning Variation", Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 1972.

renovation of some existing housing. Instead, one of the few pleasant open areas in the neighbourhood was filled in with additional homes (most lots were much less attractive).

The owner/occupants or users of the houses see them from an entirely different perspective. To many inner city residents, owning a "new house" represents more than just a house. It offers more space and physical comfort, provides increased opportunities for self-expression, increased social status, and is a symbol of financial and emotional security. While the users did not like the area in which their new homes were located, the benefits of the units themselves outweighed this drawback. They were willing to move into an undesirable area to achieve the advantages offered by the new houses. At the present time, the users have successfully turned their backs on the immediate neighbourhood. It is possible that in the future, if the surrounding neighbourhood continues to decline, it will exert negative influences on the families that they cannot ignore. However, it is also possible that these families and the housing units may serve as a stimulus to further positive improvement in the neighbourhood. The users' perception of the area as negative, socially and physically, seems to be serving to increase the "in-group" feelings between them.

Social interaction with immediate neighbours has been confined to families on the site. This is interesting because the families as a group represent widely differing ethnic backgrounds, ages, and household types, some having children, others not. All families, except one, had previously been essentially introverted types, focusing their attention exclusively on family life inside the unit and carefully guarding their privacy. In adjusting to living in close physical proximity to one another, the families appear to have made a concerted effort to establish positive social relationships with each other. A similar strong "in-group" feeling, but

for different reasons, was observed in a previous study of low income people living in public row housing developments.¹⁸ In the Infill case, the users appear to have voluntarily segregated themselves from the surrounding neighbourhood, whereas in the case of the public housing tenants, the in-group feelings seemed to have been generated, in part, by the fact that they were rejected by middle income residents living in the surrounding neighbourhood. In either case, social relationships were initiated and maintained by perceived common interests and values, relative to such things as housing form, economic position, children, and activities outside the home.

An additional need for low income residents is a range of alternate forms of housing tenure, such as rental with option to purchase, straight ownership, share arrangements as in cooperatives, and low, controlled rental through non-profit corporations and improved forms of public housing. There is a wide range of residents in the inner city area; some are financially solvent, others are not. Where income is very low and accommodation rented, maintenance of property, to some extent, must be assumed by an outside source. It should be noted that in the infill case, major reasons for wanting to own your own home were the desire for security of tenure, improved dwelling conditions, and increased opportunities for self-expression. These people as renters had demonstrated a considerable willingness to maintain and improve their living environment, mainly through the provision of labour, but were given no incentive or support from landlords who refused to provide materials or to reduce rent. If the owner himself appears not to care about his own property, it cannot be expected that the renter will. If the ability of a tenant family to change their physical surroundings and to express their individuality, particularly in the interior of their homes, is stifled by an outside source, one can also expect dissatisfaction and declining living conditions over time.

18. N. J. O'Brien, A Comparative Behavioural Study of Row Housing Developments, October, 1972, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg (unpublished manuscript).

The desire of newly arrived immigrant groups to "stick together" and the special needs of certain age and handicapped groups raises the possibility of locating and designing housing specifically geared to these needs. For example, higher than average density combined with community and ethnic shopping facilities, public transport and low housing costs may be the best combination for new or native Canadians. While the two storey unit works well for most families, stairs are a definite problem to other special groups, like the aged and the physically handicapped. Increased experimentation is necessary in these and other areas.

In addition to low income, depressed areas as Alexander Avenue, experimental housing forms should also be injected into more desirable areas of the inner city to serve as a basis for comparison. However, in the more "desirable" areas (i.e., those with higher incidence of home ownership, higher income, greater single family occupancy), it is probable there will be a greater resistance to change, creating difficulties in gaining approval for the new construction from the existing residents. One way of lessening resistance to new housing projects, whether public or private, from neighbourhood residents, would be to demonstrate that the change is also providing something that the residents need. It is probable that what the existing neighbourhood residents perceive as a need would also be seen as a need by the occupants of the new housing, whether it be additional recreation facilities and open space, increased parking facilities, or reduced traffic and noise.

In considering "infill" housing specifically, and the possibility of duplicating similar units on lots over a larger area, important questions must be considered, particularly with respect to open space requirements and the role of citizens in the process of neighbourhood change.

Most people considered the yard areas adjacent to the new units to be too small and inadequate for children's play and gardening activities. It is unlikely that the needs of the neighbourhood as a whole, or concurrently, the needs of residents in the new units, can be met to any great degree if the approach to problems extends no further than the individual unit with its "private" yard. If the yard sizes were to be increased, the price of the units would also increase. This tendency, however, should be withstood, since additional price increases would place the units out of reach of the low income families one is trying to serve. On the other hand, determining that private yard areas will remain small increases the pressures for common shared recreation space within the immediate neighbourhood. This shifts the burden of cost to the community while still enabling the low income family to purchase a home and enjoy its advantages. The importance of recreational facilities and open space raises the possibility and desirability of redeveloping neighbourhoods on a one or two "block" basis, while utilizing the "infill" concept.

In the Alexander case, the school ground, located two to three blocks away from the units, provided ample opportunity for certain organized group activities such as baseball, hockey and soccer. However, this does not accommodate the spontaneous closer to home activities of small groups of children and adults. If such spontaneous play activities of children are not accommodated, the quality of the residential environment can be seriously reduced, through increased noise and damage to property.

One suggestion is that for every one or two blocks of housing, depending on the physical and social characteristics of the area, at least one lot be left open and developed as a play space and/or meeting area for residents. This should be done in addition to enhancing the areas already favoured for play, such as streets,

sidewalks and boulevards. Consideration should also be given to freeing additional space for use by people by closing off some streets or parts of them to traffic. Another suggestion is the possibility of common gardens within the block where those people that wish to grow vegetables can rent a plot of land at a nominal fee per season, as was done during the depression. This would lessen the space requirements for "private", open space adjacent to the unit and encourage the development of common, shared open space. The provision of private open space adjacent to the unit should not be eliminated; in fact, it should be made more exclusive in most cases. But the amount of space required in private yards would be less, as the number of activities to be accommodated would be reduced.

On the "block" scale, recreation facilities and open space, parking and housing should be conceived of as a whole entity. A catalogue of alternate building forms and siting arrangements and small park/play area designs, could be developed by the municipal authority, in consultation with resident groups. After approval by City Council, these could be offered to residents in different areas of the inner city as approved building packages, subject to local resident approval. Such packages should encourage use of small vacant properties. Small demonstration projects should then commence and resident reaction and use assessed.

Experimental housing projects such as "infill" provide many valuable insights into the sources of "fit" and "misfit" between the built environment and the people it is designed to serve. Such small test cases should continue to be built and evaluated. As knowledge accumulates in such an evolutionary build/test/correct manner, the quality of residential living environments can be greatly improved.

HOUSING, CHURCH AND
COMMUNITY SPACE:
THE ST. ANDREW'S PLACE
REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Donald Epstein



INTRODUCTION*

The St. Andrew's complex is the outcome of an effort by an inner city church in Winnipeg to redevelop its site after a fire had destroyed its original building. The complex, composed of an eleven storey structure with an adjoining ground floor section and basement, combines housing for senior citizens, community services, a church, and multi-purpose space. Construction is scheduled to commence in the spring of 1974.

The site area consists of approximately 21,780 sq. ft. situated on the north-west corner of Elgin Avenue and Ellen Street. The location is one half mile from the Civic Cultural complex (City Hall, Centennial Concert Hall, Public Safety Building, Planetarium, Museum and Manitoba Theatre Centre). The site is within the boundary designated by the City as Urban Renewal Area II and is presently surrounded by wholesale, manufacturing and warehousing businesses, and numerous dwellings, some of which require either redevelopment or rehabilitation. The neighbourhood contains numerous churches of various denominations, small

* Particular thanks are due to Tim Sale, Executive Director of the Research and Planning Council of the United Church Presbytery (Winnipeg), and Stan Osaka, of The IKOY Partnership, for their most helpful and thorough comments on a previous draft. They bear no responsibility, of course, for the content of this report.
Appreciation is also expressed to George Siamandas, formerly of the Institute of Urban Studies, for preparing an initial draft of this report.

convenience stores and elementary schools, and is serviced by public transit one block away. But there is a shortage of recreational space, community service facilities, and space in which organizations and community groups can meet and conduct activities (see map, page 6).

The St. Andrew's project involved five particularly innovative elements. The first is the decision of a downtown church to serve as redevelopment sponsor and to utilize its land and other resources to "minister" to the community's secular needs. Second is the cooperative planning approach that was employed, involving social agencies, church groups, institutions, professional consultants and lay citizens. The third element, the actual outcome of this planning process, is the multi-purpose community complex itself, designed to provide a wide range of community services and facilities, in addition to senior citizen housing and church functions. A fourth aspect is the financial package that provided the funds for this mix of housing and other facilities. Finally, the fifth innovative element is the development of a corporate structure, including substantial community participation, to manage and operate the complex.

THE CHURCH AS INNOVATOR*

The fire that demolished St. Andrew's Church in November of 1968 provided it with both the imperative as well as the opportunity to redefine its role and assess the way in which its resources and property could be better used in the community. The first impulse by the church board was simply to rebuild the church structure. The Winnipeg Presbytery of the United Church, however, would not agree to such a proposal. The Presbytery had serious reservations about the value of continuing to operate a congregation in the inner city, considering that most of the congregation members now came from outside the area. They were also leery of using the property and fire insurance money to simply reconstruct another church building. They had had an earlier experience in which another congregation whose church had also burned down had proposed to develop a combined housing-church complex, but in the end, had only constructed a church. Presbytery members were suspicious of any new church building ventures, and some told congregation members privately that the Presbytery would not permit just another church to be built. In any event, the congregation's perception was that this was the case.

* For purposes of clarification, "the church" is used synonymously with the leadership of St. Andrew's Church and does not refer to the United Church of Canada or its Winnipeg Presbytery.

Nevertheless, they tried various proposals for a church replacement over a period of two years without success. In the winter of 1970-71, they invited the Institute of Urban Studies of the University of Winnipeg to assist in the development of a proposal for using the property. A series of discussions were held between members of the congregation and IUS staff to define the basic concerns and objectives of the group. One of the guiding principles was to provide services to the inner city community. Indeed, the church in the past had provided numerous services, such as a well baby clinic, a thrift shop (for used clothes), recreation programs, counselling services, and community dinner-get-togethers. It was the expressed desire of the congregation to continue the long tradition of St. Andrew's in that respect.

Finally, in January 1971 a proposal was presented by the director of IUS, who had previous connections with the church. This position paper urged the church to seize the challenge

"to give new life to the tradition of service and involvement of the church in the inner city....to define a way in which the act of developing a new site also embodies a new commitment for the church in useful activity in the inner city."¹

The basic concept proposed was a multi-purpose "village square" complex, combining space for housing, a church, and a variety of community services, such as a health clinic and library, to be run by a community based organization. It was at this point that housing and certain specific community facilities first became an integral part of the concept. The presentation was followed by preliminary sketches and plans, which seemed to assist the congregation in putting the concept in more concrete form. Internal discussions followed, but until September little was accomplished by the congregation.

1. "Urban Renewal: St. Andrew's Church (Elgin Avenue) Proposal". Institute of Urban Studies, January, 1971, p. 1.

After some initial reluctance, the Presbytery had agreed to have the congregation explore the new concept. After such exploration, the Presbytery was to make a final decision on the advisability of proceeding further.

In June, 1971, the Research and Planning Council (RPC), formerly the Urban Church Council, of the Winnipeg Presbytery wrote a response to the position paper outlining alternative strategies for action. While the congregation's leadership (the Official Board of St. Andrew's) generally went along with the idea of church property being redeveloped for the use of the community, the concern of much of the congregation's membership remained essentially to get a church built. Finally, in September, the church accepted the two documents as a joint working paper or guide and, with the technical support and encouragement of IUS staff and Tim Sale, Executive Director of RPC, it began to develop some plans. In the fall and winter of 1971-72, they engaged in an energetic planning effort, with the Pastor of St. Andrew's, Reverend J. Ronald McCullough, particularly providing the spiritual incentive and carefully leading his largely passive congregation to this form of ministry.

A PARTNERSHIP FOR PLANNING²

In September of 1971, based on the advice of IUS and RPC, St. Andrew's organized to begin the planning process. An informal planning group did some initial ground work identifying some needs that redevelopment could serve. The initial thinking was to provide a complex that would meet the community's housing and service needs. Analysis of site requirements and zoning limitations, programming, and some preliminary design work was done by an IUS architect. Two properties immediately west of the St. Andrew's property were optioned, and discussions were held on funding approaches. In the late fall, during discussions of an action plan to guide the planning process, St. Andrew's decided to structure itself into six committees:

- a coordinating building committee, and
- five committees entitled community space, housing, legal and finance, church membership, and "reserve".

2. For a more detailed, personal account of events from January 1971 to about March 1972, particularly with respect to the role of the IUS architect and congregation, and the involvement of residents, see Eric Barker, "The Role of the Professional in Dealing with Residents", in Lloyd Axworthy, ed., The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, IUS, Spring 1972, pp. 214-220.

The Institute and the RPC had stressed the importance of employing a planning process which would result in a project serving the needs and interests of the community and which would involve neighbourhood people in all stages of the planning and decision-making process. Community representatives, therefore, were to be members of the various committees. It was recommended that

the use of the site should be determined through a realistic assessment of community needs and interests conducted by members of the Church in co-operation with neighbourhood residents using required technical assistance and guidance.³

In the late fall of 1971, invitations were sent to numerous social service agencies in the area (UR II) to try to involve them in the planning process. Preliminary discussions were held with officials of the federal and provincial governments. Students from the University began a door to door campaign soliciting interest in the new project and inviting neighbourhood people to attend meetings to discuss community priorities. Attendance at these meetings was low and aside from perfunctory suggestions on the "need for better housing", little was gained. More successful was the use of the church's continuing Thrift Shop as a "listening post", through which a number of specific recommendations were solicited. Also useful were the interviews with different community groups and agencies in the area who offered very concrete recommendations.

It was also recommended that the church employ a small architectural firm that would hopefully prove flexible and whose senior partners could devote their time to the project. Several candidates were interviewed and finally in the late winter of 1971-72, the church called on The IKOY Partnership to

3. "Urban Renewal....", op. cit., p. 2.

help them. IKOY knew that it would be doing the initial work "on spec" and that the project might never come to fruition. A member of the congregation suggested the legal firm of Nozick, Akman, and Walsh, and this firm was asked to serve as counsel, again with the understanding that the initial work might not necessarily result in an actual project.

The congregation was also advised that if the community based planning approach was to work, consideration should be given to hiring a coordinator to provide assistance to the building committee, communication between the committees and the consultants, and general assistance in expediting the planning process (e.g., in negotiation, research, attendance, etc.). After interviewing several applicants, an IUS staff person was chosen to serve as the building committee's coordinator.

How well did this overall planning approach work? It must be recognized that the approach was not a tried and tested one and involved a considerable degree of experimentation. It brought together lay citizens of the community, lay congregation people, staff of a university based action research institute, a church planning body, professional architects and lawyers, and federal and provincial administrators. The primary objective of the approach was to ensure that the final project design served the objectives and interests of both the planners and the neighbourhood residents. A secondary objective for IUS was to monitor the approach and determine how effectively it functioned.

How the building design reflects a combination of objectives and interests will be considered in the next section. This section will provide an assessment of how the planning process functioned. Two aspects of this process will be considered:

- the involvement and influence of lay people from the congregation and community, and
- the role of the consultants and their relationship to the process.

Planning for the St. Andrew's project could have been undertaken by some church officials and congregation leaders in conjunction with only the necessary professional consultants and government people. Advised by IUS and RPC that including community residents would result in "better" planning, in the sense that the users of the planned facilities and spaces could assist in its design, the church took two steps. It asked its lay congregation, and particularly congregation members residing in the surrounding community, to join the planning committees. It further asked the Institute of Urban Studies to assist in involving additional community people. That St. Andrew's would accept the concept of letting non-church people participate in planning a church-sponsored project, instead of planning on their behalf, is a significant development in community planning.

One assessment of the church's acceptance of the community based planning approach and of the multi-purpose principle is that it was motivated less by a belief in them and more by the fear that unless it did so, its assets (i.e., land and fire insurance money) would revert to the Presbytery. While some congregation people and the Pastor showed a genuine commitment to the approach and principle, others did not. Most saw them simply as a means of building a church in a manner acceptable to the Presbytery.

The consultants played an important support role to the planning committees by elaborating designs and exploring ways and means of developing a viable project. The extensive and involved consultative planning process proved to be an unconventional one for the consultants, particularly the lawyers who were accustomed to a more business-like relationship with clients on well established kinds of projects. While a lot of "spoon feeding" was required, according to one of them, they recognized in principle that the people "had a right to know" and to be involved. The architects were willing to spend time listening and discussing possible designs and the allocation of space. And while some problems did occur when at one point they failed to give enough attention to the concept of community space, the design was modified in a subsequent version largely through the intervention of IUS serving as advocate for the original design concept (see following section). The lawyers on the other hand, were not willing to attend meetings regularly. They reported seeing their role as developing the funding mechanism and corporate forms and not as being involved in the planning process with citizens.

The consultants were initially working "on spec" (a normal practice for many architects in the initial period) and would not have been financially compensated for their time had the project not come about. It is clear, therefore, that their first efforts were concentrated on establishing its financial feasibility within the context of the particular zoning constraints on the site. Had the conclusion of that analysis been negative, the architects would have immediately discontinued their participation. The financial incentive, of course, is for consultants to make the project a reality,

for in that event, they can obtain full payment for all their work on the project, including in many cases architectural and legal fees for the initial period. This was in fact the situation with the St. Andrew's project. Moreover, even the initial investment of time and resources often yields some unusual experience useful to consultants in other similar projects in the future. Indeed, on the basis of the St. Andrew's project, IKOY has been contacted by interested parties in Winnipeg and recommended for related jobs in several other major Canadian cities.

While RPC and IUS were firmly committed to the concept of lay involvement, the general consensus is that the efforts to involve new, individual people from the community were largely unsuccessful. Accordingly, because of the inability to get such community residents involved and due to the lack of resources to engage in a large scale effort to get such involvement, active members of already existing self-help groups in the area were solicited. The result was that an interlocking membership system developed, in which those already active in the neighbourhood's Buyers Club, People's Committee and Health Action Committee sat as St. Andrew's community representatives as well.

Despite this community involvement, particularly manifested in the requests for community space, it is clear that the project was mainly defined and executed by Institute and RPC staff, and the professional consultants. Often the lay participants were merely witnesses to decisions being made by professionals, largely through professional evaluation of circumstances and technical constraints. The same may or may not be true once the complex is constructed and once the management corporation is established (see page 246). While church and IUS planners

generally had a good sense of what the community needs were from their efforts and experience in working with it, feedback from the neighbourhood was seen as necessary, particularly for the consultants who increasingly influenced the final result. That feedback was all too limited, especially because new people were not involved. Indeed, it might be said that increased input from lay citizens in the neighbourhood was even more necessary, if the original concept was to emerge relatively uncompromised.

The Institute's role was largely that of generating the original concept and advocating it throughout the planning process. Its advocacy appeared to be generally successful in the early period and up to June 1972. At that point, however, IUS' involvement decreased and its influence varied, largely due to a loss of continuity and expertise. The staff architect who had contributed ably to the development of the concept took a leave of absence and his skills and participation could not be replaced. From that point on, the Institute served largely as an eleventh-hour advocate, an intermediary between the planning group and federal government officials, and a "coordinator" of the process. The record indicates, however, that while substantial influence was exerted in the first two roles, little was accomplished in the third due to the absence of a staff member with professional skills as a project manager.

No one person or organization appeared, in fact, to be capable of pulling together all the disparate elements of the St. Andrew's planning process. One can view the process as a fluctuating interaction among a group of relatively autonomous actors, all of whom exert significant force at some moments, to be replaced by others at the next stage. Overall sustained coordination was absent, perhaps impossible. In a formal sense, the Institute was charged with the coordinating responsibility, presumably based on felt need within the planning group,

but it failed at that time to provide what was needed. It was not, however, expected to provide leadership. Thus, the planning results reveal not so much compromise and accommodation, as trade-off and concession. Every group in the process seemed to get something in the end.

THE MIX OF HOUSING AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

The original concept of a mix of housing and community services was one with which the lay people agreed. However, the type of housing to be developed changed from a mix of various types of housing to that for senior citizens exclusively. This decision was largely influenced by the architectural consultants, the congregation and the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (see below). The main influence of lay members of community self-help groups, such as the credit union, buyers club and health action committee, was in the defined area of specific allocations of space to be set aside for their respective service facilities.

The original guiding objective was to find a way of using church property in a way that would serve the community's secular needs. Initial discussions on how this would be done pointed

to a mix of housing, recreation facilities, offices for community services, and other rentable space. The St. Andrew's project was seen as a centre or focus of community activity. This original concept was developed and refined after consultations with various agencies and self help groups that indicated what kind of housing, how much, and what kinds of other facilities were desired. Discussions with government and other funding agencies further narrowed down the range of possibilities.

The first limit or constraint that began to emerge was the kind of housing that could be built. Originally, consultation with agencies and citizen groups indicated that a mix of housing for transients, young working people, families and senior citizens was desirable. But during the architects' economic feasibility study, the bias of the provincial government became quickly evident. From the first informal discussions, it was apparent that MHRC opposed any mixture of senior citizen and family housing. The supposedly poor experience in the "mixed" housing development of Lord Selkirk Park, plus a concern about the proper density for such a project, appeared at the root of its opposition.

Opinion is divided, however, as to whether MHRC's policy guidelines and financial priorities at this time favoured senior citizen or family housing. One view is that MHRC, despite what may have been said by officials, clearly was emphasizing senior citizen housing, since nearly all MHRC supported housing in the inner city at the time was of that type. The contrary view is that, while senior citizen housing was by far the dominant type, it was due to MHRC's difficulty in obtaining zoning approval from the city for public housing for families. The City, on the other hand, had no objection

to senior citizen housing. That the City favoured this type does not imply that MHRC did also. Indeed, while MHRC was not fulfilling its quota of senior citizen units, it was even further behind in family housing and, so the view goes, was attempting to encourage public housing for families. If this was the case, however, there is no evidence that St. Andrew's was encouraged in any way to build family units.

In any event, family housing, which seemed to be an acute need in the area, was quickly rejected, even though the site's zoning would have permitted about thirty family units alone, or a total of between forty and fifty mixed units. It seemed evident that housing for families requires more open space and parking provision than housing for senior citizens. It was concluded, therefore, that family housing would be far costlier. But the fact was that this alternative or other conceivable mixtures of housing types were not explored fully in terms of financial feasibility, certainly not to the extent that the senior citizen option was.

The simple reality was that financing was most easily obtainable for senior citizens housing. Moreover, the congregation itself favoured housing for the elderly. In addition to the financial advantages, they felt that the mix desired by community people would not work and was not desirable, and that senior citizens simply presented no problems for either the development or management of the complex. The architects and provincial officials confirmed this view. The decision was made, therefore, to proceed in this direction.

The next step was to determine how much senior citizen housing to build. This decision was again influenced by the architects on the basis of "economic feasibility". The main objective was

to build a project of sufficient size so that the community facilities could be subsidized at a much smaller marginal cost per suite. At the lower end, MHRC stated that the minimum number of suites constituting a viable project was seventy. At the upper end, the maximum number of suites recommended by planning officials of the City was 116. The financial logic operating at the time dictated acceptance of the maximum. Accordingly, the architects designed the project to the upper limit of density permitted in the zoning bylaw. There was also the stated wish to build as many units as possible to alleviate the demand for senior citizen housing in the area.

The resulting design called for an eleven storey tower, consisting of 116 suites and a day centre in the housing portion. The ground floor and basement would provide a church sanctuary, offices, and community, recreational, and multi-purpose spaces. Community groups, social agencies and government bodies were consulted regarding the kinds of spaces and services that would be useful at the site. The ideas included:

- a day recreation centre for senior citizens to be operated by the Age and Opportunity Bureau;
- multi-purpose space for meetings, cultural and entertainment productions;
- partitionable space for crafts, hobbies, banquets, dances, and indoor recreation;
- a library and study-reading room to be provided by the Winnipeg public library;
- a health clinic of either a general or special purpose nature;
- a credit union;
- a buyers club selling food;
- a thrift shop selling used clothing and other items;

- a church sanctuary, church offices and counselling space;
- a Native centre:
- a Legal Aid Office; and
- other social service offices, e.g. Childrens Aid.

Discussions were held with possible providers of these services regarding the feasibility of their locating in the project. While most organizations expressed support and interest in the project, none were willing to commit themselves as lessees. Some groups, such as the Winnipeg Buyers Club, the Thrift Shop, Credit Union, the Age and Opportunity Bureau and the Health Action Committee, have submitted letters of intent to locate in the building. However, no leases are presently signed with these or other possible tenants. The Metis Federation, for example, has not followed up its earlier interest. Other groups, such as Legal Aid, are not yet in any position to commit themselves. Many of these groups are fairly new and inexperienced in their operations and are functioning with uncertain funding. As a result, they have been and are still unable to make financial commitments nearly two years in advance.

Response from governmental agencies has been disappointing as well. The provincial government has expressed interest in developing and funding community based health facilities but has not yet committed itself to support such a facility at St. Andrew's. Particularly unfortunate was the City of Winnipeg's decision not to support the idea of a library or a study-reading room. The City is moving its major library building from the area without providing a replacement. This will deprive residents of a major facility, especially young people who use it to study and older people who use it for a reading room. It is alleged that the chief librarian of the City had little interest in continuing service in the area

after he was assured of his new library building downtown. Another view is that the City Finance Committee turned down a budget request for maintaining a library facility in the area. Whatever the case, not only was a valuable service lost; so was a prospective tenant that could have offered some continuity in occupancy at St. Andrew's Place.

The architects' final design and space allocation have now been approved by the directors of the project's development corporation. After a series of meetings with the planning committees and self-help groups, they have now allocated a considerable amount of space for community services, even though the potential lessees remain uncommitted. These include the credit union, buyers club and health clinic. As well, nearly 2,500 additional sq. ft. have been set aside for other uses as they are determined and developed. The allocation process has been an incremental and continuous one, and as a result the final designs bear close approximation to the wishes of the lay planners.

Combined with the housing portion, St. Andrew's Place will be composed of:

Floors 3-11: 116 senior citizen or now called elderly person suites, plus a lounge on each of the nine floors.

Second Floor (see Figure 1)*:

- a) senior citizens centre, including craft rooms, and a library.
- b) roof terrace.

* The floor plans and sketch design to follow are reproduced with the permission of The IKOY Partnership, architects for St. Andrew's Place.

mother
father

In other
fields

In other
folder

Still producing some concern at IUS, however, are various elements of the building design, such as the distribution of space, the separation of spaces, and the size, scale and exterior appearance of the building (see Figure 4).^{*} The space distribution of the ground floor mall area is an extremely important element of the building (see Figure 2). It was this space that was to provide the essential linkage between facilities and functions in the project and the heart of what was to be an open and inviting "People's Place" for neighbourhood residents. However, the architects' final design for the mall reveals a relative sameness of size and little seating area, with most space used for circulation. Other than the worthy retention of a coffee lounge, the early "court" or "village square" concept is no longer emphasized. There is no longer an effective extension of the interior mall to an exterior court area to act as a focal entry to the building. There is no widening out of the mall to encourage larger-scale seating, grouping and display, to complement the provision of more intimate and anonymous seating areas. Moreover, whether or not the interior circulation mall will provide the shortcut across the corner of the block, which was intended to bring people through, is somewhat questionable due to the position of the entrances and the lack of strong visual connection between the outside and the mall.

The building design appears very much to foster separation between the senior citizen housing component and the community space in the building. It appears that neighbourhood people will not be able to use the roof terrace and library on the second floor. Separate craft rooms are provided for senior citizens as part of the day centre, distinct from similar facilities in the basement community space area. There is even a suspicion that the ground floor entrances will become

^{*} The author is grateful to Eric J. Barker, Institute architect, for his perceptive comments regarding the design features, both past and present, of St. Andrew's Place.

In other
parts

differentiated in use, particularly since the access to the basement and its community facilities is located furthest away from the senior citizen tower.

IUS has continually been critical of the height, scale and severity of the building in relationship to the adjacent two and three storey houses in the neighbourhood. The building suffers from a very hard, angular, "office building" feeling. The architects have attempted to reduce the perceptual problems by setting the building back, stepping the first two levels, and planting trees on the second floor terrace. Assuming the mass of the tower to be unchangeable, certain types of exterior treatment could and should be used to soften the building and make it more inviting, e.g. through the use of surface texture, colourful patterns or mosaics, flower boxes outside apartment windows, individual sun hoods over the windows and additional landscaping.

The fundamental questions, of course, remain: How will St. Andrew's Place be used once it is finished? Will it become a community centre and serve the community's needs? Will the people use it? Will it become a focus of further community activity? The answers to these questions will be determined as much by the way the physical space is programmed as by the availability and distribution of space within the complex. The success of this programming and its responsiveness to community needs and desires will depend in large measure on the management structure to be established during 1974 (see page 246).

FINANCING AND GOVERNMENT APPROVAL

Among the innovative elements of the St. Andrew's project, the financial arrangements are perhaps the most important. Funding simply senior citizen housing was not much of a problem, as the precedent for such construction sponsored by other churches had already been established under Section 15 of the old National Housing Act. The key question for St. Andrew's was how to finance the large amount of multi-purpose, recreational and community space, in combination with senior citizen housing, while retaining ownership of the project.

It is at this point that the consultants provided their most useful input, particularly the lawyers who are credited with finding the crucial "bulk leasing" provision in the legislation. The two firms explored the regulations governing the operations of MHRC and CMHC, and the ways in which previous senior citizen projects had been financed. The conventional practice had been for MHRC, serving as the developer, to obtain a 90% loan from CMHC for planning and construction, while sharing operating costs with CMHC on a 50/50 basis. Under this system, MHRC has been able to accrue large operating subsidies from CMHC.

The church's proposal, however, was that St. Andrew's would do the development work of planning the project and building it

with a 90% CMHC loan. Once this was done, an "economic rent"* for the suites would be determined and MHRC would sign a "bulk lease" contract, that is, to rent all of the suites in the housing portion, for fifty years. The economic rent would not be "out of line" with other similar projects MHRC had built. The rent would cover operating costs and the costs of retiring the mortgage over 50 years at an interest rate of 7 5/8% per year. The final rental structure would be set after tendering had been completed and accurate costs established. The leasing arrangement would contain a provision for renegotiation and adjustment of the rent after an initial operating period, in order at least to keep in line with general inflationary pressures. St. Andrew's would manage the project and receive an additional fee for this service.

The major advantage of the bulk lease arrangement is that MHRC in effect guarantees to St. Andrew's the maximum permissible revenue per year for fifty years, based on full occupancy. This rental income guarantee, in combination with the management fee, provides the church with ability not only to cover all operating and construction-related costs for the housing portion, but also to partially subsidize all community and multi-purpose spaces.

A second advantage of the bulk leasing arrangement is that it made possible, for perhaps the first time in relation to a relatively large project, the application of the province's low income rent subsidy program to a non-governmental housing project. The church sponsors, therefore, would receive from the province the economic rent per suite of \$130 and up to cover costs, while at the same time charging low-income tenants rents

* The term "economic rent" is rather misleading, in that commonly it is considered to mean essentially "at cost". This is not the case. Rather "economic rent" indicates a rental figure composed of full costs (usually per square foot), plus a "reasonable" or normal profit (generally considered to be 7-9%).

from about \$35, the subsidy being \$95 and up. The higher the income of the tenants, of course, the higher the rent he or she would pay and the lower the subsidy.

An additional advantage of this approach is that, by removing the financial obstacles to private, non-profit sponsorship of low-income housing, it encourages not only increased activity in this field, but also increased diversity in design and planning in response to the objectives and needs of particular sponsor groups and their clients.

To cover the capital construction cost of the community, multi-purpose and recreational spaces on the lower two floors, it was estimated that nearly \$500,000 would be required. Combining the costs of operation and maintenance, about \$16,000 with those of amortization and depreciation for those floors, a cash flow surplus of about \$40,000 per year would be necessary to support the community and multi-purpose spaces. It was calculated that MHRC's lease of the 116 units at \$130 per month plus \$6 per unit per month in management fee would produce a substantial surplus over costs, this surplus to be applied against the loss on the community spaces. At present, it is estimated that 40-44% of the yearly operating costs of the community spaces would come as a subsidy from the housing portion.

In addition, the absence of the usually large developer's fee in this case should increase the margin over costs. And still additional revenue is expected from the management of another large building near the project. The remainder was to come from rental income from the community spaces themselves. About \$26,000 per year was anticipated from the rental of community spaces, a figure still in doubt due to the lack of

leasing commitments. However, it appears to be increasingly certain that the church itself, which earlier had hoped to acquire its space in the project relatively free of charge, will now have to lease space at substantial cost, thereby producing necessary revenue for the project.

The community spaces are to be rented on the basis of "ability to pay". The flexible rental structure would permit some neighbourhood organizations, e.g. the Credit Union, Buyers Club, Health Clinic, etc., to acquire space at very low figures, others at bare operating cost, still others at "economic rents", and perhaps some at even more profitable levels. To date, however, this "ability to pay" structure does not appear to have been advertised explicitly to prospective lessees, in the hope of securing as much lease revenue as possible. Indeed, the stated minimum rental thus far has been an average of \$2 - \$2.50 per square foot, and the calculated estimate of a rental at direct operating cost, assuming a low maintenance level, is \$1.25 - \$1.50 per square foot.

Because of CMHC's reluctance to approve the project, the planning group sought to buttress its financial case by securing commitments for the rentable space to show firm evidence of anticipated rental income. The unavailability of those commitments continually produced great concern within the planning committees and the consultants. With the continued absence of leasing commitments, it was only when new amendments to the National Housing Act came in June 1973 that CMHC found the financial balance sheet to its satisfaction.

It took about eighteen months to secure approval for this novel financial approach. It required about one year to secure CMHC approval of the loan, and six months to get the approval and

support of MHRC. Moreover, about six months were consumed in getting zoning approval from the City of Winnipeg. Additional delays may yet be forthcoming in the final negotiation stages. The delays experienced were due in large part to the innovative nature of the design and funding concepts, which were both new approaches to these governmental agencies at that time. But there was also a series of particular circumstances that adversely affected the approval processes.

Very extensive consultations were required to explain the concepts and to get approval at both the administrative and political levels. At MHRC, the project seemed to have been caught in a period of internal changes and upheavals within the corporation. Changes were being made in leadership while some ideological questions of non-governmental ownership and parochial sponsorship required consideration by the Manitoba Cabinet. Final approval of the bulk lease and management arrangements was obtained in January 1973.

In the case of CMHC, the project was initially under the PIDGE experimental housing program. But it was proposed during a period of time when this agency was developing a new program under which the project eventually qualified. While regional staff had been receptive and helpful to the sponsors, lending officers in Ottawa had been unwilling to "bend the rules" to facilitate the unconventional elements of community space, despite the fact that the Minister had given the project his blessing. It was only when the new NHA amendments made the project appear "viable" that CMHC, in June 1973, gave its approval.

Similar kinds of delays were experienced in obtaining a rezoning of the site from the City of Winnipeg. Again the proposal seemed

to have approached the approval agency at a difficult time and the result was that the process took much longer than expected. At this time, the municipal administration was in the process of adapting to the transition from metro-city governments to the new Unicity system. Officials in the Planning Department, concerned that they were allowing some rezoning requests to pass as variations, became more cautious in the way they classified requests. Thus the St. Andrews proposal which, based on discussions with planning officials in the early part of 1972, was to have been treated as a zoning variance, instead had to undergo the full procedure and to require closer scrutiny of the design by city officials. Informal discussions had begun in the spring of 1972, and formal application submitted on January 19, 1973. Council finally adopted the zoning proposal on May 30, but third reading accompanied by final drawings and the formal signing of the zoning agreement between the City and the development corporation are still to come.

The net impact of these delays in receiving governmental approval was to complicate and place considerable stress on the planning process. Concurrent planning was greatly inhibited. The approval of one level of government depended in large measure on prior action by another level. Planning by the architects on an elaborated design and work by the lawyers on the incorporation was delayed a full year until approval was obtained, since before such approval, both were unwilling to invest much time.

A further effect was to make the process of lay involvement more difficult. All too often at meetings the group would become frustrated and lose hope and interest in the project. Because there was no news to report and because one step had to be completed before moving to the next, there was often

no reason for regular meetings. This resulted in loss of continuity and momentum in the planning of the complex, not only by community residents and congregation, but also by the technical consultants and the IUS coordinator who was responsible for making the planning process work.

In the summer of 1973, as amendments to the National Housing Act came into effect, the financial arrangement and loan terms for the St. Andrew's project became even more favourable. The loan for construction obtained from CMHC now falls under the provisions of the new Section 15-1 of the revised National Housing Act 1973. Unlike previous projects that could obtain funding for housing only, with provisions for a 90% loan with 10% equity, St. Andrew's will now have a 100% loan for all project costs (totalling \$1,889,645), including land. Moreover, 10% of the total is forgivable. This forgiveness feature in effect provides a government grant of \$188,965 for the construction of about 40% of the associated community, multi-purpose and recreational space, facilitates even lower rentals to providers of community services, and eliminates the need for an equity investment in the project.

What was to be the equity under the original arrangements--the land--will now in effect be transferred from the church to a "non share" development corporation that will develop and own St. Andrew's Place. The Church is selling the land to the corporation for \$127,000, its value as stated in the loan application. The church in turn is giving the purchase money back as a capital grant to the corporation to provide it with working capital. The considerable revenue generated from this increased working capital, based on the high return on investment (approximately 17%), will substantially improve the financial

picture for the St. Andrew's project. On the other hand, in the resubmission of the final loan application, CMHC is willing to entertain an increased amount due to delays, increased costs, etc. This resubmission is expected to show a rise in the project cost to substantially over \$2 million.

THE CORPORATE STRUCTURE

While St. Andrew's planning committees were able to carry out the initial planning of the project, the contractual, financial, and operating powers are to be vested in two non-share corporations. The first, St. Andrew's Place Inc., serves as the developer, signs contracts during construction of the project, and is responsible in the name of the United Church of Canada as owner of the complex. It has eight directors with the Pastor of St. Andrew's serving ex officio. Seven of the eight directors are selected from the congregation while the eighth is an appointee of the Presbytery of the United Church.

This development corporation will then delegate the management function to a second corporation -- St. Andrew's Place (Management) Inc.. The management corporation will be composed of eighteen

members: one third non-congregation residents of Urban Renewal Area II, one third members of the St. Andrew's congregation, one sixth Presbytery appointees, and one sixth appointees of the six non-congregation members. Operating authority is vested in a five person board of directors: two non-congregation residents of the area, two congregation members, and one Presbytery appointee.

As the composition of this management corporation shows, steps have been taken to ensure that the interests of all constituency groups are given formal representation. Including community representatives on the board is consistent with the community based planning approach that was attempted and employed to some degree in project planning. As important as having a say in the kind of building that is built is having a say in how it is run. Accordingly the community will be represented directly by residents and indirectly through their appointees. The representation of the congregation and Presbytery provides a say to church planners who have played a strong role in developing the project.

Several steps remain before St. Andrew's Place becomes a reality:

1. preparation of final working drawings (winter 1973-74)
2. calling for tenders (February 1974)
3. signing of zoning agreement with the City of Winnipeg (March 1974)
4. resubmission of loan application (containing actual costs) to CMHC (March 1974)
5. letting of contracts (March 1974)
6. commencing construction (April 1974).

Once the tenders are in and let, and true costs are determined, final negotiations will take place with MHRC on the bulk lease and with CMHC on the loan figure. The development corporation will sign the tendered contracts and thereafter establish the management corporation. Once the complex begins to rise in the spring, efforts will be taken to encourage community interest in membership on the management board. This will be done through a publicity program and a series of public meetings, through which community representatives for the board are expected to emerge.

The management corporation then will be able to delegate certain functions to committees working under its direction and supervision. These committees will be responsible for the management of the elderly persons housing, the operation of community space, social programming and attendance to other needs as they arise. In addition, it is expected that, in the summer of 1974, the corporation will hire a professional manager to undertake responsibilities for community information, social programming, and administration. It is in this period that the personal and working relationships between lay community people and professionals will be forged. The nature of those relationships will in large measure determine the extent to which the St. Andrew's project becomes a "people's place".

CONCLUSION

The St. Andrew's project has demonstrated the ability of a church leadership to redefine the role its church plays in an inner city neighbourhood. With the guidance, technical assistance and negotiating support of the Institute of Urban Studies, the United Church's Research and Planning Council and architectural and legal consultants, the church accepted a challenging community based redevelopment concept and adopted a broad-based planning and negotiation procedure. The process taxed the patience and confidence of its congregation and other lay participants. Going beyond its original disposition, the church consulted community groups, involved them in the planning, and is providing them with substantial authority in the management and use of the complex.

Although the final project itself resembles the original concept, it was determined more by what was seen to be feasible than by what the plan originally called for. Government policy biases and funding constraints, the feasibility evaluations of the architectural consultants, and the congregation's predilections largely determined the decisions on the kind and amount of housing. The involvement and presumed location of specific community groups and agencies also determined the kind of community services and spaces included in the project.

Securing government approval of the financial arrangements and of the project design itself proved to be a trying experience. An unusually large degree of fiscal imagination was required at the time, because existing legislation and funding provisions were insufficient to achieve the mix of functions and facilities deemed essential for both the project and the wider community. It showed how difficult it is to develop an innovative mix of housing and other facilities when government policy, and its approval agencies in general, are not yet geared for such innovation.

One notable bright spot, however, was the assistance of CMHC's social development group at the branch office in Winnipeg. During the long negotiations on the project, MHRC has also shown signs of taking a more flexible and imaginative approach, particularly resulting in their acceptance of the bulk lease and rent subsidy arrangements. But, on the other hand, it certainly appears that at key intermediate and upper levels of both government corporations, a rigidity and insensitivity continues to exist toward innovative solutions of local sponsor groups. The major problem of gaining approval and financing for projects that attempt to merge several programs and that cross administrative jurisdictions still remains to be solved.

Particularly at this time, when bureaucracies at all levels of government are preparing to administer the new amendments to the National Housing Act, especially the neighbourhood improvement and new communities programs, skilled staff assistance and administrative flexibility is even more critical. The additional element of bureaucratic risk-taking is also needed to encourage the many innovative local responses required to test and broaden the new legislation.

CMHC and other federal and provincial agencies will have to ensure that they can produce the kind of on-the-spot staff that can work successfully with non-profit and other sponsor groups on comprehensive and untraditional projects. These local staff members must be granted considerable decision-making authority to encourage and approve very tangible forms of support for the experimental proposals of competent local groups. In a fundamental sense, therefore, these large governmental bureaucracies should decentralize their administrative power, simplify their procedural requirements, and dispense more and larger grants for the formulation and study of new concepts by community organizations.

The desirability of developing appropriate government staff should not obscure, however, the necessity of providing non-profit sponsor groups with the ability to retain outside professionals to assist and serve the groups' interests. Efforts should be taken, therefore, to develop and finance in all major cities a resource pool of skilled and change-oriented technicians, dedicated to the full exploration and analysis of all planning alternatives and the advocacy and implementation of a project after decision by the sponsor group. Needless to say, the members of this pool must be skilled both in their areas of expertise and in working with community groups and agencies.

The innovative financial arrangements developed for St. Andrew's highlights the desirability and, in fact, the economic necessity of applying a wide range of governmental subsidies to community-based non-profit projects. Hopefully, MHRC's application of its public housing rent subsidy scheme to a non-profit project is a breakthrough in this respect. Similarly, it is

hoped that MHRC's acceptance of the bulk lease arrangement will open the door to even more imaginative combinations of community functions and facilities. As a result of such innovations, the entire question of "public housing" might be reopened and alternative approaches explored and tested.

The church, by asserting its faith in the future of the area, hopes to serve as a catalyst that may result in further physical and social redevelopment efforts by other public and private agencies. Already discussions by citizen groups and other organizations about planning in the area are anchored to the St. Andrew's project as a focal point. The government's new Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) may well provide the framework within which St. Andrew's Place can serve as both a stimulus and a headquarters for community planning for the area. But neither the St. Andrew's project nor NIP is a panacea. Many of the same problems experienced in this project will reappear and become even more complex in a larger framework. Particularly troublesome, of course, will be the defining and organizing of resident participation. While the legislation sees the participation of residents as a "very important factor,...it is the provincial and local authorities who determine the most effective means for ensuring such participation".

Those existing neighbourhood self-help groups that were enlisted and that stayed with the slow planning process in the St. Andrew's project exerted influence on the allocation of space for their particular services. They will probably exert substantial influence over the manner in which the community and multi-purpose spaces are used in the future. However, the difficulties of broadening community participation and involving new lay individuals in such a difficult planning process must not be

overlooked. The one thing the St. Andrew's effort does indicate in this respect is the need for increased operational research and experimentation in more efficient methods of broadening and deepening community involvement.



RESIDENT BEHAVIOUR AND
RESIDENTIAL BLOCK DESIGN:
THE ARLINGTON-EVANSON PROJECT

Eric J. Barker / Nancy J. O'Brien

INTRODUCTION

The intent of this report is to present a physical and social analysis of a block of seventeen houses and derive design recommendations based on that analysis. The residents of these houses requested assistance in developing a proposal to submit to the Province of Manitoba in the hope of purchasing the houses from the government. The Institute of Urban Studies (IUS), University of Winnipeg, in collaboration with the Company of Young Canadians (CYC), is assisting the residents in the development of their proposal by conducting an extensive study of their residential environment, their attitudes toward it, and their actual use of it.

The block of seventeen houses analyzed in this report is located in Wolseley, an area in west central Winnipeg bounded by Portage Avenue, Sherbrook Street, the Assiniboine River and Raglan Street (see map, page 6). It covers an area of 0.6 square miles and has a population of 12,915 people.¹ Wolseley is located close to downtown but, at the same time, is a well-treed, quiet residential area with good schools and easy access to both convenience and bulk shopping areas. In some areas, it is deficient in open park and recreation space. The

1. Statistics Canada, 1971 Census, Winnipeg.

residential structures, most of wood frame construction, vary from one storey bungalows to two and two and one-half storey houses. They are sited on lots whose average size is approximately 30' x 100', with rear lane access.

The Arlington-Evanson Block (see Figure 1)

The seventeen "Arlington-Evanson" houses are located in a block bounded by a paved lane adjacent to the old Grace Hospital, Evanson Street, another paved lane backing houses and commercial buildings facing Westminster Avenue, and Arlington Street. The block is bisected by a paved lane running north-south. There are twenty 31.25' x 78.25' lots in the block. Two of the properties on Arlington are privately owned. The government owns the remaining eighteen of the twenty lots, containing seventeen houses and a vacant lot.

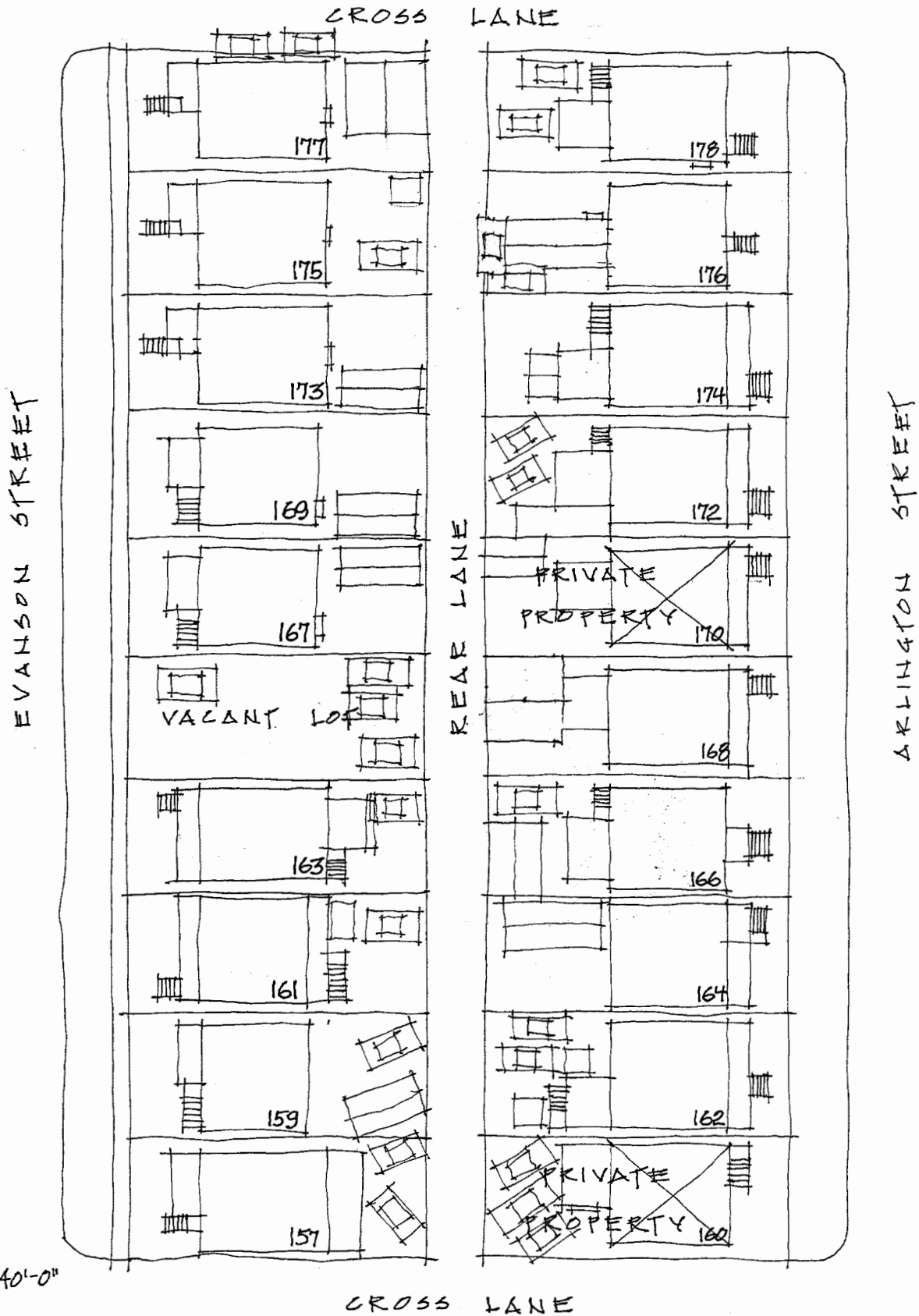
The seventeen houses vary in size. There are:

six 1 storey, 2 bedroom bungalows of ± 750 sq. ft.,
 five 2 storey, 3 bedroom houses of ± 1400 sq. ft., and
 six 2½ storey, 5 bedroom houses of ± 1900 sq. ft.

The houses were built around 1920, with all but two being wood frame. The houses are in fair to good condition, with generally sound foundations. Twelve of the seventeen have garages.

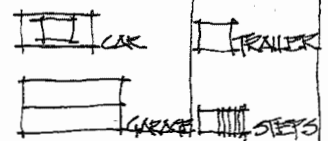
The Arlington-Evanson block is different from the surrounding neighbourhood in that:

- most of the housing is 2 to 2½ storey as opposed to 1 storey,
- the 31' x 78' lot size is smaller than usual, and
- most of the adjacent blocks do not have vacant lots.



SCALE: 1" = 40'-0"

Figure 1. PLAN of EXISTING BLOCK of HOUSES



The block is located in the middle of census tract #17² and has similar social characteristics to it. But, the tract is different in a number of respects from the Winnipeg average. Physically, the tract is a mixture of single family detached houses and apartments, two thirds of which are tenant occupied. The population is heterogeneous in both household type and ethnic origin and has dropped since the 1966 Census. It is a mixture of families with fewer children, more families with boarders, more single person households, smaller households, and more young adults and elderly persons than the Winnipeg average.

In the Arlington-Evanson block, there are fourteen family and five single person households.³ Nine of the fourteen families have a total of twenty-three children, eighteen of whom are under eleven years of age. This is an average of 1.6 children per family which is above the average for the surrounding area.

There is a larger proportion of young adults and elderly people living in the block than the average of the surrounding community. Of the nineteen principal residents, seven are under thirty years of age, six are between thirty-one and fifty, and the remaining six are over fifty years of age. Four of the houses contain fourteen boarders whose average age is under forty years. Fourteen of eighteen households earn less than \$7,000 per year which has been used as the low-income ceiling.⁴

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2. The boundaries of census tract #17 are Portage, Canora, the Assiniboine River and Aubrey.
 3. CYC Evaluation, "Household Characteristics Questionnaire", June 8, 1973.
 4. Michael Dennis and Susan Fish, Programs in Search of a Policy: Low Income Housing in Canada. Hakkert, Toronto, 1972, page 37.

History

Prior to 1970, the Arlington-Evanson houses had been purchased by the Salvation Army for projected expansion of its old Grace Hospital complex. In 1970, the Provincial Department of Public Works (DPW) purchased the hospital property, including the seventeen houses. DPW then appointed a rental agent to manage the houses, and to rent them to low income occupants for \$67 to \$100 a month without lease.

Between 1970 and 1972, the old Grace Hospital and the adjacent houses were the subject of local controversy. The government had suggested that the hospital might be used, in part, for an alcohol and/or drug rehabilitation centre. The area residents opposed this vehemently. They also expressed their concern about the "welfare" occupants of the houses and the poor maintenance of the houses in the block. The future of the houses and their occupants was uncertain.

In 1972, DPW requested that the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC) study the feasibility of purchasing the houses with a view either of using them for low rental housing or demolishing them and redeveloping. MHRC's conclusion was that the "dwellings appear to be structurally sound with most having masonry foundations in good condition", although some units might have to be renovated. The renovation cost was estimated to be \$7,000 to \$8,000 per unit. MHRC's economic assessment indicated that "the present use of the land for two family, three family and rooming house dwellings is most likely the highest and best use"⁵ of the block.

5. Memo to H. N. Dubovitz, Secretary to the Board of MHRC from P. Diamant, Architect, re: "Housing Units Purchased with Grace Hospital", May 29, 1972.

In August of 1972, a more detailed assessment by MHRC of the renovation costs for the seventeen houses indicated an average per house cost of \$8,300. The estimate was based on total renovation of the houses, including reorganization of the interior and upgrading to present code standards.

In February 1973, the Company of Young Canadians (CYC) became interested in the houses and the plight of the residents. CYC, which offers resource assistance to communities, studied the possibility of involving itself with the residents in developing some form of housing project. CYC decided to offer its assistance to the residents as there seemed to be appropriate provision for such a project in the then proposed amendments to the National Housing Act (NHA). Other resource assistance seemed available from government, the universities and the private sector.

The residents showed interest and, in a series of meetings with CYC staff and others, financing, organization and site planning issues were discussed. The residents submitted a request to CYC for the assistance of one resource person for a year to help conduct a feasibility study and prepare a housing proposal to be submitted to the Provincial Government. Once an agreement had been reached with CYC, the residents formed into subcommittees, as part of a total Working Committee, to study the project in detail. These subcommittees were to work in the areas of renovation and land planning, organization, and finance.

In undertaking this task, the objectives of the residents were:

- to gain security of tenure, as the houses were being rented on a monthly basis and the government appeared to want to sell the houses;
- to control the cost of their housing;
- to remain in the area which they enjoy; and
- to improve their living environment.

To facilitate these goals, the residents wished to develop a proposal as a group that basically would entail transferring ownership of the houses, in some form, from the government to the residents.

The residents first engaged the assistance of CYC, and subsequently the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, to help prepare this proposal. After a number of meetings with IUS staff, the chairman of the Working Committee sent a formal letter to IUS in June, 1973, asking for assistance in preparing a "land-use study and to help us prepare final plans for the use of the land". This study was carried out in the last two weeks of June.

In July, an agreement was reached with DPW and MHRC that, as far as possible, they would assist the residents to develop a proposal and await its receipt before taking any action concerning the property. The property would remain under the jurisdiction of DPW but would be transferred quickly to MHRC if a favourable proposal was submitted. It would then be the responsibility of MHRC to implement the scheme with the residents.

The Institute became involved in the Arlington-Evanson project for the following reasons:

1. It is the mandate and experience of IUS staff to assist low income persons in inner city areas in dealing with their housing problems.
2. It seemed to offer an opportunity to experiment, to some degree, with the rehabilitation of an older, rapidly deteriorating residential block, typical of many existing "fringe" inner city residential areas, with hope of reinforcing its positive features by maintaining the physical and social fabric of the neighbourhood.

3. IUS was interested in assisting the residents determine for themselves the form, quality, and management of their residential environment.
4. It offered an opportunity to experiment with research methods of gaining a better insight into the residents' concerns and use of the block in a form easily translated into physical improvements.

Basically, IUS offered to help the residents:

1. to develop a design proposal for the open space around the houses based on research into resident concerns and the actual use of the block;
2. to determine the current cost of renovating the houses up to building code standards and to the satisfaction of the residents; and
3. to work with the residents in developing a final proposal to submit to the provincial government and assist residents in the implementation of the project.

As a first step, IUS researchers developed a particular form of research study to gain the information necessary on which to base their design proposals to the residents.

THE STUDY

Research Objectives

The specific research goals of this study are:

1. to explore methods of gathering, analyzing and translating data on the reactions of users to their residential living environment. ("Residential living environment" includes primarily the housing units and the open spaces surrounding the units in the form of yard areas, sidewalks, boulevards, streets and lanes.)
2. to identify, describe and measure physical and social factors that are contributing to the residents' satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their living environment. In addition, the intent is to describe and measure the relationship between these variables.
3. to suggest ways and means that the physical environment may be altered to render it more supportive of the needs of the residents on the block in particular and in the surrounding neighbourhood in general.
4. to develop hypotheses concerning the impact of the physical design changes on the behaviour of the residents on the block.

The study and the design proposals will be presented to the residents. A comparative analysis of the proposals and the design changes finally accepted by the residents will be

made. The validity of the hypotheses or assumptions on which the physical design changes were based will be tested as well, in the event they are implemented.

Research Methods and Techniques

It was decided that the research into resident needs should be largely inductive in its approach. It was determined to begin without first formulating precise hypotheses about what would be discovered and why.

Basic data was collected through a survey of existing community facilities, a review of available data on the socio-economic characteristics of the surrounding community (1971 Census Report), and a review of past and present management and administrative policies governing the block.

Two basic research techniques were used:

1. Structured interviews with residents living in the seventeen Arlington-Evanson houses.
2. Systematic observation, using photography, of the demonstrated actions of block residents and residents of the surrounding neighbourhood over a period of time.

An integral part of this process was having the persons who would eventually develop the physical design proposal collect this information. This would not only provide a heightened sensitivity for the researcher/designer to the dynamics of the area, but would also enable the designer/researcher to better translate the recorded data into physical form. In this way, research findings would be directly linked to project design.

Interview Format and Analysis: The interviews with residents sought to assess their verbal perceptions of their immediate living environment and surrounding neighbourhood. The attempt was made to discover what features of the existing physical environment residents liked and disliked, to identify major issues of concern to the residents, and to discover what physical changes, if any, they would like to see take place on the block.

A total of seventeen interviews were conducted over a two week period in June, 1973. Effort was made to interview people living in every house on the block. Fourteen of the interviews were with people living in houses owned by the government, and three with people living in the two privately owned houses on the block. Three refusals were received from people living in houses owned by the government. In one case the family was moving out of the city, and in the other two cases, the people were not interested. In addition to the formal interviews, casual discussions with residents took place on other occasions.

The first section of the interview consisted of an open ended question concerning residents' likes and dislikes in their immediate living environment and surrounding neighbourhood. It was designed to illicit the voluntary and spontaneous comments of the residents, as this was thought to be an effective way of identifying the major issues of concern related to the environment, rather than having the researchers making a priori judgements as to what environmental factors were most important to them. After this, photographs taken of the surrounding area and houses were shown to the respondents in order to illicit more detailed responses to comments already made and to serve as a memory "trigger" for things they might have forgotten to mention. The results of the open ended questions were analyzed

in terms of relative frequency of mention for the entire sample of residents.

The next section of the interview consisted of certain direct questions concerning residents' attitudes toward existing facilities such as public transportation, shopping, recreation and schools, if these items had not been mentioned earlier in the interview. People were also asked why they had moved to their present home, how long they anticipated staying and how it compared to their previous dwelling.

Effort was made to identify and describe the social interaction patterns of the residents. During the interview, residents were shown a map of the area (1/4 mile radius of the block) and asked to indicate "friends" and "acquaintances" on the map. Residents were also asked how they had met these people, and where interactions generally took place. Individual maps were analyzed, and a composite map drawn showing the social interaction patterns of the entire block of residents. The final map indicated where most adult interaction took place i.e., street, back yards, and the average number of "friends" and "acquaintances". These maps were then compared to activity maps generated through the observations.

The last section of the interview included a list of eight physical environmental items related to the block that were believed to be of concern to the residents. They were asked to list the items in order of their importance. In analyzing the data, weights were assigned to each item, in order to establish the relative importance of each item or clusters of items across the whole sample.

Systematic Observation of Public and Private Open Spaces: People are not always able to verbalize their concerns, and, in fact, may not even be aware of the sources of "fit" and "misfit" in the physical environment. As a result, it was felt that systematic observation of the residents' actual use of the environment, over time, would be a valuable source of information. In this way, information would be obtained about which spaces were used most and least, for what activities, by whom, how often, and for how long.

There were essentially two types of systematic observation used: a mobile route and a stationary post. A mobile route is a pre-determined path over the entire area to be observed, in order to discover what is happening where and by whom. The observer moves along this path within a certain time frame, and repeats the movement at different times of the day and during different days of the week. The researcher keeps moving to cover the block in a specific period of time and to avoid interfering with the activity. Stops are made only to photograph activity. The detailed nature of duration of the activity over time is not noted.

In this case a route was mapped which covered every part of the block (streets, lanes, yards, etc.) from two directions, from close and long range. The route time calculated was twenty-five minutes. Consistent route times are important to compare activity observed in like time frames.

Camera shots were planned to give complete coverage of the block and were repeated for each route. Beyond the planned general shots of the streets, lanes, vacant lot, etc., shots were taken in other locations as activity occurred. If no shots were taken, it meant that there was no activity.

Preliminary observation was then carried out over a number of days to determine "peak" periods of use. Table 1, compares the proposed schedule of route times drawn up to coincide with these peak periods on various days of the week and on the weekend, with the actual number and schedule of routes used in the research.

Table 1. Proposed and Actual Mobile Routes.

Proposed	Actual	Number of routes
Anticipated Activity		
Weekday		
8:00- 9:00 A.M. - off to school and work		
11:00-12:00 Noon - mother's and small children		
12:01- 1:30 P.M. - home from school and work	12:45- 1:30 P.M. - four	
3:00- 5:00 P.M. - adults relax, children's play	3:00- 5:00 P.M. - four	
7:00- 8:00 P.M. - adults relax, children's play	7:15- 9:15 P.M. - two	
Weekend		
11:00 A.M. - 1:00 P.M. - children's play	11:15 A.M. - 12:30 P.M.	- two
3:00- 5:00 P.M. - adult relax and children's play	3:00- 4:30 P.M. - two	
7:00- 9:00 P.M. - adult relaxation	7:30- 8:30 P.M. - one	

The intended early morning routes were dropped as the nature of activity was often leaving the house on the way to school or work. This information was better collected from the stationary post, as it provided a general overview of the whole block, while routes were geared to specific activities and locations. The late morning route was dropped because of a low activity level. This activity again was captured by the stationary post method. The noon, afternoon and evening routes were particularly useful and obtained the most information. The weekend data was collected on Saturday, as Sunday was often very quiet. It would have been desirable to have done more evening routes as it was an active period. Weather, on the other hand, prevented some observation as it tended to discourage much outdoor activity. It is important in scheduling the routes to cover high activity periods of all age groups with an equal number of routes to gather a representative sample.

Observation from a stationary post means simply to observe, unseen, an activity or activities from one place over time. It is accomplished by selecting an unobtrusive hiding spot in a car or on top of a building and using a camera with telescopic and wide-angle lenses to record the activity. The intent of this approach is to determine the detailed nature and duration of this activity. Observation can be at the small scale of observing a singular activity, e.g., a child playing in sand, or at a larger scale of observing a set of activities, e.g., pedestrian and vehicular movement.

The small-scale observation provides the designer with a better understanding of the nature of an activity enabling him/her to better accommodate it in the design. Large-scale observation provides information on the direction and intensity of movement as an activity. Table 2 indicates the schedule of stationary post observations.

Table 2. Stationary Post Observation.

	Number of Observations
Weekday	
8:15 A.M. - 9:00 A.M.	three
12:00 Noon - 12:45 P.M.	six
3:30 P.M. - 4:45 P.M.	four
Weekend	
10:45 A.M. - 11:00 A.M.	two
3:45 P.M. - 4:19 P.M.	one

Both small- and large-scale observations were carried out from the roof of the adjacent six-storey former hospital as it offered a complete view of the block and streets, and was unobtrusive. Singular activity observation on the ground level was difficult without interfering with the activity and was not stressed. Pedestrian and vehicular traffic counts were kept on a plan of the block in addition to recording movement with the camera.

Data Processing: The film of both the routes and stationary post observations were developed on contact sheets. The prints and negatives were then catalogued in individual envelopes with the roll number, data, type of data, time, weather, etc. First, each set of contact prints for a specific observation were studied and each activity and its participants were transferred, using a symbol system, onto a plan of the block (see Figure 2). These maps were then grouped according to time period (e.g., all 12:40 P.M. - 1:30 P.M. maps) and an aggregate map made for each.

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But, this process yielded information that was too fragmented, making comprehension and analysis difficult. As a result, single maps of all activity according to a specific age group over all the time periods were made. The age groups were:

- pre-schoolers (ages 1-4)
- school age children (5-19)
- adults (20-over).

The area in which the activity took place was outlined on the maps and shaded from light to dark, indicating activity noticed only once to activity repeated several times. In addition, the maps specified the nature of the activity and the participants. Pedestrian movements were also indicated.

Data Analysis: In analyzing this data, the total number of activity units for each age group and the number of participants in each activity group were determined and broken down according to location in the block, i.e., front yard, rear yard, vacant lot, lane, boulevard or street. An activity unit is simply every instance of activity that was observed, regardless of the type or repetition of activity. Using this technique, the most and least used areas on the site were determined.

Each area on the site (e.g., front yard, rear yard) was then studied and the types and specific locations of activities were listed. Activity types that were repeated more than once were rated as to the degree of repetition indicating their order of popularity. The most popular activities constituted the priorities for reinforcement in the design proposals developed for each area.

The activity group sizes for each area on the site and for each type of activity were recorded. These data were used to determine the approximate allocation of space required for each activity type in the design proposal.

Each activity type was then analyzed to determine what supportive physical or social factors seemed to encourage or discourage it. The maps of the different age groups were compared to study the dynamics of the various groups acting together.

The last step in the process was the merging of the results of the observations and the interview data in an attempt to draw conclusions about behaviour "patterns". The observations were intended to show what people actually did and the interviews would lend insight into why they were doing it, what difficulties they encountered in executing the activities, and what they would like to be able to do that they could not at that time. These results are the basis for the following section, Research Findings and Design Proposals.

The interview data on residents' likes and dislikes, interaction patterns and general views of themselves as part of the block were compared against the analysis of the activity patterns observed. The interview data would often explain an observed activity e.g., porch or step sitting, better enabling the designer to accommodate it. The likes/dislikes and desires expressed by residents would often corroborate or clarify observed activity, e.g., complaints of noise by residents adjacent to an observed heavy play area, or the desire for more private open space despite observed heavy adult use of rear yards. The adult interaction maps were useful in further reinforcing the data on rear yards and identifying the need for meeting in public open space, adjacent to the rear yards. In a number of cases, the resident concerns revealed new data not observed, e.g., the concern of residents on Arlington about the lack of a sidewalk. At times, the interview data would strengthen the need to accommodate an activity which appeared from observation to be unimportant, e.g., adult maintenance of front yards for "display" purposes. Integrated with this process was establishing the assumptions and design requirements upon which the proposals were based.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DESIGN PROPOSALS

The research findings and design proposals are discussed within the physical framework of the existing block:

- Streets (Arlington and Evanson between the north and south cross lanes).
- Boulevards and Sidewalks (on Arlington and Evanson between the cross lanes).
- The Vacant Lot (165 Evanson Street).
- Lanes (rear lane and north-south cross lanes).
- Rear Yards of houses.
- Front and Side Yards of houses.

Streets

Figure 3 illustrates observed activity and movement patterns in these areas. Traffic counts show that Arlington has between four and eight times the vehicular traffic of Evanson during both peak and non-peak hours. Arlington is, in fact, a major north-south traffic artery with traffic lights at Portage Avenue, while Evanson Street provides merely residential access. Both streets have stop signs at Westminster which control traffic speed to some extent. The approximate average speed on Arlington, in the study block, is twenty to twenty-five miles per hour and about twenty miles per hour on Evanson.

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Evanson is more heavily used by children than Arlington. In fact, no children's play activity was observed on Arlington, while 10% of all school-age activity took place on Evanson Street. This is due to three main reasons. First, the heavy traffic on Arlington frequently interrupted children's play and caused parents to forbid them to play there. In resident interviews, reduced traffic speed and volume was listed as one of the four most important concerns. This was particularly the case with the residents living on Arlington, who also complained about the noise and dust created by the heavy traffic. Second, Evanson is used by the school age children as a route to and from school. The vacant lot on Evanson offers a circulation link between the rear lane and the street, reinforcing play in both areas while there is no such link to Arlington. Lastly, there are more children living on Evanson than Arlington. It was observed that children tend to play nearby their home, and this regular, on going, activity acted as a magnet to other children from Arlington.

Active play seems to occur in the street because of its main characteristics, i.e., its relatively constant activity (cars and people), which further attracts active play, and its continuous; hard, flat surface. Most active play on the street was by boys, the forms of activity ranging from "kicking the ball", badminton, bicycle riding and simply meeting (see Figure 3). Although the traffic volume on Evanson is low, the residents complained about the speed of cars and perceived them as a danger to children playing. Adult activity in the street was limited to a couple of instances of car washing or repairs.

There was extensive on-street parking on both Arlington and Evanson, which made it difficult for residents or their guests to park near their houses. During the day, this was caused by employees of offices in the old Grace Hospital, who found it easier to park on the street than in their lot at Preston and

Evanson. A number of occupants of the Arlington-Evanson block and neighbouring houses, who were without parking spaces at the rear of their homes, would park on the street overnight. Residents with space at the rear of their houses would use it at night, although during the day they often left their cars on the street for convenience.

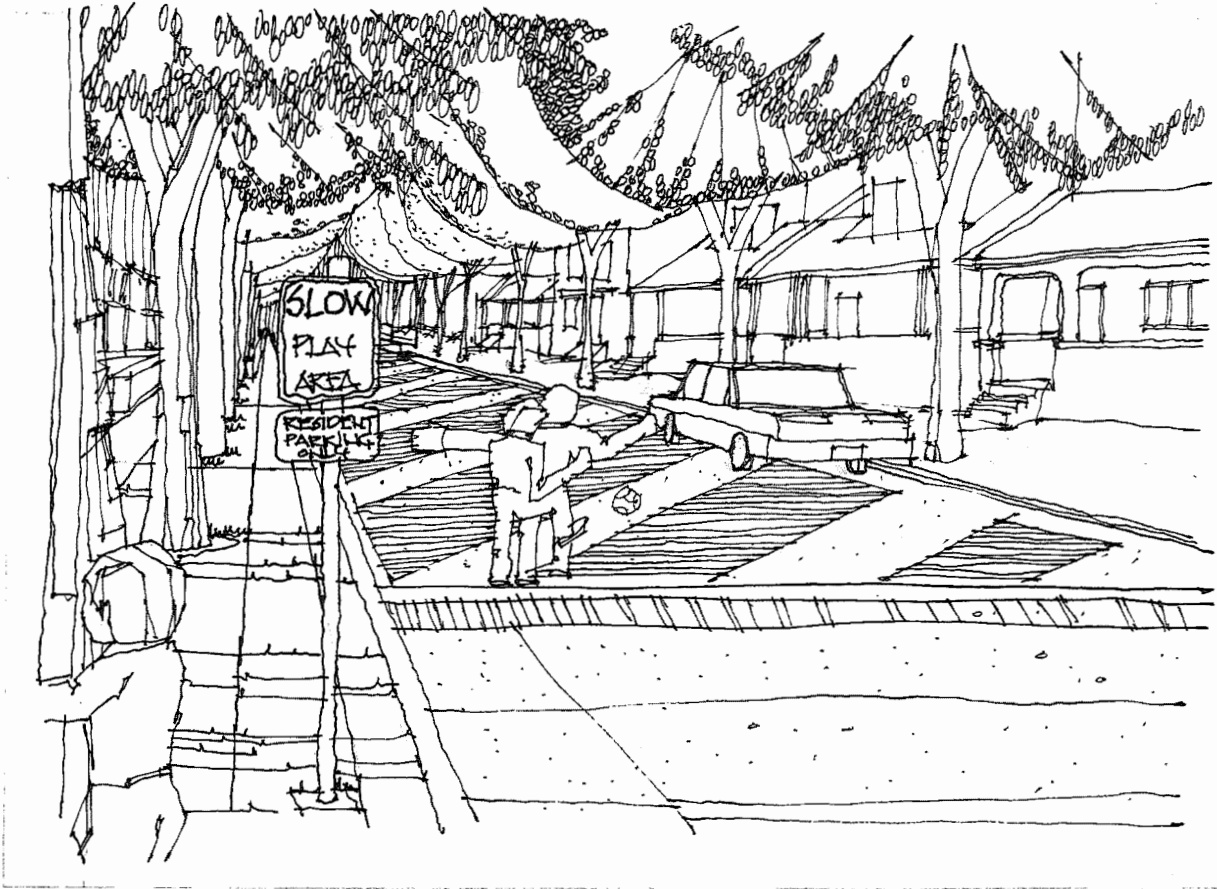
We assumed the present play activity observed on Evanson would continue and could not be feasibly curtailed, since an alternative area cannot be provided with similar characteristics, i.e., a hard, flat, wide and continuous surface, and regular activity. Observation and another study⁶ have shown that it is difficult to alter established play patterns if a viable alternative cannot be offered. In addition, children use the total residential environment, of which the street is a part, for play. They will not be limited to one designated area that provides a limited range of play opportunities.

Figure 4 illustrates the design proposal for this area. We propose that part of Evanson be designated as an occasional play area and that "resident only" parking spaces on both Arlington and Evanson be established. The main objective of this proposal is to create a safe play area accommodating existing play activities but not to encourage more extensive play activity in the street. The area should be supervisable (visually and physically) from front yards and houses. The types of play to be accommodated are "catch", kicking the ball, street hockey and football.

Therefore, 150 feet of Evanson, located 80 feet from the north and south cross lanes, should be designated as a play area. The

6. N. J. O'Brien, A Comparative Behavioural Study of Row Housing Developments, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, October, 1972. (unpublished manuscript).

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area should be painted with bright yellow caution stripes (either placed diagonally, as shown in Figure 4, or at five yard intervals perpendicular to the curb). The area should also be defined at both ends by 6 inch high, rounded, pre-cast concrete "humps" placed across the full width of the street. The caution stripes, humps and accompanying warning signs will slow traffic on Evanson, creating a safe play situation.

This painted area on Evanson will also designate a "resident only" parking area. A "resident only" parking area should also be designated on Arlington.

Boulevards and Sidewalks

Figure 5 illustrates observed activity and movement patterns. Thirty per cent of all school age activity and fifteen per cent of all pre-school activity took place on the boulevards and sidewalks of Arlington and Evanson. The school age activity took place in groups of two or three and ranged from active games such as kicking the ball and badminton to more passive activities such as marbles, "red light-green light", "house" and simply socializing (see Figure 5). Pre-school activity involved one or two children riding tricycles, exploring or just watching the "big kids" play. The only adult activity observed on the boulevards/sidewalks was walking.

The boulevards and sidewalks encourage children's play because they are common territory, are not under the control of private property owners and allow grouping of children. Also, they are continuous and link the houses, offer a clear view of activity up and down the street, and are flat with both hard and soft surfaces. The trees provide shade, shelter and create interest. In addition, because they are directly in front of the houses, they allow for easy supervision by the parents.

An interesting observation made was that school age grouping took place almost exclusively at both ends of the boulevards at the intersection of the cross lanes and streets. The reason seemed to be the multi-directional view and the potential for meeting offered at an intersection of pedestrian and vehicular paths.

Similar to the streets themselves, the boulevards and sidewalks along Evanson were used far more heavily than those along Arlington. Twelve school age activity units were observed on Evanson and

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only one on Arlington. The ratio of pre-school play was four to one. The reasons cited in the previous section for heavier play on Evanson would also explain the more intense use of the Evanson boulevard-- traffic on Arlington, the vacant lot linking the rear lane and Evanson, and the greater number of children living on Evanson. But, in addition, it seems boulevard/sidewalk activity is linked to street activity. Where no barrier exists, they seem to flow together and overlap. On Arlington, cars are parked adjacent to the boulevard which restricts movement between the boulevard and the street, whereas on Evanson cars are parked on the opposite side of the street. Finally, there is no concrete sidewalk on the Arlington boulevard (see Figure 5). From the observations and from other studies,⁷ it is clear that the hard, flat, continuous surface of the sidewalk encourages certain forms of play, e.g., bicycle riding, hopscotch, and ball play. This would also explain the limited use of the western boulevard on Evanson which has no sidewalk.

The majority of children's play occurred on the southern half of the boulevard on Evanson. The children on Arlington, on the other hand, played in mid-block, adjacent to their homes using the porches, steps, and front and side yards more than the boulevard. The play on the southern half of Evanson was a function of the use of the vacant lot as a route to school, the proximity to the stores on Westminster and the greater number of children living at the southern end of the block.

Although residents indicated that the lack of children's play facilities was one of their greatest concerns, the heavy use of Evanson as a play area was also of concern to the residents. Residents living on the south side of the vacant lot on Evanson complained of children walking across their front lawns and

7. N. J. O'Brien, op. cit.

damaging the grass and flower beds. Their yards were not bordered by hedges or fences, and it was observed that the children at play, or going to and from school, cut diagonally across the vacant lot and continued across the resident's yard. Other complaints were received from other residents regarding the poor appearance of worn grass caused by children.

People with children, on both streets, did not complain of noise from children's play; they seemed to expect it. Five people on Evanson Street, all without children, complained of noise, particularly on weekend mornings. People without children living on Arlington Street, where there were fewer children, did not object to the noise generated by children's playing.

In the absence of a sidewalk on Arlington Street, a dirt path had been created by pedestrians walking up and down the street. It was observed that when the path was wet and muddy, they moved off the path onto the grass of private yards. This was seen by the residents as an invasion of their private territory. All residents interviewed on Arlington, except one, complained about not having a paved sidewalk and the resultant damage to their lawns. Repeated attempts to replace worn grass had been thwarted by the continuous pedestrian traffic. Residents wanted a sidewalk "like the people have on the other side" of the street. They seemed to feel they had been slighted in some way and that the residents opposite were privileged. The sidewalk defined public from private territory.

We assumed the boulevard/sidewalk on Evanson would continue to function as a desirable play area for children, and that it would not be difficult to reinforce play on Evanson while discouraging it on Arlington. As well, it should be possible to spread children's play over a larger area and minimize concentrations and interference to occupants of adjacent houses.

Figure 6 illustrates the design proposal for the boulevards and sidewalks of the block. Regarding the boulevard/sidewalk of Evanson, we propose the development of a pre-school and school-age children's play area with some provision for adult relaxation. The objectives for the suggested improvements to the Evanson boulevard are:

1. To encourage and reinforce children's play activity to the degree that it attracts and provides facilities for children from Arlington as well as Evanson. The play activities to be accommodated are marbles by groups of two to four, "house" by groups of two to four, small scale active games played by two children (badminton, catch, etc.), grouping and talking by groups of three to six, bicycle and tricycle riding, pre-school "mud" and sand play in groups of one to three, hopscotch, and "red light-green light";
2. To minimize interference among the children's play areas and between the play areas and the houses;
3. To provide play facilities that are relatively safe from danger;
4. To provide space for adult relaxation; and
5. To maintain a visually pleasant boulevard.

The boulevard from the vacant lot south should be paved in a hard surface material different in texture from the concrete sidewalk, e.g., brick pavers. The hard surface will better accommodate some of the activity in this heavy play area and maintain the appearance of the boulevard. The differing textures are intended to distinguish play area from pedestrian surface to minimize interference.

A 10' x 10' bare earth patch should be located in the southern half of the boulevard for marble play and pre-school mud and sand play. This area would be flanked on either side by wood posts, 1'6" to 2'6" high, ranging in diameter from 10" to 20", to act as seats and to provide a barrier against interfering forms of play.

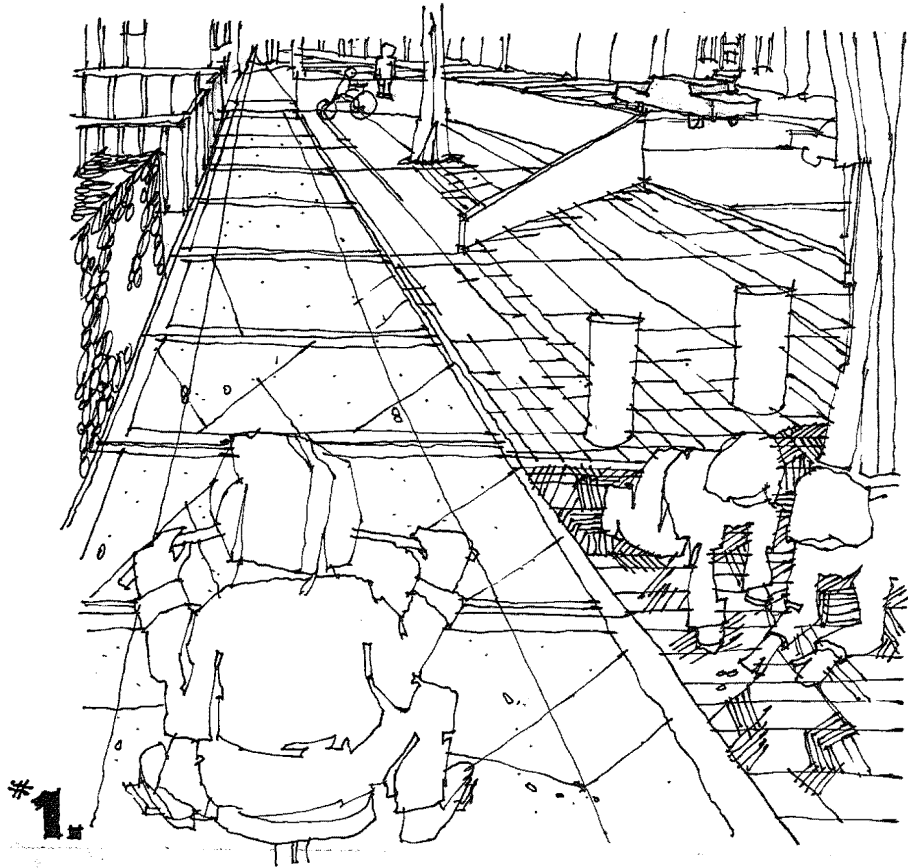
A section of the paved boulevard should be left open for a variety of small group games, e.g., badminton, catch, "red light-green light", and again flanked by wood posts to minimize interference.

Opposite the vacant lot, a low 3'0" high masonry wall, founded on the curb, should be built. This wall would act as a barrier between the active play on the street and the boulevard and vacant lot activity. This section of the boulevard could contain benches and tables for games, e.g., chess and checkers, and for eating.

In the northern portion of the boulevard, a sand play area could be developed for pre-schoolers by enlarging a tree-well and building an 8" curb to retain the sand and act as a seat. The area immediately around this "sand-well" should be paved to avoid killing the grass.

Twenty feet of the north end of the boulevard, by the lane, should be paved in brick pavers (from the curb to sidewalk) and a low, 2'6" high masonry wall, founded on the curb, should be built at both the north and south ends of the boulevard. The wall should be built from the sidewalk carrying around the corner twenty feet down the street. These hard surface areas and walls will accommodate school-age grouping at either end of the boulevard. The hard surface prevents worn grass and

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the wall not only provides seating, but also will keep the children off the road and prevent bicycles on the sidewalk from running directly into the street (see Figure 6, sketch #1).

Regarding the Arlington boulevard, children's play should be discouraged, but at the same time, a pedestrian sidewalk should be provided. These objectives can be met by developing alternate play facilities in a traffic-safe area, and by providing a narrow, "all-weather" surface sidewalk suitable for pedestrian movement but not for play activity.

The design proposal for Arlington boulevard is also illustrated in Figure 6. A sidewalk, 4'0" wide, should be built immediately adjacent to the curb the full length of the boulevard. The sidewalk is to be the limit of the public territory and the private front yards expanded to the edge of the sidewalk. The adjacent yard areas will be raised 8" above sidewalk level and a curb built to retain the earth. It is also suggested that a low barrier between yard and sidewalk be built and gates installed at the entry to each property. The width of the sidewalk at each tree will be further reduced by wood posts, 2' high, placed by the yards. This will discourage bicycle movement on the sidewalk. The narrow sidewalk should satisfy the Arlington residents and, at the same time, frustrate most play activity.

The Vacant Lot

Figure 7 illustrates the observed activity and movement patterns in this area. Little pre-school or school age play activity took place in the vacant lot, although residents expressed a concern for a "place" for kids to play. This is, in part, due to cars parked in the lot reducing the available space, and the nature of the surface, being uneven and rocky, with poor drainage. Adult activity was limited to car washing and car parking. Generally

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there were two to four cars, owned by occupants of adjacent houses, parked in the vacant lot overnight, and one car was stored in the lot throughout the observation period.

However, there seemed to be two important functions provided by the lot. First, it provided a visual and physical link between the rear lane and Evanson Street boulevard, where 40% of all school age play activity occurred. The vacant lot seemed to link and reinforce play in both areas. Second, the lot served as a circulation link. There was heavy school age pedestrian and bicycle traffic observed moving between the northeast and southwest corners of the lot during and after school (see Figure 7). This diagonal pattern is explained by the location of the schools and stores in the south and a concentration of children living in the north half of Arlington. In addition, the lot was used by non-resident teenagers moving to and from the high school located north of the site.

It was assumed that an adult relaxation facility would be useful, although there was no demonstrated or expressed need for such opportunities in the public open space. It was hoped that, in addition to residents, elderly persons living in a senior citizen home located half a block north could use such space. It was also assumed that car parking on the vacant lot could be prevented by administrative measures. Lastly, it was assumed that creating new opportunities for children's play, with the same number of children, would reduce concentrated play in other areas. There is an attendant danger of attracting new participants to play areas, creating new concentrations. If it occurs, administrative steps may have to be taken and play areas developed in other parts of the neighbourhood.

Figure 8 illustrates the design proposal for the area. We propose the vacant lot be developed as both a path for through pedestrian and bicycle traffic and as an extension of the activity on Evanson boulevard and the rear lane. In that sense, it will provide space for adult relaxation, as well as limited pre-school play and school-age activity.

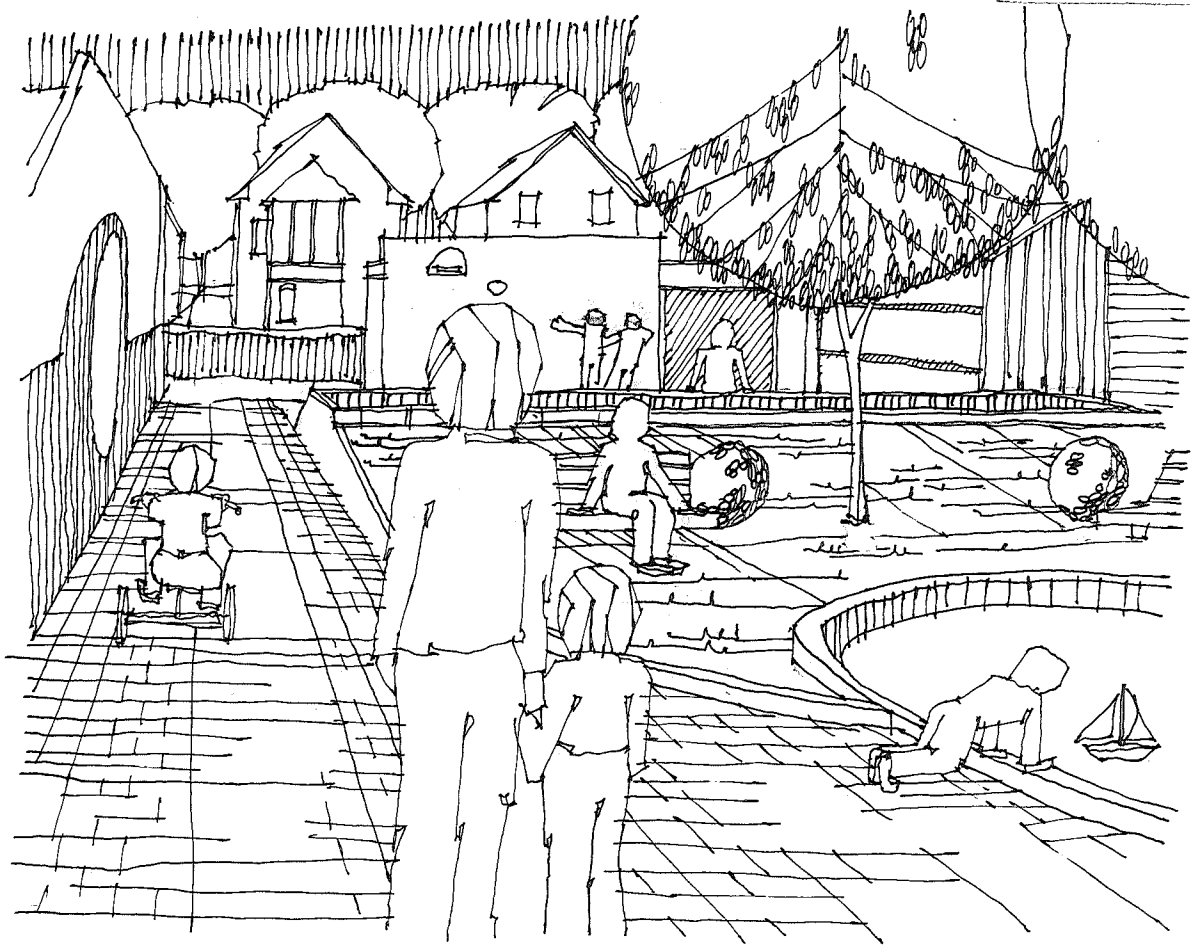
This proposal is presented in two parts.

1. The objectives for the first part of the proposal are: to reinforce existing patterns of use and generate new use opportunities; to generate a focal point for the Evanson boulevard; to minimize interference among activities and between the activity and the neighbouring houses; to create an area for passive adult relaxation and pre-school play; and to allow for pedestrian and bicycle movement between the rear lane and Evanson.

The boundaries of the vacant lot will be the present lot line of the property to the north and the adjacent wall of the house to the south. To minimize interference between adjacent houses and the lot, a 6'0" high, solid wood fence could be built between the lot and both the northern property and the front yard of the southern property.

It is suggested that a hard surface path, 5'0" in width and of an identical material to that used for boulevard paving, be built along the north side of the vacant lot from the rear lane and expanding into a wide paved area the full width of the lot on Evanson (see Figure 8). A drinking fountain of a height suitable for small children should be built in the middle of this paved area by the sidewalk. The paved area is widened at Evanson to accommodate the various movement patterns and to create an enlargement of the boulevard/sidewalk, acting as a focus of activity and movement patterns

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for the block. The area is intended to encourage some gathering and to act as an adult relaxation and limited pre-school play area. Opposite this paved area on the vacant lot, a gently rising grass area will be developed with tree planting and benches. The grass and trees are intended to encourage relaxation and to provide visual pleasure. In the middle of this grassed and paved area, and overlapping both, a concrete sand or water "pit" will be developed for pre-schoolers.

2. The objective of the second part of the proposal is to create an area for active game play by small groups of school-age children and adults.

It is suggested that a sand pit, 10' x 27', with walls 2'6" high, be located directly behind the grassed area. It could serve two functions: (a) a base for removable school play apparatus, i.e., climbing structures, poles, or ropes, balancing poles, etc., and (b) a horseshoe pitch for adults. While adults had not requested a place for this particular game, horseshoes is a popular game amongst adults in other parts of the city. The height of the enclosing walls and the location of the sand pit is intended not only to retain the sand on one side and the raised grass area on the other, but also to act as a barrier between the ball court on the rear of the lot and the grass area by the street.

It is suggested that the rear 20'0" of the vacant lot, save the 5'0" wide pedestrian path, be paved in concrete, contiguous with the lane paving. The playing surface, including the lane, will be 26'0" wide x 42'0" long, and defined by a yellow painted boundary and yellow strips to facilitate certain games, e.g., basketball, hall hockey, "wall" tennis, etc. It is intended that this area act as a ball playing area for small groups of two to eight school-age children or small groups of adults. It is located at the rear of the lot to take advantage of the additional lane surface and to minimize noise interference with adjacent houses.

In addition, the garages of immediately adjacent properties to the north, south and east will be located adjacent this surface to enclose it and minimize interference with private yards. To facilitate play, the walls of the garages of the

south and east properties adjacent this paved area will be a 12'0" high concrete block wall with a basketball hoop located on the east wall. These walls will be the focus of all ball play. The wall of the sand pit to the west will be sloped, preventing ball play but acting as a climbing, seating surface. The wall of the garage on the north will remain wood siding, with raised battens to discourage ball play which might interfere with the pedestrian path.

Lanes

Figure 9 illustrates the observed activity and movement patterns in this area. The cross lanes at the north and south ends of the block were more heavily used by traffic as a short cut between streets. Little vehicular traffic was observed in the rear lane during the day or evening. Observation indicated little difference in volume at typically peak and non-peak times. Residents seldom leave or arrive at the same time as a number of them are shift workers, have occasional employment, or are often out of town. As mentioned earlier, many residents leave their cars in the street for convenience and only put them in the garage at night when no further trips are anticipated.

Residents expressed a strong desire for vehicular parking at the rear of their house and, thus, require the rear lane to provide vehicular access to their garages. There is presently insufficient car parking space behind every house to accommodate all the vehicles, and some residents park their cars either in the vacant lot, the cross lanes, or on the street.

It was observed that 50% of all adult activity occurred in the back yards and 20% in the lanes. The lanes were used as a minor pedestrian route to the store, bus or between houses. The activities observed in the lanes were mainly car repairs and visiting (see Figure 9).

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By virtue of the high degree of adult activity in the back yards and lanes, they would seem to have great potential as areas of social interaction. Activities in both areas are closely related and tend to overlap. But, it appears from the interview data that few residents know their neighbours. If they did know anyone, it was usually people on either side of their house, not neighbours across the street or lane. The lane does not seem to facilitate contact with residents on the opposite side. This finding is consistent with that of other studies⁸ i.e., that social interaction tends to occur laterally rather than across either an infrequently used or heavily trafficked space. The importance of social interaction as a mechanism for developing resident control of the public space around the houses has been demonstrated in work by Jane Jacobs,⁹ Suzanne Keller¹⁰ and Oscar Newman¹¹. A number of residents expressed a desire for "better lighting in the lane" and one resident recalled an incident of child molesting in the lane.

It was observed that 10% of school age activity and 15% of pre-school activity occurred in the lanes, especially the rear lane. The school age activity ranged from a few instances of active games like basketball and "can-can" (a primitive form of cricket) to socializing (see Figure 9). The lane encouraged some active games because of its flat, hard surface, its continuity, and lack of interruption by traffic, but limited most others by its limited width. A basketball hoop located by the vacant lot encouraged some play. But residents complained about "stray" balls damaging their gardens and attempted to discourage active play in the lane.

8. N. J. O'Brien, op. cit.

9. Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York, Vintage, 1961.

10. Suzanne Keller, The Urban Neighbourhood. New York, Random House, 1968.

11. Oscar Newman, Defensible Space. McMillan Co., New York, 1972.

The lane was well-suited to children meeting and grouping. It offered an unobstructed view, a variety of intimate spaces and was under less direct parental supervision. One indication of the use of the lane was a "lemonade stand" set up by some enterprising children one hot summer day. To maximize their profits, the lane must have had sufficient traffic to justify the location.

As mentioned earlier, the lane also functioned as a circulation path for children living on Arlington on their way to and from school and for general movement within the block. Bicycle traffic originated in the lane as most of the bicycles were parked in the yard or garage, those areas being "safer" than "out on the street".

School age activity was observed to flow within the block between the street, the boulevard, the yard, and the lane. The vacant lot facilitated this movement and encouraged activity in the lane. The lane was not cut off from the "action" taking place elsewhere.

The pre-schoolers spend much of their time passively watching other children or being with their parents in the lane, although, active play, such as tricycle riding, was also observed.

It was assumed that if we could increase and improve children's play in the rear lane, we could stimulate more adult interaction. For it has been shown in previous studies, and observed in this case, that adult interaction often centers around the supervision of children.

Figure 10 illustrates the design proposal for this area. Its basic objectives are that the rear lane be retained as a vehicular

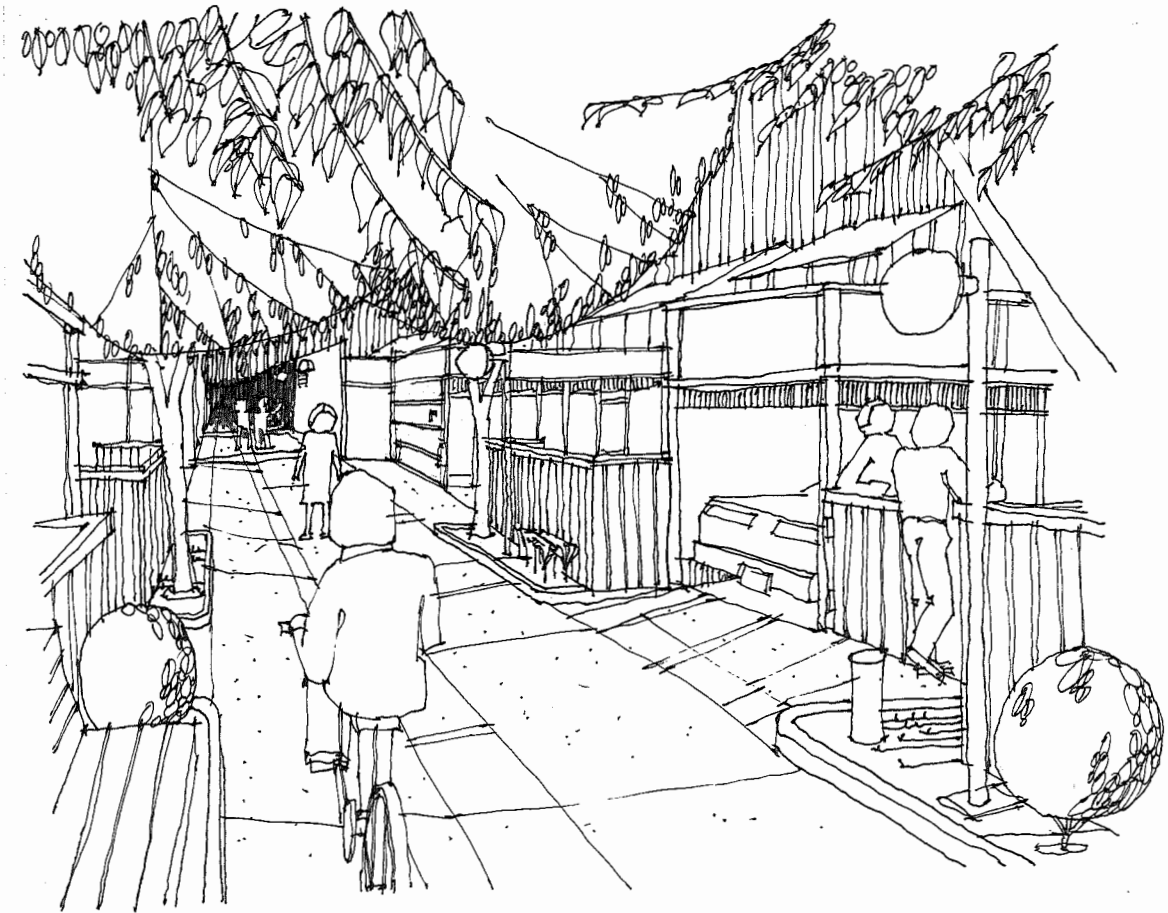
link from street to house; that children's activity be reinforced and made safer in specific areas of the lane; that adult activity and social interaction be encouraged; and that auxiliary car parking areas should be provided for the residents.

To reduce car speed, pre-cast concrete humps, 6" in height and rounded, should be placed across the lane 80'0" from both ends. The tree located on the east corner of the north end of the lane should be retained, a metal post set in concrete should be placed on the opposite corner, and a similar metal post should be placed on the west corner of the lane at the south end. This will slow traffic turning a "blind" corner into the lane.

The lane should be expanded into the vacant lot to create a "ball play" area for children (see proposal for The Vacant Lot). The lane should also be expanded 4'0" at every garage entry to facilitate car movement, but also to create a "pocket" useful for child grouping and adult meeting.

A 2'0" wide section of the lane is to be removed in front of each rear yard fence, ringed with a curb, and replaced with earth for planting shrubs or small trees. Residential scale lighting fixtures (in place of existing mercury vapor lights) and small seats could also be located in these planting areas (see Figure 10). These planting areas should lead to more interaction, since they will require adult maintenance, and will discourage active school age play which can interfere with adult activity. In general, these design changes should create a more intimate pedestrian environment, encouraging more use of the back lane by adults.

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Portions of the cross lanes should be combined with about four feet of the areas adjacent the houses for use as parking areas. To designate these areas for resident parking and to protect the vehicles, metal posts painted a fluorescent colour should be placed at both ends. These parking areas would further discourage children's play in the cross lanes.

Rear Yards

Figure 11 illustrates the observed activity and movement patterns in this area. The residents expressed the desire to be able to "mind their own business", allowing others to "do whatever they want as long as nobody else can see it or hear it". This insular attitude is corroborated by the low degree of social interaction. Before the four meetings were held to discuss the housing project prior to the study, few people knew anyone in the block. After the meetings, interviews revealed a large rise in social interaction. Most relationships were classified as "acquaintances", the average being 4.5 per person. There was an average of about one "friend" per person. The source of many of these contacts seemed to have been the supervision of children and the meetings.

This attitude may be the result of diversity of ethnic background, age and family composition, and limited common interests. The average length of residence is 4.1 years. There is a mixture of relatively stable households with long term tenure and more mobile households. Three of the families anticipated moving in the near future. The diverse and unsettled nature of some of the residents could cause them to avoid the necessary emotional investment required in establishing friendships. If such diverse groups of people are to coexist without great conflict, it is important to protect the residents' right to choose privacy over interaction with neighbours or others.

The observations indicate that the rear yards are heavily used by adults but not by children. Thirty-seven adult activity units occurred in the rear yards, while only 17 school age and 8 pre-school activity units were observed.

The rear yard is small, being only 31'0" wide and an average of 25'0" in depth--a total of 775 square feet. There are 1.5

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cars per house and .35 trailer-type vehicles per house giving a total of nearly two vehicles per house. Ten of seventeen houses have garages occupying between 40% and 80% of the yard space, and the yards without garages contain between one and three parking spaces. Despite the small area and car storage, the rear yards were heavily used by adults.

The "closeness of the parked car to house" was most important to the residents. In preliminary discussion with some of the residents before the study, they unanimously rejected a scheme for removing all cars from the rear yards and parking at either end of the block. The reason seemed to be convenience related to winter weather, loading and unloading, and security.

Half of the observed adult rear yard activity was car- or garage-related, i.e., car washing, car repairs, or woodworking. The other half of the activity was gardening or relaxing, i.e., sunbathing, eating, reading (see Figure 11). Many residents wanted more garden and sitting space, and six of seventeen people wanted to be able to suntan but felt they did not have the necessary privacy. The residents complained about exposed garbage cans being unsightly, odourous and unhealthy, and about the five derelict vehicles stored in the yards as being unpleasant to look at.

In the rear yards, school age children engaged in passive activity, e.g., "house and table games" (see Figure 11). The major supportive condition for these activities seemed to be the privacy of the rear yard compared to other play areas. The children seemed to want to be alone and undisturbed at times. The school age children used a surface, e.g., a table, around which they would group. When it was raining, they would sometimes play in the garages.

Similarly the pre-schoolers, usually supervised, played singular, passive games and spent much of their time on the ground exploring plastic materials like earth or sand, as do most pre-schoolers¹² (see Figure 11). The families with pre-school children, however, expressed the wish for a controllable fenced yard, adjacent to and visible from the house where pre-schoolers could be left alone, somewhat unsupervised.

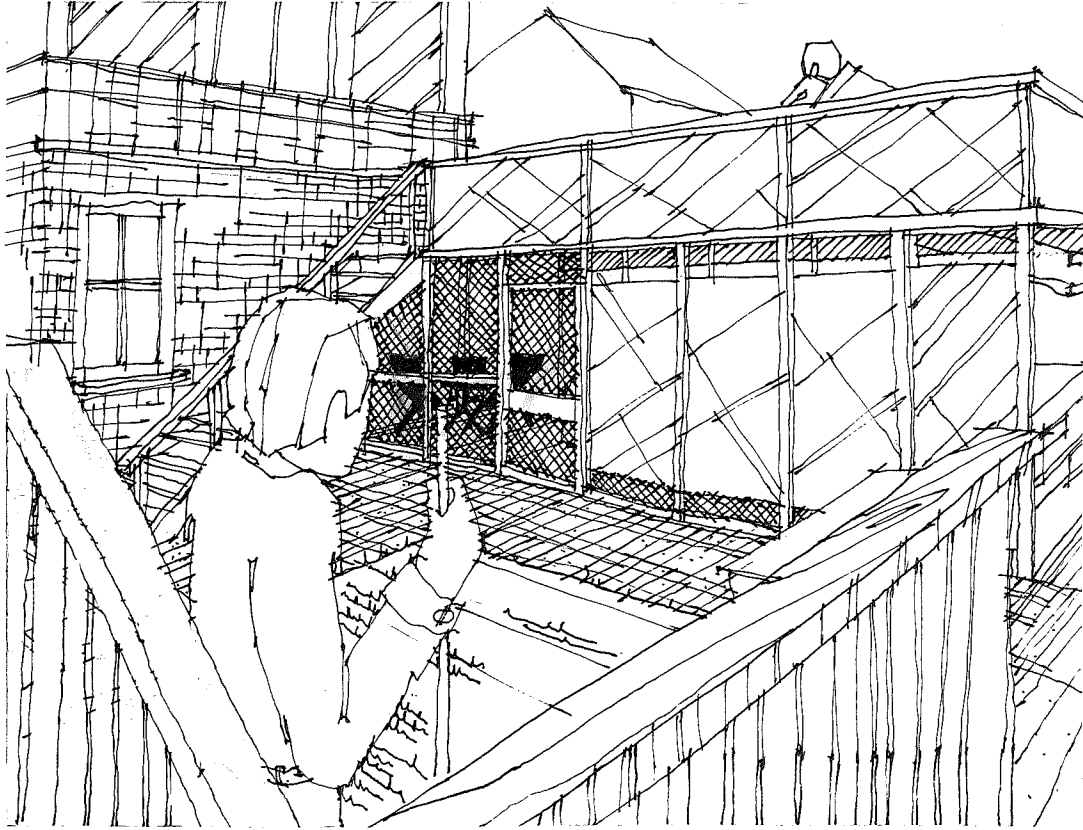
The rear yard is too small to accommodate more than one car parking space and space for other activities desired by the residents. Although some residents would presently place a higher priority on car parking than yard space, it is wiser in the long run to provide both options of yard area and car parking. If each yard was designed exclusively as either a car parking or a yard area, future residents with different priorities would be penalized. Rather, we should provide temporary additional parking in the rear yard that could be easily altered at another time, or by future residents.

Figure 12 illustrates the design proposal for this area. We propose the rear yards be developed for car storage, adult activity and, to more limited extent, children's activity.

The objectives of the design proposal are to provide adequate separation and privacy between neighbours, to encourage private adult and child activities, to retain a visual link between the rear lane and yard, to make the rear yard controllable for pre-school activity, to provide one enclosed car parking space and an auxiliary storage space per house, and to increase the general usability and pleasantness of the yard.

12. N. J. O'Brien, *op. cit.*

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A solid, 6'0" high wood fence, should be built from the house to the lane between properties or between properties and adjacent lanes. The enclosed parking spaces should be located on the property line to act as a barrier between yards.

A 4'0" high solid, wood fence should be built at the rear of the property between the lane and the yard. This provides some increased privacy for occupants of the yard while allowing a view of the lane from the house and yard. Gates with outside latches should be installed between the rear yard and both the lane and side yard to control pre-school play.

A 10'0" wide strip of the back yard, from the lane to the house,

should be paved in concrete at a level 6" above the lane. This pad would be enclosed by a flat roof carport with garage door for security. It should be located on the lot line, to retain a view of the back yard and lane from the kitchen. This carport will extend from house to lane and average 25'0" in length. The vacant space inside the carport nearest the house can act as an auxilliary storage area. This area should be screened on the yard side to act as a summer sitting area protected from weather and insects.

The flat roof of the carport offers the possibility of developing a sitting deck, linked by stairs to the ground. Thus, the space in the yard typically lost to car and storage is regained. In addition, different activities can occur in the yard and on the deck without interfering with one another, furthering its overall utility.

It is suggested that a portion of the yard by the house, approximately 1/3 of the yard, be paved in some hard surface material to provide a sitting and eating area. The remainder of the yard should be sodded and left for gardening or other activities. A sidewalk from the house to the lane should be built beside the garage.

A totally enclosed garbage container should be placed at the end of the sidewalk at the lane. Access to the garbage cans should be provided from the lane to avoid more paving in the yard and to encourage adults into the lane to stimulate social interaction and surveillance of the lane.

Front and Side Yards

Figure 13 illustrates the observed activity and movement patterns in these areas. The residents complained about what they perceived to be the poor appearance of their houses compared to the "nice" houses across the street. The desire of the residents to improve the appearance of their houses is indicated by the fact that 25% of all adult front yard activity was gardening. They wished to emulate their neighbours and not appear radically different. This is somewhat related to their renting the houses from the government, while the majority of the people across the street own their homes. But it is also rooted in the history of poor relations with their neighbours--the result of the behaviour of a few families who have since departed. These families did not supervise their children and had "wild" drinking parties and fights. The negative perception of the houses by the neighbours is also related to the sporadic upkeep of the houses by DPW and the residents' reluctance to spend money on houses they do not own.

This situation was aggravated on Evanson, with the heavy children's play on the boulevard/sidewalk spilling into the yards and ruining what lawn that existed. In fact, one family put up a rope barrier in an attempt to guard its property. On Arlington, the negative comments referred to a "scruffy" appearance, due to the absence of a sidewalk. Only three of nine houses on Evanson have fences or hedges, and no houses on Arlington have barriers between yard and public territory.

The front yards were used more heavily by adults than children. Specifically, 33 adult activity units, 18 school age and 23 pre-school activity units took place in this area. The adults spent half of their time in the front yard sitting on porches or steps (see Figure 13).

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Five of the ten houses on Arlington have enclosed or semi-enclosed porches. "Porch-sitting" was observed in three of those houses with porches. Enclosure seemed to be a factor in encouraging the utilization of porches since the front yards are shallow (10' to 15') and the houses close to the dusty, noisy street (25' to 30'). On Arlington, the porches acted as a second "living room" in the summer where the residents would relax watching street activity. This was seldom related to child supervision, as little play occurred on the Arlington boulevard.

The front yards on Evanson are similar in size to those on Arlington. On Evanson, however, porch sitting was not only for street watching, but more importantly, for child supervision. This activity was observed in two of three houses with porches and three of four houses with "sheltered steps", i.e., steps that are somewhat enclosed and not "right on the street". Step sitting was not observed in the two "exposed step" situations. Again, this would seem to indicate that partial enclosure and a degree of separation from the street is important.

The porches were also used as storage and plant growing areas by adults. They provide a transition between the house and street, especially important when your front door is only 25' to 20' off the sidewalk. It was also used by the children as a play area for games like "house" or for just sitting, talking and watching street activity from an elevated vantage point (see Figure 13). It provides the security of a home base close to the "action" of the street.

The school age and pre-school play in the front yard was mainly passive, being limited by the small size of the yard. Play ranged from role and "mud" play by small groups to "tag" and play on swings. A conflict exists between the residents' concern

for the appearance of the front yard and children's play, either entirely within the yard or spilling into the yard from the street. The yard is too small to allow adequate maintenance if heavily used by children.

Little activity was observed in the side yard. It was often too cluttered or narrow for activity. In a number of cases, it was used as a storage area for gardening equipment or bicycles. Circulation by children and adults was observed between the front and rear yards through the side yard.

In preparing the proposal, it was assumed that parental supervision would control children's play in the front yard and that the nature of the barriers, e.g., fences or hedges, and landscaping would be the decision of the resident.

Figure 14 illustrates the design proposal for this area. The front yards of the houses on Arlington and Evanson should "look like" properties across the street and act as an area for display purposes, e.g., flower beds. The front steps and porches should be further developed as adult sitting and passive children's play areas. The side yard could function as a pre-school play area in addition to acting as a circulation link and storage area.

The proposal is in three parts:

1. The first objective is to define the front yard of each house and provide a barrier to unwanted activity as well as offering the resident the opportunity to display the front yard.

A low 2'0" barrier, either a fence or hedge, should be erected between each property and between the yard and the sidewalk. This will keep out unwanted activity, prevent

children's play between yards, define the yard, and still enable the yard to be seen by passers-by. On Evanson it will keep children's play out, while on Arlington it will limit the extent of the sidewalk and public space, thus discouraging play, while tending to keep children in the yard. The remainder of the yard is to be sodded for trees, shrubs or flower beds of the residents' choice.

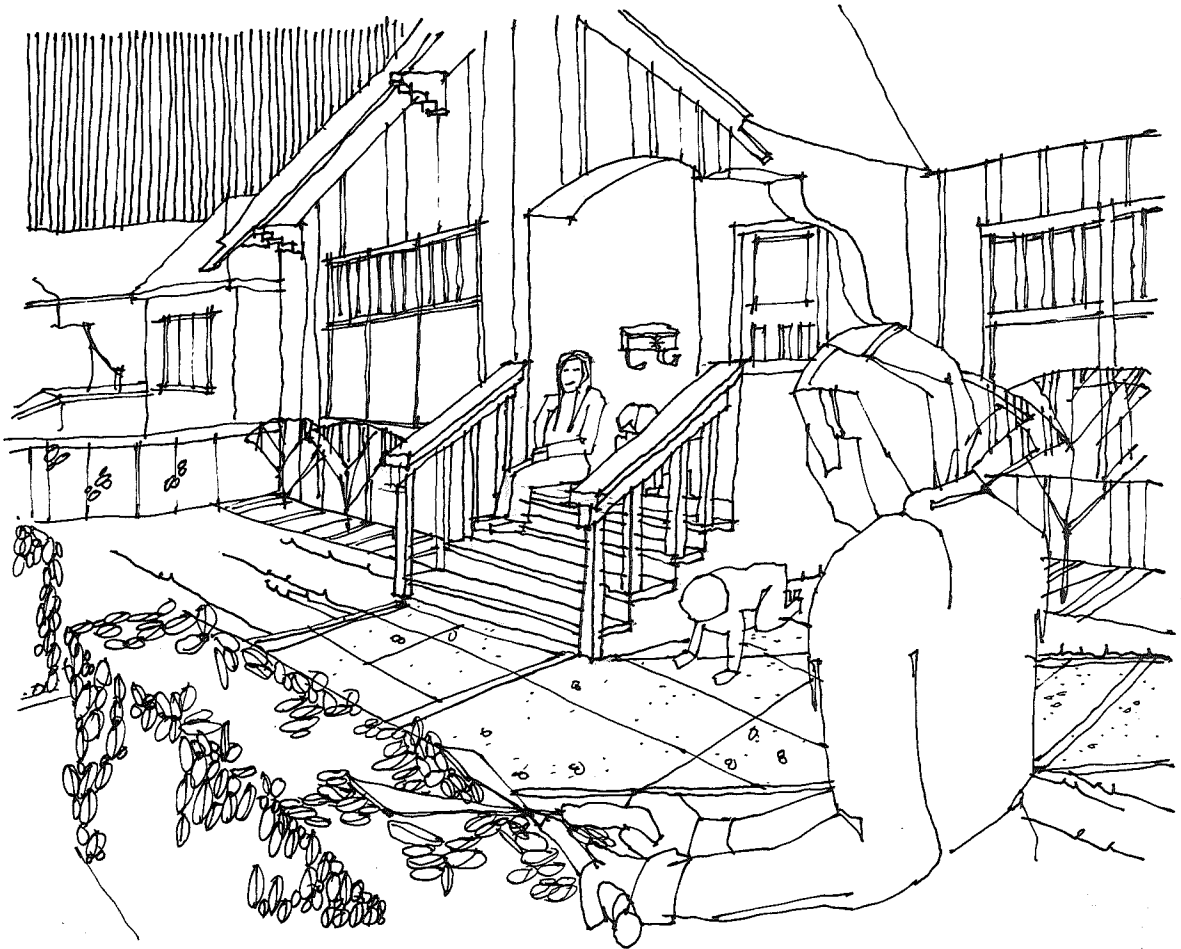
2. The second objective is to reinforce adult seating and children's passive play on the front steps or porch.

The front steps should be provided with a heavy, 8" deep handrail supported on balustrades on every step, with 6" top plate, 14" wide treads, and 4'0" landing. The landing and wide treads will provide opportunity for adult seating and children's play. The handrail and balustrades will provide a safe seat or leaning "post", in addition to offering some privacy screening when sitting on the steps. Shrubs or small trees planted by the stairs could further enhance privacy, but care should be taken not to completely obstruct the view of the street.

Where possible, solid balustrades should be built around open porches or stair landings to partially screen these areas and encourage use. On Arlington, the existing porches should be enclosed with glazing and screening to keep out the dust and noise of the traffic, thus encouraging more use.

3. The third objective is to increase the utility of the side yard by developing a pre-school play and storage area.

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It is proposed that the property lines of the houses be shifted so that each house has one side yard the full distance between houses and no side yard on the other side. A sidewalk to the front steps should be continued through the side yard to the rear yard and the remainder left as earth or sand for pre-school play, as it is difficult to grow plants in this area because of an absence of sun. A gate should be installed between the side yard and the rear yard. The stair to the deck on top of the carport can be located in this side yard, minimizing space loss in the rear yard. In addition to added storage space, a pre-school play area is thus developed

CROSS LANE

EVANSON

REAR LANE

ARLINGTON

PRIVATE PROPERTY

PRIVATE PROPERTY

CROSS LANE



SCALE: 1"=40'-0"

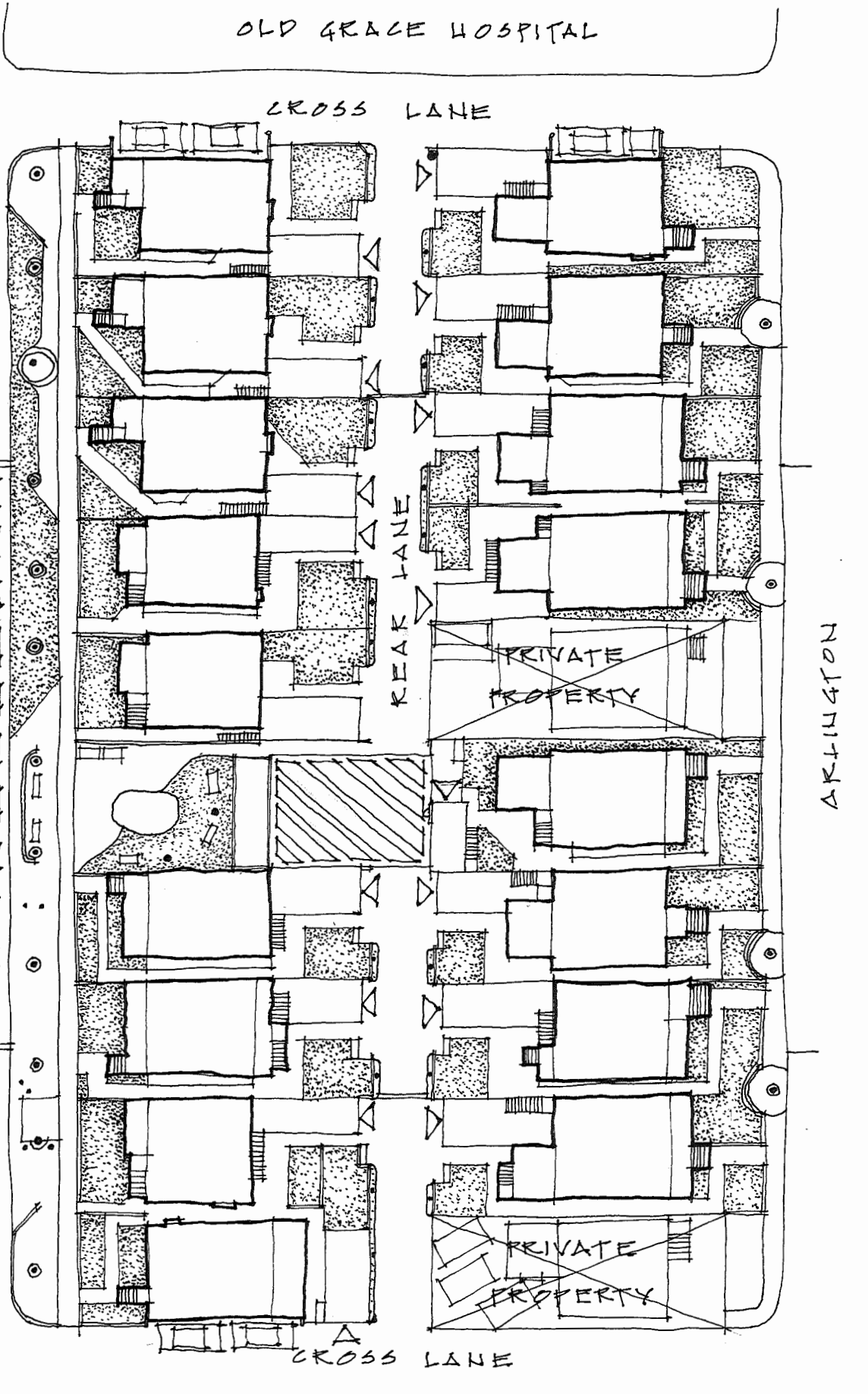
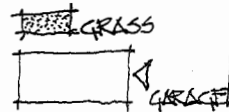


Figure 15.

COMPOSITE PLAN of DESIGN PROPOSAL
for the ARLINGTON-EVANSON BLOCK



in the side yard that is small and intimate, shaded and supervisable.

Figure 15 presents a composite of all design proposals for the Arlington-Evanson block.

HOUSE REHABILITATION AND SITE IMPROVEMENT

At the same time as the research and development of design proposals was being carried out, selected houses were being surveyed to determine the extent of repair required. It was hoped that these repairs could be costed and presented to the residents with the research findings and design proposals. These cost estimates were not completed in time, so on August 1, 1973, the findings and proposals of the preceding section were presented to a meeting of the residents. Residents from seven of the seventeen houses attended the meeting with a representative of MHRC. The proposals were well received by the residents present. This is not necessarily an accurate indication of the resident reaction, however, since only about half of the houses were represented.

As a result of the limited attendance at the meeting, a general working committee meeting was held to discuss the status of the

project. It was evident at this meeting that the residents were still interested, but before they could seriously consider the design proposals, they wanted to know the cost of the project. They feared that they could not afford the expense. In addition, they were not convinced that they should establish a cooperative and wanted to examine other options as well, particularly private ownership.

It was always the intention of IUS and CYC staff to present cost figures to the residents after decisions had been made on what they wanted. As a result of this meeting with the residents, however, an alternate approach was developed. It entailed completing detailed estimates on the renovation costs, site improvement costs, and the current market value of the property. These figures would then, with the assistance of CMHC, be plugged into the various new NHA programs--the Assisted Home Ownership, Cooperative Housing, Non-Profit Housing, Neighbourhood Improvement, and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance programs. From a preliminary assessment, it seemed the project qualified for assistance under any one or combination of these programs. The various improvement options available to the residents, i.e., to renovate only the house, to renovate the house and improve the yard, or to renovate the house and improve the yard, vacant lot and streets, would be related to various funding models and a set of alternative physical/financial proposals would be developed and presented to the group. In that way, the residents could realistically assess the options and determine a satisfactory combination of physical redevelopment and reasonable cost. This will be presented to the residents in a series of meetings to enable residents to determine what they want to do and at what price. On this basis, a specific proposal will be developed for submission to CMHC and MHRC. At this point, the residents could apply

for "start-up" funds available under the new NHA amendments to cover the cost of further detailed feasibility study. If the proposal is accepted in principle by government, negotiations between the residents and government will begin and specific plans for the site developed.

Rehabilitation and Its Cost

Fourteen of seventeen residents enjoyed living in the houses and expressed a desire to remain. The area seemed to provide the necessary amenities and the houses seemed to provide adequate accommodation, although residents recognized the need for repairs to the houses and yards. They all seemed willing to undertake some financial responsibility, but the actual form of tenure desired, e.g., ownership, cooperative or rental, varied among them.

It is important to remember the variety of accommodation presently provided by the houses, i.e., single family, duplex, and boarder, and the variety of household types within the block. The residents did not mind the mix of housing and population types, and they perceived their neighbours as "friendly". But, as pointed out earlier, it appeared that prior to the study, many residents did not interact with one another. It seems that as long as people "mind their own business", the residents do not care what other people do as long as it does not interfere with them. Yard maintenance and supervision of children and pets are also important to being a "good" neighbour.

It was pointed out earlier that an initial government study of the block had revealed that the houses were in fair to good condition and that the most logical and economical use of the land was for residences.¹³ The researchers concur with this

13. Memo to H. N. Dubovitz, op. cit.

assessment of the condition of the houses and the land use. A repair feasibility report by MHRC¹⁴ as part of this study, indicated an average repair cost per house of \$8,300. Since this study was one year old and lacked detailed estimates, it was decided to obtain current house repair estimates.

To facilitate this, three houses in fair, average and good condition were selected which represented the three house types in the block, i.e., one, two and two and a half storey. Each house was studied in detail and a list of necessary repairs as well as alterations to the internal layout was drawn up based on observation, resident concerns and CMHC standards. These specifications and a plan of the house indicating the alterations were given to a reliable private building contractor and a representative of the Winnipeg Home Improvement Project (WHIP), a government-sponsored house repair/training company. They were asked to submit a total cost estimate for the repairs as specified (including labour in WHIP's case). It was assumed that an average repair cost per house could then be established.

The quotes received are recorded in Table 3.

Table 3. Comparison of Total Rehabilitation Cost Estimates for Three House Types as Quoted by a Private Contractor and a Government Repair Program.

	Private Contractor	Government Repair Program (WHIP)
A. 2½ storey house in fair condition	\$10,631	\$5,200
B. 1 storey house in average condition	\$ 6,755	\$4,000
C. 2 storey house in good condition	\$ 3,283	\$1,100

14. "Grace Hospital Complex Housing Study", MHRC, 1972.

The cost of all electrical, plumbing or heating repairs was priced by the private contractor, and was added to WHIP's quote, as WHIP did not estimate this type of work. Relating the remaining fourteen houses to one of the above, the average cost of repairs to the seventeen houses by the private contractor would be \$7,140, as compared to \$3,800 by WHIP.*

In studying the feasibility of rehabilitation, the current market value of the houses is important. In November of 1973, CYC had both a private and a government appraiser separately estimate the current value of the properties. The average market value of the houses was \$16,450 according to the private appraiser, and \$16,700, as estimated by the government appraiser.

One criterion of repair feasibility is the ability to recover repair costs in the increased value of the house realized from the repairs. This is difficult to assess without analyzing each house against detailed renovation plans. But it is unlikely, in the opinion of a private appraiser, that the market value of the average home could be raised \$7,140. It is conceivable, however, that it could increase by \$3,800. or approximately 20% of the current market value. This increase in market value does not consider the effects of improvements to the public and private open space. Even if implemented only partially, such improvements are a factor in raising residential property value. Because housing is presently and will likely continue to be a seller's market, repair and site improvement costs will be reflected in increased property value in a relatively short time.

Another rehabilitation criterion is the replacement cost of new housing. The cost of demolition of the average house and

* Ed.: For a detailed evaluation of WHIP, see Eric J. Barker, Carl Blanchaer and Donald Epstein, "Limited House Rehabilitation and Job Training: The Winnipeg Home Improvement Project", study number one in this volume.

its replacement with comparable new housing would be about \$23,500. The cost of rehabilitation, done by private industry, would be about \$7,140. If the private yard improvements were added to this figure, the total cost would be about \$11,500--still half of the cost of new housing. When we consider that the renovation would extend the life span of the house and reorganize the interior more efficiently, the advantages of new housing are dubious. In addition, most of the existing houses provide more usable space than could be provided by a new house at reasonable cost. This is important when considering the diversity and number of occupants, e.g., large families and boarders.

Perhaps, more importantly, is the fact that the present low income residents could not afford the cost of a new house. This is a most important criterion in determining the nature and extent of the total project. From this brief appraisal, it appears extensive rehabilitation is a logical approach. Thus, the Arlington-Evanston houses should be extensively renovated to significantly increase their life span and to provide the present occupants of the houses with accommodation at a price they can afford.

Specifically, the present mixture of single family, duplex and family/boarder accommodation should be retained and strengthened to provide housing for low to middle income persons. An attempt should be made to provide more accommodation for families with children on Evanston than on Arlington. Access and view from the house to the rear yard is important in interior space planning, as is privacy between units and provision of a front porch or sheltered step for each house.

Once the proposal is accepted by government, each house will have to be studied and detailed plans and specifications drawn

up. Residents should study the potential of doing some repair work themselves to reduce costs. These plans and specifications should be submitted to at least two private contractors and two government repair programs for bids on a stipulated sum contract. Although the government program appears cheaper, this should be verified in detailed bidding. The work may involve a number of repair companies doing groups of five or six houses, as the seventeen houses would likely be a large contract for one firm. To minimize inconvenience and cost, the renovations should be done in the summer.

Residents will likely have to be temporarily relocated for a period of one to three months while the repair work proceeds. If a number of houses in the block were vacant at the time, construction should be phased so that relocated families would rotate into the vacant houses during the construction period.

Site Improvement and Its Costs

To establish the cost of the proposed site improvements (see Figure 15), plans and specifications were given to a local landscape architect who, with the help of a quantity surveyor, developed a cost estimate based on a projection of escalated 1974 prices. The total cost of the work was estimated at \$118,440. This figure was then broken down into costs for the public areas, i.e., streets, boulevards and lane, for the private yard areas, and for the vacant lot (see Table 4).

It is hoped that the funding of the improvements in both the public spaces and the vacant lot could be covered under the new Neighbourhood Improvement legislation. All or a portion of the private lot improvements would likely have to be carried by the residents as part of the rehabilitation cost.

Table 4. Cost Breakdown of Proposed Site Improvements

A. Total estimated cost	<u>\$118,440</u>	or \$6,966 per house.
B. Public sector costs	\$ 17,078	
C. Vacant lot cost	<u>\$ 8,873</u>	
Total	<u>\$ 25,951</u>	
D. Private sector cost (\$118,440 less \$25,951)	<u>\$ 92,489</u>	or \$5,440 per house.

This can be lowered by deleting construction of the wood deck on the carport.

Less deck, hand rails and stairs \$ 16,739

Amended private sector cost = \$ 75,753 or \$4,456 per house.

The economic feasibility of this project should not be measured only in present project costs. The homes are at the point of serious deterioration, and if nothing is done, the future costs, socially and physically, to the community of extensive redevelopment will be high. The following section attempts to distill the implications this project can have on our ability to cope with this critical problem of the future of existing, inner city, residential neighbourhoods.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARLINGTON-EVANSON PROJECT

The Arlington-Evanson project is unique in a number of respects. The research approach and resultant design proposals have implications for the improvement of existing inner city residential areas and the development of government policy.

1. The "block" in this report is a physically typical residential form repeated widely throughout the city. Research of the residential living environment at the level of the "block", through personal interviews and systematic observation, is an effective method of understanding how people see and use their environment. At this scale of analysis, the effect of government policy regarding the improvement of inner city neighbourhoods upon the daily lives of residents can be effectively measured. Comparative analysis of a variety of "blocks" to determine the impact of programs at a neighbourhood level should be done and the results communicated to government policy-makers.
2. The combination of researcher and designer is a new, effective role to be played by people working on the improvement of the physical environments. Often designers work in a vacuum, basing decisions mainly on objective factual constraints and subjective personal opinion. When behavioural information is gathered, it is usually presented

in a form that does not allow it to be easily translated into three dimensional form.

By combining the tasks of behavioural researcher and physical designer, one collects the information on which he/she bases the development of the physical design proposal. This not only provides a heightened sensitivity to the area in which he/she is designing but also enables this person(s) to better translate the recorded data into physical form. Thus the designer does not have to rely on information collected and interpreted by others. In addition, as a result of this direct involvement, the researcher/designer feels a great responsibility toward the environment and the people for whom the design is being developed. While this sense of responsibility will complicate the design process, it will result in solutions more realistically suited to the diversity of client need.

3. The method of data collection which combines objective and subjective analysis through personal interviews and systematic observation is well suited to the designer. This process allows the designer to readily relate observed or recorded fact to the physical environment. The designers intuitive sense of the neighbourhood is sharpened and complements the objective collection and analysis of information. The information collected through this process is highly individualized, specific and diverse, forming a strong data base on which to develop a flexible design solution tailored to the needs of the people. This was especially true in Arlington-Evanson as almost each house was different and no one solution could be blanketed over the block.

4. The process of data collection, generation of a proposal, and presentation of the proposal and costs to the residents is an effective method of citizen participation. At the inception, the residents formulate the objectives for the research. Through the interviews they express their concerns and desires, and systematic observation records their actual use of the block. The ensuing discussion of the findings and proposals ensures their full participation in the development of a final proposal. The key is the comprehensive collection of information and the translation of this data, directly into the design process.
5. An important aspect of this research approach and the development of better environments generally is the necessity for post design evaluation. In this way, the design assumptions made explicit by the designer in the beginning, can be fully tested. Thus, information on sources of fit and misfit within the built environment can be identified and corrections made in future projects. Living environments generally could be gradually improved if this "build, test, correct" system were utilized on a larger scale.
6. An important ingredient to the analysis of any area is working continually with the residents of that area. As such, much time and energy must be spent in "block" organizing; discussion, meetings, communication, interpretation and liason with outside organizations. This often means time spent on work that has no direct bearing on the research or the design. The people analyzing the area seldom have time for this work and it has been the experience of IUS staff that the same individual or individuals cannot do both well.¹⁵ In the Arlington-Evanson project,

15. See L. Axworthy, ed., The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, April, 1972.

CYC and IUS worked together as a team in providing both the organizing and analytical/design components. It is important to the success of the approach that both resource groups need each other and are of a common mind in the project. The areas of responsibility should be well-defined and the need for coordination well understood.

This approach could be handled by one organization, with sufficient staff, but a cooperative approach of two or more organizations has several benefits. It broadens responsibility for the project. It increases the network of consultants available to the project. It increases the number of points of view brought to bear on a single problem. And it reduces the probability of paralyzing conflict with outside interests, that one organization might be incapable of avoiding.

7. Too much research is done by organizations with no net gain to the population being studied. In the process of analyzing a situation, people's fears or expectations are raised only to be left hanging, with no concrete action taken on their behalf. In this case, IUS, an action-research organization, was able both to assist the residents in achieving their goal and to do research on the improvement of inner-city neighbourhoods. This requires a combination of both practical and research skills working with, as mentioned earlier, a community organizing agency. But it is important to the residents involved in the study that this dual responsibility be assumed by agencies doing urban research.

8. The satisfaction/dissatisfaction of residents in Arlington-Evanson and other residential environments,¹⁶ is strongly linked to the utility of the public and private open space surrounding the house. The utility of open spaces is a function of the opportunities for activity they provide the user. The common shared public spaces, i.e., boulevards, sidewalks, streets, lanes, provide opportunities for the majority of children's play and adult social interaction and as such is most important in creating a successful residential environment. The private yard offers opportunities for private adult and child activity enabling the resident to choose between being alone or with others. Both public and private spaces are mutually supportive of the needs of the residents. The effective improvement of existing, inner city residential neighbourhoods depends on the integrated development of both public open space and private houses and yards. To effectively rehabilitate deteriorating neighbourhoods, parcels of at least residential block size will have to be assembled. From experience on Arlington-Evanson, the block is a minimal size to facilitate adequate research, integrated development of public and private areas and a cooperative commitment by residents to a project.

It has been shown in projects elsewhere that cooperation between individual private owners for block development is difficult to facilitate.¹⁷ Effective improvement of blocks or neighbourhoods is more feasible when properties are under a singular form of control.

16. N. J. O'Brien, op. cit.

17. City of Toronto Planning Board, Towards a Part II Plan for South-East Spadina, Tentative Planning Proposals, (Report two), 1972.

9. Children's play is an important function of both private and public open space. Resident satisfaction/dissatisfaction is significantly influenced by the availability and utility of space for children's play. The children make full use of the block in their play activity, requiring designers and city parks and recreation staff to re-assess the single "tot" lot or the large, isolated public park approach to play facilities.

Opportunities for play must be enhanced on the boulevards, sidewalks, streets and lanes of our neighbourhoods. An effective method of increasing the utility of a residential block would be to develop public open space linking the street and lane at mid-block. This not only provides additional open space needed in many existing neighbourhoods, but also increases the utility of the lane by linking it to the more active street.

10. Vehicular traffic in neighbourhoods inhibits children's play and adult social interaction. But vehicular accessibility to the house is very important to the resident. This dilemma will have to be resolved more successfully to improve the residential living environment. Through traffic on some streets may have to be eliminated and better use of the rear lane made as access to the house. Another option would be to limit traffic to daytime access or close the streets at mid-block, allowing local, non-through access for residents, visitors and deliveries.
11. Many inner city areas, like Arlington-Evanson and the area in which it is located, have a heterogeneous population, who live in a wide variety of housing accommodation. This physical and social mix is not seen as negative by the residents of Arlington-Evanson, provided each is

allowed to live their life without interference.

The maintenance and redevelopment of such inner city neighbourhoods should support this diversity. And within this context, the high value that the residents of these neighbourhoods place on the opportunity to choose between privacy and interaction with others should stand as an important design priority.

12. In many inner city residential neighbourhoods, the housing is old, open space limited, and community services lacking. They are verging on serious deterioration as the residents cannot afford the cost of necessary improvements. If these areas are left without improvement, they will begin to deteriorate to the point where remedial action is difficult. The neighbourhood will then undergo extensive physical and social change whose cost will far exceed the price of improvements implemented now. Thus, the economic feasibility of such improvements must be considered in not only present physical costs but also in future physical and social costs.
13. The involvement of residents in the process of neighbourhood improvement is critical to its success. Without a commitment by residents, the initial research outlined in this report would be impossible. The opportunity for resident financial investment and control is important to the development of a cohesive neighbourhood and the rationalization of resident commitment and priorities to such a project. Furthermore, the new amendments to the NHA offer more opportunity for resident involvement in the new cooperative assistance program available only to occupants of not only new, but also existing housing. Equally, the financial terms of the non-profit assistance program offers an incentive to provincial agencies, such as MHRC, to encourage non-profit

resident groups to develop housing programs.

14. The Arlington-Evanson project is not a solution to a unique situation, but an example of block improvement which could happen anywhere in Winnipeg or other major cities. The importance is not in the specific solution but in the principle of providing opportunities for child and adult activity based on the analysis of all open spaces in the block. The intent was to improve the neighbourhood as living space rather than only the house as living space. The new Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) hopefully will be an ideal funding vehicle for this type of program whose impact should be at the scale of the residential block. Comparative analysis of the impact of these programs in the city should then be undertaken.

To facilitate effective neighbourhood improvement in inner city areas, planning in absentia is doomed to failure. On-the-spot research/resource agencies will have to be available to assist the residents on a sustained basis in working out improvement schemes on a block-to-block basis.

SUMMARY OF MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The most desirable and practical scale for redeveloping neighbourhoods may be a one or two "block" scale. In utilizing the "block" scale, recreation facilities, open space, parking and housing, should be conceived of as a whole entity.
2. To rehabilitate deteriorating neighbourhoods effectively, parcels of at least residential block size should be assembled or controlled, since the block is a minimal size to facilitate adequate research, to integrate development of public and private areas, and to forge a cooperative commitment by residents to a project.
3. The needs of the neighbourhood as a whole, and concurrently, the needs of residents in new units, can best be met if the approach to problems extends beyond the individual unit with its "private" yard and to the immediate neighbourhood.
4. Experimental housing forms should be injected into both low income, depressed areas and more desirable areas of the inner city.
5. To lessen resistance of neighbourhood residents to new housing projects, whether public or private, or improvement programs, the changes should include elements and services that the existing residents need and desire.
6. The maintenance and redevelopment of mixed inner city neighbourhoods should support their social and physical diversity. The present mixture of single family, duplex and family/boarder accommodation in inner city neighbourhoods should be retained and strengthened to provide housing for low to middle income persons.

7. Within diverse physical and social neighbourhoods, the opportunity of residents to choose between privacy and interaction with others should stand as an important design priority.
8. Where desired and feasible, adult social interaction and children's play should be encouraged by limiting vehicular traffic in neighbourhoods.
9. Since children typically make full use of the block in their play activity, the single "tot" lot or the large, isolated public park approach to play facilities should be reassessed, and opportunities for play should be enhanced on the boulevards, sidewalks, streets and lanes of our neighbourhoods.
10. A catalogue of approved building packages, including alternate building forms and siting arrangements and small park/play area designs, should be developed by the municipal authority in consultation with resident groups and implemented subject to local resident approval.
11. Low income residents living in the inner city should be offered a range of alternate forms of housing tenure, such as rental with option to purchase, ownership, share arrangements as in cooperatives, and low, controlled rental through non-profit corporations and improved forms of public housing.
12. The economic feasibility of block and neighbourhood improvements should be considered not only in present physical development costs but also in terms of anticipated physical and social benefits.
13. To assist in the formulation of improved urban legislation and to assist in the development of more responsive administrative procedures, comparative analyses should be made of a variety

of "blocks" to determine the impact of various block improvement schemes on surrounding neighbourhoods and the impact of governmental programs at the neighbourhood level.

14. To maximize neighbourhood impact, to reduce labour costs and to increase efficiency, home improvement projects, such as WHIP, should develop and concentrate their work in deteriorating sections of the city.
15. A comprehensive rehabilitation scheme for the improvement of housing conditions in an area should include both limited repair and extensive renovation, but should maximize the use and particular benefits of limited repair.
16. By projecting repair needs and desires from known population characteristics, the kind of rehabilitation program most suitable for an area should be anticipated and developed.
17. To increase employment, to develop and improve the rehabilitation skills of workers, to provide an employment outlet for job trainees, and to service low to middle income people with small scale repair needs, locally based private and non-profit rehabilitation companies should be established.
18. In particular, a form of non profit repair company should be developed which would operate on a share capital basis, with incentive bonuses provided to staff; this form of company has certain tax advantages, has protection against personal liability, and can accept government grants to allow it to provide a lower cost service to the client.
19. The municipality should serve as trustee and enforcer of any rent control agreements made between landlords and non-profit limited repair companies.

20. The municipality, in its enforcement of maintenance and building by-laws, should transfer ownership of expropriated properties to non-profit housing corporations, who would then contract for rehabilitation work with a non-profit repair company; thus, the condition of old housing stock is improved and rental rates stabilized.
21. Further study is required on the impact of limited repair on the residents, the working participants, the houses and the neighbourhood, and the economic effects of limited repair on property values and assessments, property taxes, and rental structure.
22. A wide range of governmental subsidies, including those used in public housing, should be available to community-based non-profit projects to assist in removing the financial obstacles to non-governmental sponsorship of housing for low income people.
23. CMHC should establish a subsidy adjustment mechanism, which would take into account family size and other special circumstances while calculating the allowable relationship between purchase price of houses and the gross income of tenants.
24. The Manitoba Provincial Government should amend existing legislation to enable non-profit groups to receive the property tax rebate, currently granted to homeowners and tenants.
25. Complete tax information should be provided to non-profit groups, so that total tax liabilities can either be capitalized in the loan or the necessary equity obtained.
26. CMHC should support the development of easy-to-read manuals and serious training programs in housing management for non-profit groups.

27. Since it is unrealistic to assume that self-sufficiency can come within a year, CMHC should revise its policy of start-up grants and provide long-term support for non-profit housing groups, perhaps on a declining basis for a five year period or until self-sufficiency is attained.
28. Local and regional staff of CMHC and other federal and provincial agencies should be granted considerable decision-making authority to encourage and approve very tangible forms of support for the experimental proposals of competent local non-profit sponsor groups.
29. Increased operational research and experimentation in more efficient methods of broadening and deepening community involvement, should be included as part of the development costs of neighbourhood projects and financed entirely through federal grants.
30. To encourage local response and swift action, large governmental bureaucracies should decentralize their administrative power, simplify their procedural requirements, and dispense more and larger grants for the formulation and study of new concepts by community organizations.
31. To obtain approval from governmental bodies, a sponsor should be required to submit an "environmental impact study", specifying the needs the project is serving, the effects of the project on the neighbourhood and its residents, and the wider implications of the project for the solution of problems in the urban area.
32. Efforts should be taken to recruit and finance in all major cities a resource pool of skilled and change-oriented professionals, who would be available to explore and analyze fully all planning alternatives upon request of local sponsor groups, to advocate proposals after decision by the sponsor group, and to assist in the implementation of the approved project.



TOWARD NEIGHBOURHOOD
IMPROVEMENT:
POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND
PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

Donald Epstein



Introduction

The main recommendations that emerge from the Housing Innovation and Neighbourhood Improvement studies cover a wide range of matters dealing with program operations, implementation mechanisms, government policy and administration, and research and evaluation (see pp. 335-341). In this concluding chapter, several of these recommendations and some highlights of the studies will be expanded somewhat and their utility explored in relation to the concept of neighbourhood improvement.

In the first two sections, some main implications of each of the studies are discussed, followed by a statement of the utility and desirability of a small-scale, block-by-block approach to neighbourhood improvement.

The discussion then turns to the nature of the legislative framework, specifically the new amendments to the National Housing Act. Two main topics are dealt with at this point: first, the relationship between the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and other new programs, particularly that of New Communities; and second, the problems contained in the NIP legislation itself.

The concluding sections set out some preliminary thoughts regarding the development of a neighbourhood improvement program. Particular aspects of this problem are discussed: the definition and selection of neighbourhoods, the nature of neighbourhood improvement planning and some of its specific components, the special

needs and problems of low-income residents, the need for improved approval procedures and financing of housing innovations and non-profit activities, and the role to be played by professionals in the formulation of neighbourhood improvement plans and non-profit projects.

Implications of the Studies

The preceding five studies contain numerous methods and suggestions for on-going work. Developed into an integrated package of programs, plans and strategies, and combined with yet additional experiments and services, they could be broadened into an effective, comprehensive approach to neighbourhood improvement. Such elements could be made to fit as pieces in a puzzle, such that the impact of the whole will be substantially greater than the sum of its parts.

The WHIP study¹ and related evaluations point to the efficacy of a locally based, locally staffed, and locally serving rehabilitation program. The program combines a high degree of "industrial democracy", collective responsibility, and visible improvement to the immediate physical environment. It has served

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1. Eric J. Barker, Carl Blanchaer and Donald Epstein, "Limited House Rehabilitation and Job Training: The Winnipeg Home Improvement Project", pp. 7-62 in this volume: Donald Epstein, ed., Housing Innovation and Neighbourhood Improvement: Change in Winnipeg's Inner City, Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, 1974.

as a means of "gainful employment", skill upgrading, and psychological satisfaction for the participants. It has certainly repaired homes to the satisfaction of their owners.

Thus, WHIP's generation of employment possibilities in low-income residential neighbourhoods could well serve as a key element within an overall improvement strategy. WHIP could combine its limited repair program with a range of related functions:

- assisting clients in the securing of government grants and loans;
- performing non-profit rehabilitation work for non-profit housing companies;
- "enforcing" maintenance and building standard by-laws on behalf of the city;
- combining with the municipality to develop rent control protection for tenants in exchange for limited repair of landlords' property;
- generating related neighbourhood employment opportunities (e.g. warehousing and non-profit distribution of building materials, staffing of "spin off" rehabilitation companies, etc.);
- providing education and instruction on home and property maintenance;
- providing "second opinions" for clients contemplating more extensive home projects;
- producing new ideas regarding alterations and functions of interior spaces;
- assisting in the planning and administering of larger scale improvement schemes.

The WHIP experience holds out the prospect of establishing economically viable, truly community-based, and even community-controlled urban rehabilitation companies. Such a company would have the initial advantage of having a relatively secure market position, since the generally low profit margins discourage private contractors to perform limited repairs and yet there exists a very large, demonstrable and continuous need for such work. Few existing organizations are geared to meet the need at cost levels required by low-income clients.

Bringing previously dependent "unemployables" into a new sector of the labour force would be a key step in the revitalization of depressed low-income neighbourhoods. For while improving the physical condition of their own area and its dwellings, these new workers would be improving their own standard of living. While reducing their direct dependency on social assistance programs, they, of course, would still require the indirect but full support of the government in their training, their work in inner city rehabilitation in general, and their development of a viable non-profit company. WHIP provides a clear example of the opportunity to redirect government policy and to reallocate substantial sums of money from welfare programs to positive improvement programs, by fully supporting individuals making the shift from dependency to self-sufficiency. Self-improvement in this basic sense is truly compatible and complementary to overall neighbourhood improvement.

Another important component of neighbourhood improvement is the growing activity of non-profit housing groups. For example, the People's Committee study examines the accomplishments and problems of a local corporation that is providing needed rental accommodation for low-income families, especially large ones,

at prices they can generally afford.² But to do this, such a non-profit corporation requires substantial and improved subsidies. Some subsidies should be paid directly to the corporation to reduce its amortization and management costs, the reduction then being passed on to the tenants in the form of low and stabilized rents. Other subsidies should go directly to the tenants themselves, as a supplement to meet the at-cost or economic rents set by the corporation. In both cases, however, the subsidies should take the form of comprehensive financial (particularly grant) packages to reduce or eliminate the subsidy shell game and continual grantsmanship now required by fragmented legislation and bureaucratic feudalism.

With a solid base of comprehensive support, both in money and services, non-profit corporations could move on to significant social housing experimentation and the establishment of new practices in the development and management of low and middle income housing. For example, they could pioneer in the removal of nearly all restraints on the social and economic mix and the residential activities of their tenants. As one element of this freer system, tenants in non-profit buildings could be empowered to alter spaces, to furnish and decorate as desired, and generally to maintain and improve the condition of their dwellings and open space. In short, they could be accorded the "ownership right" to control the use of their residence and, by being permitted a considerable degree of self-expression, to place their personal stamp on their rented homes without financial hardship. Maintenance and repair costs would still be paid by the corporation, but basic control would pass into the hands of the tenants.

2. Terry J. Partridge and Lloyd Axworthy, "Administration and Financing of Non-Profit Housing: The People's Committee For a Better Neighbourhood, Inc.", pp. 63-90 in this volume: Donald Epstein, ed., op. cit.

In this regard, WHIP-type operations or auxiliary non-profit repair and improvement companies could be of particularly important benefit to non-profit housing groups. An essential element of the rationale of non-profit housing groups are that they are rent control operations—one of the suggested prerequisites for WHIP assistance to "landlords". But rather than receiving job specifications from the non-profit landlord, a non-profit repair and alteration company would deal directly with the tenant. The tenant would be the one to develop a list of internal and external needs and to set work priorities. Thus, every new tenant would automatically receive any necessary rental supplement, a guaranteed draw upon the corporation's maintenance and repair fund, the right of decision over the particular specifications of the job, and immediate job assistance in implementing a physical plan of action. An integrated, follow-up process of this kind could easily distinguish the non-profit sector as a truly responsive agent serving the changing housing needs of low-income tenants.

Such a distinctive approach could greatly assist a municipal government in its efforts at improving the building and maintenance quality of its housing stock and the general physical and social environment in deteriorated, low-income neighbourhoods. As the "infill" study indicates, the trade-offs of inexpensive ownership, good housing conditions, and control over the dwelling unit were sufficient to compensate for an undesirable neighbourhood environment. The objections of the new resident-owners toward their former tenancy situation were clearly the "waste of money" (i.e. the lack of equity after payment of rent), the inadequacy of maintenance and repair by landlords, and the powerlessness and lack of incentive to control the use and appearance of the dwelling unit. An improved non-profit rental scheme might well be able to offer the necessary trade-offs

against the ownership impulse, for example in terms of low and controlled rents, immediate no-questions-asked maintenance and repair, and full freedom and control over living space. With the added feature of municipal servicing and neighbourhood improvement priorities granted to "non-profit neighbourhoods", the non-profit approach becomes most attractive.

In contrast to the People's Committee houses, i.e. older and larger scattered site houses that were repaired and rented, the "infill" case³ concerns a small dense cluster of four new homes inserted on a vacant lot in basically the same deteriorated, yet resistant, neighbourhood. On the positive side, the "infill" story is one of growing inter-personal relations among a small multi-ethnic, multi-racial group of families, satisfaction with their improved home environments, and relatively secure separation from the surrounding neighbourhood. By communicating the life drama that has occurred within the new units, the personal testimony of these new residents could become an important element in deepening the understanding of neighbourhood people toward new physical forms and of raising their confidence and identification in human terms with neighbourhood change. Despite the problems of this particular innovation, its intimate physical scale, its slowness of realization, and the limited number of people involved may be indicative of the best approach to neighbourhood improvement.

The "user reaction study" well illustrates the importance of adequate trade-offs to enable potential incoming residents to make the decision to purchase a home in an undesirable neighbourhood. In every case of planning for neighbourhood improvement,

3. Nancy J. O'Brien and Eric J. Barker, "Reactions to New Housing in a Low-Income Neighbourhood: The Mark VIII "Infill" Housing Project", pp. 91-212 in this volume: Donald Epstein, ed., op. cit.

a clear determination of the necessary mix is essential. In some cases, ownership of reasonably priced homes may supply the key; in others, an improved rental arrangement might be the necessary component. What is important is to try to anticipate and determine, if possible, the limits of acceptance and the priority of trade-offs present in each case.

As the "neighbourhood reaction study" suggests, the residents of the existing neighbourhood should receive the tangible benefits needed to permit them in return to trade off their opposition and hostility to change. Public relations techniques are clearly inadequate. Here again, a clear definition of need priorities and quick action is required. In many cases, the desires of old residents and new ones are identical and no problems will be encountered in satisfying both by the same improvement. In others, seemingly incompatible desires can be reconciled through sustained negotiation. In still others, the only pragmatic response is either to give every major interest satisfaction or to do nothing for the time being.

As an example, a viable mix in the Alexander "infill" area might have included:

- development of a vacant lot for recreational open space,
- rehabilitation and improved landscaping of surrounding homes and properties,
- a concentrated alcoholism treatment and prevention program,
- improved security measures,
- sustained household counselling.

The desired direction is clearly toward comprehensiveness of response to neighbourhood improvement demands. All possible

resources must be available and coordinated to deal with the mix of programs and projects specially developed for each area.

The St. Andrew's case⁴ illustrates many of the pressures and opportunities related to a mixed-use project. The pressures existent are toward economic viability, largeness of scale, security of rental income, uncomplicated, single-type housing, and a reasonably approvable mix of functions. The need does not have to be emphasized for improved government support and coordination if the mixture in such projects is to become even more imaginative and more usable by neighbourhood residents.

The opportunities of multi-purpose projects are many-fold. Mixed use facilities can combine physical location and social service delivery within a single structure in such a way as to maximize the effect on individuals and household units. One important type of merger is that of treatment service centers (e.g. social assistance, social counselling, law enforcement and legal aid, home repair services, medical facilities, and the like) with anticipatory planning agencies (e.g. a neighbourhood improvement unit having direct liaison with a coordinating municipal planning body, an office for the area community committee, ward counsellors and resident advisory group, meeting rooms for local citizen groups, offices for local non-profit housing corporations, and offices for independent resource groups or individuals at the disposal of area residents). This combination would bring together the processes of treatment response and prevention programming for more efficient and effective responses to neighbourhood problems.

4. Donald Epstein, "Housing, Church and Community Space: The St. Andrew's Place Redevelopment Project", pp. 213-254 in this volume: Donald Epstein, ed., op. cit.

Another most desirable merger is that between service planning units and normal day-to-day facilities, e.g. food shops, laundry, hardware, barber shop, thrift shop, buyers clubs, bank, hobby rooms, recreational and social facilities, public transit stations, and so on. This combination is needed to draw residents into the proximity of the former by locating their daily destinations within a common structure or circulation route. The interspersing pattern should be such that attractive clusters of related and reinforcing facilities are formed. For example, such a combination might include food shops, a delivery service staffed by neighbourhood youths or the "unemployed", a consumer protection and information agency, a buyers club, library or recreational babysitting for shopping parents, while-you-shop repair services, etc.⁵

In recognition of the multi-faceted opportunities of mixed-use projects and of the economics of development, the St. Andrew's case certainly charts an important direction for various institutions in the use of their land and property holdings. Churches own a substantial amount of real estate and buildings in this country. Were they to generate new community-related concepts and were they willing to cede part of their management control and planning authority to area residents, as did St. Andrew's, important initiatives might be made toward improvement of many neighbourhoods in the nation's cities. The next logical and most significant step in this direction would be to find a way to bring other influential institutions that hold substantial neighbourhood real estate, in particular the charter banks, insurance companies, development conglomerates, universities, and all levels of government, to follow the lead.

5. Probably the most interesting work regarding mixed-use facilities, particularly with respect to shopping center development and schools, has been done in Sweden. In Denmark, the City of Copenhagen has also begun the development of numerous municipal multi-service centers. This author has explored the mixed-use concept as well in relation to university and city planning. See Donald Epstein, Community Integration of Dispersed University Centers: Planning Copenhagen's City University, General Planning Department, Copenhagen, 1973.

A small example of the apparent openness of a provincial government to resident-generated proposals concerning a near block of provincial-owned houses is the Arlington-Evanson project.⁶ The residents' proposals will soon go to the Province, which has guaranteed them first option on the property. While there is considerable sentiment among the residents for a cooperative approach, the financial calculus favours home ownership. It remains to be seen what the group's proposal and the provincial response will be.

The Arlington-Evanson project raises the scale of activity reported in the five studies to a residential block of nearly twenty homes. It is an important feature of the project that the architect-designer pair entered the block with the intentions largely of reinforcing existing activity patterns, which they discovered through sustained observation and resident interviews, and of expanding to as wide a degree as possible the activity opportunities open to children and adults of different ages.

Changes were certainly recommended, but always limited in scope by the recognition that here was an existing group of people wishing to preserve their places on the street and to make modest improvements to their situation. It would not be correct to assume, however, that this group of people held a preexisting sense of community or pride in their area and that they, therefore, already had a solid basis for cooperation in a program of preservation and improvement. Rather, that sense, if it exists has only emerged as a result of sustained communication, a demonstration of research findings, and a set of practical proposals that engaged them in a common effort.

This should be an important recognition for planners and organizers of neighbourhood improvement programs. For it is often assumed that because residents of deteriorated areas exhibit no recognizable

6. Eric J. Barker and Nancy J. O'Brien, "Resident Behaviour and Residential Block Design: The Arlington-Evanson Project", pp. 255-334 in this volume: Donald Epstein, ed. Housing Innovation and Neighbourhood Improvement: Change in Winnipeg's Inner City, Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, 1974.

sense of community, because they resist involvement (i.e. coming to meetings, looking at exhibits, being interviewed), and because they express no pride in their neighbourhood, there is nothing really worthwhile preserving. Arlington-Evanson shows that, while it was not a deteriorated neighbourhood for NIP purposes, the general conception of the necessary scale for physical renewal may be profoundly misleading and requirements of prior resident enthusiasm quite naive. In positive terms, the project holds out the clear prospect of defining our neighbourhood improvement efforts as block-by-block demonstrations of tangible, non-threatening change.

The Scale's the Thing

Taken as a whole, then, these studies provide a realistic base for a coordinated and flexible approach to the revitalization and improvement of inner city neighbourhoods. Clearly, they omit the large elements of the urban system—major transportation corridors, technical services and installations, subdivision and shopping center development, commercial redevelopment, major land use distinctions. But, on the other hand, they place these macro-elements in clearer perspective. They focus first on what is the most immediate, indeed probably the most important, living environments of any community--the individual home and its immediately surrounding block environment. By doing so, the impact of larger urban elements emerge in more recognizable human scale. By focusing at that level, we begin to grasp the inputs of vehicular traffic, the range of city services, new housing developments or commercial re-development, school, shop and industrial location, the functions of parks and other forms of open space, and the nature of pedestrian circulation and play activity--all as they affect the residential block.

Ideally, the lessons learned from these intimate experiences and the integrated improvement approach implied in these experimental studies should serve as welcome guides to the planning and implementation of larger schemes. In the past, city planning and urban renewal have generally been performed at the macro-scale of the large district, city or more recently the region. Architecture and housing design, on the other hand, have largely been concerned with specific buildings or sites. However, it is a clear fact that in general the large schemes have forced small scale environments to adjust and respond. Thus far, contemporary planning theory and the legislative framework have legitimated the supremacy of the large scale and the aggregate approach to city planning. But aggregate studies and large scale system planning are increasingly seen as too course-grained for neighbourhood analysis and too removed from many of the day-to-day needs of the multiple groups comprising a city's population. Accordingly, large-scale master or city plans are increasingly being viewed more as end-products of, rather than initial parameters to, local action and "district plans".

Both some basic currents in contemporary urban thought and the studies contained in this volume demonstrate the need for a less than middle ground of small scale. Symbolizing the shift downward in scale is the transition from "urban renewal" and "model cities", through "community organizing" and "community control", to various "neighbourhood" concepts. After a period in which "communities" were thought to be the most meaningful expressions of socio-physical entities within the city, references to "street neighbourhoods"⁷, "neighbourhood government"⁸, and "neighbourhood improvement"⁹

7. See Jane Jacobs, Death and Life of Great American Cities, Random House, New York, 1961.

8. See Milton Kotler, Neighbourhood Government: The Local Foundations of Political Life, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis and New York, 1969.

9. See Part III.1 of the National Housing Act of Canada, amended 1973.

now appear to be growing in popularity and use. Neighbourhood seems to offer a more precise physical definition, despite its remaining need for clarification. All this in the search for a more meaningful scale and a revitalized form of urban renewal.

The five case studies work toward the same objective of meaningful small scale from the opposite direction. From studies of individual houses and resident behaviour, they progress to a small, concentrated redevelopment complex and on to a residential block. As such, they represent a steady widening of physical scope and an argument for important intermediate levels of scale as appropriate to the particular needs of small neighbourhoods. In a sense, it is a North American version of the European "quarter", without the tradition to be sure, but with the same essential human scale.

Neighbourhood improvement according to this approach is a combination of many small neighbourhood or block strategies. For it is essentially at that level that the maximum degree of self-help and participant control can be combined with tangible improvement. At such a scale, inner city planning can proceed in a more understandable, more immediate, and more controllable context. A reduction in scale should be directed toward forging a viable small-scale complement to town and regional planning--a means through which larger-scale, aggregate planning can be redirected toward the provision of socially desired, neighbourhood-determined services. At the other end, architectural design should be enriched with greater input from and responsibility to the users and the surrounding neighbourhood.

While for political purposes "neighbourhoods" may be defined and selected as relatively large units--perhaps equivalent to a ward of 10,000 inhabitants, or even a section of a ward containing as few as 1,000 people--it does not necessarily

follow that the actual phased improvement of neighbourhoods should be planned and executed at such a scale. For, in an operational sense, one can conceive of neighbourhood improvement as the improvement of individual blocks or small clusters of blocks. Together, they may comprise a neighbourhood or they may be defined by their residents as the neighbourhood itself. If a basic thrust emerges from the studies contained in this volume, it is that this block scale is perhaps the most viable, most productive and most improvable scale for planning and implementation.

A block-by-block improvement approach is by no means inconsistent with, or offered as a rebuttal to, larger development plans. Rather, it is maintained here that, even with the existence of a district or neighbourhood improvement plan, particular operations and their staging should occur at the block scale. Such a basic approach should reduce homogeneity in design and program response, be a spur to innovation, and be a safeguard against larger than necessary mistakes. To develop an effective operating strategy of this kind, however, will require improved resources of all kinds, effective coordination, and a flexible and amendable legislative framework.

The Limits of Legislation

Increasingly impressed upon us all are the practical limitations of legislation and administrative regulations in specific policy fields. Just as we have taken in this volume a broad view of housing, our definitions are still constrained by our perceptions of manageability and our pragmatic work in the housing and planning field.

It is obvious, but at the same time critical to bear to mind, that housing policies and programs established within a relatively non-supportive or inconsistent legislative and/or societal framework, are weak to begin with. Most important, of course, are the existing realities of taxation, income and wealth distribution, finance, budget allocation, and property law. Other national and regional policies crucially affecting the nature of housing alternatives and decisions are immigration, industrial development, energy resource development, and manpower policies.

Without the comprehensive and thoroughly consistent support of national policies rooted in an agreed set of goals and priorities, the success of housing programs come to depend largely upon their own internal resources and strengths.

The new package of National Housing Act amendments provide some worthy improvements in the legislative framework. But they suffer, as have their predecessors, from significant limitations. While they set in motion some worthwhile movements toward neighbourhood improvement, rehabilitation, and public ownership of land, they do not provide the back-up assistance to the degree necessary to deal effectively with anticipated consequences. They fall far short in terms of social planning, operating funds, incentives and/or controls necessary for private compliance; rental supports, subsidies to non-profit operations, start-up grants, management and resource assistance.

Whereas there now exists an Assisted Home Ownership Program, no comparable "assisted tenancy program" has been developed. Similarly, the home purchaser protection program is not

complemented by a nationwide user or tenant protection plan. Moreover, no operating guidelines are provided for the enforcement mechanisms mentioned in the legislation, such as rent control, citizen involvement, building and maintenance by-laws, and the basic federal-provincial agreements themselves.

Of all the new programs, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) is being seen today as the key vehicle through which all the government's urban housing programs can be coordinated and directed toward the renewal of "seriously deteriorated" urban districts. There are two major types of difficulties with NIP, however. First, there is a serious question as to the financial support and operational priority to be accorded NIP relative to other federal programs, particularly the New Communities Program. Second, the Neighbourhood Improvement provisions themselves contain numerous problem areas in substance, interpretation and implementation.

Older Neighbourhoods and New Communities

The first major concern about the new NHA amendments is the support and priority to be accorded NIP relative to New Communities. These two programs represent two basic alternatives, though not necessarily contradictory approaches, to urban development.

The first is designed to revitalize "seriously deteriorated neighbourhoods", the second to develop new areas of "planned urban growth having all the facilities of a self-contained community".¹⁰ The first is generally described as a stabilization

10. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), "New National Housing Act Programs: Neighbourhood Improvement Program" and "New Communities Program", August 1973.

program, while the second is a growth strategy. In reality, however, both can be viewed as growth strategies, since most cases of neighbourhood improvement are expected to increase density, rather than lower it or leave it unchanged.

It is most doubtful, however, that both approaches can or will be funded simultaneously to the extent necessary for each. Choices will be required, priorities will have to be set. Where then are most available funds likely to be allocated and to be used?

The comparative financial arrangements established for these two programs clearly favour the new communities approach.

Item: The development and implementation of neighbourhood improvement plans are to proceed "within the limits of predetermined funds" as contained in federal-provincial agreements and at the time of approval of individual projects. New communities, on the other hand, are funded without predetermined limits, but rather on a percentage share basis of the "total capital costs, profits and losses of the project pursuant to" a federal-provincial agreement.¹¹

Item: To finance the costs permitted under NIP, the federal government will make contributions covering 50% of most costs and 25% of some others. In contrast, the federal government will pay up to 75% of all allowable capital costs, profits and losses for development of new communities.

Item: Of the remaining costs under NIP, CMHC will extend loans for up to 75% of that subtotal. On the other hand, CMHC will extend loans for up to 90% of the remaining cost of new community development.

11. National Housing Act, Part VI.1, 45.1, (4).

Item: CMHC loans for NIP contain no forgiveness provisions. For New Communities, however, the Corporation is prepared to forgive payment of 50% of the loans covering two large cost categories - "planning" and "acquiring land used for recreational or other community social facilities".¹²

Item: Loan terms for both programs are for periods of 25 years, but the New Communities Program makes an extension to 50 years possible for "lands and services that are to be leased by the province, agency or corporation to which the loan is made."¹³

The attractiveness of the new communities concept and the pressures for developing them are very great. The interests of large-scale developers, financial institutions, provincial governments, most prestige planners and many urbanologists are closely aligned with the new communities approach. It offers comparatively few operational difficulties: it is clean development on open land, with no existing residents or conflicting land use, typically no opposition or restrictions by existing municipal governments, unrestricted in terms of housing type or cost range, and potential for maximum fallout for industry, finance, commerce, the professions and others.

New communities are and will be extremely expensive propositions. However, no information is at present available regarding the amount of money allocated for the New Communities Program, in large measure because pre-allocation is not required. But it is probably indicative to note the comparison of monies thus far allocated for the new NHA programs.

12. Ibid., 45.3.

13. Ibid., 45.2 (3) (d) (i).

As of January 1974, the federal government had committed the following funds for its new housing programs:¹⁴

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. Neighbourhood Improvement (NIP) | over \$ 60 million |
| 2. Non-profit and Co-operative Housing | over 60 million |
| 3. Residential Rehabilitation Assistance
(RRAP) | ? million |
| 4. Assisted Home Ownership (AHOP)
(in last quarter 1973) | over 100 million |
| 5. Land Assembly Assistance (LAAP) | |
| - in 1973 | over 150 million |
| - for five year period | (500)million |
| 6. New Communities | ? |

As indicated, funds amounting to \$500 million over the next five years have been allocated to the federal government's major land assembly program. These funds could most directly be tied in with the development of new communities. Both programs offer 90% loans for the acquisition and servicing of land for housing purposes. But, whereas the land assembly program also includes "any purpose incidental thereto", the new communities legislation leaves less to the imagination. In particular, and very importantly, the new communities legislation provides loans specifically including the acquisition of land "to be used for transportation corridors linking the community to other communities or for public open space in or around the new community or separating it from any other community;...and the designing and installation of utilities and other services that are required for the development of the community and normally publicly owned".¹⁵

14. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, News Release, January 2, 1974.

15. NHA, Part VI.1, 45.1, 45.1, (1) (a) (c). (Italics mine).

To obtain federal assistance in these costly urban-related areas, therefore, the incentive is certainly towards new community development. The two programs--new communities and land assembly—could be very neatly "stacked", since the former covers cost sharing (including losses) for largely non-revenue producing land uses, and the latter could be used to finance the more profitable parts of the development, since LAAP specifies that "CMHC does not share in profits or losses".¹⁶ LAAP, as does New Communities, also provides a 75% federal share for land acquisition, compared to 50% under the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. Furthermore, since large-scale commercial redevelopment has nearly reached its peak in most major central business districts and, not unimportantly, has suffered of late from rising criticism and demands for development freezes, the pressures are increasingly outward -- first toward alternative suburban growth centers and now, with the new legislation, toward new exurban communities. (While, theoretically, "new towns in towns" might be possible under a very liberal interpretation of the legislation, it is doubtful that any euphemism for the rejected "urban renewal" approach will gain much acceptance.)

The new communities approach is a powerful one due also to its forceful inertia and larger scale. A "new community", according to the legislation, is to have "all the facilities of a self-contained community" and is to be "spatially separated from an established community."¹⁷ Once such a new town is sanctioned, once the plans and concepts are approved and the transportation corridors and service installations committed, the project develops a very powerful internal logic toward continuance. It must proceed to its long range and large

16. CMHC, "New National Housing Act Programs: Land Assembly Assistance", August 1973.

17. Ibid., "New Communities Program".

scale conclusion, despite typically inflated costs, expansionary amendments to plans and designs, and revised feasibility studies. The supposed logic of comprehensive development, and the part definition of viability as bigness, dictates a long-term and extraordinary financial commitment.

The New Communities Program has not elicited much active interest as yet on the part of most provinces or other parties. But it is only a matter of time. Particularly due to the ex post facto funding arrangements for new community development, hurried activity in the short run is unnecessary. In addition, before federal-provincial agreements can be consummated, the province is obliged to indicate "its plans for urban growth, including the location, size and order of development of other new communities".¹⁸ Finally, another precondition requires a politically and administratively sensitive decision as to the designated planning and development agency or corporation responsible for the new community. Once such matters are cleared up, however, the attractiveness of and pressure for new community development should build substantially.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program, on the other hand, has some, but not nearly as influential, proponents -- some citizen and ratepayers groups, low-income neighbourhood residents, some professionals, small-scale housing developers, and perhaps most important, the municipalities. But concerted action is difficult to mount throughout the various stages of the process. For neighbourhood improvement, while it is accorded some substantial financial incentives, is slow moving and fraught with the complications of public participation,

18. NHA, Part VI.1, 45.1 (2).

local decision-making, existing resident conflicts, adjacent land uses, relocation and the like. The slice of the pie that old neighbourhoods can obtain will depend in large part on the speed with which they can mobilize themselves, the amount of political and administrative pressure they can bring to bear at both the municipal and provincial levels, and the skilled resources that are made available to them.

In the competition for available public and private funds, the new communities approach has distinct and powerful advantages, not the least being that it is the prestige path of least resistance. New communities are basically high-priced, well-supported, large-scale provincial initiatives capable of commanding substantial funds from both governmental and additional private sources. Old neighbourhoods are lower-priced, small-scale and very intricate municipal responsibilities rather largely dependent on government money. New communities, then, confront old neighbourhoods with their most recent challenge. Under present circumstances, if a choice is forced, the old neighbourhoods and the inner cities are once again in danger of suffering their traditional too little, too late approach.

It is the opinion here that neighbourhood improvement within our existing metropolitan areas should be accorded top priority. However, if the visions of new communities prove impossible for policy-makers to resist, then at the very least they must be inextricably linked with the existing old neighbourhoods within the city. In other words, while they may be spatially separated, their development should serve as far as possible the functional, social, and economic needs of inner city areas. This implies a reasonable sharing of overall funds, talents and other resources. It also implies a clear coordination of efforts and a high degree of anticipatory planning regarding the ways in which new towns can help existing neighbourhoods and their residents.

In the long run, new towns and older neighbourhoods can be complementary, at least in a physical planning sense. As in Britain, new towns can be intended as "spillover areas" for the growing or dispossessed residents of over-populated central cities, enabling the municipalities to proceed apace with various forms of "urban renewal". In other cases, as in Sweden, new towns have been developed as satellite growth centers to avoid over-concentration in central city neighbourhoods, while improvement proceeds within them. (The special cases of remote new towns with local economic or resource bases are unrelated to the improvement of existing urban areas, although the New Communities Program specifically applies to their development.)

In short, new town development should assist older inner city neighbourhoods and their residents in very tangible terms. The economic and service fallout to them should be maximized. For instance, the development of transportation corridors, roads, mass transit stations and station-related development should be such that existing city residents, especially the most vulnerable low-income residents living in improvement areas, benefit in terms of improved service, access, and secondary development (for example, through the use of air-rights construction). Certainly the environmental potential of existing neighbourhoods must be carefully protected, and positively improved wherever transportation interventions occur. In terms of housing, guaranteed replacement or alternative offerings should be provided for NIP areas and other disadvantaged residents in all new town developments. Service installations to new towns should be developed such that they require and even assist in funding the improvement of older city services. Employment locations should be picked not only in reference to the new town's populations, but also to the nearby city

residents that require increased access to job possibilities. In these and other ways, all new communities development would have a most substantial component of neighbourhood improvement built in.

Neighbourhood improvement is relevant for all Canadian cities. New communities, on the other hand, are particularly relevant to Toronto, Montreal and perhaps Vancouver, as a way of channeling the anticipated growth of their regions away from the existing metropolises. But new community development is as yet of doubtful relevance for the great majority of Canadian cities. For many cities, growth might best be planned through improved forms of subdivision developments--"cities in the suburbs" in Humphrey Carver's phrase. As such, the usual NHA programs with improved funding would provide the legislative basis for its growth strategy while not endangering to nearly the same degree the supremacy of a revitalized downtown or the prospect for inner city neighbourhood improvement.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the New Communities Program might be used in ways not specifically provided for in the legislation. With very flexible interpretation, two additional possibilities exist: one, that a new community could be developed, as in some British cases, by expanding existing rural satellite towns of larger cities; and, two, by developing large "open" tracts within the cities, specifically obsolete rail yards or industrial sites. For a city like Winnipeg, for instance, both approaches might have considerable merit. And again, in both instances, new town development could and should serve the needs of the older existing city neighbourhoods.

The first approach, while also holding down spatial growth of the metropolis itself, might have particular merit as a way of developing a type of alternative or transitional city.

As a "rural city", such an environment could be geared to the needs and life styles of both rural migrants moving toward a new and more satisfactory form of urbanization, as well as current city dwellers looking for such a rural urbanism.

The second approach, a form of "new town in town" without wholesale demolition of existing neighbourhoods, is definitely a growth policy for the city. As such, it contains all the potentially harmful effects and consequences of over-concentration of population and structures. However, since the new communities legislation provides for acquisition of land for open space, recreation facilities and transportation corridors, large rail yards, for example, could be transformed into much needed rapid transit systems and green areas within the city. Once again, close coordination with neighbourhood improvement planning is required.

The question now at hand is how suitable to the large task of neighbourhood improvement are the new NHA programs. In particular, does the Neighbourhood Improvement Program provide the framework and the tools needed for the job?

"Neighbourhood Improvement" and "Urban Renewal"

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program as presently written is in many respects a complex, confusing and potentially ineffective piece of legislation. While there are currently rather high hopes and a considerable degree of publicity for NIP, an examination of the program yields many troublesome problem areas. Because of these difficulties, it will require substantial good will and a high level of skill and favourable interpretation to make NIP work to the limit possible under the circumstances.

The first basic fact is that NIP must function under rather adverse financial circumstances. The federal-provincial agreements, required before the municipalities can commence their neighbourhood improvement planning, must provide that "the total contribution made by the Corporation (CMHC) will be limited to the total amount approved at the time of the agreement and that the contribution of the Corporation for individual projects will be limited to the amounts approved at the time each project is approved".¹⁹ These severe constraints force neighbourhood improvement effort into a highly rigidified, pre-budgetted and competitive situation. If the federal government has committed itself to a seemingly blank cheque, 75% share of all capital costs, profits and losses with the developers of new communities, certainly a similar financing system is justified for developers of renewed neighbourhoods and the project sponsors operating within them.

As part of the financing of NIP, CMHC offers grant assistance of up to 50% of the cost of acquisition and clearance of land "for medium and low density housing for individuals or families of low and moderate income".²⁰ Why high density housing is implicitly excluded from the program is unknown. The definition and limits of medium density, particularly the maximum permissible, will certainly have to be clarified. Possibly, plans could be drawn that included spots of rather high density, especially of the low-rise form, as long as they were suitably combined with those of considerably lower density to produce an acceptable average. Without pursuing the argument at length here, suffice it to say that in many inner city districts, a considerable increase in density would be most desirable, not to mention necessary, in order to improve other elements of the neighbourhood environment, such

19. NHA, Part III.1, 27.1, (2), (f). Italics mine.

20. Ibid., 27.2, (a), (iii). Italics mine.

as public transport, shopping facilities, and certain types of employment developments. Whether the desired overall increase could be accomplished without some high density development is questionable. Needless to say, the insertion of higher density housing requires as a complement the provision for a higher degree of open space allocation.

The upper limit of "moderate income" is also an important but undefined quantity. Since the latest definition of the lower income ceiling appears to be about \$11,000,²¹ moderate income might conceivably range up to \$18,000 or more. While an economic mix is a desirable objective, insertion of new or rehabilitated housing for moderate-income residents threatens to affect adversely the position and tenure of existing and prospective low-income residents of the neighbourhood. Particularly low-income tenants will have to be protected from any improvement that tends to drive the housing market out of their reach. If improvement is thought to imply a rapid rise in the "social standard" of the area, NIP threatens to accomplish quietly what urban renewal did with a bulldozer.

Site acquisition and clearance is to be handled both within the NIP provisions and those of the Land Assembly Assistance Program (LLAP). For these purposes, NIP applies to areas both within designated improvement areas and in other non-designated, low-income areas. For the latter, NIP restricts clearance to "small pockets of substandard residential and/or non-residential buildings in a community without requiring the same procedures of

21. The Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP) places the ceiling of "lower income families" at \$11,000. The same maximum figure is used for homeowner eligibility under the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP).

the Neighbourhood Improvement Program."²² Presumably, this curious statement refers to the NIP procedures for citizen participation, provincial approval, and the process of area designation. For acquisition and clearance in non-NIP areas, the federal government provides a grant covering 25% of the costs, including relocation (as opposed to 50% for NIP area properties and relocation), plus a loan of up to 75% of the remainder.

However, for acquisition and clearance in NIP areas themselves, no statement regarding "small pockets" exists. Thus, theoretically, considerable parcels of land could be bought and structures demolished for low and medium density, low to moderate income housing, for "open space or community facilities" (CMHC here refers to "social and recreational amenities"), or simply to remove a land use that is inconsistent "with the general character of the neighbourhood".²³ Since the legislation further provides 50% grant funding for the construction or improvement of "neighbourhood recreation or social facilities" (no other forms of construction costs are fundable under NIP), it can be anticipated that municipalities will be most interested in developing such facilities in NIP areas. While their definitions will be the subject of some debate, these facilities could conceivably take the dangerous form of large-scale sports complexes or other projects that could endanger the social fabric of older neighbourhoods. If a "neighbourhood" facility also emerges as one of wider urban use, improvement again poses a serious threat to the host community.

With respect to the critical problem of relocation, NIP requires the province or municipality to "advise the Corporation of the manner in which an individual who has been dispossessed of housing

22. CMHC, "New National Housing Act Programs: Neighbourhood Improvement Program", August 1973. (Italics mine).

23. NHA, Part III.1, 27.2, (a), (ii) and (iii), and (b), (ii).

accommodation as a result of a project...will be compensated for any expenses arising from the dispossession". It further requires that "the municipality demonstrate the availability of alternate accommodation within the means of the dispossessed individuals".²⁴ These provisions, however, are clearly insufficient and say nothing about where such accommodation is available, when it is to be available, how it is to be obtained, what type of "alternate" accommodation must be demonstrated, and whether compensation for "expenses" is the full extent of the government's responsibility to the dispossessed tenant.

LAAP requires that the borrower, i.e., the municipality, province or publicly owned housing agency, "provide replacement accommodation at least equal to the number of buildings removed or demolished".²⁵ The unfortunate implication of this provision is that relocated persons, generally those of low income inhabiting cheap, substandard dwellings, could be placed in equally substandard dwellings in other districts. The LAAP provision also curiously deals in the replacement of numbers of buildings, rather than dwelling units, or net square feet per dwelling or person, or some other more precise measure. Perhaps this implies a policy of "a house for a house", but it leaves the door completely open to nearly all interpretations. The funding of relocation is also confusing, since under two provisions in the NIP legislation, the federal government provides for NIP area relocation a 50% grant and, under the site clearance provision concerning non-NIP areas, a maximum 25% grant toward the cost of relocation.²⁶ Nowhere, however, are the mechanics or procedures for relocation specified, and nowhere are the rights of the dispossessed clarified and protected.

24. Ibid., 27.1 (2), (e), (e.1).

25. CMHC, "New National Housing Act Programs: Land Assembly Assistance," August 1973. (Italics mine)

26. NHA, Part III.1, 27.2, (a), (vii) and 27.4 (a).

"Rehabilitation of existing dwellings is a primary federal objective for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program."²⁷ As such, the provisions of the new Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) are expected to constitute "an integral part of all undertakings" under NIP. RRAP, however, contains its own serious shortcomings relative to neighbourhood improvement.

First of all, since most highly deteriorated areas are characterized by landlord-tenant situations, it is most important to note the provisions and implications of RRAP for the landlord and tenant. The program requires that only NIP or special area landlords of family units who "agree to rent controls" and who agree not to sell or dispose of their property for the specified term of their contract with CMHC (up to twenty years) may receive loans and the accompanying forgiveness maximum of \$2,500 per dwelling unit from the Corporation.²⁸

In an area undergoing improvement, and consequently an area in which the formerly depressed property values and rents can normally be expected to rise to more usual levels, it is highly dubious that many landlords will accept the RRAP conditions. NIP area landlords may be forced to upgrade their property if the province or municipality strongly enforces the "occupancy and building maintenance standards" required by RRAP. In such cases, however, they generally would choose to arrange their own rehabilitation financing or to sell, thereby retaining their rights of rent-setting and disposition. The only saving grace of this situation would be if enforcement pressure drove many landlords into selling their properties to the government at more reasonable prices than would have been the case before enforcement. Public purchase could take place under the provisions of either LAAP or NIP.

27. CMHC, "New National Housing Act Programs: Neighbourhood Improvement Program", August 1973.

28. Ibid., "Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program", August 1973.

In a real sense, the legislation's stick of occupancy and building maintenance by-laws might be far more effective in forcing landlords toward accepting the RRAP conditions if they were enforced long before neighbourhoods were designated as NIP areas and before property owners were aware that they were soon to benefit from an overall improvement process. That being the case, RRAP's restriction to non-resident owners of family housing units located within designated NIP areas is a profound mistake. It robs the program of potential effectiveness prior to NIP or special designation in numerous areas already deteriorated and many more areas suffering varying degrees of decline.

Through all of this, it is as usual the low-income tenant who stands to lose or at the most does not receive the needed benefit. Without effective rent controls, rehabilitation can often mean dispossession for the economically vulnerable tenant. Rehabilitation of privately-held property under RRAP also is restricted to "family housing units" and thus leaves untouched the hard core poverty and condemnable living conditions of the childless poor.

With the problems inherent in RRAP and in by-law enforcement, NIP's housing activity becomes rather heavily biased, despite statements to the contrary, toward site acquisition and clearance of rental properties, rehabilitation of owner-occupied dwellings, and construction of new homes for ownership (under AHOP). Interspersed in the overall housing improvement in these areas might be a modest amount of non-profit and cooperative efforts, plus some public housing. With a strong input from some local homeowners, and perhaps senior citizens, however, indigenous opposition to rental housing for low-income families may emerge.

Another related area of great concern is the question of public participation. "The purpose of NIP is to encourage and support

efforts of municipalities in concert with neighbourhood residents".²⁹ The legislation requires that the province, in its agreement with the federal government, "advise the Corporation of the manner in which the province or municipality proposes to obtain the participation of the residents of that neighbourhood in planning and carrying out the project for which assistance is sought".³⁰ While CMHC must be informed of these intentions, "it is provincial and local authorities who determine the most effective means for ensuring such participation".³¹

Unfortunately, no guidelines for participation exist. If resident involvement is not achieved, for whatever reason, presumably the program can proceed without it. Afterwards, neighbourhood residents are to have the opportunity for evaluation:

The success of any Neighbourhood Improvement Program will be assessed in terms of the benefits resulting for residents of the neighbourhood and the way in which they regard its achievement of their community aspirations.³²

The danger of course is that an assessment of damages after the fact does nothing to prevent it. Moreover, those that are most adversely affected will probably no longer be available for comment.

NIP is essentially a municipal program. Control is placed squarely in the hands of city authorities or those they designate. As such, NIP potentially weakens the hands of the numerous self-help groups and non-profit corporations working in deteriorated, low-income areas of the city. Once an area is designated as a NIP area, efforts

29. CMHC, "New National Housing Act Programs: Neighbourhood Improvement Program", August 1973. (Italics mine).

30. NHA, Part III.1, 27.1 (2)(c). (Italics mine).

31. CMHC, op.cit.

32. Ibid.

of all those working in the area must logically be coordinated within the program. That the participation requirements of the legislation are strong enough to protect self-help activity is doubtful.

In the best cases, non-profit and citizen group activity will gain in impact as part of a larger effort. But in the worst cases, certain municipalities can use the program, as they did urban renewal, to starve them of funds, to supervise more closely their activities, or all but drive them out of business. What is clear, at any rate, is that the Neighbourhood Improvement Program places the municipality between non-profit groups and the federal government in designated NIP areas, whereas before the program, such groups could go directly to regional offices or Ottawa for assistance.

The fact that NIP is a municipal program may have one positive side effect. For, in the best of efforts, a high degree of administrative and policy coordination will be a prerequisite to successful performance. With a neighbourhood improvement program as a stimulus, this coordination of numerous municipal programs and services might well be continued on a wider basis.

The inner cities have always been threatened by public policies and private initiatives that offered either too little too late, or too much too soon. Either old neighbourhoods have been left to decay through inaction or been threatened with demolition to accommodate the great new downtowns of the nation. And, through it all, they have been offered the rhetoric of renewal.

Will the new National Housing Act be just another stage of rhetoric while legitimizing another round of too little, too late? The writers of the legislation appear to have had the experience of

the past in mind and have attempted to provide some protective principles missing in previous renewal attempts. The site clearance provisions are not intended "as a means to assemble land for redevelopment purposes". The legislation requires municipal demonstration of "the availability of alternative accommodations within the means of persons displaced by site clearance projects". It declares "rehabilitation of existing dwellings (to be) a primary federal objective". And it sees "participation of the residents in the program for the neighbourhood...as a very important factor".³³ But in the reality of policy implementation, it remains to be seen if the transition from renewal to improvement will offer more than just a rhetorical shift.

NIP is a treatment program, not a preventative or anticipatory one. Its focus is in "seriously deteriorated neighbourhoods", not deteriorating ones or those in danger of deterioration. As such, NIP applies itself to the same areas as did the old and discredited urban renewal program, with those added "protections" regarding relocation, public participation, and emphasis on rehabilitation. It remains to be seen whether such statements are transformed into the effective mechanisms by which the program can become a true alternative to old style urban renewal. If the program does live up to that expectation, it will be most valuable to know whether it was the quality of the legislation, the skill and standards used in its implementation, or rather the "new politics" of the cities that was mainly responsible.

33. Ibid.

Planning for Neighbourhood Improvement

The initial requirement under NIP is the designation of areas in conformance with the criteria established in the legislation and succeeding regulations. However, the drawing of boundaries defining specific areas in which certain approaches and funds can be used, and others in which they cannot, can establish a false or unrealistic framework for a neighbourhood's improvement. The urgency of establishing those boundaries for funding purposes also tends to preclude extensive use of flexible and important functional or social measures to determine neighbourhoods. Moreover, there is reason to believe that many of the programs provided for NIP or special areas, such as rehabilitation assistance, are just the ones that are more needed outside of the designated areas.

There is nothing inherently wrong with the demonstration idea of marshalling limited resources in a concentrated effort in defined areas to achieve maximum impact. However, the results emanating from that concept will not reflect the need or the effort if the organizational and structural framework does not coincide with the operational realities, if the means chosen are not adapted to the objectives, if the social and economic consequences of physical changes are unanticipated and harmful, and if expectations and promises are elevated beyond realization. Even in the best of demonstrations, moreover, the general application to a larger number of areas is often not forthcoming. Such may be the fate of good ideas.

How are neighbourhoods to be defined prior to selection as demonstration areas under NIP? No specific guidelines are provided in the legislation, the problem and authority or designation being left to the municipalities, after they themselves are designated by the provinces. While "neighbourhood" concepts might enter into

the selection process, political considerations would generally be expected to have a significant impact. In Winnipeg, for example, NIP areas could be defined as either whole community committee areas or individual wards, depending upon which scale is desired (administrative districts, on the other hand, would be much too large). Interestingly enough, one of the two small NIP areas now designated in Winnipeg crosses over the boundaries of three individual wards, although all are contained within the same community committee area.

In general, however, before the boundaries of political jurisdictions are accepted, they should be evaluated according to certain criteria. Barring an exhaustive analysis at this point, "neighbourhoods" should be delineated such that, as far as possible and consistent with other criteria, they

1. are not cut by any unbridgeable boundary, whether it be natural or man-made;
2. do not divide existing clusters of people sharing recognized traits of ethnicity, socio-economic character, and/or culture;
3. recognize and incorporate the entire "territory" of existing, highly visible and influential local organizations;
4. include activity patterns involving major foci (e.g., a school, community centre, church, local shopping centres, transit stops or stations, parks and recreational areas, etc.); and
5. include existing planning and service delivery centres projected for continued use, e.g., schools, community centres, social service agencies, public libraries, and other local institutions.³⁴

34. For a modified list of these criteria and an expanded discussion of neighbourhood planning in the United States, see George J. Washnis, Municipal Decentralization and Neighbourhood Resources: Case Studies of Twelve Cities, Praeger, New York, 1972.

To enable NIP to serve realistically defined neighbourhoods and to prevent deterioration, in the broad sense, of other areas, four basic changes in the legislation and implementation of neighbourhood improvement are recommended. These involve:

1. Revising and widening NIP and its related programs to include "rehabilitation areas", threatened "grey areas" and adjacent preservation areas. It is extremely important to stem the tendency of many old, marginal neighbourhoods to become blighted, particularly those near already deteriorated NIP areas. Moreover, the very important enclaves of good housing and living conditions spotted in and around NIP areas should be carefully protected and intimately connected with overall improvement efforts.

Prior to widening NIP's legislative scope to include such areas, their needs and those of already designated NIP areas might best be served through a judicious and carefully coordinated application of the new Developmental Program. This program, designed to develop "new and innovative solutions to Canadian housing problems", could be used to experiment with "new community designs, new methods of providing services or new social relationships", as well as "new ways of involving people in the design and improvement of their housing".³⁵

2. Simplifying NIP funding through block grants or open-ended cost sharing (similar to that contained in the New Communities Program) to improve the flexibility and comprehensiveness of NIP efforts. A strong and secure financial base is essential if the already over-taxed municipalities are to respond adequately to the challenge of neighbourhood improvement. In

35. CMHC, "New National Housing Act Programs: Developmental Program", August 1973.

a sense, then, NIP could serve as a demonstration project highlighting the need for fiscal reform, as well as urban renewal.

3. Strengthening and elaborating the requirement for citizen participation. This could be accomplished by channeling such participation into certain effective organizational forms. One such form is the locally based non-profit corporation or the cooperative association. Such organizations could be authorized to control and execute a stated percentage of housing, new and old, in the area. The financial supports needed to underwrite such a provision should be incorporated in the legislation itself.

Another possible form might be the Neighbourhood Improvement Corporation, vested with full powers to plan and implement a neighbourhood improvement scheme for an area. This corporation could be composed of a coordinating group of representatives of the city, the local area residents, and third parties acceptable to the first two.

Neighbourhood improvement or development should not be construed to mean improvement exclusively for or by the dominant interest groups of the area. While the positive needs and desired behaviour patterns of existing residents who intend to remain should be given priority, they should not be vested with veto power over the access to the neighbourhood of others, particularly those of a lower social or economic position or different ethnic or racial background. As a matter of principle, social access to residential areas of all kinds should be maximized.

Therefore, the needs and wishes of potentially incoming residents should be anticipated and incorporated where possible into the planning process and improvement programs themselves. Where their identity can be established beforehand, incoming residents should be included in the planning group. Where specific incoming residents are not known, representation of their basic interests should be included by means of "proxy planners" or advocates.

4. Broadening NIP to include requirements for and financing of social planning, municipal coordination, and comprehensiveness of approach. NIP is largely a physical action program. The maladies of NIP areas, however, are often as much or more of a social and service nature, as of physical deterioration. The legislation should require, therefore, that the municipality coordinate its services and service delivery units in an effective operational program for the area. This would include street, boulevard and vacant lot maintenance, snow clearance, refuse removal, police protection, schools, public transportation, and so on. A high degree of social planning and programming should also be required, especially in the areas of alcoholism and drug addiction, youth counselling, health services, day care service, etc.

A physical and organizational mechanism for developing this wide-ranging package of improvement services is the comprehensive community multi-service centre. For maximum effectiveness, these multi-service centres might best be located within and integrated with social, recreational, and shopping facilities. By these means and others, the standard of services in federally-supported NIP areas would be raised toward the highest level existing in the city, and the city administration would be required to emphasize a comprehensive and decentralized approach to service delivery.

Multi-service centres can provide a good community base for citizen involvement in the affairs of the neighbourhood. They should be staffed by a range of assistants to help neighbourhood residents plan for and execute improvement programs as far as possible.

A potentially effective technique for assisting the neighbourhood planning process and citizen decision-making is the drawing up of a catalogue of specific neighbourhood improvement elements. This catalogue would take the form of an extensive range of fundable and self-help options, as well as a continually enlarged group of innovative ideas for which funds would have to be acquired. In addition to the usual physical possibilities, residents might choose their priorities from among the following:

- publicly-financed day care services in private homes and/or institutions for pre-schoolers of working parents;
- short-term babysitting program involving pensioners and mature school age children;
- pedestrianization of and higher degree of traffic control on selected neighbourhood streets and/or lanes;
- telephone ordering and delivery service for the elderly offered by local shops;
- expanded local employment program for youths and other unemployed workers in cooperative and non-profit shops, day care institutions, recreational facilities, home repair and rehabilitation companies, etc.;
- outreach educational training and retraining programs offered at various neighbourhood locations;
- organization of neighbourhood social events, e.g., block parties, street fairs, competitions;
- flexible and all-weather use of vacant lots and other open space for recreation, playgrounds, skating, meetings, tent shows, "construction playgrounds", etc.;

- outreach treatment and counselling for various social and personal problems;
- financial and legal services offering advice and assistance in household budgeting, saving and investment, taxation, consumerism, business and labour law, government subsidy programs, tenant rights, small business operation and management, and more;
- particularized ethnic or other locally-based school and leisure time programs; and
- a neighbourhood housing exchange and residential service.

This latter device could be developed into an effective mechanism whereby older, retired persons, for example, could acquire a home more suitable to their age and need in an exchange with a young, growing family requiring a larger home. A neighbourhood clearing house could monitor the area's housing stock and availability, anticipate certain residential and social shifts, provide a mutually beneficial service to both parties, and assist in retaining a stable population for the area.

Low-Income Residents

One of the key problems in neighbourhood improvement is the disadvantaged situation of low-income residents, particularly tenants. Neither should the low-income family or individual be shunted aside in the improvement race, nor can they be adequately helped under current piecemeal approaches. The infill case and earlier public housing studies document their frustration with tenancy and their motivation toward private ownership. Ownership generally is seen as the only available means of eliminating economic vulnerability, of acquiring the necessary repairs and maintenance of living space, and of obtaining the ability of self-expression within the residence.

The practices and behaviour of housing managers and superintendents play a particularly important role in the degree of tenant satisfaction with their residential environment. More sensitive and skilled management, supervisory and caretaking personnel are important for all income groups, but especially at the lower income levels. For it is here that mobility and choice is lowest, and the restrictions on behaviour and the dependence on administrative decision and performance the greatest. To make tenancy more desirable and to undercut the perception that ownership is the only way to get the services required, improved techniques must be found in choosing and training managerial staff and developing the best possible relationships between the staff and the tenants.

It is often proposed, particularly for public and non-profit housing, that low-income people be offered a rental contract or lease with an added option to purchase the dwelling. Accumulated rental payments would thus be converted into an equity down-payment in the event the option is exercised. While advocated as a means of increasing the interim attractiveness of tenancy and of bringing low-income persons into the mainstream of the economy, the suggestion has some basic difficulties and undesirable consequences.

First, it is far more preferable as a matter of public policy to improve the economic position of low-income persons through a consistent and basic incomes and wealth distribution policy. If the economic floor underneath them and the opportunities for an improved position relative to those above them were made more advantageous, the ownership impulse would probably not be nearly as important.

While subsidies of many kinds are warranted, transfer of non-profit dwellings to private ownership has undesirable consequences. For instance, selling low-rental accommodation to tenants provides large unwarranted profit at resale, as the dwelling finds its level

in a more inflated market, and further adds to the general rise in housing prices.

Refusing an ownership option, however, does not preclude the possibility of ownership at a later date. The new Assisted Home Ownership Program even strengthens that possibility. Heavily subsidized, low and controlled rental accommodation offers not only cheap housing, but also an opportunity to save toward ownership if desired.

Providing indirectly for ownership in this way does not deplete the low-rent housing stock so necessary for the provision of the disadvantaged. Indeed, the component of non-profit social housing should be greatly expanded to the point of constituting a major proportion of the entire housing stock. In this way, a significant restraint could be placed on the rent-setting prerogatives of private landlords and on housing-related inflation generally. Transferring heavily-subsidized, low-rental housing to private ownership, on the other hand, undercuts the only housing sector that can provide such restraints and such outlets for people in need.

Furthermore, direct public ownership or directly regulated and subsidized ownership, as in non-profit housing, is also the best way to change the use of land and the forms of housing on a wide national scale. For example, such housing programs could, if properly directed and complemented by other subsidy programs and housing policies, achieve broad-scale mixed-income housing, untainted by the ghetto perceptions of past public housing.

Essentially, the problem of low-income people is one of equalizing the distribution of income and access to resources in the nation. Before national decisions and reforms are made, however, the

federal housing programs, and NIP in particular, could provide a place to begin and to test various equalization techniques. Demonstrations of the effects and consequences of a new economic base for improvement neighbourhoods could be made through NIP.

Short- and long-range elements of such a new approach might be chosen from among the following options:

1. WHIP-style rehab-training programs, combined with community-based and community-controlled non-profit or limited-dividend companies.
2. An advanced, universal rent subsidy scheme with payment directly to the household and with amounts based on income and family size.
3. Establishment of a progressive property value index that will both place a ceiling on the allowable yearly rise in value for sale and tax purposes, as well as reduce the permitted percentage increase as basic value increases. This would be tied in with the general cost of living index; rent, price, wage, and profit restraints; and a yearly policy determination of a maximum permissible rate of inflation.
4. Initial reduction of property tax assessments, and no rise in assessment of rental properties as a result of government-assisted rehabilitation or enforcement of occupancy and building by-laws. An interim alternative would be reduced property tax rates for NIP area dwellings. Longer term solutions to be explored, however, are the institution of a progressive property tax structure, or more preferably, the nearly total replacement of the property tax (other than special taxes on speculative property holdings) with a revenue sharing plan to provide local governments with a larger share of federal income tax revenue.
5. Elimination of the federal tax on building materials, at least for neighbourhood improvement projects.

6. An interim freeze on NIP area rents and market values.
7. Subsidization of new and existing shops, services, and small businesses that are needed in NIP areas and that are locally-based, small-scale, non-profit or limited-dividend, and labour-intensive.
8. Increased public or collective ownership of neighbourhood improvement land, held in perpetuity on a non-profit basis, and leased on a freehold basis to both private and non-profit users.
9. Maximum social and neighbourhood use made of properties owned and controlled by all levels of government (e.g., in changing building or land use, providing non-revenue producing spaces, stimulating innovation and improved site development, and serving as a focal point and stimulus for the planning, improvement and use of adjacent privately-held property).

Financing Housing Innovation and Non-Profit Activities

Housing innovation depends in essence on government risk taking. But, whereas government appears willing to take risks in certain areas of public policy, e.g., industrial development, public building and defense, it is reluctant to do so in housing. Even more important, while it appears willing to suffer losses and to underwrite the substantial costs of many risky ventures, government still seems to believe that, as in public transportation, it is not in the housing business to take losses. Thus, in mortgage financing, loan programs, and building priorities generally, government policy and administration tends to avoid direct subsidies and substantial risks, despite the merits of many housing proposals.

This is not to say, of course, that housing subsidies do not exist. But, they are peas in a form of shell game. While substantial,

clear-cut, direct subsidies are rejected relative to the construction of dwelling units and the residents themselves, hidden subsidies are either built in or appear in later stages in the guise of leasing income, rent assistance, loan forgiveness, public assistance, family allowances, property tax rebates, tax deductions and tax shelters, and the like.

Clearly, such subsidies constitute a policy of restriction of access to the housing market. In the main, approval is granted to experiments that do not trespass to the red ink side of the ledger, and financial support extended largely after money difficulties are discovered and the need unavoidable. The burdens that such a policy thrust places on non-profit groups, cooperatives, limited-dividend companies and citizens groups in general should be all too apparent. Those with access to money, technical expertise and development experience, and those whose clients can foot the bill, have no problems within the established policy framework. On the other hand, those who cannot acquire the resources from within their own ranks, from private financial institutions, from outside support groups, or ultimately from their users, are fully dependent in the first instance on significant deficit spending by government to put something on the ground. Through the use of legislative requirements and, even more, through administrative decision-making, innovative housing solutions and neighbourhood improvement for less advantaged groups either prosper or starve.

For the government generally to continue to require that new housing or mixed-use projects provide solid evidence of financial viability, including a projected cash flow necessary to pay the government back, is to stifle imaginative proposals and larger scale extension of the few heavily subsidized and successful experiments that have made it through. To conclude that the existence of some successful projects shows that the system is functioning and responding well is to elevate the safest instead of the best.

As the Canadian Council on Social Development has recommended, "third sector" non-profit groups require a continuing stream of financial assistance--from start-up development moneys, through interim financing and guarantee loans prior to the receipt of official approval, to "back-up" money to cover administrative and management costs. Furthermore, long-term financing for proven operations and restart money for new projects of existing non-profit groups is increasingly needed. It is becoming apparent that requiring a non-profit group to self-finance a larger portion of succeeding stages of operation forces it to restrain the risk elements in its first project, to limit the degree to which it can improve and increase its services, and to reject additional innovations in succeeding stages. Since none of these consequences are desirable, government programs must be amended to fill the gaps now present and to expand the financial and other incentives now granted to non-profit operations, including the acquisition of skilled professional resources.

Role of Professionals in Non-Profit Projects

The role and influence of professional and technical experts in citizen group efforts is a central concern to those advocating public participation in planning and neighbourhood improvement programming. It is here that independent and experienced urban institutes, such as IUS, can make a most important contribution. For they can marshal the needed human resources, work with citizen groups outside the profit-making system of private professionals, and concentrate on adding that important extra element of imagination and innovation to proposed projects.

As a modest last-stage example, professionals could provide a valuable aesthetic extra to neighbourhood improvement plans and non-profit projects. After the basic elements and cost of a

neighbourhood improvement program were determined by the residents, the city and other participants, the government could provide a percentage of cost bonus for purposes of aesthetic treatment and beautification. Working within this budget and the predetermined specifications, designers, artists and landscape architects could work to make the new structures and open space of the neighbourhood even more attractive through architectural trim, material and colour treatment, sculptures and other art work, landscaping, and other techniques.

Resource professionals could also serve the important function of linking the micro-planning of neighbourhood elements with larger scale considerations. But while linking and perhaps suggesting resolutions of the conflicts between the various planning levels, professionals are needed to serve the interests and decisions of community residents. As adversaries of large-scale development planning, they should take a participating role at the neighbourhood and street level in developing practical alternatives based upon implemented and evaluated demonstration projects. From their neighbourhood "power bases", they and local residents can emerge as greater equals in the important political bargaining arena.

It may be, then, that experienced, independent urban institutes can best serve the cause of innovative change as adversary planners, "honest brokers" and project coordinators for non-profit sponsors. In this capacity, they should be able to provide community groups with a package of leadership, technical and negotiating talent, both in-house and contractual, that best serve their individual requirements.

There is a tendency, however, for professional consultants to frame an "innovative" project in terms of tried and proven methods

of operation and design. In addition there may be a tendency for certain professionals, due to their "percentage of gross cost" basis of fee determination, to increase the scope of a project. Thus, even though the work of professional consultants is in the non-profit sector, they are awarded the same "return on investment" as in the strictly profit-making sector. They are seen to be justifiably entitled to normal fees-for-service. They are, in a sense, the profit-makers on a non-profit development.

There is a definite inequity in a situation that regards certain professionals at normal, profit-making levels, while restricting other participants to modest salary payments, limited dividends or, in the case of non-profit tenants and owners, to no equity at all. If the stipulated sum is the best method in tendering, it should be applied at the professional level as well. Perhaps an agency specializing in project coordination could develop a pool of competent, limited-dividend professionals and technicians to assist local non-profit sponsor groups in developing and implementing their projects.

At the same time as this development work is proceeding, on-the-job training of community leaders and coordinators should take place. As important as the physical product is, the programming and delivery of services, and the on-going use of facilities, is at least as critical. The education and training of community people in the skills of management, social programming and administration, in order to take over a project nearing completion, is a worthy addition to the overall non-profit effort. A heavy involvement of outside resources is usually required in the early periods of non-profit activity. It should slowly be phased out in stages and talented members of the community-based sponsor group should be trained to plan and shoulder the main responsibilities of leadership, management and coordination in their future projects. The professionals,

therefore, should be phasing themselves out, training and preparing their successors, and leaving a solid basis of financial support for the new leadership.

Neighbourhood improvement, it should be remembered, means human improvement. Since personal betterment is part and parcel of satisfactory change in one's community, planning and implementation of neighbourhood improvement programs ought to emphasize who is doing the job as much as who is being served. Here lies the essence of resident involvement.

The ultimate purpose of neighbourhood improvement is to build into the community a dynamic and sustained process whereby change can be controlled and shaped by its residents. The task of generating an ongoing movement toward neighbourhood improvement requires a multi-faceted and comprehensive strategy. If we are to seize today's opportunities for creative work in the nation's neighbourhoods, we must begin to forge such a strategy.

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