

FAMILIES IN PUBLIC HOUSING

by

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School of Social Work

The University of British Columbia,
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Date May 21, 1964

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Abstract

This is the second instalment of a series of studies of the welfare and community aspects of public housing. The first study, entitled Public Housing and Welfare Services, by James S. Brown, David Kogawa, and Raymond Peters (undertaken as theses, now published), extensively reviewed the most relevant recent literature relating to the welfare services required by public housing tenants, as well as issues of community relationships. The present study, on the other hand, focusses on characteristics of families living in the developments, and all that the move to public housing involves for them personally.

With this objective, data was obtained from the United States and Britain, and the experience of these countries in the field of public housing was examined. A comparison was made between statistics and related information brought together from both the United States and Britain, and those of the local Vancouver projects, relating to (a) the types of families, the number of children and elderly persons, the age structure of the communities, (b) family incomes and rents, and (c) components of "balance" in the developments.

In sum, it has been found that, in general, in all three countries similar family profiles exist, with some exceptions, notably concerning the number of old people. Both in the United States and in the Vancouver projects the proportion of elderly tenants is frequently higher than in British public housing developments. Furthermore, in Britain, where public housing has formed a large part of the housing

stock for many years, the standard family of father, mother and children comprise a much greater proportion of the tenant population than is found in the two other countries. On the other hand, there are similarities in the high proportions of children, and of young married couples. The incomes of the majority of tenants are low, and many are supplemented by government assistance benefits. Some common problems emerge relating to difficulties in adapting to the "new" life, and many of these could be alleviated by more awareness of the human aspect of housing, relocation, and services provision on the part of planners, housing authorities, welfare agencies and the general public.

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CHAPTER I

Housing conditions have fundamental importance for the health and social well-being of a nation. In our Western culture the basic unit of social organization is the family, and one of our democratic values is that each family is entitled to their own "home". No country holding this value can consider that it is meeting its obligations for the welfare of its citizens, as long as there are families within its borders who are living in substandard dwellings and in overcrowded conditions.

Past experience in one country after another has demonstrated that private enterprise is unequal to the task of providing relatively cheap dwellings of good quality so that families with restricted incomes may be offered an opportunity for better housing. For this reason, it has been considered an important task for the community to undertake as a public responsibility, and, as in the case of education, environmental sanitation and social security, the provision of housing has now become a public social service in many countries in Europe, as well as in the United States and Canada. In this way it can be regarded not only as a means for overcoming gross inequalities in environment and opportunity, but also for

securing improvements in standards of living for all citizens.

The provision of sound physical shelter, however, is only a limited aspect of an adequate program for public housing. More and more attention is being given to the people who live in housing projects. It is coming to be recognized that tenants are not just "numbers of families" but are lots of particular families having varying characteristics. As a result, in recent years, a number of surveys have been carried out in Britain, the United States, and more recently in Canada, to study the social effects of relocation and redevelopment.¹ Some problems have emerged which are common to all three countries, notably problems for families in the re-making of a home, often under conditions which are quite different from expectations, and quite foreign to previous living conditions. Much of this, of course, is inevitable and must be accepted as the price to be paid for better housing and improved neighbourhoods. However, the process of adjustment can be helped or hindered, in many ways that have not always been fully understood, but as experience in public housing mounts much information is becoming

1 Some details of recent surveys in Britain are given in Appendix A, and studies undertaken in all three countries are listed in the Bibliography.

available, which, when properly interpreted, will lead to more purposeful planning and refocussing on the social aspects of public housing.

The lack of normal services is one of the chief complaints in housing developments. The main burden of provision necessarily falls on the appropriate local governments, but voluntary social service has particular importance in the formative period when the public services are not as yet fully developed, and when social organization is still flexible. The long delay in providing buildings for social, recreational, and sometimes educational purposes, has been one of the most frustrating experiences for the tenants of public housing.

The main object of this report has been to study the characteristics of the families living in public housing developments in three countries, with the aim of considering what kind of adaptation these families have to make. It is also hoped to take a fresh look at the responsibilities of housing managers, as well as those of government housing agencies, in the complex task of creating and maintaining, in partnership with statutory and voluntary agencies, the environment and the conditions in which the life of a new community can flourish.

The importance of reviewing these questions at

this time is clear for several reasons. One is that Canadian public housing is now being built on a sizeable scale after a long-delayed start. Another is that United States experience in public housing since the war has some markedly different features from those of the pre-war earlier-project experience.¹ A third is the major differences imported into "re-housing" and "re-location" by the New Towns as well as the major weight which "council" housing now assumes in the great metropolitan centres of Britain.

The dependence of desirable social development on physical planning and on the selection of the original population, with which it is closely interlocked, has become increasingly apparent. Good planning can provide the basis for a good community, and mistakes in planning, once made, are hard to rectify. What matters most is that future plans should take full account of the experience which is now available. Although there is no one model which could be followed everywhere, the test of success is the extent to which the scheme makes possible a full and satisfying life in that community.

In reviewing the background experience in the provision of public housing, it is reasonable to look

¹ See below. p. 32.

first at Britain, then the United States, then Canada. Britain has been in this field for the longest time, but both Britain and the United States have had very extensive experience, while Canada is just now beginning to move into the field on a moderate scale.

Method of the Study

A series of studies in housing and neighbourhood planning have been undertaken by Master of Social Work students at this School of Social Work in the last five years. The present one is part of the enquiry into the significance of public housing for contemporary and future welfare service. A first instalment of this, completed as a joint thesis by James Brown, David Kogawa, and Ray Peters in 1962-3, has now been published. While this reviewed some of the issues in family welfare, it also brought together experience in the community setting of housing projects, and on methods of co-ordinating services between public and private agencies and the housing administration. The present study grows out of the same background experience, but devotes major attention to a basic question: what kind of families are characteristic of public housing, and how should this affect planning

now and in the future?

There is an underlying assumption still discernible in studies of housing that it is the families who bring the problems to the project. This is undoubtedly true of a small proportion of the tenants. But all projects in part merely concentrate "problems" -- such as low income, or widowhood, or bringing up a large family -- which were in the community before. They may be better dealt with if the project is well designed, ably managed, supplied with needed community services, wisely located. But concentration, or relocation, may themselves create new problems: both central-area projects and outer or suburban projects have contributed recent experience on this. Moreover, families have strengths as well as weaknesses: accommodations and neighbourhoods need similar assessment of their assets as well as their liabilities. One of the purposes of the present review of experience is to clarify the factors needed in a balanced approach.

Like the previous study, it has to wrestle with the facts that (a), there are now many kinds of housing projects, (b), major changes have occurred, both in Great Britain and in the United States, which must be understood before experience in these countries can be made applicable to Canada. Whereas the preceding study drew mainly on United States reports, the present one redresses the

balance by giving much more attention to British surveys and studies. Though it was hoped to draw on appropriate European sources, limitations of time have again made this impossible. A great deal of information was sought by correspondence and not all of this has yet been utilized.

Since there are now four different projects in operation in Vancouver, the opportunity has been taken to compile some basic statistics, thanks to the co-operation of the Vancouver Housing Authority. Two of the projects have been the subject of detailed study, as part of a series of neighbourhood analyses, by other Master of Social Work students, and advantage has been taken of their collaboration. The managers of the project have been most helpful in discussing and responding to questions.

The Perspective of British Housing Experience

As almost everybody knows, England is one of the most densely populated urban areas in the world; and it has been predominantly urban for a long time. It is one of the leading countries in developing a housing policy, both nationally and locally. But it has been so because of the heavy burden which the Industrial Revolution placed

on it in the nineteenth century. Not only were the masses of houses rapidly put up in the factory towns of poor quality, crowded together, built without provision of services or recognition of what nowadays are called neighbourhood services, but time has deteriorated them and millions are now urgently in need of replacement.¹

Acute housing shortages after two world wars made all the problems more severe in 1945. At the end of World War II about a half million houses had been destroyed, and three and a half million others were damaged (representing about one house in every three). A less recognized factor has been the high proportional increase in the number of households compared to the increase in total population. The trend has been towards the break-up of the three-generation family living as one household, and thus towards a greater number of distinct family units with a smaller average size. Metropolitan concentration, a newer feature of modern Canada, is of course a highly marked characteristic in Britain, with the enormous aggregation of London exceeded by few areas in the world except perhaps New York and Tokyo.

¹ The United Kingdom has a land area of about 93,000 square miles and a population of over 52,000,000 (1961 Census); the population of some 550 persons per square mile is one of the highest in the world.

Responsibility for formulating housing policy and supervising housing programs, as well as overall planning, has been established as a national matter for at least fifty years. The agencies concerned are the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in England and Wales, the Secretary of State in Scotland, and the Ministry of Health and Local Government in Northern Ireland. The actual provision of housing accommodation in any area, however, is considerably decentralized, and in general is, by comparison with North America, extremely vigorous in this respect. The municipality in Britain has clear responsibilities -- (a) to plan for new housing and slum clearance where necessary, (b) to see that adequate standards are maintained in newly built and existing houses and (c) to ensure, as far as possible, that housing conditions are satisfactory in that area. Practically all local governments now administer blocks or "estates" of "council housing", much of which was originally slum clearance; and in selecting tenants for "council" dwellings it is usual to give preference to families living in overcrowded or otherwise unsatisfactory conditions.

About three and three-quarter million of the 14,750,000 houses in England and Wales, and over half a million of the 1,600,000 houses in Scotland are owned by local authorities, (that is about one house in four).

Private enterprise is responsible for about half the houses and flats now being built, but local authorities built about seventy per cent of the 3,750,000 houses completed between 1945 and the end of 1960.

The majority of new dwellings are detached (separate), semi-detached and terraced houses or bungalows; the remainder are flats or maisonettes (duplexes) in blocks of from two to thirteen, and sometimes twenty-one storeys high. Most of the tall blocks are built in central areas of the cities, since the old and unfit houses which are being replaced were usually densely populated. In the New Towns and certain other new residential areas, however, they are planned to counter-balance smaller scale buildings, the purpose being to provide a variety of types of accommodation at a moderate over-all density. This has both social and architectural objectives. A variety of buildings gives more scope for a pleasing and satisfying appearance with the possibility of flexible use of open space. But it is also an answer to the needs of the "family cycle" -- the fact that the number and ages of families change in the course of a generation -- and, more recently, to the danger of one-class housing areas, where the most economical or most "efficient" building solution has been adopted without reference to social and community objectives.

Housing subsidies have been provided in Britain since 1919, when they were first introduced to facilitate the building of houses for letting at moderate rents. Since the second world war, there is a long string of changing legislation: but subsidies at higher rates, payable annually for as long as sixty years from the year of building completion, have been provided for all new housing accommodation built with national government approval, whether by local authorities or by the New Town "development corporations".

In Britain during the years following World War I, housing began to emerge as one of the most important of the public social services. The volume of building by local authorities increased from a mere trickle until it now exceeds that of private building, and about 21 per cent of British families could be said to be living in such a dwelling. Like education and the social security and health services, it has ceased to be thought of as exclusively designed for the benefit of the working classes, and there is no longer a stigma attached to living in subsidized housing, as there undoubtedly was in the inter-war period. In general, there is little doubt that post-war housing represents a better standard of accommodation for a greater number of families at rents they can afford, than anything earlier in Britain's history,

In over forty years of experience, of course, there have been mistakes as well as achievements, and a number of lessons have been learned as a result. Although it is true that some councils experimented more than others, many of the pre-war housing developments were characterized by their sameness and dreary monotony of architecture,¹ their tendency to become mere dormitory estates thus increasing transport costs, and above all their lack of provision for the social needs of the people. A simple but effective illustration of the latter point is given by L. E. White who compares the social provision in a small established town of only 2,500 people and a housing estate of twice that population. The comparison was made in 1939, five years after the building of the estate had started.²

	<u>Small Town</u>	<u>Housing Estate</u>
Nursery and Infant Schools	1	1
Primary Schools	3	1
Secondary Schools	1	0
Churches and Chapels	11	0
Community Halls	1	0
Taverns	4	0
Hotels	7	0
Post Office	1	0
Cinemas	1	0

1 The Victorians exploited the idea that architecture was an upper-class speciality which had nothing to do with "housing".

2 L. E. White, Community or Chaos: New Housing Estates and their Social Problems, p. 9.

	<u>Small Towns</u>	<u>Housing Estate</u>
Libraries	1	0
Parks and Recreation Grounds . .	3	1
Youth Organizations	7	5
Adult Organizations	15	8

The comparison between organizations catering for youth and adults is even more invidious than the figures suggest, as both youth and adult organizations on the estate catered for only a fractional minority of the population. Moreover, the many smaller services provided by churches in the small town have been ignored. It was calculated that, before the war, less than 2 per cent of the tenants on the large municipal estates were served by community centres.

However, one should neither forget to compare these estates with the squalid streets they replaced, nor to take into account the lack of building space and the concern for preserving park space in such a densely populated country as Britain. As project followed project, these estates have improved greatly. The best low-density housing of the inter-war period is represented by Wythenshawe, near Manchester, and by the early London County Council estates at Tottenham and Roehampton, all of which were influenced by the "garden city" movement. Many of the landscaping additions to housing have been specifically British developments.

Although building was at a standstill during the war, thinking, writing and planning went on, and three important reports were published -- those of the Barlow, Uthwatt, and Scott Committees -- which were to revolutionize the whole prospect of town and country planning, at least as far as its theoretical basis is concerned. These famous reports were related to three of the most difficult elements of planning in Britain: the distribution of the industrial population, land-use in rural areas, and land values, especially increases in land value due to housing and urban development.

Named after the Chairmen of the Commission and Committees which produced them, Sir Thomas Barlow, Lord Justice Scott, and Mr. Justice Uthwatt, these reports all agreed that the use of land for industry, for agriculture, for amenity, or for urban development could not be left to the operation of an unrestricted system of private land ownership and private economic enterprise. The Barlow Report (1940) dealt with the geographical distribution of the industrial population. Previously, planning had been piecemeal, but the Barlow Commission for the first time looked at the question nationally. This is the key problem, because the location of work-places determines the location of homes, and the size of towns, among other things.

The Uthwatt Report (1942) studied the problem of land values in relation to territorial planning, and was a direct outcome of the Barlow Commission's recommendations that, unless reasonable stability could be assured, the whole planning process would be held to ransom by land speculators. Unfortunately, the Acts passed by the government in 1954 and 1959 have rejected every vestige of the Uthwatt proposals.¹

The report of the Scott Committee (1942) dealt with land utilization in rural areas so that they might absorb a certain amount of urban encroachment without loss to their characteristic way of life. The response by the Government to these Reports was manifested by the establishment of a Central Planning Authority, which was effected by the passing of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning Act, 1943, by which the central planning powers were transferred from the Ministry of Works and Buildings to a new Ministry charged with the duty of "ensuring consistency and continuity in the framing and execution of a national policy with respect to the use of the land".

In addition to these reports a number of surveys

¹ It has been estimated that the effect of the 1959 Act has been to raise land costs over the whole country by 25 per cent. This, of course, is the situation also in North America except that land costs have risen far more.

and reports of life on the housing estates, published about the same time, helped to focus attention on their social problems. Stimulated by such national bodies as the Town and Country Planning Association, the Housing Centre, the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction, and the National Council of Social Service, conferences were held and discussion and survey groups were started. Nor was interest entirely confined to the technical experts or housing authorities. Through the use of documentary films and popular discussions (which started during the war years in the Services and in the Civil Defence units), the problems of housing and planning have been brought before the people for whom the plans are presumably being made.

The solution to the anonymity of the great housing estates was thought to lie in the creation of the "neighbourhood unit". "Neighbourhood units" were proposed as a planning device as early as 1929 by Clarence Perry and others who worked on the Regional Plan for Greater New York; but the components were evolved also in various towns for many of the housing projects built by Western European countries (including Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Germany, France and Switzerland) after the first World War. In Britain, neighbourhood objectives were given vigorous formulation by Professor Abercrombie of the

University of London, and their incorporation in the new plans for Greater London were followed by various adoptions in dozens of British cities thereafter. In the London Plan, there was a conscious endeavour to recover much that was worthwhile in the old village tradition and translate it into modern urban terms. It could be applied equally as a principle of planning to the reconstruction of "blitzed" or "blighted" central areas, or to the planning of new estates and satellite towns.

The population, too, would be limited, perhaps, to five to ten thousand people, which is a relatively small community in Britain. In contrast with the one-class estates, there would be a wise mingling of people with a diversity of occupations and income levels, in order to produce a socially balanced community. A variety of accommodation would be needed, and there would be provision also for old people. It was realised that each estate would need all the essential social services, and even some suitable light industry.

Unfortunately, owing to the budget limitations which showed up as the reality of the post-war period, not all this could be translated into action. Most of the larger new estates, however, have been planned on neighbourhood lines, even though services and facilities for recreation are often still inadequate. Most of the

post-war estates contain a variety of types of accommodation, so that interchange will be possible, and families will no longer have to move from the estate as their housing needs change. In the same way, a determined effort has been made to achieve a better social balance, and one of the indicators of this was that the words "working class" were omitted from the 1949 Act. The same Act provided for a small proportion of non-subsidised housing to middle-income group families by local authorities. Nevertheless, since the allocation of new houses is rightly determined by housing need, the proportion of these "non-subsidy" houses is likely to remain small for some time.

Although, as compared with the average pre-war schemes, post-war developments have included better layout and siting, and better standards of architectural design; for the first ten years or so since the war, local authorities were building new houses to meet the general shortage, as fast as their resources would permit, on any available site which could be acquired. Problems of slum clearance and the redevelopment of central areas, involving high costs of land, the displacement and compensation of industry, the rehousing of overspill

population,¹ and the creation of new open spaces, were virtually in cold storage until the 1954 Housing Repairs and Rents Act gave a new turn to housing policy. To-day the wiser policy of planned redevelopment within the confines of existing cities, together with the planning of new towns, or the enlargement of small towns, to receive both industry and overspill population from industrial centres, is generally acknowledged as the right way to proceed. This was recently confirmed by the latest Government report (1964) recommending plans to redesign the whole of South-East England, an area which embraces nearly one-third of Britain's population. The plan includes the creation of three more new towns, expansion of certain others, and doubling the size of the greenbelt around London.²

Types of Public Housing in Britain

Against this background, which is a matter of

1 "Overspill" can best be described as the extent to which existing city population can spill over into the countryside, into New or Expanded Towns, attracted outwards by new and relocated industry and by new public housing. "Overspill" is thus related to decentralization of densely populated urban areas.

2 "Greenbelt" means an area of open space of many kinds (including farming as well as parks and natural woodland) originally designated to prevent the capital from spreading endlessly into the countryside in which building developments are restricted. It has been continually threatened and in some areas actually encroached as in the last ten years.

social policy as well as of history, it is possible to distinguish four kinds of public housing in Britain. And this distinction is significant because of the differences between them, and also because some of the developments vary so much, in approach or size or both, from North American developments. The four categories are (1) slum clearance or replacement housing in the central areas of many large cities, (2) housing estates situated within or on the outskirts of many large cities, (3) planned extensions to certain small towns, and (4) the eighteen New Towns. They will be separately discussed in this order; so that more general references in other chapters can be related back to them if necessary. They may be briefly referred to as replacement housing, "estates", "extended towns", and New Towns, respectively.

1) Replacement Housing

In May 1963 the Minister of Housing and Local Government was able to announce that more than a quarter of the slums had been cleared. But the main emphasis in local authority housing is still on slum clearance. Most of the cleared sites in British cities are to be allocated to new housing; but it is rarely possible to rehouse on a site more than sixty to seventy per cent of those displaced by clearance. Densities in the old areas were

often as high as 150 persons to the acre, and might even reach 300. The need to rehouse on the sites as many people as is compatible with reasonable standards of accommodation and amenity dictates the type of housing to be provided. In central areas of Birmingham, 80 per cent of the new development is in flats, and this may be taken as typical of the majority of schemes in the central areas. Liverpool favours 'mixed development', of which the Everton Heights scheme in that city is an example, and most authorities include some 'maisonettes' (duplexes) as well as high blocks. In London, the best example of mixed development is St. Anne's neighbourhood, Poplar, where the people have lost their streets but have gained open space, gardens with flowers growing alongside the paths, playgrounds, and paddling pools.

Most of the families who have long endured the discomforts of the slums look forward eagerly to the offer of a better home and welcome the prospect of the move, yet a sharp distinction must be drawn between (a) rehousing for slum clearance and (b) providing houses for families who are on the ordinary waiting list. The latter seek a new home voluntarily, but, once a slum clearance program is in operation, the occupants of slums will be required to move whether they wish to or not. For this reason, even more than when families are rehoused

at their own request as a result of lack of accommodation, compulsory rehousing, such as is involved in redeveloping old areas, entails a heavy responsibility on the society in whose name the compulsion is applied. Because of the complex nature of human needs, it has to be recognized that more than the provision of physical habitation will be required to compensate for the non-material satisfactions which may have been lost.

The process of clearance and rebuilding will be long, and during the period of rebuilding many of the inhabitants of the old areas will necessarily be rehoused on housing estates, or perhaps in an "expanded town" by special arrangement between the municipal authorities concerned. This raises the series of welfare and housing policy matters which have now become familiar in the United States since public housing gained momentum there, and are usually summed up as the "relocation" problems. In most Canadian cities, they are hardly taken seriously as large or immediate issues.

2) Housing "Estates"

As already indicated, municipal housing estates have undergone considerable change in structure, building materials and lay-out since their early development. Wherever they were built, in the inter-war years, they

were, until recently, all too apt to be drab and unimaginative, having an average density of twelve houses to the acre. Individually, within the limits laid down, the houses were often well-designed, particularly if the council which built them was fortunate in its architect; but the lack of variety in materials and economies in size and type of building contributed to the impressions of monotony so often complained about. A few outstanding examples only, set out to achieve good visual and social results.

Housing estates are to be distinguished from projects on redeveloped areas because, for the most part, they are built on the outskirts of towns or on available unused sites within city boundaries. Some of the pre-war estates were built to relieve the general housing shortage, whilst others, notably those built under the so-called "Greenwood" Act (the Housing Act of 1930), were specifically intended as slum clearance schemes. In the early days the vast majority (75 per cent) of the houses had three bedrooms, intended as they were to meet the needs of young married couples. Realization of the problem this created for the next generation when the children whom these houses were designed to accommodate grew up and married, leaving their houses under-occupied, led to a fundamental change in the planning of these estates.

Over the country as a whole, the proportion of three-bedroom houses (or other dwellings) has fallen from 63.1 per cent in 1955 to 41 per cent in 1959,¹ while high blocks of flats and maisonettes are appearing; at the same time some smaller houses, especially bungalows for old people, are being built, suited as far as possible to the kinds of families who are going to live in them. This "mixed" development, as it is called, also implies contrasts in the height and form of buildings, and in the treatment of private and public open space, as well as giving visible expression to the actual social variety of a community and affording more economical use of land.

A number of the post-war estates have been planned in neighbourhood units, each with its own primary school, stores, local services, and amenities to serve the immediate needs of the families housed there.

However, in some cases, these projects have been developed as mere "housing estates", without sufficient regard to the integration of housing with places of work, commerce, shopping and entertainment facilities, which take up space and cost money but make all the difference between an attractive neighbourhood

1 J. H. Nicholson, New Communities in Britain, p. 21.

and a packed mass of unrelieved streets. The weakness has arisen not only from lack of imagination on the part of responsible housing authorities, but is also the result of financial stringency, of piecemeal legislation, and the absence of any co-ordinated economic or industrial planning policy at a national level. Once an estate is established without such facilities, the balance is difficult to correct later.

3) Expanded Towns

In 1952, a new branch of housing (with some smaller precedents from the past) was given legal recognition. Under the Town Development Act of that year, some small towns may enter into agreements with large cities to take their "overspill" population and to provide them with both houses and employment. This Act had the same general aim as the New Towns Act -- to provide accommodation outside the congested areas -- but while the latter provided for the cost to be met by government credits, the Town Development Act relied on the existing machinery of local government, with central government assistance. Financial assistance might be of one of the following kinds: (a) a fixed government payment, (b) a payment dependent upon arrangements between "importing" and "exporting" municipalities, and (c) any deficit which would have to be met by the "importing" authority.

Expanded Towns are closely related to the principle of decentralization and "overspill", of the overcrowded industrial centres, especially London. Migration to them has developed in importance because even the multiplying New Towns have not been enough as overspill recipients. The towns chosen for expansion have carefully planned programs for the development of suitable industry, and the population growth is carefully related to industrial needs.

Expansion of this kind brings with it a number of problems, one of which is that the old town centre is no longer adequate, and there is a delay in providing stores and other facilities in time to keep pace with the growth of the town. In the early stages, the program ran into difficulties because the country towns, surprised in their quiet country ways, found it difficult to adjust to the newcomers and there resulted some tension and hostility on both sides. However, there are increasing signs of co-operation as the people in the country began to recognize the very material advantages of sponsored growth.

Several studies have highlighted some other difficulties inherent in this scheme.¹ It has been pointed

¹ See, for instance, H. B. Rodgers, "Employment and the Journey to Work in an Overspill Community," The Sociological Review, December 1959; J. B. Cullingworth,

out, for instance, that to secure the effective integration of industrial re-location with population transfer is a task of very great difficulty, in which it would be unrealistic to expect complete success. It is not merely a matter of estimating the number of jobs that the new community is likely to need, and then attempting to guide an equivalent volume of new employment into the area. The difficulty becomes apparent when it is recognized that any population contains a most complex mixture of skills, experience, ability and ambitions, and that its characteristic occupational structure may fit neither the type of work available in existing local industry nor the special demands of the new enterprises brought in to provide employment nearby. The fact that this has occurred in some of the Expanded Towns, where the range of work has remained narrow, has resulted in a widespread feeling of insecurity. For instance, Cullingworth reports that at Swindon, in comparison with London, the number of jobs in the area is very restricted and, furthermore, there are virtually no others within reasonable travelling distance. This has given rise to fear of the possibility of redundancy and of the insecure future for school leavers. It

"Social Implications of Overspill: The Worsley Social Survey," The Sociological Review, July 1960; J. B. Cullingworth, "The Swindon Social Survey: A Second Report on the Social Implications of Overspill," The Sociological Review, vol. 9, 1961.

must be borne in mind, however, that most of these problems may be resolved with the passage of time, and the feeling of insecurity and fear of the future of which Cullingworth speaks may be normal reactions following from the very real break with a familiar environment and way of life.

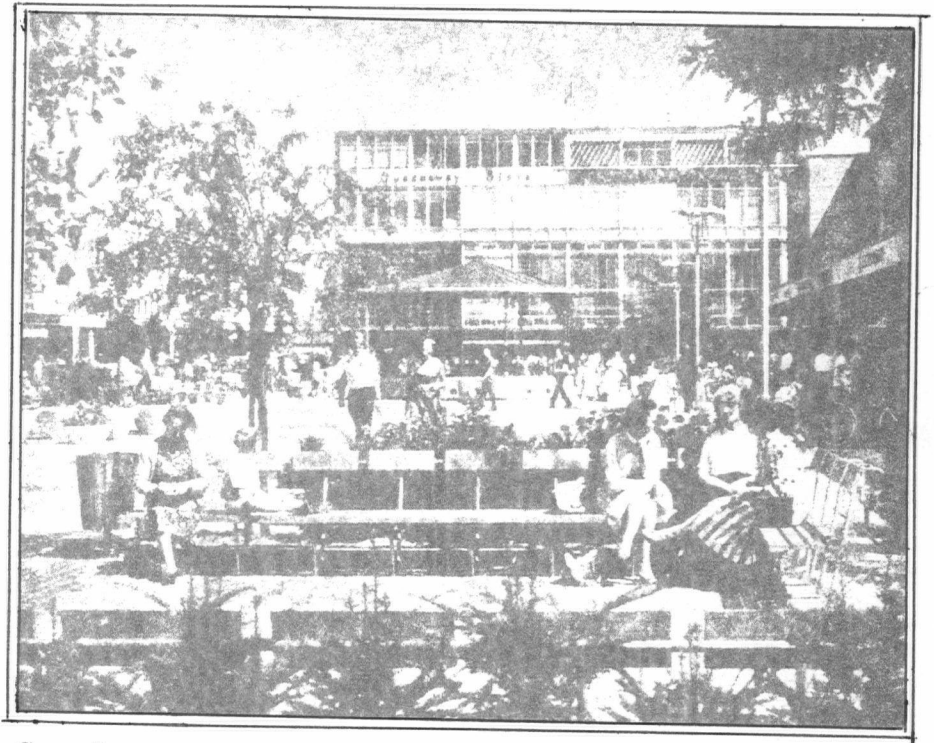
By the end of 1959, thirty-eight schemes for Expanded Towns had been approved, providing for about 62,500 houses of which nearly half were for London over-
spill. By the same date, 9,862 houses had been, or were being built; and at least 3,850 families had moved out from London, through this arm of British housing policy.

4) New Towns

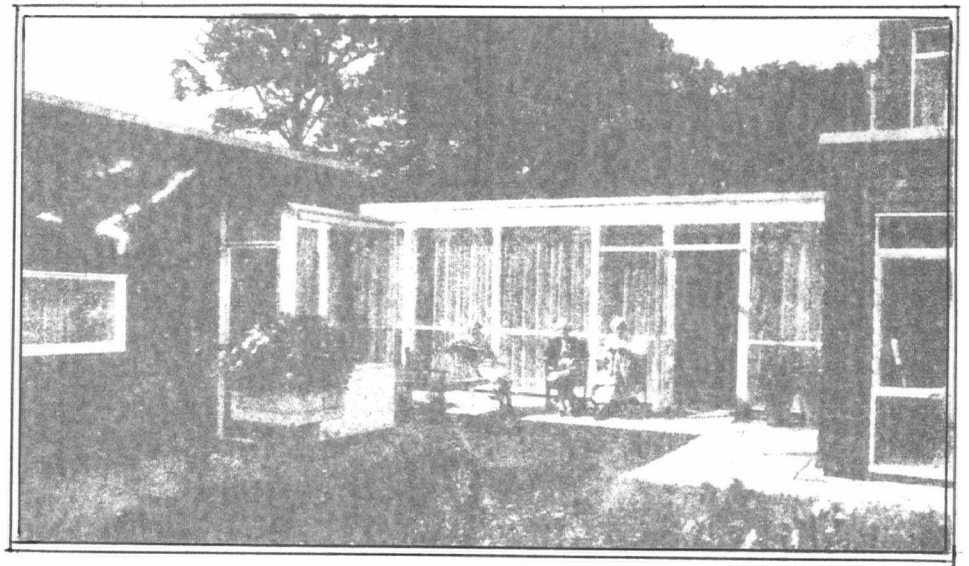
In 1946, on the recommendation of the Reith Committee, the Labour Government passed the New Towns Act -- and thereby launched a great experiment in social planning.

In drawing up his Greater London Plan in 1944, Sir Patrick Abercrombie proposed that a series of new towns should be established to which people and industry from the overcrowded boroughs of the metropolis could be moved. The sites he recommended were about twenty-five to thirty miles from London, well outside the suburban fringe. This suggestion aroused considerable interest,

Public Housing in Britain



Crawley: The shopping centre



Stevenage New Town: Flatlets for the Elderly

and proposals for new towns appeared in several other planning reports then being prepared for a number of other cities.¹

In 1945 a committee was set up under the chairmanship of Lord Reith, which issued its reports the following year. The recommendations in these reports were incorporated into the New Towns Act, 1946. The Act dealt with the constitution and functions of the development corporations and the method by which the new towns were to be financed. The Development Corporations, which are appointed by and are responsible to the Minister of Housing and Local Government, and financed by loans raised through the Treasury, have the power to acquire, by agreement or by compulsory purchase, any land or property necessary for their purposes, to carry out building and other operations, and to provide the services required for the development of the town.² As regards the latter, however, the Development Corporations must work in conjunction with the Parish, District, Borough or County Councils which operate within their designated areas, for these are still the rating authorities which must supply all the services normally rendered by local government.

1 The New Towns of Britain, Central Office of Information Reference Pamphlet No. 44, 1961.

2 Ibid.

It was intended that ultimately the Corporations should be dissolved and that the New Towns should be handed over to the appropriate local authorities, but it was argued that the existing rural or urban authorities were not suited to take over such responsibilities, and in 1959 the New Towns Act made provision for the setting up of a single Commission for England and Wales -- known as the Commission for the New Towns -- which will take over the assets and liabilities of each of the Development Corporations as it completes its work.

The New Towns are designed as self-contained and balanced communities, each with its proper complement of schools, shops, social amenities and public buildings, to which industry and population have been moved from a congested area.¹ They are intended to offer a combination of urban facilities with low-density housing and access to ample open space. So far as housing is concerned, the quality of design in the New Towns is higher than that of most local authorities. More thought has been given to individual house design, to layout and the grouping of houses, and their relationship to other amenities.

The fundamental difference between New Towns

¹ A list of New Towns may be found in Appendix A.

and other forms of housing development is the direct link between industry and housing. Until the recent introduction of the Industrial Selection Scheme -- which permits workers on the housing lists of local authorities in London to apply for jobs in New Town factories -- the allocation of New Town houses was restricted to building workers, to employees of firms which erected or leased premises in New Towns, and to teachers and other professional workers who moved there to serve the needs of the new communities.

It has meant, despite certain transitional difficulties of keeping housing and factory construction in step, that the New Towns have a definite character, a social focus, as places to live and work. The conditions of work are among the best in the country; the buildings are new, the plants are new, the industrial districts are easy to reach from the workers' homes, thus abolishing long, expensive journeys. All these have an important effect on industrial morale and personal health.

The success that Britain and other European countries have had in the experiment of developing New Towns, has presumably led to an interest in this kind of innovation in the United States. In his message to Congress on January 27, 1964, President Johnson asked for authority to include in an extensive housing and

redevelopment program, planning for New Towns along much the same lines as in Britain.

United States Experience

The federal government of the United States first entered the field of housing during World War I to provide dwellings for workers engaged in national defence. This served as a precedent for the creation of a housing division in the Public Works Administration during the depression of the 1930's which carried out the first program of slum clearance and built the first houses for low-income families. The families who received this benefit were primarily manual workers, motivated towards self-improvement. They were poor and needed low-rental accommodation, but they were urbanites, accustomed to high density living, and were mostly employed. Local housing authorities screened out welfare recipients and families with problems; and even the most progressive Authorities established quotas to control the composition of their tenant bodies.

During World War II, housing programs, as in Canada, refocussed on provision of dwellings for workers in war industries and for servicemen; but, after the war,

the new Housing Act of 1949 made provision for the construction of public housing units "for the purpose of promoting the physical, social and emotional well-being" of all citizens concerned. This legislation provided that first preference must be given to families displaced by clearance activity, and it prohibited limitation on intake of welfare-assisted families, and therefore a new generation of housing tenants was created. There have been various changes of legislation up to the most recent Housing Act of 1961, established to eliminate substandard housing and to aid in a program of urban renewal. After several changes of administration, there is now one major Department, the Public Housing Administration in the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Families living in United States public housing to-day have these characteristics; half of the families are non-white, almost half are living on assistance or benefit incomes, one-third are one-parent families, one-quarter are elderly, all are low-income families. In general it is clear that they are deprived and disadvantaged -- the victims of failure of an affluent society to improve the lot of all of its citizens. But a favourite term also is "unacculturated" -- not used to urban living, from rural or peasant backgrounds, handicapped by language and other ethnic differences. However, it was recognition of the fact that these same families are neither unworthy,

nor undeserving, nor incapable, and that the effort of helping them overcome dependency and establish a new self-image would be worth-while, that led to the creation of a Task Force by the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in collaboration, to provide health, education and welfare services for families residing in public housing projects. Announcement of the joint plan was made in 1962: its aim is to develop local task forces, and to aid plans in all possible ways from this federal centre also.¹

In his message to Congress on January 27, 1964, by President Johnson, one of the major proposals made was for the creation of complete new communities, each with thousands of homes and facilities for business, shopping, cultural and recreational activities; and with jobs "designed-in", much in accordance with the New Towns of Britain. To make sure that the plan provided all the desired facilities and the best land use, and to be sure it included homes for elderly and low-income families, final approval would be up to the Housing Administrator in Washington.²

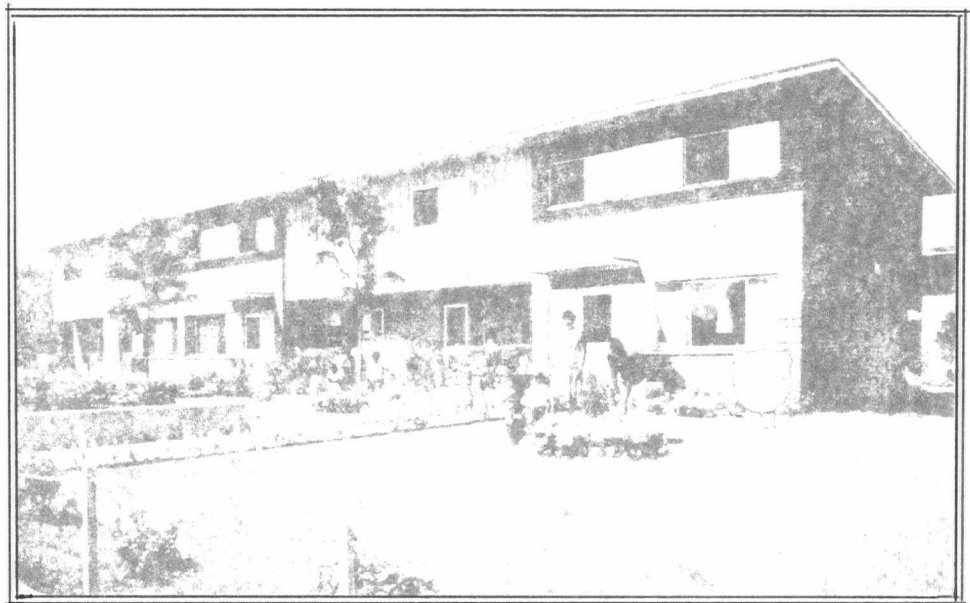
1 See Appendix B for a fuller account of the Task Force.

2 President Johnson, Message to Congress, January 27, 1964. (Quoted in Wall Street Journal, January 28, 1964.)

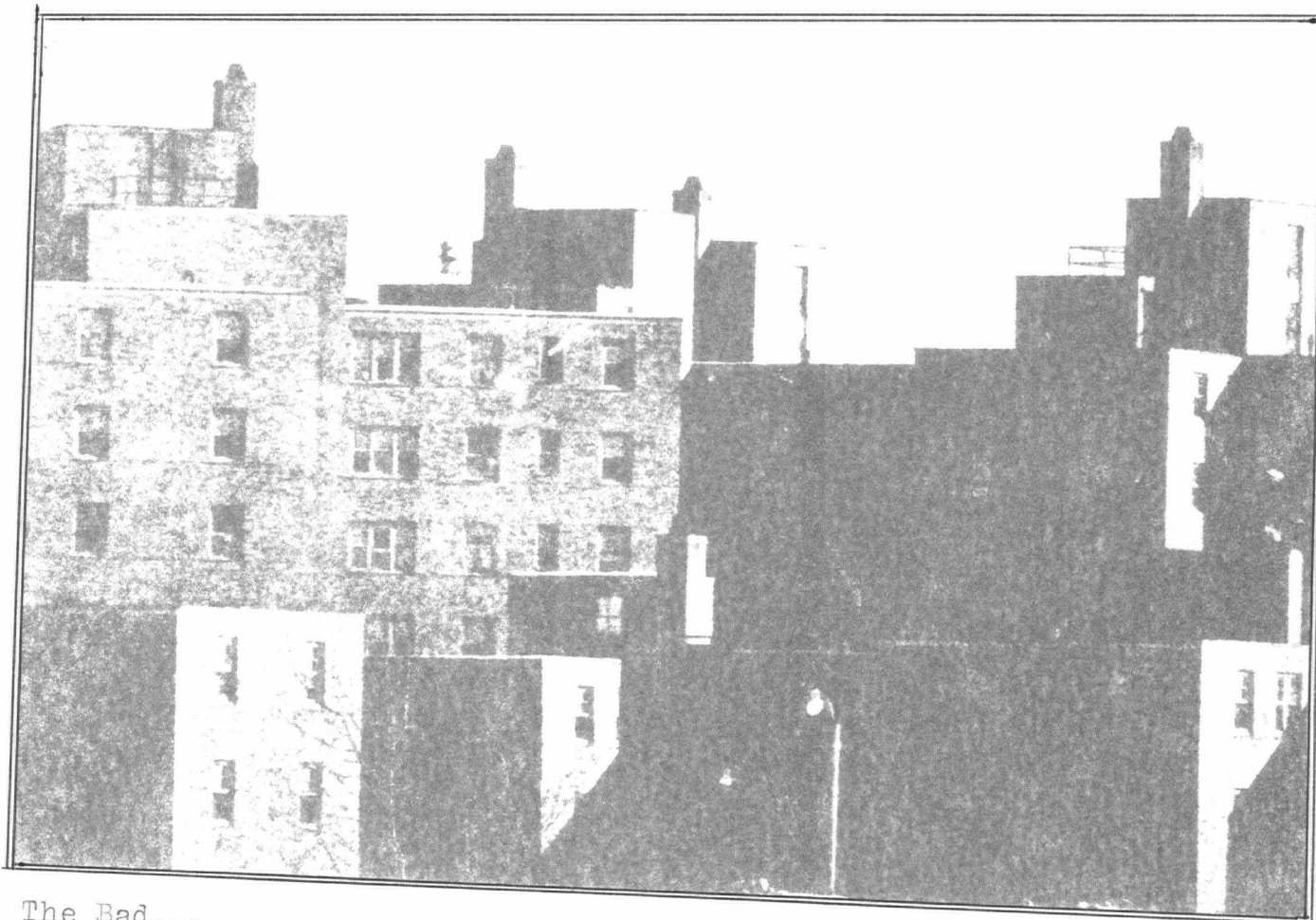
In the United States to-day, public housing developments are often huge projects of skyscraper type, built in redevelopment areas to replace existing slums, or on new tracts of formerly unused land isolated from existing neighbourhood services. Both types of projects suffer from lack of imaginative design, from the provision of community structure and open space, and common neighbourhood warmth. Skyscrapers are so familiar in the United States that they are not perhaps to be unexpected in public housing: but the packed tenement building has also been a product of economical building for as large a number of people as possible with a given amount of financing. As illustrations of community planning directed to offset some of these elements in public housing, as opposed to the lack of such planning, two descriptive pictures of projects in the United States are worth recounting.

Built as an important factor in the renewal of Chicago's South Side, the Robert R. Taylor Homes was, in 1962, the nation's largest public housing community. It houses 4,405 families on a site where once less than 800 households lived in squalor. The thirty-one buildings comprising Taylor Homes, while they are sizeable, occupy only about seven per cent of the 95 acre site, leaving plenty of room for playgrounds and gardens, and assuring

Public Housing in the United States



The Good...



The Bad...

all apartments of plenty of air and light. Three-quarters of the apartments have three or four bedrooms, one of which is large enough to accommodate three or four children. There is a community building providing headquarters for a Chicago Park District program, for a branch of the Chicago Department of Health, and for Firman House, a neighbourhood settlement. There are four public schools and one parochial school on the site, and new shopping centres. Churches on the site have improved their properties and expanded their services.

The Chicago Housing Authority has instituted a Good Neighbour Program which extends to all its housing projects and which is designed to promote tenant programs and develop leadership, to bring services to the residents, to improve living standards and to foster self-respect. The Taylor Homes have experimented with new programs, such as teaching homemaker skills to tenants in conjunction with the Board of Education, and giving classes on credit buying in conjunction with the Mayor's Committee on New Residents. The Homes have a Citizen's Committee also, composed of tenant leaders and neighbourhood business, education and clergy leaders.

In contrast, Columbia Point Housing Project in Boston has been described as resembling a prison; it has heavy chain fences, topped with barbed wire, ringing the

buildings; everything is girded with cement and asphalt; it is known as "Alcatraz" or "The Rock". There is not a tree in sight. It has come to be infested with rats. Apartments in the high-rise blocks have small rooms, paper thin walls, and exposed pipes. The elevators of the blocks are often out of order. There is nothing for the young people of the project to do except to sit in the hallways, and "nowhere to go" as it is situated in an isolated part of Boston. It was built on cheap land (because unwanted land): economies led to maximum provision at dangerous disregard for amenity.

Laundry must be done in the kitchen sink as there are no other facilities on the project; the alternative is to take the washing by bus to a laundrette. There are no restaurants, no library, no super-market, no Protestant or Jewish church, and no complete elementary school. Until a few months ago there was not even a public telephone. Yet 7000 people live in this development.

These two housing developments are probably neither the best nor the worst in the United States. But they point up one of the critical features of public housing, which is the imperative need that it develop either a "project community" or a community integrating the project and the surrounding neighbourhood, or both. The alternative is segregation of the poor into "communities" that

do not represent a cross-section of the general population, so that all the good that decent housing can accomplish for a family is undone because there has been no constructive change in the family's cultural environment. Income restriction shows up, also, as a dangerous policy when pushed to extremes. For, where once screening for tenancy was directed towards keeping out of public housing the welfare-assisted family, it is now directed towards the opposite practice -- evicting those whose incomes rise to even modest levels. As Michael Harrington has said in his now famous book, The Other America, the result of this is the creation of projects which reflect "the modern poor-farm mentality". Canadian cities are fortunate that they do not have to face low-income housing of the same dimensions as the great American cities. But there is much that can be learned from United States public housing and applied in Canada, as the program here is stepped up to meet the great need.

The Canadian Scene

Subsidized rental housing projects operated by local Housing Authorities now exist in about twenty-five centres throughout Canada. Large, or several projects,

have been built in only five cities: St. John's (Newfoundland), Halifax, St. John (New Brunswick), Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. The majority of others are very small, mainly located in Ontario. Canadian public housing on any large scale, in short, is so far only being developed in a few main cities. It was hoped in the present study to obtain comparable data for all of them: but it has proved more practical to review larger scale experience from Britain and the United States, and to survey only the four local projects in Vancouver in detail. Information is available, however, for Canada's first major venture into public housing, which is in Toronto, and this is the best introduction to the subject.

The Regent Park (North) project, a slum clearance and redevelopment program, got under way in 1947 and was completed ten years later. The major story of the development of this project has been documented in Albert Rose's book Regent Park.¹ There were over six hundred houses and commercial buildings, most of them in poor repair, on the site, prior to demolition. The population on the site is now close to double what it was then, yet there is considerably more open space. The project, located on forty-two and-a-half acres of cleared land in densely populated

1 Albert Rose, Regent Park, A Study in Slum Clearance.

down-town Toronto, is comprised of: 56 rowhouses, 13 three-story apartment blocks, 6 six-story apartment blocks, and the Administration and Community Center Building. The William C. Dies Building for "Diminishing Families" was added later and completed in 1959.¹

Buildings occupy ten-and-one-half acres of the project area, parking, four-and-one-half acres, play areas, ten-and-one-half acres, and there are seventeen acres of open space. The buildings are grouped along the outer boundaries of the site; some divide the inner space into three large sections. No through streets cut across the project area. Recreational and play spaces include two baseball diamonds, areas for basket ball and volley ball, two "Tiny Tot Playgrounds", and ice rinks in the winter. The Administration Building includes a gymnasium, stage, and a games room. Four crafts rooms and a boxing ring are located in the basement of one of the blocks. Indoor play facilities for the young children are located in the William C. Dies Building. Supervision of recreational activities is provided by the Department of Parks and Recreation. The William C. Dies Building for

¹ The distribution of rental units in Regent Park (North) is as follows: 31 bachelor suites; 190 one-bedroom suites; 562 two-bedroom suites; 498 three-bedroom suites; 821 four-bedroom suites; 34 five-bedroom suites.

"diminishing families" has communal balconies and two large main floor lounging rooms. The Garden Club of Toronto presented detailed landscaping plans for an adjoining garden, which is intended to provide a measure of privacy to the occupants of this building.

The Housing Authority of Toronto was established in 1947 (the City of Toronto Act, 1947, and By-law number 16933). It is composed of five members appointed by City Council upon the recommendation of the Board of Control. The majority of members may not be elected representatives.

It is of interest to note that the Housing Authority is now engaged in the following areas of activity:

1. The construction, maintenance, operation and management of Regent Park (North) housing project.
2. The maintenance, operation and management of War Time, Emergency and other Miscellaneous Housing.
3. The construction, maintenance, operation and management of new or renovated housing financed under the charter of the City of Toronto Dividend Housing Corporation Limited.
4. The operation and management of the Housing Registry. In October, 1958, a "Housing Registry" was established for listing of available accommodation at reasonable

rents, and where prospective tenants may apply for leads. The Registry is operated as a public service, and by 1963, close to six thousand would-be tenants were given contacts regarding available low-rental housing.

5. The relocation of families living in areas scheduled for redevelopment.

6. To provide City Council with advice and information on all public housing policies and to investigate special projects.

Developments in Vancouver

The development of public housing in Vancouver has moved along somewhat different lines compared with Toronto, although here also, it originated from concern over clusters of neighbourhoods with overcrowded sub-standard housing, and the fact that the volume of new housing was out of step with demand, and that the cost of family dwellings was out of the reach of a large proportion of the population.

The notion of public housing in Vancouver, as elsewhere, was originally closely linked with slum clearance and rehousing. The early beginnings of the low-rental housing movement in Vancouver can be traced back to the efforts of the newly-founded Vancouver Housing Association and interested citizens, during the mid-thirties. After a

lengthy lull, which lasted into post war years, interest was re-evoked in the forties. A major survey of the Strathcona area, identified as a "critical" area with regard to housing and other welfare aspects, was carried out in 1947-48,¹ complete with proposals for an extensive "neighbourhood rehabilitation" program, including public housing. No action was taken by the city along the proposed lines. Instead, the first three public housing projects in Vancouver, Little Mountain, Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace were erected on vacant sites outside the Strathcona area. The site for the first project, Little Mountain, was purchased in 1950, the project was completed in 1955. Orchard Park was opened in 1958 and Skeena Terrace in late 1962. A later study (1957) of the False Creek area, carried out by the City's Planning Department,² designated the Strathcona area a "comprehensive redevelopment area" and priority site within a recommended twenty year urban renewal scheme. Vancouver's fourth public housing project, MacLean Park, completed in April 1963, is located in this area, and today is the city's only "slum clearance and redevelopment" project, in the strictest sense.

Vancouver, thus, in 1964 has a sample of slum clearance proper, and three public housing projects, built on vacant sites in existing neighbourhoods, which defy classification by reference to the popular terms coined to describe types of

¹ L. C. Marsh, Rebuilding a Neighbourhood, Report on a Demonstration Slum Clearance and Urban Rehabilitation Project in a Key Central Area in Vancouver.

² Vancouver Redevelopment Study, City of Vancouver Planning Department.

projects in the U.S. and Britain (discussed above). This type of development has only been possible because much vacant land within city boundaries was still available. Dr. L. Marsh has commented: "It is significant, indeed, that some instalments of public housing have been "infilling" (i.e., utilizing vacant sites) rather than demolition projects. But population pressures, and land pressures of the type familiar to Western Europe are not far away from Canadian cities: most planners would maintain in fact that they are already here."¹ The decision to pursue this type of development in dealing with the need for low-cost rental housing suggests that short-term financial goals were major factors in determining the choice of sites for the first three projects. The projects were an important, though small, step forward in alleviating the housing needs of low-income families throughout Vancouver. On the other hand they were "planted" into neighbourhoods without consideration of other welfare aspects. In the Vancouver Redevelopment Study the following statement is made (with regard to "comprehensive redevelopment areas" and "limited redevelopment areas"):

"Common to both is the need to consider the area as a whole, for instance by the improvement of community facilities and street patterns and by the recognition of the importance of public morale and education."² These worthwhile principles should hold wherever community building goes on, and this includes the situation in which public housing is introduced into a neighbourhood. It is difficult to find the evidence that such neighbourhood planning has been involved when Vancouver's first three public housing projects were started.

¹ J. S. Brown, D. Kogawa, R. Peters, Public Housing and Welfare Services: A comparative Review of Community Experience, 1947-1963. Master of Social Work Thesis, U.B.C., 1963.

² Vancouver Redevelopment Study.

It can be agreed, indeed, that "infilling" has delayed redevelopment of critical areas of the city, as for example, "Strathcona" and the False Creek sections which have continued to deteriorate for ten or fifteen years. However, a major redevelopment program, which involves extensive demolition and reconstruction in some areas and limited re-development in others, is now projected for Vancouver, over a 20 year period. MacLean Park is the first of several housing "banks" to be built with a view to rehousing persons who will be displaced in order to make demolition possible.

There are some significant differences between the MacLean Park project and the other three, related to the fact that MacLean Park is a slum-clearance project whereas the others are not. Tenant selection in the former involved priority to residents to be displaced, which implies that population characteristics of that particular area had to be taken into account in planning and designing the project. Tenants for the other three projects, on the other hand, were drawn from all over the city, therefore decisions about the size and kinds of units to be built could be made more arbitrarily, and were based on a broader estimate of need in public housing. It goes without saying that important consequences follow for the families entering public housing, depending on whether they move within their old neighbourhood or into a totally strange one. In the following chapter more will be said about the differences in population characteristics between MacLean Park and the other projects.

Little Mountain. Vancouver's first public housing project is situated east of Queen Elizabeth Park -- its boundaries are

Main Street and Ontario Street, 33rd Ave. and 37th Ave. The project is situated on seven acres of land and houses 224 families. It consists of rowhouses and three-storey apartment blocks. The buildings are of modern but unassuming design, they are widely spaced and pleasantly arranged with lawns and winding roads between them. There are blacktopped areas at the back of the blocks for children's play, equipped with some swings and sandboxes. Fromson, Hansen and Smith give a more detailed account of the project's interior and exterior design and the surrounding neighbourhood.¹ This project has benefited from rapid growth of the area since the project was established, through development of the Oakridge Shopping Centre and the lower Main Street area. Nearby Queen Elizabeth Park, of course, is one of the city's showplaces in landscaping. These developments have been unrelated to the project and the gains to the tenants have been incidental rather than planned.

Orchard Park. The second instalment of public housing in Vancouver is situated on an eleven acre site at Nanaimo Street between 41st and 45th Avenues East. The project is made up of eight blocks with 10 apartments in each, 53 rowhouses, 28 pensioner units and 8 units for the handicapped. E. M. Reid describes the appearance of the project: "The general exterior appearance of the project now compares favourably with the private housing in the environs, and bordered with the huge shade trees along 41st Ave., with the North Shore mountains as a backdrop, the project presents a pleasing scene to the viewer." Reid comments also on less favourable aspects; (1) the closeness

¹ Fromson, Hansen, Smith, The Little Mountain Low-Rental Housing Project, A Survey of its Welfare Aspects (Vancouver, 1955-58) Master of Social Work Thesis, U.B.C. 1959.

of units for the elderly and handicapped to family units, where large numbers of children live and (2) traffic hazards: --

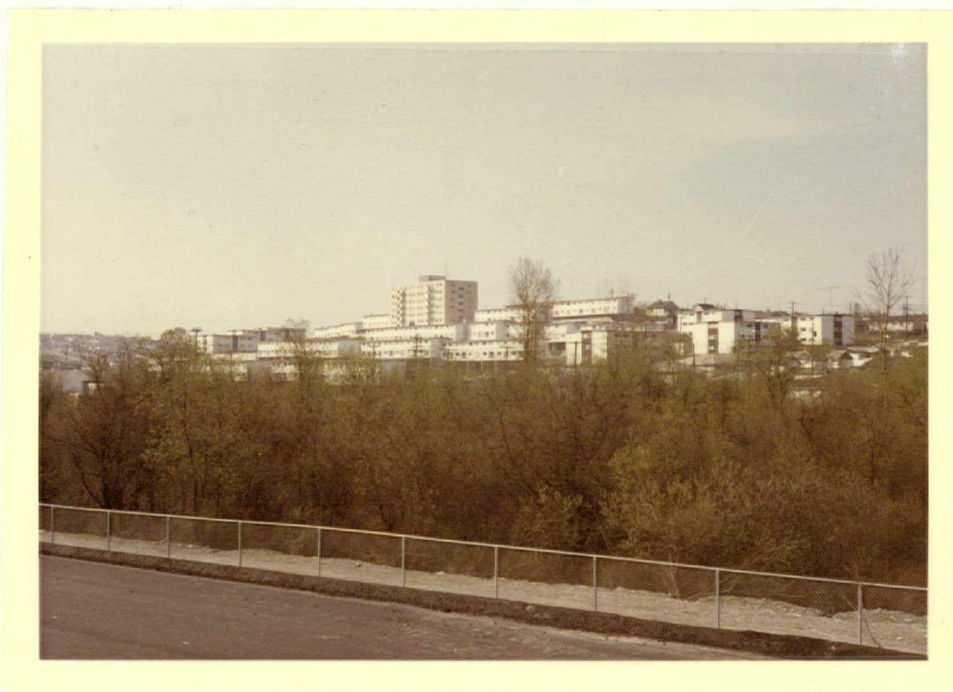
"Many rowhouses, containing a large proportion of the child population are orientated toward both 41st and 45th Avenues, where the flow of traffic is heavy. No fences surround the project. Nanaimo Street, cutting through the middle of the project, has become a through Street." Further description of the neighbourhood and interior design of the living units is found in the Reid report.¹

Skeena Terrace. The third of Vancouver's public housing projects is located close to the eastern border of the City, at Lougheed Highway and Cassiar Street. This project, the largest of the four, is composed of 234 dwelling units distributed in 95 rowhouses, 7 blocks (with ten suites in each), and one 6 storey high-rise block with 69 suites for elderly tenants. The project derives its name from its location and design -- built on sloping ground north of Lougheed Highway, the buildings are grouped at different elevations which makes an attractive terraced effect. While this is an asset in appearance, the sloping streets and walks cause inconvenience to the tenants. The project site includes spacious green areas and is fenced off toward the highway which, incidentally, is considerably below the project ground. Skeena Terrace is fairly isolated as compared to the other three projects. To the north and west are average residential districts but with no major shopping area close by. To the east and the south is industrial development or vacant land.

¹ E. M. Reid, Orchard Park: A Tenant Survey of the Second Instalment of Public Housing in Vancouver (Dec. 1958-May 1960) Master of Social Work Thesis, U.B.C. 1962.

Vancouver's Public Housing

- Skeena Terrace -



MacLean Park. Vancouver's slum clearance project is located in the central part of the city bounded by Georgia Street, Jackson Avenue, Union Street and Dunlevy Avenue. The project consists of 38 rowhouses and one high-rise apartment block. The latter has 52 1-bedroom and 69 bachelor apartments designed for single tenants and couples. In the high-rise building there is a large lounge on the main floor for the tenants' use. The grounds include a recessed, grassed area at the centre of the project and a black-topped play area for the children. Some landscaping has been done on the grounds. The project area on the whole, has a clean and tidy appearance, and stands in contrast to the surrounding residential district which is in quite poor repair, but which is mapped for gradual re-development. The general area is described in the Vancouver Redevelopment Study as follows: "This was a good residential district 40 or 50 years ago, and still has the character of a genuine neighbourhood. Strathcona School acts as a focal centre and there is an ample supply of churches and social centres, most of which serve particular ethnic groups resident in the area. Nevertheless, age, changes of occupancy and conversions of dwellings have induced widespread deterioration." ¹

The study states further that the area was characterized by (and still is) a high percentage of Old Age Assistance recipients, families on Social Assistance, and a high proportion of single men, many of them accommodated in Chinese "Bachelor Houses" (cheap boarding houses).²

¹ Vancouver Redevelopment Study, p. 6.

² In the district in which MacLean Park is located almost one-half the population is Chinese.

Compared with many European countries, especially Britain and the Scandinavian nations, and the United States, Canada is a novice in the field of public housing -- it has started late and in a small way. Yet in a narrower perspective it can now look back on a history and experience of public housing of its own. Canada along with other western countries has now to cope with a long term trend toward extensive urbanization. It is this as well as slum conditions in the older "core" which has brought to the fore the demand for low-rental housing in urban centres. Concern over slum conditions in Toronto, Montreal and other large cities was first voiced at the turn of the century. Pressure for slum clearance and redevelopment in Toronto gained impetus in the 1930's, but World War II intervened between actualization of the proposed plans. Post-war industrial and population growth emphasized the over-all need for housing and out of this a small proportion of public housing has come.

Two major factors impede the development of public housing in Canada. The first is a lag in public understanding. Public housing is still conceived by many as being in conflict with, or a threat to, private enterprise and home ownership, notions deeply ingrained in our culture. But recognition that social and economic factors make public housing a necessary part in the structure of today's cities is gaining ground.

Legislative complications are a second factor which impede development of public housing in Canada. Housing is under provincial jurisdiction; however, it was recognized early, that federal financing was required in order to meet the nation's need for housing. National Housing Acts document the pro-

-gressively widening scope of federal aid for housing from loans to home builders and "limited dividend" companies, to provision for subsidized public housing in partnership with provincial governments, on a seventy-five to twenty-five per cent sharing basis. The provincial governments, in turn, have drawn up legislation in order to avail themselves of this aid, and to further regulate financial responsibility for public housing between themselves and municipalities. Not only may the municipalities have to share in the financing of public housing, but initiative at local level is required for federal-provincial aid. With responsibility shared by three levels of government, it is obvious that planning and setting up a public housing project becomes a complicated and delicate matter. It explains also why public housing policy in Canada has remained fuzzy and open to variation from locality to locality.

The National Housing Act is administered by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, a crown company set up in 1946, primarily as a financial agent of the federal government. Provincial governments have passed legislation for the establishment of Housing Authorities, who, at local levels, administer the public housing projects.

CHAPTER II

Family Profiles

The basic everyday concept "family" emerges in a new and perplexing light if one is confronted with the task of making a study of families. Questions which do not come up in common usage of the term need to be dealt with. What types of constellations of persons are called "families"? How define and classify the different constellations? In practice the term "family" is frequently used synonymously with "household": although this may not be technically correct, it is practical for the purposes of this study, since it deals with a tenant population, and also recognizes that "all kinds and conditions of people", including single persons, may constitute a household. Literature in the social sciences offers a wealth of classifications of families according to the different dimensions of family composition such as size, type, age. It is unfortunate that there is little if any consistency among the individual reports as to such categories used, since this renders comparative studies difficult and sometimes impossible. In some housing reports, the elderly are included in the overall figures, not so in others; groupings by age show a wide range of variety. The basic differentiation of families according to family types has probably been the subject of most confusion. Numerous "classifications" have been devised, none of which seem entirely satisfactory. The choice of some terms, which have become widely used to denote certain types

of families, seem unfortunate. "Broken" family, which is intended to describe families where one parent is missing, carries the connotation of instability or poor family relationships. In practice many such families may be quite solid and healthy, whereas obviously some families with both parents present may be psychologically "broken." For this reason the term "one-parent" family seems more appropriate.

The overall average income for a project, for example, is radically affected by the proportion of elderly couples in the total accommodation; similarly, by the proportion of one-parent families (since, working women invariably earn less than most male heads of families). What is needed is the average income, number of children, or rents paid, etc. for standard families, as such, for one-parent families, as such, and so on. Absence of this differentiation creates continuous problems of interpretation in the United States figures reviewed in this and the following chapter.

The classification of family types used in a recent Baltimore Report stands out as an improvement over previous ones, and is being followed in many parts of the United States for public housing studies.¹ It is, however, not used in the U.S. National housing statistics.

For the purposes of the present study the following adaptation of the Baltimore family type classification is used for the Vancouver projects, and as consistently as is possible for the United States discussion.

"Standard" families - Both parents and at least one child under the age of 21 in the home.

¹ Types of Families Living in Baltimore's Low-Rent Projects, 1951-1957, Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, p. 1, 4, 10.

- "One-Parent" families - Only one parent and at least one child under the age of 21 in the home.
- "Adult" families - All members of the household over the age of 21 and the head or spouse under the age of 70.
- "Elderly" families - Head of household or spouse over 70 years of age or older, including single persons over 70.
- "Single-Person" families - Households of one person under the age of 70 years.

Types of Families in Vancouver's Projects.

Of course, the distribution of family characteristics in public housing projects is not something that just "happens"; in a broad sense it is planned. The planning is reflected both in policy and in the design and layout of the projects. The unit distribution of the Vancouver projects (Table I) shows clearly that when the first project was developed single persons were excluded, since no single units were built. Nor was any provision made for the very large family. In the newer projects, single units have been added in increasing numbers, and the proportion of two and three-bedroom units has been decreased while four and five-room houses have been added. It was mentioned earlier, that the MacLean Park project was built with the housing needs of that particular area in mind. The very high proportion of single units and one-bedroom suites (121 out of 159) clearly distinguishes this project from the others, which are mainly geared to housing families. In the overall picture of the four public housing projects in Vancouver, it is also evident that MacLean Park is quite distinctive from the other three projects in the characteristics of its residents. The differences are related both to the origin and the location of this project. It is for this reason that MacLean Park is separated from the three other projects,

termed here, the "middle area" projects, to distinguish them from the project in the downtown or central area, which is part of the slum clearance and "comprehensive redevelopment" section of the city.

Table I. Types of Accommodation Provided by Vancouver Public Housing Projects (1964)

Units	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	Total
Single units	0	18	21	69	108
Family units:					
1-bedroom	40	34	48	52	174
2- bedroom	92	64	70	18	244
3-bedroom	92	50	69	13	224
4-bedroom	-	3	21	6	30
5-bedroom	-	-	5	1	6
Total	224	169	234	159	786

Source: Vancouver Housing Authority.

The distribution of family types is an important dimension in determining the characteristics of any neighbourhood. Frequently generalizations are made along these lines: the suburbs are thought of as populated predominantly by married couples with children, downtown areas are known for their large single, mobile population. Public housing in the minds of many is associated exclusively with families with children. Originally conceived in this way, the scope of public housing has widened to become a resource for other family types as well, and the stereotyped conception about such housing projects is becoming more and more misleading.

In Vancouver, the proportion of families with children,

in all four projects taken together, is 66.4 per cent. Over half of these are "standard" families (36.1 per cent). Of the "one-parent" families (30.3 per cent) all but a few are mothers with children. "Adult" families (9.3 per cent) and "single" families (4.6 per cent) are the two smallest groups. Elderly families or a household (single and couples) make up about one-fifth the total housing project population.

Table 2. Distribution of Families by Family Type and Project, Vancouver Public Housing, January, 1964.

Family Type	Housing Project				Totals	
	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	All Four Projects	Middle Area Projects
"Standard"	P.C. 43.9	P.C. 36.9	P.C. 38.5	P.C. 21.4	P.C. 36.1	P.C. 39.8
"One-parent"	40.3	37.5	32.1	6.3	30.3	36.4
"Adult"	4.0	7.8	11.5	14.4	9.3	8.0
"Elderly"	11.8	14.8	14.5	43.4	19.7	13.7
Single	-	3.0	3.4	14.5	4.6	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Data from Vancouver Housing Authority files, 1964.

Fully comparative figures are not available for other parts of Canada. However, in 1957 there were apparently only approximately 125 tenants (out of 1289 households), or about 10 per cent "elderly" families in the Toronto Regent Park project. It was estimated that "a few short of 1200 housing units were tenanted by married couples with or without children."¹ These proportions have undoubtedly changed: there

¹ A. Rose, Regent Park, p. 186.

are probably more elderly families today.

Considering families with children, a comparison with the larger community shows that the proportion of "one-parent" families in the housing projects is very high. In the projects, 45.7 per cent of families with children were "one-parent families as opposed to only 8.6 per cent of this type in urban British Columbia. Correspondingly, the proportion of families with female family heads is much higher in the projects than in the surrounding community. (Table 1. Appendix C). The concentration of fatherless families in the housing projects clearly reflects the fact that the family without a father is likely to have a low economic status.

"Middle Area" Projects. In the three "middle area" projects, 76.2 per cent of the tenants are "standard" or "one-parent" families, that is families with children. There seems however, to be a tendency for fewer families with children to enter the newer projects. Little Mountain, the oldest project, has the highest proportion of these families: 43.9 per cent "standard", and 40.3 per cent "one-parent" families. In Orchard Park the corresponding figures are 36.9 and 37.5 per cent, and in Skeena Terrace 38.5 and 32.1 per cent (Table 2).

Comparing the number of standard and one-parent families in these projects it is found that Little Mountain and Skeena Terrace have 3 to 6 per cent more standard families, whereas in Orchard Park the distribution of standard and one-parent families is approximately equal. A comparison with earlier findings indicates that the relative proportion of standard and one-parent families in Orchard Park has remained practically the same as it was in 1959. In Little Mountain considerable change has taken place. There has been a consistent

decrease in the number of standard families (from 77.2 per cent in 1955 to 43.9 per cent in 1964) and an increase of one-parent families (from 11.1 per cent to 40.3 per cent). (Table 3).

Table 3. Family Composition of Residents of Little Mountain Project. (1955, 1958 and 1964)

Type of Family	1955	1958	1964
"Standard"	77.2	55.3	43.9
"One-parent"	11.1	29.0	40.3
"Elderly"	8.0	13.3	11.8
"Adult"	-	-	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: "The Little Mountain Low-Rental Housing Project: A Survey of its Welfare Aspects." Master of Social Work Thesis, U.B.C., 1959.

Adult families, that is, childless families whose head or spouse is under age 70, in the "middle area" projects make up 8.0 per cent of the total number of families, and they constitute an increased proportion in the newer projects. Compared with Little Mountain (4 per cent) the proportion of adult families has approximately doubled in Orchard Park (7.8 per cent) and nearly tripled in Skeena Terrace (11.5 per cent). Single families, as noted earlier, were not provided for in Little Mountain. Both in Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace they make up about 3 per cent of all tenant families. Elderly families (13.7 per cent of the total in the three projects) also showed a small increase in the newer projects. (Table 2).

MacLean Park. Broadly speaking the distribution of families in MacLean Park, with and without children, is the reverse of the picture in the other three projects. In the latter, 76.4 per cent of all families had children, in MacLean Park 72.3 per cent of the families have no children. Of the 27.7 per cent families with children in this project, 21.4 per cent are standard families and 6.3 per cent are one-parent families. The proportion of one-parent families is significantly lower than in the other projects. It can be presumed that this reflects the cohesiveness of the Asiatic family, a significant element in these subcultures. (About 55 per cent of the tenants in MacLean Park are of Asiatic origin, predominantly Chinese).

Correspondingly, the remaining family types are all proportionately higher in MacLean Park than in the other projects. The percentage of adult families (14.4) is nearly quadrupled in comparison with Little Mountain (4.0). Single persons show the highest proportionate increase (14.5 per cent as compared to approximately 3 per cent in Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace). These are the single persons under the age of 70. The largest group of families in MacLean Park are the "elderly," 43.4 per cent. The corresponding figure for the other projects is around 13 per cent. In this elderly group there are 22 couples and 47 single persons, 42 of the latter being men.

MacLean Park project thus is characterized by a very large proportion of people in their seventies and a fairly large adult population in late middle-age. Three-quarters of these groups are made up of single people, and the majority of them are men. By its very nature this will change

radically within ten years or more, and a new occupancy policy will have to take account of this.

Age of Head of the Family.

A marked proportion of people over 60 years of age are now living in Vancouver public housing. But, as seems to be the case with all public housing, there is a higher proportion of children and young people than in the community at large.

Table 4. Ages of Family Heads
Vancouver Public Housing, January, 1964.

Age of Family Head	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	All Projects	Middle Area Projects
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
Under 30	12.8	18.8	23.9	6.9	16.2	18.8
31-40	30.3	22.1	27.0	10.1	23.2	26.9
41-50	23.9	20.8	13.7	7.6	16.4	19.0
51-60	12.2	10.1	6.6	8.8	9.2	9.4
Over 60	20.8	28.2	28.8	66.0	35.0	25.9
Totals (a)	100	100	100	100	100	100

(a) For a few families (particularly in the Little Mountain project) this information was not available, percentages therefore relate to recorded data only.

Considering all four Vancouver projects, 35 per cent of all families are those where the family head is 60 years of age or older. The groups, by age of family head, up to age 50, are fairly evenly distributed with between 16 to 23 per cent of families in each. Families with age of family head between 51 and 60 years constitute the smallest group, 9.2 per cent. Not yet "elderly," and presumably no longer caring for young children, these families do, however, remain in the projects. This age group of family is considered the least eligible for admission to public housing. However, the housing

needs of this group may need to be reconsidered in the light of progressively earlier forced retirement due to changing conditions on the labour market. It must also be remembered that many persons in this group spent their most productive years during the depression, with little opportunity for educational advancement and saving.

Regent Park (North), the oldest major public housing project in Canada, was confronted with the problem of these families among its own tenants, and has found a solution, which is believed to be unique in Canada. This project was planned for families with children with little provision made for couples and none for single persons.¹ With the passage of time many families dwindled in size, leaving only the parents or a surviving spouse. Rather than require these tenants to leave the project, they were permitted to stay on, which resulted in suites designed for larger family units being occupied by single persons or couples. Thus after the project was completed The William C. Dies Building for "Diminishing Families" was erected as an afterthought.²

No corresponding information is available to compare the distribution of age of family head in the Vancouver projects with that in the larger community, but some idea may be gained from the 1961 census figures for the Vancouver Metropolitan area. A direct comparison between these and the projects is not possible, (a) because the age categories do not coincide; (b) because the project count includes single persons, whereas

¹ It would appear that a few single tenants were accommodated initially.

² The Building is named after Mr. W. C. Dies, M.S.M., original member of the Housing Authority of Toronto, in recognition of his contributions in the field of public housing.

they are excluded in the census figures. (Table 5). Possibly the broad observation can be made that, in the projects, the proportion of families with head over 60 years of age appears to be significantly larger than in the community. MacLean Park, of course, weights this measurement, perhaps unduly.

Table 5. Age of Family Head.
Metropolitan Vancouver Area, 1961.

Age of Head of Family (a)	Per Cent
Under 25	3.8
25 - 34	21.2
35 - 44	25.1
45 - 54	21.9
55 - 64	13.1
65 - 69	4.7
Over 70	10.2
Total	100.0

(a) A family consists of a husband and wife (with or without unmarried children) or a parent, with one or more children never married.

Source: Canada Census, 1961. Bulletin 2. 23-29.

"Middle Area" Projects. In these projects the proportion of families with head of family over 60 years of age is more in proportion with other age groups¹; however, in Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace it is still the largest single group (28.2 and 28.8 per cent) by a small margin. In Little Mountain this

¹ Vancouver Redevelopment Study. p. 41.

group is significantly smaller at 20.8 per cent. (Table 4).

The percentage of the youngest families (age of head under 30 years) is considerably higher in the newer projects -- 12.8 per cent in Little Mountain; 23.9 per cent in Skeena Terrace. The age group 31 to 40 is the largest single group in Little Mountain (30.3 per cent), which may indicate that younger families have continued residence for a number of years. The middle age groups (41 to 50, 51 to 60) are considerably larger in Little Mountain (36.1 per cent in the two groups together) especially as compared with Skeena Terrace (20.3 per cent correspondingly.) (Table 4). This as well may reflect length of tenancy. It is common observation that a concentration of progressively older age groups occurs as a housing project matures.

MacLean Park. The age distribution of the head of family at MacLean Park is most obviously at variance with that in the general population. However, it probably corresponds more closely with the population characteristics of the particular area where the project is located.

Of the households in this project, 66.6 per cent are families with head of family over 60 years of age. It is reported in the Vancouver Redevelopment Study (1957) that although the Comprehensive Redevelopment Areas (MacLean Park is located in one) "contain only 6 per cent of the City's population they accommodate 14 per cent of all persons in receipt of Old Age Assistance or Old Age Pension, plus those with Cost of Living Bonus."¹ Considering the high proportion of old people of small means in the area the concentration of

¹ Vancouver Redevelopment Study. p. 41.

the elderly in the project is not surprising.

The youngest families comprise the smallest single group (6.9 per cent) in this project. The age groups of head of family 31 to 60 years are fairly evenly distributed with between 7 and 10 per cent of all families in each. In this project the age group 51 to 60 is not significantly under-represented compared with the other groups (as it was in the "middle area" projects); however, the relative size of this same group in this area of Vancouver may possibly also be large. (Table 4).

Size of Family.

In general, it appears that the size of family in Vancouver's public housing is smaller than one might expect. The presence of very many children in projects has probably led to the conclusion that predominantly large families live in public housing. This notion is presumably reinforced by financial implications associated with maintaining a large family. It would seem, however, that the high proportion of children in the Vancouver projects is mainly the result of high-density concentration of predominantly average-size families, although there are proportionately more large families in some of the projects than in the surrounding community.

In January, 1964, the average size of household in the four Vancouver public housing projects taken together was 3.9 persons. The corresponding figure, for 1961, for the Metropolitan Vancouver area was 3.3.¹ In the total of the Vancouver projects 36.4 per cent of all families have one or two members only. The largest single group consists of families with 2

¹ Canada Census, 1961 Bulletin 2.

members (22.5 per cent). Nearly three-quarters of the total number of families have up to 4 members. As can be expected, the proportion of larger families decreases progressively and the very large family of 8 persons or more make up 3.4 per cent of the total tenant population. (Table 6).

Compared with the larger community, the outstanding feature in the family size distribution in all Vancouver projects taken together is that there are proportionately fewer small families (2 and 3 members) in the projects (5.2 percentage points less), and a correspondingly higher proportion of families with 6 or more members (4.4 percentage points higher). The distribution of single persons and families with 4 and 5 members is practically the same in the projects and in the community. (Table 7). The lesser proportion of small families may be related to the fact that childless couples, unless they are elderly, are not considered eligible for public housing, except under special circumstances.

"Middle Area" Projects. The "middle area" projects, are designed predominantly for families. Consequently the proportion of single person households is considerably lower than if the four projects are taken together. Single persons make up 9 or 10 per cent of the total households in Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace. There are no single person households in Little Mountain. Two-person families constitute about 20 per cent in all three projects. The largest single group for the three projects together are 4 member families (21.7 per cent); however, the proportion of these families is only very slightly higher than that of 2 and 3 member families. Individually seen, the largest group in Little Mountain is made up of 3 member families (24 per cent); in Orchard Park it is 4 member

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Tenants by Household Size. Vancouver Housing Projects, 1964.

Size of Household (Persons)	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	All Projects	Middle Area Projects
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
1	19.9	10.7	9.0	44.0	13.9	6.2
2	19.9	20.2	20.9	30.8	22.5	20.4
3	24.0	18.5	17.5	6.9	17.4	20.1
4	23.1	25.6	17.5	6.3	18.6	21.7
5	15.4	11.9	15.0	5.7	12.5	14.3
6	10.8	8.9	7.7	3.8	8.1	9.1
7	5.0	2.4	4.3	0.6	3.3	4.0
8 and over	1.8	1.8	8.1	1.9	3.7	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 7. Households by Number of Persons Metropolitan Vancouver Area (1961) and Vancouver Public Housing, 1964.

Number of Persons	Metropolitan Vancouver Area	All Projects	Middle Area Projects
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
1	13.2	13.9	6.2
2-3	45.1	39.9	40.5
4-5	31.0	31.1	36.0
6 or more	10.7	15.1	17.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Canada Census, 1961. Bulletin 2. Vancouver Housing Authority files, 1964.

families (25.6 per cent); in Skeena Terrace these two groups are of equal size (17.5 per cent). The proportion of larger families decreases progressively in all the projects. Little Mountain and Orchard Park both have 1.8 per cent of families with 8 or more members. Skeena Terrace is a significant exception, the proportion of the largest families (8 or more members) there is 8.1 per cent (19 families). (Table 6).

The family size distribution of the three "middle area" projects taken together shows marked difference from the Metropolitan Vancouver area. In the projects the proportion of single persons is less than half of that in the larger community (6.2 and 13.2 per cent respectively).¹ Families with 2 and 3 members also show a relatively smaller representation in the projects. Groups of larger families, correspondingly, are larger in proportion in the projects; for example, there are significantly more families with 6 or more members in the three projects than in the community. (Table 7).

MacLean Park. In this project single persons make up 44 per cent of the total number of households, that is, in MacLean Park this group is four times larger in proportion than in the other projects. Single and 2 person families together compose nearly 75 per cent of the total number of households. The percentages of the remaining groups, of course, are quite small. They decrease gradually from 6.9 per cent of families with 3 members to 0.6 per cent of families with 7 members. Each of these groups is significantly smaller than the corresponding groups in the other projects.

¹ The absence of single people in Little Mountain influences this average for the projects.

On the other hand, the largest families, 8 members or more, make up 1.9 per cent of all families in MacLean Park, which is about the same as the proportion of these families in Little Mountain and Orchard Park. (Table 6).

Distribution of Children and Adolescents.

It is noteworthy that minor children make up more than half (approximately 55 per cent) of the total population in the Vancouver public housing projects. This is characteristic of public housing everywhere, though there are, of course, local variations. The implications for schools are by now well known, but other implications for welfare services, such things as day nurseries, play space and equipment, are by no means generally appreciated.

At the time of this study there were 1504 children in the four Vancouver projects; 781 of them boys and 723 girls. There are substantially more younger children than teenagers, which is probably related to the fact that two of the projects are newly built. The relative proportion of age groups may of course change with time. In the four projects taken together 43.3 per cent of all children are of pre-school age (up to 6 years); 47.1 per cent are of school age (between 7 and 15 years); and only 9.6 per cent are adolescents and young adults (16 to 21 years). (Table 8).

Of the total of 1504 children, 847 are from two-parent families, 653 from one-parent families, a few children live with others than parents. Two-parent families have significantly more pre-school children (69.7 per cent of all children in this age group), whereas the proportion of school-age children is similar in the two types of families. One-parent

families have significantly more adolescents (63.4 per cent of the total adolescent group), than standard families, however, as mentioned earlier, adolescents make up less than 10 per cent of all minors in the projects.

It is difficult to draw comparisons between the age distribution of minor children in the Vancouver projects and the overall figures for urban Canada and urban British Columbia, because again the age groupings do not correspond. However, broadly speaking it appears that the proportion of pre-school children in the projects is markedly higher than in the larger community. (Tables 8, 9).

A direct comparison of the childrens' age distribution in the Vancouver projects and the Regent Park project in Toronto cannot be made, since the age categories are not standardized. However, as seen in Tables 8 and 10, there are considerably more school-age children in Regent Park than pre-schoolers, whereas these two groups are of more equal proportion in the Vancouver projects taken all together. The proportion of the oldest group is slightly larger in the Toronto project (11 per cent) than it is in Vancouver (9.6 per cent). In Regent Park statistics, however, the upper age limit for this group may be 19 years as opposed to 21 for the Vancouver projects, in which case the difference in relative size of this group is actually greater than shown here.¹ The larger proportion of older children in Toronto, it may be presumed, is related to the age of the project. In support of this interpretation is the fact that in 1957 there were 2439 children and

¹ The Housing Authority of Toronto Report of May 1963, used as source material, does not specify the upper age limit for this group, it is shown as "over 16 years - teenagers."

Table 8. Distribution of Children and Adolescents.
Vancouver Public Housing, 1964.

Age of Children	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	All Projects	Middle Area Proj-
Pre-school (up to 6 years)	P.C. 39.8	P.C. 45.3	P.C. 41.8	P.C. 59.8	P.C. 43.3	P.C. 41.9
School-age (7-15 years)	46.6	46.6	51.1	31.6	47.1	48.4
Adolescents and Young adults (16-21 years)	13.6	8.1	7.1	8.6	9.6	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 9. Distribution of Children (in families), Canada and British Columbia large centres (100,000 and over), 1961.

Age Group	Urban Metropolitan Areas			
	Canada		British Columbia	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Under 6 years	1,081,208	35.3	104,764	34.3
6-14	1,322,737	43.2	135,844	44.4
15-18	400,623	13.1	41,707	13.6
at school	(292,119)	(72.9)	(35,141)	(84.3)
not at school	(108,504)	(27.1)	(6,566)	(15.7)
19-24	257,345	8.4	23,455	7.7
at school	(58,882)	(22.9)	(6,959)	(29.7)
not at school	(198,463)	(77.1)	(16,496)	(70.3)
Total	3,061,913	100.0	305,770	100.0

Source: Canada Census, 1961. Bulletin 2. 1-6.

adolescents (up to 19 years of age) in Regent Park, 550 of them between the ages of 13 and 19 years. The group made up 22.6 per cent of the total number of children reported.¹ The corresponding figure for 1963 was 30 per cent. This indicates that although the total number of children in the Toronto project has remained fairly stable, the proportion of teenagers has increased considerably over the past six years. (Table 10).

Table 10. Distribution of Children and Teenagers
Regent Park (North) Project, 1963.

Age	Number	Per Cent
Pre-school (0-4 years)	646	26
School-age (5-16 years)	1568	63
Teenagers (a) (over 16)	273	11
Total	2487	100

(a) Upper age limit is not specified, presumably 19 years.

Source: The Housing Authority of Toronto, Report May, 1963.

"Middle Area" Projects. In the "middle area" projects taken together, school-age children make up the largest single group. They are also the largest group within each project. As can be expected, Little Mountain, the oldest project, has a smaller proportion of pre-school children (39.8 per cent)

¹ Rose, Regent Park, p. 186.

and the highest proportion of the oldest age group (13.6 per cent), as compared with the other "middle area" projects. The variation between the three projects within all age groups, however, is only up to 6 percentage points. The distribution between pre-school and school-age children within the projects is almost equal in Orchard Park (45.3 and 46.6 per cent respectively). In Little Mountain there are substantially more school-age children (46.6 per cent) than pre-schoolers (39.8 per cent). Skeena Terrace shows the largest difference in size between these age groups, there are 51.1 per cent school-age children and 41.8 per cent pre-schoolers. Adolescents and young adults make up 13.6 per cent of all minors in Little Mountain, the corresponding groups in Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace are 8.1 and 7.1 per cent. (Table 8).

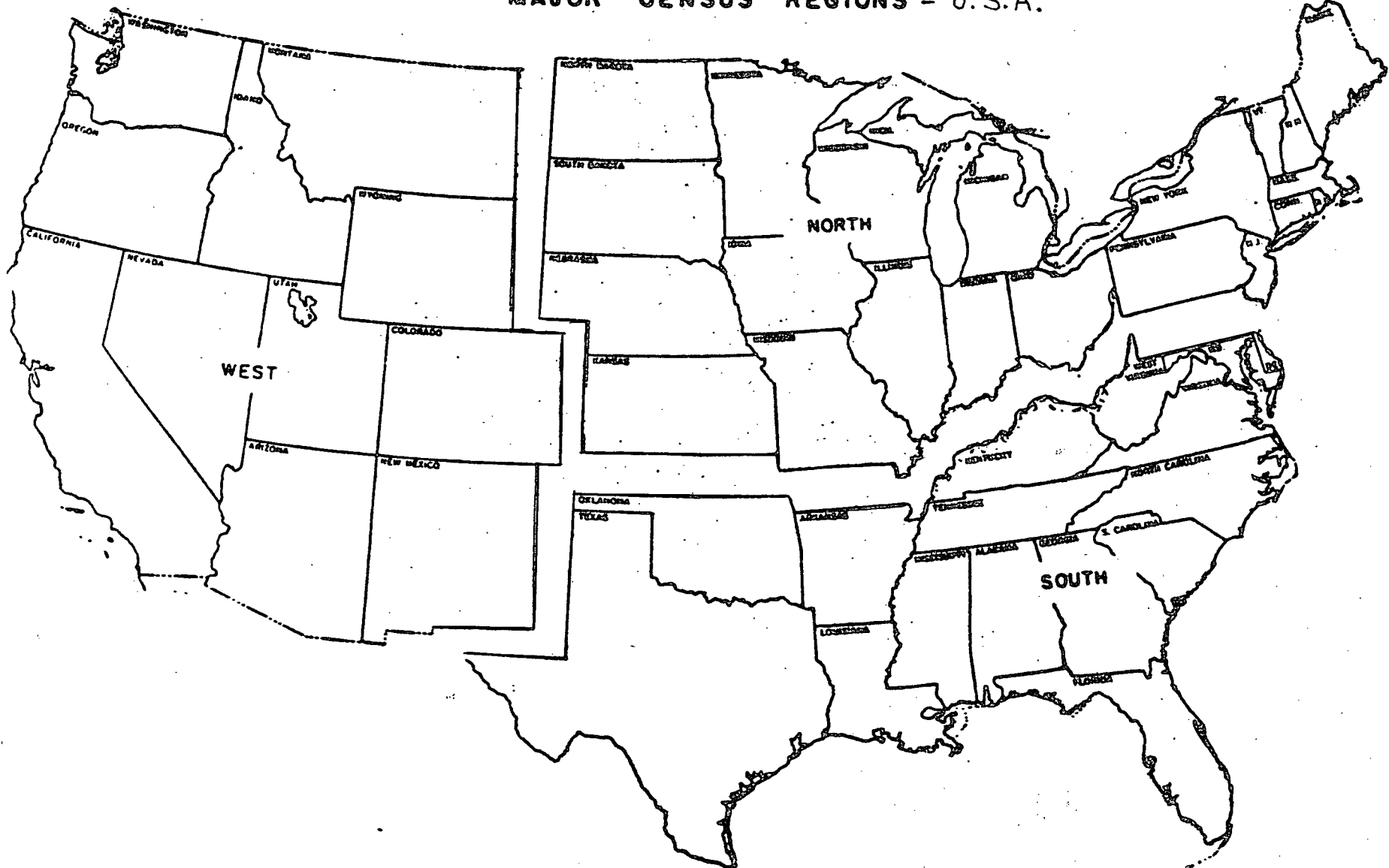
MacLean Park. MacLean Park is the only Vancouver project where the proportion of pre-school children is significantly larger (59.8 per cent) than that of school-age children (31.6 per cent). This may be related to the fact that this project has a markedly higher proportion of standard families. Standard families, as was noted earlier, tend to have more younger children. The young adult and adolescent group in MacLean Park is comparable with Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace in relative size, (8.6 per cent). (Table 8).

The United States Profile.

There were well over one-half a million families of all kinds in public housing in the United States in 1961¹; the

¹ One year, 1961, is taken partly because it is a census year and the anchor point for Canadian studies, partly because complete figures are readily available for this year (full 1961 statistics are not published till late in 1962). For the purposes of the present study, it is more valuable to get representative indications of the components of the "public housing population" than to get more up-to-the-minute totals.

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detailed make-up of these aggregate households is considered later. Before settling on a "universe" which is most appropriate for Canadian comparisons, a number of qualifications to the total figures must be enumerated.

The standard statistics now collected for the nation as a whole, by the H.H.F.A., (Housing and House Finance Agency), Public Housing Administration, are divided for administrative reasons which are themselves valuable, into two major compilations.¹ One of these relates only to families already in projects; the other, to families who have moved in the year reported. The first group must have their income position assessed in order to retain eligibility, since there is an upper limit in all U.S. low-rent projects. The other group are families who have been on the waiting list, or have recently made applications, and whose eligibility was reviewed prior to moving into the projects in the particular year reported. Taking again the year 1961 as base, 420,800 families were re-examined and 121,900 families were admitted, presumably for the first time. Now the total statistics relate to well over half-a-million households; and there can be little doubt that they are very representative of at least the more urban low-income groups of the United States.

For purposes of comparison with Canada, however, some important exclusions should be made from these figures. To begin with, there are now public housing projects in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, in Alaska and in Hawaii. The terms and conditions are no doubt in many ways similar, but it is simpler to confine attention to continental United States (and some tabulations relate only to this area, in any case). Next a

¹ Families in Low-Rent Projects, and Families Moving into Low-Rent Housing, H.H.F.A., Public Housing Administration, 1961.

consideration of major social consequence is that Negroes are a very large and a steadily increasing proportion of the total population resident in public housing. There is no question, of course, that Negroes ought to be eligible on equal terms with whites for public housing -- the criterion is the need for housing, not race or colour. But there is no parallel with the Canadian situation in terms of numbers, on this matter. In any case, also, social and economic factors, particularly income, are apt to differ so markedly that the standard statistics normally follow separate tabulations.¹ It is more appropriate for the present explorations to take the statistics for white families only. Also, where possible, statistics for the Northern and Western major census regions of the Union only, are used, because of the closer similarity to the Canadian regions than those of the Southern States. Naturally such figures are not to be taken as representative of the total United States.

Race. Since any interpretation of statistics on public housing in the U.S. cannot entirely disregard the overall trends occurring in public housing in respect of race, it is helpful to bear in mind the following facts about the major regions. In 1961, 51 per cent of all residents in U.S. public housing were non-white, as compared with 36 per cent in 1949. The percentage of non-white families in the Northern States was 47 in 1961, in the South 58 per cent, and in the West, 40 per cent.

¹ There are growing proportions of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans in the category "Negro and others." In Canadian projects, there are already many persons of Oriental origin, and many Indians: but it would be invalid to assume that U.S. figures heavily weighted by Negroes would serve as comparative material for these groups.

All regions have increased proportions of non-white residents since 1952; the West experienced the largest increase, and the North tending to level off and stabilize at 47 per cent. The proportion of non-white families moving into public housing for the first time was 35.5 per cent in 1961.

With these facts as a background, the information which now follows refers only to white families, either already in the projects, or recently moved into them.

Types of Family.

One of the problems of interpretation of the U.S. figures, particularly for comparative purposes with the other countries, is the fact that the data is basically compiled so as to refer to "all families" (including elderly families). Some information on elderly families as a group is presented, but very little information is given on younger families as distinctive groups.

When the re-examination of 194,467 white families in public housing in the U.S. was made in 1961, it showed that the percentages of major family types were: Standard 43.2 per cent; Broken 21.4; Adult 18.4; Single 17.0. Elderly persons are included within these categories, but if elderly persons are separately counted, they represent 28 per cent of this total of families re-examined. This is a high proportion of elderly families in a community, and therefore, the inclusion of this group in the above figures, makes these percentages somewhat non-typical of the "family" structure of the projects.

One of the ways in which statistics are compiled for the Public Housing Administration in the U.S. is by a division of families into those with children, and those without children. These two broad groups include elderly parents, as well as

as one-parent families. Over the past several years there has been a steady increase in childless family groups. Part of the reason for this is directly administrative: it results from the passing of the Housing Act of 1956, which made single elderly persons eligible for U.S. public housing; but it is also a result of an increase in the number of Authorities permitting single persons of all ages to remain in residence. Taking the Adult and Single families together gives a total of 35.4 per cent of families without minors in 1961; this contrasts with a figure of 21.1 per cent in 1952, and indicates the major change in the characteristics of residents of public housing in the U.S. in this decade.

These facts may now be compared with the corresponding ones for families moving into the projects in 1961. A word should first be said about the basis for eligibility to the projects. In addition to low income, eligibility requirements are, (a) living in substandard housing, (b) being affected by slum clearance, or (c) being completely without housing. Preference for admission is given to three groups, service-connected families,¹ elderly families (head or spouse over 62), and disabled persons; housing requirements may be waived for these groups.

The representative family types already in public housing are compared with family types moving in (in the year 1961) in Table 11. These figures, and subsequent ones in this section are all derived from two publications of the Housing and Home

¹ i.e., families of former members of the armed forces or those where the head of the family is serving his two years compulsory military training.

Finance Agency (Public Housing Administration, Program Planning Division).¹ The second set of figures relate to a total of 75,067 white families admitted to public housing in continental U.S. in 1961.

Table 11. Percentage Distribution of Types of Families in U.S. Public Housing, 1961.

Type of Family	Percentage Distribution of Families	
	Already in	Moving in
Standard	43.2	52.5
Broken	21.4	20.0
Adult	18.4	18.2
Single	17.0	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0

While the percentage of Standard families moving into public housing (52.5) is considerably higher than that of those families who have been housed for some time (43.2), nevertheless it represents a decreasing number of Standard families moving into the projects, a trend which has been evident since 1956, when the comparable proportion was 55.7 per cent. This is off-set -- related to the terms of the Housing Act of 1956, as noted previously -- by a steady increase in the number of single persons moving in (from 2.1 per cent in 1956 to 9.2 per cent in 1961). The proportions of Broken and Adult families moving in in this same period has remained

¹ Families in Low-Rent Projects and Families Moving into Low-Rent Housing.

relatively stable.

Age of Head of Family.

In general, families in low-rent housing in the U.S. are getting older, year by year. There are two reasons for this, (1) the continuation in residence of original families who have remained there for several years, and (2) the admission of more and more elderly families. Those households wherein the age of the head of the family was "under 25" were only 7 per cent of the total families, in 1961. The largest percentage (26) was the group whose family head was aged "65 or over". The median age of the family head was 44.7. One interesting fact is that the Chicago regional office reported 31 per cent of the families in projects within its jurisdiction have heads aged 65 or over, while San Francisco reported only 18 per cent in this category. One might speculate as to whether this is related to the relative wealth of older persons in these two areas, or to the provisions for housing the elderly in them -- both public and private housing. New York regional office reported the smallest proportion of young families (4.7 per cent), while San Francisco reported the largest (10.5 per cent).

In respect of families who moved into public housing projects in the U.S. during 1961, there are some facts that compare the ages of the heads of childless families with those of families who do have children. In the all-adult households the median age of the head of the family is rising, and was 65.2 years in 1961. On the other hand, the median age of the family head of those families with children has stabilized, and was 30.4 in this same year.

Thus, while a large percentage of young families are

Table 12. Percentage Distribution of Families by Age of Head. 1961.

Age of Head	Percentage Distribution of Families	
	Already in	Moving in (a)
Under 25	7	26
25 - 34	22	34
35 - 44	21	15
45 - 54	14	7
55 - 64	10	6
65 and over	26	15
Total	100	100

(a) includes white families in Alaska and Hawaii.

applying for admission to the projects, the populations of the projects are themselves changing. As the projects "age" so does the age of head of families in them. This upward movement of the age distribution is now becoming familiar to housing administrators.

Size of Family. The average size of family has decreased steadily since 1955. The mean was 3.9 (approximately) in 1955 and 3.5 in 1961,¹ but this is a statistical rather than a family phenomenon. The increase in single person "families" entering the projects has already been noted. However, as is elaborated below, there has also been a slight decline in the average size of the families who are applying for accommodation and entering the housing each year.

During this same six-year period, this decrease in the

¹ The comparable figure for Vancouver's projects in January, 1964, was 3.9.

average size of family has been evident also for those families who entered the projects each year. The mean number of persons was 3.81 in 1955 but 3.61 in 1961. At the same time there was a sharp increase in the proportion of single persons being housed; these would be elderly people mainly. The increase was from 2.2 per cent in 1956 (the year in which single persons became eligible for public housing) to 9.2 per cent in 1961. The percentage of larger-sized families (six or more persons) who moved in each year has remained relatively stable at about 15 per cent since 1952. However, each year since that time, there have been fewer families in the "two or three person" size and the "four or five person" size, entering the projects. This fact in itself indicates that even when single persons are excluded, the families who are entering public housing in the U.S. are somewhat smaller in size than they were about a decade prior to 1961. Of course, the statistical influence of the entrance of large numbers of single elderly persons since 1956, cannot be disregarded for the years since that time.

There are fewer larger-size families (over six persons) moving into the projects as compared with those already in. This needs careful interpretation, however, since it must be borne in mind that families already in the projects can increase in size while living there. The range of accommodation (size of suites) is also important; local project studies would be needed to establish this situation.

Number of Minor Children.

There has been a decrease in the average number of minor children in the United States projects in the last few years because the proportion of elderly families in the projects

Table 13. Percentage Distribution of Families,
by Size of Family, 1961.

Number of Persons	Percentage Distribution of Families	
	Already in	Moving in (a)
one	17	9
two	23	22
three or four	30	41
five or six	20	21
seven or eight	8	6
nine or more	3	1
Total	100	100
Mean number of persons	3.56	3.61

(a) includes white families in Alaska and Hawaii

has been increasing. The average number of minor children for all households in 1961 was 1.91, down from the 1960 figure of 1.97. On the other hand, for families with children, the average was 2.96, a slight increase from 1960. Although these figures include elderly families with children in the home, this latter group would be small in number, and the figure of 2.96 is probably a good indication of the number of children in the normal and one-parent families in United States Public Housing.

For families moving into the projects the average number of children in all families was 1.89 in 1961, a slight drop from the 1960 figure of 1.93.

Similarly as in the families already established in the projects, a slight increase in the average number of minors

was evident in those families who do have children, and who moved into a unit in 1961 for the first time. The average was 2.6, compared with 2.52 in 1956. The proportion of families with four or more minors rose from 16.8 per cent in 1954 to 17.5 per cent in 1961. It is important to note, in connection with this fact, that larger dwelling units have been available since 1953.

Table 14. Percentage Distribution of Families by Number of Minors.

Number of Minors	Percentage Distribution of Families	
	Already in	Moving in (a)
none	35	27
one or two	31	40
three or four	23	24
five or six	8	7
seven or more	3	2
Total	100	100
Mean Number of Minors	1.91	1.89

(a) includes white families in Alaska and Hawaii.

Over one-half the families in the United States public housing have from one to four children, and about two-thirds of all the households are families with youngsters. The new residents in 1961, were, to a large extent, presumably young families, with one or two children -- the family for whom public housing can represent a good start in life for the children, which will serve them well in later years. (Table 14).

Families with Minors. (Standard plus One-parent).

The most usual family for housing consideration is the family composed of two parents with children of varying ages, from infants up to those passing out of their teens to grown-up or adult status. In U.S. public housing projects, these key families -- families with "children" -- represented two-thirds of the total, or 64.6 per cent. One-third of these "families with children" had only one parent in the home. This is usually the mother, and this is another family to whom subsidized housing can make the difference between "managing" or sinking into despair.

A sizeable proportion (28 per cent) of these same "families with children" were large families of six or more persons, and about one-third had at least four children.

For an illustration of how the structure of the projects, in respect of the families living in them, has changed over the years, it is interesting to note that, in 1949, eighty-three per cent of the total families in the housing were "families with children", as compared with the 64.6 per cent in 1961, noted above. Although the proportion of this group has been declining steadily since the year of 1949, the sharpest decline begins in 1956 -- the year in which single elderly persons were admitted to public housing for the first time. This points up the fact that much of the provision in housing in the last few years has been for single units for the old-age person. Of course old people must be decently housed. The question is, whether the proportion that they should represent in a public housing community which we are striving to keep as "normal" as possible, has not been reached -- in fact, in some sections of the U.S., has not already been surpassed.

As could be expected, of the group of families with children, the proportion of those who have a head of the family under the age of 35, has been declining over the past several years. This is, of course, related to the fact that families will be staying on in the projects, growing older each year. However, for those families who are coming into housing for the first time, the proportion who are very young families -- age of head "under 25" -- is steadily increasing each year, and was 27.8 per cent in 1961. This is naturally accompanied by a decrease in the percentage of families whose head of the family is aged "25 to 44".

Table 15. Percentage Distribution of "Families with Children" by Age of Head

Age of Head	Percentage Distribution of "Families with Children"	
	Already in	Moving in
under 25	10.4	27.8
25 - 34	33.9	40.8
35 - 44	30.8	19.3
45 - 54	16.9	7.6
55 - 64	5.6	3.0
65 and over	2.3	1.4
Total	100	100

While a large percentage of families with minor children moving into the projects have a head of the family who is young, the families in the projects reflect the movement of the "bulge" upward as the projects and families age. (Table 15).

"Broken" or one-parent families, as noted above, represent one-third of the total of "families with children." The proportion of this group has been rising, but slowly, each

year. At the same time, the percentage of these families who have a young head (under 35) has been decreasing gradually, year by year, and in 1961, was 44.4 per cent. This may be a slight indication that families in the lower-income groups are tending to break up at an earlier age. On the other hand, in this group of one-parent families, those who have four or more children have been an increasing proportion of the total each year. In 1961, almost one-third were in this category. This may be due to eligibility arrangements, not necessarily a trend in family types, but it is obviously significant for the planning of welfare services in the projects. One-parent families, who, it should be noted, are not necessarily "broken" families, who came into public housing for the first time in 1961, were 27.6 per cent of the total of "families with children" who entered that year. This percentage has remained relatively stable for a number of years.

Families without Children. (Adult and Single "Families").

As has been previously noted, there is a substantial proportion of childless families in U.S. housing projects, (35.4 per cent). Over two-thirds of these families are elderly, and their numbers are increasing each year. For example, in 1952, there were 52.4 per cent of older families (age of head of family 65 or over) in the total of "families without children," but in 1961, this proportion had risen to 69. Again these percentages illustrate the sharp increase in the numbers of older people in the projects over these years.

Single-persons are a rapidly increasing group in this category, and in fact, show the greatest proportionate increase. They were only 18.9 per cent of the childless families in 1952,

but 44.7 per cent in 1960, and 48 per cent in 1961. Two-person families, whom one would presume would be chiefly couples, were also 48 per cent of the childless families, but interestingly, they were significantly younger than the single person "families". The remaining four per cent of families in this group were distributed in three-person and larger households.

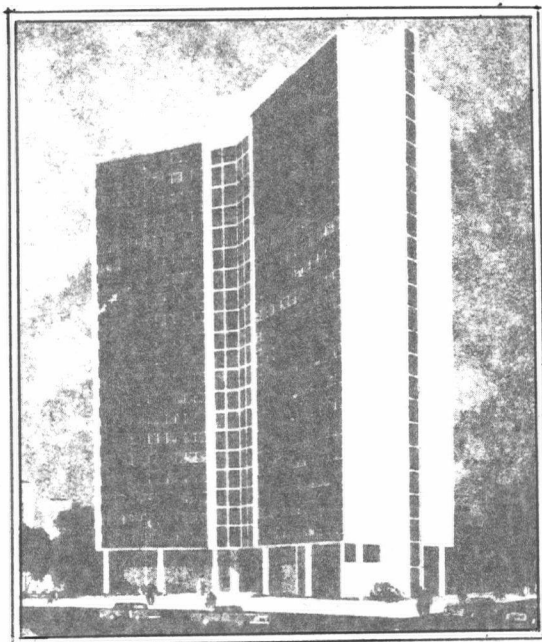
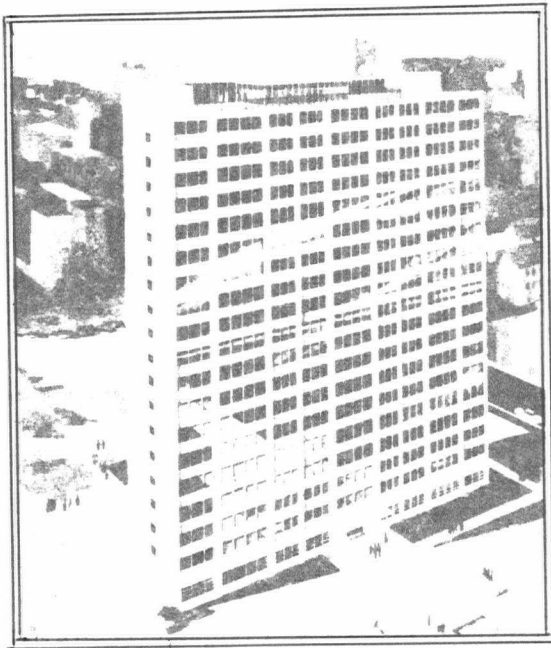
This same trend towards an older average age for families without youngsters is evident in the data available for this-kind of family who is entering housing projects for the first time. The proportion of young childless families (age of head under 25) is decreasing rapidly each year, and in 1961, was 21.6 per cent of the total of "families without children." On the other hand, as has been noted, "families with children" with young heads have been an increasingly higher proportion of those entering the projects for the first time. The older age group (age of head 65 and over) were 51.3 per cent of the childless families coming into the housing in 1961, also a steadily increasing proportion each year as is true for those who are already established in the projects. The influence of lowering the age of eligibility to housing from 65 to 62, and the extension of eligibility to single elderly persons in 1956, can be seen in the changing proportions of families whose head is aged 55 or over. In 1957, this group was 58 per cent of the total of childless families entering housing, but in 1961, they were almost 70 per cent.

Elderly Families.

Elderly families are becoming a greater segment of the total population each year, and this relationship is markedly demonstrated in United States Housing Statistics. There are increasing numbers of elderly applicants on waiting lists for low-rent housing, and in the projects themselves as regulations are adopted to facilitate their entry. Some cities in the Northern states of the U.S., where the problem of housing the senior citizens is pressing, have taken action to build units designed especially for old people and have added a considerable number to their public housing. In addition, other expedient measures are being tried. For example, in Chicago in 1963, the Housing Authority stated that there were approximately 4500 apartments, in various stages of development, in their housing that were designed for elderly people. However, registrations for these units totalled more than 8000. In an attempt to augment the supply of suitable housing for this segment of the population, the Authority arranged a three year demonstration project wherein it supplements the rent payments (maximum supplementation is \$50 per month) in 100 approved and privately-owned apartment buildings. Consideration is also being given, notably in Chicago, but also in some other centres to the feasibility of reconditioning existing housing for use as public housing dwellings for old people.

Elderly families are defined, for purposes of eligibility to low-rent housing in the U.S., as those wherein the head or spouse is at least 62 years old or is disabled. Disabled persons are those in receipt of the relevant Social Security benefits, for which age requirements (formerly 50) were eliminated in the second half of 1961. These families were subject to re-examination for the first time in 1961, and their entry

- Housing for the Elderly
in the United States -



adds to the already high percentage of elderly families in the projects.

In all, 54,214 Elderly families were re-examined in 1961 and of these 31,525 lived in the Northern states while only 3,937 lived in the West. Elderly families represented 28 per cent of all white families re-examined in 1961; a figure which is most significant (particularly because it is increasing each year) for planning of both welfare services to the housing and the design of housing. In these old-age families there was an equal division (14 per cent) between those with only one adult (may include a child) and those with two or more adults. In other words, single elderly people form about 14 per cent of the residents of U.S. public housing.

The number of Elderly families moving into the projects in 1961 was 13,735. Of these, 7,122 moved into housing in the Northern states and 1,315 into housing in the West. One-adult families were 52.1 per cent of the total, two or more adult families were 47.9 per cent.

In the Vancouver projects there is an elderly population of 19.7 per cent. However, these are people all 70 years of age or older and therefore the percentage is not comparable with the United States percentage of 28.0, which includes persons 62 years of age or older. In the four Vancouver projects however the proportion of families who have, as the family head, a person of 60 years of age or older, is 35.0 per cent. Since there will be even more persons over the age of 60 years (not designated as heads of families) in the Vancouver projects, it does seem possible that there may be a higher proportion of elderly people in them --using age 62 as the demarcation year -- than in the United States projects.

Comparative British Overview

Family Types

Without on-the-spot enquiry, it is difficult to get information on the types of family to be found in particular housing developments in Britain, of the kind referred to above in connection with the Vancouver projects. Some indication, however, of the type of household in a housing estate as compared with the rest of the country is presented by Mogey, who undertook a study of Barton, the post-war municipal estate on the outskirts of Oxford, already described.¹ Mogey classified households into five types, which it is interesting to compare with the formulation followed elsewhere in this study:

Type A: Households consisting of the housewife and her husband only.

Type B: Households including the housewife, her husband, and one or more of the housewife's own children aged 0-14 years.

Type C: Households including the housewife, her husband, and one or more grown-up sons or daughters aged 15 or over but not any below.

Type D: Households consisting solely of adults aged 15 or over, but not containing grown-up sons or daughters of the housewife. (Housewife, her husband and other adults). Single person households will also be included in this group.

Type E: Other households. This group will contain households consisting of widows with children or widows with grown-up sons or daughters. It will also contain households consisting of the housewife, her husband, one or more married children, and some grandchildren.

¹ J. M. Mogey, Family and Neighbourhood: Two Studies in Oxford, p. 16.

In the summary below, these types have been given names which help to distinguish their characteristics. From the data collected for Barton, it is also possible to see their relative importance.

Table 16. Percentage Distribution of Types of Families. 1955.

Type of Family	Barton Estate	Great Britain
A: Two-person families (no children)	11	16
B: Standard families: younger children	70	37
C: Standard families: older children	4	20
D: Adult families, including single persons	0	15
E: Mixed households, including one-parent families	15	12
Total	100	100

It seems that the canons for selection of a council house in Barton favour either type B households or type E households, whereas in the rest of the country there is a more even distribution. Mogey also reported that during the period 1938-50 there were hardly any one-person households (1 per cent). It was inhabited mainly by families of three, four or five persons. Large families¹ constituted 5.2 per cent, and "broken" families, consisting of one parent and children, 5.8 per cent. There were also 9.9 per cent of families without children, or adult families.

Similar figures are given for the eleven Belfast estates,

¹ 'Large' families consist of five or more children under eighteen.

in a survey carried out by Dorita Field and Desmond Neill.¹ There were very few one-person households (0.3), quite a high proportion of large families (23.5 per cent), and hardly any "broken" families (3 per cent). The typical or model family consisted of father, mother and two children. The next most frequent are families of two adults and three children, and two adults and one child. These three groups of families made up 54 per cent of all the households. Four-children and five-children families comprised a further 15.2 per cent of the total. Thus almost 70 per cent of the families consisted of two adults and from one to five children. Only about 7 per cent were without children under 18 years of age.

Family Size

Several studies, which have now been made of all kinds of public housing in Britain, give information on family size. John Westergaard and Ruth Glass, for instance, undertook a survey of the London County Council estate of Lansbury² in the East End of London. Lansbury consists of replacement housing on a slum clearance site, which was exhibited as "Live Architecture" during the Festival of Britain in 1951. Although the original area had some of the worst, most dilapidated and congested housing in London, the new features incorporated in the rebuilt section, including a revitalized town centre and market place, have won acclaim in many architectural and planning journals.

¹ Dorita Field and Desmond Neill, A Survey of New Housing Estates in Belfast, p. 11. The above figures are based on a total of 363 families.

² It was given the name of the Labour Member of Parliament for the area, (George Lansbury), who has long represented this area, and was most instrumental in seeing the plans (first projected in the County of London Plan) brought to fruition as a priority in the East End district after the war.

Westergaard and Glass found Lansbury's population and household structure followed the pattern made familiar by other new residential areas, having far more children and young people, and also far more large households (five or more persons), even though it was much more physically a part of Poplar and the East End than most "Council housing" units.¹ The average family size for Lansbury was 3.76, which is fairly typical of estates peopled from the housing lists.

In their survey of the Belfast estates, Field and Neill found that the average size of families in their sample was 4.86 persons. They compared this figure to the average number of persons per occupied private house in Belfast and found it was considerably higher.² The increase is proportionate, however, since families in Belfast appear to be larger than those in London (an average size of 3.97 compared with 2.82 according to the 1951 Census).

One may compare household size in three housing estates with the 1951 census figure for Britain, in the following table.

It can be seen, that families containing four or five persons predominate on the newer housing estates, such as Barton and Lansbury, both of which were built since the war. In Sheffield, which is a much older estate dating from 1926, there are many more even larger families. This could include, however, a number of three-generation families since some of the early residents of that estate are now grandmothers. In Britain as a whole, on the other hand, there are more single-person households, and many more families containing only two

¹ John Westergaard and Ruth Glass, "A Profile of Lansbury."

² Dorita Field and Desmond Neill, op. cit.

or three persons with a correspondingly smaller proportion of families containing four or five persons.

Table 17. Percentage Distribution of Household Size.

Family (persons)	Great Britain 1951	Barton 1954	Lansbury 1953	Sheffield 1953
1	11	1	9	4.5
2-3	52	38	32	35.9
4-5	29	49	48	36.5
6-7	6	11	11	14.8
8 or more	2	1	0	8.3
Total	100	100	100	100

On the other hand, young married couples with no family as yet, or perhaps one child, may obtain a house in a New Town by industrial selection before they would qualify on the waiting lists. Thus in 1961, 49 per cent of all households in Hemel Hempstead were families of two or three persons; 27.6 per cent were families of four; 15.5 per cent were families of five or more persons. Similar figures apply to Stevenage, where there were 42 per cent of families of two or three persons in 1960.

Number of Children.

The major problem of all new housing developments has so far been the number of children in the population. In blocks of flats, New Towns, and other housing projects alike, the age structure is different from that of the country as a whole. In the new areas there are far more children, because families

with children have priorities on the waiting lists; and, in the case of the New Towns, the employees most anxious to move with their firms are commonly those with young children.

Field and Neill found in their survey of the Belfast estates that the proportion of under-fourteens was almost twice that in the general population, whereas there were relatively fewer in the age-group fourteen to seventeen. A similar situation was reported by Hilda Jennings in her survey of a new estate in Bristol;

"The schools were overcrowded by an ever-increasing child population, and one doctor who analyzed the age-distribution of his patients said that it seemed that over half the inhabitants of the estate were children of fifteen years and under, while 35 per cent were under five years of age. Nearly four-fifths of his work consisted of acute emergency treatment of children. ...In this preponderance of young families Mossdene was not exceptional. The way in which the points system worked indeed made it almost inevitable on the new estate. Even when, as in redevelopment or clearance schemes, a mixture of age groups were rehoused, the desire of the old to remain in familiar parts of Bristol meant that it was mainly the young who went to the outlying estates."¹

This same situation is also described by Young and Willmott at Greenleigh, which is the pseudonym for a post-war London County Council estate. Young and Willmott state that Greenleigh's residents, mostly couples with young children, fall mainly into two age-groups, the parents between thirty and forty-five, and the children under fourteen. At present the "bulge" of children there is so large that their need for schools is severely taxing the education authorities.²

One may see very clearly what happens when this "bulge"

¹ Hilda Jennings, Societies in the Making, p. 137.

² Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, p. 166.

moves up through the age groups by comparing the age structure of the vast pre-war estate of the London County Council at Dagenham in 1931 with what it became in 1958.¹

Table 18. Age Distribution of Population on the Dagenham Estate, 1931 and 1958, and in England and Wales, 1958.

Age	Dagenham		England and Wales, 1958
	1931	1958	
0-4	15	4	8
5-14	29 (a)	16	15
15-29	19	20	19
30-39	21	13	14
40-49	11	14	14
50-59	3	17	13
60-69		12	9
70 and over	2	4	8
Total	100	100	100

(a) 5-13, 14-29 in 1931

Even in 1958 there were some important differences in Dagenham's age structure and that of the country as whole. For instance, there were fewer children under five, and more older people in their fifties and sixties. But these differences are not nearly so extreme as the situation twenty-seven years earlier. At that time 44.5 per cent of the people living on the estate were below the age of fourteen, and 16 per cent over forty; in 1958 the corresponding figures were 20

¹ Peter, Willmott, The Evolution of a Community, p. 23.



A Neighbourhood Unit, Basildon New Town

per cent and 47 per cent.

In the New Towns, even though the family size is smaller, surveys show that here also there are abnormal numbers of children. At Peterlee, for example, in 1963, 13.9 per cent of the population were under five years of age; in 1962 at Newton Aycliffe 13.7 per cent were below this age, while the corresponding figures for Harlow and Crawley in 1961 were 14.6 per cent and 14.0 per cent. On the other hand, in the country as a whole, only 7.9 per cent of the population were children in this age group. For the same years quoted above, in Harlow and Crawley 36.6 per cent and 35.6 per cent of the people living there were children under fourteen, while in Great Britain the corresponding figure was 23.2 per cent.

The implications of this unbalanced age structure will appear in the tremendous pressure on all the social services for children, such as schools, playgrounds, maternity and child welfare centres, and will create further difficulties as the "bulge" moves up the age groups. No feature of the "new housing" is more critical, and further consideration will be given to it in a later chapter.

Elderly Families.

The number of old people in public housing in Britain is sizeable, but the proportions are still low compared to the number in the country as a whole. In mid-1961 the percentage of people aged 65 and over in the United Kingdom was estimated as 11.7 per cent,¹ while the percentage in any of the new communities is about a third as much. On the other hand,

¹ Britain - An Official Handbook, H.M.S.O., 1963.

in some of the pre-war estates, such as Dagenham, the "bulge" of young married couples living there in 1931 has gradually been moving up into the older age groups; in 1958, 7.3 per cent of the population was between sixty and sixty-four, and 8.7 per cent were aged sixty-five and over.

An increasing number of elderly people have been applying to local authorities for housing, and this has finally had its impact on government policies. As a result, authorities are being encouraged to increase their rate of building to meet this new demand. A significant decision taken by the London County Council, for example, has increased the proportion of one and two-room dwellings in new developments from 20 to 30 per cent. This is nearly one in three -- enough to change the character (as well as the needs) of a housing area. A few years ago local housing authorities in England and Wales were allocating about 7 per cent of their building programs to housing suitable for old people; in 1959 it was about 27 per cent, while in Scotland they have increased the proportion from 3.8 per cent in 1952 to 15.4 per cent in 1959.

There have been other developments of a constructive rather than a merely "statistical" nature. In 1958, the Ministry asked the local authorities to build group flatlets in which old people could have self-contained bed-sitting rooms and kitchens of their own, but would share communally certain other amenities, including the services of a resident "warden." Some of these blocks, containing between 20 to 30 "flatlets", are situated close to the centres of housing estates, while others are in small towns or villages. Some are designed solely for persons of retirement age, that is, men over 65 and

women over 60. Others are intended for single persons with the greatest housing need, irrespective of age, and consequently younger tenants are also accommodated. The resident warden is carefully selected. In a recent study undertaken by the Ministry (covering six of these blocks) four of the wardens had nursing experience, and one was a trained and experienced social worker.¹

Different factors influence tenant selection. All the old people are either drawn from the council housing waiting lists, or come from existing council dwellings, or from slum clearance areas. The aim is to accommodate pensioners, living alone, who are likely to benefit from a degree of supervision because of poor health or infirmity, though still able to look after themselves. They are not intended for the many old people who are still fairly capable and can live in self-contained flats and bungalows.

It seems to be the general experience of local authorities that areas scheduled for redevelopment contain a higher proportion of old people than other districts. Although some old folk may be quite ready to move to healthier surroundings outside the city centers, many find it hard to leave a place which is familiar and where they have friends and neighbours. This factor is recognized by local housing managers who try, where possible, to give preference to them for rehousing on the site which has to be cleared.

Among the Expanded Towns, Worsley makes special provision for old people in two groups of bungalows; twenty-five are

¹ Grouped Flatlets for Old People: A Sociological Study,
Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1962.

leased in each group, with a warden in charge. The groups share a common room and television room, both of which are frequented by other old folk from the town. In Swindon, older tenants are housed mainly in buildings of a prefabricated type, while in Bletchley old people's bungalows are mixed with other dwellings -- an arrangement which now appears to be generally preferred.

The proportion of old people in the New Towns varies widely but rarely approaches the number to be found in long established communities. Although at East Kilbride there are said to be 600 men and women over 65, and -- most exceptionally -- 2,600 aged between 45 and 60, for the most part the numbers are much smaller. At Aycliffe there are 298 tenants over 60, while at Hemel Hempstead the estimated number of people aged 65 and over was 650, and said to occupy 10 per cent of the dwellings there.¹ At this last town, the first group of bungalows built was offered to retired people on the London housing lists, and was so successful that the Corporation built 200 more in all neighbourhoods, with a view to attracting further old people from London, but they were later given to relatives of tenants.

All the Development Corporations are now well aware of the importance of the kinship group and of providing for the old, but at this stage it is not easy to fill adequately what is generally acknowledged to be a gap in earlier planning. For instance, the 200 old people at Crawley are in the main, relatives of tenants brought from London, but the demand exceeds

¹ Nicholson, op. cit., p. 64.

the accommodation available. At Stevenage the number of elderly people is also increasing, and the Corporation has for some years been allocating a small percentage of dwellings each year to the parents of existing tenants. At present 462 elderly people have been accommodated in Stevenage under this policy.

The earlier plan of an old people's home or colony is now in disfavour. Grouped bungalows are acceptable if there are not too many of them clustered together, and the preferred method is to distribute them throughout the neighbourhoods. The less they are separated from the general community the more likely they are to settle happily. Old people, it now seems, are specially valued in New Towns. The Development Corporations find them an asset in settling their communities and make special provision for them. Self-governing old people's clubs and old people's welfare committees are to be found in New Towns, as well as meal services, chiropody, and night attendants. Group holidays for the aged, are also often arranged.

CHAPTER III

Family Incomes: The Cost of Shelter

Vancouver: Income and Rents

Public Housing Authorities as a rule devise some eligibility and rental regulations along with procedures for tenant selection, in order to assure: (1) that the available accommodation goes to the section of the population for whom this type of housing is intended, (2) that priorities among the eligible applicants are assigned according to urgency of need, and (3) that adequate housing is made available at rents within the tenant's means. It is these regulations, which explicitly and implicitly give a clue to the philosophy of a housing authority on the basic goals and purposes of public housing. For whom is such housing intended? "Low-income family" is a conveniently vague term which lends itself to being either stretched or restricted. What is public housing to accomplish for the families within it, and for the community of which it is a part?

In allocating priorities for public housing accommodation the two main factors to be considered, broadly speaking, are need for better housing, and the income level of the prospective tenants.

Income, clearly, is an important factor in deciding whether a person or family can or cannot secure adequate housing on the open market. Studies over several decades have confirmed that outlay for shelter should not exceed 20 to 25

per cent of the income of families with limited or middle incomes, though for higher incomes this "rule of thumb" has no bearing. In practice the amount of rent paid in proportion to total earnings becomes most crucial for the lowest income groups, as an excessive price for shelter is paid at the expense of other essentials; and since housing is a permanent need, in the long run may have grave effects on a family's total health and welfare.

Different countries use different methods for coping with the problem of tenant selection, and views vary on the question of what range of income levels should be represented in public housing projects. Segregation (of certain income levels or family types) and diversity in public housing each have important consequences which need to be recognized and dealt with. On this issue again different countries (and areas within countries) have found various answers.

The Vancouver Housing Authority has followed the Canadian policy of accepting a moderately wide range of income groups into the local housing projects. The actual amounts of maximum income are periodically reviewed in the light of changing costs and wage levels. Minimum incomes are not stipulated; however, social assistance rates of the day are in practice used as the lower limit, as persons in B.C. with incomes below that, may apply for supplementary assistance to bring their income up to these levels. The maximum monthly incomes, which are related to family size, ranged at the time of the present study from \$125 for a single person to \$412.50 for a family of seven or more.

The rent scheme used by the Vancouver Housing Authority

relates the rent paid to family income and size, and is in keeping with the working principle that 20 to 25 per cent of income should go for rent. Rents for the larger families at the lower end of the scale are actually somewhat below 20 per cent. "The Progressive Rent Scale", still in use, is an adaptation of a system developed in a special study at the University of Toronto School of Social Work in 1948.¹

Tenant rents in the Vancouver projects are based on the family's net income, excluding family allowances. In the case of children (under age 25) with earnings of their own, who are living in their parent's household, \$75 per month of their income is considered as family income; earnings of less than \$75 per month are ignored.

Income Distribution

In January 1964, 43.4 per cent of all families in the Vancouver public housing projects had incomes of less than \$150 per month. At \$250 or under per month, over 80 per cent could be accounted for. Families with monthly incomes of \$251 to \$300, and from \$301 to \$377.50, made up 8.2 per cent and 7.7 per cent respectively; and only very few families (2.3 per cent) earned over \$377.50. These facts come to life further in terms of actual families. Out of a total of 781 households in the Vancouver projects, 339 lived on less than \$150 per month, and only 18 families had monthly incomes over \$377.50.² (Table 19).

² For a few families information on income was not available.

¹ Humphrey Carver and Allison Hopwood, Rents for Regent Park; "A Rent Scale System for a Public Housing Project." Quoted in "Little Mountain Housing Project: A Survey of its Welfare Aspects". M.S.W. Thesis. U.B.C. 1959.

Table 19. Income Distribution of Public Housing Tenants
Vancouver, 1964.

Income	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	All Projects	Middle Area Projects
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
Under \$150	29.0	46.4	37.3	69.2	43.4	36.8
150-250	47.5	36.3	40.8	24.5	38.4	42.0
251-300	10.4	5.4	10.7	4.4	8.2	9.2
301-377.50	10.4	10.7	7.3	1.3	7.7	9.3
Over 377.50	2.7	1.2	3.9	0.6	2.3	2.7
Total (a)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Includes a few non-stated

It is meaningless, however, to look at project families in a vacuum. In order to gain perspective, they must be seen in relation to the larger community of which they are a part. For lack of corresponding data, it is not possible to draw direct comparisons. However, it is of importance to note, that in the Metropolitan Vancouver area in 1961, the average yearly wage and salary income for males was \$4,219; the corresponding figure for females was \$2,219. Yet in 1964, in the Vancouver public housing projects, over 40 per cent of families were maintained on less than \$1800; and 80 per cent of families lived on less than \$3,000. It may be estimated that only about 5 per cent of the families in the housing projects had an income comparable to the average wage and salary income for males in the larger community.

A few comparative figures are available for Toronto Regent Park (North). In 1957, the income structure of the families in this project was as follows:

<u>Incomes</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	
\$100 per month or less	85	6.5	
\$100 to \$150 per month	159	12.4	
\$150 to \$320 per month	993	77.1	
\$320 to \$350 per month	52	4.0	
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	
Total	1289	100.0	1

The "typical" family income in Regent Park, judged by this data, was \$250 to \$300 per month.

For obvious reasons (difference in time when these data were collected, and differential economic factors operative in B.C. and Ontario), the above figures are not directly comparable with the findings in the Vancouver projects. However, the general observation can be made, that both Regent Park and the Vancouver projects have approximately the same range of income distribution, and a heavy concentration of a more specific income level. This, however, in 1957, was considerably higher in Regent Park, than what it is in the Vancouver projects to-day. This difference lends itself to many possible interpretations: that incomes are generally higher in Ontario, that tenant selection policies differ, etc. It must be presumed that the explanation does not lie in any single factor. At least part of the answer is found in the fact that Regent Park, at the time, was occupied predominantly by wage earning "standard" families; whereas the Vancouver projects have a much heavier proportion of single, elderly and one-parent families.²

¹ Rose, Regent Park, p. 187.

² A standardized classification of families (Chapter II) would permit a more understandable discussion of average incomes.

More up-to-date data regarding incomes in Regent Park indicate that the income levels there have gone down since 1957. In 1961, the average income of the head of the home was \$215.97; including secondary wage earners (492), the average income of families was \$235.16¹. One possible explanation for the decrease may be, that the proportion of single persons and elderly couples has increased in the Regent Park project since 1957. This is indicated by the addition of the building for diminishing families, which has been discussed earlier.

Middle Area Projects. Comparing the three "middle area" projects (those not built on replacement or "comprehensive redevelopment" sites), it is noted that the oldest one, Little Mountain, has the lowest proportion (29 Per Cent) of families living on less than \$150 per month. This group is considerably larger in the newer projects, and forms the largest income group (46.4 per cent) in Orchard Park. In Little Mountain and Skeena Terrace the largest proportion of families earn between \$150 and \$250 per month (47.5 and 40.8 per cent, respectively). In all three projects, incomes of \$250 to \$377.50 are fairly equally distributed -- between 15 and 20 per cent of the families in each project falling into this group. The highest income group, namely families with monthly earnings over \$377.50, varies in the three projects, but only from 1.2 to 3.9 per cent. The actual number of these families is very small -- 6 in Little Mountain, 2 in Orchard Park and 9 in Skeena Terrace.

It is interesting to note that in Little Mountain the proportion of the lowest-income families (less than \$150 per month) has increased significantly since 1958 (from 17.2 to 29.0 per cent), whereas the highest income groups (\$300 and

¹ Housing Authority of Toronto. Report, May 1963.

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over) have decreased considerably (from 24.4 to 13.1 per cent). In Orchard Park the income distribution has remained approximately the same as it was in 1959. This project, however, had, from the start, a much higher proportion of families at the lowest income level. (Table 19).

MacLean Park. The income distribution in MacLean Park shows a very distinctive pattern. Nearly 70 per cent of all tenants have an income of less than \$150 per month, and 93.7 per cent of the total tenant population live on less than \$250 per month. This is not surprising, considering the very high proportion of pensioner couples and single pensioners in this project. The income of the remaining families -- ten in number -- ranges from \$250 up to \$377.50 and over, with only one family in the top income category. (Table 19). The Vancouver Redevelopment Study records that in 1956-57 the median monthly income for families in the "East End Survey Area" (which was studied in detail) was \$246; the median income of single persons was considerably lower (\$125 for persons under 65 years of age and \$60 for the older single group).¹ In the MacLean Park project the lowest income group is very much higher than in the other projects (over twice as large as the corresponding group in Little Mountain), which is clearly related to the high proportion of single elderly people and pensioner couples in this project.

¹ The "East End Survey Area" comprises about 1600 blocks. The boundaries of the area are Burrard Inlet, Main Street, the False Creek Flats, and Semlin and MacLean Drive.

Income by Family Composition

It was stated earlier that a large number of the families in the Vancouver housing projects are concentrated at a narrow income level (around \$150 to \$250 per month). This does not imply that the economic status of these families is very similar, since the fact is that the size of family within this income level has a very wide spread. Family size is an important factor to keep in mind when estimating the economic status of the project families, as it can be of crucial significance at the lowest income levels. Family allowance, and decreasing rents for large families have an equalizing effect, but they by no means bridge the difference in the financial situation, as, for example, in the case of a couple with a monthly income of \$200 per month, compared to a family of seven, living on the same amount, the difference in rent would be only \$10.

Table 20. Relation between Incomes and Family Size;
Public Housing Residents, Vancouver, 1964.

Monthly Income	Number of Persons in Family								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more	
Under \$150	105	93	71	66	1	1	-	2	339
151-250	4	74	37	51	67	37	16	14	300
251-300	-	3	19	16	13	5	3	5	64
301-377.50	-	6	7	8	13	16	5	5	60
over 377.50	-	-	2	4	4	4	1	3	18
Total	109	176	136	145	98	63	25	29	781

The lowest income group (less than \$150 per month) in these projects is made up of families with one to four members.

with the exception of a handful of larger families at that income level in Little Mountain. The very heavy concentration of one and two member families in this income group is because of the influence of the large numbers of pensioners in MacLean Park. In all projects, the widest range of family size is found in the \$150 to \$250 per month income group. This group, as noted earlier, is the largest or second largest income group in each of these projects. In Little Mountain and Orchard Park a significantly larger proportion of these families are composed of up to four members, whereas in Skeena Terrace the picture is reversed, and over half of the families have five or more members. In the "middle area" projects, the spread in the higher-income families tends to be weighted toward the larger family.

Source of Income.

The income of public housing families in Vancouver is derived from four main sources: earnings, unemployment insurance, pensions, and social assistance. A small proportion of families have other income, such as maintenance payments, interest from savings, or payments made by relatives. In some cases the family's total income is made up from a combination of the above-mentioned sources. For the purposes of this study, the four main categories are used, and the rest are grouped together. The category of "pensions," includes couples where either spouse is in receipt of Old Age Security, regardless of the other spouse's source of income. (It was found that in a number of cases one member of an elderly couple was a pensioner whereas the spouse was in receipt of Social Assistance or Old Age Assistance). Families for whom a very

small proportion of the total income was derived from a second or third source are grouped under the main source of income.

Summing up this information for the total project population in Vancouver, in January 1964, 31.7 per cent of the families are supported by their earnings; 3.1 per cent are temporarily unemployed and in receipt of Unemployment Insurance. The proportion of families in receipt of Social Assistance (31.5 per cent) is practically equal in size to the group of wage-earners: 11.7 per cent of tenants have other sources of income.

This distribution is markedly different from the income distribution of families in the Toronto Regent Park (North) project, where, according to the study assembled in 1957, the picture with regard to principal wage-earners was as follows:¹

<u>Source of Income</u>	<u>Number of Tenants</u>
Old Age Assistance (persons in need, aged 65-69)	20
Old Age Security Allowances (persons over 70)	125
War Veterans' Allowances (mainly older persons)	54
Mothers' Allowances (usually widowed mothers)	22
Unemployment Relief (general assistance for unemployables)	22
Unemployment Insurance	19

Considering that there were 1289 households in Regent Park at the time of the study, Rose estimates on the basis of the above information, that slightly more than a thousand tenants were primary wage-earners.² It would appear that close to 80 per cent of Regent Park families were living off their earnings in 1957, compared to an estimated 33 to 40 per cent of wage-earners in the Vancouver projects, in 1964. It must be stressed

¹ Rose, Regent Park, p. 188.

² Loc. cit.

that, in interpreting these statistics, it is important to keep in mind, that data on income and source of income are subject to a great deal of variation; for example, seasonal employment is a significant factor in the Vancouver situation.

It is a recognized fact that in Canada, social assistance payments are considerably below the income of wage-earners. Exceptions, of course, are found -- for instance, if part-time and seasonal workers are taken into account. At the bottom level of the wage scale family size may, in some cases, determine whether a family is financially better off with earnings or in receipt of social assistance.¹

In view of the markedly lower economic status of families in receipt of social assistance, and the large proportion of such families in public housing, it is important to review what is the composition of the families in the Vancouver projects. In the earlier studies of Little Mountain and Orchard Park it was reported that the percentage of social assistance recipients was considerably higher among one-parent families, and that these families, correspondingly had a markedly lower average income than two-parent families.

The situation in the Vancouver projects today is still very much the same. In the "middle area" projects 60 to 66 per cent of two-parent families are maintained on earnings. Among one-parent families, in these projects, 57 to 73 per cent are in receipt of social assistance. In MacLean Park the percentage of wage-earning, two-parent families is highest of the four projects -- 85.5 per cent. Of the one-parent families

¹ In British Columbia supplementary assistance may be applied for, if income from other sources falls below the rates of the different categories of social assistance payments. Eligibility requirements as to assets allowed vary for the different categories.

in this project 40 per cent have earnings as their primary source of income, and an equal proportion of these families receive social assistance mainly.

"Middle Area" Projects. In Little Mountain the largest proportion of families (38.9 per cent) maintained themselves on earnings at the time of the present study. The second largest group (29.9 per cent) were in receipt of social assistance. In Orchard Park the situation was reversed -- 39.3 per cent of the families in this project lived on social assistance and 26.8 per cent were earning wages. In Skeena Terrace, these two groups were of fairly equal size (32 per cent earnings; 36.3 per cent social assistance).

Table 21. Source of Income: Public Housing Tenants.
Vancouver, 1964.

Source of Income	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	All Projects	Middle Area Projects
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
Earnings	38.9	26.8	32.0	26.4	31.7	33.1
Unemployment Insurance	4.1	3.6	2.6	1.9	3.1	3.4
Pensions	14.9	18.4	18.4	41.5	22.1	17.2
Social Allowance	29.9	39.3	36.3	18.2	31.5	34.8
Other	12.2	11.9	10.7	12.0	11.6	11.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The proportion of pensioners is somewhat smaller in Little Mountain (14.9 per cent) than in the other two projects (both 18.4 per cent), though not radically different.

These findings correspond with the earlier observation

that the newer projects -- Skeena Terrace and especially Orchard Park -- have a considerably larger percentage of families in the lowest income group as compared to Little Mountain.

Families in receipt of Unemployment Insurance make up a relatively small proportion in all three projects, ranging from 2.6 per cent in Skeena Terrace to 4.1 per cent in Little Mountain.¹ This is in keeping with the above observation that Little Mountain has the highest proportion of wage-earning families. (Table 21).

The proportion of families with mixed sources of income is roughly the same in the three projects, ranging from 10.7 per cent in Skeena to 12.2 per cent in Little Mountain. (Table 21). Only a small proportion of these families actually derive their income from other than the four main categories. The others, it appears, have a combination of earnings and social assistance mainly, in a variety of ratios.

MacLean Park. In this project the largest proportion (41.5 per cent) of all families gain their income from pensions. About a quarter (26.4 per cent) live off earnings, and only 18.2 per cent of the families (9 out of 159) are in receipt of social assistance solely. The proportion of families with "other" income is 12 per cent in line with the corresponding group in the other projects. Here also, "other" income means mainly a combination of earnings and social assistance. (Table 21).

It is noted that the proportion of families maintained

¹ This, of course, is a variable figure, anyway, if the unemployed get jobs. If they don't, they will add to social assistance percentages.

on earnings and unemployment insurance, and of families with other income, is fairly similar to the corresponding groups in the "middle area" projects. The percentage of pensioners and of families in receipt of social assistance, however, differs markedly in MacLean Park from these groups in the other projects. In MacLean Park the very high proportion of pensioners (41.5 per cent as compared to the average of 17.2 in the others) is as expected, in view of the large number of elderly people in this project. The group of social assistance recipients is significantly smaller in MacLean Park (18.2 per cent compared to 34.8, the average for the "middle area" projects). This difference, it is presumed, relates to the relatively smaller number of one-parent families in MacLean Park. (Table 21).

Rents

The Vancouver Housing Authority's policy with regard to incomes and rents was discussed earlier in this chapter. Another feature, relating to families already in the project, whose income increases above the eligibility maximum for their particular group, needs comment. Whether such families should be required to leave the project or be allowed to remain, has been a subject for debate wherever public housing has been introduced. The Vancouver Housing Authority has found a compromise solution: the families may remain in the project, however, a "surcharge" is added to their rents. Briefly, this means, that a tenant whose income increases beyond the maximum amount, must pay an additional thirty per cent of the amount by which the income exceeds the maximum, if he continues to live in the project. This feature, as can be expected, is not

popular among tenants, who are in the higher income groups.

Families at higher income levels, and who consequently pay higher rents, actually make up a small proportion of the total project population. In the four projects taken together, over 70 per cent of the families pay less than \$50 per month in rent; close to 30 per cent pay less than \$30. Rents between \$50 and \$59 drop to 9.2 per cent of the total, and the proportion continues to decrease for progressively higher rents.

Table 22. Distribution of Rents Paid
Vancouver Housing Authority, January 1964.

Rent	Little Mountain	Orchard Park	Skeena Terrace	MacLean Park	All Projects	Middle Area Projects
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
Less than \$30	17.8	22.6	24.5	58.8	29.1	21.6
30-49	41.8	47.6	44.7	28.5	41.2	44.4
50-59	11.8	11.9	7.7	5.1	9.2	10.3
60-69	13.6	6.5	6.4	3.8	8.0	9.0
70-79	7.7	6.0	6.4	2.5	5.9	6.8
80 and over	7.3	5.4	10.3	1.3	6.6	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

"Middle Area" Projects. In these projects 59 to 70 per cent of families pay a rent of less than \$50 per month. In Little Mountain and Orchard Park over two-thirds of these tenants pay between \$30 and \$49, whereas in Skeena Terrace the proportion is somewhat less. In all three projects the remaining higher rent groups drop markedly and become progressively smaller, with the exception of Skeena Terrace where the

highest rent group (\$80 and over) jumps to 10.3 per cent as compared to 7.3 and 5.4 per cent in Little Mountain and Orchard Park respectively, for the corresponding groups.

MacLean Park. The proportion of rents under \$50 in MacLean Park make up 86.8 per cent of the total rents. In contrast to the other three projects over two-thirds of these rents are in the under \$30 range. Rents for single pensioners are fixed at \$22 per month in Vancouver's projects. Considering the very high number of pensioners and elderly people in this project; the low average rent is to be expected (\$33.33 in MacLean Park as compared to \$43.41 in Orchard Park and \$46.89 in Skeena Terrace). The remaining rent groups in MacLean Park make up only 12.7 per cent, and decrease from 5.1 per cent in the \$50 to \$59 rent level to 1.3 per cent of rents of \$80 or over. In fact only two tenants in MacLean Park pay this high rent.

Income Distribution in U.S. Public Housing.

As is the policy for Canadian public housing, in the United States also, there are set upper-income limits relating to eligibility for U.S. public housing. The upper-income limit, apparently, ranges in the neighbourhood of \$6500-7000 per year. However, the individual Authorities have wide discretionary powers in setting income ceilings and rents (subject to review by the P.H.A.) and these upper income limits may not be entirely representative. Minimum income eligibility requirements do not appear to be in effect; however, in certain cases, persons seeking entrance to the projects may not be able to afford the rents charged. For this reason, President Johnson has called for a new subsidy, paid to the local housing agency, of \$120 annually for each unit so occupied.¹

Some examples of income limits set by the Chicago Housing Authority (as of June 30, 1963) illustrate the general pattern. These limits are graded according to whether the project is federally or state aided. Upper limits for federally-aided projects are lower than those for state-aided projects. They are also graded according to the number of persons in the family, and according to whether the family is elderly or non-elderly. The limits for old people are lower than for younger families. There is an income limit on admission, and a higher limit for continued occupancy. For example, in a federally-aided project (of 41 projects in Chicago, 32 are federally-aided), the income limit for a family of two non-elderly persons is, on admission, \$4200 per year; for continued occupancy the limit is \$5125 -- a difference of \$925. For a family of seven or more, the admission limit is \$5200 per year;

¹ President Johnson, Message to Congress, Jan. 27th, 1964.

the continued occupancy limit is \$6760 -- a difference of \$1260. Admission limits for elderly persons in these projects are \$3000 for a single person and \$3600 for a two-person family. Admission limits for state-aided projects range from \$250 to \$600 higher than those for the federally-aided projects. All these limits apply after "authorized exemptions," have been allowed for. There is a special scale applicable to families displaced by public improvement programs. This scale ranks, generally, in between the admission and the continued occupancy scales, as illustrated above.

Beginning with the 1961 reports of the H.H.F.A.,¹ all income tables are computed as total family income. For purposes of the present study, it has been possible to extract information referring only to white families living in the Northern and Western states, and what follows refers to these segments of the U.S. public housing population only. This has the advantage of eliminating facts about the less typical Southern states, but again, it cannot be taken as representing the picture for the total U.S.² In all, 233,545 families in the North and West were re-examined in 1961 for continued eligibility for occupancy in U.S. public housing. Of these, 97.8 per cent were found to be within the income limits for occupancy set by the various housing Authorities.

Representative Incomes.

The median incomes for white families who at the time of reassessment were eligible to remain in the projects in the

¹ H.H.F.A., Bulletins 225.1 and 226.1.

² Where total U.S. information helps to clarify the discussion, it has been included and noted.

North, was \$2539; in the West the corresponding median was \$2647. A characteristic income, therefore, is \$210 to 220 a month. But, one-third or more of the Northern families had less than \$2000 a year. (For all white families eligible in the total U.S. the median income was \$2282, which shows the effect on the average of poorer economic conditions in the Southern states, when statistics for the South are included in the total).

It is interesting to note from the report that, in the North, a small group, 2 per cent of the families, had incomes of over \$6000 and were still eligible for subsidized housing. This can be compared with the upper income limits for Vancouver public housing of \$4950 for the largest families, as an expression of some of the differences in the economy of the two countries, including the purchasing power of the dollar, as well as differences of administrative policy.

In both the North and the West average family incomes for families moving into the projects were not radically different from those already in. However, the newer families, just moving in, expected lower incomes during the year than did those families who have been living in the projects for a time. Twenty-two per cent of Northern families in the projects expected incomes of over \$4000, while only 12 per cent of the new families expected such incomes.

A significantly lower proportion of "families moving in" in the West expected incomes of under \$2000 (25 per cent) than did families in the North (33 per cent). This can be traced to the fact that a greater percentage of old people are moving into public housing in the North than in the West. Incomes of senior citizens are markedly lower than those of

other families -- in 1961 they were only slightly over one-half as much. (Table 23).

Table 23. Percentage Distribution of White Families within Income Limits, by Amount of Income and Region. 1961. (a)

Expected Incomes	Already in		Moving in	
	North	West	North	West
P.C. with total family income - under \$2000	36	30	33	25
2000 - 2999	23	28	31	38
3000 - 3999	19	23	24	26
4000 and over	22	17	12	11
Per Cent	100	100	100	100
Median total family income	\$2539	2647	2538	2651

(a) Includes families for whom data on race were not attainable

Source of Income.

The proportion of families in public housing re-examined in 1961 who were unemployed was 48 per cent, for both the North and West regions. Of the remainder, that is the 52 per cent of families who had workers, 81 per cent in both regions were totally self-supporting; the rest, were receiving some form of financial help. (Table 24).

Assistance and Benefits.

The number of families who were expecting to receive some form of organized social assistance or government welfare¹

¹ "Assistance" refers to organized relief payments. "Benefits" refers to payments made under the contributory social security schemes.

benefit in 1961 was substantially higher than in 1960, continuing an upward trend that has been evident since 1952. In the North this was 54 per cent; in the West 55 per cent. (Table 24). To a considerable extent this is due to the proportion of elderly families in low-rent housing. If the elderly are excluded, the 1961 percentage of families expecting relief or benefits becomes 35 for both regions; the same as in 1956, the year in which the admission of single elderly persons, the waiver of housing requirements, and the extension of preference to the elderly, were all authorized.¹

Each year a rising proportion of families with workers as well as those without workers, both North and West; expect to receive some form of assistance or benefits. The sharpest rise was in the families with no workers in the North -- again tied to the increasing proportions of elderly persons in the Northern projects. In this region the percentage of unemployed families (i.e., with breadwinners on insurance or assistance) rose from 79 in 1952 to 92 in 1961.

For the purpose of further clarification, some information which refers to the whole of the U.S., and to younger families only can be presented here. As in the past, the proportion of public assistance recipients was higher among one-adult families than among families with two or more adults. Most of these one-adult families who receive some form of public assistance would be "Broken" or one-parent families. Families in this younger age group who are receiving "benefits" only would be the disabled, and, those receiving survivor's

¹ On the other hand, 94 per cent of the old people in the projects were receiving some form of assistance or benefits.

benefits. Two-adult families in receipt of benefits only are far higher in number than one-adult families (13,199 as compared to 8,148). It follows that the figure of 13,199 is probably a very close indication of the number of young (white) families in all U.S. projects who qualify because of disability of the head or spouse of the family.

For families moving into the projects in 1961, the percentage of families who were unemployed was 47 in the North and 40 in the West. This difference is attributable to the age of the Northern entrants rather than a reflection of economic conditions. Of the remaining families, who had workers, 86 per cent in the North and 91 per cent in the West were self-supporting. These are considerably higher proportions than among families already established in projects. (Table 24). These could well be the upwardly mobile families who don't stay long in public housing.

For families moving into the projects in 1961, 49 per cent of Northern families and 41 per cent of Western families expected to receive either or both assistance and benefits. These figures are lower than those for established families, but still represent an upward increase from previous years, for newly-housed families.

Rents.

In the last decade or so, there has been a decline in the proportion of very low rents for public housing, with an accompanying increase in the proportion of relatively high rents. Some of this simply reflects higher building costs and the generally rising level of wages and prices. For example in the North, 13 per cent of families paid rents of under

Table 24. Percentage Distribution of All Families by Assistance and Benefits Received, and Employment Status, by Regions, 1961. (a)

Employment Status	Total	Already in		Moving in		
		Workers	No Workers	Total	Workers	No Workers
P.C. assistance or benefit-incomes						
North	54	19	91	49	14	89
West	55	19	95	41	9	88
Employed, (not receiving assistance or benefits)						
North	46	81	9	51	86	11
West	45	81	5	59	91	12

(a) Includes a few families for whom data on race were not available.

\$25 in 1952, but by 1961, this percentage was reduced to 2 per cent. Conversely, in 1952, only 27 per cent paid rents of over \$50 per month, but by 1961, 44 per cent were paying such rents. This is caused primarily by increases in minimum rents and the use of welfare rents¹ by more local authorities, and the upward trend in relatively high rents caused by the larger groups of families with higher incomes. It was expected in 1961, that this upward trend would increase markedly in the next few years, if, as seemed likely, more authorities adopted fixed rent schedules -- calling for rents related not to income but to size of unit. Such schedules had already been adopted by some authorities, but had little effect in 1961.

¹ "Welfare rents" are linked to welfare payment scales and are generally higher than set minimum rents would be otherwise.

Some examples of rent schedules can be given for the Chicago Housing Authority, as of June 30, 1963.¹ Graded rent scales are used for all except three of the federally-aided projects. Tenants are charged \$1.00 per month for each \$55 of annual income, after certain authorized deductions from gross income. For example, if income is \$3000, rent is \$55; if income is \$4000, rent is \$73; if income is \$5200, rent is \$95. There are some special provisions affecting this graded rent-income formula. Minimum and maximum rents are set for each size of unit, below which the rent may not fall nor above which it may not rise. To illustrate this, the minimum rent for a bachelor unit (no bedrooms) is \$36, the maximum is \$90; for a two-bedroom unit the minimum is \$41; the maximum \$110; for a five-bedroom unit the minimum is \$46, the maximum is \$150. There are also special set rents for the various sized units for tenants in receipt of public assistance. These range from \$50 for a bachelor unit (\$45 for single old-age or disability assistance) to \$75 for a five-bedroom unit.

Flat rents are charged at all city-state developments and three federally-aided developments. Bachelor units rent for \$45; two-bedroom units for \$65; and five-bedroom units for \$90. There is also a proportionately higher scale of rents for families whose incomes have risen above the maximum allowed for continued occupancy, and who are under notice to move. For example, a family whose income exceeded the maximum allowable by \$1000 to 1999 would be charged \$100 rent for a two-bedroom unit. Utilities are included in rents, or

¹ Chicago Housing Authority Income Limits and Rent Schedules, June 30, 1963.

fixed amounts are deducted from rents if tenants purchase their own utilities.

Rent Levels

The median gross rent for families in the projects in 1961, was, in the North, \$46; in the West it was \$48. Families in the North were paying more of the lower rents but also a considerably higher proportion of high rents than was the case for Westerners. (Table 25). The New York region has the highest proportion (33 per cent) of families paying rents of \$60 and over in the whole country. This is due, in part at least, to the use of relatively high fixed rents in a number of large projects in New York City, which filled up in 1961.

In 1961, for families moving into the projects, median gross rents were up from 1960 in both the North and the West by \$2.00. Median rent of families continued higher in the West than in the North, but only by \$1.00. In 1952, in the North, rent was \$38, but this average had risen to \$45 by 1961. In the West, the average rent was \$37 in 1952 and \$46 in 1961. (Table 25).

The proportion of rents under \$25 declined in both regions and was only one per cent of the families in the North and the West. The proportion of these new families paying rents over \$60 was considerably lower, as could be expected, than families already living in the developments. Nevertheless, these proportions (18 per cent in the North and 13 per cent in the West) were up from the year before. This is a further confirmation of how the rent scale is climbing year by year. In 1955, in the North, the comparable figure to the

Table 25. Distribution of Rental Groups.

Monthly gross rent	Already in		Moving in	
	North	West	North	West
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
Under \$30	12	9	9	6
30 - 49	45	46	53	56
50 - 59	16	24	18	25
60 - 69	15	11	13	10
over 70	12	10	5	3
Total	100	100	100	100
Median gross rent	\$ 46	48	45	46

18 per cent paying over \$60, was only 1 per cent. Only a very small proportion of families, and these are located in the Southern states only, are now moving into U.S. housing at rents under \$20. On the other hand, 28 per cent of the families moving in in the New York region did so at rents of \$60 or more. For the Chicago region this percentage was 14.

Rent-Income Relationships

Rent-income ratios are computed on the basis of total family income. For families in the projects the proportion of rent-income ratios of under 20 per cent has decreased, and the proportion of ratios of at least 30 per cent has increased. The very high ratios generally apply to welfare families and those to whom minimum rents apply; the low ratios, to families paying maximum rents and those for whom large deductions, allowances or exemptions are permitted for rent purposes.

More extensive information is given for families who are moving into the projects. For this group, rent-income ratios

have increased also, as more welfare rents have been introduced and as more projects have adopted flat rents. For the total U.S. (including Negro and other non-white families) 7 per cent had gross rents which amounted to 16 per cent or less of total family income. Nine per cent had gross rents which amounted to at least 30 per cent of total income, and 4 per cent had rents which amounted to 40 per cent or more of total income.

Also, for all racial groups in the whole country, while less than 1 per cent of admissions were at maximum rents, of this group, 83 per cent had rent-income ratios below 20 per cent, and they were almost totally families of five or more persons. High ratios affected none of the largest families admitted at maximum rents. Where minimum rents were being used, rents at or below one-fifth of total family income accounted for 20 per cent of the families, all but a small number of whom were families of three or more persons. On the other hand, minimum rents meant that 30 per cent or more of total family income went to paying the rent of 30 per cent of the families. Of these, less than one-third had three or more members.

Still looking at the total U.S. picture, the largest families tend to have the lowest rent-income ratios. For example, only 2 per cent of one-person families have a ratio of less than 20 per cent, but 79 per cent of families of five or more people have this ratio. The upward trend in all rent-income ratios has been evident for several years, and is most marked in the larger families. Added to the factors already mentioned which make for higher ratios -- addition of welfare

rents, increases in minimum rents, fixed rents -- there has also been an upward revision of rent schedules. Then, too, fixed rents are high, and therefore their effect can only be to raise ratios.

Rent Before and After Admission

This item is covered in the report on families who moved into U.S. housing in 1961 but the information given is not broken down by region. However, for the total U.S., and for families on which data was available on previous rent, 27 per cent of white families moving in began paying rents which were higher than those they had been paying previously.

Length of Tenancy

Among white families re-examined in 1961, 42 per cent had lived in low-rent housing less than three years, about the same as in 1960. (Up until 1960 the proportion of eligible white families with tenancy of such duration had steadily decreased).¹ Seven and one-half per cent had lived in low-rent housing more than ten years and 31 per cent more than five years.

There is evidence that the lowest income families are those most apt to stay in low-rent projects at least five years. Twenty-seven per cent of the families admitted in 1956 with incomes of under \$1500 were still in eligible residence in 1961, as compared with only 19 per cent of the families admitted with incomes of at least \$3500.

¹ Because of the scarcity of private housing in the U.S. for minority groups, non-white families are less apt to move from public housing.

Only 1 per cent of the families expected incomes of at least \$4000 at admission in 1956; at least 11 per cent expected such incomes in 1961, which reflects the rise in wages in these five years. Conversely, 35 per cent of the families admitted in 1956 and still in residence in 1961, had expected incomes of under \$1500 at admission while 28 per cent expected such low incomes in 1961.

Incomes for Elderly Families

Because the incomes of elderly people in subsidized housing in the U.S. are markedly lower than those of younger families, and because aged tenants already represent over one-fourth of the population in the housing and may soon be more, it is important to consider their incomes separately from the other groups. In this way some approximation of the effect of these low incomes on the picture when all ages of families are considered together may be made. As an example of the difference between the old and the young families, the median total income for elderly persons living in the projects in the North was only \$1,445, whereas for the younger family it was \$3206. (Table 26). Incomes of single elderly persons are also substantially lower than those of two or more elderly persons forming a "family." The reason for this is that almost all senior citizens who are in subsidized housing are living on government assistance or benefits, and where there are two old people in the family both are receiving financial help. Elderly families who have minors in the home have incomes which are a little higher than those of the other categories. Such low incomes for senior citizens mean that all the other

problems of old age are reinforced by the necessity to get along on very little money. But the housing may be one of their greatest aids if the rent is not too high.

Some comparisons may be made between median incomes of old and young families.

Table 26. Median Total Income of Elderly and Non-Elderly Families by Region for 1960 and 1961.

Census Region	Elderly Households		Younger Households		Income of Elderly families -- a comparative P.C.	
	1961	1960	1961	1960	1961	1960
North	\$1445	\$1425	\$3206	\$3211	45.1	44.4
West	\$1470	1465	3047	2959	48.2	49.5

Incomes rose generally, except for non-elderly families in the North. Elderly families in the West had higher incomes than those in the North, on the average, but for younger families the reverse was true, both in 1960 and 1961. It can be seen from Table 26, that old people are living on incomes of less than half those of other families.

For families moving into the projects, all types reflected higher median incomes. In the North the median income was \$1,602, \$157 higher than the median for elderly families already living in the projects in 1961. In the West the median income was also higher at \$1508, but only \$38 above the median of \$1470 of Western old-age families already living in the projects in 1961 (Table 26). In the case of families moving into the projects, therefore, the highest median income was in the North rather than the West, the opposite of what is true for established families. Single old people tended to have incomes

Source of Income

Income examinations for continued occupancy show that few members of aged households have a member of the family who is gainfully employed. In the Northern part of the country 13 per cent of elderly families have an earner compared with 68 per cent for younger families. In the West even fewer members were working and the percentage was ten. Among younger families in the West 64 per cent had someone working. It may be noted, in passing, that 2 or 3 times as many elderly Negro families have a worker than do white families. This ratio is highest in the Southern states.

Table 27. Percentage Distribution of Elderly and Non-Elderly Families by Source of Income and Composition of the Family, 1961.

Assistance or Benefits	Already in			Moving in		
	Total	One Adult	Two or more Adults	Total	One Adult	Two or more Adults
P.C. elderly families receiving None	5	5	6	7	7	7
Assistance (with or without benefits)	36	41	32	27	30	24
Benefits without assistance	58	54	63	66	63	69
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100
P.C. elderly families receiving None	64	46	73	73	56	79
Assistance (with or without benefits)	20	36	12	14	33	8
Benefits without assistance	15	17	14	13	11	13
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100

Ninety-four per cent of the old people in the projects are receiving some form of assistance or benefits. More of them are drawing Social Security benefits and retirement funds than are receiving relief payments, although the difference is not excessive, (53 per cent compared to 41 per cent). Some comparisons can be made here of percentages of elderly and non-elderly by the source of income and composition of the family. This information is not classified by region and is for white families in the total U.S.

As could be expected, far fewer younger families are receiving benefits only, than are old people (15 per cent compared to 58 per cent). Those who are, would be drawing either survivor's or disability insurance payments, in the main. A significantly smaller proportion of young families are dependent on social assistance, as compared to older families, also, (20 per cent compared to 36). Those young families who have only one adult in the family, and who draw assistance primarily (36 per cent) are for the most part "broken" families. (Table 27). Subsidized housing is not planned for younger single people. It is clearly possible, however, that recently bereaved widows or widowers, under notice to leave, would still be in the projects, and in some cases are allowed to stay.

Since mid-1961, the age limit for payment of disability benefits has been removed, and therefore more disabled persons became eligible for such benefits and consequently for housing too, since they are given preference. Disabled persons are included statistically with elderly families, and this is reflected in recent figures. Persons whose only income is as-

-sistance or benefits apparently are a higher proportion on the waiting-list than formerly.

Rents for Elderly Families

Average rents paid by Elderly families in U.S. public housing are lower than those paid by younger families. This is because special rent scales are used by the local Authorities which are applicable only to the elderly and which represent reasonable rent-income ratios in most cases, or where fixed rents are used, these are adjusted downwards. Since the incomes of elderly people, both single persons and households of two or more people, are notably lower than those of younger families, when rents are calculated according to income, the rents are also lower. However, they are not as proportionately low as one might expect. For example, the median rent paid by old-age families (includes single persons) in the Northern states in 1961 was \$37 and in the West the comparable rent was \$36.62. Rents for younger families in these regions in 1961 were an average of \$11 higher per month. The lack of a greater difference between the average rents paid by old-age families and younger families results from the larger proportion of elderly families to whom either a minimum rent or a welfare rent is applicable. Minimum rents, where used, appear to be set at a fairly high rate, as for example in Chicago, where the minimum rent for a bachelor unit is \$36. The fixed-rent minimum applicable to persons in receipt of assistance or benefits is even higher. For a bachelor unit in Chicago housing, when the tenant is drawing Old Age or Disability insurance, the rent is set at \$45 per month. In Vancouver, in comparison, single pensioners pay a fixed rent of \$22 per month.

As is true for all types of families in the North and West, rents are getting higher each year for elderly households also. Fewer old-age families are paying rents under \$30 per month, and 11 per cent were paying rents over \$50 per month in 1961. One-quarter of this latter group were families who had minors in the home. Some of these families might be occupying larger units where fixed rents apply.

Single senior citizens paid rents which were, on an average, \$7 lower than those paid by the larger-sized elderly groups.

For the elderly families who moved into public housing in 1961, the median gross rent was \$35, in both the North and the West. Rents were up by a few dollars from the previous year; the highest increase was a \$4 one for single elderly persons in the West. In view of the fact that exemptions are generally allowed for minors, in computing rent, the gross rent of families without minors is usually higher than that of families with minors, at any given level of income. This was found to be so for these types of families who entered the housing in 1961, however, there was only a one dollar difference between the two groups. Rents at admission have shifted quite sharply for elderly families, even although the median has risen only slightly. Fewer families are paying the lower rents and more families are paying the higher rents each year. The following table illustrates this point. It should be noted that the information included in the table is not classified by race and refers to both white and non-white tenants.

Table 28. Percentage Distribution of Families Moving into Projects in 1961 with Rents Below \$25 and with Rents of at Least \$40, by Census Region and Family Type.

Family Composition	Percentage of families with rents			
	Under \$25		At least \$40	
	1961	1959	1961	1959
North				
Non-elderly	0.5	1.2	78.1	71.0
Elderly	2.9	3.9	43.1	31.4
single	4.3	8.0	30.3	18.6
two or more				
(with minors)	1.4	3.3	68.8	56.8
(no minors)	1.2	2.9	57.2	42.3
West				
Non-elderly	0.2	1.5	74.7	67.1
Elderly	5.9	23.0	32.0	21.9
single	8.8	36.2	16.3	9.1
two or more				
(with minors)	3.0	8.6	66.3	50.5
(no minors)	1.5	4.4	49.5	36.0

Income and Rent Distribution in British Housing Developments

The majority of dwellings built by local councils and New Town development corporations are for letting unfurnished, at either economic or subsidized rents, to people in need of accommodation. The local authority has complete discretion as to rents charged and conditions of tenancy. Subsidies from the Exchequer and the revenue from local rates (taxes) are important factors in their determination. Some authorities operate differential rent or rent-rebate schemes, and so take into account the incomes and liabilities of tenants. Average weekly net rents in post-war 2 or 3-bedroom houses in England and Wales range from 9/11 to 54/- (approximately \$1.40 to \$7.50) for a 2-bedroom house and from 12/2 to 60/- (approximately \$1.70 to \$8.40) for a 3-bedroom house.¹

In Britain, need (not income) is the criterion determining eligibility for residence in local authority houses, and rents, with some exceptions, are fixed according to size of rented unit. Older houses, for instance those built before 1945, are considerably cheaper, and most local authorities try and allocate these for families with limited incomes.

According to various studies the income of tenants in local authority houses and flats varies somewhere between £8 to £15 per week (approximately \$22.50 to \$42.00). In slum clearance estates the incomes of the chief wage earners are inclined to be rather lower than those on the new suburban estates. In Bristol, for example, during the year 1953-54

¹ Housing in Britain, Central Office of Information pamphlet 41.

the disparity between incomes of Corporation tenants generally was great. At one end of the scale 61.5 per cent of the tenants earned less than £9 per week (\$25.20), while at the other end 4.8 per cent earned over £13 per week (\$36.40). As time went on and the general level of earnings rose the differences became less marked, so that, in 1956-57, the proportion of tenants in the lowest income group had fallen to 33.7 per cent and in the highest income group had risen to 24.7 per cent.¹

A more recent analysis of the applicants on the London County Council waiting-list revealed that, in 1959, 54 per cent of the applicants had weekly incomes between £11 and £15 (\$30.80 and \$42.00), while 31 per cent had incomes between £6 and £10 (\$16.80 and \$28.00)². As the average weekly earnings for manual workers in England and Wales for 1959 was about £13 10s (\$37.90)³ this indicates that, on the whole, incomes of residents in public housing are rather less than the national average.

Westergaard and Glass found that, at Lansbury, two-fifths of the chief wage-earners had weekly incomes of under £7 per week (approximately \$21) and there were a few households headed by old-age pensioners. At the end of 1951, rents in Lansbury ranged from 25/- for three rooms to 35/- for five rooms, (approximately \$3.60 to \$5.00). These may seem very low rentals by Canadian standards (as indeed, most European rentals in government-aided housing do): nevertheless, they

¹ Jennings, op. cit., p. 122.

² See Appendix A.

³ Annual Abstract of Statistics, No. 99, 1962, H.M.S.O.

represented a substantial increase over the amount they had paid before moving. In fact, two-thirds of the tenants were paying at least twice as much rent as before. As Westergaard and Glass emphasize, such an increase could only be met through a complete change in the pattern of family expenditure.¹

Field and Neill, in their study of the estates at Belfast, discovered that more than one-third of the families had more than one earner, and very few had no potential adult male earner.² The sixty-one married women who worked made up a considerable portion of the subsidiary earners. The mean weekly income of the 319 families in their sample was £10 6s 4d (\$29.30) and 85 per cent of the families had incomes of between £6 and £14 (\$18.00 and \$42.00). Twelve of the families were almost entirely dependent on National Insurance, National Assistance or Pension Payments. If these were excluded, the mean weekly income of families with an earner was £10,9s,2d (\$29.90 approximately).

Income: Rents of Elderly Tenants

One of the possible consequences of retirement is poverty. Loss of income due to illness, unemployment or old age is likely to call for some degree of adjustment for most wage-earners. People from low-income families, however, are apt to be hardest hit.

In his book, The Family Life of Old People, Peter Townsend compared the average income of old people still at work with that of old people who were retired. He found that the income

¹ Westergaard and Glass, op. cit., p. 43.

² Field and Neill, op. cit.

of single and widowed people in his sample fell by 68 per cent (on average), while that of married people fell by 52 per cent, when they retired. Even these figures, he suggests, do not represent the full extent of the drop in the standard of living in the last years of life, as the income of some people had already plunged before retirement, in that they had taken lighter and less-well-paid jobs.¹ Townsend, whose survey was undertaken in Bethnal Green and therefore included predominantly working-class people, found that the total personal incomes of retired persons were only a little higher, after deducting rent, than the National Assistance scales.

A National Assistance Board supplementary grant is based on the assumption that, apart from rent, the amount required by one person living alone was £2 17s 6d (\$8.25) per week.² Special requirements, however, such as the cost of laundry or domestic help, were met by additions to this amount. The Board were aware that pensioners with children and relatives often received small irregular gifts of money, and these were not counted as income. What can be said is that retirement pensions and National Assistance payments are very small when compared with average weekly earnings in Britain. In 1955, the pension for a single person was 18 per cent of average weekly earnings; for a married couple it was 29 per cent.

In a small sample study of tenants living in the grouped flatlets,³ 85 or more per cent of old people were living on

¹ Townsend, The Family Life of Old People, p. 176.

² In April, 1961.

³ Grouped Flatlets for Old People, Ministry of Housing and Local Government, p. 6.

pensions of one kind or another (widows, old age, or retirement), with or without assistance grants, and had no other source of income. Rents in these flatlets, including heating, ranged from eighteen shillings (\$2.60) per week to twenty-nine shillings and sixpence (\$4.25) per week. These are almost astonishingly low rents, from a North American point of view: but an excellent example of the direct contribution which subsidized housing can make to the old person's budget.

Rents in the New Towns

From the tenants' point of view, one of the most pressing problems in the New Towns has been the level of rents. Protest meetings have claimed that rents are unduly high in relation to earnings; it has also been frequently complained that sickness for any length of time makes the burden of rents intolerable. On the other hand, while it is true that rents are much higher than in London, (where many people were either living in two or three rooms or else sharing accommodation with relatives), a great number of families feel that the vastly superior nature of their new accommodation outweighs such objections.

In some New Towns the rents are higher than in others. For instance, the 1963 annual report of Stevenage Development Corporation states that the average net rent was in the region of £2 to £2 5s (\$6.00 to \$6.50), while in June 1963, rents in Basildon ranged from £2 6s 8d for a one-bedroom flat to £4 14s 11d for a four-bedroom house with garage (\$6.70 to \$13.60). The Stevenage Corporation points out that they are "well aware that...some family budgets are so finely balanced that sickness, the reduction or loss of a wife's earnings, or

of overtime payments can have serious consequences...such difficulties are a matter of much concern to the Corporation, whose purpose it is to establish a community as well as to build a town."¹

In Stevenage in 1963 less than 0.05 per cent of the total amount due in housing rents had to be written off as irrecoverable. The Corporation had set up a rent-rebate scheme to help tenants unable to meet their rents in full, either because the family income was permanently too low, or because it had been temporarily reduced through sickness, unemployment or other domestic upset.

"High rents" may be overstressed as a complaint. Nevertheless, particularly in the New Towns, they have to be reckoned with as yet another factor militating against a balanced population. All income groups cannot be proportionately represented, if they exclude families with low incomes, and especially those having a large number of dependent children. There are already exceptions, of which Harlow is one. The Development Corporation there is, now, building various types of houses for the lowest income groups as well as a special quota (20 per cent) for the higher ones.

Some General Considerations

Public housing, as it exists today in the United States tends to segregate the low-income family into one homogeneous "poor" community, and there are at least dangers of it happening in Canada. The major reason for this is the setting

¹ Stevenage Development Corporation, Sixteenth Annual Report for the Period ended 31st March, 1963.

of maximum income levels for eligibility to public housing:

"The able, rising families are constantly driven out as their incomes cross the ceiling figures," wrote Harrison Salisbury in his study of delinquency, The Shook-Up Generation. "By screening applicants for low-rent apartments to eliminate those with even modest wages, the new community is badly handicapped. It is deprived of the normal quota of human talents needed for self-organization, self-discipline and self-improvement. A human catchpool is formed that breeds social ills and requires endless outside assistance."¹

The same condition has been shown to be true for Britain but for a different reason. While there are no income ceilings in Britain, there are more established class distinctions, which mitigates against higher-income groups associating themselves with those below them in class standing. This kind of segregation saps the aspirations and motivations of families, and it is a poor model for the young people in the projects. It leads to "rejection" of the project by the surrounding neighbourhood. Some discussion, at this point, of the issues involved in income ceilings for public housing is indicated.

Income ceilings are, of course, directly tied to the purpose of public housing, that is, that it is intended to provide decent housing for low-income families. It would appear, therefore, that any problems that arise because of this fact are thus in the nature of being "built-in" and not subject to change. The results of this policy have not been happy; the problems of the poor have become the problems of public housing management, and the money spent on public housing has seemingly failed to achieve one of the key goals that this expenditure was intended to achieve -- that is, to give disadvan-

¹ Quoted in Tunley, "Tragedy of a Vertical Slum," The Saturday Evening Post, June, 1963.

-taged families a chance at a better standard of living in a normal environment.

In debating this problem one also has to take into consideration the attitudes and values of the general public. While tax-payers may be prepared to support low-income families in subsidized housing, they have definite ideas of what constitutes a low income, and any thought of raising the income ceilings to allow persons with even modestly high incomes to live in public housing is bound to meet with an outcry of opposition. Yet, if rents are tied to income, how much actual subsidization is in effect, if higher income families are paying correspondingly higher rents?

This raises a further question. If rents rise too high for the type of accommodation then higher income families will look for something better than public housing with its present associations. Again, home ownership has now become easier and more attractive to the middle-income family, as low-down payments, and monthly payments no higher than some project rents, are being offered in some new real-estate developments. Management of Vancouver's projects is faced with this problem, as they strive to keep "good" families from moving out of their projects in order to achieve a balanced community, in the face of "easy" home-ownership in the suburbs.

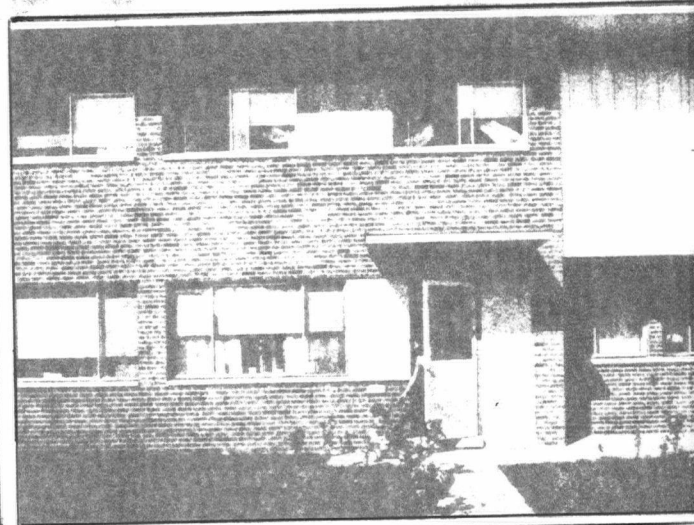
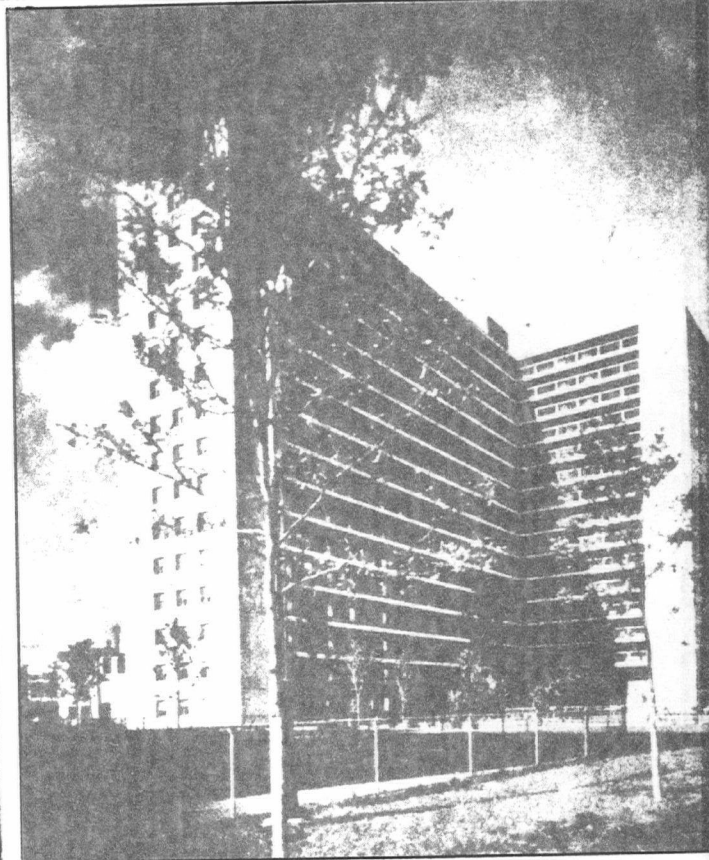
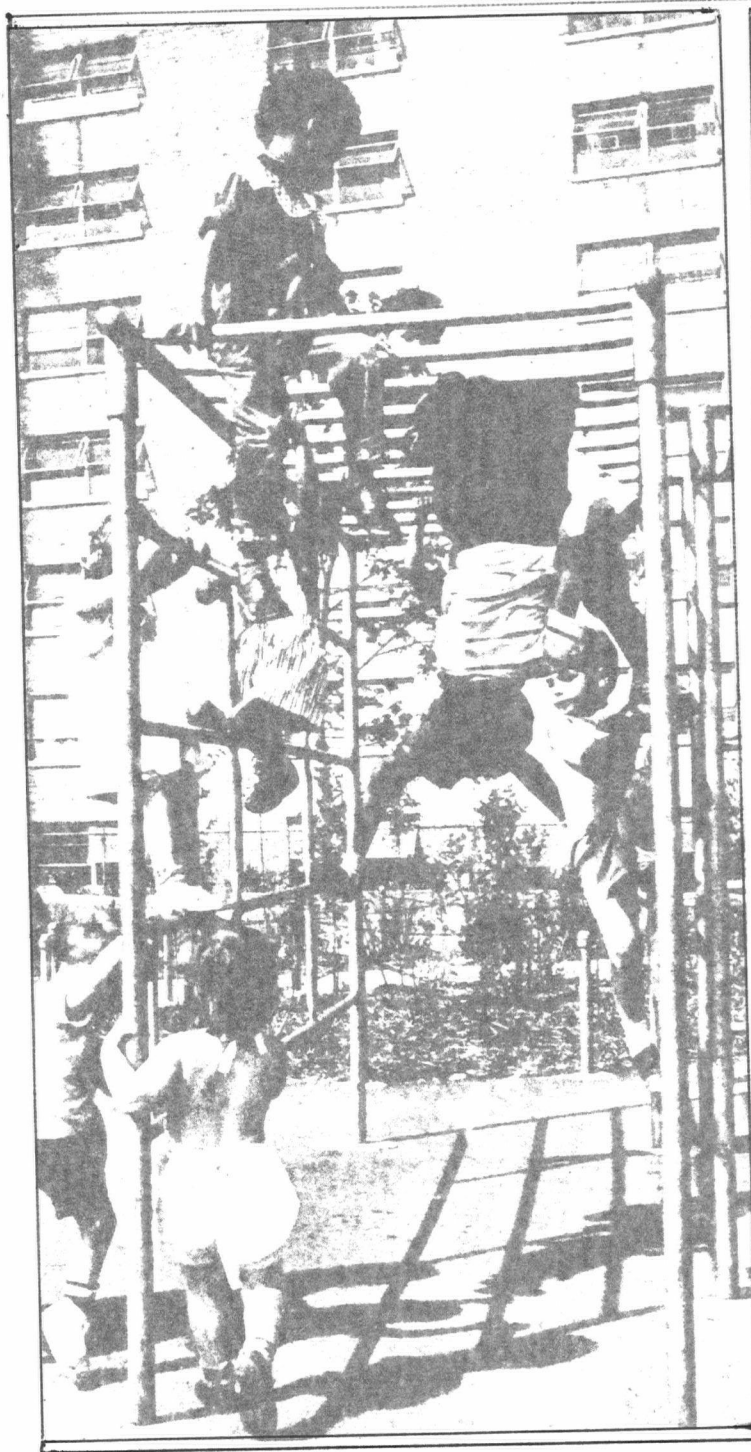
There is an alternative to raising the level of maximum income allowable to achieve a more balanced community and this is to set a minimum income allowable. In the opinion of the authors this is neither morally nor legally defensible, whether by statute or more subtle means. Public housing should be available to whatever family needs it.

One solution that would seem worthy of consideration

would be to continue with a reasonable maximum income ceiling for admission to the projects but to abolish the ruling that when a family exceeds this maximum they must move out. This would have the effect of allowing some of the families who serve as a better model for the rest, who give the project some stability, to stay on in it if they so desire. This would also mean that their rents, if these continue to be related to income (with some reasonable maximum rent for different sized units), would be high enough to offset the benefits of subsidization. Many families would still move, but perhaps enough would stay to raise the general atmosphere of defeat in the project. Of course, it would also mean that the program of provision of public housing would need to be speeded up considerably. (There is a topic for further study here, that is, the relationship between move-outs and waiting lists and new construction). Such a procedure would also mean education of the public as to the purpose, in order to gain public support and approval.

It is the intention under present legislation and administration that for many families public housing will serve their housing need for a relatively short period. These families will move as soon as an increased income makes it possible for them to obtain decent housing in the private market. This is the idea that public housing is not intended to be "bargain" housing, that is, that families with relatively high incomes stay on in it in order to save on rent costs. This only appears to be applicable, however, where fixed rents are in effect and not when rents go up with income. On the other hand, for other families, the aged, the ill, "broken"

Public Housing in the United States



Chicago

families, public housing may provide a long term solution to their housing problem. The only opportunity to obtain a good dwelling place is in public housing. This is also true for families in receipt of welfare benefits. It has been found that in the United States, these families represent almost half of the total tenant population in public housing. In Vancouver, this figure appears to be around 55 per cent. While there are long waiting lists for public housing, these are the people who will need to be served. But more housing could be a better solution to the problem of segregation if this were coupled with the abolition of fixed ceilings on incomes for continued occupancy in the projects.

This issue, then, raises a further issue, that of whether rents should be related to income or whether they should be fixed. Relating rent to income embodies the principle of adjusting them to ability to pay rather than to the character of the dwelling occupied. It means, also, that changes in rent will occur with changes in income. Another important factor to be considered in this connection, is the rent level in relation to income, that is, the rent-income ratio. The principle involved is that families should pay at least some minimum percentage of their incomes for housing. The actual level, however, should be a reflection of what families are able to pay; this will vary in accordance with a number of economic variables. One-fifth of the income appears to be a fairly standard rent-income ratio.

Fixed rents (or flat rents as they are sometimes termed), by contrast, mean that the rent for a unit is set and does not vary with changes in the income of the tenant. Customarily,

rents are fixed in accordance with the size of the dwelling unit, or, in some cases, other factors.

In some sections of the United States, rents are fixed in accordance with the size of the unit and also the type of assistance or benefit the tenant receives. Rents, when welfare benefits are part of income, are set higher than the normal fixed rent for a unit, in the United States. More and more housing authorities are adopting fixed rents in that country at the present time. These "fixed" rents are generally higher than rents related to income, and the result is that in the U.S., where welfare benefits are not always as generally applicable as in Canada, many low-income families cannot afford to move into public housing.

In Britain, apart from a few exceptions, rents are fixed for their subsidized housing according to size of unit. However, in cases of serious need, a method of rent rebates has been devised. This method, which is being used by some local authorities in Britain, is being given consideration by the Manchester Corporation for their overspill estate, Wythenshawe. On this estate, rents are reckoned to be about a sixth of the family's net income, but actually, these rents are fixed according to the size of the house. Because large families are frequently poorer than smaller families, they are unable to pay the rent for the size of accommodation they need. Rent rebates could help to solve this situation. The way in which rebates are given to needy tenants varies considerably. Some authorities apply schemes related to the income of the chief earner of the family, while others include children's earnings, in whole or in part, with the family income. Occasionally, the difference between the rent which families paid before

they were rehoused and the rent for the new dwelling is not charged. The rent-rebate schemes applied in Scotland are not only more generous on the whole, than those applied in England, but they are sometimes extended to higher income groups when the family includes many children.¹

In Vancouver's projects, rents are tied to income, except in the case of single pensioners, whose rents are fixed at \$22. The rents are approximately 20 per cent of income.

A number of problems arise, both for housing management, and for the tenants, when rents are tied to income levels. Possibly the most objectionable aspect for both groups is the necessity for repeated recalculation of rent as incomes rise or fall. For management, this involves extra book-keeping, and for the tenants, it means loss of privacy in his financial affairs as each income change must be reported. Tenants dislike rent fluctuations, and since increases in income automatically bring on rent increases, it is felt that incentive to raise income is reduced.² There are objections, too, to the inclusion in total income for rent calculation purposes, such items as overtime pay, income from temporary employment, or the wages of secondary earners, particularly children.

In a study of voluntary move-outs from public housing in the United States, the P.H.A. reported that while 71 per cent of the families regarded the rent-adjusted-to-income principle as "a good idea", at the same time, one-third of the same families gave as a basic reason for moving out,

¹ In Denmark and Sweden, direct subsidies paid by government are made to families with low incomes.

² The fact is, of course, that the rent increase takes only a percentage, and does not take the whole of an income rise --usually not over 20 per cent.

dissatisfaction with rents.¹ Fromson, Hansen and Smith found in their study of the Little Mountain project, that all low-income families (under \$200) as a rule, thought the rent-scale fair; one-fifth in the middle-income group (\$200 to 300), and one-third in the upper income groups, found it unfair.² Families whose incomes are increasing are most likely to have objections to this procedure, and to feel that rents become too high for the type of accommodation, or higher than what they want to pay for rent. Families who suffer income set-backs, on the other hand, are glad to have an adjustment made and a lowering of their rent. Further, tenants complain of frequent rent changes when their incomes are rising, but families whose incomes are falling want rent reviews often. Thus, management must decide and set regulations in respect of reviews that attempt to please a differing set of attitudes.

Failure on the part of tenants to fully understand the purposes of rents-adjusted-to-income give rise to some dissatisfactions with this method of setting rents. Families who say that "because rents go up, they cannot save and 'get ahead'", think of public housing as "bargain" housing, which it is not. It is not intended to release income for non-housing expenditures but rather to provide housing at rates at which the family can afford to pay.

Consideration might be given to the fact that if real estate principles are important for housing, in part, fixed rents (i.e., according to kind of accommodation -- not income of the tenant) is proper practice. A landlord who proposed

¹ Mobility and Motivations...survey of families moving from low-rent housing, Housing and Home Finance Agency, April, 1958.

² Little Mountain Low-Rental Housing Project, M.S.W. Thesis, U.B.C. 1959.

to raise a person's rent because his income had gone up, would not be able to keep his rentals occupied. Of course, rents for public housing must be subsidized, low rents. Fixed rents, it is true, would tend to mitigate against large families or very low-income groups, unless rebates are established. It would, however, be no more inconvenient administratively than the present necessity of income checking.

There is a considerable range of complaint in Britain, Canada, and in the United States that rents for public housing are too high. In Britain, where rents are generally fixed, they are often considerably higher than what the tenants have been accustomed. In 1951, Westergaard and Glass commented that rent was the dominant topic of conversation in Lansbury, and the most serious object of complaint.¹ At the time of their survey, a number of Lansbury households were already in considerable financial difficulties, while for many others, any contingency, such as illness, unemployment or underemployment, would have been enough to upset a precarious balance.

Increased rents have been a source of concern on other housing estates too. Young and Willmott found that on "Greenleigh", rents were nearly three times as high, on average, as they used to be in Bethnal Green, one of the poorer districts in London's East End from which many of the residents came.² On the Sheffield estate, although the earnings of the tenants were comparatively high, many of the wives found it necessary to go out to work in order to make ends meet. In fact, a

¹ Westergaard and Glass, "A Profile of Lansbury", p. 43.

² Young and Willmott, "Family and Kinship in East London," p. 143.

much higher proportion of married women worked on this estate than in the country as a whole.¹

In the United States, fixed rents are not so common, but these are often high. The main body of complaint stems from how high rents can climb if income rises. This may be one of the major problems in how higher income families view increases in rent in public housing.

In Vancouver, at the Little Mountain project, complaints of this same nature have been made. Tenants with the higher incomes feel that rents are too high; they are also apt to suggest that, in certain ways, they are subsidizing lower income families.²

If there are tenants in the close-to-maximum income ranges, living in public housing, who are complaining that rents rise too high, and also the lower income groups complaining that they cannot afford the rent, should we ignore these expressions of dissatisfaction? Or should an attempt be made to find out the validity of these complaints, which arise again and again? It would be easy, but a mistake, to disregard them on the ground that they stem from a lack of understanding of policy. It is possible that housing officials are reflecting a rigid and inflexible view of "economic necessities". Is there information available that would indicate the actual realism of setting rents at approximately one-fifth of income without any variation as incomes rise or fall? In relation to variations in living

¹ The 1951 Census showed that 17 per cent of married (including widowed and divorced) women in Great Britain were working full time, while another 5 per cent worked part-time. The comparative figures for the Sheffield estate were 20 per cent and 26.2 per cent. See T.S. Simey, (ed.).

² It is also brought out in the Little Mountain study that this is partly a matter of education and communication with tenants, so that they understand policy.

costs for items in a family's budget in differing regions, there may be a case for a flexible ratio on this basis alone.

In Vancouver's projects the rent scale is calculated on the basis of two factors: not income alone, but income and family size -- the rent decreasing relatively as family size goes up. This seems sound, as it has the effect of providing a basic exemption per person in the family. However, it does not make enough provision for the difference in managing on a low income or a medium income. The question is whether the present scale actually compensates for the fixed costs of basic necessities, such as food, which families must meet for each person. It may be argued that public housing is not concerned with budgetary items other than rent. In the light of reality, however, can the cost of the two basic necessities, and principal items of a family budget -- food and shelter -- be separated? Even with the exemptions, both the low-income family and the medium-income family of the same size, in Vancouver, will be paying approximately one-fifth of the remaining income in rent. Yet the low-income family may be paying out twice as much as its budget for the combined items of food and shelter as the medium-income family. Who then is going to be better able to pay the rent on time each month? Fixed rents and rent rebates according to family size would help to solve this situation.

This leads into the item of rent-delinquency, with which problem managers of public housing are so often harrassed. Rents which are too high for the family budget may well be one of the factors which enter here. In fact, tenants whose income is so low that they are genuinely unable to pay their

rent, was a category of rent-delinquency described by the Central Housing Advisory Committee in Britain.¹ Solutions adopted for this problem in Britain, have been (a) to transfer such families to the cheaper pre-war houses, or (b) where rent-rebate schemes are in effect, to apply these to lower rents. The second solution sounds preferable to the first, which latter might involve a return to run-down housing or overcrowded conditions.

Of course, there are other reasons for rent-delinquency. There are families whose incomes are adequate to meet the rent charged but who cannot be induced to pay it with any regularity. British experience endorses the idea of individual attention to these families, not necessarily on the basis of offering assistance, but rather as a warning measure, which, if it fails, is followed by a court order to recover the arrears as a debt, rather than a notice for possession.

Such families are to be found in Vancouver's housing, and it is commendable that the managers have made efforts to assist these families by helping them with their budgetary difficulties in order to avoid evictions.

A third category of rent-delinquency described by Central Housing Advisory Committee is the family whose income is often irregular, who is unable to budget properly, if at all, and who is constantly in debt. In Britain, as in Canada and the United States, these families are viewed as having problems of psychological dependency. It is recognized that housing management alone cannot solve the complex of problems that

¹ Central Housing Advisory Committee, Unsatisfactory Tenants.

may be leading to rent delinquency. Britain has marshalled a number of community services to help these families, as have also certain cities in the U.S. The "half-way houses" provided by the London County Council in Britain, and used for concentrated efforts towards rehabilitation, are an example.¹ These are "group-living" homes for families. The accommodation is furnished and consists of separate rooms for each family, but kitchen and recreation rooms are shared. The purpose is to assist these families to become good tenants for their own dwelling unit in public housing. Some welfare authorities use separate older dwellings for the same purpose.

Toronto Housing Authority has recently started a somewhat similar pilot project. The City Property Department has built a pair of semi-detached houses on City-owned land. These dwellings possess exceptionally durable qualities and are designed to withstand the rigours of inordinately hard wear, thereby reducing the hazards of fire to a minimum. They were designed to accommodate families considered to be in need of some rehabilitation before admittance to a public housing project. The experiment has proven most successful, and the Housing Authority have advocated the erection of more such units.²

A demonstration project from Syracuse University was carried out by the Youth Development Center, to find out what effects social service help to low-income problem families, consistently delinquent in paying rent, would have on their

¹ Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Unsatisfactory Tenants", p. 30

² Housing Authority of Toronto Report, May 1963.

rent-paying patterns. A social worker was assigned to intercede for some of these families with the housing management, in respect of problems of rent-delinquency. In this role of intercessor, the worker succeeded in enabling the study group of families to remain in the project, with rents paid up, although she did not achieve the goal of having them pay rents once a month, on time, and in full. None of the study group families were evicted, but one-quarter of the control group, who had to "go it alone", were evicted, during the time of the demonstration project. The social worker was not a rent collector, but an enabler. One of the major recommendations of the final report of the project was that rents for low-income families be collected on a weekly basis -- a basis which more accurately reflects the budgetary capacity of unstable families.

Undoubtedly, these measures and services are needed if there is to be any improvement in these families, or if they are to feel any hope or encouragement. However, does this kind of provision do any more than a patch-up job, if incomes continue to be irregular, or even non-existent? The reality is that if a man is unemployed, unskilled, and over forty years of age, his chances of obtaining a steady job today are slim. If a member of the family suffers a prolonged illness, it will break the family. The unemployable person is expected to live on a sum of money that can scarcely be stretched to cover basic necessities.

Not until we face these basic facts about our present-day society, will we be moving into the real issues which are giving rise to dependency. And not until public housing is

administered and developed in the context of these problems, economic as well as social and individual, will it be in true perspective. Where does the unemployed man over forty take his family if he is evicted from public housing? Back to another slum, where his rent may be lower but the accommodation deplorable and the environment demoralizing for his children? And is he to be accepted as a candidate for public housing later, if this slum area in time comes under redevelopment?

CHAPTER IV

Balanced and Unbalanced Communities:

The Structure of the Project

Low-rent, subsidized public housing was originally designed to provide decent living accommodation for low-income families, who were unable to find suitable homes in the private market at rents they could afford to pay. The ultimate aim of housing programs, however, is not just the provision of dwelling units. As the United States Housing Acts have declared for many years, they should include the major task of promoting the "physical, social and emotional well-being of all citizens concerned by means of safer and more sanitary housing in a more desirable social environment."¹ Public housing programs are part of national welfare provision and their success as welfare measures, accordingly, is bound up with the amount of interest and effort invested in them by the public, by the housing authorities responsible, and by social agencies in the communities. Have these programs succeeded in improving health, living conditions, and social life for families; or have they failed to achieve these objectives? A great deal can be said on either side of this question.

Most people would agree that, with all their shortcomings, new housing developments have made contributions to better

¹ Housing Act, 1949 (Public Law No. 171, Eighty-first Congress, Chapt. 338, Section 2. Quoted in "Today's Housing Program, the Community, and Social Casework," Daniel J. Ransohoff, Marriage and Family Living, May, 1955.

living. On the whole -- though there are some exceptions -- the houses and apartments are well planned and soundly constructed. If they are built on sites removed from the dirt and noise of factories, in areas where the air is clean, they afford many families, for the first time, homes rather than hovels, and more space and facilities for a normal family life. Children benefit particularly by better health, and if there is reasonable imagination in the project, from improved facilities for play and comparative absence of traffic danger. Hopefully, the housewife's burden is lightened, too, by an easier place to clean and in which to cook and do laundry. In more than one country, it has often been found that rehoused families take on a new lease on life. Having been given a "new start," they begin to be interested in the community, they may find common interests and form new associations.

In a survey completed in 1963, -- Public Housing and Welfare Services, by Brown, Kogawa and Peters -- which was a starting point for the present study, there is much evidence, however, of the other side of the story. Housing authorities in Britain, United States, and Canada are faced with a variety of problems in the management of their developments. Some of these are inevitably associated with the concentration of low-income families in one place; others reflect difficulties of readjustment. Some of these problems were brought with them by the new residents; some result from poor project planning. At first sight the problems are very mixed -- depression and dependency; child neglect, delinquency, vandalism; poor rent-paying practices, poor household management.

But there is also what might well be called the "third dimension." Several Authorities have joined with Health and Welfare agencies, both public and private, to institute programs designed to provide constructive assistance -- to combat further deterioration of disadvantaged families, to rehabilitate them, and to prevent recurrences in the future. A strong conclusion of the study is that public housing projects should be an integral part of neighbourhoods. If this is to be achieved, there must be provision in the community for an adequate number of health, welfare and recreational facilities to ensure that everyone can have both the services and the leisure-time activities that they need or desire. In addition, services are required in the projects themselves -- some well known, others, new and original -- as measures to combat apathy, vandalism, poor housekeeping and budgetary practices, and family disorganization. In United States cities alone, there is now an impressive array of demonstration projects which are being pursued on the basis of the above facts.

A further study in Vancouver, also being undertaken by Social Work post-graduate students, includes, among others, community surveys in two districts of the city, which have public housing projects within their boundaries. These two studies will contribute documentation of neighbourhood patterns and needs, including organized health, welfare and recreational services relevant to urban renewal -- whether this includes public housing or not.

The present study focusses on a closer look at the housing projects themselves and the people who live in them. Are there important differences in the kinds of families who are

most eligible for, or most require, public housing? What does moving to the new development mean? What happens to the family's budget? Can assets as well as liabilities be distinguished? Is it possible to take a fresh look at the responsibilities of housing managers, as well as those of the governments and communities involved? If a new chapter in housing and city rebuilding ("urban renewal") is opening, how should welfare services figure in the pages?

Who Lives in Public Housing?

The residents of public housing are not basically different from people elsewhere. What is the difference is that, in housing projects, family types are grouped in unbalanced proportions.

The major factor giving rise to this situation is, of course, "eligibility" requirements. Eligibility for public housing varies in the three countries we have had under study. These variations are linked with a number of factors, such as availability of housing, current social values of the country, the nature of the economy, and basic demographic features. As an illustration of this, in the United States, a notably "youth-orientated" nation, the emphasis was at first placed on providing housing for young families. Now there is a wide awakening to the large proportion of ill-housed elderly people, and emergency measures to provide decent housing are being considered in several quarters. In British Columbia, the ¹

¹ Elderly Citizens Housing Aid Act, 1955 (funds were made available for this purpose several years prior to the passage of the Act).

government has made provision for a decade for funds to assist in the financing of housing for the elderly by non-profit organizations. This reflects prevailing values and demographic features; the high proportion of elderly people living in British Columbia is well-known, but there is also a relatively long tradition of welfare service for children and for the aged.

With regard to the availability of housing, in all three countries demand still far exceeds supply; there are long waiting lists, and only the most needy can be deemed eligible. In the United States, at the end of the 1963 fiscal year, there were 538,000 units in the Public Housing Administration program, and another 182,000 in various stages of construction, making a total of 720,000 units.¹ While this number may seem astronomical to Canadians, its relative smallness can be judged by the fact that the U.S. Housing Act of 1961, was established to help eliminate 11,000,000 substandard units revealed in the 1960 census! In Britain, although four-and-a-half million new houses have been provided since the end of the war, it is estimated that over the next twenty years 125,000 new houses a year will be needed to keep up with the growth of households, while 600,000 slums still remain to be cleared.² Vancouver figures may seem tiny in comparison to these huge aggregates, but they need their own appropriate perspective. In November 1963, the Housing Authority had some 450 families with children eligible for public housing, with

¹ H.H.F.A., "P.H.A. Highlights." July-August, 1963.

² Housing Command 2050. May 1963, H.M.S.O., London.

an additional 600 single elderly persons, on its waiting list.¹ Since the completion of Orchard Park in 1959, 393 public housing units have been built, compared with about 12,921 dwelling units built during the same period (up until the end of 1963) in the City of Vancouver, generally.² In Canada, since the war, the total amount of low-rent public housing has not exceeded 2 per cent of the total building achievement. Between the years 1950 and 1962, 11,167 units in 93 housing projects were approved under federal-provincial arrangements. Of these, 9,035 units were completed and turned over to local housing authorities by the end of 1962.³

Low income is the primary determinant for eligibility to public housing both in Canada and in the United States.⁴ The upper income limit in Vancouver, for the largest families, is \$4950; such limits exceed \$6500 per annum in some parts of United States. Average incomes, however, are considerably lower than these maximums, so that the majority of people living in public housing are subsisting on a very moderate amount of money each month. In Vancouver, for example, 36.8 per cent of families in the "middle area" projects, had an income of less than \$150 per month. Minimum incomes do not appear to be in effect in most areas, although in the United States this may be left to the decision of the local housing authority, subject to review by the Public Housing Authority. In Vancouver, there is no minimum income designated; however,

¹ Vancouver Housing Association, Bulletin no.54.

² Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Regional Office, Vancouver, B.C.

³ Canada Year Book, 1963-64. ⁴ In Britain, the primary consideration in selecting tenants is housing need arising from factors such as overcrowding, ill health and condition of dwelling. Questions of income are irrelevant.

in effect it is the social assistance scale, since families or single persons having incomes below social assistance rates would be supplemented up to these rates under provincial legislation.

The second most important criterion for eligibility is the condition of present housing. In general, overcrowding, substandard accommodation, or displacement by public action are rated high in the point-scale systems used to determine priority. The condition of present housing does not necessarily in itself determine the kinds of families moving into public housing, but it should be mentioned here because of its importance. As has already been noted, in Britain it is the primary criterion for eligibility. In the United States the requirement of poor present accommodation may be waived in the case of elderly, disabled, or service-connected families.¹ In all three countries also, where the construction of public housing is incorporated into the redevelopment plans for an area as a replacement for slums, the families in those areas are given priority over families on the regular waiting lists for new housing (providing, of course, that they meet the income eligibility requirements where these exist).

In addition to the above requirements for eligibility, only certain kinds of families are admitted to public housing. Without exception, in the three countries under study, public housing is designed for young families and for elderly people -- at first aged couples, and more recently, single elderly men and women. It has never been intended for younger single

¹ "Service-connected" families include those whose head is serving his two years compulsory military service, as required in the U.S.

people. In the Vancouver projects, in the case of younger people who are widowed through death of their spouse, they are allowed three months to find other accommodation, although if a single unit is available, the widowed person may be permitted to move into it.

Disabled persons are also eligible, but the age of the disabled person is a factor. In the United States, disabled persons of all ages, if in receipt of social security disability insurance benefits are eligible for housing. In British Columbia, the disabled person seeking rehousing must be sixty years of age or more, although in practice exceptions are sometimes made. Few disabled or handicapped persons in this age group have so far applied in Vancouver, and at present there are no applicants in this category on the waiting list. The Vancouver Housing Association, therefore, has recommended that the age limit of sixty be eliminated in order to make the housing available to handicapped persons of all ages.¹ In their opinion, this group suffers hardship in locating suitable accommodation at rents they can afford in the private market. It is of interest to note in this respect that, in Britain, the London County Council allocate 100 houses annually to persons suffering from tuberculosis.²

Families with children are given preference over families without children, although this is, of course, related to the size of units available. The number of children in the family has also been used as a criterion for priority for housing --

¹ Vancouver Housing Association, Bulletin No. 54.

² See London County Council waiting list analysis in Appendix A.

the larger families getting a higher priority. However, in Vancouver at least, this practice has now been discontinued, as it has been found to have little relation to the need for housing, in two ways. The first is that the points given for overcrowding in present accommodation tend to take care of the implications of the number of children in the family. The second is that many private landlords in Vancouver are prepared to accept children into their rentals, and therefore these families are not so hard-pressed to find somewhere to live, as might be the case in other areas. Of course, the large family is pressed by income, as well as shortage of large units. The policy of giving preference to families with children has the effect of increasing the proportionate number of children in housing projects as compared with the community in general: and the significance of this is becoming clearer every year to the designers of projects.

Again speaking generally, housing authorities tend to give preference to "normal" or two-parent families over "broken" or one-parent families. The reason for this is that normal families add stability to the project, and historically these are the families whom public housing was originally planned to assist. It is also considered that they are less likely to be a problem to management or to the community as a whole. Yet a study of problem families that was made in Baltimore's housing projects in 1956 did not bear this out. In these projects it was found that the (white) standard family appeared with significantly greater frequency among the "problem families" than in the project population generally. The study showed that this was not true for "broken"

families.¹ While it is important that the normal family be well represented in housing developments, at the same time consideration must be given to the fact that the mother who is attempting to bring up children by herself on a low income may need, even more, the help of subsidized housing, and is very likely to respond well to it. Sometimes, of course, it is a father with children; and the same possibilities hold good. It has been estimated that, at the present time, 25 per cent of the families on the waiting list for housing in Vancouver are in the category of "broken" families. In any housing project in Canada and the United States, however, this type of family will almost certainly be present in numbers substantially higher than in the wider community. In Britain, in a report entitled "Unsatisfactory Tenants," the Central Housing Advisory Committee drew attention to the difficulties which unsupported mothers with children have in finding homes for themselves. Of the 401 mothers in National Assistance Board hostels early in 1954 only 116 had their names on a local authority waiting list for a house, and this may have been partly due to a belief that they stood little chance of success. The Committee strongly recommended that, in the interests of the children, housing authorities should allot more of available rentals to such families.²

Some selection of the families who will go into the projects is made on the basis of suitability, and this gives rise

¹ Housing Authority of Baltimore City, Problem Families in Public Housing, 1956. The opposite was found for Negro families.

² Central Housing Advisory Committee, Unsatisfactory Tenants: Sixth Report of the Housing Management Sub-Committee.

to a number of questions about the legal and moral responsibilities of housing authorities in respect of families who may be labelled "undesirable tenants." Some Authorities believe that such families do not properly belong in public housing, and they state a number of arguments to support this view. One of their main propositions is that families with problems lower the tone of the project, and give it a "bad name." Many of the stable families in the projects are likely to hold this view also, and would agree with the managers that such families should be excluded. Dislike of so-called "low-class" neighbours was, in fact, the second most common reason given by a group of families, studied in Baltimore in 1957, whose reasons for moving voluntarily were canvassed.¹

As a further support to this argument, Housing Authorities holding this view have stated that the presence of "problem" families in the projects discourages eligible stable families from applying for needed housing. In the opinion of these Authorities housing should be given to "...good hard-working families, struggling to get along but set back by low earning-capacity, illness, large families to support, or other factors", in preference to families "...weakened by drinking, low moral standard, inability to accept responsibility or to hold jobs."² This same view is given somewhat different emphasis by the following quotation from the other side of the Atlantic.

¹ Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, Why Eligible Families Leave Public Housing, It was evident, however, that inherent in this view was a degree of racial prejudice also.

² Housing Authority of Baltimore City, Problem Families in Public Housing.

"Throughout the Report on the Poor Law and literature of the Victorian era there are many quoted examples of the housewife who, in spite of poverty, was able to keep her cottage as clean as a new pin and dress her children in spotless (although mended) garments. In this workaday world, however, we are dealing with ordinary folk, not with demonstration specimens. The average housewife takes a pride in her home if it responds to her efforts, but she cannot be expected to deal with dilapidation, lack of water or gross overcrowding."¹

This was written by a medical Officer of Health in Britain. Other matters of great concern to housing managers, however, are related to rent-paying practices, since rents are the life-blood of the project, and these kinds of families are often the ones who get behind in their rent payments. For example, forty-three per cent of the problem families in the Baltimore study were considered to be rent-paying risks by the management staff.²

These are cogent arguments for excluding "undesirable" families. There is, however, an equally important other side of this question. It may be said that there is an obligation on the part of housing authorities to house a cross-section of low-income families -- not just well-behaved "model" families who would give the management staff little trouble. Public housing is tax-supported, and therefore, belongs to all citizens and should be available to any family who meets the eligibility requirements which are set down. In addition, since public housing has inherent in its purpose, provision of a decent place in which children can live and grow up, is there any justification in denying this right to the children of problem

¹ Mackintosh, "Housing and Family" Life.

² Housing Authority of Baltimore City, Problem Families in Public Housing.

families? It could be argued that these children are even more in need of a good physical environment than are the children of stable families. Parents need a chance too, and a new home could be a factor in breaking the cycle of self-perpetuating poverty, if, in addition to the home, the other services that these families need are also provided. And an ultimate argument must eventually be faced. If incorrigible families are to be excluded, where are they to go? Must the slums be preserved to keep a place for them; are they to be left to create new ones; or should the community build appropriate rehabilitation institutions for them?

The question of the inclusion or exclusion of undesirable families cannot be answered easily in view of the many facts which are now coming to light in projects. But whether the question is answered or not, problem families are gaining admission to housing projects through legal preference when they are displaced, and obtain new housing in the redevelopment areas. This is law in the United States under the terms of the Housing Act of 1949, and it is at least echoed in Canadian legislation. However, this cannot be considered to be a problem that concerns housing management only, although in the United States, housing authorities have come to look for management programs that are adapted to the characteristics of today's low-income families, rather than vigilantly keeping the problem family out of public housing. It is the responsibility of other community health and welfare agencies to join with housing management and together, find the solutions. One Housing Authority report has put the issue very clearly:

"The kinds of problems one finds among the project families are not unique to public housing. They correspond to the difficulties found among the low-income families throughout the community. The existence, the intensity, and the continuation of these problems is closely related to the resources and facilities available in the community for helping families deal with problems that are beyond their abilities to resolve alone. In addition, the projects must have staff members equipped to understand the needs of these families and the resources of the community, so they can be of maximum assistance in helping problem families work out solutions."¹

One of the major attitudes which has a negative impact in planning programs for these kinds of people is the feeling held both by housing management and social welfare agencies that many families would not accept or use help if it were offered. This had grown out of previous experience, of failure on the part of these families to make use of agency services, or help offered by management. However, it should be kept in mind that the readiness or ability to use help does not remain static. As circumstances change, some families that were unresponsive and disinterested might become more accessible. Then, too, we have not as yet perfected the techniques and methods for working with impoverished and deprived families, but this should not discourage us from continued experimentation. Some experiments, indeed, are already underway.

In Britain, the processes employed in rehabilitating these families make use of the services of local authority, the national government and voluntary associations. At the local authority level, the departments concerned with problem families include the housing, welfare, health, and the children's

¹ Housing Authority of Baltimore City, Problem Families in Public Housing. (underlining added).

department. If a housing authority considers a prospective tenant a potential problem, it will very likely offer accommodation in one of its older properties. The family, however, is assured that, should they prove to be good tenants, they will be transferred to a better house later. The fact is recognized, nevertheless, that any rehousing without a prolonged attempt to secure better standards is likely merely to result in a repetition of the previous history of arrears and eviction. The housing authority, therefore, works in close co-operation with the various departments and voluntary agencies concerned. Many authorities have already set up committees consisting of representatives of all the organizations which would consider "the needs of the family as a whole" and decide how the local services could best be applied to meet these needs, and which worker should be responsible for the particular family. In placing such a family, many authorities attempt to find tolerant and helpful neighbours for these families.

In the case of major rent-delinquency, it is occasionally necessary to evict a tenant, but this step is taken normally as a last resort. Authorities have been advised to regard an eviction not merely as a solution of their difficulties, but as a stage in the treatment of a family. Evicted families are temporarily accommodated by the National Assistance Board, and rehabilitation begins from there. It is of interest to note that the London County Council allocate 50 dwellings annually to "problem" families selected by the Medical Officer of Health so that measures for their rehabilitation can be undertaken in their own homes. These families are also helped by the provision of low-cost furniture and materials for

redecorating.

In the literature on public housing, there has been a great deal of emphasis on the "problem family", singled out from all other families, and termed multiproblem families in the United States, and it is not within the scope of this report to attempt to secure new data.¹ While there can be no doubt that these families do absorb an inordinate amount of the time and effort of housing management, at the same time the facts indicate that, as a percentage of the total populations in public housing, the incidence of problem families is relatively small. The U.S. Public Housing Administration, in its publication "Public Housing Administration Highlights" for July and August 1963, quotes the New York City Housing Authority in putting the proportion of its problem families at 2.5 per cent.² Much, of course, depends on the definition of a problem family. The Baltimore study on Problem Families in Public Housing reported that 6 per cent of the families in Baltimore projects could be designated as problem families. This figure appears to be fairly standard for large American cities at present.³ But even if the proportions were as high as ten per cent, it should be apparent that, focussing attention on this group of families, could leave neglected a great many people in public housing who may be having problems but who are not themselves problems to the community. It might be more to the point to say that ninety per cent of the people

¹ A tentative classification of family and project problems has been included in Appendix B.

² H.H.F.A., "P.H.A. Highlights."

³ Housing Authority for Baltimore City, Problem Families in Public Housing.

are "non-problem families"; but that the incidence of certain specific problems (for example, illness, need for parental training) is wide. Brown, Kogawa and Peters make the distinction that (a) problem families are one thing, (b) the distribution of problems among families is another.¹

In summary, types and characteristics of families who are living in public housing are determined to a great extent by eligibility requirements and admission policies of housing authorities. Because of this factor, an unbalanced housing project community may be the result. The next section of this report attempts to explore the meaning of this "unbalance" to the families who live in public housing and to the management, and some ways in which a more balanced community might be achieved.

Balanced and Unbalanced Communities

What is meant by a "balanced community"? A community which is well balanced in the social sense would presumably be an average cross-section of the general population, including a diversity of age groups, family types, education, occupation, and income levels. A population so mixed would require a variety of accommodation and also services. Such a community would be free from problems which were directly related to its structure, or to an inordinate proportion of people with a certain level of income or status.

In considering public housing projects in relation to

¹ Brown, Kogawa, Peters, op. cit.

their "balance" in this sense, the size of the project is an important factor. In Vancouver, the projects are small compared to other centers,¹ but their number is growing and the issue of balance is already arising. There can be no doubt that this is one of the major problems that public housing in the United States is facing at the present time. Zetta Putter has commented on this in her article, "Social Work and Public Housing":

"In order to provide, efficiently and economically, housing units for people in need, mammoth communities have been created with populations that are socially and economically homogeneous.... Thus, social class segregation evolved as an end product of forces and policies geared toward different and frequently idealistic goals."²

In Britain, one of the greatest problems that arose from the building of the inter-war "estates" was the extent to which they appeared to exaggerate social segregation. It might be said this has been going on since the creation of a "working class" by the Industrial Revolution; but the great residential stretches of the estate expose it to view. In 1940 Thomas Sharp criticized the situation, in his book Town Planning, in strong terms:

"...Around the great cities we have enormous one-class communities (if they can be called communities) the like of which the world has never seen before; Becontree... where no less than 120,000 working-class people live in one enormous concentration:...Norris Green, one of many Liverpool Corporation estates, housing 50,000 working-class inhabitants..."³

¹ Little Mountain has 224 units, Orchard Park 169, Skeena Terrace 234 and MacLean Park 159.

² Putter, "Social Work and Public Housing," Social Work, Oct., 1963.

³ Thomas Sharp, Town Planning, p. 86.

In this chapter and the preceding one various references have been made to the ways in which public housing projects tend to be unbalanced in structure and status. These can be now summarized and their implications discussed more fully.

Our investigation has shown that the proportions of types of families in most Canadian and United States subsidized housing developments are quite different from the proportions in a cross-section of the general population. Little information is available on the British projects in respect of types of families, but there is some evidence to indicate that the proportion of "broken" families is far less than in the other two countries. This may, of course, reflect cultural differences. "Broken" families constitute a high proportion of the families found in public housing in the United States, and this so far is very characteristic of Vancouver. In the three "middle area" projects one-parent families were 36.6 per cent of the total.¹ It is interesting that Chicago, with a much greater number of projects, had a similar proportion of "broken" families. For the year ending June 1963, they reported that 33 per cent of the families in their projects had only one parent in the home.² These percentages may be compared with those for the population as a whole. In 1956 the percentage of families where there were children under and over fourteen but only one parent at home constituted only 8.1 per cent of the population in British Columbia.³

¹ Current information confirms previous evidence that these families are drawn from a wide sector of the total city -- particularly from areas where cheap accommodation can be found.

² The Chicago Housing Authority, "Highlights of the Operation", June 1963.

³ Census of Canada, 1956, Bulletin: 1-19.

On the other hand, the normal family of father, mother and children is not found in the housing developments to the extent that one would expect to find it in the wider community, although the statistic is not available for the general population. In the Vancouver projects, standard or "normal" families were 39.8 per cent of the total populations in Little Mountain, Orchard Park and Skeena Terrace. In Chicago, however, 51 per cent of all residents consisted of husband, wife and children. In Britain's various kinds of subsidized housing there appears to be a much higher proportion of normal families. In fact, one of the reasons why studies on types of families in Britain does not appear to have been undertaken to any extent may be because these families obviously predominate. On one of the housing estates (Barton) a survey revealed that 70 per cent of the families consisted of husband, wife and children under fourteen. The large development of public housing has meant that it is a normal rather than an exceptional part of the housing stock.

There are some clear implications for the project development when there is a high proportion of "broken" families living in it. This will mean that a large group of women without husbands will suffer from loneliness, absence of social life, and the lack of the emotional support of a husband. If they are also working to support their families there may be unsupervised children left to their own devices after school. What is needed, is to encourage tenant groups to undertake play, educational and socialising activities, and above all to provide safe and sufficient play areas for children. The need for

supervision of play areas is a major concern, especially when a number of the mothers may be away, working. Whether this is something that tenant groups could organize for themselves, or whether management should arrange for local parks through the Parks and Recreation Department of the City, or both, is a matter for local exploration.

A second implication for the community is the presence in it of far more women than men as heads of households, whereas in the larger society this is not the case. Children growing up in this environment might well develop distorted expectations of normal family life. This latter point is reinforced when the normal families in their milieu are also proportionately small in number, or elderly families are proportionately high in number, as is the case in project living.

The numbers of children, and often the numbers of a certain age grouping, are significantly higher in public housing than in the general population. This has been demonstrated in all the Vancouver projects. In all four developments there are 1504 minors in a total population of 782 families. This proportion of approximately 55 per cent of children in the projects compares with a proportion of 41.8 per cent of young people under the age of twenty-one in the general population.¹ Also, there tends to be a higher proportion of very young children in the projects as compared to the city as a whole. For example, 43.3 per cent of the children were six years or under in the Vancouver projects, compared with 34.3 per cent of children under six in large urban centers.² In Regent

¹ Canadian Housing Statistics, 1962, C.M.H.C. (1961 census information).

² Canada Census, 1961. Bulletin 2: 1-6.

Park (North) in Toronto, in 1963, close to half the population of the development were children.¹

In Britain also, as we have seen, there are about twice as many children aged four and under in some of the subsidized housing as are found in the general population. Children aged nineteen and under constitute, on an average, 41 per cent of the tenant population compared to 29 per cent in England and Wales. No figures are available for comparison with the United States projects as a whole, but in Chicago's projects in June 1963, there were 91,000 minors, almost double the number of the adults.

These facts about the high proportion of young children living in public housing reinforce the statements made above about play space. The residents have more than once called attention to this need, and have also commented on the necessity of having a fenced and safe place set aside for the toddlers. Not only are outdoor play areas required, but also indoor play space for wet and rainy days, especially in the newer apartment blocks. The alternative is that the children will be playing in the halls of the buildings, which is unsafe, annoying to other tenants, and damaging to the buildings. As has been pointed out in previous studies, the needs of these children cannot be met by the project alone.² However, imaginative planning and design of housing can go far towards improving the facilities for children, for example, through the provision of recreation rooms that could be used by tenant

¹ The Housing Authority of Toronto, May 1963.

² Brown, Kogawa and Peters, op. cit.; Fromson, Hansen and Smith, op. cit.

co-operatives for day-nurseries or kindergartens.

Probably because of the large number of children in public housing projects, the opinion is held that these projects are populated mainly by large families. This is a mistaken impression, however, as in all three countries under study, the average family consists of parents and only two or three children. While there are more larger families in the Vancouver projects, for example; the percentage of families having six or more members is only 15.1 per cent as compared to 11.2 per cent in the general population of British Columbia.

The parents of these children are also relatively young, and in new housing projects there is often a gap between the youthful tenants and those of advancing years, with few in the middle-age groups. It has been noted in Britain that, as the projects mature, this over-proportionate number of young people moves up the age scale, resulting in a phenomenon which has been termed a "bulge". There are not sufficient new admissions of young families to counteract this. It has been pointed out that unless circumstances or policy should interfere, this "bulge" will in time produce a population which in turn is predominately middle-aged and then old. This same phenomenon is beginning to appear in some United States projects, as has been noted in Chapter II. This is related also to the rate of turnover in public housing. Those projects having a lower rate of turnover than average would show more evidence of a "bulge" moving up into older age groups. This picture has not appeared in Vancouver's projects as yet, since the rate of turnover, which is estimated to be 20 per cent per annum, seems to be fairly standard for the population at large

in both Canada and the United States.

Recognition of the matter of special age-structure is underlined in several studies of both housing estates and new towns.¹ For instance, as regards the anticipated heavy demand for employment for school leavers in the coming years, due to the "bulge" moving up, the Social Relations Officer at Stevenage New Town recommended a gradual building-up of office jobs through careful phasing of a number of projects to absorb, in particular, 50 per cent of the girls and about 10 per cent of the boys who, it is estimated, will be available for this kind of work. The Social Relations Officer also suggested that a close liaison should be established with the Youth Employment Service, and that the Youth Employment Officer be consulted about future projects. He considered that a joint study of the male juvenile employment situation was indicated. The Development Corporation in the same New Town points out that the age-structure diagrams show that the number of women in Stevenage, who have reached the stage in family development when children represent less of a tie to the home, is increasing quite fast, and will form a more significant part of the population for some time ahead. The Corporation states that it is from such a direction that most of the increase in the working population is coming, and that an increasing demand for employment suitable for married women could be expected. Stevenage Development Corporation has also given consideration to the need for social activity

¹ See Edward Carter, The Future of London, pp. 121, 126; Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, p. 166.

for the rapidly increasing numbers of young people.

The implication of the changing population structure in devising a housing program has been referred to in several studies. In a report to the Peterlee Development Corporation, G. Brooke Taylor draws attention to the fact that the initial demand for accommodation was for two and three-bedroom dwellings, but an examination of family trends demonstrates that there is likely to be a later need for the larger house, and he recommended that the proportion of four-bedroom houses be increased. He also pointed out that there will ultimately be a large demand for old people's dwellings and he suggested that steps be taken to build, or reserve land, for this purpose. It is important to take account of the fact that they should be sited close to services such as shops, post office, and the like.

The other significant point which we have made in relation to age structure in public housing is the high proportion of elderly people who are living in the Vancouver and United States projects. In the United States, elderly persons (and disabled) represent 28 per cent of the project population, and the same high incidence is appearing in Vancouver, where the percentage of persons over sixty for the three "middle area" projects was approximately 25.9 per cent. This compares with 13.6 per cent for the population in general in British Columbia.¹ In Toronto, there is evidence to suggest that about 7 per cent of the residents in Regent Park (North) were over the age of 2

² Rose, Regent Park, A Study in Slum Clearance, p. 186.
In 1959 Single elderly people were ineligible for public housing except in special circumstances.

¹ Census of Canada, 1961.

65 in 1957, however, this percentage has seemingly increased since that time. From the information available, the proportion of elderly persons in British subsidized housing has been very much lower than the proportion in the population as a whole. This leads to questions as to the differences in policies in these different areas. In the United States, the high proportion of elderly persons in public housing is attributable to neglect on the part of governments to provide special housing for the aged population, but some efforts are now being made towards catching up with this backlog. While this has not been the case to the same extent in British Columbia, the long waiting lists of single elderly persons indicate continuing deficits in the provision of accommodation for this group. Incidentally, it should be noted that setting the age of eligibility at 60 tends to draw into the waiting list a group who are comparatively young for designation as elderly citizens. The question arises as to whether elderly people properly belong in public housing in such large proportions as they begin to appear in Vancouver's projects. This is not to question the fact that this group has a need for and a right to decent housing, but rather that their presence in such large numbers further unbalances the structure of the population in the projects compared to the normal community.

In planning housing for both young and old, consideration should be given to the fact that neither age group is comfortable with large numbers of the opposite age group. Some old people like children, some do not, but even those who do, would find it tiring to be surrounded constantly by large groups of generally noisy and exuberant youngsters. Similarly, children often like old people, but find it tiresome to

restrict their activities out of deference for the aged. Further, living in a community with a high proportion of old people tends to be depressing for young adults. It may be that separate accommodation for the elderly away from the project would be more satisfactory for all concerned, with a smaller proportion of "public housing" reserved for the aged. This would have the effect of providing more accommodation for "normal" and one-parent families in public housing, but would require that the government enter into an expanded program of provision of accommodation for elderly persons as a separate group.

Another solution could be that small units for elderly people be provided within the project and surrounding neighbourhood, which would mitigate against segregation of the elderly into either one huge building on the project, or one large development in the community.

In his "Housing" Message to Congress on January 27, 1964, President Johnson proposed that elderly persons owning homes in urban renewal areas would get help in repairing them so that they would not have to be torn down. Special financing through government agencies would be set up including, among other things, protection for the aged person in respect of repayment of principal. Elderly individuals would join elderly families in being eligible for similar low-interest loans to buy houses.

Mention has already been made of another of the major kinds of unbalance which occurs in public housing developments. This is the social segregation into one community, of low-income families, with lower levels of education and

and lower job skills. This kind of segregation perpetuates many of the conditions of the slums that public housing was designed to eliminate. This is not a substantial problem in Vancouver so far because the developments are small and are within normal residential areas. In Britain, however, this was a major problem in the inter-war years, and it exists today in the United States, where the charge has even been made that what public housing has done has been to convert horizontal slums into vertical slums!¹ This sharp criticism, is however, more related to the design (or lack of it), to the choice of site, and to features of the landscape in the developments which have been built in the big urban centres of the United States, than it is to the people themselves. It is interesting to note that in Regent Park (North) in Toronto, in 1957, far fewer families were living on the lowest incomes than is true for most of the other projects studied in this report.² There were only 18.9 per cent of families whose incomes were under \$150 per month, while in Vancouver's "middle area" projects in 1964 there were 36.8 per cent in this category. In this connection, Rose has reported that some sections of the general public in Toronto consider that "Regent Park...has ceased to be a low-rental housing project, and is thus of relatively little benefit to those in the community in greatest need of housing."³

¹ R. Tumley, Tragedy of a Vertical Slum. p. 89.

² Also the number of families in receipt of welfare benefits was negligible.

³ Rose, Regent Park, A Study in Slum Clearance.

As has been previously stated, in the opinion of the authors of the present report, there is no justification for excluding from public housing those who have the greatest need for it -- the lowest-income groups. The answer, therefore, lies in some measures which will assure that higher income groups will also want to live in the projects. As has been suggested, this may mean the elimination of upper-income ceilings for continued occupancy, provision of more public housing, and realistic help to the disadvantaged families in improving their social adjustment.

A community composed wholly of persons within a fairly narrow income range tends to be inert, while a mixture provides a wider range of values, interests and examples which can lead to changed aspirations and a different style of living. On one estate in Britain, where there was little if anything in the way of occupational balance, it was observed that boys had not changed their level of aspiration substantially since 1930, and were still attracted to steelworks or the mines, but girls about to leave school now wished to become nurses, clerks and waitresses. But pressure towards conformity from the majority led some individuals, attempting to rise in the social scale, either to forfeit their ambitions or subject themselves to great strain in the attempt to better themselves. Moreover, it was suggested that this unwillingness to rise above one's fellows had contributed to the problem of lack of leadership on the estate.¹

Occupation of the head of the family will always be a

¹ Simey (ed.), Neighbourhood and Community, p. 87. See also, Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London.

significant factor in determining the family's status in the community. Low-income families often have a breadwinner whose employment is low in the scale of occupations. Studies completed in Britain have shown that there is a heavy proportion of manual workers in subsidized housing. This information is not available for other countries, and there is growing indication that occupational data should be now regularly collected. But because of its interest, the United Kingdom information is included here.

In Britain, in most of the redevelopment areas and housing estates, there is a proportionately greater number of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and a correspondingly smaller number of white-collar, managerial and professional people than in the population in general. For instance, Westergaard and Glass found that, in their survey of the London County Council estate of Lansbury, nearly 90 per cent of the chief wage earners interviewed, were manual workers -- dockers, stevedores, truck drivers, skilled and semi-skilled factory operatives and general labourers.¹ The same situation is true on other estates. Mogey found that in Barton, a municipal housing estate outside Oxford, there was a higher proportion of skilled and semi-skilled workers compared to the national average. Only 0.7 per cent were in professional service compared to 4.5 per cent in the City of Oxford as a whole.² On the Liverpool estate, there were mostly skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, nearly all of whom were engaged in the manufacture of electrical equipment. Of their

¹ Westergaard and Glass, op. cit., p. 38.

² Mogey, op. cit., p. 17; see also, Collison, Peter, "Occupation, Education, and Housing in an English City", American Journal of Sociology, May 1960, p. 593.

small sample of 41 families living on the London County Council post-war estate in Essex, Willmott and Young found that only six were employed in clerical or non-manual occupations.¹ In the study of the Sheffield estate it was observed that the occupations of the residents had changed only to a small extent since they first arrived there in 1930.² The number of skilled workers was just as small, the largest single group all being labourers and semi-skilled or unskilled workers, with very few wage earners in clerical and white-collar occupations.

The situation is at least potentially, and sometimes actually different in the New Towns. Industry has been encouraged by the New Towns on the basis of offering housing to employees who would agree to move when their firm moved to a new location. The remaining workers are recruited through a special scheme set up and operated by the Ministry of Labour, who draws them from local authority housing lists. This system ensures that each head of a household moving into a New Town starts with a job. Industrialists under this plan, receive an "allocation of housing" from the Development Corporation. Many of them prefer to use it for skilled, rather than unskilled workers. As one of the observers puts it, "Firms will tend to use their houses for fit young men in whom they see an investment for the future rather than for people who might create any sort of problem."³ Thus, in 1951,

¹Willmott and Young, op. cit., p. 122.

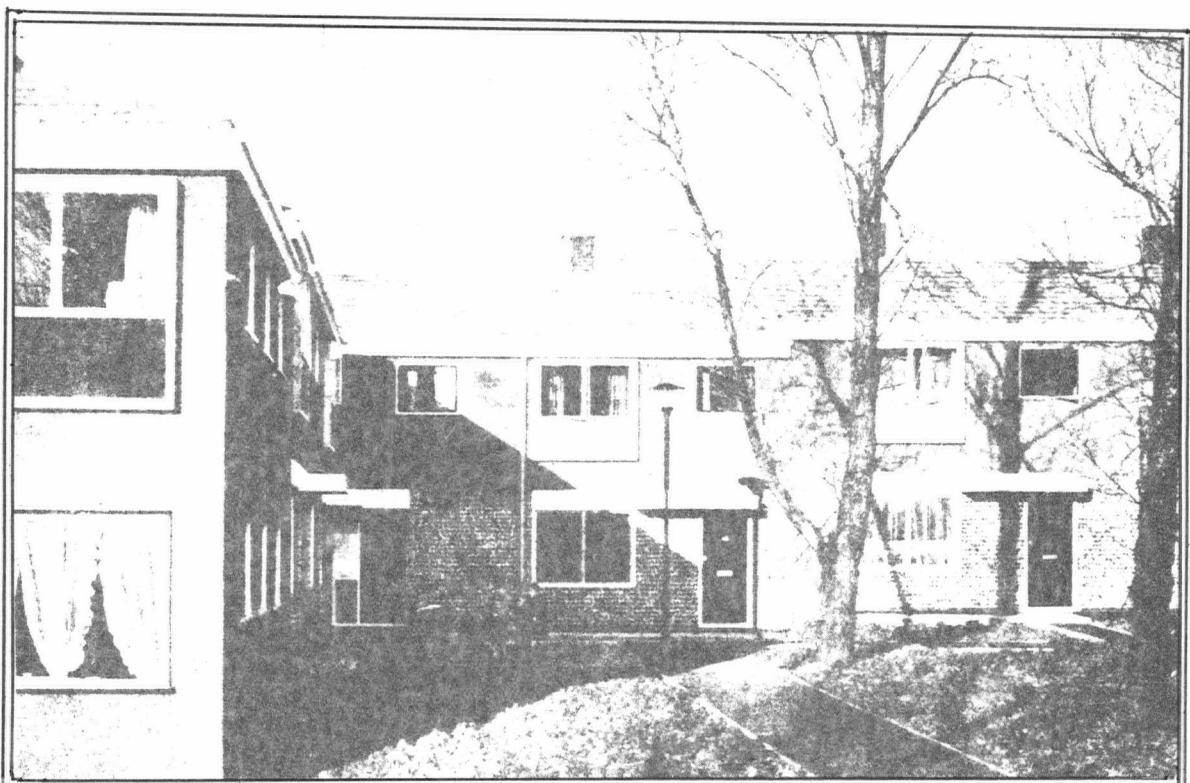
² Mark Hodges and Cyril Smith, "The Sheffield Estate," from Neighbourhood and Community, ed. T.S. Simey, p. 85.

³ Gerard Brooke Taylor, "Social Problems of New Towns," from Community Organization in Great Britain, ed. Peter Kuenstler, p. 64.

Public Housing in Britain



Basildon New Town



Basildon New Town

There was, in Crawley, a satisfactory proportion of skilled workers among the first firms to open factories there, as indicated in the following table:

Table 29. Occupations of Workers in Crawley New Town, 1951.¹

Type	Males	Females	Total
Managerial	44	3	47
Clerical	71	64	135
Technical and skilled	593	35	628
Semi-skilled and unskilled	352	175	527
Total	1,060	277	1,337

In some of the towns, industry was already firmly established, or close at hand. This group includes Aycliffe, Corby and Stevenage, while Peterlee and Glenrothes owed their designation, mainly to the need to house the miners working in nearby pits. The desirability of balance was recognized and the Corporations attempt to achieve this by developing within the town, a counterpoise to the predominant local industry. At Aycliffe, there is a considerable proportion of managerial staff as heads of households and a much larger proportion of skilled workers. On the other hand, the number of unskilled workers is small compared to the number of these on local authority estates. Corby, however, is different in this respect.² Having been first developed by a steel company, Corby has a highly unbalanced employment structure. This is

¹ L.E. White, New Towns -- Their Challenge and Opportunity, P. 50.

² D. Pocock, "Some Features of the Population of Corby New Town", The Sociological Review, Vol. 8, Dec. 1960.

reflected in the 1951 Census, in which Corby differed markedly from the national averages for the professional, intermediate and unskilled classes. The table below describes the percentage of persons in the five social classes in Corby and Harlow, with the corresponding figures for England and Wales. Harlow, it must be mentioned, has 10 per cent of middle-class houses, as well as houses built for sale only, which may help to account for the high number in the first two classes.

Table 30. Distribution of Residents by Social Classes.
1951 Census

Class	Harlow 1961	Corby 1960	England and Wales 1951
	P.C.	P.C.	P.C.
Professional	7.5	2.1	3.0
Intermediate	13.6	5.0	18.0
Skilled	62.5	54.1	50.0
Semi-skilled	8.3	13.6	16.0
Unskilled	3.6	25.2	13.0
Others	4.5		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

However, apart from a minority of towns such as Corby, (which attracted a varied collection of labourers, being a "boom town" during the general depression), the proportion of unskilled workers, public utility employees and people in the distributive trades, remains below normal in the New Towns for two reasons. In the first place, the rents are too high; in the second, since the majority of new residents are workers who have moved with their factory, the percentage of skilled workers tends to be far higher than in normal residential districts.

One interesting new development that has occurred in Vancouver's public housing is that several young University families have moved into the Little Mountain project. These are medicine and law students, and there are also some student chartered accountants. These people could provide potential leadership and at the same time, a good image for the young people of the projects. Education levels have been found to be consistently lower where the family has a low income, and one would expect, therefore, that this would hold true for project families. This has been demonstrated in Britain where studies have been focussed on this problem.

Peter Collison found that those whose education terminated at fourteen years of age were over-represented (73.9 per cent) in a municipal housing estate in Oxford, compared to their representation in the city as a whole: (59.4 per cent); all remaining groups were under-represented, including those whose education terminated at thirteen years or earlier.¹ On the Sheffield estate, also, it was found that only 2 or 3 out of about 100 pupils who sit for the "eleven plus" examination² each year proceed to a grammar school, a proportion which may be compared with the national figure of 18 per cent, or that for the city as a whole (about 16 per cent). The intelligence of the children at the local county school as shown

¹ People whose education terminated at 13 years of age or earlier, are now found mostly in the upper age groups, and these groups are under-represented on the estate. Tenants aged 45 years or more constituted 10 per cent of the population and those aged 65 years or more 1.8 per cent. For Oxford the corresponding figures are 35.3 per cent and 11.2 per cent. Peter Collison, op. cit., p. 594.

² The "Eleven plus" examination is the method used by Local Education in Britain to determine what type of secondary school is most suitable for each child.

by the Otis and Moray House tests is lower than the national average.¹ Willmott and Young, on the other hand, found that the people on the London County Council estate they studied were becoming increasingly status conscious and interested in the education of their children.²

The structure of the community in public housing, then, is "unbalanced" when compared with the wider community in its kinds of families, age groups, and social levels. No concerted attempt to counteract this particular problem appears to have been made in the United States until very recently. In his message to Congress, January 27, 1964, President Johnson included in proposed extensive legislation on housing, some measures to combat the segregation features of public housing. This bill would enable the authorities to buy an extra 15,000 units a year from among existing dwellings available on the private market. Officials believe re-furbishing would usually be much cheaper than building new units, would allow more flexible arrangements for housing large families and would avoid the "ghetto" atmosphere of some big public projects. In addition, the bill would let authorities lease 10,000 private units in each of the next four years.³

A similar development has taken place in Toronto. In the framework of a "rent certificate plan", the Toronto Housing

¹ T. S. Simey, Neighbourhood and Community, p. 86.

² Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, p. 162.

³ All told, this would increase public housing by 240,000 dwelling units over the next four years.

Authority has entered into direct leases with owners of private dwelling units, which are then rented by the Authority to families of low income in accordance with the rent scale used for the Regent Park project. A number of regulations have been drawn up to cover the financial aspects of the scheme. Some of the advantages of the plan are the absence of initial capital costs for the housing, lower upkeep costs, the introduction of low-income families into the main stream of community living, and economic integration with private builders. Disadvantages are that the plan only flourishes when the private rental market is soft, and overuse of the scheme could delay the program of government provision of housing projects.¹

In Britain, although the words "working class" were omitted from the Housing Act, 1949, and public housing was thus made available to all those in need, irrespective of social status, the middle class have been slow to avail themselves of this offer. Moreover, efforts to attract people with higher incomes to the "estates" have met with little success. On the London County Council estate, Harold Hill, for example, a proportion of middle-class houses were built, but it seems that after a time most of the tenants who accepted them moved out again to adjoining areas. Tradition dies hard in the old countries.

Although the provision of middle-income housing at Harold Hill was not successful, this does seem to be an idea that is worthy of consideration for Canadian housing developments.

¹ P.E.H. Brady, "Rent Certificate Plan operating in Canada; first year's experience analyzed", Journal of Housing, July 1963. This new form of public housing involved an amendment to the Ontario Housing Development Act.

The government has made provision for private builders to construct housing on a limited dividend basis, but has set the maximum income for prospective tenants at too low a level to attract investment money. If a satisfactory formula could be arrived at with private builders, including such housing in public housing developments would, perhaps, be a means of achieving a more balanced community.

The concept of 'balance' is one of the central ideas in the construction of New Towns, that distinguishes them from ordinary housing estates, private speculative projects and dormitory suburbs. It means that a town should not only have enough schools, entertainment and leisure facilities, stores and other amenities for its population, but that this population should be sufficiently diverse in its interests and occupations to give the town a healthy urban complexity. For this reason the Reith Committee laid such emphasis on social balance, and insisted that the New Towns must not be one-class communities linked to unplanned factory development. The Committee urged that New Towns should include "head offices and administrative and research establishments, including sections of Government Departments and other public offices. It is most desirable that proprietors, directors, executives... should live in the towns. Many professional men and women, writers, artists and other specialists not tied to a particular location...retired people from home and overseas, from every kind of occupation, as well as people of independent means."¹

¹ Quoted in Norman Mackenzie, The New Towns: The Success of Social Planning, Fabian Research Series.

In order to attract the middle classes to them, several New Towns have now built houses especially designed to appeal to prospective tenants or purchasers from the higher income groups. Most New Towns, too, encourage private building and reserve sites for this, and, in addition, attempt to promote social mixing by the building of houses in "clusters", with a view to encouraging neighbourliness.

New Towns make use of a study entitled "Housing Structure and Housing Need" which was produced by the Research Section of the Ministry of Housing soon after the New Towns were started, and which sets out a standard population structure of 100,000 persons developed from national statistics and forecasts of births, deaths and marriages. The estimate broke down the 100,000 population into households on various assumptions and then related them to types of dwellings. This enabled planners in New Towns to see what a normal 'stationary' population looked like and thus showed a target towards which they could build, on the reasonable assumption that the ultimate shape of the town's population would resemble, not the shape of the households on entry into the town, but the shape of a "normal" or balanced population. Even this should not be taken too literally; and it seems the path of wisdom to have a margin of space in hand. For example, contrary to the assumptions of ten years ago, when even official census forecasts were that the birth-rate would fall after the immediate post-war bulge of births, the birth-rate has risen steadily. Women married since the war are having a greater number of children in the first five years of marriage than their counterparts did in the thirties. As a consequence, the

the Registrar-General's population forecasts for the 1970's show an increasing, not a declining population. This makes the Ministry's Research section forecast of household size (particularly as regards the larger households) more likely than ever.¹

In the planning of the New Towns, the neighbourhood unit is fairly widely used and neighbourhood-centred activities have played a valuable part in their social development. It has been found that where these units have come nearest to success they are either based on natural geographical features, or strongly reinforced by locally-grouped services. They must first satisfy "felt needs" including the need to belong to some place which is recognizably different from other places. Critics of neighbourhoods allege that they conflict with the development of loyalty to the town as a whole.

Social development is an accepted responsibility of a Development Corporation and some New Towns have appointed an officer who is mainly responsible for this. In general, new communities must depend for social development on much the same agencies as those normally at work within an established community: the statutory and voluntary social services, churches and groups of all kinds. In the early stages, the impetus must largely come from efforts to help the newcomers to establish themselves, and such help is forthcoming from the social development officers.

Originally, the New Towns were intended to form an

¹ Brooke Taylor, Report on the Need for Social-Provisions in the New Town of Newton Aycliffe, pp. 8-9.

important part of a program of planned migration from the over-populated cities. There are, however, various reasons for their failure as recipients of overspill. For one thing, they rapidly develop lives of their own and their people must provide for their own young families. Moreover, as New Town industry gets on its feet, there is a tendency for recruitment of workers to be natural and functional, rather than in response to an imposed policy of overspill from another city.

CHAPTER V

From the "Old" to the "New"

-- The meaning of Moving

Moving to a new home in a new neighbourhood has the same meaning for families who are going into public housing as it has for any family preparing to move, but with often some higher expectations, on the one hand, and some heightened feelings of anxiety, on the other. There will be anticipation of enjoying new clean surroundings, with new and modern equipment, with no more overcrowding, and a decent neighbourhood in which to bring up children. But there will be some fear of the family's ability to measure up to the new standard of the home and neighbourhood, especially when the move is from a slum district to a stable residential area. There will be hope coupled with sadness, and the sadness will be associated with leaving old friends and neighbours behind, perhaps even an ethnic group in which the family feels comfortable. It will mean leaving schools and churches, the corner store, and all the other familiar places that make a neighbourhood one's own. In Britain, the move to the large estates in the suburbs has meant leaving the warmth of the town, the "bright lights," and the cheerful noisy bustle of the crowds. In the United States, the opposite has often been true as rural families have moved into urban housing and have had to make an adjustment to a densely-populated environment, to the noise and high tempo of the city.

For families who are living in slum-clearance areas, there

is another factor that must be taken into consideration by housing officials and welfare agencies. These families are not moving voluntarily; they may resent the move, even if it means better living conditions, rather than welcome it. It may mean inconveniences to them that they are not prepared to accept. It may mean higher rental payments which they are unable to meet. Recognition of this factor, and redevelopment planning which includes concrete measures to assist such families, can go far towards forestalling problems for both the housing authorities and the families concerned. Proposed new housing legislation in the United States is seeking ways of alleviating financial difficulties encountered by displaced households. If a family must move to higher-cost quarters, there would be a subsidy for up to two years to pay the difference between 20 per cent of their income and their new rent cost. For those displaced families who cannot afford the rents charged in public housing, the bill would make provision for a subsidy, paid to the local housing agency, of \$120 annually for each unit so occupied.¹

In Britain, too, the financial aspects of moving have also been given consideration. Under the Housing Act, 1936, local authorities have power to pay to any person displaced under slum clearance, reasonable allowances towards the expenses of moving, wherever these could not be met without hardship. In the case of transfers from one project to another, removal expenses may be charged to the housing revenue account. The London County Council, for example, is prepared to pay

¹ President's Message to Congress, Jan. 27, 1964.

Vancouver's Redevelopment Project

MacLean Park



From the old....



To the new.

up to a maximum of £25 (approximately \$75.00). Under the same Act, local authorities were empowered to provide furniture to tenants on a limited scale. These powers have been increased by the Housing Act, 1949, which enables local authorities to sell furniture to tenants or supply it on an instalment plan. Payments for it may be collected with the rent, which in Britain is payable weekly.

As soon as an area has been declared fit for clearance it creates uncertainty about the future for those living on it. A great deal can be done to relieve this anxiety if full and accurate information can be given to the families affected, in a personal visit by a member of the housing department. In Britain, the Central Housing Advisory Committee pointed out that, if this were done, the housing officer would be given an opportunity of getting to know the families to be moved and would thus be able to consider and meet their requirements more easily. In this way, allocation of dwellings could take into account such matters as existing ties with neighbours. For example, where two or three families have long been relying on each other as neighbours, they may well look for each other's help even more in a new district and would eagerly welcome a joint move. The Committee stressed the importance of using humane and well-qualified staff for these visits, because the process of transplanting families required considerable skill and judgment in assessing needs, in choosing the right kind of alternative accommodation, and in placing families on the projects. It recommended the setting up of a brief training course for housing management staff who have never before had experience of slum clearance

as they considered that "such a course would not only provide very useful technical information but would help those attending it to approach slum clearance with a better understanding of the human as well as the physical problems involved."¹

Being obliged to move may have even more meaning for old people living in a redevelopment area. While some will be quite ready to leave for better and healthier surroundings, others, who have lived a long time in their present homes, will be loathe to break the links with the past. Where possible, it is desirable to house old people on or near the cleared site, as was done in MacLean Park in Vancouver. The perplexities of a move to a new house are clearly much greater for the elderly than for others. In addition to the dread of change which is usual in old age, some of them may simply feel that the whole process is beyond them. Going to see the new house, giving up unsuitable furniture, taking down curtains, constitute some of the physical difficulties involved. Further worries may arise from separation from relatives and friends on whom they depend for help, and from the loss of social contacts. If there is no one to help them, old people find the move quite overwhelming. In Britain, this problem has been recognized. Some Old People's Welfare Committees have recruited a team of helpers to light fires, hang curtains, arrange furniture, make beds and so on. Much assistance can be given by housing managers through introductions to local old people's clubs, and to their immediate neighbours. Welcoming Committees, too, are especially valuable to the aged.

¹ "Moving from the Slums," Seventh Report of the Housing Management Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee, H.M.S.O. London, 1956.

But for most families, despite these fears and regrets, the chance to move to better accommodation also means a chance at a better life. It is a critical point in the family's ongoing functioning, a point at which the family can move forward if helped to do so, or suffer further feelings of defeat; loss of motivation through disappointment and new stresses with which to cope. The question may be asked whether families moving into public housing realize an improved standard of living, or whether it falls short of their hopes and expectations. First, there is evidence to suggest that there may be improvement in the physical health of persons so rehoused, and, secondly, evidence of psychological well-being. For instance, Putter reports:

"...in a study of the effects of housing on morbidity and mental health conducted at John Hopkins University, researchers found that in families living in public housing (as compared with a control group not living in public housing) there were 1) a lower incidence of illness, 2) fewer severe episodes of illness, 3) a lower rate of disability, and 4) a lower incidence of accidents...."¹

Although many creditable studies have shown that people who are living in good housing are, in the main, healthier than those who live in sub-standard dwellings and, that for certain diseases, notably the enteric infections and tuberculosis, morbidity and mortality rates for those living in sound sanitary structures are significantly lower than for families and individuals living in sub-standard housing, not enough attention has been paid to the psychological effects

¹ Putter, "Social Work and Public Housing," Social Work.

of bad housing. Mackintosh refers to this in his book Housing and Family Life when he states that "the symptoms of slum-disease are perhaps less definite, but they are not less real than those of physical infirmity. Only a student of life in an unhealthy area can grasp their full meaning, and the words, 'dejected', 'disheartened', 'exasperated', and other similar terms have a serious significance in relation to national health and well-being."¹

At Regent's Park (North), Rose states that "a great preponderance of positive responses concerning the effects of rehousing upon the psychological well-being of families formerly resident in sub-standard housing deserves particular emphasis. In this respect one cannot fail to be impressed by the close approximation of tenant and professional opinion." He continues to say that, despite the absence of statistical information, there emerged fairly conclusive evidence that contagious disease was less frequent among rehoused families, especially among children. Concerning specific illnesses such as respiratory infections, colds, pneumonia, asthma, the evidence of improvement was conclusive, too. There was no doubt, therefore, that physical facilities and emotional influences contributed to this improvement most significantly. Rose based his evidence on research undertaken for a Master of Social Work Thesis by a former Public Health Nurse.²

On the other hand, there is much evidence to show that project living creates problems that mitigate against a family's

¹ Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 46.

² Rose, op. cit., p. 150.

ability to live up to the community's expected standards of behaviour. (There will also be many disadvantaged families who will bring a host of interfamilial and social problems with them). It has been said that the behaviour of problem families, may, in part, be a product of the activities of non-problem persons.¹ This is consistent with social science and economic theory which more and more clearly is demonstrating that the more affluent and advantaged members of our society are perpetuating the culture of poverty through neglecting to share with the poor, opportunities in education, health, welfare and employment. These are broad issues, but they point to the necessity that the problems that arise, both for families and management, in public housing developments, be brought into perspective and examined for root causes. Planning solutions can then be based on a clear understanding of causes, and, therefore, will be more likely to be successful.

As has been noted above, when a family moves to new housing, there will be the expectation that it will be a better place in which to bring up children, there will be safe playgrounds instead of children running on the streets, there will be open space instead of congestion. The expectation will be of freedom from at least some of the discomfort and also worry of slum living. This holds true whether the new housing is in a new district or in the old one redeveloped. But, if when the family moves, they find that, for example, a main arterial street runs through the project property, or that the only

¹ Charles V. Willie, Morton O. Wagonfeld, Lee J. Cary, The Effect of Social Service upon Rental Paying Patterns of Low-income Problem Families, Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, 1960.

playgrounds are a few areas of cement or asphalt, that the housing units are crowded closely together, then the old problems are still present. It follows that any relief of stress that led to neighbourhood conflict in the old district has not taken place and the conflicts will continue in the new district. Wherever a large group of children are gathered together (and our study has shown the high number of children in public housing) with nowhere to go and nothing to do, trouble is bound to arise, between both the children and their parents, which the housing management may be called on to resolve. Is this the fault of the people involved, or is it a result of poor planning of the physical aspects of the project in the first place? Can we expect families in public housing to be good neighbours without the amenities of a good neighbourhood?

In the United States and Britain, many of the new housing developments have been built in the suburbs of towns, often quite isolated from necessary services. This has not taken place in Vancouver, although the Skeena project is on the very edge of the city, located next to an industrial area, and for many families, particularly the aged, moving to this project has meant a move from down town to virtually out of town. The costs of getting to work, to recreational facilities, to shopping centers, or even to visit friends or relatives, are very real concerns for people living on low incomes, and if their project is too far removed from urban centers the result may be isolation and lack of normal social life. If it costs more to get to work, or if a woman must take the bus to do the family shopping, or to take the children to the dentist, or, as has happened in the United States, pay bus fare for them

to go to school, then there may not be enough money left to pay the rent. In a study of the 'expanded' town of Swindon in England, the most consistent criticism made by the tenants was the lack of shopping facilities. The majority of families had been used to a wide range of shops literally "on their doorstep." In relation to population size, there was no doubt that the number of shops on some of the estates was comparatively low. The necessity to plan the shopping was another "adjustment" which took some time to make.

The constant strain of trying to get by on a very little money, and the tension this arouses, is increased when new items are added to the budget. Again, this is unnecessary if planning for public housing location took into consideration these factors of expense for the families living in the projects. Can we expect people to pay their rents promptly if we burden them with added costs of living?

The physical aspects of public housing have some further implications for the goal of raising the motivation of low-income families, of giving them a chance to better themselves. If anything has been learned from public housing in the United States it must be that building high-rise apartments for family living is a complete mistake. It may be argued that this type of building cuts housing costs, but at what expense to the emotional lives of mothers and children? Again, are we not deliberately putting obstacles in the way of achieving full benefit for families of the advantages of good living accommodation? As one tenant has so aptly put it, "Who can mind a four year old from a seventh storey window?" The result is that the children stay in, or play in the halls of

the block. One would wonder also whether the costs of maintaining these blocks do not substantially exceed the cost of maintaining smaller units in which the tenants would have an interest and investment for themselves in looking after their piece of property. Mrs. Dorothy Montgomery of Philadelphia's Private Housing Association has spoken out strongly against the continuation of housing families with children in high-rise blocks. In reference to the Columbia Point project described in the opening chapter of this report, she has said, "It's more or less typical in that its mistakes are being repeated all over the country. There's no reason why any city with the possible exception of New York, should go on putting up high-rise projects with all their built-in evils. There's plenty of land in most cities. Yet we go on building these monstrosities."

This same lack of realization of the needs of young families has been commented on in relation to the London County Council estate of Lansbury in Britain. Despite a variety of types of housing on the estate, the allocation of these was not made according to need. In 1953, one-third of the scarce houses and ground floor "maisonettes" with gardens were occupied by "adult" households with no children under ten years, although the needs of these families could have been met in flats or upper maisonettes of equal size.¹

Another of the advantages of new housing that families look forward to is an end to overcrowding that they may have been subjected to in substandard housing. In the United

¹ Westergaard and Glass, op. cit.

States this has not always proved to be the end result when a family moves into public housing. In Baltimore's study of problem families in its projects it was found that 17 per cent of the white problem families lived in apartments that were too small for their families. The same was true for 37 per cent of the Negro families. Further, crowding among problem families exceeded that for project families as a whole. In every size dwelling unit, the average number of occupants among the problem families was in excess of the number for the project families as a whole.¹ In another study done in the United States, lack of space was given as a reason for free choice move-out from public housing by a significant number of families. Seven per cent, on the average, left primarily because they were unable to get larger accommodation in the projects.² These facts point to the responsibility on the part of housing officials to plan the size of family units in accordance with the knowledge that families do grow larger. Our study has shown the increases that occur in the size of families as they continue to live in the projects (Tables 15, 18) . Of course, it is obviously impossible to plan so that all families can get units of appropriate size when they need them. Nonetheless, it is necessary that checks be kept upon the space requirements of low-income families so that the size of new units will bear a relation to the needs of the population to be served.

¹ Baltimore Housing Authority, Problem Families in Public Housing.

² H.H.F.A.-P.H.A., "Mobility and Motivations -- Survey of Families Moving from Low-Rent Housing." April, 1958.

In addition to the physical factors which have a bearing on the kind of adjustment which a family will be able to make when moving to a new home in public housing, there will also be social factors of the new environment that affect this adjustment or result in failure of adjustment. A number of these factors have already been noted in this report but they can be summarized and refocussed here for purposes of clarification of their implications for housing management and welfare agencies.

Feelings of isolation have been discussed as these result from removal from friends and accustomed activities, and lack of money to visit recreational facilities. In the United States, because the projects are huge and impersonal, many families have isolated themselves from their neighbours out of fear, and lack of social skills. They live with a kind of low-key, but constant, undercurrent of apprehension. In Britain, at Worsley, which is an expanded town, the families "kept themselves to themselves", they became "home-centred" rather than "community conscious". Energies were concentrated in the home, in the garden and around the T.V. set. For many families the new pattern of life was enjoyed, or at least accepted as a necessary consequence of their having "improved themselves". But for others, the social climate of the estate, the constant pressure to conform to a different way of life, the strain of long journeys to work and the separation from relatives and friends all combined to make life unpleasant and barren. It was the totality of the situation rather than any one change which produced this reaction.¹ Young and Willmott in their

¹ J.B. Cullingworth, "Social Implications of Overspill: the Worsley Social Survey", The Sociological Review, July, 1960.

survey of 'Greenleigh', and Mogey in his survey of Barton, all commented on this "retreat to the home" pattern on the new estates. Moreover, an interesting study of the incidence of neurosis which was made on one estate, revealed that admissions to hospital with this diagnosis were twice the figure of the national average -- the incidence being much higher among women than among men.¹ Views as to the cause of this differ. Financial and other personal worries are blamed, and the sense of isolation which many young wives, in particular, might feel is also a factor. One medical officer holds the view that the very open lay-outs on some estates contribute to this sense of isolation among those who have come from areas of high density.

This report has demonstrated the high proportion of elderly and broken families who are living in public housing. These groups especially, may have problems of loneliness, and even less money than the other kinds of families to enjoy a needed break from the dullness or stress of everyday living. Mental health demands that there be some enjoyment and relaxation for each person. If this fact is acknowledged, then it follows that it is common sense, in order to prevent further breakdown in families, that the more affluent members of society share some of their advantages with the less affluent. One way this can be done is by the provision in public housing projects of recreational facilities, such as game rooms, movie equipment, and hobby rooms. But families who have learned to

¹ F. M. Martin, J.H.F. Brotherston and S.P.W. Chave, "Incidence of Neurosis in a New Housing Estate", British Journal of Preventive and Social Medicine, Oct. 1957.

expect nothing, often cannot make use of such facilities without help to do so. It is also an obligation of our society to see that such help is offered and made available.

This has been done in many cases by housing management itself, or by housing management jointly with welfare agencies in the community. In some of the Vancouver projects the management has encouraged the formation of Tenant Councils which serve as forums for discussion of common problems, and which also promote interest groups and recreational activities, with the help of management, for the project residents. Three Vancouver projects produce a newsletter for the development. At the Skeena project, a Tenant Council is in the process of formation. At this development also, the management has assisted in the formation of a teen-age club who invite in teenagers from outside the project, and a Tot-Spot. The latter is a kind of co-operative nursery which the mothers take turns in supervising. There are also Scout and Cub groups active. All this has been done despite the fact that there are no adequate facilities in any of Vancouver's projects for holding a meeting or a club session. For example, the Tenant's Association of Orchard Park must rent a room in a nearby Church to hold its meetings. Housing Management in Vancouver has also encouraged and aided the health agencies to bring their programs into the projects; some illustrations are the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Public Health Nurses and tuberculosis mobile clinic.

It seems questionable, however, whether both housing management and welfare agencies have taken full advantage of all the methods at their disposal of helping families adjust

to project living, and also whether they have made full use of the, perhaps unrecognized, potential of the housing tenants themselves. For example, as has been discussed, moving to a new home can hold a number of fears for low-income families. One suggestion to help overcome this is the provision of a welcoming or orientation program, for the new tenants, in which both the management and older residents could join. Such a program would include the administrative information necessary to the tenant, and also such information as would enable him to make a better social adjustment. Introductions to other tenants, a warm welcome, orientation to the project and the neighbourhood would go far to alleviating feelings of strangeness, and would reinforce the idea that things could be different than they had been. In other words, a good relationship to the project could be established from the beginning.

One of the interesting facts about Vancouver's projects is that a number of different racial and ethnic groups are living together in them with no evidence of disharmony because of these differences. This has the advantage of broadening the tolerances of children and preventing the growth of unfounded prejudice. It arises that further use could be made of this good atmosphere. Since the cultures of other countries are often not understood or little known by Canadians, there are in these situations possibilities for extending the understanding of our young people through parties, or even small group interest clubs, sponsored by the representatives of other cultures.

Many people also, coming to live in public housing, will bring special skills or leadership potentiality which may be

encouraged to assist the less able, both by instruction and example. A carpenter might be asked to organize the building of some playground equipment; finding the materials might be the job of some of the potential leaders. A skillful homemaker could teach others her skills. An old man could tell about the early days in Vancouver to a group of small boys, and an old lady teach some little girls to knit or crochet. Social work has demonstrated that people grow and change when their potentialities are supported and when they themselves become engaged in the planning of activities, but that this does not happen when ready-made programs are imposed on them.

The United States Joint Task Force of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Housing and Home Finance Agency, emphasizes this fact in their booklet designed to aid State and local authorities in planning programs for public housing tenants:

In any approach to planning, the voice of residents must be heard and their participation sought in reaching decisions as to where to begin; that is, in identifying the problems or how to obtain the services desired.¹

To sum up, when a family moves from an old home to a new one, this can be a critical point in the family's life, especially if this is a deprived household moving into public housing, who sees the move as a chance for a better life. It is to our great advantage to understand how the family feels at this point in its career, and to support the strengths the family may have, in order to ensure that this experience does

¹ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and H.H.F.A., Services for Families Living in Public Housing, p. 4.

not prove to be another disappointment on top of a long series of disappointments. Some ways in which this can be done have been suggested, but there are many others that would be helpful also. It means that there must be an emphasis on imaginative rather than on conventional, stereotyped thinking, and there must be appropriate staff, not too overworked with day-to-day administration, to exercise and implement it. The Joint Task Force stresses this point also, calling for professional leadership by skilled workers who can assist residents themselves in co-operative efforts to improve family and community life.

It has been stated, but is worth repeating, that while a small group of tenants will be problems to the management and to the community, the majority of families living in public housing will be "...occupied primarily with earning a living, maintaining a home, caring for and rearing children, and assuring for their children healthy growth and development, an education and opportunity to participate usefully in the life of the community."¹ But these same families will be subject to the stresses of living on a low-income -- economic insecurity and emotional insecurity. And these stresses may be increased by poor project design, location, facilities and management. It is, therefore, important that in the planning of public housing, close consideration be given to these four aspects as programs are developed. For, embodied in these factors are the distinguishing principles which will mean

¹ U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and H.H.F.A., Services for Families Living in Public Housing.

successful projects meeting a community need in a desirable and respected fashion, or, alternatively, unsuccessful projects which present problems to the housing management, to the tenants and to the community.

The further factor of the importance of including in any rehousing development or new public housing project planning for neighbourhood services to meet the needs of all kinds of families, cannot be over-stressed. For this is what makes the difference between isolation or integration. The responsibility of housing officials does not end with the construction of dwelling units, but extends, not only to the other necessary facilities on the project itself, but to the neighbourhood where the project will be located. Joint planning with the service agencies of the community is needed to ensure the success of the program before trouble develops because of gaps in service or lacks of necessary amenities.

Through public housing we are offering families a better standard of living. We expect them to respond with a better standard of behaviour. But experience has shown that some families cannot respond in this way without substantial help and encouragement, many others need only a little help, and some will need none at all. But for all three of these levels of adjustment, the "standard of behaviour" achieved will be directly dependent on whether the project meets the reasonable needs of families, without adding unnecessary strains through unrealistic design and untenable regulations and policies.

Good housing in good neighbourhoods is as much an indication of a nation's provision for the health and prosperity of its citizens as are educational institutions and public

health programs. Yet Canada, which does not hesitate to subsidize the two latter welfare services, is slow to accept the idea of public housing as a similar welfare necessity. But the 1961 Census in Canada showed that 1,006,356 homes were designated as either in major need of repair or overcrowded.¹ This huge backlog of substandard housing is a clear indication of the need for a greatly expanded program of public housing in Canada in line with what has been accomplished in other countries, profiting both from their negative and positive experience in the pursuit of the commonly held goal of the elimination of slums, and the provision of a decent and attractive home for each and every household.

¹ Canada Year Book, 1963-1964, Housing Statistics.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Social Surveys

Data from a number of social surveys has been used in the text. It might be of some interest here to describe some of them and indicate the kinds of features that they have stressed.

Three studies of urban areas of the types from which most of those moving to the housing estates come, throw light on the degree of adaptation they are called on to make. In Family and Neighbourhood, J.M. Mogey compares life in St. Ebbe's (an old district in the centre of Oxford) with life at Barton, an estate on the outskirts to which many from St. Ebbe's have moved. Barton was built between 1946 and 1950 and consists of 1006 houses with gardens, built as a single unit. In its construction the lessons of pre-war years were unfortunately disregarded in the urgent press of building more and more houses. Mogey's study was financed by the Board of Social Studies of Oxford University, supplemented by a grant from the Nuffield Foundation. Family and Kinship in East London, by M. Young and P. Willmott, is also a study in contrasts -- this time between Bethnal Green and "Greenleigh" -- a pseudonym for the London County Council estate where large numbers from Bethnal Green have been settled. "Greenleigh" is a post-war estate situated in Essex, nearly twenty miles from the metropolis, and consists of different types of housing with gardens back and front. Willmott and Young undertook this survey between 1953 and 1955 from the Institute of Community Studies whose concern with housing and town planning has been two-fold, (a) a desire to make practical suggestions for housing policy and planners and architects, and (b) an interest in new communities and new housing schemes,

as places in which to study changing patterns of life.

The third study of this kind is Societies in the Making in which Hilda Jennings describes the finding of five years' close study of the clearance area of Barton Hill, Bristol, and follows those who have moved out to live on the new estates. Research for this survey was carried out by members of the University Settlement. Different as the three areas studied are, they have features in common which are unmistakable. The most marked feature which these communities, in their old setting, had in common is, as Young and Willmott put it, that "kinship is the door to community." There is a "kinship network" in which "Mum" (the wife's mother) is the focal point and the three generation family is the first line of defence. The family is "neighbourhood centred" and strong street relationships are localised by corner stores. The breaking of the kinship tie when the young married people and their families move to an estate and "Mum" and the relatives are left behind is held to be a major cause of unease. With the breaking of the kinship tie there goes also the basis of community in the form in which it has been known and shared. Further, the community gave not only a sense of belonging but (according to Mogey) "a traditional set of behaviour patterns and a mechanism to find out what is expected." In the new setting there are no longer commonly accepted standards.

There is also basic agreement among the three studies as to how the average family reacts to this situation. The "retreat to the home" referred to by many observers of these new communities is said by Mogey to have brought the husband and wife closer together. Young and Willmott agree also that the new community is home-centred. However, it would be unwise to assume that all old-established communities share this

closely-knit kinship organization based on locality or that their members experience this degree of deprivation when they migrate, especially those in North America. Another important factor which should not be forgotten is that all these surveys leave out the time element, therefore, some important questions have remained unanswered. Are the isolation from relatives and friends and the aloofness from neighbours part of a new way of life or are they merely transitional? What social patterns evolve on housing estates when people have had time to settle down? These were the questions that Peter Willmott set out to answer when he undertook his study of the London County Council's vast housing estate at Dagenham, which is now over 40 years old. In his book, The Evolution of a Community, he found that, given all the discouragements, people at Dagenham had managed to develop a way of life very much like the old.

Information from four other studies has also been brought together in the text. One of these is a survey carried out by John Westergaard and Ruth Glass, for the benefit chiefly of Town Planners, on the London County Council estate of Lansbury. This estate consists of about 419 one-family houses with gardens, as well as blocks of flats -- a rarity in the central areas. Started in 1951, Lansbury is the core of a new neighbourhood unit in Poplar, a borough in the East End of London, of which the population is predominantly "working class". The fact that the great majority of tenants were born in the same district and employed in the same kinds of jobs helps to make them a socially homogenous group. Westergaard and Glass set out to answer the questions -- What did Lansbury mean to the people who live there? Has resettlement brought about any positive changes in their mode of living?

They made a number of recommendations for planners relating to the need to provide a greater diversity of dwellings for households at successive stages of their lives, and a more rational allocation of different dwelling types.

Two estates in the North of England were studied by members of their local universities, and their reports were brought together in Neighbourhood and Community, edited by T. S. Simey. These are an estate outside Liverpool and one in Sheffield.

The Liverpool Estate is situated near a village on the outskirts of the city. It was built in 1942-43 to provide accommodation for the families of workers engaged on important war production in nearby factories. At the end of the war the City Council began to let the houses to families on its waiting list. Its 496 dwellings, with gardens back and front, are semi-detached bungalows containing three bedrooms. Most of the 2000 residents on the estate had been city dwellers before the move.

The Sheffield Estate was built to provide the necessary accommodation when several slum areas in the city were cleared under the provisions of the Housing Act, 1923. Work was started in 1926 and building continued for ten years, in the course of which over 6,000 people were moved -- whole streets together in some cases, no attempt being made to interfere with the previous groupings of neighbours. The 1666 houses were built to a typical "corporation" pattern -- some with two bedrooms, some with three, and a few with four. About half were semi-detached residences, while the remainder were built in blocks of from three to six. The estate is situated on a hillside less than a mile from the city and completely isolated from other residential districts except at one point. In 1952,

at the time of the survey, the total population was over 7,000.

Both Liverpool and Sheffield are cities which expanded enormously during the Industrial Revolution. In the eighteenth century, Liverpool, dealing in Lancashire's cotton, exported more goods than the capital, and between 1801 and 1851 the population of Sheffield, famous for its steel factories, had increased from 46,000 to 135,000, and today is in the region of 513,800.

The researchers set out to study the inter-relationships of the people living on these estates and they found evidence to suggest that the residents had not only shared in the social advances of the past twenty years but "that in certain specific respects, and particularly perhaps in matters of health and hygiene, removal to a new environment has had a direct beneficial effect." However, the fact that both estates were tenanted mainly by unskilled workers had contributed to the absence among them of potential leaders, a matter of considerable concern to those who sought to develop community institutions. They considered that there was a strong need for someone to help the inhabitants settle and establish good relations with their fellow residents. Moreover, they state that "it is obvious...that this 'sense of belonging' is unlikely to be possessed in any large degree by residents on new estates unless careful attention is paid by housing authorities to the allocation of the houses to a sufficient variety of people, who can be regarded as the raw material of a new community ...Much more attention, therefore, needs to be paid to the 'community building' aspects of the work of housing management departments...Unless this can be done successfully, it is only too probable that the people who are moved from congested central areas to the suburbs will find that they have merely

exchanged the physical dirt and disorder of one kind of slum for the loneliness and anxieties of another...Rehousing needs to be regarded more as a social service than it has been."¹

The final study concerns a group of estates situated in the Belfast area. Built since the war by the Northern Ireland Housing Trust (an additional statutory housing authority established by the Ministry of Health and Local Government in 1945 to supplement the building program of the local authorities) these estates were the subject of a survey carried out by Dorita Field and Desmond Neill in 1953-4. While most of them were built on the outskirts of the city, three smaller sites were chosen within its boundary on which 288 houses were eventually constructed. The largest of the estates, Cregagh, has 924 dwellings, while the smallest, Cliftondene, has only 80. The survey was organized by the Department of Social Studies in the Queen's University of Belfast and arose out of discussions with members of the Housing Trust who were particularly interested in the incidence of the costs of heat and light and the journey to work on the budgets of those families that had been rehoused.

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¹ T. S. Simey, Neighbourhood and Community, p. 148.

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THE NEW TOWNS

<u>ENGLAND</u>	<u>Planned Population</u>
Basildon, Essex	106,000
Bracknell, Berkshire	50,000-60,000
Corby, Northamptonshire	75,000
Crawley, Sussex	70,000-75,000
Harlow, Essex	80,000
Hatfield, Hertfordshire	26,000
Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire	80,000
Newton Aycliffe, County Durham	20,000
Dawley, Shropshire	90,000
Skelmersdale, Lancashire	80,000
Peterlee, County Durham	30,000
Stevenage, Hertfordshire	80,000
Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire	50,000
<u>WALES</u>	
Cwmbran, Monmouthshire	55,000
<u>SCOTLAND</u>	
Cumbernauld, Dunbartonshire	70,000
East Kilbride, Lanarkshire	70,000
Glenrothes, Fifeshire	32,000
Livingston, Midlothian and West Lothian	70,000

The London County Council Waiting List Analysis July 1963

The number of applications covered by the analysis is 46,984 persons.

(a) According to Borough

The greatest number of applicants (5,077) are drawn from Islington, the borough with the second largest population. On a proportion basis, however, the demand from applicants is greatest in respect of Bethnal Green.

(b) Aliens and Immigrant Families

A total of 4,640 applicants representing just under 10 per cent of the total list have come ^{from} abroad. Of these 4,640 applicants, 40 per cent have been resident in this country since 1946 or before, 46 per cent came here between 1947 and 1956 and 14 per cent arrived between 1957 and 1962. Over one-half of these applicants have come from Eire.

It will be noted that the number of West Indian families registered on the waiting list is small (408), but the number must be expected to grow. (218 Cypriots, 289 from Pakistan, India and Ceylon).

(c) Elderly applicants

There has been some increase both in the proportion and also in the actual number of elderly people registered on the housing waiting list. The number of elderly applicants is 5,118.

(d) Applicants Income

The number of applicants falling in each income range is expressed as a percentage of the total number who supplied information as to their incomes. The comparable figures for 1959 are also given.

Weekly Income	1962	1959
£5 or less	8%	9%
£6 - £10	17%	31%
£11 - £15	58%	54%
£16 or more	17%	6%

The income given by applicants may represent, in some cases gross earnings as distinct from net earnings after deduction of national insurance contributions, income tax, etc., and may or may not include overtime pay in addition to the basic wages.

(e) Number of households which include a blind person is 305.

(f) Number of applicants disabled from war service is 1,562.

(g) Rent paid

Up to 30/	-	21,722 households	
30/1 to 50/-	=	13,793	"
50/1 to 70/-	=	5,259	"
over 70/-	=	3,092	"
not stated	=	<u>3,118</u>	"
Total		46,984	"

By far the greatest demand is for a 3-room dwelling (19,751).

The annual allocation of houses to problem families is 50, and to tuberculosis cases is 100; also 25 are allocated to the elderly parents of tenants.

In 1963 it was anticipated that some 3,466 London residents would be rehoused on estates, or in new and expanding towns under the industrial selection scheme. A further 800 were expected to be rehoused under various priority allocations such as slum clearance, special needs, etc. As in previous years an allocation of 50 dwellings has been provided for 1963 for problem families selected by the Medical Officer of Health under arrangements agreed by the Housing committee so that measures for their rehabilitation can be undertaken in their own homes.

(older in-county dwellings, mobile homes, and out-of-county accommodation are used for this purpose).

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

A CLASSIFICATION FOR DISTINGUISHING AND ANALYZING "PROBLEMS"

I. Family Structure and its welfare implicationsa. The single-parent family

- i. breadwinner; sources of income, etc.; difficulties of finding work:
- ii. care and supervision of children:
- iii. social needs -- morale, loneliness, need for support:
- iv. other?

b. Handicapped families (two-parental)
(details and types)

- i. disabilities (physical, earning-power)
- ii. ethnic, cultural, literacy, etc. (including mobility)
- iii. elderly dependents
- iv. large families

II. Economic Dependencya. Occupational (earning-capacity)

- i. skill levels
- ii. other vocational inadequacies
- iii. unemployment, irregularities, etc.
- iv. distance from work, home-ties, etc.

b. Income levels

- i. size of family
- ii. rent burden (often higher)
- iii. other budget difficulties (including debts)

III. Household Management

- a. budgeting ability, ability (or inability) to plan
- b. family maintenance (cooking, laundry, shopping, diet etc.)
- c. property maintenance

IV. Family Maladjustment

- a. marital discord or weaknesses
- b. parental (children needs, discipline, socialization, etc.)
- c. social relations (husband, wife, couples)
- d. special problems of young families

V. Children and Youth

- a. infants and young children
- b. school age and teenagers
- c. school relationships
- d. recreational (non-school) relationships

- e. employment, vocation, training, continued education
- f. delinquency, gangs, activities and associations

VI. Landlord-Tenant Relations

- a. Classifications from experience of the most common difficulties in this area
- b. individuals
- c. group associations
- d. authority versus co-operative participation in regulations, maintenance, etc.
- e. experience on Tenant Councils

VII. Community (Neighbourhood) Relations

- a. work issues: opportunities (or lack); type of work, etc.
- b. psychological factors ("stigmas", prejudice, barriers to communication, group association)
- c. assets and liabilities of the environment (physical, facilities, etc.)
- d. legacy of deprived environment from which residents came
- e. "Project environment" is the neighbourhood. Design, buildings, street patterns, play facilities, institutional elements, effect of large units, etc.
- f. new-neighbourhood social resources (health, welfare, education, recreation, etc.) Are they by new units? Modifications, additions, adaptations, etc.
- g. unbalanced communities -- social stratification pros and cons
- h. segregations?
- i. new plans, expedients, innovations.

The Joint Task Force

The creation, in 1962, of the joint Housing and Home Finance Agency and Department of Health, Education and Welfare Task Force grew out of the hypothesis that "...the right combination of health, education and welfare services, if concentrated on a single neighbourhood, in saturated form could produce a change, an improvement in the social functioning of low-income, deprived, disadvantaged families...this includes increasing employment opportunities and training as an essential part of the task."¹

The rationale for the Task Force -- whose purpose is to provide health, education and welfare services for families residing in public housing projects -- rests on the concept that since both departments (H.H.F.A. - H.E.W.) are concerned with the same clientele, an attempt to combine and concentrate their separate efforts would prove more effective as a team effort, than as separate fragmented bits and pieces of welfare activity. Too often programs have fallen short of their objectives because they did not marshal all the resources required and available to deal with the problem. The Joint Task Force attempts to overcome this difficulty through mobilizing and applying the leadership and resources of the federally-aided programs under the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare and the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and to demonstrate the kinds of co-ordination that can take place among Federal departments and agencies.

The charge to the Task Force states, in part:

(a) To seek to identify needs, to develop methods of

¹ Abner D. Silverman, "Using Public Housing to Strengthen Family Living", An address at the Demonstration Workshop of the Joint Task Force on Health, Education and Welfare Services and Housing, Oct. 1963.

marshalling Departmental services and to establish methods by which they may serve the needs of residents of public housing;

- (b) To initiate research or demonstration projects to show and appraise the accomplishments that may be achieved by providing a wide range of services through Federal, State, and local action; and
- (c) To evaluate the programs, determine what gaps exist in present programs, and recommend the expansion of existing or creation of new programs which may more effectively solve the problems of low-income families.¹

The central purpose behind the Joint Task Force and its work is to draw families who are socially and economically isolated into the mainstream of community living.

The Task Force has no funds of its own; the saturation of services is to be achieved by the disproportionate deployment of existing staff and resources -- Federal, local, public and private -- in a viable co-ordinated program. Demonstration projects have been initiated in several communities, which have a built-in research and evaluation factor. It is hoped "...that this combination of intense co-ordinated local action, coupled with objective searching and competent research will produce new knowledge making it possible to cope more successfully with the problem of the underprivileged in our urban centers and thus make a great contribution to the betterment of our cities and metropolitan areas."²

¹ Silverman, op. cit., p. 5.

² Ibid., p. 7.

The program is not necessarily a Federal program. Any city or community can initiate the program and operate its own local Task Force. Further, there is a beginning to draw into the effort, the other important Federal, State and local efforts which are essential; for example, the programs of the Departments of Labour and Commerce, to provide increased employment opportunities.

For the purpose of providing guide-lines to local housing authorities to assist them in co-operative planning with other local agencies, the Joint Task Force has prepared a publication, Services for Families in Public Housing, which includes a comprehensive chart of the problems, appropriate services, and local, State and Federal resources available to meet these problems. Because of the value of this chart, an adaptation of it, related to local needs and services, is included in this Appendix.

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NEEDS AND POSSIBLE SERVICES IN PUBLIC HOUSING

(Adapted from Services for Families Living in Public Housing; joint pamphlet of U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and U.S. Housing Agency, Washington, D.C. 1963)
The items have been reclassified and augmented.

Problems, Needs	Appropriate Services	Resources	
		Local	Other
1. Poor housekeeping skills: home management (excluding budgeting)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. adult classes; home management and improvement groups. b. individual and group counselling and teaching c. homemaker service d. volunteer services 		
2. Money management; debts; rent payments.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. family budgeting (including planning expenditures) b. credit counselling c. protective payments d. consumer education e. meetings of adults in home demonstration programmes f. home and money management (individual and group) g. casework counselling 		
3. Family maladjustment (family discord; personality disorders other problems in family relations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. casework counselling b. psychiatric evaluation and services c. pastoral counselling 		
4. Care and supervision of children of (a) working mothers (b) others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. day care facilities b. foster-family day care c. nursery school d. after-school programmes e. parent education programmes 		
5. Youth problems (work and education) employment; continued education (school drop-outs) idleness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. assistance in obtaining after-school and summer employment b. vocational counselling c. vocational training d. (including "work habits" and reconditioning programmes) e. educational counselling and assistance in returning to school 		

Problems, Needs	Appropriate Services	Resources	
		Local	Other
6. Youth problems (behaviour, neglect) ex. physical and mental disabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. mental health or child guidance service b. school social worker c. child welfare services d. child protective service (public or voluntary) e. public assistance f. special agencies for disabled children (e.g. polio, cerebral palsy) g. diagnostic and treatment services for special disability groups e.g. speech, hearing, mentally retarded h. special education (schools) 		
7. Unemployment, under employment, insufficient income from work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. financial assistance b. payments for medical care c. vocational rehabilitation d. retraining or other education services e. social work services, i.e. casework and group service f. employment counselling and job placement service g. unemployment insurance h. veterans' employment service i. relocation counselling j. workmen's compensation k. rehabilitation counselling l. voluntary agencies (e.g. Salvation Army, Churches) 		
8. Health needs: <u>children</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. mental health or child guidance service b. school social worker e. public assistance f. special agencies for disabled children (e.g. polio, cerebral palsy) g. diagnostic and treatment services for special disability groups e.g. speech, hearing and visually handicapped, mentally retarded 		

Problems, Needs	Appropriate Services	Resources	
		Local	Other
9. Vocational training needs (including rehabilitation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. employment counselling, job placement, retraining and relocation services b. unemployment insurance benefits c. social assistance, payments for medical care d. community work and training projects e. casework counselling f. vocational education g. rehabilitation counselling for the disabled h. psychiatric evaluation and counselling 		
10. Inadequate education (including literacy, language needs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. adult education b. individual and group counselling, tutoring, mothers' clubs, etc. c. language study groups d. Citizenship Branch classes. 		
11. Health needs: <u>adults</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. advisory and regulatory services in the field of environmental health b. adult health clinics c. public health and voluntary nursing services including bedside nursing services. d. homemaker service e. health information health counselling 		
12. Recreational needs (a) indoor and outdoor (b) special age groups			
13. Social and community needs (inc. education community participation)			

Problems, Needs	Appropriate Services	Resources	
		Local	Other
14. Age and disability problems (ex. income deficiency) house-keeping; inability to care for self; loneliness, isolation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. homemaker services, house-keeping help b. adult education programme especially home management c. Laundry service d. home-delivered meals e. community dining room f. carry-out kitchen for prepared meals g. shopper service h. friendly visiting i. talking books and library services j. casework and counselling service k. mental health counselors, psychiatric treatment l. employment-homebound sheltered, competitive m. home medical care including visiting nurse service, health education n. financial assistance and payments for medical care o. old-age, and disability insurance benefits p. protective service q. self-care services r. vocational training and adjustment s. volunteer service t. recreation activities. 		

APPENDIX C

Table I. Types of Families (by Parental Situation), Urban Canada and Urban British Columbia, 1961.

Type of Family Head	Urban Canada		Urban British Columbia	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Husband and Wife at home	2,728,557	91.5	267,094	91.4
Broken Families				
Husband at home	18,160	0.6	1,607	0.6
Wife at home	64,301	2.2	7,418	2.5
Widower father	26,490	0.9	1,961	0.7
Widow mother	127,185	4.3	10,605	3.6
Divorced family heads	13,899	0.5	3,020	1.1
All male family heads	2,777,473	93.0	271,256	92.8
All female family heads	207,582	7.0	21,052	7.2
Total families	2,985,055	100.0	292,308	100.0

Source: Canada Census, 1961, Bulletin 2.1-6.

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