SPATIAL BEHAVIOUR IN VICTORY SQUARE: 
THE SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF AN 
INNER-CITY PARK 
by 
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ABSTRACT

This report is the result of an empirical investigation of everyday life in Victory Square, Vancouver, British Columbia. Three months of intensive, scheduled observation and participant observation were planned in order to investigate the hypothesis that there was a regular and meaningful organization, both spatially and socially, to the use and control of park space. The exploration was guided theoretically and methodologically by the research of human spatial behaviour at other spatial scales, from the indoor built environment to the scale of urban communities.

Both systematically retrieved demographic statistics and spatial habits of park users, and more subjective anecdotal accounts of people's perceptions and specific behavioural episodes were gathered. This provided a well rounded statistical and phenomenological data bank from which to generalize. An instrument for objective assessment and classification of park users as to life style affiliation, a systematic schedule of information retrieval, and a 'behavioural map' on which to record unobtrusively derived data were central to a research strategy that did not impinge upon the natural, real life setting.

The park was found to host a number of socially marginal life style groups who, as powerless outcasts of wider affluent society, coexisted, as a separate social world, in social and spatial harmony. Through the behavioural processes of tolerance, non-involvement, and passive readjustment, a parochial moral order existed which was demonstrated in rituals of interaction and collective patterns of spatial dominance.
This socio-spatial order accorded incompatible life style groups a means of peaceful coexistence in a place of limited space and resources.

Spatial behaviour in micro-scale outdoor public space has not previously been intensively investigated. This exploration, as a case study of one such environment, supports the hypothesis that, at all levels of social encounter, and at all spatial scales, available space is organized, used and controlled in a regular, ordered, and meaningful way to accommodate and integrate the social gatherings it hosts.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

"This is a den of filth, a dirty, decrepit place where welfare bums drink all their money away....and up there on the grass, hippies use their drugs....and every year I see the same old men come to the park every day and sit, just waitin' to die....just waitin' for the hand of God to come breakin' through those very clouds....and God sayin'....okay Charlie, you're next."
(A park attendant)

A sloping one acre downtown park, heavily landscaped in the style of nineteenth century European formality (Lyle, 1970) stands today as a passive message of the imagery of a past generation of city planners. But the park is a medium as well as a message; it has assumed a new role and attracted a new clientele amidst the changing flux of the city.

Victory Square is officially a commemorative centre and a formal garden to the memory of Vancouver citizens who served in the First World War. Maintenance and advertising still follow the official image. Parks crews conscientiously manicure the site, and brochures spell out the sacred nature of the park and its cenotaph.

Victory Square is not, however, a formal garden. An annual one hour ceremony on Remembrance Day confronts a social milieu whose daily nature and perennial residency is not formally recognized, and whose use of the park provides an intricate and parochial pattern, both socially and spatially, within this formal setting. Victory Square is not primarily an emblem to the past, but rather an active core of a local, yet plural social world. It is an arena, not a tomb.
"This is the real city, always was.... citizens here don't stand for that kind of thing (referring to crime and prostitution in the south Granville area) and we don't let the f...... politicians push us around. You know, Campbell took the benches out of Pigeon Park and just look what happened. The citizens elected Phillips 'cause he promised to put them back in....but Phillips won't stay in long 'cause he hasn't given the citizens back our benches." (A park user)

Everyday life in a small urban park, Victory Square, in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia, is the subject of this report. It follows an investigation of the nature of human spatial behaviour in a designed environment. Micro-scale outdoor spaces of the inner city, such as parks, malls, and other public concourses, have remained almost free of intensive research. Yet, the human use and control of territory, the spatial manifestations of social habits, mores, and interactions, and the areal differentiation of human groups and activities can be examined in this type of real life laboratory to illuminate further our understanding of the spatial order of the city.

Spatial behaviour and the social organization of space is not incidental, but regular, ordered, and meaningful. It is a crucial element of social order. The values, actions, and interactions that comprise all levels of urban social life are incompletely analysed without regard for the geographic spaces that accommodate them and the meanings that these settings hold for urban residents in everyday life. This has been demonstrated through the literature of human use and control of space at the urban scale, the community scale, and at the scale of the indoor built environment. These three areas of scholarly
inquiry have contributed to the study of spatial behaviour and each has been used in developing a research strategy for this study. Although the research reported upon here falls within the scope of social and behavioural geography, its ties with human ecology and environmental psychology are strong.

The ultimate aim of behavioural geography, as of this study, is to understand the social and behavioural processes responsible for the spatial order that is described. (Olsson, 1969) In this study, the methods of data collection were those unobtrusive and non-reactive techniques which best guaranteed an uncontaminated social milieu. This strategy did not prevent the collection of statistical as well as subjective and anecdotal information. Research instruments were designed and utilized which systematically identified and classified a park user's life style affiliation, and permitted a record to be kept of his spatial behaviour through time. Non-statistical, subjective information from participant observation, and the reflections of park users complemented statistical data to give a more holistic understanding of the behavioural environment of Victory Square and of the diverse social gatherings and activities it entertained.

Other research, from a number of disciplines, offers insights which helped structure this exploration. These studies were divided into three categories: (1) Urban social geography; the use and control of space at the community level, (2) Human ecology; the use and control of space as macro-social process, and (3) Environmental psychology; behaviour in the indoor built environment.
Urban Social Geography: The Use and Control of Space at the Community Level

Working at the neighbourhood scale, social geographers, urban sociologists, and other scholars have investigated the use and control of space by social groups as an expression of their social world, cultural heritage, and cognitive image of the city. For example, Suttles, (1968) in a study of the inner city Addams area of Chicago, claims that a community moral order, which he calls 'ordered segmentation' works to control conflict between local racial and ethnic groups. The system is as much a series of spatial mechanisms as it is a system of social rules of communication. The possibility of outbreaks of serious conflict or confrontation between two factions, as a result of irrational collective response to sporadic incidents, is almost eliminated. Segregation by distance and territory, together with community rules of social process and information diffusion are complementary as critical elements of the moral order of the community.

Social and spatial stability is not always achieved through universal adherence to a provincial code. In another setting, Boal (1969) investigated the extent of everyday social and spatial segregation between two adjacent Belfast religious groups. He discovered almost complete segregation. Attitudinal characteristics, such as religion, preferred newspaper, favourite football team, and perceived name of neighbourhood demonstrated a social segregation which was faithfully replicated in behavioural characteristics, such as bus stop used, grocery store frequented, neighbourhood visits, and pre-marriage address. Another example is provided by Marine (1966) who notes the contrast between two adjacent city blocks, the one primarily racially black, the other primarily
white. Each provided the storefront services and socio-cultural atmosphere that the inhabitants preferred. As both groups chose to associate with those they perceived to be similar to themselves and in a familiar setting, the two blocks were completely isolated from each other, spatially and socially. (see Lofland, 1973)

The spatial segregation of life style groups has been shown in a comparison of elite neighbourhoods in Vancouver. Cooper (1971) demonstrates that British Properties and Shaughnessy, often regarded as socially similar, in fact attract distinctive resident types, thus creating two separate communities with quite different sets of leisure activities, family ties, and length of stay.

Both 'social space' and 'territoriality' have been useful concepts in charting the relationship between society and geographic space. Buttermer (1969; 1972) follows the evolution of the concept of social space from its sociological origins with Sorokin and Durkheim, to its rich tradition in the service of French social geographers like Sorre and Chombart de Lauwe. She defines social space as a concept that comprises both the objective patterns of everyday spatial activities plus the subjective world of one's mind, for example the image of one's neighbourhood. Together, these provide a spatial expression of the 'social reference system' of which the individual is a member. His social life and position are reflected in his action space (Hornton and Reynolds, 1969) and his spatial awareness and preferences. (Lynch, 1960) 'Cosmopolites' enjoy an extended action space, visiting friends and preferred places far from home, and claiming extended personal ties and personal spaces in such discontiguous locations as the office, cottage,
and country club. The 'localite' typically lives, plays, and often works within a confined geographic space, attaching more meaning to his home and immediate neighbourhood as a result (Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Gans, 1961) Diverse action spaces reflect diverse images, or mental maps of geographic space, both in extent of knowledge, and in subjective distortion of geographic reality.

Territoriality is a more powerful concept, theoretically, in an application to human use and control of the environment. But too often, in empirical work, it has been applied inconsistently and speculatively to describe human behaviour, especially the human control of space. (Suttles, 1972) Numerous investigators have followed the ethological model of territoriality (including Ardrey, 1966; Howard, 1948; Calhoun, 1962; and Hediger, 1950) and there is no shortage of studies and reviews in a number of disciplines that employ the term. (Suttles, 1968; Lyman and Scott, 1967; Bragdon, 1967; Carpenter, 1958; Scott, 1969; and Boal, 1969)

Territoriality has been employed to describe the human use and control of space as a socially defined or sanctioned behaviour suggesting an active and intentional effort to make a space exclusive to an individual or group. There are socially accepted indicators of spatial ownership or exclusiveness, including more obvious cues, such as signs, fences, and walls (Porteous, 1971) and less obvious cues with a more limited audience, such as wall graffiti (Lev, 1972) and other informal codes and symbols. Most spaces limited to a particular social position, sex, or individual owner are learned as part of our social education.
However, we do not always correctly read the environment of those of other social worlds and other places. (Reusch and Kees, 1964; Strauss, 1961) In this instance, the environment of one social world has been entered by an outsider, who does not know the local social or cultural rules.

Soja defines social territorality as..."a means of regulating social interaction and as a focus for group membership and identity." (1971, 20) Ley (1972) demonstrated this role of territorality dramatically in his study of a Philadelphia black community. Social group ties, specifically those of youths in neighbourhood gangs, demanded strong territorial attachment and these groups marked and, on occasion, patrolled and defended neighbourhood space against rival gangs.

Human territoriality, as it has been popularly applied, does not always demand societal exclusion. Often we are only required by social mores to behave in certain socially acceptable ways when in someone else's territory. (Lyman and Scott, 1967; Newman, 1972) For example, at a house party it is not proper to explore the back rooms of the house without permission; rather, propriety requires that guests remain in the front rooms, which have been prepared for the occasion. People are expected to play out their proper roles, in the proper places, in order to maintain the occasion. (Goffman, 1963) In this manner, territoriality is a catalyst, bringing the actors and environment together in an orderly and socially defined fashion. Some forms of territoriality, such as ownership of the family home and property are more widely accepted and acknowledged than other forms, such as the exclusive control of space by teenage gangs.
Territoriality and social space, as conceptual tools in the investigation of human use and control of space regard geographic space as not only moulding, but also reflecting socio-cultural life and values. The relationship is well expressed by Hall (1966) who argues that groups of different cultural backgrounds inhabit different sensory worlds and that a man's use of space is an elaboration of his cultural perceptions. Indeed, the role of perception of the environment and the meaning ascribed to geographic space has been a major empirical thrust of those who argue that, ultimately, to understand spatial behaviour, at whatever scale or level of society, one must understand the meanings and values of the geographic setting to people of different, and sometimes conflicting, socio-cultural life styles. (Lowenthal, 1961; Ley, 1972a; Samuels, 1972; Saarinen, 1966)

Michelson believes that researchers must tackle the 'experiential congruence', accepting the concept of space as "an indeterminate medium to which people give meaning." (1970,30) He prefers to deal with those characteristics which are easily measurable, assuming a causal link between the environment that man has fashioned for himself and his socio-cultural heritage. However, Downs and other behavioural geographers inspired by the possibilities of a marriage of Gestalt psychology and geography (Kirk, 1963; Koffka, 1935; and Lewin, 1951) have shown little hesitation in recognizing and trying to understand the human mind and the way it organizes and uses perceptions and experiences as a necessary and important mediator between society and its members' behaviour in the built environment. (Downs and Stea, 1973) Whether one prefers to use the concept of social space or territoriality in describing human use
and control of space, acknowledgement of the role of the image (Boulding, 1956) and the ascription of meaning to geographic space can only make research of everyday spatial behaviour more realistic.

The literature cited above strengthens the linkage of space and social behaviour as interdependent and complementary. A convincing argument for the importance of group perception emerges, and the environment no longer comprises the bleached plains of rational man, but rather, vital landscapes of passion and fear, nostalgia and hope, stress and boredom. The environment becomes a topography of meaning. (Wolpert, 1965)

__Human Ecology: The Use and Control of Space as Macro-Social Process.__

Human ecological theory provides a conceptual framework within which to describe the spatial organization of urban society at the aggregate level. As Hall aptly states; "virtually everything that man is and does is associated with the experience of space." (1966,181) Human ecology, by its nature and origins, incorporates the notion of spacing as an explicit element of the order it ascribes to a community.

Darwin, borrowing the sociological term of 'competitive cooperation', applied it in the biological world to the interdependence of biological species in their adaptation to a shared habitat. As J. Arthur Thompson notes:

"He projected on organic life a sociological idea and thus vindicated the relevancy and utility of a sociological idea within the biological realm." (in Park, 1952,145)

Both Thompson and E. Warming (Park, 1952,165) studied biological life in terms of the changing, but interdependent nature of species. These studies of the spatial interactions of species in a given environment emphasized species competition for limited space and resources, but
also their symbiotic relationships. Through sub-social processes, such as invasion, succession and dominance, new spatial arrangements of species emerged as one gained spatial dominance over another in one place. Ecology was traditionally a study of process, not simply of static location, and was particularly concerned with the underlying force of competitive cooperation among species which made the system a dynamic one. It led ecologists to see the system of biological life as a 'web of life'.

Robert Park suggests that the early bio-ecological studies...
"seem to be the basis for a conception of a social order transcending the individual species, and of a society based on a biotic rather than a cultural basis." (1952,147) He goes on to complete the human analogy to biotic communities:

"Human ecology, as the sociologists would like to use the term, is, however, not identical with geography, nor even human geography. It is not the man, but the community: not man's relation to the earth which he inhabits, but his relations to other men, that concern us most." (1952,165)

Early ecological analysis of a human community resulted in very real spatial patterns of land use by aggregates of people, but the basic concern of classical human ecologists was to see this development as a result of ecological process, not as individual human response to the environment. The social order that had been theoretically applied to plant communities based on biotic and sub-social forces was of sufficient legitimacy and explanatory power to warrant its transfer and application to human communities. Prior to that time, empirical investigation of the social and spatial nature of the mushrooming cities of North America had been sparse. Consequently, human ecologists emphasized that explanation of human behaviour within the ecological framework
must be in terms of the traditional sub-social processes that presumably worked at the 'biotic' level of human life. They preferred to disregard the social structure of community, for this 'cultural' level of life was regarded as outside the concerns of the discipline. (Park, 1925) Later human ecologists have criticized this stand. (Quinn, 1961; Hawley, 1961; Suttles, 1972)

Human ecology, as a means of investigating the human use and control of space in micro-scale public environments can only be a vehicle to ordered description of changes in use of space by different groups of people through time. Deterministic ecological processes are convenient labels of spatial change rather than explanations which lead to our understanding of spatial pattern. This is well illustrated by O'Brien (1942) who describes ecological succession on Beale Street, Memphis, at two different levels of resolution. He portrays the slow generation to generation racial succession in the tradition of classical human ecology. Secondly, he studied Beale Street in terms of daily and weekly rhythms of change. His demonstration of these temporal rhythms of use of space by different racial and lifestyle groups strengthens his argument that temporal and spatial rhythms are important phenomena of urban life that had been neglected in most ecological research, especially in the neo-classical period. (Theodorson, 1961)

Despite the many interdisciplinary changes, (Barrows, 1923) criticisms, (Firey, 1945; Michelson, 1970) and theoretical alterations (Duncan, 1961; Schnore, 1961) that human ecology has undergone in the past fifty years, it remains an attractive structure within which to describe aggregate patterns of the human use of space and their temporal rhythms.
Robert Park and his colleagues at Chicago provide insight into human spatial relations over and above that subsumed under the structure of human ecology. Although the professed task of human ecology was the study of macro-social process, Park recognized the interrelationship of social morphology, as proposed by Durkheim, and the physical morphology of cities. As individual positions in society are separated by social distance, these variations can often be measured in physical distance. (Watson, 1955; and Jones, 1960 have shown this) Durkheim's 'social space' becomes not only the social distances between different status levels. It also indicates geographical distance among members of society. Proximity and communication are seen by Park as the mechanisms of interaction which bind all contacts, and provide a key to understanding the integration and segregation of urban society.

"By means of communication, individuals share in a common experience and maintain a common life. It is because communication is fundamental to the existence of society that geography...may be said to enter into its structure and organization at all." (Park, 1925, 174)

Geographic separation is not the only obstacle to universal communication. The manifestations of self-consciousness, our desire to maintain a level of personal privacy, dignity, and individualism act to set up social distance barriers to communication. In this manner, physical distance and social distance interact to create 'worlds of communication', distinctive sub-cultural and lifestyle groups within the city. (Short, 1971)

"Ultimately, the society in which we live invariably turns out to be a moral order in which the individual's position as well as his conception of himself--which is the core of his personality--is determined by the attitudes of others and by the standards which the group uphold." (Park, 1952, 177)
Members compete for status within their world of communication, for it is only within the social world whose standards are known and accepted that a person can struggle to achieve prestige and self-respect. Geographic space then becomes the habitat and the divider of social worlds, and an integral element of the moral order of the city.

**Environmental Psychology: Behaviour in the Indoor Built Environment**

Working in large scale indoor environments with individuals and small groups, environmental psychologists have added a third body of knowledge applicable to human micro-scale spatial behaviour.

Their work basically has adopted the model of ethology, the human use and control of space described in terms of territoriality, spatial dominance, personal space, and privacy. Esser, for example, discovered the tendency of some mental patients to protect, and make exclusive, areas of institutional wards. (1965) Scarce and contested space provoked least interpersonal conflict when there was a well understood social hierarchy, for social dominance (either by physical intimidation or by achieved status) carried with it spatial reward. In fact, the relationships between social position and spatial position were so interdependent that effective spatial control was a status achieving behaviour. (Esser, 1965: 1970) This behaviour is not, of course, exclusive to the deviant and distressed members of society. Their 'homes' simply provide a closed and easily controlled environment for research in the mode of traditional psychology.

In other settings, Robert Sommer has explored the relationship between social structure and spatial arrangement. He writes of how people mark and defend personal space territories in public settings such as
library rooms, and how the design of an environment, its arrangement of seats and distances between seats, affects behaviour and social interaction. (1966;1969) Much of this work developed from the experience of Osmond (in Hall, 1966) who noted the problem of self-isolation among geriatric patients in a new and well equipped hospital. Osmond categorized built environments as being either 'socio-fugal' or 'socio-petal'. Socio-petal space induced social interaction by design. Hall adds that some designed environments offer semi-fixed feature spaces whose furnishings can be re-arranged to adapt the place to human needs. From these ideas have come studies of indoor environmental design which encourages specific behaviour patterns. (Manning, 1965: Richards and Dobyns, 1957: Stea, 1965)

Much of the research in environmental psychology utilizes the method of controlled experiments rather than studying behaviour in uncontrived everyday life. Horowitz et. al. (1964) measured personal space zones in the laboratory; Altman and Haythorn (1967) studied the territorial behaviour of isolated pairs of men of various personalities and temperament who had been placed in simulated restrictive environments. Real world validity is easily jeopardized by controlled settings and by complicated obtrusive measurement tools, such as the Galvanic Skin Response, used by McBride (1965) to measure individual response to personal space encroachment. However, the work of environmental psychologists has provided a method of systematic observation and data collection of human behaviour in large scale indoor settings, (Ittelson, Rivlin, and Proshansky, 1970) a convincing application of the concepts and theory and concepts of ethology, and further evidence that spatial behaviour and social behaviour are related and complementary.
A Methodological Synthesis

Space is an organizing medium which shapes and maintains the society it envelops, at all levels of social encounter, from couples to communities. In turn, it is organized, protected, and infused with meaning by the society which peoples it. These ideas have stood decades of interdisciplinary study and review and were no less legitimate in guiding this study. In many ways it represented a convergence of the three literature areas reviewed, for each provided theoretical insights and methodological strategies for exploring life in Victory Square. Spatial and temporal rhythms of land use, territorial identification and behaviour, and the social rituals of personal space maintenance and status hierarchies all stood as crucial elements of the social milieu.

Victory Square, smaller than a neighbourhood, yet beyond the closed, indoor environments of the library and mental ward, is a naturalistic, micro-scale public space which required a non-reactive naturalistic method of study. The research was inductive, an exploration rather than an experiment. Supporting literature concerning life style interactions, the social organization of space, and the moral order of communities provided insights from which a research strategy was formulated, based on intuitive expectations rather than a constrictive, formalized hypothesis.
CHAPTER II
THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

This chapter discusses the role of observation as a methodological tool, and details the instruments of data collection employed. Unobtrusive observation and participant observation best suited this study of behaviour in a small public setting. Therefore, research instruments, the behavioural map, the schedule of observation, and the user-type classification instrument were designed to elicit statistical data non-reactively, and to complement the richer, anecdotal information from participation in the area of study.

Unobtrusive Observation in Science and Exploratory Studies

Science, as one means of establishing regularity in the diversity of nature and human experience, seeks to make that which is unknown, apparent and understandable, and to make events which are seemingly chaotic, ordered and related. There is no real chasm between the goals of those who are physicists and those who are social scientists if one accepts that science, and its practice, entails an eagerness to understand, a desire to imagine constructively, and a personal fascination for the subtle and unsolved.

"The discoveries of science, the works of art are explorations--more, are explosions of a hidden likeness...There are no appearances to be photographed, no experiences to be copied in which we do not take part. Science, like art, is not a copy of nature, but a re-creation of her. We remake nature by the act of discovery, in the poem or in the theorem." (Bronowski, 1956, 29 and 30)

Exploration, both in the field and in the mind, is an integral part of the method of science. Indeed, the old passion for geography as human exploration is being rekindled. (Bunge, 1971; Ley; 1972)
Bronowski documents the necessity of personal involvement, participation, and creativity in scientific research which does not oppose, but guides and gives purpose to the more stereotyped tasks of science—measuring, counting, and classifying. No one better illustrates this compatibility than Yi Fu Tuan, who calls for relaxed, unpressured visual contemplation of a landscape to complement the more atomistic findings of intensive research. (1972) Topophilia, a holistic interpretation of the environment, is an important, constructive part of scientific discovery. Newton, for example, pondered much further into the metaphysics of space than the height of the apple tree. Bronowski's success in narrowing the perceived methodological gulf between such disciplines as physics and sociology is achieved not by rejecting the popular, structured methodology of physics, but by enhancing and legitimizing the role of personal observation, personal participation, and personal creativity in both disciplines as part of scientific research. (see also Koestler, 1964)

The significance of personal observation as an essential tool of scientific research is widely upheld by social scientists, especially for studies which attempt to break new ground. (Selltiz, et. al., 1959; Madge, 1953; Webb et. al., 1966; McCall and Simmons, 1969) Jahoda sets out the criteria for observation which can best be incorporated into existing theory, or form the basis of new theory:

"Observation becomes a scientific technique to the extent that it (1) serves a formulated research purpose, (2) is planned systematically, (3) is recorded systematically and related to more general propositions rather than being presented as a set of interesting curiosa, and (4) is subjected to checks and controls on validity and reliability." (Selltiz et. al., 1959, 200)
The utility of the methods of personal observation and participation have been effectively demonstrated (Goffman, 1961; Ley, 1972; Gill, 1972; Whyte, 1955) and extensively advocated. The methodological difficulties of this method—limited and selective information retrieval, biased information inference, and possible subject contamination are real, but not as exclusive to social research as many physical scientists would believe. (Born, in Madge, 1953, 29; Webb et. al., 1966, 4)

Given the rigour and conscientiousness that all scientific research demands, unobtrusive observation and participant observation can provide valid, reliable and substantial data. (Becker, 1958)

Empirical explorations into everyday social settings are not void of possibilities of synthesis or generalization (Sellitiz et. al., 1959) and need not encourage the situation of the researcher who, "with too rigid a frame of reference, sees only things that confirm his pre-conceptions." (Madge, 1953, 124)

Studying Victory Square, the optimal strategy was to admit the richness of first hand experience in the social setting by participant observation, reinforcing and supplementing this data with more formal numerical measurement derived from structured observational instruments. A greater understanding of the social milieu resulted from using these distinct, but complementary research procedures. Development of instruments which could assimilate field observations into a pre-planned and ordered data bank was a necessary first step to a successful empirical investigation, and is described below. The complementary role of participant observation is also outlined.
The Behavioural Map

One object of the study was to develop a method of data collection which would permit the precise charting of behavioural episodes, temporally and spatially, in a natural setting without contaminating or manipulating the spontaneous character of social and spatial interaction. The obvious solution was to make a periodic tabulation of this information on a base map of the park. This permitted a running record to be kept of the location, movement, interaction, and other behaviour of individuals and groups in the park. The procedure of recording micro-spatial behaviour was inspired by Ittelson et. al. (1970) who monitored the locational habits of mental patients in an institutional setting. Their 'behavioural maps' were segmented floor plans of the ward, with areas coded to facilitate data analysis.

For this study, an outline map of Victory Square was constructed, at a scale of 1"=30'. (See Appendix A) It included the salient features of the park's physical design, including paths, walls, and benches. The locations of park users were noted by a colour coding scheme of user types (discussed below) and space was available at the map margins for spontaneous note taking of observed events. Coupled with the ability to later statistically aggregate and analyse spatial habits of park users, the behavioural map proved to be a useful tool of data collection.

The Schedule of Observation

The eighth floor of an office building overlooking Victory Square provided a vantage point for intensive, systematic observation, which was planned to provide behavioural maps of park use for fourteen daylight hours of each day of the week. Vigilance periods were seven hours,
and conducted over a three week period in late May and early June, 1973. The first observation period was a Sunday, from 2 p.m. to 9 p.m., the second a Monday, from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. Observation periods were planned in this staggered fashion so that two weeks of intensive data collection would yield the desired data bank, thus minimizing seasonal and other irregularities that could not be controlled. In total, 98 hours of park behaviour were systematically observed, and information recorded on to 196 behavioural maps. A pilot study of Victory Square, conducted in April, 1973 revealed that park use before 7 a.m. and after 9 p.m. was incidental and scattered. Given the small number of users, and the difficulty of observing the park in other than daylight conditions, behavioural maps were not kept for these times.

Victory Square, the stage upon which daily inner city life evolved, was created shortly after World War One and has experienced a change in relative location. Surrounded by Hastings Street, Cambie Street, Pender Street, and the cobblestones of Hamilton Street, it was once the site of the original Provincial Government Court House and a significant focal point in downtown Vancouver. As the financial, retail, and government services slowly moved west, Victory Square became marginal to the fashionable downtown core, and host to a new social and business clientele. The small memorial plaque at the south end of the park, commemorating the long years of association that the city newspaper, the *Vancouver Province* had with the park, stands as a symbol of the abandonment of the area by important city business. Pacific Press, like many other former employers in the area has joined the westward movement of downtown, leaving a physical and social void to be filled. The park and its features are shown in Figure 2.1.
To some, the park might appear like a garden in a slum, an idyllic green haven in a quilt of aging gray blocks. The full time park attendant and city parks crews maintain the area with regular cleaning and landscaping. The manicured and aesthetically pleasing environment at first appears an incongruent setting for the social world it accommodates. Later ideas in this thesis will suggest that the staff who manage and maintain the park are people caretakers as well as landscape caretakers. They maintain a physically congenial environment in which a poor, neglected, and immobile social world slowly acts out their life drama. Bringing their everyday actions, relationships, and careers into the park, these people create a social environment for which the park was not planned. Ultimately this incongruence between formal plan and social reality revealed itself through behaviour in the park by various life style types, and by the physical alterations that the park incurred as a result of it, both of which were recorded through unobtrusive observation.

Participant Observation

In order to completely understand the patterns and processes of human spatial behaviour in the park, it was necessary to go beyond the methodology of pure observation and notation of the behavioural map. This procedure outlined the spatial structure of the social world of Victory Square. However, it said nothing about the process, about the meaning of the space and the rules of the social world, variables which give character and body to distribution maps.

Social scientists best uncover the intricacies of behavioural process by immersing themselves in the everyday realities of the environment
they are investigating. (Whyte, 1955; Liebow, 1967; Ley, 1972)

With due precautions, there was no reason that participant observation in the park would contaminate the natural setting, the perceptions and behaviour of park users, and the unfolding of daily routine. Participant observation is structured to the extent that voluntary evidence is organized and analysed for themes and theoretical possibilities which further observation might support or refute. (Becker, 1958) Information is sought unobtrusively, and the researcher remains, as much as possible, an inconspicuous member of the occasion. (Gold, 1958)

As the period of participant observation (June and July, 1973) came to a close, less attention to anonymity was practiced with two informants, the park attendant and the washroom attendant. Anonymity was continued, however, with a number of other informants. The 'scientist', a middle aged casually dressed man provided invaluable information on many people and topics without knowing the author's designs. Anonymity can, of course, create ethical problems. These have received some discussion and this research followed the common guidelines of selective disclosure of the research purpose. (Whyte, 1955, 279-358)

While reactive research techniques, using questionnaires and structured interviews are very popular, especially when data is retrieved that can be statistically manipulated, it should be stressed that, for certain purposes, these techniques contain overwhelming problems of validity and reliability. In contrast, men in Victory Square were quite spontaneous in casual conversation, and after rapport was established, specific questions could be couched in general statements to which the respondent might react without feeling intimidated.
Identifying the Actors: A Typology of Life Style Types

There is good evidence that it is possible to classify individuals by life style from systematic unobtrusive observation. Goffman points out that maintenance of the integrity and order of society and social interaction rests largely on our ability to read the nature of social gatherings. Those participating in a social occasion convey, by the nature of their behaviour, mannerisms, and dress, the rules of the situation to others. A person's dress, make-up, and deportment are also manifestations of his self image. (Goffman, 1959) This 'impression management' is a conscious attempt to project the image he wishes others to hold of him. Often the costumes of impression management associate a person with particular social groups, based on such criteria as occupation, life style, and affiliation with social organizations. The way a person manages his public image to convey membership in a social group has been dealt with elsewhere. (See Gill, 1972, for a colourful account of pop sociology) Dress and body decoration are very important elements of impression management, and a personal declaration of life style.

In everyday life, we continually judge and sort people into occupational, life style, and personality categories solely on such observable attributes as dress, cosmetics, and deportment. Such identification and classification of people by this method is non-reactive. Individuals can be assessed as they carry out their normal daily activities.

In order to monitor effectively the spatial behaviour of large numbers of people by unobtrusive observation, an instrument for
quick identification and classification of life style was required. A pilot study of park users revealed a number of diagnostic criteria by which people could be judged. Although we intuitively categorize people every day, an instrument for systematic identification of life style had to incorporate formally recognized attributes of impression management. The following is a list of the salient attributes by which people who used Victory Square during the time of the pilot study could be classified.

**General Age:**
- **Young:** under 25 years.
- **Middle aged:** 25 to 60 years.
- **Elderly:** over 60 years.

**Clothing Style:**
- **Traditional well dressed:** the attire of respectably well dressed men in the 1940's and 1950's, including relatively baggy trousers, tie clasps, and an impeccably formed hat or fedora.
- **Casual-occupational:** casual clothing of no pretentious style, such as wash and wear trousers and windbreakers. This category also includes dress heavily influenced by western style clothing, such as boots and yoked jackets, and dress that suggests occupation, such as lumberjack jackets or heavy work boots.
- **Mod:** the very bright and flashy garb fashionable for young people in the 1960's, including wild printed shirts, patent shoes, and aviator sun glasses.
- **Modern Casual:** current fashionable clothing which is casual but often formally coordinated.
and very neat, such as flared knit slacks with a coordinating checkered shirt and sleeveless sweater, accompanied by modern two toned shoes. This category also includes the now popular denim ensembles, including the jeans and jacket, if they are accompanied by shirts and shoes which reflect modern fashion.

Modern well dressed; current fashionable business and dress suits, with complementing modern shirts, ties, and shoes.

Mismatched and Incongruent; clothing which presents no dominant style, for example, a suit worn with sneakers.

Cosmetic Management:
- Traditional clean: barbered hair, clean shaven, but occasionally sporting a well trimmed mustache.
- Modern clean: longer, styled hair, mustaches, and beards are worn, but neatly and well attended.
- Unkempt: unruly hair, beard, or mustache, and sometimes barefoot.

Race:
- Native Indians
- Orientals
- White

As a final project of the pilot study, individual park users were scrutinized and the particular attributes they displayed were noted. The purpose of this exercise was to test the universality of the rating attributes within the park setting, and to assess the possibility
of identifying specific user types.

Ascription of attributes to park users proved to be fast and uncomplicated. The assessment of individuals yielded recurrent 'sets' of attributes. Consequently, those people who displayed a similar profile of attributes were classified under a particular life style group. The process of identifying attributes and classifying people was, of course, one of personal judgment: rather than a classification based upon statistical technique. (Gill, 1972) However, in this study, systematic criteria for classification provided a way of identifying people in a relatively unbiased and methodical manner.

As a result of the pilot study, the following life style groups emerged, each representing a particular profile of attributes. Each group is described fully in Chapter Three.

Elderly well dressed
Elderly casually dressed
Elderly tramp
Elderly affluent
Middle aged casually dressed
Middle aged tramp
Middle aged affluent
Young casual dressed
Young hippy
Young mod

In order to systematically code life style group affiliation and spatial behaviour onto behavioural maps during the period of systematic unobtrusive observation, a colour schema was designed so that individual
park users could be distinctively recorded using coloured pencils. The coding of racial affiliation of non-white people was achieved by an additional colour notation to the small life style symbol. In this way, native Indians and Orientals could later be studied as members of a life style group or as exclusive groups in their own right, comprising the following divisions:

- Elderly Indians
- Middle aged Indians
- Young Indians
- Elderly Oriental
- Middle aged Oriental

Together, the behavioural map, the schedule of observation, and the user type classification instrument, provided the means for compiling a data bank of individual and aggregate spatial behaviour by various identifiable user types for a pre-planned time period covering each day of the week. Chapter Three discusses the observable attributes of each user type category. Chapter Four presents a summary of the demographic and ecological patterns of park activity compiled from the data on behavioural maps.
CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE WHO USE THE PARK

The life style groups of Victory Square displayed a colourful and distinctive range of behaviour and modes of public presentation. This chapter deals with the observable attributes of each type of person and the character of their grouping behaviour in the park.

Analysis of grouping behaviour carried both social and spatial implications. An interesting relationship held between the grouping habits of life style cohorts and the degree to which norms of impression management and behaviour in public were more clearly defined and prescribed. For example, elderly well dressed men shared social mores of public conduct and habits of dress, whereas the middle aged and elderly tramps did not have such group conforming ties as the status achieving hat that many of the elderly well dressed men wore. This lack of conformity and facility for achieving intra-group acceptance and status was reflected spatially; the tramps rarely maintained large interacting groups in the park.

Spacing patterns and grouping behaviour reflected people's willingness to accept the presence of others. When park users were strangers, their impression management and deportment were the only criteria by which others could judge their ability to assimilate, socially and spatially, into their social world. For example, if a person looked like a transient hippy, wearing soiled and worn jeans, and carrying such gear as sleeping bags or pack sacks, he would likely choose to be near others who offered the same impression management, and would more likely be accepted there. Those who presented themselves in a manner most easily recognized as 'belonging' to a particular
life style more easily formed interacting groups in the park.

The following profiles are verbal character sketches of each life style affiliate. As summarized in Chapter Two, an individual's group affiliation was judged on his age, dress, and cosmetic management. The pilot study confirmed that the people who used the park displayed attributes of age, dress, and cosmetic management which nicely fell into 'sets', each 'set' representing a life style group. The following are verbal sketches of 'typical' life style affiliates. Native Indians and Orientals are treated here as exclusive groups.

Elderly Well Dressed Men

The typical elderly well dressed man wore a suit or sports coat, a shirt, often accompanied by a tie, oxfords, and a well kept gray, brown, or cream fedora. Closer observation often revealed wear and tear on clothing, or substitution of items. For example, hush puppies or army boots sometimes replaced oxfords. A knit shirt occasionally replaced the typical white or candy striped shirt with short point collar. However, regardless of occasional substitutions, and the regularity of frayed cuffs and fading colours, there was an obvious attempt to maintain control of the self image in a consciously selected style, and in the image of what constituted a proper public appearance. Heavily worn oxfords or army boots still showed a polished toe. A tie clasp clung desperately to a narrow tie, holding it to the moderately ironed shirt. The hat was immaculate and well shaped; its position at the summit of the wardrobe aptly portrayed its importance to the members of this group. (Figure 3.1)

Some of the elderly well dressed men spoke only Ukrainian, with
a few occasional English words, such as "okay". But ethnicity, other than Oriental and the native Indians, could not be readily determined by unobtrusive observation from the office building. Later participant observation, however, indicated a persistent east European character for this life style of dated respectability.

Elderly well dressed men often paired up or formed small groups on park benches in the park. In fact, as shown later, they were habitual occupants, the territorial dominants, of some areas. The social gatherings normally formed after members had individually entered the park, suggesting that perhaps these men depended heavily on the park as a place to enjoy company. Clusters of older men sitting in the park did not always experience or engage in intra-group interaction, but constituted a spatial rather than an interactive group. Individuals achieved the appearance of belonging to a social gathering. For them, the park served as a place to reflect as well as to interact.

Weather and personal health permitting, elderly well dressed men were daily visitors to the park. Observations and informant information concurred; these men were permanent and regular park users. Victory Square was a vital node in their life space, habitually used as a setting for social interaction and a tolerable retreat from hotel rooms.

Elderly Casually Dressed Men

Elderly casually dressed men wore wool slacks or wash and wear trousers, an open necked sport shirt, and a windbreaker. Sometimes, dress reflected occupation, for example, the checkered flannel shirt or work boots of the lumberman, but this was rare among the elderly. Such clothing is chosen not, perhaps, to display consciously a life
Figure 3.2. Elderly Casually Dressed Men.
style, but on account of its availability in the discount clothing stores and neighbourhood men's wear shops. Cosmetic management by these men was traditionally clean. Hair was short and beards were very rare. In this respect, the elderly casually dressed and elderly well dressed men did not differ. Likewise, grouping behaviour of these men followed closely that of the elderly well dressed men, so that the two groups presented similar patterns of park use. (Figure 3.2)

Elderly and Middle Aged Tramps

Elderly and middle aged tramps were clearly distinguishable by their dress and cosmetic management as they gave little impression of controlled maintenance of outward appearance. In some instances this image might have been deliberately fabricated in order to achieve a measure of isolation and a demonstratable refutation of the mores of dress and deportment of wider society. Typically, hair was unkept, and their faces unshaven. Clothes were old, threadbare, and coordinated, by appearance, by opportunity rather than by desire. The colours were dark and lacked any appreciable style. Socks were often fallen or missing and shoes were worn. Dress habits of these men tended to be more individualistic than other groups. Black and white sneakers and black rubber boots cut off at the ankles were not unusual. (Figure 3.3 and 3.4)

Elderly and middle aged tramps were loners, whose attempts at interpersonal interaction, among their own kind or other groups, was rare. Grouping behaviour among tramps did occur very early in the morning and after dusk, when they would gather in two's and three's
Figure 3.3. The Elderly Tramp.
Figure 3.4. Middle Aged Tramps.
around a bottle of liquor and mumble incoherently to each other.

Bendiner provides a comment of the behaviour of these men which goes beyond the observable habits reported here:

"You can see the Bowery drunk spiking his cheap wine with raw alcohol and passing the bottle among his friends, or even among strangers. He drinks to fend off loneliness, or sometimes the lesser chill that the wind sends slashing through his rags." (1962, 401)

"He does not want friends--with their incessant demands upon him--but he craves the illusion of friendship. For him alcohol makes possible a world with rounded, smooth edges, a world of brothers, but not of brotherhood and all the dreary responsibilities which that concept entails." (1962, 402)

These sentiments do not conflict with observations of grouping habits of the elderly and middle aged tramps of Victory Square. Not all tramps in Victory Square, however, were habitual alcoholics.

Middle Aged Casually Dressed Men

Middle aged casually dressed men in Victory Square appeared, in dress, in the style of a decade ago. The typical cohort of this group wore wash and wear trousers or jeans, an unobtrusively plain sports shirt, and a cardigan sweater. Occasionally white or purple socks were worn with undistinguished black or brown shoes, giving one the impression of little concern for fashion. Western styled clothing and the typical garb of unskilled labour and lumber camp workers was common among these men as well. Cosmetic management was traditionally clean. Sometimes the wet, combed back pompadour style was seen, but hair never covered the ears or collar. (Figure 3.5)
Figure 3.5. Middle Aged Casually Dressed Men.
Middle aged casually dressed men sat rather unobtrusively in the park, rarely creating attention by their numbers or behaviour. Groups were rare, though occasionally two or three would sit together at one bench. More often, these men were unassuming background members of the social fabric of the park.

Young Hippies

By their outward appearance, young hippies showed little regard for maintaining an image acceptable to wider society, and were, in some ways, younger counterparts of the tramps of Victory Square. Faded, dirty, patched blue jeans were often complemented by shirts and jackets of the same cloth and condition. In warm weather, they often wore no shirts. Cosmetic management was unkempt; hair styles were typically long and greasy looking. A young hippy might have worn large, unpolished 'civil war' boots or no shoes at all. Costume jewellery was very popular with this group. Hippies sported medallions, crosses, and neck chains, and wore decorative patches on clothing. (Figure 3.6)

Grouping behaviour was an outward spatial expression of the prevailing hippy ideology of togetherness, community, and all for one, one for all. Groups, ranging in size from two to fourteen people, lounged on the south and west lawns of the park. Interaction was high within groups and between groups as individuals moved from one gathering to another.
Figure 3.6. Young Hippies.
Young Casually Dressed

Young casually dressed people displayed, in their dress habits, more obvious regard for their public appearance. Faded blue jeans and jackets did not completely disguise the conspicuous control of self image management, reflected in up-to-date stylish shoes, fashionable, well tailored shirts, and sweaters. Hair, often long, was clean, neat, and styled. (Figure 3.7)

Lunch bags and books often labelled these people as students, many of whom attended Vancouver Vocational Institute on Pender Street. Some of these life style cohorts were girls, who used the park only when accompanied by a male student or other girls. They typically entered the park through the south-west gate, forming small groups on the south lawn or a bench on the south side. There was very little interaction with other user types in the park, and usually only with the young hippy park users.

Young Mod

Following the fashion dictums of the early 1960's, young mod people appeared in Victory Square in costumes that tested one's ability to accept new colour combinations. Purple bell bottoms in velvet-look and cotton corduroy, shiny gold acetate blouse-shirts, white belts, red patent shoes, and large gold bracelets were the typical items of dress of this group, all of which were available in the men's wear shops of the area. Although these individuals usually appeared neatly shaven and clean, the wet-down ducktailed hair style occasionally appeared to complement the clothing. (Figure 3.8)

Young mods, a small, but noticeable element of the social milieu of the park, usually relaxed alone on the south or west lawn of the
Figure 3.7. The Young Casually Dressed.
Figure 3.8. Young Mods.
park. A couple of Indian youths were identified as among this user type. They usually had young Indian girls as companions, especially in the evening, and would circulate the park at dusk for prospective customers for the girl.

Native Indians

Native Indians were the only group to use the park regularly in family group situations as well as singly and in small groups. Sometimes, on warm, sunny afternoons, family-type mixed age groups used the south lawn of the park. A typical group consisted of one or two middle aged men, one or two middle aged women, an elderly man, and a child. Young Indian youths and girls over the age of about fourteen tended to disassociate themselves from these other groups, forming their own small clusters.

Elderly and middle aged Indian men dressed rather unobtrusively in casual garb, not unlike the dress of the casually dressed middle aged men, but the image was not quite as respectable on occasion. Shirts were worn open, and trousers and shoes were generally not in as good repair. Young Indians, on the other hand, most often reflected the dress habits of the young hippies, although a couple were of the young mod life style.

Indian women, both young and middle aged, dressed casually in knit slacks, blouses, and sports outerwear, such as ski jackets. The make-up and hair styles of some of the Indian girls was very noticeable, but generally, cosmetic management was not practiced to a high degree.

Young Indian girls often sat together in two's or three's on the south lawn and sniffed glue, while Indian youths formed their
own exclusive social ties amongst themselves. Only the middle aged Indians commonly sat in the park in couples, or in mixed sex small groups.

**Orientals**

Most Oriental people using Victory Square were elderly people whose typical dress was not too different than that of the elderly well dressed group. Of note was the popular tweed cap these people wore.

Oriental men were passive participants of the social milieu, preferring the benches in the cenotaph area and at the south east gate where they could sit in small groups or mix with the elderly well dressed and elderly casually dressed men. According to an informant, these men were marginal members of the Chinatown community, who, because of their behaviour or reputation, live socially and geographically between the white and Chinese community. There was little social interaction or social conflict observed between the Orientals and other park users, and they maintained small, unobtrusive clusters in inconspicuous places.

**Affluents**

Affluent groups or individuals, on shopping trips, or visiting as tourists, occasionally entered Victory Square. Because of the rarity of their appearance, these people were exceptionally noticeable in the park. They usually stayed only a few minutes, watching the other people, perhaps taking a picture of their group by the cenotaph, before reintroducing themselves to the mainstream of public traffic on Hastings Street.
**Male Space**

Victory Square was male territory. With the exception of young and middle aged Indian women, and occasional young casually dressed female students, only men used the park. As a rule, only young Indian girls entered the park without male escort, but often came in pairs. The park was not a country club, a place where men choose to come together to engage in the types of sports and conversation that only country club exclusiveness could provide, but both the country club and Victory Square shared the property of male dominance. Whether biologically necessary or culturally derived (Tiger, 1970) they exist as places of male assembly and interaction.
CHAPTER IV

SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF PARK USE

Socio-spatial patterns of park use were compiled by careful examination and ordering of the data from 196 behavioural maps. Were there distinguishable areal or temporal variations in park use by each life style group? If so, could such features as the spatial concentration of groups or the extent of spatial segregation between groups be measured and compared? This chapter seeks to answer questions such as these.

Space-time grid maps, as concentrated inventories of information, were used to construct maps of typical use of space by a number of life style groups throughout the day. (Figures 4.1 to 4.4) Three user type groups are represented; those groups who most displayed a tendency to congregate, and be numerically dominant, in specific places in the park at certain times of the day. Groups not represented were more apt to be spatially dispersed. These maps point out that, indeed, areal variations of park use by life style groups were strong. This chapter presents, in various ways, those spatial and temporal patterns.

In order to lose as little of the spatial and temporal information as possible while aggregating data from behavioural maps, a space-time grid was constructed which conformed to the useable areas of the park. (See Figure 4.5) The exact location of each person-visit to the park (which was the recording of one person on a behavioural map) was returned at the level of resolution of one grid square. The grid squares conformed readily to recognized features of the park, for example, a pair...
Typical Areal Concentrations of Three Life Style Groups:

7 a.m. to 11 a.m.
Typical Areal Concentrations of Three Life Style Groups:

11 a.m. to 3 p.m.
Typical Areal Concentrations of Three Life Style Groups:

3 p.m. to 7 p.m.
Typical Areal Concentrations of Three Life Style Groups:

After 7 p.m.
of benches, or an area of grass. Therefore, all person-visits coded to a particular grid square were of people using the same facility.

Recorded person-visits were arranged within each grid square by their time of occurrence in order to retain time information. The result was a graphic account, on each space-time grid, of aggregate use of the park by each life style group through space and time. (Figures 4.5 to 4.17)

The frequency with which life style cohorts used the park, as indicated by total person-visits, was an important consideration in comparing areal patterns of park use. Table IV.I summarizes the proportions of life style groups using the park in terms of person-visits. Of 5793 total person-visits, 2961, or 51% were by elderly people. Two major groups opposing each other in terms of dress and deportment were the elderly well dressed men (34.2% of total person-visits) and the young hippies (20% of total person-visits). Nine percent of person-visits were readily identifiable as native Indian or Oriental people. These people were treated as separate groups rather than being incorporated, by their dress, age, and cosmetic attributes, into one of the other life style groups.

Although the relative degree of intra-group spatial concentration was suggested by the space-time grid maps, these impressions were confirmed by modified Lorenz curves which elsewhere have been used to compare trends in various elements of regional industrial activity. (Yeates, 1968, 90-94) However, whereas Lorenz curve analysis has usually plotted the cumulative percentage of chosen variables on each
Figure 4.5. The Elderly Well Dressed.
Figure 4.7. The Elderly Tramps.
Figure 4.8. The Middle Aged Casually Dressed.
Figure 4.9.  The Middle Aged Tramps.
Figure 4.10. The Young Mods.
Figure 4.11. The Young Casually Dressed.
Figure 4.12. The Young Hippies.
Figure 4.13. The Elderly Native Indians.
Figure 4.14. The Middle Aged Native Indians.
Figure 4.15. The Young Native Indians.
Figure 4.16. The Orientals.
Figure 4.17. The Affluent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life Style Group</th>
<th>Person-visits</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Well Dressed</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Casually Dressed</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Tramps</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Orientals</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Native Indians</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Affluent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged Casually Dressed</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged Tramp</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged Native Indian</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged Affluent</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged Oriental</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Hippies</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Casually Dressed</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Native Indians</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Person-visits:</td>
<td>5793</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV.I. Demographic Data of Park Use by Life Style Group.
axis, Figure 4.18 compares cumulative percentage of useable park area (labelled on the graph as cumulative grid squares) against cumulative absolute person-visits by each life style group in order to exemplify the variance in numbers and density per area. The well dressed elderly men exhibited the greatest absolute concentration of occupants in a given area.

To what degree did the members of each life style group exhibit collective spatial segregation? Taeuber (1966), in his study of Black residential segregation in American cities, derived statistical indices of inter-group segregation. Given the relative proportion of population of two groups in the areal universe of a study, each sub-area within would exhibit the same proportions of population if there were no inter-group segregation. Deviations from expected populations within sub-areas would form the comparative measure of spatial segregation.

For all possible pairs of life style groups in Victory Square, the actual proportions of total population, in terms of person-visits, were determined. Then, for each pair of groups, the deviations from expected population for each of the 44 grid squares of the space-time grid map were computed. No deviations (an index of 0) would mean no spatial segregation between groups. Absolute spatial segregation (an index of 100) would occur when deviations from expected equalled the population of the group being compared. A chart of inter-group spatial segregation shows values ranging from 22.4 between elderly well dressed men and elderly casually dressed men, to 95.6 between young mods and Orientals. (Figure 4.19) It was recognized that these indices were no more than a guideline, for the interpretation of individual behavioural episodes, or the prediction of inter-personal
Figure 4.18. Cumulative Population Concentration by Life Style Group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Well Dressed</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Casually Dressed</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Tramp</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged Casually Dressed</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged Tramp</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Casually Dressed</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Mod</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Hippies</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Indians</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientals</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On a scale of 0 to 100, higher scores indicate a greater degree of collective spatial segregation between groups.

Figure 4.19. Inter-Group Spatial Segregation.
encounter could not be made from the manipulation of aggregate data. For example, it may well have been the case that all young mods and Orientals never occupied the same grid square area in the same hour of the day. However, the general tendencies offered by the segregation indices suggested a degree of spatial integration. Also, some high values of inter-group segregation were between groups of very small sample size. Comparing the segregation of elderly well dressed men and young hippies (85.5) with the segregation index of young mods and Orientals (95.6), the spatial segregation of the former pair is more striking when one considers the total populations involved and refers to the space-time grid maps of these groups.

Disregarding groups of less than one hundred total person-visits, each life style group was sociometrically coupled with those two other groups least spatially segregated from it, (Figure 4.20) and with those two groups most spatially segregated from it. (Figure 4.21) The young hippy and young casually dressed groups exhibited the greatest degree of isolation, having the weakest ties with other groups. Middle aged casually dressed men, middle aged tramps, and elderly tramps exhibited the greatest degree of integration with other groups, forming the strongest linkages. These inter-group tendencies of spatial segregation and integration are discussed further in Chapter Six, where the intricacies of the behavioural process are argued to link individual behaviour patterns to the aggregate spatial patterns of use described here.

Temporal, as well as spatial information could be derived from the space-time grid maps. Figure 4.22 indicates, by hour of the
SEgregation index between groups

Less than 30: 
Between 30 and 40: 
Over 40: 

Stronger and more numerous linkages reflect lower degree of collective spatial segregation.

Figure 4.20. Socio-metric Linkages of Least Segregated Life Style Groups.
Segregation Index Between Groups

Over 75:
Between 65 and 75:
Under 65:

Stronger and more numerous linkages reflect higher degree of collective spatial segregation and isolation.

Figure 4.21. Socio-metric Linkages of Most segregated Life Style Groups.
day, the relative populations of life style groups. In order to assess the degree to which total aggregated data suggested a regular ecological pattern of use, park populations through time, for two randomly picked observation periods, were plotted. (Figure 4.23) These diurnal charts show the increase of the young hippy and middle aged tramp populations at dusk as other groups vacate the park.

Life style groups displayed interesting patterns of change, through space and time. From 7 a.m. to 11 a.m., elderly well dressed men used almost exclusively the benches of the cenotaph area. Then, as their numbers grew, their areal occupancy spread to the east side benches. In the late afternoon, as the sun shone brightly on the east side, hourly person-visits exceeded those in the cenotaph area. After 7 p.m., as dusk approached, the numbers of elderly well dressed men dropped to low densities in both the cenotaph area and the east side. South and west side benches contained few of them, and only from the hours of 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. These men made almost no use of the lawn areas, but a large number loitered along the walls and fences in the cenotaph area, especially during the warm afternoons. As Figure 4.22 shows, their use of the park rose and fell sharply in a daily cycle whose peak came between 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. Rapidly increasing numbers, between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m., led to daily ecological shifts, as the men sought comfortable places to sit or stand.

Elderly casually dressed men displayed similar patterns of park use, but, although they constituted less than one third the total of person-visits of the elderly well dressed men, use of the south side benches was almost as great. Otherwise, aggregate use of space was little different than the other group.
Figure 4.22. Diurnal Populations by Life Style Group (aggregate person-visit data)
Figure 4.23. Diurnal Populations for Two Particular Observation Periods.
In striking contrast to the spatial patterns of use of the above two elderly groups were the space-time grid maps for the young hippy and young casually dressed life style cohorts. According to the indices of inter-group spatial segregation, the young hippies were more segregated from the elderly well dressed group than were the young casually dressed people. A glance at their space-time grid maps also shows that the young casually dressed group was less concentrated in space than the young hippies, integrating themselves more with the other park users. The high values of segregation achieved by the young hippies came from their extreme concentration on the west bank. Use of benches was limited, and only occurred on the south and west sides to any extent at all. The daily ecological rhythm of park use by young hippies offered two peaks, one at mid-morning, and one between 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. They also made more use of the park after dusk and occasionally slept overnight on the grass. On the other hand, young casually dressed people began to vacate the park after 5 p.m. following a sustained moderate occupation of the south bank which began at noon.

The spatial patterns of the elderly and middle aged tramps were quite dispersed, and the indices of inter-group spatial segregation point out that these two groups appear to have practised a high degree of spatial integration with other groups. They used all benches, and the lawn areas, often sleeping with hangovers during the day, or using a bench as a bed at night. Elderly tramps followed no appreciable peaks or troughs in their diurnal rhythm, but middle aged tramps showed a sudden rise in total population at mid-morning and a smaller one in mid-afternoon.

Middle aged casually dressed men also made extensive use of the
park, but for the west side benches. Only the young hippies demonstrated a moderately high index of spatial segregation with them. These men used the south bank more than any other lawn area, so were generally separated from the young hippies (who resided on the west bank) by young casually dressed people, and Indians.

Unlike the benches of the cenotaph area and the east side, where elderly well dressed men often held jurisdictional spatial dominance, the benches of the south and west side experienced a high turnover of visits by Indians, tramps, young hippies, and middle aged casually dressed men, as well as the other groups. Young Indian men were especially concentrated on the south side, and used the benches and the south bank.

The space-time grid maps painted a picture of aggregate use of space by different life style groups and clearly showed areal and temporal variations. As such, these demonstrated patterns of use leave one to search for a way of understanding how the patterns developed. It is the task of Chapters Five and Six to portray the activities and processes of every day life in Victory Square in order to explain the spatial and temporal patterns described here.
CHAPTER V
THE FUNCTIONS OF VICTORY SQUARE:
THE SPATIAL VARIATION OF ACTIVITIES

Victory Square served a plurality of life styles and activities. The areal differentiation of park use by life style could, in part, be understood by revealing the kinds of pastimes each group undertook and their locational preferences for these activities.

Throughout the day, as more people drifted into Victory Square from the surrounding neighbourhood, the availability of suitable space to accommodate these preferences diminished. The tendency for some life style groups to be spatially segregated, and others integrated, reflected the degree to which they shared spatial preferences and needed, or tolerated, each other as individuals. The space-time grid maps (Figures 4.5 to 4.17), showing aggregate, time sampled spatial jurisdiction by groups, suggest a social and spatial ordering of available territory which changes throughout the day. This chapter discusses the activities of park users as they unknowingly weaved these ecological rhythms into the social fabric of the park. The next chapter deals with the behavioural processes which lead to an understanding of the patterns of use.

The Daily Routine of People Who Wait
For many park users, the elderly well dressed and casually dressed men, the tramps, the middle aged casually dressed men, and the Indians, Victory Square provided a place to wait: for friends, for supper, for welfare and pension cheques, for anything. Indeed, for one reason or another, all park users were passing the time. Young
casually dressed students lounged between classes and during their lunch break; young hippies spent a few weeks before moving on to another city; unemployed middle aged men waited for the weeks and months to pass, jeopardizing more and more their chances for full time work; elderly tramps and well dressed pensioners waited for another year to pass, maybe their last.

In this social milieu of passive waiting, and sometimes pathetic retreat, the geographical environment was the setting of a curious blend of leisurely, and also demoralizing and illegal behaviour. Drugs and alcohol were widely used and the park provided an affable and secluded environment where sanctions, both from law enforcement and informal social action, were rare. The sellers of narcotics and soft drugs found a ready market among the young people in the park; glue sniffing was a common practice among Indian girls; bay rum, sterno, and shoe polish complemented the list of wines, liquors, and other chemical crutches by which much of the park population tolerated a life of waiting.

Alcohol was consumed heavily by most of the middle aged and elderly tramps, middle aged and elderly Indians, and occasionally by young Indians. The seasoned drinkers rarely practiced even the slightest pretense of hiding a bottle while in the park. Occasionally the brown paper bag remained over the bottle, but what did it really hide? No one needed to fear the ridicule of drinking an inferior brand for all gave the same effect.

Because the sight of liquor was like a magnet to other drinkers, consumption often became a small group occasion. However, this agent of socialization sometimes failed to break barriers to inter-group interaction, for a white tramp rarely approached a group of
Indians, and vice versa.

No part of Victory Square was completely 'clean' of drinking although spatial concentrations did occur. Most drinking took place along the south and west sides of the park where men sat on the benches to support themselves and to avoid the damp grass of morning and evening. Indian men and women tended to use the grass of the south bank to sit and drink, especially on warm, sunny days. During early morning and late in the evening, heavily drinking individuals moved to otherwise clean areas, for example, the benches of the cenotaph area and the benches on the east side. The darkness provided an extra cover of protection that the dim park lamps failed to penetrate. The absence of large numbers of non-drinkers, such as the elderly well dressed and casually dressed men who normally dominated these bench areas, effected an ecological shift of activity. There was no longer the spatial jurisdiction that normally protected the park from such disrespectful behaviour.

On a bright, warm afternoon, an elderly well dressed man, surrounded by other elderly well dressed and casually dressed men, cautiously sipped a bottle of beer as he sat on the stone ledge of the cenotaph area steps. He hastily lowered the bottle to an inconspicuous level after each sip, as if expecting reprisal. Meanwhile, on the south bank, a small group of Indians, including two middle aged casual men, a middle aged woman, and an elderly casually dressed man openly passed around a large bottle of 'Calona Red'. They were sitting amongst dozens of people, young casually dressed students, young hippies, and tramps, all involved in their own games of idle contemplation, smoking, talking, or sleeping. Behind the Indians,
on a south side bench, two middle aged tramps and a middle aged casually dressed man passed a bottle of whiskey back and forth. In the short distance from the cenotaph area to the south side, there was a change of scene, a geographical variation of disposition. After dark, however, at that same cenotaph area, three very drunk tramps openly drank a bottle of whiskey. The dispositions changed over time as well as over space.

Monitoring the behavioural accretion of daily drinking from discarded liquor bottles revealed some areal variations. (Figure 5.1) Most discarded bottles were left in the inner park and rarely at places where illegal drinking was easily surveyed. The density of empty bottles increased toward the south and west sides of the park, the regions of mixed user type occupation and extensive use by Indians and tramps. This indicator, collected over a period of six consecutive mornings, suggested behavioural tendencies substantiated by daily participant observation in the park. If one were to assume that much drinking occurred at park benches, then the areal variation of discarded bottles is even more striking. The west side, for example, has only four benches but yielded eighteen empty bottles.

Victory Square was also the setting of extensive sales and distribution of drugs; the large numbers of young students and hippies providing a viable market. Most dealing took place within the groups of young people sitting on the south and west banks. With good weather, population densities rose until the lawns were covered with people, acting as a cover of anonymity for those who wished to pass goods unobtrusively among the crowd.
Many young hippies brought drugs into the park, sometimes to sell to others. Both young and middle aged peddlers sold goods on the south and west banks of the park.

Young people usually smoked marijuana in small groups of four to six people; sometimes in the hot afternoon amidst dozens of other lawn dwellers of various life styles; sometimes after dusk when all but a few tramps or Indians had vacated the park.

Although drug connections were, for the most part, not blatantly announced, the park setting appeared to provide an atmosphere of little fear for pushers, for scenes like the following were not infrequent:

A young hippy sitting on the south bank beckons to another who is just entering the park via the east side entrance. After a short exchange of words, he stomps off, turning after a dozen steps to exclaim for all to hear, "No more stuff for you! You learn how to pay first!"

Such interpersonal interactions occurred frequently across distances that suggested the participants gave no marked recognition to park people who were marginal to their daily business and leisure. For example, young hippies often waved to each other, one standing on the south bank and another standing at the east side entrance or as far away as the north-east corner of Hastings and Cambie Street. Their regular calling, gesturing, and behaviour suggested, to all but the most unconcerned, daily connections and interactions which were both socially and illegally profitable. Participants had no fear of reprisal from other park users who kept about their own business, and who would do no more than recognize, but feign ignorance of,
another group's activities. As a result, young hippies had no need of monitoring reaction to their behaviour. Indeed, they rarely even glanced suspiciously over their shoulders as the marijuana was passed around. Park users who were not part of the group's daily contacts became a 'part of the woodwork' in that their presence was given little notice and invoked little caution.

On two occasions, the behavioural effect of the appearance of drug dealers was markedly explicit. A middle aged fashionably well dress man and woman entered the park from the south west entrance and, standing at the junction of the south and west paths, casually glanced around. A tall Negro and another husky middle aged man positioned themselves on the south and west paths and were furtively glancing from side to side. The couple was then met by a third man and suddenly, as if by the sound of a gun, the lawns virtually emptied of young people who rushed toward the itinerant distributors. Small packages and large bills changed hands. The faces of the elderly and middle aged men seated at various benches showed less concern for the event than they would a flock of pigeons converging on a new source of bread crumbs. Such lack of concern may have been a mechanism for maintenance of a semblance of order in a place so vital, in other ways, to the middle aged and elderly park users. Every one knew exactly what the others were doing, but to admit to such knowledge by open condemnation or over-attention to specific events would tear down the essential maintenance of order in the park, the mechanisms which made possible the accommodation of a plurality

1. All informants and casual respondents acknowledged the drug trade activity in the park.
of people and events whose life styles would normally be mutually conflicting within such a confined space.

Social anonymity within the park was not the only protection covering illegal acts and actors. The nature of the physical environment provided effective barriers to surveillance from outside. (Newman, 1972) Victory Square is, in many ways, as physically isolated from its surroundings as its users are socially isolated from the mainstream of Eastside shoppers and workers who do not use the park. Only from a limited number of vantage points could a passer-by actually see into the park. Figure 5.2 illustrates the areas of Victory Square protected from visual surveillance. The orientation of the south and west banks, with a rather steep slope towards the cenotaph area and Hastings Street, and the park perimeters of fence and foliage provided a secluded niche for occupants. Consequently, observation of the park by police was impossible at street level, for total entry into the park was necessary. Police sometimes sat in their cars on Hamilton Street or on Pender Street at Cambie, but with the typical marked cars and police uniforms, they did not enjoy the anonymity that park people had.

Rush hour pedestrian traffic avoided, to a large extent, the suitability of the main corridor of the park as a short cut to Pender Street from Hastings Street, and vice versa. It may well have been, that the uncertainty of what one might confront after beginning to traverse the park influenced avoidance of the short cut, causing longer travel routes, for too much of the park was
Areas of Low Public Surveillance.
hidden, or too distant to determine activities. Those inside knew the rules of the game; those left outside rarely knew the games existed.

In the early evening, on the south bank, young Indian girls, alone and in couples, often sniffed glue. They would reach for large tubes of glue, and balloons, from pockets on the inside of their jackets, and, pouring glue into the balloon, would inhale until they were rolling around senseless on the grass. Men seated at benches on the south and east side calmly gazed into the air and idly followed the movement of the pigeons. As the sun set, the girls were escorted out of the park by Indian youths. Meanwhile, middle aged Indian men and women, socially and spatially segregated from the younger ones, sat on south side benches and drank wine. In fact, by this time they shared the south half of the park with only two middle aged tramps seated at a distant bench, and a small group of young hippies seated on the west bank. The feeble yellow light from the park lamps barely closed the distances between them. By nine in the evening the park was very quiet. In the cenotaph area, a handful of elderly well dressed men sat together at one bench, while three Ukrainian men of the same life style group interact at the stone wall just east of the cenotaph area benches. By nine-thirty the park would be dark and empty but for two tramps, drinking until their day ended on the park bench.

The locational pattern of drinking, drug use, and glue sniffing formed a mosaic of illegal activity on the park landscape. (Figure 5.3) The patterns shown are the typical locations of each pastime and reflect the areal preferences of the people engaged in each.
Illegal Activities: The Typical Daytime Pattern.
Victory Square periodically entertained a number of recreational activities which added variety to the normal daily round. For example, young hippies occasionally played frisbee on the west bank, causing a stir of reserved annoyance as casual sunbathers and drunken tramps rolled aside from its path. Most enjoyed watching, especially the elderly well dressed and casually dressed men seated at benches nearby. However, when a sailing frisbee caused potential intrusion by heading straight for their bench, they became uneasy. These men enjoyed watching but did not want to be disturbed or become a centre of attention.

One other afternoon, on the south bank, where Indians rather than young hippies tended to dominate, four middle aged casually dressed Indian men played catch football, causing the dozen people who had been sitting at the fringes of the play area to shift. With these four men were two children, one in a baby carriage, and two women, an idyllic family occasion in a setting where few such scenes occurred. Many of the 'country picnic' items were present, such as the ground blanket, lunch, and a bottle of wine.

Such irregular events as frisbee games and family picnics took place in the areas of the park where the life style group involved enjoyed collective spatial concentration, or jurisdiction. There appears to have been spatial preferences for the initiation of such activities, contingent upon the spaces in which life style cohorts felt the most comfortable. Whether or not life style groups did consciously claim territory, the concentrated use of an area facilitated easier introduction of group activities, both common
and irregular. (Roos, 1964)

Pigeon feeding was a favourite pastime of many people in the park, especially the elderly well dressed and elderly casually dressed men. They appeared to gain self-satisfaction and respect for their ability to win the favours of a few hungry birds. For men who were socially outcast and spatially segregated from the social worlds of familism and suburbia, a successful relationship with the birds was a matter of pride. Bird feeding was a daily ritual for many elderly men. Although bread crumb tossing was occasionally practised from most benches in the park, bird feeding commonly occurred in the cenotaph area and along the east side benches. Up to one hundred and fifty birds might swarm in one area. Some old men preferred to scatter bread crumbs around the cenotaph area while others entreated birds to come to their particular bench. The cenotaph area became a perfect stage for a number of inter-personal competitions for the attention of the pigeons. One episode is described here:

An elderly Chinese woman came into the park and scattered about two pounds of bread crumbs on the concrete walkway encircling the cenotaph. This attracted the attentions of a huge flock of pigeons and many sparrows. As the gallery of mostly elderly well dressed men watched from the cenotaph area benches, an elderly tramp, a few yards away, laboriously collected breadcrumbs from the ground. Using a brown paper bag retrieved from the garbage bin at the cenotaph area steps, he managed to almost fill the bag with fragments. While all else was focused on the pigeons and the Chinese woman, he walked halfway up the cenotaph area steps, turned, and waved his arms,
shouting, "Over here, over here!" He then dumped the whole bag of crumbs at the base of the steps and the pigeons all flocked to his feet. With a smile on his face he triumphantly crumpled the brown paper bag, tossed it back into the garbage bin, and marched from the park. The Chinese woman appeared rather dismayed but continued to scatter mechanically more bread to the few remaining birds around her.

Some elderly men recognized the competition for food between the pigeons and sparrows, and stood for long periods of time at such places as the park fence on Hamilton Street and Pender Street, tossing bread crumbs under the trees and idly pondering the activity there.

One unique behavioural episode put into focus a number of interesting realities about the daily lives of the people of Victory Square. Four energetic students passed out small, but colourful and glossy brochures which advertised a series of musical events at the Queen Elizabeth Theatre, only three blocks away. Virtually everyone in the park was given a copy and for about five minutes a large majority of the population meticulously pondered over them. The degree of attention was remarkable considering that very few of the large park population that day could probably afford, or would have the inclination, to see such an event. The episode strengthened the generalization that the park held a population that was basically non-motivated and under-active, with an inner need for stimulus, action, and self-accomplishment. Life was very much a waiting game!

In addition, the whole park population was within easy access of a cultural facility which did not serve people of their social world. The theatre and its advertising cues were geographically closer to
these people than most suburban devotees of the theatre. But if physical access was guaranteed, social access was unattainable, and the brochures were merely a novelty for understimulated outcasts rather than a ticket selling device. Once the novelty of the brightly coloured folders had passed, they were dropped to the ground and into garbage bins.

Victory Square also provided an affable environment in which to loiter, sleep, and sunbathe. Most places in our society are off limits to loitering, idle gazing, and other sedentary preoccupations. The "no stopping or parking" traffic rule appears to permeate our societies norms of the use of space. Goffman (1961) recognizes the social norm of involvement, the requirement of people to maintain the impression that, when in public view, they are doing something appropriate to the social occasion and spatial setting. When a person does not follow the accepted rules of involvement, anxiety is created in other people who cannot understand or 'order' the social occasion. If a drunk enters a bus and disregards personal privacy, and swears, the social setting is altered from its proper and socially accepted form, causing tension. In another instance, if someone suddenly stood motionless on a crowded street, not moving or speaking, he would cause tension and uncertainty. To alleviate these problems, society, according to Goffman, provides norms for controlling behaviour settings, so that members can experience a relatively unstressful environment. Those who do not follow the rules are labelled as deviant, or mentally ill. Victory Square is one of the few places where people of low socio-economic status are able to conduct a life of little things, without reprisal from the more
powerful members of society, the policemen, businessmen, and affluent shoppers who patrol the streets of their neighbourhood. With no other spaces but a dingy room which does not constitute real personal property, the people who use Victory Square add their own impress to it, and make it a place for the dispossessed to relax in their own style.

On warm, sunny afternoons, while young hippies played cards and smoked marijuana on the grass, a few elderly casually dressed men sat backwards on east side benches, soaking up sunshine on their bare backs. Others stood at various places in the park, silently pondering whatever passed in front of them. Some elderly men told me about the small sparrows and their habits, others were preoccupied with the activities of the field mice living in the brush. These were events that became important as well as novel to people sitting and waiting, and represented an intense differentiation of a constricted life space.

While some elderly well dressed and casually dressed men liked the sunshine, others preferred the shade and sat on the west side during the afternoon. These benches were never dominated by elderly well dressed or casually dressed men, but were used by many life style cohorts. Other places, however, were often dominated by these men, who spent hours of the day loitering and casually interacting. For example, the stone walls on either side of the benches around the cenotaph provided legitimate places to sit or lean. These men also lined the stone wall that overlooks the cenotaph at the men's underground washroom. At the east side of the cenotaph area, loitering often spilled out of the concrete concourse around the cenotaph onto the street side-
walk, causing pedestrians to be slowed at the intersection of Hastings and Pender Street.

Within the park, elderly well dressed men stood at the top of the cenotaph area steps to ponder the scene. Other places, such as the fountain, the main corridor, and the west nth were too busy, or occupied by incompatible life style groups, making these places uncomfortable places to stand and enjoy the greenery of the park.

Panhandling, the most direct form of claiming resources from the park's population, was rarely obvious. More subtle, but also of more consequence to the socio-spatial order of the park was the regular intra- and inter-group exchange of goods by systematic prey-predator relationships, the process of which, as described in Chapter Six, operated within the parochial social milieu of the park without disrupting the population's sedentary life.

The park environment ultimately provided, both socially and spatially, a place where people of different and conflicting lifestyles co-existed through non-involvement to combat the isolation of the hotel room, the bus station, and the crowded streets.
"...about the space between us all, and the people, who hide themselves behind a wall."
(George Harrison, 1967)

The behavioural processes that lead to the socio-spatial order in Victory Square are discussed in this chapter.

Finding a Place

At 7 a.m. on a sunny morning at the end of May, 1973, an elderly well-dressed man crosses Cambie Street on Hastings to pass by the cenotaph. He slows and searches the park for people; it is empty. Continuing on, he turns up the sidewalk that borders the cobblestoned Hamilton Street and disappears at the entrance to the men's underground washroom. Another elderly well-dressed man passes the cenotaph, climbs the steps that sit between the cenotaph area benches, and patrols the perimeter walks of the park before sitting at one end of a bench in the cenotaph area. He continually surveys his field of vision; Hastings Street and the Cambie Street intersection, the pigeons, and the approaching warmth of the morning sun. Five minutes later, the other emerges from the washroom and returns to again pass the cenotaph. He stops, and after determining the location of the seated man, walks to the bench next to him, and sits. The other man shifts a bit and resettles his arms and legs into a comfortable position. They exchange glances while continuing to view the street. The daily routine of park use has begun.
As 9 a.m. approaches, the streets and sidewalks are full of commuters. The cenotaph west area benches offer a popular site in the morning sun, but almost no one sits on the shaded east side. Occasionally, from the mainstream of sidewalk traffic, an individual approaches the gathering to become a member. How he becomes a member and how he relates socially and spatially to others is central to a full understanding of the areal patterns that slowly develop.

The distance between the sidewalk traffic and the gathering at the cenotaph area benches is a broad one; they are worlds apart. The one world knows little of the activities and thoughts of the other. While the office and store workers rush by to their jobs, the people in the park go about their daily business of passing the time, glad to be out of their dingy rooms for a few hours.

Victory Square offers various facilities, such as sunshine, relative quiet, dry places to sit, and company, all of which vary geographically. Such a large proportion of park users are regular visitors that surveillance and search behaviour is already set, or programmed toward specific, preferred parts of the park. For example, elderly casually dressed and well dressed men prefer the cenotaph area and east side benches which offer sunshine. Young hippies and casually dressed young people prefer the south and west lawns on warm, sunny days.

When surveying an area for a place to occupy, encouragement or discouragement is often offered by other occupants. As a newcomer approaches, he is evaluated by the others. In the cenotaph area, this behaviour is conspicuous, for an entrant confronts a semi-circle of seated people, all casually watching whatever people and activities
are presented to them. In other places, such as the south and west side benches, individuals are confronted with fewer seated people, and so, potentially fewer personal evaluations.

As a person approaches and is evaluated by other occupants, shifting behaviour occurs on the bench which the entrant has picked as having potential seating space for him. The occupants judge by the newcomer's glances and the direction of his walk where he is planning to sit. Shifting behaviour is an invitation to sit. If an undesirable approaches, the strongest cue is not to budge, to remain 'standing one's ground', feigning ignorance of the entrant. The gathering makes no non-verbal gestures of acceptance or welcome.

Personal acquaintances are, of course, readily accepted into an existing gathering. Extended personal acquaintances are more common among elderly well dressed and casual men, middle aged casually dressed men, young hippies, and young casually dressed people, facilitating an easier formation of social gatherings among these life style cohorts. One middle aged casually dressed man, partly paralysed by a work accident, and using a cane fastened with a supportive tripod on the end, receives his invitation to sit whenever he enters the cenotaph area. He is a regular park user, well mannered and well groomed, and is acknowledged like other 'resident' park users.

Whenever a newcomer is accepted into the social gathering, or 'bench pattern' in one place, he can remain silent, watching the view, or he can attach himself to current conversation. Regardless of his preferences, he causes no tension or disruption of the micro-social order after he has been accepted if he follows the behaviour of the occupants. If a person has taken a place without invitation or consent, surrounding occupants show a degree of tension and
adjustment, especially if the observable impressions of that person, his clothes, deportment, and verbal behaviour do not conform to the gathering he has joined. Shifting behaviour occurs after he has seated himself. Adjacent individuals may cross the leg closest to the intruder over the other so as to redirect their visual focus away from him. Conversation breaks off momentarily as the event is witnessed, evaluated, and adjusted to.

The process of finding a place involves both the searcher and the occupants. The occupants provide non-verbal communications of invitation or rejection as the searcher surveys an area for a likely vacancy. While doing so, he is unconsciously communicating information about himself, through his dress and deportment, to others.

The Mechanism of Individual Distancing

As the numbers of people in an area of the park increase, the process of finding a place, and the behavioural response to encroachment upon an existing social gathering becomes more intense and definable. This is especially true in areas where one life style group tends to dominate. Critical inter-personal distances, for example, become more apparent as they determine the carrying capacity of the area and the degree to which a number of people can easily co-exist within the existing space.

People consistently maintain a personal space zone around themselves which effectively maintains regular inter-personal distances. (Hall, 1963; Horowitz et al., 1964) A person's inclination toward others, whom he may regard as being potentially friendly or dangerous, inviting or repelling, and the social occasion around
which the encounter occurs affect the personal distance which he observes and demands. The regular and predictable spatial behaviour of individuals in Victory Square, which will be described here, confirms basic research that has been previously conducted, primarily in indoor environments. (Sommer, 1969)

Individual distances that were maintained in Victory Square were a function of, firstly, life style compatibility of persons, and secondly, the type and scarcity of desired accommodation.

People of similar life style exhibited a tendency to tolerate a shorter personal space radius than persons of dissimilar life style affiliation. For example, well dressed elderly men sat five or six on a bench in the cenotaph area, leaving little more than a few inches of intervening space. However, other benches in the park rarely accommodated more than three people, for these areas had a high turnover of use, and mixed use. Here, individuals demanded no less than two feet of space to separate them from others. Only if a bench became used by one life style group and demand was high, would more than three people use it. The elderly well dressed men and the young hippies were the most gregarious bench partners when use was exclusive. Paradoxically, they were also the groups least likely to be found together in one place.

Spacing behaviour was regular and predictable. In instances where people did not openly greet one another as acquaintances, free bench space was divided equally. A free bench was the initial choice, unless a particular bench provided an exclusive facility, such as sunshine, shade, or a man with a bottle. If all benches were occupied
then a newcomer sat as far as possible from the occupant of the bench. Benches slowly filled until newcomers decided to search another area of the park rather than intrude upon the existing gathering.

The point at which a series of benches, such as the cenotaph east area benches, or west side benches, would no longer accommodate increased use varied geographically and with the life style group involved. The behavioural processes involved, of invitation and rejection, which tended to lead to the attraction of people to their own kind, reinforced the tendency for some areas to be dominated by one life style group. This increased the potential carrying capacity of the area. The cenotaph area and the southern section of benches on the east side became quite heavily populated by the elderly well dressed men. The south side and the west side benches, however, did not usually accommodate as many people per bench for these areas of the park were more heterogeneous in their visitor types, with fewer potential compatible bench mates. The west side benches were very close to the large number of young hippies who congregated on the west bank, hence fewer elderly men preferred the area, except in the afternoon when the sun was very hot and these benches provided shade. This location, therefore, offered more free bench space, attracting various life style types, which in turn, lessened its potential carrying capacity.

Sitting at the south and west side benches more intimately involved an occupant in the inner life of the park and the daily activities of young hippies, Indians, tramps, and young casually dressed people who used the lawns. The view from the cenotaph area impinged to a lesser extent on the more noxious elements of the park environment and was, therefore, a preferred area for certain life
style groups, especially the elderly well dressed men. Life style homogeneity led to a contraction of individual spacing in the cenotaph area. The same process occurred among the young hippy group, whose spatial preference led to dense congregations on the west bank. For each life style group, individual distancing expanded and contracted in response to social variations in the park.

On hot, sunny afternoons, the grassy banks of the park were densely occupied but the mechanisms of distancing worked to provide an organization of space as regular as on the benches, from the scale of individual distancing to aggregate spatial dominance by life style cohorts.

Lawn dwellers normally tolerated no less than five to six feet of space on either side, especially while lying down. Six feet was typically left clear in front of and behind each lawn dweller. These distances were the recurrent intra-group spaces held, but there were departures from this average, for example the twelve to fifteen feet which two female students conceded to a drunk tramp so that his occasional obscene mutterings need not be heard or acknowledged. Increasing geographic distance provided occupants with the option of choosing to disregard conversations and gestures directed toward them, for they could feign unawareness.

The following behavioural episode shows how individual distancing led to the beginnings of collective control of space by different life style groups:

On a bright, sunny afternoon, a student couple and a young hippy sit ten feet apart on the south bank. Soon, an elderly tramp, quite intoxicated, stumbles to within six feet of the young couple and lies down, mumbling to himself. Within a minute the couple cross
the main corridor to the west bank to sit down between two small groups of young hippies, creating six foot distances between the three groups. Another tramp approaches the south bank and lies down ten feet from the already prostrate tramp. He is about eight feet from the first mentioned young hippy, who is now alone with two intoxicated tramps about him. A few minutes later, he has moved about twenty feet west, where, sitting about six feet from two other young hippies, he is once again spatially 'associated' with his own kind. The area around the two tramps is now exclusive to them, where beforehand, three life style cohorts had occupied the space.

This behavioural episode reflects the manner in which people keep inter-personal distances, but also suggests that the mechanism of individual distancing is not an isolated phenomenon. It must be understood in association with other processes, including the effective individual control of personal space.

Maintaining Your Place: Personal Control of Space

The ability of a person to effectively maintain his personal territory was an important element of the socio-spatial organization in Victory Square. The extent of individual spacing, resulting from non-verbal interactions, reflected a respect for personal space which, whether resulting from status, fear, or repulsion, led to variable carrying capacities throughout the park and was basic to the process by which specific life style groups came to hold apparent territorial control over extended areas.

'Silver', a middle aged tramp, who is marginally retarded, and a loner, marches directly to a bench at the cenotaph west area where one man is already seated. After seating himself rather humbly and
predictably at the opposite end of the bench, he shifts to a prostrate position, resting his elbow on the bench and giving no visible recognition of the other occupant. His feet are tucked slightly behind his knees so that they come within inches of the other man. The elderly dressed up man begins to shift nervously, a slight look of annoyance on his face. He rises and leaves, walking up the cenotaph area steps and left toward the fountain. Having effectively claimed the whole bench (while the other three benches of the cenotaph west area each hold four occupants), Silver then gets up and goes to the fountain for a drink. He returns to find a man sitting at each end of the bench he has just left. He sits at the centre, and lies down again. Within a minute, following irritation and fidgeting, the two men get up and leave. The visible annoyance of their faces is not reciprocated or even acknowledged by Silver.

'Pudgy', a large, elderly tramp who spends part of every year in a rehabilitation ward to recover from excessive alcoholism, ambles into the cenotaph area with a shopping bag of groceries and liquor. Seating himself on a bench at the cenotaph east area, he proceeds to discard paper, wrappings, and bottles all around him so that the bench becomes virtually taken up with his garbage. Surrounded by territorial markers, he remains there for over three hours, chewing on raw hamburger meat, drinking whiskey, and throwing biscuit crumbs (and ultimately most of the raw meat) onto the pavement in front of him for the pigeons. He effectively exercises territorial control over his immediate area, even as the approaching noon hour brings many prospective occupants into the cenotaph area. His mannerism, however, suggests an inherent difference between the maintenance of personal
space in the park and in wider society. For the most part, claims to personal territory in Victory Square were of transient jurisdiction and were successful when the personally occupied space was not in particular demand or was made uninviting to others.

Retreat was the most common reaction to noxious externalities imposed by people, their looks or behaviour. The drunk lying down near a student couple, or two hippies seating themselves near an elderly well dressed man generally led to withdrawal by the original occupant. The dangers or annoyances which characterized retreat were usually more imagined than real, for actual physical abuse was almost non-existent, especially during the day. The noxious stimulus that influenced avoidance or abandonment of settings was the passive, self-centred loner, like Pudgy, who took up temporary residence. Planned invasions, such as those by Silver, were rare.

Mannerisms as well as appearance influenced the extent of claimed space. For example, two men talking to each other from opposite ends of a bench effectively claimed all of the space between them. When a man, seated at one end of a bench, positioned his body inwards, he commanded more space than if he had sat at the end of the bench and faced outwards.

Newspapers were often employed by older men, either consciously or unconsciously, to keep a preferred distance between themselves and others. (Sommer, 1969) This behaviour varied geographically. Elderly men rarely used objects as spatial buffers in the cenotaph area, but employed them on the west side and south side benches where the likelihood was greater that individuals of other life styles, such
as young hippies and tramps might choose to accompany them on the bench.

Continued attachment to one part of the park, as opposed to transient jurisdiction, was indicated occasionally when someone unconsciously invaded the personal territory of another. An elderly Chinese man almost daily stood or sat in the stage area on the stone wall to feed small birds who waited under the trees for bread crumbs. He had a habit of placing folded newspapers under a thick bush nearby, retrieving them when he visited to use as a cushion on the low stone wall. Once, when under competition with a middle aged casually dressed man for the attentions of the birds, he moved almost briskly with a look of dismay. On another occasion, an elderly casually dressed man had attracted pigeons to the Chinaman's feeding ground. The latter tried to drive off the big birds from the bread he had left for the sparrows. When a small group of young hippies sat on the stone wall one afternoon, he nervously paced back and forth until they left, so he could once again take his chosen place under the trees.

Because maintenance of personal territory rested primarily in one's ability to make a place uninviting to others, and because spatial invasion was met with passive resignation and retreat, the socio-spatial pattern of park use was one of passive readjustment rather than intensive confrontation. However, in this kind of environment, those people who were regarded as obnoxious or unconcerned about social equity had distinct advantage. Intoxicated and rowdy users, and also those who were socially and mentally abnormal, suffered little personal affront but did gain spatial jurisdiction.
Passive readjustment worked for regular and occasional park users, but the fragility of this order was demonstrated by the intrusion of people with legitimate power who were not regular park members. Early one morning a police van pulled onto the cenotaph area concourse and two policemen abruptly aroused two men who were asleep behind the stage area trees. One was so drunk he was literally tossed into the back of the truck. Two young hippies, asleep in sleeping bags high on the south bank, were awakened and informed that they could not loiter. The people who held a measure of control over the park as members of a sub-cultural order had none in the face of legitimate, members of law enforcement. Even temporary mainstream status had its effect. The park attendant's summer helper, a student of eighteen, was one day sweeping the south path. A middle aged tramp, head lowered, walked slowly eastward along the walk until he came to the young boy. As the broom casually dabbled in the debris, the man waited, unsure of his moves to bypass the boy. The boy looked up and quickly muttered, "go on", whereupon the man quickly and dutifully proceeded. The man appeared as a pitiful fixture in a pitiful social world over which the boy reigned as a legitimate member of wider society, far removed from park users. Personal space in Victory Square was transient, and its tenure rested with the sanction of external authorities. Yet, paradoxically, the ability of individual park users to maintain personal space jurisdiction also worked at a wider level to ensure that people with legitimate authority and power rarely used it in the park.
Group Spatial Dominance

The processes of finding a place, maintaining personal space, and the mechanism of individual distancing led, ultimately, to collective life style concentrations in particular bench and lawn areas. Spatial dominance of an area by one life style group was not a collectively contrived effort to claim a territory, but the result of individual decisions: place preference, search, retreat, and relocation behaviour. The spatial results of this atomistic process aggregated into molecules of an apparent collective control of territory. However, these concentrations came to be perceived as an effective group control and were enhanced as subsequent actions by other life style cohorts reflected these perceptions. For example, elderly men apprehensively passed the dozens of hippies seated on the south and west banks and their limited use of west side benches was due to the presence of this latter group, who occasionally used the benches themselves.

The spill-over effect was visible evidence of over-demand for a particular location. On warm afternoons, the cenotaph area benches were filled to capacity. Elderly well dressed and casually dressed men sat on the low iron fence surrounding the cenotaph, on the cenotaph area steps, and stood along the Hamilton Street stone wall surveying the area. The cenotaph area was full of these elderly men, with others patrolling from group to group or alone, and still others on all sides, motionless but following the action, and awaiting a vacancy. As spaces on the benches became available, they would quickly be claimed. Only a handful of the population in this setting were not elderly well dressed or casually dressed men. The social world of these elderly men in the cenotaph area, and the social world of the
young hippies on the west bank were quite exclusive. At peak population periods, individuals made few inroads into the territory or interactions of the other group and they appeared to be territorially unified and cohesive groups perhaps due only to the process of passive readjustment that protected them.

Macro Control of Space: The Park as Exclusive Territory

Control of Victory Square, by the people who used it, was ephemeral and as fragile as the web of daily social and spatial relationships. No one from wider, more affluent social worlds, such as business people and shoppers, expressed apparent interest in the place, hence the parochial social milieu was allowed to exist for the social remnants who filled the vacuum of vacated areas. The park was an island of outcasts surrounded by non-users.

Just as individual spatial behaviour created apparent collective spatial control, the prevailing middle class image of Victory Square protected local inhabitants from careful scrutiny. Members of this social milieu, very much uninvolved with the matters and activities of wider society, were left with a place of their own to use at their discretion.

The Role of Design and Topography

The topography of Victory Square and the nature of the built environment—the benches, walls, stairs, fences, and their spatial forms, influenced both the image and the behaviour of park users.

The park attendant and the washroom attendant, in their image of the park, dichotomized it into two areas; the cenotaph area, where,
they reported, old retired farmers and pensioners sat all day, and the rest of the park, occupied by Indians, tramps, and hippies. Many elderly well dressed and casually dressed men, and the 'scientist', an informant, also shared this image of the park. The cenotaph area was almost cut off from the rest of the park by foliage, walls, and a six foot drop in elevation. People's behaviour conformed to the dichotomized image, so that the tendency was reinforced for elderly well dressed and casually dressed men on one hand, and the Indians, tramps, and hippies on the other, to remain generally isolated from each other. The park environment provided, in its topography, a spatial solution to a problem of potential social conflict.

Benches that were partly angled toward each other were settings for greater interaction than those benches whose position left occupants facing away from each other, victims of socio-fugal space design. (Hall, 1966) The cenotaph area of the park was more socio-petal than bench areas on the east or west side, for its benches more readily encouraged interaction. In the cenotaph west area, elderly well dressed men often formed conversation clusters of five to seven people, the arrangement of benches facilitating visual contact with a comrade at the next bench. Sitting on a bench here, or on the low fence around the cenotaph, one felt a part of a social gathering, whereas sitting on the east side, the user overlooked the south lawn and was more aware of distant activities than those of his immediate neighbours.

As the sun's rays favoured different areas of the park throughout the day, spatial preferences among user types changed. When the afternoon sun reached the east side benches, elderly well dressed and casually dressed men began to fill them. In the morning, the cenotaph east area was
sparsely populated while the sun-brightened west side of the cenotaph area benches was well patronized. As areas of sun and shade shifted on the south and west banks of the park, young hippies, young casually dressed people, and others slowly adjusted their areas of occupation until early evening, when lawn users edged toward the main corridor and the only remaining shaft of sunlight.

The slope of the lawns influenced user orientation and made for greater accommodation. The north side of the park facing onto Hastings Street provided the front view and the south end of the park, the uphill, rear perspective. People seated at a south side bench were twenty feet higher than people in the cenotaph area, and could look across the way to the second and third floors of Hastings Street buildings. Lawn dwellers always faced northward and this orientation bias made other spaces less appealing. For example, the bench near the fountain, facing toward the south lawn, had rapid turnover of use, and mixed use, because users came face to face, visually, with the lawn population and people walking north-east on the main corridor. The most comfortable places to sit were areas where one could see without being an object of attention.

Fences in the park were symbolic deterrents to use of the lawns; the gingerly step it took to cross them was more of a social than a physical task. The way in which young hippies and elderly well dressed men differed in their lawn traversing behaviour indicated their feelings toward the space. Young hippies simply walked over the fences to get to their destination, or avoided the fence by cutting through the trees at the stage area. Older men rarely walked on the grass, and then
hesitantly stepped over the low chain fence. Crossing a fence appeared to mean violating a space and a social more, trespassing in a territory by ignoring a social cue, for the elderly well dressed men looked apprehensive in this behaviour. Victory Square's design, the formal model of European parks, and the old world norms of conduct suggested by such elements of the design as fences, were not communicated equally to all life style groups, for the lawns of the park were crowded with people on warm afternoons.

Movement Patterns and Interpersonal Conflict

Entering, leaving, or crossing the park involved an origin-destination strategy. Study of travel routes of life style groups in Victory Square revealed patterns of movement that prevented all but occasional person to person confrontation by individuals of different incompatible groups, for example, the elderly well dressed men and the young hippies. (Figure 6.1)

The elderly men made most extensive use of entrances to the park, the paved perimeter walks within, and the concrete concourse of the cenotaph area. Because of their numbers, they appeared to dominate most of the pathways of the park, and used them as places to stroll leisurely rather than as places used only functionally as travel paths. As the day progressed and the areas of sun and shade shifted, these men wandered the paths for exercise and to find better seats. The perimeter paths were a congenial haven in contrast to the crowded pavement of Hastings Street.

Young Hippies did not patrol the park like the elderly men.
Typical Movement Patterns of Two Life Style Groups.
Late in the evening and early in the morning a small group may have used a bench adjacent to the sloping lawns, but through the longer part of the day they concentrated on the lawns. Most entered the park from the direction of Gastown, crossing at Hastings and Cambie Street, walking directly up the cenotaph area steps, and mounted the low stone wall to bring themselves directly onto the west lawn.

While elderly men wandered along the legitimate paths of the park, the young hippies jumped the low chain fence and traversed the grass; individuals of the two groups rarely met.

Even with this accommodating system, conscious effort to avoid inter-group confrontations prevailed, for the movement patterns were not totally exclusive. On one occasion, an elderly man, walking north on the west path was on a line of potential collision with a young hippy walking across the grass toward him. Actual physical collision was averted because the elderly man hesitated. The young hippy, acting as if to deny, outwardly, the presence of the other, was playing the 'non-person' game, whereby non-compatible individuals ignore each other. (Goffman, 1961) This strategy works only as long as one of the pair takes the subordinate role, especially in such instances as the above.

Often elderly well dressed men starting to walk south on the west path stopped, only to retrace their steps, or continue with caution along the path. Ahead of them, the presence of young hippies, Indians, or tramps near the path or at the benches presented a perceived danger. The social distance between the various life style groups was reflected in their spatial segregation. One small group of hippies might cause elderly men to cancel an intended excursion.
When this occurred, a dominant-subordinate relationship developed, manifesting itself in averted travel plans and territorial retreat.

**Planned Confrontation: Predation and the Interaction Ritual as Ecological Symbiosis**

Victory Square was a resource area for its users. In a semi-symbiotic relation, the attributes and possessions of some life style groups were desired by others and a tempered predator-prey relationship worked to distribute these goods around.

While the elderly dressed up and casually dressed men passed the day selectively searching and avoiding people and places, so as to minimize threat and confrontation, other groups practiced forced interpersonal and inter-group interaction. Interaction rituals within, and between, various life style groups explained much of the inter-group spatial relationships, at the individual and aggregate levels.

**Intra-group Predation**

To varying degrees, the members of each life style group preyed on their own cohorts. Young hippies best practiced the ideology of the 'love generation', sharing small resources such as cigarettes, drugs, card games, food, and conversation. With a friendly approach to a cluster of young hippies, a newcomer could easily engage himself through simple small talk. Once established in the group, he was not left out of anything that may be passed around. If one member of a cluster was a resource holder, a simple request would usually lead to sharing.
This easy flow of goods and information was reflected in the spatial habits of the young hippies. Small groups lounging on the south and west banks were not rigid, but open aggregates of people, continually sending off and accepting individuals who moved around the circuit. Some of the young hippies were relatively long term residents, having used the park for a number of weeks; they formed the skeleton of a spatial pattern of use of the park, enticing newcomers and transients to follow their habits.

Middle aged and elderly Indians and tramps also preyed on each other. Unlike the young hippies, tramps approached each other when a magnet of attraction, such as a bottle of liquor, or cigarettes, was indiscretely shown. The method of approach was more important than the words used. Often, the tramp was already intoxicated and his words were not understandable. On one occasion a drunk elderly tramp sat beside the author, talking and occasionally brushing my shoulder with his hand, as if to repeatedly attract my attention. I had no idea what he was saying and politely said my leave. Sitting down two benches away, I witnessed another elderly tramp, not intoxicated, sit down beside the man and begin to nod appreciably to all the incoherent things he was saying. He lit a cigarette and offered the pack to the other. This social occasion had none of the rewards of a middle class occasion. No information was passed; nothing substantial was said. An exchange had taken place which was important to the two involved, a social with a chance to interact, and an offer of goods. This encounter illustrated the distribution of goods, without forced predation, between life style cohorts. Not all interactions were this congenial, however, and another behavioural episode demonstrated the transience by which most predator-prey relationships operated:
The predator was a middle aged tramp. Acting with emphasized bonhomie toward another middle aged tramp at a cenotaph west area bench at 7 a.m. in the morning, he suddenly broke from him (and a potential drink of wine) to approach another middle aged casually dressed man who sat three benches away. Unfortunately, this man was not receptive to his attentions and the tramp ended up sitting between the two, looking back and forth at each of them.

Indians who had a bottle of wine often attracted other Indians, both men and women. Young Indian men and women generally kept away from the middle aged and elderly, forming their own relationships, social and economic. Young Indian girls often came into the park alone to sniff glue and later joined up with young Indian males. The young rarely drank wine as heavily as the middle aged Indians, who formed small groups of both men and women on the south side.

**Inter-group Predation**

To what extent did park users extend their predation outside their own life style group? Middle aged and elderly tramps and Indians actively practised inter-group predation. To be able to invite oneself to the attentions of others and ultimately gain from it materially required successful enactment of the assimilation game--playing the typified role of another life style in order to gain access to that group's milieu with the ultimate aim of acquiring goods.

Tramps approached almost anyone who might be successful prey, but were more apt to operate in the south half of the park, rarely taking space, or people's time, in the cenotaph area. Drunk tramps were rarely successful except in preying on other tramps who were also
drunk. Sober, however, they learned to perfect the technique of predation, as the following illustrates:

Casually strolling across the west bank lawn, a middle aged tramp sat close to a small group of hippies who were smoking cigarettes and playing cards. Soon, at an opportune moment, he remarked on their game, effectively, but not brashly, thus introducing himself to the group. After casually conversing for a while, he asked for a cigarette and was promptly rewarded, not giving the occasion enough attention to foster resentment, continuing to make idle conversation. He had attained his goal without arousing resentment.

Tolerance was a common virtue of park people, making the predator's task more commonly successful. The social environment of the park seemed to dictate a kind of behaviour to its occupants. In a different place, two female students approached by two young Indian men could have easily discouraged them, or called for help to be rid of them. However, in this setting, the rules of the game appeared set. An Indian sat down on the grass beside the two girls and began to chat; the girls appeared a bit uncomfortable. Shortly, he was offered a couple of cherries, and he waved his companion over. They both began eating cherries and talking to the girls. Obviously, anyone in the park was fair game, subject to the rules of this social world, and in this environment, prey seemed to comply readily.

One afternoon, an Indian couple, both of them drunk and unsightly, approached the author and a middle aged tramp as we sat on a west side bench. The tramp had proudly shown me his bottle of whiskey, indiscreetly allowing others to see. When the Indian couple scrambled over the low chain fence, the woman completely ignored me, and sat down between
the tramp and myself, sprawling across my lap. Quickly shifting away, the Indian man sat beside me and began mumbling about Chilliwack. As it was the only word which was comprehensible, I repeated it, whereupon he became excited and continued incoherently. Formulating a quick, but cheerful goodbye, I moved off down the path to another bench. Soon, the tramp had also left, leaving the Indians alone, and dejected, on the bench. He had graciously and tolerantly accepted the arrival of the babbling man and the unsightly woman as an element of the life he leads. Although he did not, on this occasion, give up some of his whiskey, he played the game to the point of not offending the people.

The relationship between the typical interaction ritual and predation practices of life style groups and their patterns of areal use of the park showed an interesting regularity. The more active predation groups had a more extensive action space, and a lesser index of spatial segregation with other groups. (Figure 4.19) The introverted groups, such as the elderly well dressed and young hippies, depended little on people outside of their own life style. Indian people relied more on inter-group predation, especially the middle aged. Tramps enjoyed neither the company of extensive intra-group interaction, nor much personal independence, needing either to prey on people, or to scavenge the park for resources left by others. The social lives of each life style group, though tied together in one place, exhibited unique characteristics of interaction and dependency, and the collective spatial patterns of park use reflected them.
Park Resources and Human Behaviour

Victory Square provided a number of human and non-human resources, which attracted users into the park. Garbage bins located at the cenotaph area steps, and at the south-east and south-west gates, attracted people who salvaged bottles, paper bags, and other items. The self-professed 'mayor' of the park, an elderly tramp and confessed alcoholic, told me of his idea to maximize bottle return revenue by salvaging empties, but indicated the transportation problems, the costs of which negated such a plan. The mayor, in his own simple way, was acutely aware of the constraints of major cost elements on economic enterprise. So salvaging in Victory Square remained an inefficient, individual process of chance. Such unlikely items as jackets and shirts were occasionally left in the park to be picked up as opportune treasures. A number of park users were ever watchful for the discards of others. One middle aged tramp made a habit of looking for matchbooks and was very pleased when the author found two full books for him.

Another middle aged tramp played out a daily ritual in order to smoke. 'Silver' wandered back and forth in front of the cenotaph area benches looking for discarded cigarette butts. He neatly cleared unburned tobacco bits from a handful of paper and burnt tobacco. Using new cigarette papers, he rolled himself a new cigarette. After performing this ritual, he comfortably settled back on a bench to enjoy his treasure.

Silver's activities in the park, and his status as a permanent member of the milieu was shared by the majority of tramps and elderly well dressed and casually dressed men in the park. Victory Square was
a daily home for a large resident population, most of whom lived only blocks away. The nature of Silver's behaviour served to identify him as a personality among the population, but only his personal adaptation to the environment, the way he extracted a resource from this place, made him any different from other tramps. The majority of park users each incorporated Victory Square into their daily lives, into their action spaces, and, just as important, into a central place in their image of the world.

The subterranean public washrooms at the west wall of the cenotaph area were a central point of interaction and a magnet for street people. Drug trafficking, homosexuality, and mugging in this setting led to the hiring of an attendant. Upon encountering criminal behaviour, such as the sale of drugs, he threatened to call the police, but, unknown to those involved, on a phone which was unconnected. The washroom, according to the attendant, still attracted drug dealing, muggings, and homosexual encounters.

Even over as small an area as Victory Square, the variations of site and design features, the extent of possible surveillance, and the potential human and non-human resources presented a varied meaning to the space within the park, attracted different life style groups, and elicited a wide range of behaviours in the individual daily struggle to get along.

1. Of fifteen elderly men, whose approximate place of residence was casually requested, all but one lived within six blocks of the park.
CHAPTER VII

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PARK

AND THE BEHAVIOURAL RESPONSE

"Poor boy walked down a city street,
hope was in his eyes,
as he searched the faces of the people he'd meet,
for one he could recognize.

There are those who'll swear it's true,
we're brothers arm in arm,
but it seems there are so few,
who will answer a brother's call."
(Oscar Brown)

The social geography of Victory Square, determined by systematic, unobtrusive counting, mapping, and synthesis of behavioural episodes, and presented here, is a portrayal of the daily social and spatial habits of the park users, a geographer's portrait of a place. However, the real nature of this place may rest more in the minds of the people who use it rather than those who seek to determine its nature. (Koffka, 1935; Wright, 1947) The essence of Victory Square is very much a function of the cognitions of its inhabitants, their image (Boulding, 1956), including aspirations, time horizons, and their social power and esteem. In addition, the rationale behind individual spatial behaviour stems from those dispositions (Downs, 1970; Lewin, 1951), for spatial action is the result of a decision based upon personal interpretation of the environment. (Ley, 1972)

Park users revealed attitudes toward the park which were tempered by experience and exposure, and were manifested in individual behaviour as well as reflections offered to the author. Those sentiments and behaviour are presented here, a report whose worthiness rests on
the degree to which they reveal the phenomenal essence of Victory Square. The data comes from extended personal participation in the study environment, and is a combination of user's perceptions and observed habits. The elderly, who constituted over fifty percent of the park population in terms of recorded person-visits, are of primary concern here.

Older People's Image of Victory Square

"Who wants to sit in a dull hotel room? But don't come in here after dark. I was robbed right over there behind those trees. (points to tall trees at stage area) About eight years ago I just come out of the cafe....the White Lunch....and I guess those two guys at the register saw my wallet. This place is okay in the daytime, but I stay home after dark. Oh, I just live a couple of blocks up the street. (points up Pender) But I don't tell anybody else where. You can tell people too much. You're okay if you keep to yourself." (An elderly well dressed man)

These sentiments were expressed by an elderly man who, at a glance, would not be distinguishable from others of his life style group. For him, the park was a very different place in the evening than in the daylight hours. It provided air, sun, grass, and a change from his dingy room, but his guard was never relaxed. He was aware of many potential dangers in his environment, of a need for care, and even mistrust and apprehension. At night the park invoked fear in him; personal emotions translated to the landscape, from what he had heard and experienced, and which guided his behaviour. Almost all of the elderly dressed up and casually dressed men observed similar rules of conduct. As dusk approached, the park emptied completely, but for a handful of them in the dimly lit
cenotaph area.

The author did not witness criminal behaviour in the park after dusk, except for illegal drug use by small groups of young hippies and drinking by tramps and Indians. The dark, unsurveyed park landscape was quiet and sparsely populated. Hippies and tramps had little to do with each other. The interior of the park was so dark, after dusk, that it was almost impossible to see across it. Pole lamps feebly lit a fifteen foot radius at four points. This environment was, apparently, not as dangerous as the older man believed it to be, but his behaviour, and the behaviour of other elderly men, followed their beliefs. Their timetable for survival in this perceived environment of perpetual hostility required them to be in their rooms by dusk.

Determined self-isolation was another common adaptation to the social environment of the park. For example, an elderly well dressed French Canadian liked the park and watching people but wanted no personal relationships with anyone:

"Dis park is just a place full of people smoking dope and drinking. It has a nice cool water fountain, but udderwise it's a dirty place. People s... and p... all over the grass, so watch where you sit. I never sit on de grass."

According to this man, young people were the cause of a general downgrading of the quality of life and honesty in this part of the city:

"People, mostly young guys, come in here and it isn't de same as it used to be. You know, dey really bring dis place down....dere was a day, you could put a twenty on de beer parlour table and it would be dere when you got back. Now a days, de young guys, waiters, everybody is out to steal."

In response to changes to a social and physical environment he was once proud to be a part of, this man has retreated and began to see mistrust, greed, filth, and dishonesty to be slowly
overwhelming it. His mental picture of the social environment of the park was simple but functional. His view of the young people as predators, trying to steal from the older men, put him on his guard and he isolated himself physically and socially from others.

About 10 p.m. one night, as three middle aged tramps shared a bottle of wine at a cenotaph west area bench, another entered the area and relieved himself between two benches. It was this kind of environment that led to social life becoming atomistic and self-centred. Only a small number of close friends knew a man's address. This practice increased the centrality and importance of the park as a place to meet acquaintances and experience social gatherings.

Many older men were retired farmers from the prairies and were respectably well off. Through their clothes, however, they actively exercised an impression management that did not suggest their financial assets. Only a small circle of confidantes, often once neighbouring farmers, knew each other's apartments, the furniture, and the colour television that would have 'given him away'.

Isolation for other elderly well dressed and casually dressed men, and particularly the tramps, was even more intense. Without wide ranging past experiences, relative wealth, geographic mobility or knowledge, they had not the expanded world image common to the young and educated. Their whole world, in effect their whole life space, was no larger than a few square blocks. Consider the thoughts of one man about the power of his community and its place in the larger world:

"This is the cleanest part of town, not like down South Granville, where it's full of Indians, thieves, prostitutes, and drunks. It's safe here. This is the real
city, always was....citizens here don't stand 
for that kind of thing and we don't let the 
f...... politicians push us around. You know, 
Campbell took the benches out of Pigeon Park 
and just look what happened. The citizens 
elected Phillips 'cause he promised to put them 
back in....but Phillips won't stay in long 
'cause he hasn't given the citizens back our 
benches yet."

This kind of world view, very small in geographic and 
intellectual reality, is extremely 'localite'. (Buttimer, 1972) 
The problems he perceived and gave central importance were the 
issues he projected to wider society.

It becomes clear that it is indeed difficult to plan and 
alter elements of this environment when the planners and politicians 
in power have a much different perception of life and what is important 
to people. Places and experiences take on function and utility 
stemming from a world view that reflects experience, power, education, 
and preferences. For many of the elderly men who frequented the 
park, the real world was much too large, and their world was contracted 
and limited. Theirs was a life of little things, of memories and 
small pleasures. An encounter at dawn portrays this well:

Two men, one quite dishevelled, meet at the corner of Hastings 
and Cambie Street at six thirty in the morning. The dampness, not 
yet reached by the hidden sun, clings to posts, railings, and the 
stiffly moving postures of the two men. Glancing at each other, the 
better dressed speaks:

"Mornin', how are you?"

"Mornin'...." says the other, forcing some enthusiasm into his 
face and words.

"Had breakfast yet?" the more affluent man casually gestures
eastward down Hastings Street.

"Uh, no." He promptly repeats the other's step off the curb as the light turns green. "I was just thinkin' I'd head down to the White Lunch, you know, and have porridge this morning.....maybe a coffee too. I was thinkin' I'd have some porridge and coffee." The man seems a bit excited. "Sometimes I have toast, too....with the porridge."

Events which we often take for granted, such as eating and having a place to sleep, held more concern in this social and physical environment.

Keeping in tune with their environment, these people dwelled upon the limited stimuli offered, offering more time and effort to little events that most of us pass off daily as incidental. Elderly men stood in one place by park fences for long periods of time watching and feeding birds. One talked to the author about the habits of the mice that populated the earth under the trees and shrubs. Another behavioural episode illustrates their preoccupation with the incidental happenings of their environment:

A pigeon sits on the grass by the cenotaph, very weak, and occasionally fluttering one wing, unable to fly or move about. The small gatherings of elderly men at the benches notice and one man points to the bird. Not overtly expressing a lot of concern for the bird, they nevertheless are intently watching other people's reactions to it. Passerbyers occasionally stop and look at the bird, glance at the men on the benches, then pass on, not wishing to become involved, and not being offered any cues from the elderly men as to the proper behaviour
in such an event.

One day, an elderly tramp, intoxicated and stumbling along the south path, summed up, in a string of garbled phrases, most of the central concerns of his cohorts and their life. The author was sitting at a bench on which an elderly casually dressed man occupied one end. The tramp approached and, appearing to recognize the bench occupant, said this:

"Oh, hi...Joe...jus' isn' no way....go' damned unions....no damned good...n'...welfare all 'roun' sittin' roun'....bas'ards....no work ....(and he passes on)

If the lives of people in Victory Square were spatially contracted and unique to those of people of other and more affluent social worlds, they were also temporally parochial. Individuals in our society go about conducting their lives following accepted rules of temporal pace and sequence. (Lyman and Scott, 1970) Park users were, in one way or another, in limbo, some only temporarily, such as young hippies, others continually, such as the elderly resident population who used the park perenially. Beckett's Waiting For Godot (1959), an allegory of two tramps experiencing that essential aspect of the human condition which is to be always waiting, is an enactment of the lives of many park users. People searched the past for experience and meaning, and put their lives on short term schedules. Discussion of time usually fell within the range of weeks. Living one week at a time was common for those collecting welfare. Rent was by the week in most hotels and rooming places. Weekdays were rarely distinguished but for Thursday, when the cheques came out.
The past most often provided the experiences and memories that give meaning to the present. The 'mayor' of the park, and a middle-aged tramp who had just arrived in Victory Square from Kamloops both told stories which illustrated how geographic space can become endowed with meaning and how meaning affects behaviour.

The 'mayor' of the park, an elderly tramp, rarely talked of anything but God, his past, and Victory Square. He was tied to the past and his two brothers killed in the Second World War. He was an alcoholic and frequented the park for it was, for him, a haven of the past.

"I can't see how people have so little respect for the fallen of the war...I try to keep the park clean, but people just drop garbage all over. You know, there's garbage bins down by the steps and over here (points to the south-west gate) and I know when the trucks come to pick it up, so after dark, I start to clean it up.....but nobody cares much about the place."

Indeed, the mayor often scouted the park after dark, picking up newspapers and discarded wrappers and cigarette packs. Occasionally he mildly chastised those still lounging on the south or west banks. The park also had other meaning for him:

"That's my office up there....no,no, not there, right in the park....the middle bench. I get paid a dollar for every man I find to work for Mr. ______."

The mayor had slept in a garage on the cement floor until he had recently found a room in a hotel on Main Street, but Victory Square was the central part of his life space; his home, office, and past memories. He panhandled occasionally for money and drank often with other tramps in the park.
"I just try to live the way God wants me to, but sometimes you slip. Would you deny an old man a few drinks?"

A middle aged man, another tramp, came from Kamloops to be fitted with a new artificial lower leg. He soon made Victory Square his home, and others in the park his acquaintances, learning their movements and the likely candidates for an occasional cigarette or drink. He appeared very poor. Victory Square was the only place where his claims to misfortune (which were many) after the war were accepted by others, especially by the mayor. Anywhere else he would have been a tramp with a bad leg, but in the park with the mayor, he became a legitimate member of a social world where people listened and accepted his story. With the broken voice of a man at the breaking point of despair he recounted the experience of one of his first nights in the park:

"I was just lying over there behind those trees with newspapers over me. Early in the morning, a policeman came up to me and kicked me in the back. He told me I had no business being there. I said to him, "Officer, I spent three years in the war in the service of this country and lost my leg for it. If anybody has a right to be here, I believe I do."

For this man and others, most of the personal tragedies and loss of social esteem as a part of being poor and dependent have been displaced to the war. Being a veteran was the only legitimate claim to social esteem and the cenotaph of the park was society's recognition of it. For a few men, Victory Square remained a sacred space, and it was this image which drew them to the park.

Clinging to past memories, tarnished social esteem, and the daily round of subsistence activities in a hostile environment, the elderly
men who frequented Victory Square, living within walking distance of it, had little observable power or apparent desire to shape or change their living space. They were successful, along with other socially marginal life style groups, in keeping the park exclusive as a sanctuary for a social world divorced from and independent of wider society.

While well dressed men sat in the sun feeding pigeons and waiting for another day to pass, another elderly casually dressed man watched from the brick wall of the entrance to the men's underground washroom. He was the caretaker of the restroom, and had been ever since his immigration to Canada from Ireland to join his children. Leaning on the chest-high stone wall and gazing into the cenotaph area he commented on his view of life in the park in a thick Irish accent:

"This is a den of filth, a dirty, decrepid place where welfare bums drink all their money away....and up there on the grass\(^1\), hippies use their drugs....and every year I see the same old men come to the park every day and sit, just waitin' to die....just waitin' for the hand of God to come breakin' through those very clouds (reaches his hand to the sky)...and God sayin', okay Charlie, you're next."

Behavioural Cues to Perception of Place

Although the thoughts that preoccupied the mind of the mayor and other park users could not be objectively and systematically monitored, their actions could suggest their feelings, and serve as a means of testing the reliability of what they said.

The mayor frequently picked up newspapers and other debris from the south and west lawns of the park and this served as a surrogate

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1. The south and west lawn area was affectionately known as 'needle hill.'
measure of his attitude toward the place. One afternoon, a tramp ambled past the fountain with a near empty mickey in his hand. He stopped on the main corridor and finished the bottle with his head tilted far back. Tossing the empty bottle on the grass, he continued on. Another man, using newspapers as a blanket on the south lawn, sat up after a short nap and decided to tidy up his personal space. He did this by tossing the papers into the air so that a breeze took them a few feet from him, covering small bushes and lawn space but satisfactorily clearing his personal domain.

What was the observable result of one day's activities in Victory Square? After a long, sunny afternoon, the south and west lawns were covered with lunch bags, match books, cigarette packs, odd papers, crumbs, newspapers, and the occasional beer bottle. This short term accretion was cleared daily by the park attendant and included bottles and debris which had collected in the cenotaph area and in the foliaged areas of the park as well as on the lawns. The locations of discarded empty liquor bottles (Figure 5.1) suggests the tendency for unsocial behaviour to occur in places where public surveillance of space is low, affording visual protection, and little obstruction of the people and behaviour which comes to occupy the space.

Long term accretion, such as permanent carvings and graffiti on park fences and benches, was also spatially varied. (Figure 7.1) Comparing the distribution of long term accretion with the space-time grid maps of life style groups, most of this defacement occurred in places where there was no clear spatial dominance by one group. It was heavily concentrated on the south side and west side benches, areas where use of benches was heavily mixed. These areas were also
Frequency of Permanent Carvings and Graffiti on Park Benches and Fences.
used, more than in any other part of the park, by young people. It is interesting to note the relatively heavy accretion at the fountain bench, another place of high user turnover and mixed use.

Both the distribution of discarded liquor bottles and the permanent accretion of carvings and graffiti increased to the south and west sides of the park. The different degrees to which parts of the park were readily open to public surveillance, and were spatially dominated by a particular life style group, seemed to correlate with the amount of destructive and anti-social behaviour. The elderly well dressed and casually dressed men appeared most effective in keeping the indicators and accretion of anti-social behaviour from their areas of spatial dominance.

Loitering behaviour of elderly men was another indicator of their areal preferences. As noted earlier, elderly men habitually patrolled the perimeter paths of the park, places they could walk without the kinds of crowds typical of the street. There were, however, places where they would stand, either to concentrate on wildlife, or to watch people and events, and other places where they preferred not to linger. The cenotaph area, the walk above the cenotaph steps, the stage area, and the east side path were preferred places to loiter, and occasional pairs and triads of these men would gather in small knots to talk. Other places, such as the main corridor and the west side path prompted quick passage; often the presence of other people, like hippies on the west side path, caused wandering old men to turn around and retrace their path to more comfortable areas.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION: THE ESSENCE OF VICTORY SQUARE

"These young kids are all right. Some guys don't like them coming in here, but actually, we're all together here. We get along fine. Everybody likes everybody."

These sentiments, expressed by an elderly, but industrious and self-content tramp, are very idealistic and perhaps quite ironic. In one sense it was true that the various life style groups of the park were all together, but the evidence from this study suggests that the social milieu of Victory Square was not one of philanthropy, but one of necessary and functional segregation and non-involvement, both at the aggregate level, and interpersonally. In fact, this man's behaviour supported the theme. He was an enterprising scavenger of the discards of others; their bottles, boxes, and matches. Using the park more as a resource field than a place for potential social contact, he never aligned himself with others. He was a model of self-isolation and personal non-involvement. As the life style groups demonstrated aggregate ecological patterns on the park landscape, this man, linked in a symbiotic relationship to the park's people and resources, illustrated the presence of ecological dependencies at the individual level.

When Indian girls lay on the south lawn, apparently unconscious from glue sniffing, or when young Indian men, or tramps, crawled onto the south bank, drunk or drugged, the placid population seated at the benches surrounding these dramas continued its leisurely withdrawal without a mark of concern. When a man was arrested and handcuffed at the south-west
gate by three policemen, no large concentration of people gathered, as might happen in other parts of the city. When an ambulance screamed to the bank at Hamilton and Hastings Street, almost no occupants of the cenotaph area benches turned or stood to investigate the event.

One day, a middle aged tramp, seated at a bench on the south side, fell off the bench apparently suffering an attack, possibly a heart attack. He lay very still and the author was about to phone for an ambulance. Just then, another man approached him at a casual gait, bent over him for a few moments, looked both ways, then quickly walked on. Content that he was gone to enlist aid, the author continued to watch. The man, however, was simply racing away to protect himself from involvement, for he disappeared on Pender Street. Two other people passed the prostrate man and continued on. Then, surprisingly, the stricken tramp lifted his head, looked around, sat up, brushed himself off, and again sat down on the bench. These 'attacks' occurred twice again during the course of the study, presumably giving spectators more anguish than himself. Although the events turned out to be unexplained, there could not have been a better staged experiment to demonstrate the lack of interpersonal involvement and responsibility in this social world.

While philanthropy and involvement were low, tolerance was very high in this environment. Fear of irritation by perceived spatial invasion was followed, as a rule, by retreat rather than confrontation. Tolerance and unconcern facilitated the easy incorporation of a number of otherwise incongruent activities in one small place. Tolerant or subordinate behaviour, as a social mechanism, and the spatial consequences
of it, made for this socio-spatial accommodation. Where else in our urban community could family gatherings, hippies smoking pot, Indian girls sniffing glue, unemployed loggers, middle aged alcoholic tramps, and respectable, retired old men coexist in relative harmony?

Passive readjustment, tolerance, and non-involvement worked to provide a socio-spatial order, a moral order, for this unique social world.

This moral order, however, did not give collective protection to individual life style cohorts, so each had to adapt to the environment and protect himself. As a result of this necessary atomism of social relationships, non-involvement and anonymity could only increase.
The circular and cumulative nature of this relationship guaranteed maintenance of the social order in this place which welcomed anyone but protected no one. It did not, however, ensure effective control of the park against those legitimate agents of power in wider society who could, at any moment, decide to intervene.

What becomes of a place whose participants are tolerant and passive to every unpredictable whim of environment and outside legitimate authority? The ground on which the park rests would suffer no loss from a tower of offices and a new bid-rent. Fatalistic park users would sink back into the dingy hotel rooms or find another place which, like themselves, was an outcast of wider socio-economic purpose.

The day to day dramas unfolding in Victory Square were of little people in social, spatial, and temporal limbo, doing unimportant little things. Their waiting was fatalistic, their escapes were illegal and demoralizing. Their territorial designs were meager and unlasting;
their time horizons rarely escaped the past or ventured into the unknown future.

Decades of time have changed the park's relative location; it is now within a social and physical environment of transition and anomie. The people who use the park regularly share its displacement and downward mobility, and are resigned to be in the lower orders of society. Ultimately, the transience and atomism of this society overshadows any semblance of community. As the poor feed the pigeons in Victory Square, so the park is a crumb to the poor from wider society. The park is now less a memorial to the victorious than a sanctuary for the vanquished. They are the crumbs of one park's life.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A

The Behavioural Map