URBAN HOUSING QUALITY: THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTITUDES IN THE
DECISION TO REHABILITATE

by

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The persistence of substandard housing in many older Canadian cities has prompted the Federal government to intervene in the private process of renewal. Early public programmes concentrated on neighbourhood redevelopment, as had private enterprise. However, a recent revision in Federal policy has led to a greater emphasis on rehabilitation, the goal being to preserve older residential areas through a programme of Neighbourhood Improvement (NIP) and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance (RRAP). This change in policy has implications for the future character of declining areas and the evolution of the urban spatial structure.

Since participation in RRAP is voluntary, the success of this programme and the ultimate improvement of these neighbourhoods depends on residents' attitudes towards rehabilitation and their eagerness to renovate. The purpose of this study is to examine factors influencing the owner's decision to rehabilitate his property. The conversion zones of the three Vancouver inner city neighbourhoods of Kitsilano, Cedar Cottage and Grandview have been selected for the purpose of this investigation. In the past, these zones have been considered impermanent and their redevelopment seen as inevitable. However, they are now to be conserved, although at the time of the research, only Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage had been designated for Federal assistance through NIP and RRAP. The data for this study were principally collected through a questionnaire survey conducted in January and February, 1976.
Resident homeowners were interviewed, while a small sample of absentee owners were sent mail questionnaires. Non-parametric statistics were used to analyse the data.

The survey indicated that the decision to rehabilitate is based not only on financial considerations, but also owners' attitudes towards their neighbourhood, their property and the notion of improvement. While lower income residents having to make mortgage payments did encounter financial constraints to home improvements, income per se did not significantly affect rehabilitation activity. Possible property tax increases nevertheless did constitute a disincentive to improvement for many owners, profit oriented landlords also being discouraged by Provincial rent controls. However, most respondents supported the notion of residential rehabilitation and wanted more improvement in their neighbourhood. Kitsilano residents feared that further decline would lead to the disintegration of their community and culminate in apartment redevelopment, while Cedar Cottage respondents were concerned for the social status of their area. A small proportion of homeowners in these two neighbourhoods considered further deterioration inevitable and perceived this as a disincentive to rehabilitation. However, most regarded residential improvement as an effective means of maintaining the desirability of these neighbourhoods and protecting them from further undesirable changes. In all areas, respondents exhibiting pride and confidence in their neighbourhood and a sense of personal efficacy achieved the highest levels of rehabilitation. Many resident owners were also motivated by pride in their property. However, for most absentee
landlords, the incentive to improve was purely economic.

Despite a generally positive attitude towards improvement, few perceived RRAP as an incentive to rehabilitate. Landlords disliked the associated rent controls and many homeowners were discouraged by the financial burden of a RRAP loan, pride in their self-sufficiency, and a negative attitude towards the neighbourhood and improvement. RRAP therefore seems unlikely to significantly contribute to the improvement of older, deteriorating neighbourhoods, although recent programme revisions may stimulate more activity.

Some of Vancouver's declining inner city neighbourhoods have at least temporarily been upgraded through residents' efforts to rehabilitate and government controls on redevelopment. The positive attitude of most respondents suggests that private rehabilitation will continue as long as owners' remain confident in the future of their area. Neighbourhoods that would otherwise have been redeveloped have hence been preserved. However, unless the government continues to intervene in the deterioration process, private redevelopment will likely ensue and the urban spatial structure continue to evolve as before.
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"In order to understand the spatial structure..., we must know something of the antecedent decisions and behaviours which arrange phenomena in space"

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Variations in urban housing quality and the persistence of deteriorated stock have long been a cause for concern. Public attention was first drawn to the need for substantial housing improvement in many Canadian cities by early twentieth century philanthropists. Particular emphasis was placed on the inadequacy of lower income housing and the need for social reform. The Federal government, however, was slow to undertake any remedial action, displaying a general reluctance to intervene in the established private market process. Little public activity was therefore evident until the nineteen forties when, despite the rapid deterioration of the urban fabric initiated by the Depression and the Second World War, private industry continued to devote more attention to new construction on the urban periphery than to rejuvenating older city stock. However, government programmes over the next two decades contributed little to the amelioration of the lower income living environment. Blighted areas were cleared and redeveloped with little consideration of the social costs, most emphasis being placed on the fulfilment of economic goals. The nineteen seventies, however, have witnessed a gradual change in government policy, the focus now being on residential rehabilitation rather than redevelopment. It is hoped that this will prove a more sensitive and socially oriented approach to the improvement of the urban housing stock.
Rehabilitation entails a thorough upgrading of substandard or deteriorating property through "the replacement of subsystems or major components"\(^1\). The general aim is to extend the building's useful life by fifteen to twenty years. Residential rehabilitation frequently demands a substantial financial investment and should be distinguished from minor repairs ensuing from general property maintenance. Nevertheless, regular maintenance following renovation should constitute an integral part of the rehabilitation process if building standards are to be maintained. Technically, it is possible to rehabilitate any structure, although beyond a certain level of deterioration, it may not be economically feasible to do so\(^2\). Hence, although limited clearance and redevelopment still constitute an important component of government improvement policies, the focus is on renovation rather than removal. In 1973, the Federal government introduced a programme of Residential Rehabilitation Assistance (R.R.A.P.), designed to facilitate the renovation of older housing in designated Neighbourhood Improvement Programme (N.I.P.) areas. However, participation in R.R.A.P. is voluntary and its success therefore largely depends on the attitudes of residents towards the improvement of their neighbourhood.

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

This study attempts to isolate and examine factors governing the rehabilitation behaviour of property owners in Vancouver's older residential areas. The three inner city neighbourhoods of Kitsilano, Cedar Cottage and Grandview-Woodlands have been selected for investigation. Each is characterized by a moderate income population, mixed quality housing and a low level of community services. Attention will be focused on the substantial proportion of each neighbourhood zoned for duplex and conversion accommodation (RT-2 and RS-2) since, in the past, these zones were generally regarded as impermanent, a transition stage preceding redevelopment. These areas are now to be conserved through rehabilitation, although at the time of the study only Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage had been designated as N.I.P. areas and therefore allocated federal assistance for housing and neighbourhood improvement. Loans and grants have been made available to eligible property owners in these areas through the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme. However, the response to this programme has been poorer than anticipated. Since the offer of financial assistance has not greatly increased rehabilitation activity, it may be suggested that the decision to renovate is governed not only by economic considerations, but perhaps more importantly by owners' attitudes towards improvement, their property and the neighbourhood in which it is situated. An investigation of these

attitudes and their relationship to rehabilitation behaviour is central to this study.

Attitudes constitute a cognitive expression of an individual's values, personal experiences and cultural beliefs*. While they are generally recognised as an important component of behaviour, the nature of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is complex and has been the subject of much debate5. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that although attitudes cannot be used to accurately predict overt behaviour, they constitute valuable indicators of an individual's behavioural disposition. In order to explore the attitudes of residents towards the rehabilitation of their property it is necessary to draw on the techniques of the psychologist; little work has been done by the geographer in this field6. The basis of this research is nevertheless geographical and has ramifications for the character and development of the internal structure of the city. This will be illustrated in the remaining sections of this chapter, which are devoted to a discussion of the theoretical foundations of this work.

4 A classical article on the nature of attitudes has been written by G. W. Allport. (Allport, G. W., "Attitudes". In M. Fishbein (ed.), Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement. John Wiley and Sons. N.Y. 1967. p.3)


6 The methodologies utilized in this research are discussed in Chapter III.
In an attempt to fully examine the relationship between attitudes and rehabilitation behaviour, the following research objectives have been formulated.

(1) To explore the attitudes of property owners towards the concept of rehabilitation, with particular reference to the individual's own neighbourhood.

(2) To identify the importance of housing and neighbourhood improvement to owners in generally declining areas. This will be examined in the context of (a) the owners' commitment to the neighbourhood and their attitude to physical and social changes within it, (b) the owners' attitudes towards their property, (c) the preferred method of improvement, i.e. the desire for rehabilitation or redevelopment, and (d) the perceived quality of housing and need for improvement within the neighbourhood.

(3) To identify the perceived constraints and incentives to rehabilitate.

(4) To assess the impact of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme on rehabilitation behaviour in N.I.P. areas.

This researcher contends that the attitudes of property owners are central to their rehabilitation behaviour and hence to the quality of housing within the neighbourhood. A convincing argument for the study of attitudes in relation to housing deterioration has been advanced by Peter New but very little research has been undertaken in this area either in the

U.S.A. or Canada. Although studies by Nash, Keyes and McFarland have made brief reference to the attitudes and opinions of residents within a more general appraisal of rehabilitation, few have paid more than passing attention to the subject. An exception to this is the work of Albert Rose undertaken in 1966 in Toronto. In a detailed examination of three deteriorating inner city neighbourhoods, Rose attempted to explore the attitudes of resident owners and landlords towards neighbourhood and property renovation. His results indicated a general unwillingness of owners to incur debt in order to upgrade their property and a highly favourable attitude towards neighbourhood improvement. However, further work is required to substantiate these findings and relate them the attitudes of residents in other Canadian cities. A deeper analysis of feelings towards property rehabilitation is therefore essential for an understanding of the process by which homes are permitted to decline and for the purpose of future programme formulation. Peter Barnard supports the latter perspective when he comments that

"Canada can hardly be said to have had extensive rehabilitation experience. Most of it has been a scattering of demonstration

10 McFarland, M., Residential Rehabilitation. Uni of Minnesota. 1965
11 Rose, A., Prospects for the Rehabilitation of Housing in Central Toronto. Uni. of Toronto. 1966
projects...... The very fact that all the results have been pieced together as an after thought is a sound argument for an ongoing monitoring and evaluation procedure from the start of N.I.P. and R.R.A.P. so we can finally learn from our past mistakes as well as our successes"12.

Although this study does not propose to undertake a comprehensive evaluation of R.R.A.P., it is hoped that some useful comments on its impact and role in the rehabilitation process can be made.

**SPATIAL VARIATIONS IN HOUSING QUALITY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The rising interest of early twentieth century philanthropists in the variable quality of urban housing was paralleled by that of academic investigators. In an attempt to describe the spatial variation in housing quality and understand the dynamic processes by which it had evolved, researchers sought to order and simplify the real world through the construction of models. Some of the earliest conceptualizations of the internal structure of the city emerged not from geography, but with the classical models of urban ecologists and land economists working in Chicago in the nineteen twenties. Early geographical contributions to urban studies were largely empirical as opposed to theoretical and focused on the significance of urban locations and systems rather than the internal structure of the city. The concepts advanced by other disciplines nevertheless provided an important framework for the future studies of urban geographers.

The first of the classical models of urban spatial structure was propounded by the urban ecologist E. W. Burgess\textsuperscript{13}. Utilizing Park's\textsuperscript{14} ecologically based concepts of dominance, invasion and succession, Burgess formulated a descriptive framework for the spatial organization of urban land use through his well known model of concentric rings. Each zone is characterised by a different land use and its associated activities, and a distinctive social pattern based on a spatial variation in housing quality is postulated. This pattern is nevertheless perceived as dynamic, successive uses and changes in quality being attributed to urban growth through competition.

A second classic model was forwarded by Homer Hoyt, who drew on the principles of the urban land economics tradition first formulated by Hurd in 1903\textsuperscript{15}. Hoyt conceptualized the evolving urban spatial structure in terms of sectors extending from the central city to the periphery and, unlike Burgess, focused on housing characteristics and rent in particular rather than land use in general\textsuperscript{16}. He ascribed the spatial pattern of urban residential neighbourhoods to the dynamic character of


\textsuperscript{16} Hurd, R., Principles of City Land Values. N.Y.: The Record and Guide. 1903.

\textsuperscript{16} Hoyt used rent as a surrogate for land value.
high rent housing districts, which were seen to gravitate towards the areas of highest amenity as the city expanded. As in Burgess' model, a clear spatial variation in the housing quality was postulated.

These two early models have been criticized for their assumptive, rather simplistic approach and their poorly developed theoretical base. Nevertheless, this early work did provide an important set of ideas about the urban spatial structure and a framework for further investigation. Many attempts have been made to refine these models, including those of two geographers, C. Harris and E. Ullman, whose more flexible 'multiple nuclei' model has long been considered a third classical representation of the internal city structure. Notable theoretical contributions in the land economics tradition have been made by L. Wingo and W. Alonso, the work of urban ecologists Hawley, and Duncan and Schnore also being of importance. However, although there have been significant advances and modifications of Burgess' original concentric model, the conceptual foundations for research on the urban spatial structure were undoubtedly established in the nineteen


Alonso, W., "The Historical and Structural Theories of Urban Land Form". *Land Economics*. XL (1964) p.227
twenties. Even critics of the ecological approach, such as L. Reissman, have supported this notion and felt compelled to admit that, "inspite of its errors, ecology is still the closest we have to a systematic theory of the city".

**The Deterioration Process**

Although Burgess' representation of the urban spatial pattern is clearly different from that of Hoyt, the underlying processes determining the nature of the variation are conceptually similar. Two concepts shared by the models have important implications for the changing character of residential areas and the frequently associated decline in housing quality. The first pertains to the notion of 'filtering' and the impact of 'blighting elements' on property maintenance in the surrounding area, and the second relates to the redevelopment cycle. Each will be examined in greater detail in an attempt to account for the gradual deterioration of the housing stock.

The dynamic framework of these models permits a spatial description of the consequences of urban growth and change. In both cases, great importance is attributed to the filtering down of older houses to lower income groups as higher status families vacate them in preference for newly constructed homes usually on the urban periphery. While filtering is described in simplified, rather mechanistic terms in these early models, much attention has since been devoted to the process and, despite some conflict in interpretation, it is generally recognised as a significant

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element in the deterioration of the housing stock\(^{20}\). Lowry has attributed filtering and the associated depreciation of property to the vacation of housing, which is deemed less desirable due to obsolescence of style, technology, site or location\(^{21}\). However, although these factors are clearly responsible for the declining amenity value of residential areas, they do not in themselves account for the characteristic deterioration of filtered stock. Of crucial importance in this respect is the nature of the change in occupancy. Filtered dwellings are generally old and have experienced some decline and therefore require higher than average repair levels to maintain a standard quality. However, lower income households occupying the filtered property are often financially unable to undertake the required level of maintenance, and further deterioration inevitably ensues\(^{22}\). Ironically, the private sector has placed great emphasis on filtering as a means of providing standard lower income dwelling units\(^{23}\), the rationale being that the poorest quality property will gradually be vacated and can subsequently

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20 The varying interpretations placed on the filtering concept as a process of change have been reviewed by Wallace Smith. (Smith, W., Filtering and Neighbourhood Change. Research Report No. 24. Univ. of California: Institute of Urban and Regional Development. 1964.)


23 Lansing has demonstrated that some lower income families do indirectly benefit from new construction through filtering. Lansing, J. et al, New Homes and Poor People: A Study of Chain Moves. ISR, Univ. of Michigan. 1969.
be removed from the stock. In practice however, substandard housing tends to persist, since only a small proportion of the dwellings filter down to lower income groups and housing pressures rarely permit the abandonment of houses\textsuperscript{24}. Hence, to date, many families have been forced to live in less desirable housing or perhaps to relocate through clearance programmes designed to demolish not abandoned, but occupied homes.

Burgess and Hoyt envisaged a clear spatial distribution of the declining urban residential districts around the central core. Such inner city neighbourhoods in Vancouver as Kitsilano, Fairview, Mount Pleasant and Grandview fall into this category. The housing stock in these areas is clearly deteriorating, but the process may be attributed not only to filtering (although this has certainly occurred), but also to the presence of blighting elements within the neighbourhood. All buildings will deteriorate through wear and tear with the passage of time, but the rate of decline is largely determined by the maintenance behaviour of the individual property owner. The significance of this has been stressed by Sternlieb, Grebler and Wingo, whose investigations into owner behaviour in slum areas have revealed the undesirable impact of noxious elements or 'blighting factors' on the maintenance decision\textsuperscript{25}. Blight is nevertheless

\textsuperscript{24} Silver, I. and Smith, I., "Housing Needs of the Poor: A Reinterpretation". In D. Reeb (ed), \textit{Housing the Poor}. Praeger, N.Y. 1973.

\textsuperscript{25} Sternlieb, G., \textit{The Tenement Landlord}. New Brunswick, USC. 1966.
Grebler, L., \textit{Housing Market Behaviour in a Declining Area}. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press. 1952
difficult to define in objective terms, although it has often been described as an active agent in the deterioration process. This notion is supported by the following statement issued by the City of Vancouver Planning Dept\textsuperscript{26}. 

"Blight unfortunately is not a self liquidating process, nor does it remain confined to one particular area. Its effect is contagious, and one derelict property or the intrusion of an unsuitable industrial or commercial use can be sufficient to set in motion the forces leading to the decline of an area and the inevitable depreciation of property." p. 28.

"The forces" however, were never clearly identified and programmes designed to arrest deterioration focused on the indiscriminate solution of total clearance. There was a general failure to recognise that the presence of noxious elements was in fact less significant than the attitudes of property owners towards them and whether they were perceived as a disincentive to maintenance. As suggested earlier in this chapter, it is the contention of this thesis that the attitude of the property owner, as reflected in his maintenance behaviour, is a key element in the preservation of good quality housing and a well maintained neighbourhood.

As the number of perceived disincentives increases and the motivation or financial ability to undertake repairs declines, the owner may cease to invest in property maintenance, allowing deterioration to progress. Areas of net disinvestment and property decline have attracted the attention of both public and

\textsuperscript{26} City of Vancouver, \textit{Vancouver Redevelopment Study}. Dept. of Housing Research Committee. 1957. p.28.
private concerns and a strong case for the removal of substandard property has been advanced on both social and economic grounds. Nevertheless, the issue has been fraught with problems. Although official government standards have been derived\(^2\), there is still much debate over a meaningful, 'objective' definition of substandard housing\(^2\)\(^8\). An inconsistent definition of quality and a re-evaluation of minimum dwelling standards through time has consequently impaired the utility of much research into the effects of deteriorated property. While the economic inefficiency of substandard structures on high cost land has been argued fairly convincingly\(^2\(^9\), the social repercussions of a declining residential environment are less conclusive. Although poor quality housing has been condemned as undesirable by a number of writers such as Plant, Wilner and Schorr, only in the case of grossly deteriorated living environments were they able to support their case with

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statistically significant data on mental and physical health. Their argument is nevertheless valid from a moral standpoint and illuminates the basic social and spatial inequity in urban housing conditions. In a predominantly private, competitive market, it is the lower income consumer, constrained by a limited purchasing power, who is frequently forced to select housing from a narrow, generally less desirable sector of the housing market. He is consequently deprived of the good quality housing to which, it may be argued, he is entitled as a matter of basic human rights.

**THE REDEVELOPMENT PROCESS**

In the past, both public and private agencies have favoured redevelopment as a solution to the social and economic problems of declining stock. This may be identified as the final stage in the neighbourhood deterioration process and is characterised by a changing physical and socio-economic environment. The transition of Vancouver's West End from single family dwelling in the nineteen hundreds to deteriorated converted property in the nineteen fifties clearly exemplifies this process, redevelopment and the construction of luxury apartments having completed the cycle in the early nineteen sixties. Efforts to


revitalize the urban fabric substantiate an important underlying assumption of the traditional models of Burgess and Hoyt, both of whom envisaged the city as a dynamic structure requiring constant renewal. The redevelopment process has since been more explicitly formulated by Colean and Bourne, showing the early conceptualizations of the classical models to be oversimplistic. Nevertheless, studies of major Canadian cities such as Vancouver and Toronto have revealed that past redevelopment has broadly followed the pattern suggested by Burgess and Hoyt.

According to the classical models, redevelopment will continue to progress outwards from the city centre as stock continues to deteriorate. Since extensive redevelopment has been undertaken in the downtown and West End of Vancouver's inner core, the transitional inner city neighbourhoods should theoretically be the focus of renewal activity in the near future. The initial stages of residential redevelopment are in fact already evident, a small area of the older, fairly desirable neighbourhood of Kitsilano having been redeveloped for high cost apartments. Other inner city neighbourhoods throughout Canada have also undergone redevelopment for higher income housing. Unlike their older U.S. counterparts, Canadian central areas are often still considered desirable residential districts and hence experience many pressures for physical and social

32 Colean, M., Renewing our Cities. N.Y.: The Twentieth Century Fund. 1953
change. This has resulted in some "upwards" filtering of existing inner city stock and stimulated the private redevelopment of more deteriorated central areas. However, there are two important factors impeding the redevelopment process in the Canadian city. The first pertains to the high cost of stock replacement, redevelopment only being economically feasible in areas where a high revenue is assured through a more intensive land use. Zoning for apartment construction is therefore often a prerequisite. The second constraint has only become effective within the last few years, but has succeeded in slowing widespread urban redevelopment in some areas. This barrier has been erected by local residents and citizens' groups, who first presented an organized opposition to the destruction of their neighbourhoods in the late nineteen sixties. Citizen resistance in Trefann Court in Toronto, Pointe St. Charles in Montreal and Strathcona in Vancouver eventually won the preservation of these neighbourhoods. However, their actions also in effect won a far more important battle. Criticism of the government's redevelopment policy had been mounting and there was a growing demand for a more socially oriented programme of renewal. Citizen opposition increased the pressure for reform and ultimately resulted in a change of government policy. In an attempt to preserve the older inner city neighbourhoods, a greater emphasis has now been placed on publically assisted

33 Detailed accounts of the growth of citizen resistance may be found in G. Fraser's 'Fighting Back' (Hakkert, Toronto. 1972) and B. Richardson's 'The Future of Canadian Cities' (Toronto. New Press. 1972)
rehabilitation in these areas. The government has thereby presented a significant obstacle to the traditional redevelopment process, and hence emerges as a more powerful agent of spatial change.

**ORGANIZATION OF THESIS**

A detailed discussion of the evolving policy of public intervention in the private market process will be presented in Chapter II. Emphasis is placed on the process of rehabilitation in Canadian cities and a discussion of the recent Federal programmes of Neighbourhood Improvement and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance. Chapter III examines the methods used for collecting and analysing the survey data, particular attention being focused on the house to house and mail questionnaires. The physical and socio-economic characteristics of the survey areas of Kitsilano, Cedar Cottage and Grandview are examined in Chapter IV.

The survey results are presented in Chapters V and VI. The former examines respondents' attitudes towards improvement in their neighbourhood, and discusses factors affecting their decision to rehabilitate. Chapter VI explores the attitudes of Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage residents toward RRAP, and examines perceived incentives and disincentives to participating in this programme. Finally, some concluding comments on the study's findings and their implications are presented in Chapter VII.
CHAPTER II

THE URBAN REGENERATION PROCESS

"..... We know there is no automatic private market process which regenerates urban areas as they decline. Therefore, the government believes that if there is to be such a regenerative process, it must be developed as a matter of public policy".

The present spatial pattern of housing stock in Canadian cities is a product of both public and private activities, government intervention in the private market process having varied in character and intensity over the years. The Federal government's goal has been to compensate for the failure of the natural process of land use succession to eliminate the problems of urban blight. Numerous controls designed to regulate the quality, location and density of private development have been introduced, land use zoning, code enforcement, taxation and urban renewal all having been widely utilized. Each has affected the nature and rate of change in the urban spatial pattern of North American cities. However, public intervention prior to 1969 largely perpetuated the private market process of clearance and redevelopment in deteriorated areas. The spatial


Czamanski, S., "Effects of Public Investment on Urban Land Values". JAIP 32 (1966) P.204
pattern as described in Burgess' and Hoyt's models, although modified, has therefore not been radically transformed. It may be postulated however, that the recent change in emphasis from government redevelopment to rehabilitation has significant implications for the evolving structure of Canadian cities. In order to illustrate the nature and importance of this transition, Canadian improvement policies since World War II will be examined. Particular attention will be devoted to the changing role of rehabilitation and the significance of the government as an agent of spatial change.

**GOVERNMENT IMPROVEMENT POLICIES PRIOR TO 1969**

**Clearance and Redevelopment**

Prior to the Second World War, public intervention in the pattern of urban development was limited and few clear policies for improvement were evolved. The nineteen forties however witnessed a suburban housing boom, which stimulated private companies to divert many of their resources from the higher risk central urban areas to the bouyant market on the periphery. Many older inner city districts were consequently left to stagnate, progressive deterioration providing a further disincentive to private investment. The government responded to the growing economic and social problems of the central areas with a policy of clearance and redevelopment, which was to constitute the basis for most improvement programmes prior to

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1969. The goal was one of economic revitalization, designed to once again stimulate private development in the city core. Little attention was devoted to the social implications of housing clearance, slums and other deteriorated property generally being regarded as blight that must be removed.

Most government intervention to date has focused on the rejuvenation of central city areas, although success has been varied. The early redevelopment programmes evolved under the 1944 and 1954 National Housing Acts were poorly administered and funded, and consequently attracted very little private investment and accomplished only minor improvements. However, an amendment to the NHA in 1956 incorporated a number of legislative changes, which stimulated greater interest from local government agencies and gave rise to a significant increase in redevelopment activity. A total of 600 acres of centrally located, deteriorated land was designated for clearance and servicing in several older Canadian cities which, in conjunction with attractive financial arrangements, led to a resurgence of private participation in the core redevelopment process. However, although redevelopment oriented policies were to continue for another decade, by the late nineteen fifties, a number of municipal governments were exhibiting a growing


5 Cross, K. and Collier, R., *The Urban Renewal Process in Canada*. School of Regional and Community Planning, UBC Research Project No. 3. 1967
awareness of the need to revise improvement strategies. This is exemplified by the approach to redevelopment at this time in Vancouver and Toronto.

Redevelopment was initiated in Vancouver in 1955 under the then city planner, Gerald Sutton Brown. By 1957, the Vancouver City Planning Department had evolved a redevelopment programme, which made a distinction between "Comprehensive Redevelopment Areas", where total clearance was to be undertaken as before, and the newly defined areas of "Limited Redevelopment". It was assessed that the latter, although not presently blighted, were liable to deterioration within the next twenty years and a policy of spot clearance and rehabilitation was advocated. This represented one of the first attempts to introduce improvement measures which not only removed blighted structures, but also endeavoured to prevent future deterioration. Unfortunately however, the advance at this stage was little more than conceptual, since most attention was devoted to the clearance of the Comprehensive Redevelopment Areas. Ironically, areas such as Lower Mount Pleasant and East Kitsilano, which had been scheduled for rehabilitation, were largely ignored and deterioration continued as before. A similar attempt to reformulate the past policy of total redevelopment was evident in the experimental Alexandra Park Redevelopment Project,

6 City of Vancouver, *Vancouver Redevelopment Study*. Dept. of Housing Research. 1957.

Toronto in the nineteen sixties. Again, the rehabilitation of property assessed to be in fair condition was stated as an integral part of a general "Improvement Programme", but in practice received very little emphasis.

Hence, progress in this area was slow and the concept of rehabilitation remained generally unaccepted as a viable mechanism of improvement for a number of years. This may be attributed to both the importance placed on stimulating private investment in the central core and the inadequacy of programme guidelines. Although the 1956 NHA had in fact introduced rehabilitation as a tool of the new urban renewal programme, no legislative framework for the execution of rehabilitation projects was provided until an amendment of the Act in 1964. In this revision of federal policy, the term "urban redevelopment" was finally supplanted by "urban renewal" in an attempt to convey a more comprehensive approach to improvement. Rehabilitation was stressed as one of several tools of renewal.

Urban Renewal

The goal of the newly formulated urban renewal programme was to guide "the public and private process of redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation in the light of social, economic and physical objectives agreed on by the community, as opposed to merely allowing the market to take its course". Large areas

of the city core were designated for renewal in an attempt to extend public influence beyond the scattered plots selected for redevelopment prior to 1964. Urban renewal therefore became an important determinant of spatial change, stimulating private investment in central urban areas that hitherto had been considered unattractive for private redevelopment. The function of urban renewal was therefore essentially similar to that of the former redevelopment programmes, although the more comprehensive approach promised a new character for renewal areas. However, as the programme progressed, the superficiality of the change became apparent. As in the earlier programmes, redevelopment emerged as the principle mechanism of improvement and the "social objectives agreed on by the community" were frequently overwhelmed by the desire for economic efficiency. It was clear that very little reformulation of the underlying improvement policy had been undertaken and that the character of the renewed areas was unlikely to be significantly changed.

Although housing rehabilitation was stressed as an important component of urban renewal, few effective programmes were developed and its contribution to improvement was limited. Particular emphasis was placed on forced rehabilitation through code enforcement, which, due to poor administration, contributed little but social hardship to the process of urban renewal.


Each municipality had the authority to legislate improvement in particularly deteriorated areas, but a general apathy caused by administrative problems brought an uneven response from local governments and little amelioration in the housing quality. Alternative provisions for rehabilitation were made through the Home Improvement Loans scheme, which had in fact been operating since the nineteen fifties. However, the contribution to renovation was again minimal, an examination of statistics up to 1970 indicating that these loans were mainly used for structural additions rather than rehabilitation per se. Furthermore, since loans had to be secured from a bank or credit union, they were frequently unavailable to the low-income homeowners who were in greatest need of them. No alternative means of funding was arranged for these individuals and no provisions were made for financially assisting property improvements undertaken by the private owner. Federal rehabilitation assistance however was available to provincial or municipal authorities wishing to renovate buildings in designated urban renewal areas. However, with the exception of Quebec, few provinces were interested in undertaking any substantial rehabilitation programmes, the pressure for redevelopment still assuming precedence over


13 Dennis, M. and Fish, S., Programmes in Search of a Policy. Hakkert, Toronto. 1972

14 The CMHC is only authorised to insure Home Improvement Loans secured from an approved credit agency. It does not actually provide any financial assistance through this scheme to those in need.
renovation.  

Hence, despite government legislation and the high financial and social costs of removal, there were to be few comprehensive rehabilitation programmes formulated under the 1964 NHA. Public housing was regarded as a more efficient solution to the provision of standard, lower income accommodation, the construction of housing projects such as Regent Park in Toronto, and Raymur Place in Vancouver being actively encouraged by federal grants. While some lower income families undoubtedly obtained better accommodation, many experienced an unwelcome increase in rent and a sense of loss and psychological upheaval as a result of dislocation through urban renewal. A high proportion of the displaced families received little or no government assistance and were frequently left to relocate in similarly blighted, low rent areas. This situation is clearly exemplified in the case of Vancouver, where 3500 people were displaced by urban renewal between 1961 and

15 Dennis, M. and Fish, S., Op cit.
16 Rose, A., Op cit.
17 Vancouver City Planning Dept., City of Vancouver Redevelopment Project No. 1, Redevelopment, Acquisition and Clearance. Technical Planning Board. 1959.
1969. Seven hundred of these individuals were allocated public housing, but the City has no record of a further 1700 who were left to find their own accommodation. Social concerns were apparently of low priority in a renewal scheme which to many, including the Chief Planner, was chiefly "a matter of economics".

As more urban renewal programmes were initiated, the government's failure to consider the housing needs and welfare of the lower income consumer drew severe criticism from both citizens and planners. By the late nineteen sixties, a high level of dissatisfaction with government policy was evident and there was growing pressure to evolve an effective strategy for rehabilitation. The initial government response centred on the renovation of substandard rural housing, but as resistance towards renewal from citizens' groups across the country continued to mount, the primary focus became urban. The pressure culminated in 1969 with the completion of the Federal Task Force's report on Housing and Urban Development, which strongly criticized past renewal activities. The government finally succumbed to the pressure for reform and the then Housing Minister Andras suspended all urban renewal programmes.

Over two decades of redevelopment oriented policies had nevertheless made an impression on both the urban structural development and the inner city inhabitants. The impact on the

20 Vancouver Sun, August 30th, 1969. P.1.

21 Statement issued by Chief Vancouver Planner, Gerald Sutton Brown to the Vancouver Sun, August 30th, 1969.

former was not great, government intervention having merely provided a slightly modified framework to the operation of the private market. However, many lower income families had been greatly affected by redevelopment. An estimated 15,000 had been displaced from their homes, only 10,000 of whom had been adequately rehoused.

**REHABILITATION IN THE NINETEEN SEVENTIES: A MECHANISM FOR IMPROVEMENT**

"If the aim of a decent home for every Canadian is to be realized, housing policy must place far greater emphasis on conserving and recycling our existing housing resources."

As indicated in the preceding sections, the status of rehabilitation as a tool for government improvement policies has changed over the years. Early planners regarded rehabilitation merely as a temporary measure, which would ultimately give way to redevelopment. However, a gradual reappraisal of improvement techniques in the light of mounting public criticism revealed rehabilitation as a viable, more socially acceptable alternative to total redevelopment. Not only does housing renovation constitute an important means of preserving the diversity of the housing stock, but it also increases the number of standard...
dwellings available to the consumer. This has particular significance for the housing market of the nineteen seventies, since increasing pressures have resulted in a demand for even poor quality accommodation in the larger urban centres. Furthermore, public housing is no longer always considered an acceptable housing alternative. This was illustrated in a study of a portion of the Vancouver inner city neighbourhood of Grandview-Woodlands, which revealed that residents generally preferred to remain in below average dwellings than to move to public housing projects such as Raymur Place. Redevelopment and the provision of public housing inevitably still have an important role to play, but an increasing emphasis must be placed on rehabilitation as a complementary mechanism for improvement.

The recent change in government policy represents the first time that any significant attempt has been made to rehabilitate older neighbourhoods and housing specifically for lower income families. Much of the large scale rehabilitation in the past was undertaken by private agencies, which considered it economically prudent to cater for the higher income consumer, regardless of

25 This is substantiated by a vacancy rate of less than 1% in Vancouver in 1975, while the proportion of substandard dwelling units was approximately 4%. (Lioy, M., Social Trends in Greater Vancouver. United Way: Social Policy and Research Dept. 1975.)


the needs of less privileged groups. The government's decision to preserve older city neighbourhoods through a programme of rehabilitation therefore has important social implications and may also influence the development of the urban structure. The government may emerge as an important agent of spatial change if rehabilitation programmes continue to inhibit the fundamental development processes described in the traditional models. Further constraints have been imposed on private redevelopment by prohibiting the rezoning of many older 'conversion' districts for more intensive apartment use. Large scale private redevelopment in many such areas has therefore been rendered economically unattractive, especially where neighbourhoods have also been designated for publically assisted improvement through NIF and RRAP.

Public Rehabilitation Programmes

Following the suspension of urban renewal in 1969, there was a marked hiatus in federal improvement programming. Several isolated schemes such as Vancouver's Gastown-Cordova project were funded through a $2m programme initiated in 1970, but no comprehensive guidelines for the rehabilitation of inner city neighbourhoods were evolved until 1972. These early schemes still placed a major emphasis on the private developer, only

28 Further consideration will be given to the role of private industry in the rehabilitation process towards the end of this chapter.

minimal assistance having been allocated to the individual owner\textsuperscript{30}. This clearly illustrates the reluctance of the Federal government to totally exclude the private agent from the improvement process. The Provincial and Municipal governments, however, did make a significant contribution to rehabilitation activity and hence to the pattern of urban development within this three year period. They utilized their own initiatives to instigate local improvement programmes and by 1971 rehabilitation projects were underway in most major Canadian cities. These ultimately accounted for the renovation of 17,000 dwelling units in a number of dispersed locations\textsuperscript{31}. Vancouver's successful Strathcona Rehabilitation Programme constitutes just one example of this\textsuperscript{32}. In most cases, high priority was given to assisting lower income homeowners with rehabilitation, grants averaging 25% of the costs being allocated on the basis of income in a rarely preceded attempt to cast the individual owner as an actor rather than a pawn in the improvement game. This approach finally received federal endorsement in 1972, the proposed programmes of Neighbourhood Improvement and Residential


\textsuperscript{32} Bell, I., \textit{The Strathcona Rehabilitation Project: Documentation and Analysis.} United Way. 1975.

Rehabilitation Assistance: incorporating many elements of these earlier schemes.

In July 1974, a number of older inner city neighbourhoods were selected for renovation through the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme (NIP). By concentrating on the rehabilitation of an entire neighbourhood, the Federal government has now extended its area of direct influence beyond the few blocks formerly designated for urban renewal, permitting greater public control over the development of the urban structure. Neighbourhoods were primarily selected on the basis of their substandard housing and inadequate municipal services. However, neighbourhood stability and absence of redevelopment pressures also constitute important considerations, rehabilitation experience in the USA having indicated that attempts to reverse the deterioration process in unstable areas rarely succeed. Hence, the purpose of NIP is not to deal with grossly deteriorated urban areas, but to improve living conditions in old but viable neighbourhoods. Federal funds are available for the provision of social amenities, the removal of undesirable land uses and the clearance of areas for new housing. Priorities for each particular community are jointly established by local residents and planners. In contrast to the more rigid programmes of urban renewal, these local plans are intended to be flexible and responsive to changing neighbourhood conditions.

Although NIP allocates some funds to the acquisition of

land for low cost accommodation, financial assistance for housing improvement is provided through RRAP. The objective of R.R.A.P. is "to improve the housing conditions of low and moderate income people by assisting in the repair and/or conversion of existing residential buildings." Grains and low interest loans are available to eligible homeowners and landlords in NIP neighbourhoods and "Special Areas" designated by Federal/Provincial agreement, and to non-profit groups throughout Canada. While landlords utilizing RRAP must agree to rent controls, eligibility for the homeowner at the time of this study was determined on the basis of adjusted annual income. Loans of up to $5000 were available to people earning less than $11,000 p. a., and those with an income of less than $6000 were eligible for up to $2500 grant. However, due to prolonged criticism, these income limits have recently been revised in an attempt to increase the level of publicly assisted rehabilitation in these neighbourhoods. Unlike the earlier improvement programmes, participation in RRAP is voluntary. Its success therefore depends on presenting the residents with an effective incentive to rehabilitate, the financial assistance


36 Don Vale in Toronto constitutes one such "Special Area", but in practice very few neighbourhoods have been designated for RRAP funding under this category. None exists in Vancouver.

37 Eighteen months after the commencement of RRAP, it was announced that all NIP area property owners should be eligible for RRAP assistance, and grants available to those earning less than $11,000 p. a. The maximum loan was increased to $10,000 and the grant to $3,700.
offered through RRAP and the accompanying programme of Neighbourhood Improvement both being designed to fulfill this function. The impact of each on rehabilitation behaviour will be assessed in a later chapter.

The combined objectives of NIP and RRAP are to revitalize and stabilize lower income neighbourhoods by encouraging community participation and disrupting the cycle of events leading to deterioration and redevelopment. Contrary to the earlier urban renewal policy, the programmes are specifically oriented towards the improvement of the lower income individual's living environment. Residents are actively encouraged to stay rather than being displaced by the erection of high cost housing, although some concern has been expressed over the length of time NIP areas will actually remain a source of lower income housing. If large scale improvement sufficiently enhances the desirability of these centrally located neighbourhoods, rising house prices may well initiate a change in the economic status of the area. It is for this reason that Grigsby\(^3\) has condemned the rehabilitation of lower income areas as yet another policy which favours the high income consumer by impeding the filtering process. His feelings are echoed by Richardson\(^3\), who states, "There has hardly ever been a rehabilitation scheme that did not end up in a change in the clientele. Traditionally in North


America, rehabilitation has meant upgrading the quality of an area so that it could be handed over to middle class citizens".

Indeed, Municipal governments have no power to protect the lower income NIP area residents against this phenomenon of "white painting", this being one of the main reasons for the withdrawal of Toronto's South Carlton neighbourhood from the scheme. However, planners in most older neighbourhoods have expressed interest in federal assistance for rehabilitation, and feel that greater stability and increasing citizen involvement in the neighbourhood will minimize the rate of turnover.

Rehabilitation has therefore been generally welcomed by citizens and planners as "a fundamental instrument of a truly social housing policy". However, while many agree with the underlying philosophy of NIP and RRAP, there has been much criticism of the way in which the programmes have been formulated and implemented. Concern has been expressed over delays in processing NIP applications, an overemphasis on...

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41 RRAP projects are now under way in 75 NIP areas across Canada. (Gauthier, J., Presentation at the meeting of the Canadian Assoc. of Renewal Officers. Edmonton, Alberta. May 4, 1976.)


This strongly contrasts with Grigsby's appraisal of rehabilitation.

physical improvement to the detriment of social planning and the absence of provisions for tenants wishing to request RRAP assistance. There has also been debate over the merits of designating RRAP funds on a neighbourhood basis. While most planners would agree that an associated programme of neighbourhood improvement is important to the success of housing rehabilitation, many have endorsed the sentiments expressed by Dennis and Fish in their controversial report on government policy. In a detailed proposal for a rehabilitation scheme, they warned that

"if a rehabilitation programme is to be established, care must be taken to avoid the pitfalls of area designation as seen in the urban renewal programme. What is required is a policy of universal assistance for households qualifying for it, with the possibility of additional help where more comprehensive efforts are intended to upgrade community services and facilities, as well as individual homes."

This would suggest that NIP should be retained in poorer quality areas and RRAP aid could simply be allocated on a broader basis. Other criticism has focused on the modest allocation of funds to RRAP. By the end of 1975, over seventy RRAP projects were under way across Canada. Total Federal government funding for these schemes at the end of this year was $12.5 million, only $8 million of which constituted non-repayable assistance.


45 Dennis, M. and Fish, S., Op cit. P. 304. It should be noted that Dennis and Fish were writing prior to the introduction of NIP and RRAP.

46 Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Annual Report 1975.
Gutstein and Draper⁴⁷ have argued that this will have very little impact on the overall quality of lower income housing. Nevertheless, despite its limitations, RRAP has contributed to the preservation of many lower income inner city neighbourhoods that may otherwise have been cleared and redeveloped.

**Private Rehabilitation Activity**

Prior to the commencement of RRAP in 1974, most rehabilitation activity was undertaken by private enterprise or the individual homeowner. The role of each in the rehabilitation process will be briefly examined, particular attention being devoted to their contribution to the improvement of lower income housing quality.

Private industry is forced to operate within a number of economic and market constraints, which inhibit the nature and location of its activity. Cost and revenue are of primary importance and "as a business proposition, rehabilitation can be considered practicable only if the fundamental norms of real estate investment are met"⁴⁸. Rehabilitation is frequently a time consuming, complex process, necessitating a high level of

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input but recouping minimal returns. Work is impeded by structural and space constraints and since each dwelling is unique in its defects, the use of more efficient mass technology is generally prohibited. Rehabilitation is therefore often regarded by private enterprise as a high risk, unattractive endeavour, particularly when the property is located in a deteriorated neighbourhood. It is therefore neglected in preference for more profitable construction in the suburbs or central city redevelopment. Hence, the capacity of the industry is small and the overall output low. When private rehabilitation is undertaken, it is primarily oriented towards the higher income consumer, regardless of the social costs. There is little incentive for an industry motivated by profit to engage in the rehabilitation of low rent housing. Hence, except when work is publicly financed as in the case of RRAP, private enterprise makes little contribution to the improvement of the lower income housing environment.

In the absence of large scale government and private rehabilitation, improvement of existing housing rests mainly with the individual owner. However, the variable quality of the residential stock suggests that, once again, rehabilitation


levels are greatest in higher income areas. Any owner wishing to undertake a major renovation of his property is likely to encounter a number of constraints, the most important of which is cost. However, this presents the most serious obstacle to the lower income individual. Although RRAP assistance is now available to some lower income homeowners, many people residing outside NIP areas may find the high costs of rehabilitation prohibitive. Home Improvement Loans may provide an alternative source of funding, but high interest rates are likely to discourage their use by lower income owners. Lack of expertise may also constitute a significant constraint to rehabilitation and seeking professional advice can once again incur high costs. Non-profit groups such as the Urban Design Centre and the Architectural Institute of B.C. in Vancouver, and the Community Workshop Design Group in Montreal have made an important contribution in this area by providing lower income owners with free rehabilitation advice. However, these organizations are rare and their future uncertain since they depend entirely on short term government schemes such as the Local Initiatives Programme for financial support. Furthermore, since these groups have little money for advertising, it is likely that only a small proportion of the people needing such help even know of their existence.

Public assistance is therefore essential to the improvement of low rent housing areas. In the past, the lower income owner has frequently lacked both the knowledge and the financial ability to engage in rehabilitation. RRAP has attempted to remove these constraints through the provision of financial
assistance and professional advice. However, another significant factor which is often overlooked is the possible lack of enthusiasm of many individuals. If RRAP is to be successful, it must stimulate a new interest in improvement. This is an important issue and will be fully explored later in this work.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Social scientists engaging in the study of man’s behaviour and his impact on the physical environment have long been presented with a methodological dilemma. The world which they seek to study is complex, relationships within it intricate and man’s behaviour often seemingly irrational. In order to analyse and understand this world, the researcher is compelled to simplify and structure it, extracting only those elements which he deems salient. However, the appropriate approach to this task remains a matter for debate in all social science disciplines. Much geographical research in the past has followed the positivist tradition and adhered to an objective, quantitative approach. Researchers such as Harvey have attempted to replicate the precise methodology of the physical sciences through the use of rigorous statistical techniques. However, these tools generally placed strict demands on the nature of the data, which frequently encouraged a selective examination of variables that were more amenable to analysis. The study of personal values, attitudes and perception was therefore generally avoided and

1 Harvey, D., Explanation in Geography. Edward Arnold. 1969.
much of the complexity of the real world ignored. Conclusions were often based on gross behavioural assumptions, which portrayed man as an objective, rational being. Overall, greater emphasis was devoted to the physical attributes of the environment and an analysis of spatial patterns rather than an understanding of the process through which they had evolved.

By the early nineteen seventies, the narrow positivist approach to many investigations in urban and human geography was being critically re-examined. Geographers such as Tuan and Relph argued that a more holistic, humanistic methodology was essential to the understanding of man's behaviour and its impact on the spatial structure*. They favoured an approach which explored

"the original worlds of man's experience, while rejecting the approaches of a mechanistic science and the search for scientific laws which have no meaning for man.""5

A phenomenological appreciation of reality was advocated, in which the environment was examined not in objective, physical

2 Some exceptions to this were Lowenthal, D., "Geography, Experience and Imagination". AAAG 51. 1969.


5 Relph, E., Ibid. p.193
terms but as the private, subjective world of man. Variability, irrationality and personal values became important elements in the investigation of the environment as perceived by man. Research therefore began to incorporate intangible variables, many of which defied precise statistical measurement. This constituted a significant departure from the earlier positivist approach. The aim became not only to analyse, but to understand the pattern of spatial variation in terms of the richness of human experience.

The proposed transition from objective to subjectively oriented research has nevertheless presented methodological problems. An experiential approach based on observation and community participation yields rich and valuable data and is a commonly used tool of phenomenological investigations. However, the validity of a study based on intuition and subjectively derived data may be questioned. Unless the work is carefully presented and at least partly verified by objective information, there may be little indication of whether the conclusions constitute an authentic representation of reality or the biased impressions of the researcher. William Bunge's research in "Fitzgerald" suffers from this limitation, his high level of


Bunge constitutes a good example of a geographer who has personally progressed from the positivist tradition (as exemplified in Bunge's publication entitled Theoretical Geography (Lund: Gleerup. 1962)) to the experiential perspective.
personal involvement with his subjects detracting from the general usefulness of the study. Care must therefore be taken to ensure that this more recent and sensitive behavioural approach to geographical investigations does not assume a biased perspective, as was characteristic in the earlier positivist tradition.

A purely analytical or wholly intuitive approach to the understanding of the spatial pattern and process clearly has limitations. However, subjective and objective methods of data collection can be jointly used to compensate for the inherent weaknesses in each. In order to satisfactorily fulfill the research objectives as outlined in Chapter I, it is necessary to utilize a variety of data sources. The goal is to obtain the richness of data essential to a full understanding of the rehabilitation decision making process, but, where possible, to substantiate intuitive conclusions with statistical data.

DATA SOURCES

In order to examine the attitudes and understand the rehabilitation behaviour of property owners in older residential neighbourhoods, four major areas of inquiry were identified. These were (1) the physical characteristics of the survey areas, i.e. Kitsilano, Cedar Cottage and Grandview, (2) the socio-economic characteristics of the survey area residents, (3) rehabilitation levels within these neighbourhoods, and (4) attitudes of the survey areas' inhabitants towards improvement.

(1) Physical Characteristics

Particular attention was focused on the quality of housing
and neighbourhood facilities, and present and future plans for improvement and development in the survey districts. The character and potential influence of adjacent areas was also noted. Most of these data were available from the Vancouver Planning Department, which has conducted a number of comprehensive studies in each of these areas, and the local area planning office situated within the neighbourhood. However, difficulty was experienced in obtaining a detailed, up to date assessment of housing quality in each area. Although "windshield" surveys had been undertaken by the City Planning Department in 1973, the data was either unavailable or highly aggregated, the only detailed evaluation having been executed in Cedar Cottage prior to 1968. Also, although the City assessment records provide a good indication of internal housing quality, these are not available to the public. A block by block "windshield" quality assessment of each survey area was therefore conducted by the researcher for the purpose of this study. The classification of housing quality usually employed by the Vancouver City Planning Department was utilized and is outlined in Appendix A.

(2) Socio-economic Characteristics

Data on income, ethnic mix, household composition and

8 City Planning Dept., Cedar Cottage-Renfrew Study. Vancouver Planning Dept. May 1968.

9 It is recognised that a "windshield" survey suffers from a number of limitations and gives only a superficial assessment of quality. However, in the absence of any other source of data, it was felt that this provided an adequate indication of the general pattern of neighbourhood quality.
length of residence were obtained from the 1971 Census. This data source nevertheless suffers from several limitations, since census tract boundaries do not always coincide with those of the survey areas and the statistics are now five years out of date. Hence, where possible, this information was supplemented by more recent Planning Department statistics and data collected through the survey questionnaire developed for this study.

(3) Rehabilitation Levels

While CMHC records provided detailed information on the number and distribution of properties rehabilitated through RRAP, accurate statistics on privately funded rehabilitation were much more difficult to obtain. The use of Development Permits and Licenses data did permit a general appreciation of the level and nature of rehabilitation activity within each neighbourhood, but more valuable and detailed information was derived from the questionnaire. Unfortunately, CMHC data on the use of Home Improvement Loans for private rehabilitation was not sufficiently disaggregated for the purposes of this study.

(4) Residents' Attitudes

Residents' attitudes towards their neighbourhood, their house and the concept of improvement were considered important components of the individual's feelings towards rehabilitation and the decision to renovate. A number of intuitive conclusions concerning the nature of these attitudes were drawn from informal conversations with citizens and local planners in the survey neighbourhoods. Community newspapers also provided useful indicators of the general current of feeling towards the area and its improvement. However, the major source of attitudinal
data constituted the survey questionnaire, which was designed to explore the "behavioural environment"\textsuperscript{10} of the individual in terms of his perceived and private world.

**THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES**

The questionnaire therefore emerges as the single most important source of survey data in this research. It provided a unifying element, serving not only to vindicate and elaborate on often incomplete or aggregated official data sources, but also to investigate poorly documented aspects of rehabilitation behaviour. Both a mail questionnaire and a house-to-house survey of property owners were utilized, but most emphasis was placed on the latter.

1. **The House to House Questionnaire**
   
   (a) **The Design**

   A house-to-house questionnaire was designed on the basis of the survey objectives formulated in Chapter I. Earlier field work within the neighbourhoods had provided an indication of the appropriate direction of inquiry and potentially significant

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10} The term "behavioural environment" was first coined by Kirk in 1951 (Kirk, W., "Historical Geography and the Concept of the Behavioural Environment". \textit{Indian Geographical Journal}, Silver Jubilee Volume. 1951. P.152.) and the concept was developed in later works. In distinguishing it from the physical "phenomenological environment", Kirk defines the "behavioural environment" as a "psycho-physical field in which phenomenal facts are arranged into patterns or structures and acquire values in cultural contexts". (Kirk, W., "Problems in Geography". \textit{Geography} 48 (1963). P.357.)}\]
issues which should be explored\textsuperscript{11}. Particular attention was focused on the characteristics of the survey respondents, their past rehabilitation activity and their attitudes towards housing and neighbourhood improvement. However, whereas information relating to the respondents and their improvements could be readily collected through direct questioning, accurate attitudinal data were more difficult to acquire. Attitudes are highly variable and constitute a complex cognitive expression of an individual's values, opinions and belief\textsuperscript{12}. Their measurement is therefore complicated, and in the absence of the complexity of the real world situation, the contrived questionnaire may yield little more than an oversimplified response. Great care is therefore needed in the formulation of attitude oriented questions, although reliability can be increased by the use of more than one method of attitude assessment within a given survey\textsuperscript{13}. This research utilized two approaches. The first attempted simply to identify residents' attitudes through open-ended questions related to housing and neighbourhood improvement in general and RRAP in particular. This form of question permits a relatively free response and can provide a rich data base, although difficulties may arise when subjects are unable to accurately verbalize their opinions. It also poses problems of comparison between respondents and provides only a subjective

\textsuperscript{11}The field work was designed to obtain contextual data on each of the survey areas.


\textsuperscript{13}While this may lead to some redundancy within the questionnaire, it provides a basis for comparison and a valuable validity check.
indication of the intensity of the feelings expressed. However, these limitations were obviated in this research by the use of a second more rigourous approach; that of attitude measurement.

Much attention has been devoted to the creation of scales which discriminate between individuals of differing attitudes. Bogardus, Thurstone, Guttman and Likert are well known for their contributions in this field. These scales are widely used within social science research since they not only provide a measure of attitude intensity, but also permit a higher level of researcher control than open-ended questioning. There is consequently a good basis for comparison between subjects. It is also argued that attitude scales present less opportunity for rationalization and deception by the respondent than open questions and are hence more likely to elicit the individual's 'true' attitude. However, this assertion has little substantive foundation, and the possibility of an incorrect or calculated response should always be considered a limitation in attitude assessment.

Perhaps the most popular of the attitude scaling techniques


15 This argument is based on the notion that a quick response to a question will reveal what is upper most in the subject's mind. Since attitude scaling tests are intended to be completed with speed, there is little time for a considered and perhaps deceptive response. (Oppenheim, A., Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement. Heinemann:London. 1966.)
is the Likert scale\textsuperscript{16}; this was selected for the purpose of this study. While it yields only ordinal data in contrast to the interval Thurstone measure, it has the advantage of being relatively easy to construct and administer. A series of related attitude statements was designed to elicit feelings towards the neighbourhood and housing rehabilitation, and portrayed both a positive and negative perspective. A brief discussion of the way in which these statements were composed is undertaken in Appendix B (section 1). Subjects responded to the statements on the basis of a five point scale of agreement/disagreement, and the responses were scored so that the most favourable reaction was assigned the highest value(5) and vice versa. The sum of the individual statement scores was considered a measurement of the respondent's general attitude towards the stated topic. However, since different responses may result in the same total score, care was taken not to overemphasize the significance of this value. Also, since attitudes are so complex and highly variable, such scales should only be regarded as "the roughest approximations of the way in which attitudes actually exist in the mental life of the individual"\textsuperscript{17}. Nevertheless, the pattern of responses yielded through attitude tests does constitute an important source of data, from which some meaningful comparative statements can be made.

\textsuperscript{16} Likert, R., \textit{Op. Cit.}

(b) The House to House Questionnaire as a Research Tool

The survey questionnaire conducted on a personal interview basis can prove a rich source of data. Face to face contact frequently enables the researcher to establish a sense of rapport with the subject, particularly if the interview is conducted in the respondent's home. This helps to dispel the image of a "test" situation and encourages the subject to respond freely and naturally to the topic in question. The questionnaire utilized in this research contained both closed and open-ended questions, permitting the interviewer to develop any part of the discussion at his discretion. It was hoped that this combination would provide both a rigorous basis for comparison and sufficient flexibility to explore the variable perceived world of the individual.

The survey questionnaire is nevertheless a time consuming research tool which, like most techniques, has some limitations. Despite attempts to create a relaxed, informal atmosphere, the accuracy of the data may be affected by the respondent's awareness of being monitored. This may induce a "desired" or "public" response rather than a spontaneous disclosure of the subject's true feelings. Also, long questionnaires involving obscure or complex issues may fail to sustain the interest of the respondent and possibly lead to quick, ill considered replies aimed at bringing the interview to a close. The interviewer should therefore be aware that a house to house survey constitutes an imposition in terms of time and an invasion of privacy and attempt to minimize these where
possible\textsuperscript{18}. Finally, leading and imbalanced questioning requiring a high level of personal information may well give rise to data distorted by a guided pattern of response and a number of refusals. Account must be taken of these limitations in the interpretation of the survey data and conclusions drawn with care. Nevertheless, many of these disadvantages can be minimized by sensitive survey design and administration, and thorough pre-testing.

(c) \textbf{The Questionnaire Survey}

A pilot survey was conducted in December 1975, using a small randomly selected sample from the Kitsilano research area. The function of the pre-test was threefold. Firstly, it was essential to ascertain whether the questionnaire was yielding adequate and appropriate information to fulfill the survey objectives outlined in Chapter I. Secondly, attention was focused on the structure of the survey, care being taken to ensure that questions were unambiguous, comprehensible and inoffensive. Finally, the pilot test constituted a critical stage in the construction of the Likert scale. The series of attitude statements was tested for their ability to discriminate between respondents with opposing attitudes. The procedure and

\textsuperscript{18} The social scientist should always be aware of the ethical implications of his mode of research. Invasion of privacy, violation of the subject's anonymity and a failure to explain the way in which personal information will be utilized constitute important considerations in the use of the survey questionnaire.

\textsuperscript{19} Further details concerning attitude scale testing may be found in Selltiz, C., \textit{Research Methods in Social Relations}. Holt, Rinehart and Wilson. N.Y. 1951.
results of this test are outlined in Appendix B (section 2). In order to increase the validity and reliability of the Likert measure, items with a low "discriminatory power" were eliminated from the final scale. This ensured that the attitude test was internally consistent and that every statement was related to the same general theme.

Revisions were made on the basis of the pilot data and an example of the final questionnaire is included in Appendix C. Since the questionnaire took an average of 30 to 45 minutes to conduct, a number of refusals were expected on the basis of time. However, the pilot test revealed that most of the individuals who raised this objection were willing to participate in the survey if they could complete the questionnaire at their own convenience. Hence, the format was revised to accommodate this alternative, although a personal interview was still considered preferable and conducted where possible.\(^{20}\)

In the final stages of preparation for the questionnaire survey, a sample was drawn from the conversion zones of the three Vancouver inner city neighbourhoods of Kitsilano, Cedar Cottage and Grandview-Woodlands. To date, only Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage have been allocated NIP and RRAP assistance. Grandview-Woodlands, although a similarly declining area, is largely characterized by privately funded rehabilitation and

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20 The self-completion alternative was only offered if a refusal seemed imminent. Where possible, arrangements were made for the researcher to conduct the interview at a more convenient time.
therefore served as an important control in assessing the impact of RRAP. Since the decision to rehabilitate rests primarily with the property owner and RRAP is only available to these individuals, no attempt was made to include tenants within the survey. While the latter undoubtedly contribute to the upkeep of residential structures, work is more likely to take the form of general maintenance than rehabilitation per se. Maintenance repairs are on a smaller scale, more readily undertaken and necessitate less financial expenditure than the attempt at major property improvement with which this research is concerned.

Resident homeowners in each neighbourhood were identified through the Vancouver City Directory, which provides a detailed address list of Vancouver residents. It is less time consuming to use than the City assessment records, but has the disadvantage of being incomplete and quickly going out of date. The sample was selected on the basis of a stratified random framework. The individual survey neighbourhoods were divided into ten sub-areas of similar size and an equal proportion of resident owners was selected from each. This approach has the advantage of ensuring a reasonably even distribution of respondents throughout the neighbourhood, thereby increasing the chance of including a representative from each major socio-economic group in the sample. Table I indicates some bias in the sample towards individuals who have lived in their present dwelling and hence the neighbourhood for a long period of time. The response from short term residents (less than one year) in Cedar Cottage and Kitsilano was particularly poor as newcomers to the neighbourhood felt unable to accurately answer the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>Grandview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Households</td>
<td>58.0 %</td>
<td>74.8 %</td>
<td>83.0 %</td>
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<td>47%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>80%</td>
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<td>Length of Residence</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>under 1 yr</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
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<td>1-2 yrs</td>
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<td>15.8%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
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<td>6-10 yrs</td>
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<td>15.8%</td>
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<td>over 10 yrs</td>
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<td>34.3%</td>
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<td>3.2%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
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<td>German</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
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<td>3.6%</td>
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<td>b%</td>
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<td>Greek</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managerial &amp; Professional</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
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<td>23%</td>
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<td>8%</td>
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<td>51.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>grade 9-13</td>
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<td>41.9%</td>
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<td>6.9%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
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<td>Household Income</td>
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<td>under $7000</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
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<td>40.1%</td>
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<td>$7000-9999</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10000-14999</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over $15000</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RRAP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RRAP users</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>not eligible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 1971 Census data. (b) no Census data category provided. (c) the income categories devised for the survey were similar, but not directly comparable with the Census classification. (d) CMHC data.
questionnaire. The correspondence between the total and sample population in Grandview-Woodlands was closer, since most of the respondents falling into this category had lived in the area before.

The survey respondents were generally considered to be fairly representative of the total population in each area. However, the sample size was restricted by constraints of time and money; a total of 160 completed questionnaires was collected from the three survey areas. Since an assessment of RRAP constituted an important survey objective, the sample was slightly biased towards the two NIP areas of Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage (see Table II). A total of sixty questionnaires were conducted in each of these neighbourhoods, and forty in the control area of Grandview-Woodlands. It is fully recognised that

| TABLE II |
| SAMPLE SIZE |
| Total Number of Households | Total Number of Interviews | Sampled Households % |
| Kitsilano | 3500 | 60 | 1.7 |
| Cedar Cottage | 4300 | 60 | 1.4 |
| Grandview | 4000 | 40 | 1.0 |

(a) Local area planning office data.

this sample constitutes a smaller proportion of the total population than is usually desirable\(^2\). It was hoped that the

\(^2\) A minimum sample of 5% of the total population is generally considered desirable.
use of the rigorous selection procedure and reference to other available data sources would partially alleviate this problem. While it is possible to draw meaningful conclusions from the survey data, it is clear that some caution must be exercised in the statistical interpretation of results. This has particular significance for the examination of smaller sub-groups within the sample.

The questionnaire survey was undertaken by the author in January and February of 1976. Each respondent was assured of anonymity and a brief explanation of the purpose of the study and use of the data was given prior to the interview. Most of the interviews were conducted within the respondent's home, although 12% elected to fill in the form themselves at their own convenience. The completed questionnaire was collected from these respondents after a two to three day period, when the opportunity was provided for a discussion of issues raised by the survey. The final total of 160 questionnaires represented a response rate of 64.5%.

(2) **The Mail Questionnaire**

(a) **The Design**

A mail questionnaire was designed specifically to explore the attitudes and past rehabilitation activity of absentee landlords owning property in the two NIP survey areas of Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage. Although absentee owners are eligible for RRAP assistance regardless of their income, the participation rates recorded by CMHC have been low. The researcher was therefore particularly interested in this group's
reaction towards the programme and perceived disincentives to rehabilitate. The questionnaire was nevertheless designed to examine similar aspects of the research problem to those of the house to house questionnaire and was closely related to the research objectives. Where possible, questions were standardized between the two questionnaires in order to create some basis for comparison. However, as is clear from the example of this questionnaire in Appendix C, the mail survey was less comprehensive and considerably shorter than the home based interviews. This reduction was necessary to ensure an adequate response rate. It is well known that recipients of mail questionnaires often feel less obliged to respond than the individual who is personally approached for an interview. To avoid a time consuming, demanding form, only the most important areas of inquiry were included. Personal questions pertaining to occupation, education and income were omitted and the respondent's anonymity was stressed in an attempt to preclude any perception of threat by the respondent.

Due to financial and time constraints, no pilot survey was undertaken. It was therefore impossible to check whether the mail questionnaire was appropriately designed for the absentee landlord group. However, since the majority of the questions were taken from the final pre-tested house to house questionnaire, the researcher was confident that the mail survey constituted a fairly well formulated research tool.

(b) The Mail Questionnaire as a Research Tool

Since the absentee landlords within this survey lived in widely dispersed locations ranging from Coquitlam, B.C., to the
Gulf Islands, the mail questionnaire constituted the only feasible research tool. It has the advantage of being relatively easy and cheap to administer, and respondents are generally confident in their anonymity. This hopefully encourages a frank response. Also, since such surveys are conducted on an impersonal basis, there is a high level of standardization for purposes of comparison, and no possibility of interviewer bias. However, the absence of an interviewer can also be a disadvantage, since there is no means of probing an open-ended question in greater depth or controlling the sequence in which questions are answered. This may lead to rationalization and bias the response. Furthermore, if the respondent is not particularly interested in the survey, he may only partially answer some questions and ignore others completely. Hence, with less interviewer control and the characteristically shorter nature of the mail questionnaire, this tool frequently provides a less rich source of data than the more flexible survey interview.

Perhaps the greatest disadvantage of the mail questionnaire is the generally poor response rate and the length of time for return. The response can vary from 10 to 50%, a rate of more than 60% being fairly rare. This not only necessitates sending out a large number of questionnaires, but has the more serious implication of possibly biasing the sample. Since nonresponse is rarely a random process it is unlikely that the returns will be

22 Selltiz, C., Op cit.
representative of the original sample\(^23\). While it is difficult to eliminate this bias, there are a number of ways to encourage response\(^24\). Some of these were alluded to in the previous section and pertain to the length and nature of the questionnaire and the importance of anonymity. Others include financial inducements, mailing reminders, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope for the questionnaire's return and including an introductory letter explaining the purpose of the study. The latter two methods were utilized in this research. Hence, while the mail questionnaire is undoubtedly an inferior tool compared with the interview based survey, a number of its limitations can be minimized to provide an important complementary source of data.

(c) The Survey

Forty absentee landlords owning property in either Cedar Cottage or Kitsilano (twenty in each neighbourhood) were randomly selected from the City assessment records. This source had the advantage of identifying both the absentee owner and his permanent place of residence for every rented property in Vancouver. The landlords selected lived throughout the Lower Mainland, but the majority were located within the City of Vancouver or its suburbs. The sample size was small as a result of financial constraints and it must be stressed that this data is mainly intended to complement the main body of information collected through the house to house questionnaire.

\(^23\) It is highly likely that the group of less interested nonrespondents will have a number of characteristics in common. These would vary with the study.

The mail questionnaire, accompanied by a letter and a stamped addressed envelope, was sent to the sample at the end of January 1976. By the end of February, seventeen usable responses had been returned, giving a response rate of 42.2%. Since the questionnaires were anonymous, there was no evidence of the nature of the response bias. Furthermore, it was impossible to assess the extent to which the sample was representative of the total body of Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage landlords, since there was no objective source of data for comparison. Due to these limitations and the small size of the sample, this data was not statistically analysed but used as a general indication of the sentiments of the absentee landlord group.

**DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS**

The questionnaire provided both qualitative and quantitative data, which was coded and stored on IBM computer cards for analysis. While the coding for the closed, fixed answer questions and the attitude scale was already predetermined, it was necessary to devise a coding frame for the more flexible open-ended questions. This procedure must be undertaken with some care and be based on a clear conception of the research problem and objectives, since the classification will greatly influence the interpretation of the results. Once a series of categories is imposed on a rich and varied set of data, some information is inevitably lost leaving a more simplified representation of reality. The loss of information must occur where it matters least in order to avoid any significant reduction in validity or understanding.
The nature of the statistical analysis was largely determined by the character of the data. As in most social science surveys, this research yielded a high proportion of low order quantitative data. This lacks additive and often ordinal properties and is therefore best approached by nonparametric statistical techniques, which place relatively few stringent requirements on the data. Analysis is generally based on discrete categories of frequencies, about which often only comparative statements can be made. Higher order quantitative data, however, such as income and family size, are characterized by additive properties, equal intervals and generally have a zero point. They may consequently be analysed by more demanding statistics, permitting a high level of precision and absolute measurement.

Statistical analysis in this research was undertaken on the computer with the use of the SPSS statistical package. This collection of commonly used statistical techniques is oriented towards social science investigations and provides a number of subroutines designed to facilitate analysis. One such feature is related to the processing of missing data, a common phenomenon in social science research. Appropriate programs were selected from within this package for the analysis of the data. Firstly, frequencies were computed for every variable in order to examine their distributional characteristics. The relationship between these variables was then examined through crosstabulation and

the computation of nonparametric statistics. The chi-square test and a related measure of association (Phi or Cramer's V) were selected for this purpose. Finally, an attempt was made to assess the strength of association between the few survey variables based on ordinal data through the computation of Spearman's $r_s$. Such variables included occupation, income, expenditures on repairs and a ranked quality assessment. A more detailed review of these statistics is undertaken in Appendix D. It must be stressed that the size of the subgroups within the sample did not always permit as detailed an analysis as would have been liked. However, where possible, intuitive and subjective conclusions were verified with statistical evidence, providing a useful and sound data base.
CHAPTER IV

THE SURVEY AREAS

In February 1974, the Vancouver City Planning Department recommended eight inner city areas in Vancouver as potential recipients of funding under the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme. These were Kitsilano, Fairview, Mount Pleasant, Cedar Cottage, Riley Park, Strathcona, Grandview and Hastings-Sunrise. The selection was based on previously identified areas of need, already designated for renovation under the proposed local programme of Community Improvement and Development. Each is characterised by older, often deteriorating housing, a low to moderate income population, substandard community facilities and inadequate municipal services. By July 1974, the Province of B.C. and CMHC had approved the designation of the whole of Kitsilano and part of Cedar Cottage as NIP areas. Programmes were initiated immediately, with the allocation of $1.2 million and $1.8 million to each area respectively. As noted in Chapter I, these NIP areas constitute two of the three survey districts. The third, the control neighbourhood, is Grandview-Woodlands, which at the time of research had received no NIP funding. Due to financial and time limitations, the study focused on the


conversion areas (zoned RT-2 and RS-2) within each
neighbourhood. These zones are characterised by a high
proportion of well-built but older, often subdivided homes and
are frequently subject to a number of pressures for development.
In the past, such districts have generally been regarded as
"transitional zones". However, a recent evaluation of both the
economic and social role of conversion housing has led to a
reappraisal of the future of these areas. Planners in many of
the major Canadian cities now recognise that the conversion
zones make a significant contribution to the lower cost housing
stock and have placed high priority on their improvement.

It may be noted from Figure 1 that there are three separate
areas of conversion housing in Kitsilano, but that only the West
zone (bounded by Alma, Broadway, Larch/Vine and the waterfront)
was chosen for investigation. The aim was to maintain some
homogeneity within the survey area selected from each
neighbourhood so as to facilitate a comparison between the
respondents. Since the three Kitsilano conversion areas are
physically isolated, it is possible that residents' attitudes
and rehabilitation behaviour could be influenced by different
external factors in each case. The South East conversion zone is
surrounded on two sides by apartments, but is bounded to the

3 Western Real Essearch Corp., Study of the Economics of
Conversion Housing, Kitsilano Planning Area. City Planning
Dept., Vancouver. 1975.
4 City Planning Dept., Core Area Housing Study. City of Toronto
Planning Board. 1974.
City Planning Dept., Older Neighbourhoods in Edmonton: A
South by the high income residential area of Shaughnessy. Any "neighbourhood effect" from the latter could distort the results. The Kitsilano Point zone, located in the North East of the NIP area, has a higher level of housing quality than the Western zone and is a relatively distinctive community within Kitsilano. Its unique character is also acknowledged by the local area planning team, who, in their consideration of the conversion areas, formulated a separate plan for the Point. The large, contiguous area of West Kitsilano was therefore chosen for analysis.

In both Kitsilano and Grandview-Woodlands, the selected conversion zones present a physical and social buffer between the areas of single family homes and apartment development and therefore provide well defined units for this research (see Figure 1). However, the conversion zone within Cedar Cottage does not form a distinctive sub-area and hence emerges as a less cohesive spatial unit for analysis. No good purpose would be served by excluding the small pockets of single family housing encompassed within the Neighbourhood Improvement district from the investigation. Hence, the NIP boundary (i.e. Broadway, Nanaimo, Kingsway and Clark/Knight Drive) was used to define this survey district.

The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to a concise description of the three research areas, the aim being to provide a basis for understanding and interpreting the survey

5 The Grandview conversion zone is bounded by Commercial, Hastings, Templeton and Broadway.
results. An appreciation of the environment into which the Federal NIP and RRAP programmes were introduced is considered particularly important. The distinctive social and physical milieu of each neighbourhood will therefore be examined through data collected from the local area planning offices, community newspapers and the survey questionnaire. Some concluding comments on the survey areas as a group will be made towards the end of the chapter.

THE_NIP_SURVEY AREAS

KITSILANO

Residential construction in Kitsilano commenced in the early nineteen hundreds and by 1910, most of the area between Alma, Fourth Avenue, Blenheim and the waterfront had been developed with large, wood-frame houses. Although Kitsilano could not compete with the elitist areas of Shaughnessy and the West End, large numbers of middle income families were attracted by the pleasant location, the presence of a street car line to central Vancouver and the waterfront. By 1940, the desirability of Kitsilano had increased and the residential area had extended to the South. Since its early years, residents have exhibited a strong pride in their neighbourhood. This is reflected in the foundation of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association in 1907 and the Chamber of Commerce in 1935. Both these groups have endeavoured to preserve Kitsilano as a middle class, family oriented area and protect it from external threats of physical development and social change. This pride and image of Kitsilano as a desirable residential neighbourhood is still evident
amongst many owners within the survey area and constitutes a strong motivating force for improvement. The redevelopment of East Kitsilano for apartment living in the early nineteen sixties was a particularly important factor in reinforcing this perceived need to protect and preserve the character of the neighbourhood.

Unlike the apartment zone, the Kitsilano conversion area has not yet undergone a major physical transformation. Most of the housing stock is at least fifty years old and comprises largely of single family homes and duplexes. A small number of apartment buildings and townhouses are also evident, but are unlikely to significantly increase under the present zoning, which permits them only as a conditional land use. However, although this zone still has the general appearance of a single family area, many of the large, older houses have been subdivided during the last fifteen to twenty years. This has accounted for much of the increase in apartment units since 1951 (see Table III) and given rise to a significant growth in rental accommodation. This has encouraged a higher proportion of young, single adults to settle in the area and led to a decline in family households of nearly 40% since 1951. As indicated in Table III, the only groups to increase during these two decades were those between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four.

The residents of the Kitsilano survey area are predominantly Anglo Saxon in origin (see Table I, Chapter III), although Germans and Greeks constitute two dominant ethnic groups. In the absence of adequate Census data, statistics from the Vancouver City Planning Department suggest that the Greeks,
TABLE III
TRENDS IN THE KITSILANO SURVEY AREA

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Households</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>81.0</td>
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<td>-39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 -14 years</td>
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<td>21.1</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>15-19 years</td>
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<td>6.0</td>
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<td>33.7</td>
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<td>44.0</td>
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<td>42.0</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner Occupied</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>-18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 1971 Census data

who cluster in the centre of the conversion zone, constitute approximately 4% of the total residents. The 1971 Census data indicate that 68.5% of the survey area population earned less than $10,000 p.a. (see Table I, Chapter III) and that the average income was just below that for Vancouver.

The change in the social character of the survey area over the past fifteen to twenty years has been paralleled by an overall decline in housing quality. This may be partly

6 City Planning Dept., Vancouver Local Areas. City of Vancouver Planning Dept., April 1975.
The Census data provides no separate category for the enumeration of the Greek population.

7 The average family income for the survey area in 1971 was $9525, compared with the Vancouver average of $10,422. (Census data, 1971.)
attributed to the natural deterioration process, since about 40% of the dwellings were constructed prior to 1915. However, the decline is probably also related to the nature of the social change. The younger, single newcomers are often transient and regard Kitsilano as an impermanent home. Indeed, Table I (Chapter III) indicates that over half the survey area population has lived in their dwelling for less than five years and 27.7% for under a year. Many of these residents are probably renting and have little feeling of attachment to their property or incentive to arrest the deterioration process. Furthermore, the subdivision of older properties has frequently been accompanied by a change from resident to absentee ownership. An assessment of the present housing quality in the area revealed that property maintenance in the latter case was often poor, absentee ownership on the poorest blocks averaging 76% (see Figure 2). This sharply contrasts with a mean of 19% on blocks assessed as "good" or "very good".

The overall quality of housing in the Kitsilano survey area is average and contains only pockets of above and below standard dwellings. There is nevertheless a general transition from fairly good housing in the West of the area, adjacent to the single family zone, to mixed and poorer quality blocks in the East. The "mixed" areas largely coincide with housing built


9 This is supported by the planners in the Kitsilano local planning office. (Personal communication with Rick Gates, 17th July, 1975.)
FIG. 2

KITSILANO HOUSING QUALITY ASSESSMENT

Key:
- very good
- good
- average
- poor
- very poor
- mixed
- 2nd & Trafalgar
prior to 1915 and are characterised by both renovated and deteriorated structures. All the blocks close to the conversion zone boundary are subject to pressures from the adjacent recently developed apartment area. This has been substantiated by an investigation close to the conversion zone limit, which has revealed that 75% of the property owners around Second Avenue and Trafalgar Street have been approached by developers and asked to sell (see Figure 2)\textsuperscript{10}. Speculative behaviour based on anticipated zoning changes generally leads to lower maintenance levels and a quality decline. However, it is intended that plans devised under the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme will obviate any possibility of rezoning in the near future. Speculation should thereby become a less attractive proposition and the prospect of increased neighbourhood stability should hopefully encourage more property maintenance.

The Neighbourhood Improvement plan for the survey area was formulated in early 1976. The aim is to preserve the character of the area, maintaining both its physical and social diversity, while allowing for a small increase in density\textsuperscript{11}. The local planners are working in conjunction with three sub-committees representing residents from the conversion area to implement the plan. These committees arose from the desire to involve more local citizens in the planning process. However, not only do


\textsuperscript{11} Kitsilano Planning Committee, Plan for the Conversion Areas of Kitsilano (draft). City Planning Dept., Vancouver, B.C. 1976.
they serve a democratic function, but they also help to increase the general level of public awareness with regard to the improvement programme. This has important implications for the voluntary participation of residents in RRAP. A better understanding of the goals and achievements of the local planning team may well provide a stimulus to rehabilitation by the individual.

It is the author's impression that Kitsilano residents are generally aware of issues, programmes and activities concerning their local area. The spread of information is facilitated by the two local newspapers, the "Western News" and the "West Side Courier", and citizens' groups such as the Ratepayers' associations and the tenants' organization, Renters United for Secure Housing ("RUSH"). Although the groups represent different factions of the population and there is often dissension between them, they are motivated by a common concern for the neighbourhood. Anxiety over the area's future development is evident in the local news media and from the relatively good attendance at public meetings. Most residents in the conversion zone feel fairly attached to the area and are proud to be part of the neighbourhood of Kitsilano, with which they strongly identify. Owners do not generally like the physical and social changes that have taken place, but many feel that a remnant of their neighbourhood community still persists and that it must be

12 Comments related to citizen awareness and pride in their local community are largely intuitive. The impressions were formulated through talking with local planners and residents, and living close to the survey area.
preserved. This conviction plays an important part in the decision to rehabilitate, as will be shown in Chapter V.

CEDAR COTTAGE

Unlike most Vancouver inner city neighbourhoods which developed as a logical extension of the older city core, Cedar Cottage grew from a separate nucleus based on a stop on the interurban railway line linking Vancouver to New Westminster. Commercial development at this point (now 18th Avenue and Commercial) commenced in the eighteen nineties, the shops being well patronised by passengers walking between the interurban stop and the Fourth Avenue streetcar. Residential construction began around this centre prior to World War One, and by 1920, a number of single family homes had been built along the transit line. During these early stages of development, Cedar Cottage came under the South Vancouver District Municipality. Provision of municipal services other than water supply and schools was poor and the subdivision of land careless. This gave rise to narrow streets and irregular lots, the least attractive of which remained vacant for several decades. Although improvements did occur after amalgamation with Vancouver in 1928, the legacy of this early era of poor planning remains. A sense of neglect has persisted for many older residents, who remain suspicious of government actions. This has important implications for the

acceptance of the Federal RRAP programme within this area.

While the commercial centre thrived, it provided Cedar Cottage with a strong central core and an important business function. However, by the nineteen forties, the private car was more widely used and Kingsway gradually gained importance as an interurban route and commercial area. The early centre consequently declined, although the residential area continued to grow. As Vancouver expanded, Cedar Cottage was engulfed. The neighbourhood consequently lost its clear and separate identity, something which it has never managed to replace. The survey questionnaire indicated that many residents in this neighbourhood could not identify themselves with an area named Cedar Cottage, but felt more closely associated to surrounding neighbourhoods such as Mount Pleasant and Grandview. Unlike Kitsilano, where the citizens' groups and local media provide residents with constant reminders of neighbourhood issues and activities, there is little in Cedar Cottage to generate a feeling of belonging to this neighbourhood. Until the last few months, there has been no local newspaper specifically oriented towards Cedar Cottage, the Grandview based "Highland Echo" being the most widely read in the area. This has only led to further confusion over the separate identity of the neighbourhood. In 1975, a LIP grant application to start a local newspaper was refused on the basis that Cedar Cottage was not a strong community with any central interests. However, the local

14 This is supported by the former chairman of the Cedar Cottage-Kensington Area Council, Harold Daykin. (Vancouver Sun, August 11th, 1975).
information centre has recently released the first issues of a neighbourhood paper, the "Cedar Cottage Chronicle". While its future is perhaps uncertain, it represents an important attempt to stimulate community interest.

The failure of many residents to identify with the neighbourhood of Cedar Cottage partly explains the low level of citizen organization and participation in community business. The local Area Council is one of the most poorly attended in Vancouver and there are no active citizen groups to provide a focus for attention. The introduction of the local area planning team into the neighbourhood with the commencement of NIP has stimulated more interest in Cedar Cottage in the past couple of years and twelve residents now participate in an ad hoc planning committee. However, whether this interest will continue to grow once the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme is completed remains to be seen.

The neighbourhood of Cedar Cottage constitutes a physical rather than a social entity. The lack of social cohesion is exacerbated by the diversity of ethnic groups living within the area and the relatively low level of communication between them. Again, the different groups appear to be more directly concerned with issues affecting their ethnic community than the neighbourhood in which they live. Their interest is therefore often directed away from Cedar Cottage, the Italians being more aware of the activities of their community in Grandview and many

Chinese are more involved in the social life of Strathcona. Unlike Kitsilano, Cedar Cottage is a relatively stable area in terms of social composition and the 1971 Census data indicates that nearly 50% of the residents have lived in the same dwelling for more than five years (see Table I, Chapter III). Although there has been an overall decrease in the proportion of family households, there has been little change in the age structure of the Cedar Cottage population (see Table IV). Families still

| TABLE IV |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | Change 1951-71 |
| Family Households | 98.2 | 86.7 | 74.8 | -23.4 |
| Age | | | | |
| 0-14 years | 25.2 | 26.1 | 26.4 | 1.2 |
| 15-19 years | 5.5 | 6.5 | 8.0 | 2.5 |
| 20-34 years | 23.6 | 21.5 | 23.5 | -0.1 |
| 35-54 years | 25.3 | 25.8 | 23.0 | -2.3 |
| 55-64 years | 9.1 | 8.7 | 9.7 | 0.6 |
| over 65 years | 11.3 | 11.4 | 9.0 | -2.3 |
| Marital Status | | | | |
| Single | 39.6 | 42.5 | 45.7 | 6.1 |
| Married | 53.8 | 49.6 | 45.8 | -8.0 |
| Dwellings | | | | |
| Owner Occupied | 70.6 | 65.9 | 60.3 | -10.3 |
| Rented | 29.4 | 34.1 | 39.7 | 10.3 |

(a) 1971 Census data

comprise 75% of the total households and, in contrast to Kitsilano, there has even been a slight increase in the number of children in the area. A high proportion of the families are engaged in semi skilled or manual jobs and only about 7% are employed in managerial or professional occupations or have been
involved in post school education. This contrasts with approximately 25% of the Kitsilano population. The mean family income is $7,303, just over two thirds the Vancouver average ($10,442).

Not only has there been little social change in Cedar Cottage, but it has remained physically stable since there are few pressures for growth or redevelopment. The area is characterised by a high proportion of single family dwellings (64%) and duplexes, 60% of which are owner occupied. Although zoning permits conversions in most of the neighbourhood, many structures are relatively small and therefore less amenable to subdivision than those in Kitsilano. Apartments consequently account for only 9% of the dwelling units. As indicated in Figure 3, the property quality throughout Cedar Cottage is generally mixed, with many of the poorest blocks occurring in the areas of oldest housing close to the former interurban line. The level of absentee ownership on these blocks is about 58%, which, while higher than for areas of better quality housing in Cedar Cottage, is lower than in Kitsilano. It has been assessed that 67% of the structures in Cedar Cottage are in need of some repair and 15% require major renovations. This was one of the major criteria for the allocation of NIP and RRAP funds to this area. However, evidence suggests that housing replacement rather than rehabilitation has been an important

16 This followed Vanness West to Stainsbury and then proceeded North parallel to Commercial Drive.

FIG. 3
CEDAR COTTAGE HOUSING QUALITY ASSESSMENT

Key:
- dark blue: very good
- orange: poor
- red: good
- dark brown: very poor
- blue: average
- light blue: mixed

Park

School
solution to deterioration in the past. On many streets, older homes are interspersed with single family dwellings constructed within the last ten to fifteen years. This would lead one to suggest that the economics of replacement are more favourable in the East of the City than in Kitsilano, where there is more pressure for apartment than single family home redevelopment.

Unlike Kitsilano, Cedar Cottage had no area planning programme prior to the introduction of NIP. However, it had been the subject of a number of City studies, which facilitated the establishment of planning priorities. Since the area is relatively free from pressures for development, there has been less consideration of zoning and density changes than in Kitsilano. Most attention has been devoted to the improvement of recreation and neighbourhood facilities and upgrading the general appearance of the area. The formulation of these plans has undoubtedly been aided by the area's present stability. However, long term proposals for Vancouver's transportation system indicate that a rapid transit line is likely to pass through the centre of Cedar Cottage. The implications for the neighbourhood's future character and stability are enormous.

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18 Examples of this replacement may be found on the 3200 and 3300 blocks of Dumfries and Fleming Streets. The 1971 Census indicates that 12% of the dwellings in Cedar Cottage have been constructed since 1960.
THE CONTROL AREA

GRANDVIEW-WOODLANDS

Grandview-Woodlands is located in the East End of Vancouver and constitutes the City's earliest suburb. Residential development commenced in the present apartment zone in the West of the area with the completion of the interurban railway in 1891, and by the end of the decade had progressed eastwards to the survey conversion zone. Residential construction was relatively dense in this zone, large woodframe houses being built on small lots. After 1912, development was temporarily slowed by the expansion of the Western suburbs of Kitsilano, Point Grey and Shaughnessy and it became clear from this early stage that the West was perceived as a more desirable residential environment. For some years, Grandview remained relatively isolated from the rest of the City, which may have contributed to the local pride and sense of individuality still evident today.

Prior to World War One, residents were mostly "working class" individuals of Anglo-Saxon descent. However, by the late nineteen thirties and forties, the Italians and Chinese had become significant components of the population. The relative size of these groups has fluctuated over the years, an increase in the Chinese population in the nineteen fifties and sixties being paralleled by the movement of some of the more prosperous Italians to Burnaby. Nevertheless, as indicated in Table I (Chapter III), the Italians along with the Chinese still constitute a large ethnic component within the survey area. Also, although it is not clear from the Census data, since no
separate category is provided, there is evidence that an increasing number of East Indian immigrants are being attracted to the area by the low rent housing¹⁹.

Despite slight fluctuations in the ethnic composition, the conversion zone of Grandview constitutes an area of social stability, there being a high proportion (45.5%) of residents who have lived in the same dwelling for more than ten years. As in all the survey areas, there has been a decrease in the number of families over the past two decades (see Table V). However, such households still constitute a more important component of the population than in the other two survey neighbourhoods. This may partly be attributed to the large ethnic population, the extended families of the Chinese, Italian and East Indian immigrants having been attracted by the large older homes within the conversion area. Their demand for space has inhibited the sale of these properties for subdivision into smaller rental units and thereby avoided the population turnover experienced in Kitsilano. This is evident from the decline rather than increase in the twenty to thirty four year old age group. Table V also indicates that there has been little change in property tenure over the past two decades, 78% of the dwellings still being owner occupied (compared with 38% in Kitsilano). This has favourable implications for property maintenance, although this may be offset by relatively low incomes. In 1971, approximately 64% earned less than $10,000 p.a., the labour force being

<table>
<thead>
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<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>Change 1951-71</th>
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<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Households</td>
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<td>93.9</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>-14.3</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 -14 years</td>
<td>24.2</td>
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<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<td>20.6</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>50.9</td>
<td>48.8</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Apartments</td>
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<td>18.1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 1971 Census data

principally engaged in manual jobs in manufacturing, construction and transportation industries.

Of the social groups within the Grandview survey area, the Italians have made the most significant impact on the physical environment. The great influx of these immigrants after World War Two was accompanied by extensive renovation of sound but frequently poorly maintained single family dwellings. The wooden exteriors were generally replaced with stucco and masonry and the interiors refitted²⁰. The propensity of the Italians to live in closely knit groups has led to the transformation of entire city blocks. Hence, although most of the structures in the area

were built in the nineteen twenties, many blocks may be classified as "good" or "average" quality (see Figure 4). The poorest and mixed quality housing in the centre of the survey district closely corresponds to the area of converted single family homes. Although owners of this property generally do not live on the premises, many reside within two to three blocks. Their level of maintenance nevertheless parallels that of the absentee owners in the other two survey neighbourhoods. It is interesting to note that, as in Kitsilano, property adjacent to the apartment zone in the West is generally poorer than that close to the single family zone to the East of the area. This is not only related to the different levels of absentee ownership, but also to the "neighbourhood effect" of the adjacent zones. The proximity of the commercial area (along Commercial Drive) and the redeveloping apartment zone in the West is less conducive to high levels of property maintenance than the stability of the East.

Pressures for the redevelopment of the Grandview conversion area are presently less severe than in Kitsilano. There is still much potential for apartment development on land zoned for this purpose\(^\text{21}\). Nevertheless, this hitherto stable area may experience some modification within the near future\(^\text{22}\). There are

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{21} An excess of apartment zoned land in Grandview resulted in the downzoning of a portion of the present conversion area from RM-3 to RT-2. Some apartments had already been constructed and are now regarded as legal non-conforming uses in an area of predominantly single family homes.
\item \textit{22} Personal communication with Bill Buholzer, local area planner for Grandview-Woodlands. (17th February, 1976.)
\end{itemize}
FIG. 4

GRANDVIEW HOUSING QUALITY ASSESSMENT

Key:
- **very good**
- **good**
- **average**
- **poor**
- **very poor**
- **mixed**
two elements to the social nature of this change. Firstly, there has recently been an increase in lower income individuals and welfare recipients in this area, most of whom have been encouraged by the relatively cheap accommodation. Secondly, as the apartment area continues to redevelop, Grandview is becoming increasingly attractive to younger, downtown oriented people. Although this neighbourhood is likely to remain less desirable than Kitsilano, the recent reappraisal of Grandview has implications for the future of this moderate income, family oriented district. As in Kitsilano, private developers are already displaying more interest in the construction of smaller townhouses (a conditional land use) than single family dwellings in the conversion zone. However, area planning has just commenced in Grandview and by July 1976, the survey area should have received Federal assistance under the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme. The planning team aims to upgrade the physical environment and preserve the social character of the area. Where possible, it proposes to inhibit development that will defeat this goal.

Grandview residents have already expressed interest in the notion of area planning and improvement. Citizens are motivated by a feeling of pride in their community and their self sufficiency. Despite their ethnic differences, they are


24 This is exemplified by their eagerness to select community representatives for the NIP planning team. Residents here were elected to the team several months prior to the initiation of NIP. This contrasts with the more casual selection of volunteers in other NIP areas.
prepared to unite to achieve a specific goal or defend the
eighbourhood with which they strongly identify. This was
exemplified in 1969, when a number of local groups fought to
prevent an extension of the freeway through their area to the
downtown. Residents have been fairly well organised for decades,
the first citizens' group emerging in 1907 with the Grandview
Progress Association. Since the nineteen forties, an active
Chamber of Commerce and Grandview Ratepayers' Association have
helped to upgrade the area, having gained much support from the
local citizens and groups such as the Area Council. Since the
residents of Grandview have generally exhibited a great concern
for the improvement of their environment, it seems likely that
the programme of Residential Rehabilitation Assistance will be
well received. However, to date, their achievements have been
based on their own resources and pride in their self
sufficiency. It will therefore be interesting to note their
response to a government scheme offering outside aid.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the three
Vancouver survey districts do not conform to the characteristic
image of inner city neighbourhoods as badly deteriorated, often

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25 This strongly contrasts with Cedar Cottage, where ethnic
groups perceived no common basis upon which to unite.

26 This image has been portrayed in the North American urban
literature, for example, Jacobs, J., The Death and Life of
Great American Cities. Vintage Books, N.Y. 1961; Sternlieb,
G., The Tenant Landlord. New Brunswick, UCS. 1966; Krohn,
R., The Other Economy and the Urban Housing Problem. Centre
poverty stricken areas. Although each suffers from some deficiency in municipal services and pockets of blight, most buildings are substantial and the quality of the physical environment fair. This sound physical base is essential to the success of NIP and RRAP, which do not attempt to redevelop but rejuvenate an area. Perhaps more surprising in view of the goals of RRAP is the income level within the two NIP areas. The average earnings are indeed below the City average, but the proportion of lower income individuals is less than in other areas designated as potential candidates for NIP. The selection of Cedar Cottage and Kitsilano over other neighbourhoods for assistance is partly related to the lobbying and initiative of these areas' local planners.

Although the survey areas are similar in terms of their inner city location and conversion zoning, there are some important and basic differences between them. Some of these disparities were elucidated within the preceding discussion, but they will be briefly restated here since they are important for the interpretation of the results in the next chapter. The residents of both Kitsilano and Grandview are generally socially cohesive and well organised, with a sense of neighbourhood identity and commitment. This has important implications for participation in neighbourhood improvement activities and strongly contrasts with the poorly united area of Cedar Cottage. However, perhaps the most significant difference relates to the

27 Mount Pleasant, Fairview, Strathcona and Grandview-Woodlands all had a higher proportion of individuals earning less than $7000 p.a. in 1971.
stability of each neighbourhood, as measured in terms of length of residence, changes in social character and pressures for development. Kitsilano is clearly the least stable area, having experienced a high turnover of population in the last decade and a concomitant social change. This contrasts with the relatively small variation in the character of the family oriented neighbourhoods of Grandview and Cedar Cottage and is related to the lower rate of property subdivision in these Eastern areas. Also although both the conversion zones of Grandview and Kitsilano are likely to experience some pressures for change in the near future, the likelihood of redevelopment is undoubtedly stronger in the latter. In view of Kitsilano's instability, its designation for NIP is rather enigmatic. One of the most important criteria for the selection of these areas was neighbourhood stability, which, in the case of this neighbourhood, appears to have been overlooked. Local planners are presently attempting to stop any further transition within the Kitsilano survey area. However, unless they are successful in curbing redevelopment, the money allocated to improvement through NIP and RRAP may well be wasted. The present lack of stability constitutes an important obstacle to overcome.

The following two chapters are devoted to a presentation of the survey results. Chapter V discusses respondents' feelings towards residential improvement and relates them to the

28 However, the term "neighbourhood stability" has never been clearly defined.
rehabilitation activity of both resident and absentee owners. Chapter VI examines perceived incentives and disincentives to participating in RRAP and assesses the impact of this Federal programme on rehabilitation behaviour in the two NIP survey areas.
CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES TOWARDS RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION

"Kitsilano is still a beautiful place to live, the envy of most of the city. But it's going downhill.......... we've got to improve the housing and the surrounding area soon or the developers will move in, won't they? Then where will we be? On the eighteenth floor of a highrise I suppose."

Kitsilano homeowner

"Most of the area is pretty good, but there is a great need for improvement in some places around here. Bad (quality) property attracts bad people, just like the slums."

Cedar Cottage homeowner

"We've done a lot to improve Grandview. Sure, we want to carry on improving. There is still room for it. We want our area to look really good."

Grandview homeowner

Many inner city homeowners acknowledged the need for housing improvements (see Table VI). Of the three survey areas, the greatest overall concern was displayed in Kitsilano, where the rapid turnover in population in the last decade has accelerated the rate of property decline in many parts of the neighbourhood. Much of this deterioration has occurred in the East of the survey area, adjacent to the apartment zone. Homeowners here were dissatisfied with housing standards in their immediate neighbourhood and generally rated them as lower than in an objective quality assessment1. Many feared that

1 Throughout the rest of the Kitsilano survey area, there was a fairly good correspondence between residents' perception of housing quality and the objective assessment undertaken for the survey (see Chapter III).
TABLE VI

NEED FOR HOUSING IMPROVEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>Grandview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feel improvements are needed</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with present conditions</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Increasing deterioration would subsequently lead to apartment redevelopment as in the East of Kitsilano. This threat was perceived throughout the conversion zone, but it was of less immediate concern to homeowners in the more stable Western area where respondents displayed the highest levels of satisfaction with housing quality. Nonetheless, the fear of redevelopment played an important but varying role in most residents' decision to rehabilitate, as will be shown later in this chapter.

As in Kitsilano, homeowners living in what were objectively assessed as the poorest quality areas in Cedar Cottage and Grandview indicated the most dissatisfaction with housing quality. However, there was an anomaly in the pattern of response amongst the ethnic groups. A small percentage of the Cedar Cottage and Grandview residents (approximately 13%) indicating a general satisfaction with housing conditions were in fact residing within the poorer sections of these neighbourhoods. However, these respondents had assessed the quality of the same area as "good" or "average". Closer scrutiny revealed that this minority comprised of Chinese and East Indian residents only, and it was felt that the disparity could be attributed to cultural differences in quality assessment.
Unfortunately, it was not possible to substantiate these findings statistically due to the limited size of the sub-group. While all the East Indian survey respondents were fairly consistent in their acceptance of lower standard accommodation, only the relatively recent Chinese immigrants fell within this category. It may be postulated that a reappraisal of acceptable housing standards occurs with their cultural assimilation through time. In contrast to the Asians, the other ethnic respondents displayed little group variation in their perception of housing quality, each showing a similar appreciation of the need for improvement.

The rehabilitation of older houses emerged as the preferred mechanism for residential improvement, the greatest support coming from Grandview respondents. A high level of neighbourhood commitment strengthened the desire to preserve both the physical and family character of this area, many residents fearing that clearance would lead to the replacement of large homes with smaller non-family units. Support for rehabilitation was also based on confidence in the ability of residents to improve their neighbourhood. The influx of Italians in the nineteen forties was followed by widespread renovation throughout the area, which stimulated a feeling of pride and personal efficacy amongst Grandview residents. This positive attitude was reflected in the high mean for the housing based Likert Score in this neighbourhood. However, a small minority of relative newcomers

2 A mean score of forty nine out of a maximum of sixty was obtained by Grandview respondents on the housing oriented Likert Scale.
to the area did support the concept of removal and replacement. Without exception, these respondents lived close to East First Avenue and Graveley Street in the Western portion of the survey area. These constitute some of the poorest quality blocks in the conversion zone and it is probable that they directly influenced the attitudes of this minority towards improvement.

**TABLE VII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferred Mechanism for Improvement</th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>Grandview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In favour of rehabilitating old housing</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In favour of removal and clearance</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kitsilano respondents also favoured the rehabilitation rather than removal of older dwellings (Table VII). As previously noted, the overriding concern of many Kitsilano owners was not only to improve but protect the neighbourhood from the spread of blight and possible apartment redevelopment. The sentiments of many residents were expressed in the editorial of a local Kitsilano newspaper which read,

"Today, the forces of change are pressing the Kitsilano district. But Kitsilano people are fighting back. They reject the metamorphosis that a few years back transformed Vancouver's West End into something different."  

Pride in the neighbourhood has reinforced the desire of many people to preserve the area and resist the forces of change. For most respondents, the replacement of scattered housing was considered the initial step in the redevelopment cycle which they sought to prevent. However, for the 10% of the residents favouring removal, replacement represented the only effective means of improvement. Each of these individuals classified part of the survey area as a slum, with both physical and social problems. One owner described these slums as "rental properties, where the landlords take in anybody and the tenants are dirty and low class". It was felt that rehabilitation would not remove this unwanted social change. A similar, but more widespread sentiment was evident in the third survey area of Cedar Cottage.

Physical improvement in Cedar Cottage was seen as essential to maintaining the social status of the area, which was perceived as distinctly "middle class". Many residents seemed preoccupied with the preservation of this image and greatly resented recent social changes which threatened the character of the neighbourhood. For many, improvement through residential rehabilitation was considered an appropriate means of upgrading the physical stock and attracting residents who were not at the "bottom of the social scale". However, others felt that the clearance of older properties was the only solution. This was

4 This image emerged through the question asking residents to describe the type of area they lived in (question 10). Whereas few of the Kitsilano or Grandview residents made any reference to the social status of their neighbourhood, 63% of the Cedar Cottage respondents described their area as "middle class".
strongly supported by white residents in the South East portion of the neighbourhood, where a number of East-Indian families occupying badly deteriorated housing detract from the middle class image. It should be stressed, however, that not all of the 24% favouring removal were motivated by the desire to keep out "undesirable" social groups. Others saw redevelopment as a long term, efficient means of improving the area. Clearance to date in Cedar Cottage has resulted in the construction of more single family than apartment buildings. Hence, although less important than rehabilitation, replacement is more readily accepted in Cedar Cottage than in the other survey areas, where it is perceived as a threat to the character of the neighbourhood.

The need for improvement through residential rehabilitation was therefore generally recognised in all of these inner city neighbourhoods. In each case, most of the respondents acknowledged that the initiative for improvement should come from the individual resident. Many homeowners made reference to the "irresponsibility" of people who let their property decline and there was little support for the notion that community improvement should be left in the hands of the planners. However, the persistence of deteriorated property suggests that not all owners are willing to assume their role in the rehabilitation process. The following sections will examine factors governing the decision to progress from a passive acceptance of the need for improvement to the act of residential rehabilitation.
THE DECISION TO REHABILITATE

The Financial Constraint

Since property renovation demands a high level of financial expenditure, it might be expected that the household income would impose some constraint on the decision to rehabilitate. Indeed, an assumption of the Federal programme of Residential Rehabilitation Assistance is that financial aid will remove such a constraint and stimulate maintenance activity. However, the survey data indicate that income per se constitutes a poor surrogate of housing quality and rehabilitation behaviour. A chi-square test and Spearman's correlation revealed that no relationship existed between income and housing quality in any of the survey areas. As might be expected from the distribution of incomes indicated in Table VIII, financial constraints were perceived as a greater disincentive to rehabilitation by Cedar Cottage and Grandview residents (54% and 43% respectively) than in Kitsilano (23% of the respondents). However, there was still no significant relationship between income and repairs in these two neighbourhoods.

However, there was a closer relationship between income and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME</th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>Grandview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $6,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$6,000 - $10,999</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$11,000 - $15,999</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $16,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
housing quality when the existence of a mortgage was taken into account. The financial burden imposed by these payments on households earning less than $11,000 p.a. was often great and left little money available for improvements. A chi-square analysis revealed that a significantly smaller proportion of owners in this group had recently undertaken any major repairs \( (\chi^2 = 16.5) \) and that their housing quality was generally lower than for the rest of the sample \( (\chi^2 = 15.6) \). The problems faced by these individuals were simply and feelingly stated by one lower income homeowner in Cedar Cottage,

".....the mortgage is our biggest payment each month. Then after the bills are paid and money has gone for food and the kids' clothes, what is left for home improvements? Not much, I can tell you."

It would appear that households in these circumstances could greatly benefit from aid through RRAP. However, this programme has failed to take any account of mortgage payments in the assessment of the applicant's "adjusted income". The need for financial assistance has therefore only been partially evaluated.

Although there is evidently a relationship between property quality and the financial constraints imposed by income and mortgage payments, a Spearman's \( r_s \) of only 0.5 suggests that other variables also influence the rehabilitation decision.

5 The correlation of objective property quality with income while controlling for a mortgage yielded a Spearman's coefficient of 0.5.

6 All chi-square statistics are significant at the 0.001 level unless otherwise stated. The tables for these analyses are in Appendix E.
Owners assessed the financial burden imposed by improvements not only in terms of the cost of repairs per se, but also on the basis of an associated increase in property taxes. Whereas this tax increment was not a serious deterrent to rehabilitation in Kitsilano, over 60% of the Cedar Cottage and Grandview respondents considered it a disincentive. Close to half these owners earned less than $11,000 p.a. and had recently undertaken major improvements which had warranted a tax increase. However, it is possible that this fear was not always based on experience, since not all improvements necessitate a tax reassessment. There is nevertheless some merit in the suggestion that taxes should encourage renovation and penalise those who allow their property to deteriorate. This would perhaps provide a stimulus to rehabilitation for both resident and absentee owners. However, the latter assessed the economic viability of improvement not only in terms of increased property taxes, but also in relation to provincial rent controls. Over

7 Major structural improvements, including additions, are likely to raise the assessed property value and therefore taxes. Decorating or repairs to utilities are less likely to warrant a reassessment. The nature of the increase varies with the age of the property, the value of the land on which it is situated, etc. (Personal communication with an employee of the Provincial Assessment Office. May 11th, 1976.)

8 This argument has been presented by a number of authors. See for example Freeman, W., The Housing Crisis and Government Response. In Sayegh, K., Canadian Housing: A Reader. Univ. of Waterloo, Ontario. 1972.

half the landlords maintained that a decrease in taxes and the return to a free rental market would in fact encourage property rehabilitation. One respondent succinctly stated the landlords' position when he declared,

"We are not a charity organization. We want to make a living like everyone else. What is the point of making improvements when your taxes go up and your rents don't?... It's a crazy situation."

Property owners are undoubtedly presented with some important financial constraints. However, the amount owners spend on their property is not only determined by what they can afford in objective terms, but also by what they are willing to allocate to improvements. For the landlord, this is largely governed by the nature of the financial return on investment, but for the resident owner, the decision is more complex. The average household faces a number of possible expenses each year outside those incurred by day to day living. For the moderate income family, tradeoffs between high level expenditures must frequently be made. Constraints on residential rehabilitation may consequently be self imposed. In the course of the survey, respondents were presented with a hypothetical situation and asked to indicate their priorities for expenditure. Over half the Kitsilano and Grandview respondents placed home improvements as their highest priority, whereas a similar proportion of Cedar Cottage owners assigned greater importance to the purchase of

10 These additional expenses are likely to be presented by home improvements, the family vacation, household purchases such as a car or television, and recreation.
household goods. The preferences reflect the value placed by the owner on a good quality home, its worth being measured in both economic and psychological terms. This in turn is closely related to the individual's attitude towards his property and the neighbourhood in which it is situated.

**Attitudes Towards the Neighbourhood**

One of the most important influences on the decision to rehabilitate is the property owner's attitude towards his neighbourhood. The conversion zones are transitional districts and, as described in Chapter IV, each survey area has been subjected to some physical and social change in the last decade. Most of the respondents indicated an awareness of either long or short term physical changes within their neighbourhood and a fairly high proportion perceived some modification in social character (see Table IX). The attitudes of residents towards these changes are crucial to the nature of rehabilitation behaviour.

Of the three survey areas, Kitsilano has experienced the greatest physical and social transformation in recent years. The changes have largely been perceived as undesirable. While there has been a local planning programme operating in the area since 1970, only 35% of the respondents noticed any overall improvement in the physical condition of the neighbourhood. Of great concern to many residents was the general deterioration of

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11 On average, the Cedar Cottage respondents had purchased more consumer goods in the last five years than others in the sample.
TABLE IX

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGES PERCEIVED BY RESIDENT OWNERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>Grandview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical Change</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents perceiving</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived change as</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undesirable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undesirable change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributed to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landlords</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcomers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowner neglect</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived change as</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desirable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desirable change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributed to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local area planning</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual effort</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private development</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Change</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents perceiving</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social changes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>For those perceiving</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>80</td>
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<tr>
<td>social change, trends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seen as desirable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes perceived as</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undesirable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes attributed to:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young newcomers</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

property, which was mainly attributed to the speculative behaviour of landlords. This increase in rental accommodation was bitterly resented by most owners, as was the associated growth of the younger tenant population. The Likert Scale analysis indicated that many owners held the tenants partly responsible for the area's physical decline. Many also
criticised the lack of neighbourhood commitment exhibited by this transient group and felt they were gradually destroying the community spirit in Kitsilano\textsuperscript{12}. The comments of one homeowner were typical,

"They (the tenants) do not care about the neighbourhood and don't seem to pull together as a unit like the rest of us. They are slowly breaking up our community."

This has important implications for the preservation of the area, since improvement is presently based on a community resistance to exogenous change.

The attitude of many Kitsilano residents towards the perceived physical and social deterioration was reflected in their rehabilitation behaviour. However, their response was not uniform, but related to their confidence in the possibility of halting or controlling the forces for change\textsuperscript{13}. A small proportion (28\%) of the owners who had perceived an overall decline in the quality of the neighbourhood believed the changes to be irreversible and were resigned to continuing deterioration. Approximately half of them already considered parts of Kitsilano to be a slum. The feeling that they had no control over their environment or events that occurred within it

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\textsuperscript{12} This is commonly experienced in communities where there has been a sudden increase in the tenant population. In his early writings, Wirth described tenants as individuals who "fail to take root....... They feel no responsibility because they are neither owners of property nor sharers in the traditions of the community". (Wirth, L., Community Life and Social Policy. Univ. of Chicago Press. 1938. p.213.)

\textsuperscript{13} The importance of a sense of personal efficacy and control over the physical environment in the decision to rehabilitate has also been stressed in New, P., The Gray Area Dilemma. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1965.
had discouraged rehabilitation. All assessed home improvements as low priority, owned average or poor quality property (a chi-square analysis indicating a significant relationship between the priority of improvements and housing quality ($\chi^2 = 15.0$)) and had no future plans for major structural repairs. None had spent more than $1000 on rehabilitation over the last five years and a chi-square test revealed a significant difference between the level of expenditure by these owners and the rest of the Kitsilano survey population ($\chi^2 = 39.8$). Most of these respondents lived close to the boundary of the conversion zone and had witnessed the recent transformation of the adjacent apartment zone. Consequently, all responded affirmatively to the Likert statement that "there is too much risk of redevelopment to make improvements worthwhile". They displayed little faith in the vitality of the neighbourhood or the possible stabilizing effects of local area planning, and indicated a lack of commitment to the area. About a third of this group proposed to move outside the neighbourhood within the next five years and may consequently provide more opportunity for the speculative acquisition of property and the acceleration of the redevelopment cycle.

For many of the remaining respondents perceiving physical changes in Kitsilano as undesirable, the increasing number of landlords and tenants undoubtedly constituted a stimulus rather than a disincentive to rehabilitation. The image of the private developer and the possibility of apartment redevelopment was clear in their minds, but the threat was not regarded as overwhelming. These respondents were generally confident that
the recent physical and social changes could be retarded both by their own efforts to improve and through the work of the area planners. Most were characterised by a strong sense of personal efficacy and neighbourhood commitment, and faith in the ability of residents to preserve their community. All were motivated by pride in their area and disagreed (52% strongly) that it was pointless making improvements if other property within the vicinity was deteriorated. Their feelings are illustrated by one respondent who maintained,

"Citizens are resisting block-busting with all their might. The rental property around here is disgraceful.... The landlords are ruining a beautiful area".

However, a number of these individuals also felt that the local government should assume a greater role in the preservation of this area. While NIP and RRAP were generally acclaimed as positive steps towards improvement, some concern was expressed over the persistence of deteriorated rental and owner occupied property in the neighbourhood. This group gave overwhelming support to the notion of forced rehabilitation, feeling this was the only way the entire area would be improved\(^1\). It is possible that the recently introduced Municipal "Standards of Maintenance Bylaw" will partly fulfill the demands of these Kitsilano residents\(^1\). However, since this is enforced on a complaint basis only, it is unlikely to have a widespread effect on the

\(^{14}\) In this respect, this group of respondents is similar to the Kitsilano survey population as a whole. 68% of the latter supported the notion of forced rehabilitation.

\(^{15}\) City of Vancouver Bylaw No. 4888, "Standards of Maintenance Bylaw". Introduced October 1st, 1975.
improvement of blighted property\textsuperscript{16}.

Unless the deterioration process in Kitsilano is arrested, residential rehabilitation may well decline. Present activity and enthusiasm for the neighbourhood's preservation is based on residents' confidence in the future stability of the area. At the moment, there seems to be a fairly strong sense of community amongst the owners in Kitsilano and there is a clear feeling of attachment and commitment to the neighbourhood. Over two thirds of the respondents were attracted to the area by its beauty and very few felt they would leave given the chance. However, if the community continues to deteriorate and the neighbourhood morale declines, there will be little motivation to resist future neighbourhood change. Indeed, about a third of the population maintained that further deterioration would probably provide a disincentive to future home improvements.

Most of the residents of Cedar Cottage were also aware of some physical change within the neighbourhood. However, the scale and nature of the perceived modification was different from Kitsilano. The growth of speculation in the latter implied the transformation of an entire neighbourhood and residents were generally aware of the widespread implications of increasing speculation. In contrast, Cedar Cottage faced no overall threat to the future character of the area and residents here were troubled by more varied and isolated incidents of undesirable physical change. None of the survey respondents here perceived

\textsuperscript{16} The formation of a citizen "watch dog" group could perhaps facilitate more widespread enforcement of this bylaw.
any risk from redevelopment and, as a result of the slower and more limited nature of deterioration, there was a wider appreciation of the ameliorating effects of the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme than in Kitsilano. Almost half the Cedar Cottage residents perceiving change felt that there had been a general improvement in neighbourhood conditions (Table IX, p. 103) and the majority, at least in part, attributed it to area planning. It may be postulated that NIP did provide an incentive to rehabilitate for these owners with "average" or "poor" quality homes, since 90% of them had plans for future repairs\(^\text{17}\).

A small proportion also cited the replacement of deteriorated property by new single family dwellings as an improvement in the area's appearance. In sharp contrast, private development in Kitsilano and Grandview was not viewed as a desirable change (Table IX). Replacement in these neighbourhoods generally entails the construction of smaller townhouses, which drastically alters both the physical and social character of the area. Many of the newly constructed homes in Cedar Cottage, particularly in the North of the neighbourhood, are occupied by well acculturated Chinese families who have moved from Strathcona\(^\text{18}\). They frequently have a better than average income.

\(^{17}\) If NIP is to be regarded as an incentive to this group, one must assume that the majority of these plans will eventually be executed.
and their levels of property maintenance are high\textsuperscript{19}. It would appear that some owners of older dwellings were motivated to rehabilitate when such a replacement occurred on their block, although it was not possible to substantiate this relationship statistically due to the small size of the group. One respondent on Dumfries Street explained the nature of this incentive in the following terms,

"I wasn't too bothered about the appearance of our house until those new homes were built on the block. Then ours looked shabby in comparison. I think many of the neighbours felt the same way. Most of us have done quite a lot to our homes now. . . . . . . It's become a sort of competition to see who can do most."

Hence, in some cases, owners continue to stimulate rehabilitation by setting new standards for each other\textsuperscript{20}.

The majority of Cedar Cottage residents were however more preoccupied with increasing levels of deterioration in certain sectors of the neighbourhood. The proportion of rental property in Cedar Cottage is low and landlords viewed as less of a threat than in Kitsilano. Nevertheless, 28\% of the respondents perceiving change, most of whom resided in the North East of Cedar Cottage, did feel that landlords were mainly responsible for deterioration in their area. While most other residents

\textsuperscript{18}This observation was supported by conversations with residents and local planners.

\textsuperscript{19}All of the Chinese Cedar Cottage respondents living in these more recently constructed dwellings earned more than $16,000 p.a. This small group of Chinese immigrants contrasts with many of the shorter term or older Oriental households, who frequently live in very poor housing. This transition may be attributed to acculturation and "delayed gratification".

\textsuperscript{20}Such behaviour has also been reported in other studies. See for example Millsapugh, M., \textit{The Human Side of Urban Renewal}. Baltimore, Fight-Blight. 1958.
throughout the neighbourhood did not attribute the overall decline to these owners in particular, the Likert Scale revealed that over half felt that landlords did not adequately maintain their property. However, with the exception of isolated cases, this did not adversely affect their rehabilitation behaviour. Of greater general concern was the influx of undesirable ethnic newcomers, which was not only seen as a threat to the appearance but also the social status of the area. Cedar Cottage has long been an ethnically mixed neighbourhood and certain groups, such as the Portuguese, Germans and Chinese, are well established in the area. Little animosity was expressed towards the growing Portuguese population, since most display great interest and commitment to the maintenance of their homes. Some criticism was directed towards the Chinese population, whose older, more traditional members frequently inhabit poorly deteriorated housing, but most attention was focused on the incursion of East Indian immigrants in the South East of the area.

As in Kitsilano, residents have responded to this perceived threat in two different ways. The majority of the respondents expressing concern over this change felt sure that their own efforts to improve would maintain the appearance of the area and provide less opportunity for the entry of this undesirable ethnic group. These owners were characterised by a positive attitude towards rehabilitation (as indicated by their high Likert Score), a fairly high level of property expenditure (many

21 A recent increase in East Indian immigrants has stimulated ill feeling in a number of neighbourhoods throughout Vancouver.
had spent over $2500 in the past five years) and most had plans for future repairs. However, work in some cases was limited by the mortgage constraint. There was nevertheless still a significant difference between the amount spent by these owners and those who felt they had no control over the undesirable change ($\chi^2 = 12.2$). In general, the residents displayed more concern for the preservation of the few blocks surrounding their home than the protection of the whole "neighbourhood" as in Kitsilano\(^2\). Their actions were nevertheless based on a common fear that the area would decline from what is perceived as a "middle class" status to a "slum". While academics frequently encounter problems when attempting to define the latter, the Cedar Cottage respondents held a clear image of what they believed to be a slum\(^3\). They exemplified it with reference to the Downtown Eastside, which over 70% of the respondents felt was characterised by "terrible, rundown houses... and slovenly, welfare dependent residents". The overriding concern of these respondents was to ensure that Cedar Cottage was in no way associated with this area of Vancouver. Great emphasis was placed on the need for individual effort in improvement, and the characteristic laziness and neglect of "slum" dwellers was condemned. However, a small proportion of the Cedar Cottage

\(^{22}\) The contrasting attitude towards these two areas was discussed in Chapter IV. Many of the Cedar Cottage residents do not identify themselves with this "neighbourhood".

\(^{23}\) There are many discussions of the "concept of slum" in the literature. A general review of these is presented in Friedman, L., *Government and Slum Housing: A Century of Frustration*. Chicago, Rand McNally and Co. 1968.
residents (20%) already perceived their area as a slum. None felt that other owners had done their best to maintain their property and approximately half were convinced that the undesirable changes were uncontrollable. As in Kitsilano, this was reflected in the rehabilitation behaviour of this group. None had plans for future repairs other than minor interior decorating and most were anticipating moving outside the neighbourhood within the next three years.

It is interesting to note that only 12% of the total Cedar Cottage survey respondents perceived the neighbourhood deterioration process as irreversible, compared with 28% in Kitsilano. This relates to the nature of the threat in each, the potential influence of the speculative landlord being perceived as a more formidable force than the ethnic intrusion in Cedar Cottage. Whether in the face of a more serious threat to the neighbourhood, Cedar Cottage residents would display the same resistance as in Kitsilano is doubtful. Opposition to change in the latter area is based on a strong sense of neighbourhood identity, pride and commitment. Cedar Cottage respondents conveyed few of these things. Rather than being attracted to the area for its aesthetic qualities, the majority of residents indicated that they had chosen to live in Cedar Cottage under the pressure of economic constraints. Although 73% of the respondents felt that most people were attached to their homes, a quarter stated that they would move from Cedar Cottage given the chance. A more serious threat to the area could provide the

24 This is one of the cheaper areas of housing in the city.
stimulus for such a move.

Grandview respondents also ascribed much of the area's physical change to the influence of an ethnic group. However, in contrast to the two NIP survey areas, the majority of the individuals in this neighbourhood (75%) felt there had been an overall improvement rather than deterioration in quality (Table IX). Credit was given to the individual effort of Grandview residents in general, but there was a clear appreciation of the stimulus for improvement provided by the neighbourhood's Italian population. As described in Chapter IV, this group was responsible for much of the housing renovation that took place in this area in the nineteen fifties and sixties and consequently the change in the neighbourhood's social character was largely welcomed. The editor of the local newspaper expressed a commonly held attitude when he said,

"When the Italians started to move in here in numbers, people were concerned that they would do all manner of things to the area's detriment. But it is the best thing that could have happened. No other group or condition could have fulfilled the need for the restoration of the district."

In sharp contrast to Cedar Cottage, 90% of the respondents disagreed with the Likert statement that "newcomers are spoiling the appearance of the area". Instead, the Italians'


26 5% of the respondents agreed with this statement (5% were "not sure") and 20% perceived the social changes that had taken place as undesirable (Table IX). However, the attention of most of these residents was directed not at the Italian but the East Indian and occasionally Chinese groups in the area.
improvements inspired confidence and pride in most of the other residents, many of whom were subsequently motivated to rehabilitate. As one respondent proudly declared,

"It (Grandview) used to be called "the back yard of the city". But you couldn't call it that now.... We've all helped to improve it."

There were nevertheless some Grandview residents (25%) who felt that the neighbourhood had suffered a decline in quality. All these individuals lived in the centre or West of the survey area, where there is a higher proportion of blighted rental property, and attributed the deterioration to landlord negligence. However, unlike Kitsilano, the absentee owner was not considered a threat to the future character of the area, and the perceived decline in quality did not significantly affect residents' rehabilitation behaviour. All respondents were characterised by a sense of personal efficacy and a high level of commitment both towards their neighbourhood and its improvement. Only one respondent felt that it was pointless making improvements to one's home if surrounding property was in bad condition. Their positive attitude was largely based on pride and attachment to the neighbourhood, which was strengthened by a strong community spirit. In most cases, neighbourhood changes had served only to stimulate rehabilitation, 93% of the respondents having undertaken some

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27 The high level of attachment is exemplified by the stability of the area, close to half of the residents having lived here for more than ten years, and the low proportion of respondents who felt they would move away from the neighbourhood given the chance (10%).
major repairs in the last five years. However, despite this positive attitude towards rehabilitation, not all of the owner occupied property was of good quality. This apparent discrepancy may be explained by the mortgage constraint placed on the lower income individual. The existence of this relationship between housing quality and the owners' financial limitations was partly supported by a chi-square test, although the resulting value of 8.0 was statistically significant only at the 0.2 level.

The preceding discussion has indicated that attitudes towards social and physical change can play an important role in the rehabilitation decision of the resident property owner. The individual's response is not only related to the perceived nature of the change, but more importantly to their confidence that "undesirable" trends could be reversed or controlled. This belief is frequently reinforced by pride in the area and a sense of community and neighbourhood commitment. The absentee owner, however, is unlikely to experience many of these sentiments and, in the absence of any pressure from reference groups within the community, may perceive few non-economic incentives to rehabilitate. The survey results suggested that this is true for both Cedar Cottage and Kitsilano landlords. These respondents were small entrepreneurs, owning one to three properties. These

Questionnaires were only mailed to absentee landlords in these two areas. Due to the small size of this group and the uniform nature of the responses, no distinction was made between the Cedar Cottage and Kitsilano landlords in the analysis.
had been held for an average of fifteen years\textsuperscript{29}. Approximately 70\% felt that the area surrounding their property had deteriorated but, as might be expected, they exhibited little concern over the preservation of the neighbourhood's community or character per se. Of greater consequence was the effect of this deterioration on their investment. The attitude of this group towards the neighbourhood and changes within it was therefore based on economic considerations and their motives for improvement were very different from those of the homeowner.

\textbf{Attitudes Towards Property}

As previously illustrated, the positive attitude of most survey respondents towards residential rehabilitation could partly be attributed to a desire to preserve or improve the neighbourhood. The underlying motives were different in each survey area, ranging from the perceived need to preserve the family oriented community of Kitsilano to the concern for social status in Cedar Cottage. In each case, these common goals reflected not only the values placed on the neighbourhood, but also residents' attitudes towards their property. The latter were an important influence on the nature of the repairs undertaken.

Housing obviously fulfills the basic physiological need for shelter, but for many, property plays more than a functional role. Not only does it become a financial asset, but a repository of meaning, frequently reflecting the values and

\textsuperscript{29}This relatively long period of ownership suggests that these landlords were not involved in the speculative acquisition of property.
aspirations of its inhabitants. All the survey respondents cited at least one reason other than shelter for which they valued their home. The range of response is indicated in Table X. A surprisingly low proportion of homeowners in each area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of House</th>
<th>Kitsilano %</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage %</th>
<th>Grandview %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial asset</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of pride</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status symbol</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family centre</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property Related Motives to Rehabilitate</th>
<th>Kitsilano %</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage %</th>
<th>Grandview %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pride in the home</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased sale value</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) These emerged from Question 24 (i.e. Is there anything that might encourage you to make improvements to your property?)

referred to their property as a financial asset, and it is rather hard to believe that more did not regard it as such. It is probable that a higher percentage of the respondents would have conceded this if asked directly. However, the failure of approximately two-thirds of the owners to cite this of their own accord suggests that it was not foremost in their minds. Related


31 There was no significant difference between expenditure or the nature of home improvements undertaken by this group and the rest of the survey population.
to this is the low proportion of homeowners who stated a purely financial motive for rehabilitation (less than 13% in each neighbourhood) and the small number believing property improvements were only worthwhile for sale purposes. Their attitude strongly contrasts with that of the absentee landlords, whose rehabilitation behaviour was governed principally by financial considerations. The property owned by the latter was endowed with no emotional connotations. On the contrary, perceived motives or disincentives to improve were related to the potential return on the owner's investment. While only a few landlords claimed that their rental property was presently in need of major repair, over 90% maintained that they were now finding the cost of improvements prohibitive as a result of taxes and rent controls. The majority of the work undertaken in the last five years had been minor or of a cosmetic nature. The property was regarded by some as a poor economic proposition and, as a result, 30% of these landlords had decided to sell and a further 30% were considering the possibility.

Improvements by the homeowners, however, not only constituted a financial but also an emotional investment. The main non-economic stimulus to rehabilitation cited by these respondents was "pride in the home". This rather nebulous incentive could be related to other meanings ascribed to the property based on the feeling of responsibility for one's family and the notion of status. For many residents, the home was

32 It is possible that more of the respondents were in fact motivated by financial gain but were not willing to openly admit it.
perceived as a family centre. This was considered particularly important in Kitsilano, where the family based community is being gradually eroded, and in Grandview-Woodlands. A good quality home was of high priority to many Grandview respondents, especially the Italians. The latter exhibited a high level of pride and attachment to their property, which to many constituted not only the centre of family life but also their social activities. Greatest priority in the neighbourhood, in terms of expenditure was placed on interior improvements (see Table XI). This may be related to both the high proportion of

TABLE XI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPENDITURE ON REPAIRS, 1971-76</th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>Grandview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean expenditure on outside repairs</td>
<td>$1772</td>
<td>$1772</td>
<td>$1347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean expenditure on inside repairs</td>
<td>$1562</td>
<td>$1079</td>
<td>$1610</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Expenditure estimated by respondents.

time spent in the home and the desire to provide a good living environment for the family. The survey results suggested that all the respondents valuing the home as a family centre had a

33 Hier and Elias have noted that the social networks of Italians rarely extend beyond their immediate neighbourhood and that a high proportion of their time is spent in the home.


greater propensity to undertake interior rather than external rehabilitation. However, a chi-square test did not indicate any significant difference between the rehabilitation activity of this group and the rest of the survey population. This may be attributed to two factors. Firstly, most owners tend to place more emphasis on the improvement of their living space within the home than the more impersonal exterior. Secondly, many respondents referring to their home as a family centre also ascribed it other meanings, which encouraged external repairs as well. The most important of these was the feeling that the home constituted a symbol of social status.

The highest proportion of homeowners envisaging their property as a status symbol lived in Cedar Cottage. As previously indicated, residents in this area made a great attempt to present a "middle class" image to outsiders. Many owners recognised that property appearance constituted an important component of this image. This was verified by the high proportion (80%) of residents who felt it was possible to judge an owner by the outside of his home. For many, the house became a symbol of respectability and an object of pride, and great emphasis was placed on the maintenance of the public exterior.

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35 The propensity of status conscious "lower-middle class" owners to concentrate on exterior improvements has been noted by the following authors.
In contrast to Grandview, the average expenditure on external improvements in Cedar Cottage was substantially higher than on interior repairs (see Table XI), and a greater importance was placed on outside decorating than in other neighbourhoods. This pattern of expenditure was characteristic of all the survey respondents ascribing the home no other meaning than a status symbol. A high proportion of the Italian and Chinese respondents valued their home as an indicator of social status, although to the Italians this was of secondary importance to the role of a family centre. In both cases, a good quality home was regarded as a symbol of achievement, of being well established in the North American society. As one Italian respondent explained,

".... if you let your home run down, nobody will respect you. They will think you are out of a job and can't manage."

The desire for esteem from one's reference group therefore became an additional incentive for improvement.

As established at the beginning of this chapter, most residents in the three survey areas were favourably disposed towards the notion of housing improvement through


37 The following authors have also noted the effect of a reference group on behaviour.
rehabilitation. However, there are numerous and often conflicting factors which influence the decision of the property owner on whether or not to renovate. The priority placed on good quality property, feelings towards one's home and neighbourhood, and perceived incentives and constraints all play a role in this decision and govern the character of any rehabilitation activity taking place. The introduction of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme in 1974 presented lower income Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage residents with an additional variable in the rehabilitation decision making process. Its impact on rehabilitation behaviour in the NIP survey areas will be assessed in Chapter VI.
CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME

In the past, most housing rehabilitation has been privately initiated and funded. Consequently, it was not known how the introduction of Federal aid to Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage through the voluntary Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme (RRAP) would be received. It was nevertheless hoped that this alternate source of funding would remove the financial barrier to rehabilitation and stimulate activity. The survey results have clearly indicated that there is a need for financial assistance amongst some inner city residents; lower income households with a mortgage frequently encountered serious financial constraints to rehabilitation, and 54% of the Cedar Cottage respondents cited economic limitations as a disincentive. Given the generally positive attitude towards residential rehabilitation and that a third of the Kitsilano respondents and approximately half the Cedar Cottage residents were eligible for assistance (see Table XII), one might have expected a good response to RRAP. Close to half the respondents maintained that the availability of funds would in fact encourage them to rehabilitate. However, participation rates at the time of the survey were only 8% and 7.5% in Kitsilano and

1 The Federal government made no attempt to assess the number of property owners who would be interested in this assistance prior to the introduction of this programme.
TABLE XII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earning under $6,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earning under $11,000</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Eligibility is based on the limits in effect at the time of the survey (Jan-Feb 1976)  
(b) Eligible for grant  
(c) Eligible for loan

Cedar Cottage respectively. While CMHC has established no standards by which to judge these rates, they seem surprisingly low. The poor response in the early stages of RRAP could be attributed to a low level of programme awareness. However, since then, a large scale publicity campaign has been undertaken and a lack of information can no longer be considered significant. A high proportion of the residents in both Kitsilano (79%) and Cedar Cottage (89%) are now cognizant of RRAP and well aware of programme details. However, the decision to participate in this programme is governed by a number of factors. As suggested by the more general findings in Chapter V, these are both financial and non-economic.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PUBLICLY ASSISTED REHABILITATION

The majority of Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage respondents were favourably disposed towards the notion of government assisted rehabilitation through RRAP. The general acceptance of the programme in Cedar Cottage was particularly interesting.

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since, in the past, this area has been noted for its suspicion of government activities. Confidence has chiefly been inspired by local planners operating through a store front office within the neighbourhood and the voluntary basis for participation in RRAP. However, for some 20% of the respondents, this suspicion remained and presented a barrier to the acceptance of the programme. Their sentiments are clearly exemplified in the following comments,

"There is bound to be a catch in it (RRAP) somewhere. I haven't figured it out yet, but I wouldn't let the government touch our house."

"I've heard the government can take away your house once you've used their money to improve it ..... No fear, this RRAP is not for me."

None of these owners believed that the government was more trustworthy than a private finance company for a loan and all maintained they would not recommend RRAP to their friends. Many of these individuals were older, longer term residents of Cedar Cottage, but there was also a general uneasiness about RRAP amongst the Italian population. Some had used public assistance to undertake renovations, but many were discouraged not only by their suspicion of the government but also by their pride and sense of self-sufficiency. Although the Italians frequently


Dr. W. Hardwick (Geography Dept., U.B.C.) has postulated that some Eastside residents fear involvement with the City government because they have something to hide, for example, illegal housing conversions, large scale wine-making by Italian groups. (Personal communication)
borrow money for residential rehabilitation, the transaction usually occurs within their own community. The notion of outside aid is therefore foreign and considered undesirable by many. This has important implications for the future response to RRAP in Grandview, where approximately a quarter of the population is Italian. The propensity of this group to cluster in a fairly tightly knit community reinforces the traditional ethnic value placed on self-sufficiency. Hence, the high level of rehabilitation activity exhibited by the Grandview residents in the past is not necessarily indicative of a potentially strong, positive response to RRAP.

While Cedar Cottage residents were fairly cautious in their acceptance of government intervention in the rehabilitation process, most Kitsilano residents favoured stronger public action. This relates to their desire to preserve the character of Kitsilano. These respondents experienced little fear or suspicion of the government and expressed a clear appreciation of its potential role in arresting the deterioration process. Not only did residents support more direct government control of speculative activity by the private developer, but 68% also favoured forced rehabilitation (Table XIII). This strongly contrasted with Cedar Cottage and Grandview respondents, who preferred voluntary action. Most of the Cedar Cottage residents

TABLE XIII

PREFERRED METHOD OF REHABILITATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>Grandview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favoured forced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rehabilitation</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For good of the</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neighbourhood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only effective method</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of improvement for</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rental property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favoured voluntary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rehabilitation</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforcement causes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic hardship</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in freedom to do</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as choose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

supporting forced rehabilitation owned good quality property, and a chi-square analysis suggested a relationship between quality and the desire for enforcement ($\chi^2 = 12.1$, significance level = 0.01). However, most residents in Cedar Cottage and Grandview felt enforcement would impose economic hardship on lower income individuals compelled to make repairs. This was given little consideration in Kitsilano, where respondents believed that owners of substandard property should be forced to renovate for the good of the neighbourhood. Half of these homeowners also felt that this was the only means of ensuring a general improvement of rental accommodation. Ironically, few considered the possible repercussions of enforcement on the stability of the area. A widespread programme of compulsory rehabilitation could lead to the sale of rental property and an
exodus of some lower income households. This might provide more opportunity for the entry of both speculative landlords and higher income groups. Such a change in social character would contravene the residents' goal of preserving this moderate income neighbourhood.

The Kitsilano residents' concern over the potential effectiveness of the voluntary RRAP programme is nevertheless valid. This improvement scheme has failed to induce a number of resident and absentee owners to participate in the rehabilitation of their neighbourhood. The success of a voluntary programme depends on both an awareness of the need for improvement through rehabilitation and an active enthusiasm on the part of residents. In many declining neighbourhoods, apathy has been largely responsible for the continuing deterioration of much property. In these cases, a programme based on the voluntary co-operation of owners is clearly inappropriate. Festinger has argued that a forced change in behaviour can lead to a modification in attitudes. This would support the demand for coercive government action at an early stage in the improvement process in the hope that an ameliorated environment

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5 The survey data suggest that code enforcement would induce a number of small scale landlords in Kitsilano to sell. Many are already concerned about the low return on their investment and are anticipating relinquishing their property.

6 The reasons for this lack of response from some eligible owners will be discussed in a later section.

will inspire residents to continue to rehabilitate*. The problems of population turnover and the higher rents associated with enforcement nevertheless remain.

The survey data presented in Chapter V suggest that many of the Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage residents were characterised by a positive attitude and the enthusiasm necessary for a successful programme of voluntary improvement. Furthermore, while some apathy was expressed, most individuals were not averse to the notion of government rehabilitation assistance. However, despite the latent potential for RRAP, the programme has had limited use. This is shown by the survey data which revealed that 59% of the eligible respondents had not responded to RRAP. Only one of these residents felt his home required no repairs, while half admitted that their property needed major renovation. Hence, there was a general recognition of the need for improvement. Furthermore, all were aware of the availability of RRAP funding (18% could have secured a grant) and were intending to remain in their present dwelling for at least five years. They nevertheless chose to ignore this offer of assistance. In April 1976, CMHC responded to the low participation rates by removing the income limitations on loans to homeowners and easing the restrictions on grants. However, the decision to participate in RRAP is related to several factors. Hence, this may be only a partial solution to the problem.

At the time of the survey, just under four hundred property owners in Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage had applied for RRAP assistance. Figures 5 and 6 indicate a fairly even distribution of these users throughout the two NIP districts. However, there are relatively few participants in the poorer South East corner of Kitsilano. This area is characterised by high absentee ownership and generally lower levels of maintenance than the rest of the conversion zone. Although over 80% of the landlords in the sample maintained that better financial resources or assistance would encourage them to rehabilitate, their participation in RRAP has been poor. In contrast to the resident property owners, almost a third of the landlords were unaware of RRAP. One absentee owner maintained,

"I would certainly have taken advantage of RRAP if I had heard about it sooner, but now I'm getting rid of the property .... I have always maintained fair rents anyway. This probably would have made the difference between selling and not selling".

Hence, in this case, RRAP could have possibly played an important role in the preservation of reasonably priced rental accommodation. However, only three of the absentee respondents aware of RRAP had actually applied for loans, since the remainder were not prepared to tolerate the "fair rent"
FIGURE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF RRAP
USERS IN CEDAR COTTAGE

KEY:
• RRAP USER
----- SURVEY AREA BOUNDARY
agreement associated with this funding. These owners feel that there is "no appreciation of the landlord's position" and that "for minor borrowing the government wants major control". If RRAP is to make a significant contribution to the improvement of rental property, there must be more publicity aimed specifically at this group and possibly some relaxation of rent controls. However, the latter is a contentious issue. Increased rents may initiate a turnover in tenants favouring higher income individuals, which would defeat RRAP's goal to improve the residential environment of the low and moderate income groups.

Financial considerations were also partly responsible for the poor response from resident owners. Although interest rates on RRAP loans are low (8%) compared with private companies, many respondents did not perceive them as an incentive to rehabilitate. Similar findings were reported by Rose, who interviewed homeowners in Toronto prior to the conception of RRAP. Approximately 60% of his respondents maintained that low interest loans would not induce them to rehabilitate. The reticence of Vancouver residents may be ascribed to two factors.

9 The landlord must agree to rent controls for up to ten years. These would normally cover increased operating and maintenance costs. In the case of B.C. and other Provinces where Provincial rent controls are already in operation, CMHC is responsible for enforcing these for RRAP assisted property. However, there is evidence that the monitoring of rent increases has been rather lax to date (Personal communication with a Kitsilano planner, January 23rd, 1976). If Provincial rent controls were discontinued or none was in existence at the time of the RRAP agreement, restrictions would be imposed by CMHC.

Firstly, many lower income owners perceived a loan as an additional financial burden, particularly if they had a mortgage. It emerged that 65% of the eligible non-users fell within this category, and few were even considering applying for RRAP assistance. Repairs undertaken by this group in the last five years have been funded by savings or current income and most agreed that it was not worth incurring debts for home improvements. A higher proportion of the non-users who had no mortgage were considering the use of RRAP funds in the future and a chi-square analysis revealed a relatively strong relationship between the mortgage constraint and the likelihood of a future application by these eligible non-users ($\chi^2 = 7.8$, significance level = 0.01). The importance of this financial constraint was supported by the finding that over three quarters of the users had no mortgage and felt more capable of carrying a loan. Furthermore, there was a high proportion of senior citizens within this group (40%), most of whom were not only free from debts, but eligible for a grant of up to $2500 on the basis of their low income. The survey revealed that few senior citizens in fact applied for a loan as well as the grant.

The second deterrent from applying to RRAP was based on personal pride and a general aversion to loans per se. One owner expressed a common sentiment when she declared,

11 There was a significant difference between the mortgage payments of users and non-users, the chi-square value of 10.4 being just below the 0.001 level.

12 At the time of the survey, grants were available only to individuals with an income of less than $6000 p.a.
"We have never had a loan yet and we don't want to start now ... It's a matter of pride ... We can stand on our own two legs".

Only 20% of the Kitsilano and 13% of the Cedar Cottage respondents had used a private company loan to finance rehabilitation over the past five years, income and savings being the most common sources of funding. A conflict in values was evident from response to the Likert statement "It is not worth putting yourself in debt to improve your home". Close to 30% of the Kitsilano respondents were "not sure", being caught between the desire for a good quality home and their aversion to debt. The Cedar Cottage residents, however, were more consistent in their response, over half feeling that improvements do not warrant a loan.

The survey respondents not only preferred to use personal financial resources for rehabilitation, but also their own labour. While most owners had received some help from friends, relatives or a contractor for past rehabilitation, less than 10% had relied completely on the latter. This was related to both economic considerations, many of the respondents having the skills to undertake renovations more cheaply than a contractor, and the satisfaction derived from accomplishing such improvements. This feeling of pride and achievement often increases the owner's sense of commitment to his property and may encourage more conscientious maintenance. Experiments have shown that private rehabilitation schemes utilizing the concept of "sweat equity" have been more successful than those excluding
owner participation\textsuperscript{13}. RRAP does in fact permit capable applicants to undertake rehabilitation financed through this scheme\textsuperscript{14}. However, very few are aware of this option before they apply, and several eligible non-users maintained that they had partly been discouraged by the higher costs incurred by outside labour. Surprisingly, only 20\% of the owners using RRAP had participated in the renovations. This can probably be attributed to the high proportion of senior citizen applicants, most of whom were unable to undertake the work. RRAP could doubtless benefit from greater publicity of the "sweat equity" principle, particularly when introduced to areas such as Grandview-Woodlands. Most of the Italian residents here have both the skills and desire to undertake their own renovations. It is quite probable that a scheme oriented towards outside labour would not be well received.

A final but important factor in eligible residents' decision to participate in RRAP was their attitude towards the neighbourhood. As indicated in Chapter V, owners' feelings towards their surrounding area and changes within it are often reflected in their rehabilitation behaviour. Since RRAP is usually implemented in areas undergoing improvement through NIP, one might expect a positive attitude towards both the neighbourhood and its rehabilitation. However, as previously

\textsuperscript{13} Turner, J. and Fichter, R., \textit{The Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process}. MacMillan Co., N.Y. 1972. "Sweat equity" involves the use of residents' labour to cut the rehabilitation costs.

\textsuperscript{14} In these cases, loans or grants will only have to cover the costs of materials. All work must meet CMHC's standards.
indicated, the majority of the residents in Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage still felt that the physical environment was declining eighteen months after the commencement of NIP. Although money has been allocated for NIP schemes in each area, to date there is very little visible evidence of improvement. NIP undoubtedly has an important role to play in the decision to rehabilitate, but as yet its impact has been slight.

The difference in attitudes towards the neighbourhood between the REAP applicants and eligible non-users is clear (Table XIV). All users were characterised by a strong positive attitude towards their area, as exemplified by their high Likert score and favourable description of the neighbourhood. They generally exhibited a feeling of pride and attachment to their area and were confident in its future stability. Over half these owners had observed some physical change within the neighbourhood, but most perceived it as desirable. The majority attributed this improvement to NIP. A small proportion of users

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Change Perceived</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>REAP Users</th>
<th>REAP Non-users</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical change perceived as undesirable</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undesirable change seen as uncontrollable</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical change perceived as desirable</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
did, however, feel their neighbourhood had deteriorated, but all viewed these changes as controllable. Consequently, the perceived decline did not adversely affect their decision to rehabilitate. This strongly contrasted with the eligible non-users who held a more negative, pessimistic view of the neighbourhood. The majority perceived recent physical changes as undesirable, 60% feeling that parts of the neighbourhood had already degenerated to a slum. Unlike the RRAP applicants, many of the non-users felt the deterioration process was uncontrollable and perceived it as a major disincentive to rehabilitation. Many rated home improvements as a fairly low priority expenditure and approximately a quarter maintained that rehabilitation was pointless when other property in the vicinity was declining. For about a third of this group, the clearance and replacement of older housing was seen as the only viable means of improvement.

Over half the homeowners eligible for RRAP (both applicants and non-users) had observed social changes within their neighbourhood. Few in either area perceived these as desirable. For the eligible non-user, the invasion of Cedar Cottage by undesirable ethnic groups and the increasing landlord and tenant population in Kitsilano constituted a further disincentive to rehabilitation. However, these changes were considered a stimulus to improvement by the RRAP applicants. As conveyed in Chapter V, many respondents in both Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage

15 The importance of a sense of control over the environment was more fully discussed in Chapter V.
believed that rehabilitation could help exclude undesirable groups from the area by attracting more affluent buyers. Applicants felt that improvements through RRAP could play an important role in this "protection" of the neighbourhood.

**THE IMPACT OF RRAP**

The impact of RRAP on the rehabilitation behaviour of these inner city residents appears to have been slight. A chi-square test indicated that there was no significant difference between the number of interior and exterior repairs undertaken in the two NIP areas and the control neighbourhood of Grandview-Woodlands. It could be argued that the level of private rehabilitation in Grandview is unusually high and a comparison of this nature is invalid. However, further analysis revealed that there was also no significant difference between the number of repairs done by homeowners using RRAP and those using their own resources in the two NIP areas. The absentee respondents participating in the programme did in fact achieve a higher level of rehabilitation than other landlords, but the small size of the group makes this relationship difficult to substantiate. Nevertheless, RRAP did have an influence on the type of work undertaken by the resident owner. The Federally assisted rehabilitation scheme gives priority to structural deficiencies that are liable to affect the life of the building. A higher proportion of the RRAP users undertook and spent more on external structural work, such as foundation, wall and roof repairs, than the private improvers (see Table XV). Also, less emphasis was placed on decorating and a substantially smaller
### TABLE XV

**PROPERTY IMPROVEMENT AND EXPENDITURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Kitsilano</th>
<th>Cedar Cottage</th>
<th>RRAP Users</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage doing major outside structural repairs</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage doing outside decorating</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average expenditure on outside repairs*</td>
<td>$1,772</td>
<td>$1,772</td>
<td>$2,100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average expenditure on inside repairs*</td>
<td>$1,562</td>
<td>$1,079</td>
<td>$918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Expenditures are estimated by respondents

Amount was spent on interior repairs. Studies have shown that owners undertaking private rehabilitation assign higher priority to aesthetic than functional repairs (except in the case of great deterioration) and place most importance on interior improvements. Close to half of the RRAP users had plans to use their own funds to decorate in the near future, suggesting that RRAP does not adequately fulfill this need.

While this study has made no attempt to evaluate RRAP per se, it is interesting to briefly consider the programme's impact in terms of its goals. RRAP's principal aim is to assist moderate income homeowners in the renovation of their dwellings. The programme seems to have benefitted the senior citizen users in particular, many of whom felt they had neither the financial

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resources nor the energy to undertake major repairs. All the survey respondents were pleased with the scheme and the work done, and most maintained that they would not have made the same improvements without this assistance. Since all the users were favourably disposed towards rehabilitation, it is likely that some work would have been undertaken in the absence of RRAP. However, this would probably have been of a more minor or cosmetic nature.

RRAP is also intended to serve as an adjunct to NIP in the revitalization of declining urban neighbourhoods. If the general quality of an area is to be improved, there must be widespread rehabilitation. However, the proportion of owners responding to RRAP is low and participants are too widely scattered to have any great effect. It has been argued that the improved appearance of dwellings renovated through RRAP will stimulate more privately funded activity. However, there is little evidence to support this. Some survey respondents even complained about the exterior of neighbours' houses, unaware that these owners had made internal and structural improvements with RRAP. Hence, it seems more likely that privately initiated

17 Only one of the twenty users would not recommend the use of RRAP to his friends. His objections were based on inefficient administration of the programme.

18 Personal communication with CMHC RRAP representative, July 28th, 1975.

19 RRAP did have an indirect impact on the rehabilitation behaviour of property owners on 2000 and 2100 blocks East 27th Avenue, Cedar Cottage. Several respondents here who were ineligible for RRAP aid at the time of the survey had been encouraged to rehabilitate by Federally assisted renovation on the block. However, this is only an isolated example.
rehabilitation will have a greater impact on the overall quality of Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage than this Federal programme. The contribution of RRAP to the preservation and improvement of older inner city neighbourhoods therefore appears to have been slight.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to isolate and examine factors governing the decision of Vancouver inner city residents to rehabilitate. Particular emphasis was placed on owners' feelings towards their neighbourhood, their property and the concept of improvement. These were found to be central to the owners' rehabilitation behaviour and hence to the quality of property in these neighbourhoods. The Federal government's scheme to improve older residential areas through voluntary rehabilitation has placed great emphasis on the activity of these individual property owners. Success depends on the enthusiasm of residents for improvement and their willingness to participate in the renovation of their neighbourhood. Perceived constraints and incentives to improve were identified and the role of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme in the decision to rehabilitate was assessed. The following discussion provides a summary of the findings and explores their implications for the future of older residential areas in an evolving urban spatial structure. Possible directions for future research in this field will then be proposed.

A SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Attitudes Towards Rehabilitation

Most of the residents in the three inner city survey areas recognised the need to upgrade their neighbourhood, the
rehabilitation of older houses being the preferred mechanism for improvement. Many residents, particularly in Kitsilano and Grandview, were opposed to the notion of clearance and replacement, although Cedar Cottage owners more readily accepted such activity. This may be attributed to the greater threat posed by redevelopment to the character of Kitsilano and Grandview. Nevertheless, there was some support for housing replacement from respondents who felt that at least part of their neighbourhood was characterised by the social and physical problems of a slum. These individuals considered the rehabilitation of the physical environment as only a partial solution to their area's decline.

Despite a positive attitude towards rehabilitation and a general enthusiasm for improvement, only a third of the respondents owned "very good" or "good" quality property. The attitudes of respondents towards renovation were therefore not truly reflected in their rehabilitation behaviour. The survey revealed that the decision to rehabilitate was governed by a series of often conflicting incentives and constraints. Many respondents placed great importance on good quality property and over half rated home improvements as one of their highest priority expenditures. Rather surprisingly, income per se was not significantly related to the level of rehabilitation or housing quality, although approximately half of the Cedar Cottage and Grandview respondents did cite limited financial resources as a possible disincentive to improvement. The rehabilitation activity of owners earning less than $11,000 p.a. was significantly curtailed by the financial burden imposed
by a mortgage, and property quality for this group was substantially lower than for the rest of the sample. The likelihood of increased property taxes constituted a further financial constraint to both homeowners (particularly those with a low income) and landlords. Unfortunately, many respondents were unaware that some repairs do not warrant a tax reassessment. More information on the basis for property evaluation and taxation should therefore be distributed to owners, and some tax relief for those undertaking major renovations may stimulate more improvement.1

The decision of the resident owner to rehabilitate was not only based on financial considerations, but also on feelings towards property, the neighbourhood and changes within it. Many respondents in each area were characterised by a similar motive for improvement, which influenced both the level and nature of their rehabilitation activity. In both Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage, residents regarded renovation as a means of protecting the neighbourhood against further undesirable physical and social changes. Whereas most Grandview homeowners had perceived an overall improvement in housing quality over the last few years, the majority of the Kitsilano and Cedar Cottage respondents felt deterioration had occurred. Most Kitsilano residents were well aware of the decline in housing quality that had preceded apartment redevelopment in the area adjacent to the

1 It is nevertheless difficult to give precise and detailed information on the effects of home improvements on property assessment and taxation since this would vary with the location and age of the building.
conversion zone. Many respondents were therefore concerned about the increase in poorly maintained rental accommodation and its implications for the preservation of the "community" and the single family character of the neighbourhood. Cedar Cottage residents, however, perceived little threat from redevelopment. Of greater concern was the invasion of "undesirable" ethnic groups (mainly East Indians), which were felt to jeopardize the social status of this neighbourhood. Many respondents here were preoccupied with the preservation of a "middle class" image and, as a result, placed great importance on maintaining the outside appearance of their dwelling. In both these survey areas, respondents believed that residential rehabilitation would enhance the desirability of the neighbourhood and thereby attract higher income property owners. It was hoped that this would provide less opportunity for the speculative acquisition of property in Kitsilano and the entry of lower income ethnic groups to Cedar Cottage. However, while an increase in higher income residents would doubtless help Cedar Cottage owners to maintain or enhance their "middle class" image, the character of the community which Kitsilano residents want to preserve may well be changed.

The respondents expressing the most enthusiasm for rehabilitation were characterised by a positive attitude towards the neighbourhood, a sense of personal efficacy and faith in the ability of residents to improve their physical environment. In Kitsilano, the desire to rehabilitate was strongly reinforced by a feeling of neighbourhood pride and commitment. However, in both these areas, a small proportion of owners (less than 30%)
believed that undesirable neighbourhood changes could not be controlled and saw them as a disincentive to rehabilitation. Most of these respondents owned poor quality property, placed a low priority on improvements and had undertaken few major repairs in the last five years. They lacked any sense of personal efficacy or interest in the neighbourhood. In Grandview, however, only a quarter of the respondents perceived any undesirable changes and all considered them to be controllable. Hence, this decline had no detrimental effect on these owners' rehabilitation behaviour. Nearly all the Grandview respondents exhibited a strong sense of personal achievement, a commitment to the neighbourhood and its improvement, and a fairly high level of rehabilitation activity. However, expenditure for some was curtailed by the mortgage constraint.

The Role of RRAP

The study suggests that there is a considerable potential for rehabilitation in the two NIP survey areas. For some residents, the financial assistance offered through RRAP had provided additional incentive to rehabilitate. However, given the positive attitude towards improvement and that few owners were averse to the notion of government assistance, participation rates in RRAP (approximately 8%) seem disturbingly low. Despite the need for renovations, many eligible homeowners were discouraged from applying for assistance by the financial burden imposed by a loan. Since this study was conducted, the income restrictions for grants through RRAP have been raised from $6,000 to $11,000 p.a. Hence, some of this group may now respond to the programme. However, increased taxes constituted a
further disincentive to improvement for many owners and it is possible that special arrangements for taxation on repairs made through RRAP would provide a greater stimulus to participate in this programme. This could be of particular importance to landlords, whose motives to rehabilitate are largely economic. However, the advantages of such an arrangement may well be offset by rent controls, which also constituted a disincentive to participation in RRAP. While it is important that the cost of rehabilitation is not passed on to the tenant, some modification of this policy is essential if RRAP is to contribute to the improvement of moderate income rental accommodation, an important element of the inner city housing stock.

Residents' pride in their ability to finance and carry out repairs themselves, and a negative attitude towards the neighbourhood and its improvement constituted further disincentives to participating in RRAP. NIP sponsored activity could play an important role in changing this attitude and help to inspire confidence in the area's future stability. However, to date, this programme has had little visible impact on the survey neighbourhoods (especially in Kitsilano) and appears to have encouraged few to rehabilitate.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

Survey respondents reacted to the perceived threats in each neighbourhood in different ways, their attitudes being reflected in their rehabilitation behaviour. The varying responses to the same neighbourhood change support the suggestion in Chapter I that the existence of "blighting elements", which are so often
directly blamed for deterioration, is less significant than the attitudes of property owners towards them. The majority of the respondents, however, did not consider the threats as a disincentive to rehabilitation and their enthusiasm for improvement suggests that private renovation is likely to continue in all survey areas. This has important implications for the preservation of these "transitional" neighbourhoods.

Few Grandview residents needed any additional incentive to undertake improvements. However, some lower income owners with a mortgage encountered difficulties in financing repairs and it is possible that these owners will welcome the offer of REAP assistance with the introduction of NIP in the near future. However, as in other areas, these owners may be discouraged from applying by the financial burden of another loan. Furthermore, many Grandview residents are characterised by a strong pride in their self-sufficiency, which may also constitute a disincentive to participation in RRAP. Despite some pressure for the replacement of single family homes with smaller non-family units, the conversion zone of Grandview is fairly stable and seems unlikely to experience much decline in the future. Even if this area is eventually presented with a more serious threat of redevelopment, it is likely that this closely knit community will strongly resist and possibly slow the process of

2 At present, there is little pressure for apartment redevelopment in the conversion zone of Grandview, since there is still land available in the area zoned for this purpose. A more detailed discussion of the potential pressures on the conversion area was presented in Chapter III.
transformation.

Pressures for redevelopment are greater in the more desirable area of Kitsilano. The early stages of social change and physical decline are already evident in the conversion zone, which is characterised by a high proportion of poorly maintained rental property and rapid population turnover. Although Kitsilano homeowners are confident in their ability to improve the neighbourhood, it is clear that there must be some stronger government action if this zone is to be preserved for more than just a few years. NIP and RRAP are intended to stabilize and revitalize the area. However, few residents have observed any recent improvement in the neighbourhood and some respondents close to the apartment zone still see the risk of redevelopment as a disincentive to rehabilitation. Plans have in fact been formulated under NIP for preserving the current zoning of the conversion area, thereby at least temporarily prohibiting widespread apartment redevelopment. However, unless residents are made aware of this, it is unlikely to dispel their concern or affect their attitudes towards home improvements. Indeed, many of the owners lacking confidence in the future of the area were anticipating moving and may consequently provide more opportunity for the speculative acquisition of property and neighbourhood decline. This may in turn adversely affect the

3 Although plans to maintain the present zoning in the conversion area are intended to stop speculation, it is possible that some speculators will consider it prudent to acquire property in this desirable area of Kitsilano. As the proportion of rental property increases, there will probably be less resistance to future attempts to rezone for redevelopment.
maintenance behaviour of other owners. Hence, there must be more citizen involvement in the local area planning process and greater publicity of NIP's goals and achievements. A substantial improvement in the quality of rental accommodation would also help maintain confidence in the neighbourhood. Either greater economic incentives to rehabilitate should be offered to landlords through RRAP or a comprehensive programme of code enforcement should be initiated. It is unlikely that the present complaint oriented Municipal "Standards of Maintenance" by-law will have a great impact on the overall improvement of deteriorated property in this area.

The future of Cedar Cottage is more certain than that of Kitsilano; there is little indication that this area will decline in the near future. There are no pressures for widespread redevelopment and little potential for the conversion of existing housing into multiple rental units by profit oriented landlords. The gradual replacement of some older housing with modern single family dwellings has improved the appearance of the area and encouraged other owners to rehabilitate. However, of importance to the long term preservation of an area is a sense of community and neighbourhood commitment. This clearly exists in Kitsilano, where most residents are united in their fight to preserve their community. However, Cedar Cottage owners feel little attachment

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4 While more citizen involvement is undoubtedly important, it is not always easy to bring about. This is particularly true in Kitsilano, where there are a number of vocal groups with opposing ideologies.
to their neighbourhood. Their present enthusiasm for improvement is based on an individual concern for social status and it is doubtful if they have the potential to resist any major threat to the character of the neighbourhood. The survey suggested that their reaction would be to move from the area. In this respect, NIP and REAP have proved inadequate. They have concentrated on rejuvenating the physical environment with little apparent concern for social considerations or the long term maintenance of the neighbourhood. As Axworthy stated at a Canadian conference on housing rehabilitation,

"Probably the best kind of community renewal is not simply physical renewal, but the kind of activity that stimulates the formation of community groups and activities. This can give a community strength, a sense of direction and hope; it can halt community deterioration."

Whereas this is less important for the united neighbourhoods of Kitsilano and Grandview, greater community involvement in Cedar Cottage may be vital to the future preservation of the neighbourhood. This again points to the need for more citizen participation in local area planning and suggests that REAP should have drawn on skilled labour from within the community rather than bringing in outside contractors. A rehabilitation scheme using local labour proved successful in central Winnipeg and stimulated both pride and interest in the community.


programme formulated on this basis might also be more acceptable to the self-sufficient community of Grandview-Woodlands, where residents have both the skills and enthusiasm to carry out the work.

The findings of this study not only have implications for the future character of these particular neighbourhoods, but also for the general development of Canadian inner-city areas. As discussed in Chapter I, "conversion" areas have traditionally been considered transitional zones. According to the classical models of urban structure, the areas of Vancouver examined in this thesis are the most likely to undergo redevelopment. The revision of government policy since 1969 has attempted to alter this evolution of the urban structure, and NIP and RRAP were formulated as a means of improving these older inner-city neighbourhoods. However, only areas considered as essentially stable and physically sound were to be selected for Federal assistance, grossly deteriorated neighbourhoods such as most of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside being left to experience the cycle of decline and redevelopment as described in the models. The survey suggested that the areas chosen for NIP and RRAP assistance will, at least temporarily, be upgraded and preserved. Without government intervention and plans for curbing speculation through preserving the conversion zoning, the cycle of redevelopment in areas such as Kitsilano would be more advanced. However, much of the housing improvement which has taken place in NIP areas can not be directly attributed to the Federal RRAP programme, which was found to have very little influence on residents' rehabilitation behaviour. Of more
importance are the private efforts of individual owners.

The recent revision of income restrictions on RRAP grants and loans (as outlined in Chapter I) may stimulate more rehabilitation activity in the conversion areas. If widespread improvement occurs, these neighbourhoods could become more attractive to higher income groups who would gradually force out moderate income residents. This transition would be facilitated by the high proportion of senior citizens who have renovated through RRAP and may soon sell their property, and is a particular danger in the desirable residential area of Kitsilano. Hence, while rehabilitation prevents the major physical transformation associated with redevelopment, normal population turnover may still result in a change in social status.

Even if the areas rehabilitated through RRAP remain socially stable and retain their moderate income inhabitants, their long term future is still uncertain. Rehabilitation through this programme is intended to extend the life of the structure by fifteen years. However, it makes no provisions for the essential maintenance of the building after this major renovation. The dwellings of lower income households facing

financial problems may therefore decline as before. Nevertheless, the positive attitude exhibited by most of the survey respondents suggests that other owners will continue to improve their property as long as they remain confident in the future of their neighbourhood. It is therefore essential that these areas remain stable and experience no further decline.

Although many respondents were unaware of improvements through NIP, this programme has helped to temporarily slow the process of deterioration. However, once the three year NIP programmes are complete, much of the financial assistance for neighbourhood improvement will be withdrawn and area planning reduced to a minimum. Unless the character and zoning of these areas remain stable and controls on speculation are enforced, it seems inevitable that neighbourhoods such as Kitsilano will eventually give way to redevelopment. Hence, in time, the urban spatial structure may continue to evolve in a way similar to that described in the early models. Unless the Canadian government continues to intervene in the neighbourhood deterioration process, the impact of rehabilitation on the spatial pattern and quality of the housing stock may only be temporary.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has attempted to provide a greater understanding of the process of urban deterioration and rehabilitation. However, research is still needed in this field to validate the findings. Some suggested areas of investigation are as follows:

8 If little maintenance is undertaken for several years, the rate of decline may be even faster than before due to the increased age of the building.
(1) Further monitoring and evaluation of rehabilitation activity in the Vancouver survey areas is required. Some suggestions have been forwarded as to the long term effects of private and government assisted improvement in these conversion areas, but these need to be substantiated. More conclusive data is certainly needed on whether rehabilitation can stop the redevelopment cycle in a desirable area such as Kitsilano.

(2) The study was conducted before CMHC's modification of income restrictions on RRAP grants and loans. Further investigations are now required to assess the impact of this revision on rehabilitation behaviour and housing quality in the NIP areas.

(3) Due to time constraints, this study has principally focused on the attitudes and rehabilitation behaviour of resident owners. Less detailed data were presented on the absentee landlords. However, more information on the attitudes of this group towards rehabilitation would be useful.

(4) A more detailed analysis of rehabilitation attitudes and behaviour in terms of specific variables such as age and ethnicity would be of interest.

(5) Finally, with the exception of Rose's study in Toronto, there have been very few investigations of this nature in other Canadian cities. More work is needed in other declining inner city neighbourhoods to substantiate the Vancouver findings.

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Draper et al, Elaboration of Specific Goal Variables for NIP. Report to the MUSA (draft) 1975.


Lowenthal, D., "Geography, Experience and Imagination". AAAG 51. 1969.


The following categories are generally used in windshield surveys undertaken by the Vancouver City Planning Department. (Vancouver City Planning Dept., Vancouver Urban Renewal Study. Technical Reports. 1969.) A block was assessed as "very good", "good" etc if at least 60% of the properties on that block fell within one quality category. Blocks which were comprised of a fairly equal proportion of "good" and "poor" properties were assessed as "mixed".

Quality Assessment Categories

Very Good: Good structures and high maintenance levels. Free from deficiencies.

Good: Solid structures, which are generally free from deterioration. Not necessarily modern or perfectly maintained.

Average: Mediocre. No serious structural deficiencies, but low level of maintenance.

Poor: Old, some structural deficiencies and evidence of disrepair.

Very Poor: Serious structural deficiencies and marked dilapidation.
APPENDIX B

THE_LIKERT_SCALE

SECTION 1
Composing the Attitude Statements

The attitude scale used in this research was formulated on the basis of a series of attitude statements concerning the respondents' neighbourhood and the notion of residential rehabilitation. Pertinent phrases were collected from the literature and informal conversations with neighbourhood residents in an attempt to devise an interesting, meaningful pool of attitude statements. Preference was given to short, fairly simple phrases, care being taken to avoid ambiguous double negatives and sub-ordinate clauses. The latter may only confuse the respondent, particularly if he agrees with one part of the statement and not the other. This may lead to a high proportion of "not sure" responses. It was also considered desirable to have a fairly balanced mixture of positive and negative attitude statements, although Adorno has argued that the former constitute superior discriminators. However, it was felt that this mixture provided one important safeguard against the "response set". The tendency for the respondent to agree

with socially desirable attitudes or to acquiesce regardless of his true feelings constitutes a significant problem in attitude scaling techniques*. However, the presence of a response set is hard to detect and very difficult to eliminate completely.

SECTION 2

The Likert "Discriminatory Power" Technique.

Respondents in the pilot survey were asked to indicate their reaction to each attitude statement on a 1 to 5 scale of agreement/disagreement. Likert scores were then computed for each individual. The first was based on the total score for statements 1 to 19 (see Table A at the end of this appendix) and reflected the respondent's attitude towards housing rehabilitation in general. Statements 20 to 28, however, were designed to elicit respondent's attitudes towards their own neighbourhood, particularly with respect to its deterioration.

In order to increase the reliability of the Likert scale, a measure of "internal consistency" was undertaken using the Likert "Discriminatory Power" technique⁵. Two mean scores were derived for each attitude statement using (a) the 24% of the subjects who scored the highest total for the test and (b) the


24% who scored the lowest. The ability of each statement to discriminate between the extreme groups was assessed by subtracting the two means. The results for the Likert scale used in the pilot survey are indicated in Table A. It was assumed that a group mean falling between 2 and 4 was indicative of a wide range of responses (i.e. between 1 and 5) from the subjects. Hence, statements corresponding to these group values were considered as potentially effective discriminators and appraised on the basis of their "discriminatory power". Statements with a power value of less than 2.0 were felt to provide only a weak distinction between opposing groups and to detract from the "internal consistency" of the test. These items were eliminated from the scale, leaving twenty Likert statements for the final questionnaire.

6 Anywhere between 20 and 25% of the two extremes may be used. In this case, 24% was equivalent to six pilot survey respondents.

7 This value is tantamount to two categories on the Likert scale. Further discussion of the strength of the "discriminatory power" value is undertaken by Adorno. (Adorno, T., The Authoritarian Personality. Harper Bros. N.Y. 1950.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Upper 24%</th>
<th>Lower 24%</th>
<th>Discriminatory Power</th>
<th>Group Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Old houses in this area are not worth fixing up.</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The city should tear down older houses and build new apartments in their place.</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. It is important to fix up the house before spending money on recreation.</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. It is not worth putting yourself into debt to improve your home.</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. People around here should spend more time on home repairs.</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. There is no point in making improvements to your home if other houses on the same block are in poor condition.</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. It is more important to spend money on keeping your home in good condition than to have a family holiday.</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. An owner can really feel proud of his home when it looks good.</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. It is a waste of money for the government to make loans to renovate older housing.</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. There is no need to fix up your property unless you want to sell it.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. As long as you are happy in your home, its outside appearance does not matter that much.</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. People in this area resent government assistance.</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13. There is too much risk of redevelopment to make improvements worthwhile.

14. People trust the government more than finance companies when taking a loan.

15. People are afraid to fix up their homes because of increased taxes.

16. It is best to stay out of debt because you never know what the future might bring.

17. Community improvement is best left in the hands of the planners.

18. You can tell a lot about a person from the way he keeps the outside of his house.

19. Neighbours have a right to expect you to keep your house and yard in good condition.

20. Most people on this block have done their best to maintain their property.

21. People around here spend a lot of time doing repairs.

22. Landlords are letting housing in this area run down.

23. Most people moving into this area are not planning on putting down roots.

24. Houses are generally well maintained around here.

25. Many people would move away from this area given the chance.

26. Tenants are responsible for much of the deterioration of housing in this area.

27. Newcomers are spoiling the appearance of the area.
28. People around here feel very attached to their homes.
APPENDIX C

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

(1) The House To House Questionnaire pp. 174-181
(2) The Mail Questionnaire pp. 182-184

The following questionnaires are copies of those used in the survey (January-February, 1976).
1. **HOUSE TO HOUSE QUESTIONNAIRE**

Please check appropriate box

1. How long have you lived in this house?
   - **UNDER 1 YEAR**
   - **1-2 YEARS**
   - **3-5 YEARS**
   - **6-10 YEARS**
   - **OVER 10 YEARS** (please specify how many years)

2. a. How many people living in this house are in the following age groups?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5 YEARS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 AND OVER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Are all these people members of your own family?
   - **NO**
   - **YES**

3. How long have you lived in [insert survey area's name]?  
   - **UNDER 1 YEAR**
   - **1-2 YEARS**
   - **3-5 YEARS**
   - **6-10 YEARS**
   - **OVER 10 YEARS** (please specify how many years)

4. Do you own any other housing in Vancouver?
   - **NO**
   - **YES**

   If "YES" where is it located? (Give intersection, e.g. Alma & 4th)

5. Are you paying off a mortgage on your house?
   - **NO**
   - **YES**

   If "YES" in how many years from now do you plan to have the mortgage on your house paid off?

6. Are you thinking of selling this property within the next 5 years?
   - **NO**
   - **YES**

   If "YES" a. how soon do you think you will be selling?
      - **UNDER 6 MONTHS**
      - **6 MONTHS -2 YEARS**
      - **3-5 YEARS**

   b. Why are you planning to sell?

   c. Where are you thinking of moving to?
7. WHY DID YOU CHOOSE TO LIVE IN (insert survey area's name)?

________________________________________________________________________________________

8. HAVE YOU NOTICED ANY CHANGES IN THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF (insert survey area's name) WHILE YOU HAVE LIVED HERE?

NO | YES ______

IF "YES"

a. WHAT ARE THESE CHANGES?

________________________________________________________________________________________

b. WHY DO YOU SUPPOSE THEY HAVE OCCURRED?

________________________________________________________________________________________

c. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THESE CHANGES?

________________________________________________________________________________________

9. DO YOU FEEL THAT THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF (insert survey area's name) IS CHANGING?

NO | YES ______

IF "YES"

a. HOW IS IT CHANGING?

________________________________________________________________________________________

b. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THESE CHANGES?

________________________________________________________________________________________

10. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE WHAT TYPE OF AREA (insert survey area's name) IS TO A FRIEND?

________________________________________________________________________________________

11. WOULD YOU SAY THAT IN GENERAL THE HOUSING QUALITY WITHIN 3 BLOCKS OF YOUR PROPERTY WAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERY GOOD</th>
<th>GOOD</th>
<th>AVERAGE</th>
<th>POOR</th>
<th>REALLY POOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. WOULD YOU SAY THAT IN GENERAL THE HOUSING QUALITY ON THIS BLOCK WAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERY GOOD</th>
<th>GOOD</th>
<th>AVERAGE</th>
<th>POOR</th>
<th>REALLY POOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. DO YOU FEEL THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO TRY AND IMPROVE THE HOUSING QUALITY IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD OR ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH PRESENT CONDITIONS?

SATISFIED | IMPROVEMENT NEEDED____
IF YOU FEEL THAT IMPROVEMENT IS NEEDED WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE DONE?

14. WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS MOST ACCURATELY DESCRIBES YOUR PROPERTY?
   (a) NO REPAIR WORK IS NEEDED
   (b) A FEW MINOR REPAIRS ARE NEEDED
   (c) STRUCTURALLY SOUND, BUT SOME LARGE REPAIRS NEEDED
   (d) NEEDS SUBSTANTIAL STRUCTURAL IMPROVEMENT & CONSIDERABLE REPAIRS

15. I AM INTERESTED IN HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT HOUSING IN OTHER PARTS OF THE CITY. DO YOU FEEL THERE ARE ANY SLUMS IN VANCOUVER?
   NO [ ]    YES [ ]
   IF "YES"
   a. WHERE ABOUTS IN VANCOUVER ARE THESE SLUMS?
   b. WHY DO YOU FEEL THEY ARE SLUMS?

16. SUPPOSE YOU UNEXPECTEDLY RECEIVE $1000 WHICH YOU ARE ASKED TO SPEND. WHICH 2 THINGS LISTED BELOW WOULD YOU WANT TO SPEND THE MONEY ON?: CHECK YOUR FIRST AND SECOND CHOICE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FIRST</th>
<th>SECOND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PUT TOWARDS A BETTER CAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUY HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAVE A GOOD VACATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUT TOWARDS A MORTGAGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAY BILLS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKE HOME IMPROVEMENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. HAVE YOU BOUGHT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING IN THE LAST 5 YEARS?
   STOVE [ ]  REFRIGERATOR [ ]  TELEVISION [ ]  CAR [ ]
   RECORD PLAYER [ ]  WASHING MACHINE [ ]  DISH WASHER [ ]

18a. HAVE YOU MADE ANY MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS TO THE OUTSIDE OF YOUR PROPERTY IN THE LAST 5 YEARS?(Please place a check where appropriate).
   BAESTROUGHS [ ]  PAINT WORK [ ]  PORCH [ ]  STEPS [ ]
   ROOF [ ]  CHIMNEY [ ]  WALLS [ ]  WOODWORK [ ]
   WINDOWS [ ]  NONE [ ]
   OTHER (please specify)

18b. APPROXIMATELY HOW MUCH DID YOU SPEND ON THESE IMPROVEMENTS?
   under $500
   $500 - $999
   $1000 - $1,999
   $2000 - $2,999
   $3000 - $3,999
   $4000 - $4,999
   $5000 and over
19.a. HAVE YOU MADE ANY MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS TO THE INSIDE OF YOUR PROPERTY IN THE LAST 5 YEARS? (Please check where appropriate.)

INSULATION [ ] HEATING [ ] PLUMBING [ ] FLOORING [ ]
STAIRS [ ] WINDOWS [ ] PLASTERING [ ] DECORATING [ ]
WIRING [ ] CUPBOARDS [ ] NONE [ ]
OTHERS (please specify) ______________________

b. APPROXIMATELY HOW MUCH DID YOU SPEND ON THESE IMPROVEMENTS?

- under $500
- $500 - $999
- $1000 - $1999
- $2000 - $2999
- $3000 - $3999
- $4000 - $4999
- $5000 and over

REPAIRS CARRIED OUT CONTINUE. IF NOT, LEAVE OUT QUESTIONS 20 AND 21 AND CONTINUE WITH 22

20. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DID YOU USE TO DO YOUR REPAIRS?

- INCOME AND SAVINGS
- BANK OR CREDIT UNION LOAN
- GOVERNMENT LOAN
- GOVERNMENT GRANT
- MONEY BORROWED FROM FRIENDS
- OTHER (please specify) ______________________

21. FOR MOST OF THE REPAIRS DONE ON YOUR PROPERTY, DID YOU DO THE WORK YOURSELF, DID YOU HAVE THE HELP OF FRIENDS OR FAMILY, OR DID YOU BRING IN A CONTRACTOR?

- ALL MYSELF
- MYSELF & FAMILY
- MYSELF & FRIENDS
- MYSELF & CONTRACTOR
- ONLY A CONTRACTOR
- OTHER (please specify) ______________________

22. DO YOU PLAN TO MAKE ANY OTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN THE NEXT 2 YEARS?

- NO [ ]
- YES [ ]
- NOT SURE [ ]

IF "YES" WHAT DO YOU PLAN TO DO? ______________________

23. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT MIGHT DISCOURAGE YOU FROM MAKING IMPROVEMENTS TO YOUR PROPERTY?

- NO [ ]
- YES [ ]
- NOT SURE [ ]

IF "YES" WHAT IS THIS? ______________________
24. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT MIGHT ENCOURAGE YOU TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS TO YOUR PROPERTY?

IF "YES" WHAT IS THIS?

25. WHY DO YOU THINK SOME PROPERTY IN THIS AREA HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO DETERIORATE?

26. WOULD YOU PREFER (a) TO SEE HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS DONE THROUGH VOLUNTARY PROGRAMMES, OR (b) SHOULD PEOPLE BE FORCED TO MAKE REPAIRS TO THEIR PROPERTY IF IT IS IN POOR CONDITION? (Check either (a) or (b)).

(a) VOLUNTARY (b) FORCED

WHY DO YOU FEEL THIS WAY?

27. MOST PEOPLE WOULD AGREE THAT HOUSING IS IMPORTANT FOR SHELTER. ARE THERE ANY OTHER REASONS THAT A HOME IS IMPORTANT TO YOU?

29. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS. PLEASE INDICATE YOUR FEELINGS BY PLACING A CHECK (✓) IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX NEXT TO THE STATEMENT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>NOT SURE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. OLD HOUSES IN THIS AREA ARE NOT WORTH FIXING UP.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. THE CITY SHOULD TEAR DOWN OLD HOUSES AND BUILD NEW ONES IN THEIR PLACE.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. IT IS IMPORTANT TO FIX UP THE HOUSE BEFORE SPENDING MONEY ON RECREATION.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. IT IS NOT WORTH PUTTING YOUR-SELF IN DEBT TO IMPROVE YOUR HOME.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. THERE IS NO POINT IN MAKING IMPROVEMENTS TO YOUR HOME IF OTHER HOUSES ON THE SAME BLOCK ARE IN POOR CONDITION.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. MOST PEOPLE ON THIS BLOCK HAVE DONE THEIR BEST TO MAINTAIN THEIR PROPERTY.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. THE GOVERNMENT IS WASTING THE TAXPAYERS' MONEY WHEN IT MAKES LOANS TO RENOVATE OLDER HOUSING.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATEMENTS</td>
<td>STRONGLY AGREE</td>
<td>AGREE</td>
<td>NOT SURE</td>
<td>DISAGREE</td>
<td>STRONGLY DISAGREE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. THERE IS NO NEED TO FIX UP YOUR PROPERTY UNLESS YOU WANT TO SELL IT.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. AS LONG AS YOU ARE HAPPY IN YOUR HOME ITS OUTSIDE APPEARANCE DOES NOT MATTER THAT MUCH.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. NEIGHBOURS HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT YOU TO KEEP YOUR HOUSE AND YARD IN GOOD CONDITION.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. LANDLORDS ARE LETTING HOUSING IN THIS AREA RUN DOWN.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. MANY PEOPLE WOULD MOVE AWAY FROM THIS AREA GIVEN THE CHANCE.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. TENANTS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE DETERIORATION OF HOUSING IN THIS AREA.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. NEWCOMERS ARE SPOILING THE APPEARANCE OF THE AREA.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. PEOPLE AROUND HERE FEEL VERY ATTACHED TO THEIR HOMES.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. THERE IS TOO MUCH RISK OF REDEVELOPMENT TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS WORTHWHILE.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. PEOPLE ARE AFRAID TO FIX UP THEIR HOMES BECAUSE OF INCREASED TAXES.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT IS BEST LEFT IN THE HANDS OF THE PLANNERS.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. PEOPLE TRUST THE GOVERNMENT MORE THAN FINANCE COMPANIES WHEN TAKING A LOAN.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. YOU CAN TELL A LOT ABOUT A PERSON FROM THE WAY HE KEEPS THE OUTSIDE OF HIS HOUSE.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR GRANDVIEW WOODLANDS RESPONDENTS ONLY, SKIP TO QUESTION 36.

THERE IS A GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME OF RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE DESIGNED TO HELP MODERATE INCOME HOMEOWNERS AND LANDLORDS IN THIS AREA WITH PROPERTY IMPROVEMENTS. IT IS SOMETIMES REFERRED TO AS "R.R.A.P."

29. HAVE YOU HEARD OF THIS FORM OF ASSISTANCE?

No [ ], Yes [ X ]

If "No", leave out questions 30 - 34 and continue with question 35.

If "Yes", continue.

30. HAVE YOU APPLIED FOR FUNDS FROM THIS PROGRAMME TO MAKE REPAIRS TO YOUR PROPERTY?

No [ ], Do you think you might apply for funds in the future?

No [ ], Yes [ X ], Not sure [ ]

Yes [ X ] - Would you have made similar improvements without this assistance?

No [ ], Yes [ X ], Not sure [ ]
31. Would you recommend this assistance programme to a friend?

   NO [ ]   YES [ ]   NOT SURE [ ]

IF "NO" WHY IS THIS?

______________________________________________________________________________

32. Has R.R.A.P. encouraged any of your friends or neighbours to make home improvements?

   NO [ ]   YES [ ]

HOW MANY?

______________________________________________________________________________

33. Is there anything you particularly like or dislike about R.R.A.P.?

______________________________________________________________________________

34. Are there any other comments you would like to make about this assistance programme?

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

35. Do you think this will encourage people in this area to make repairs to their homes? Why?

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

36. What sort of work does the head of the household do?

______________________________________________________________________________

37. What is your country of origin?

IF NOT CANADA HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN CANADA?

______________________________________________________________________________

38. What was the last grade of school that the head of the household completed?

______________________________________________________________________________

39. Please check the category describing your total family income.

   UNDER $5,999 [ ]
   $6,000 - $10,999 [ ]
   $11,000 - $15,999 [ ]
   OVER $16,000 [ ]

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION
TO BE COMPLETED AFTER THE INTERVIEW

(1) SEX OF RESPONDENT

(11) APPROXIMATE AGE OF RESPONDENT

- UNDER 20 YEARS
- 21 - 35 YEARS
- 36 - 49 YEARS
- OVER 50 YEARS

(iii) TYPE OF HOUSING OWNED BY RESPONDENT

- SINGLE FAMILY DWELLING
- DUPLEx PURPOSE BUILT
- CONVERSION
- OTHER

(iv) APPROXIMATE AGE OF DWELLING

- PRE 1910
- 1910 - 1945
- 1946 - 1960
- AFTER 1960

(v) GENERAL QUALITY ASSESSMENT BASED ON THE APPEARANCE OF THE EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR (WHERE POSSIBLE) OF THE DWELLING. (DESCRIPTIVE COMMENTS RATHER THAN VALUE JUDGEMENTS ARE REQUIRED).

(vi) HOW WELL DID THE RESPONDENT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THE QUESTIONS?

- COMPLETELY
- CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY
- MINOR LIMITATIONS

(vii) REMARKS ON THE RESPONDENT (I.E. CO-OPERATION, INTEREST.)
C.2. THE MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

***************************************************************
YOU ARE NOT ASKED TO WRITE YOUR NAME OR ADDRESS ON THIS FORM
***************************************************************

PLEASE CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX

1. HOW MANY PROPERTIES IN VANCOUVER DO YOU OWN? ______________________________

2. WHERE ARE THESE PROPERTIES LOCATED? (Please give nearest intersection e.g. 4th & Alma) ______________________________

3. HOW LONG HAVE YOU OWNED THESE PROPERTIES IN KITSILANO/cedar COTTAGE?

4. DO YOU PLAN TO SELL ANY OF YOUR PROPERTIES IN KITSILANO/cedar COTTAGE IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS?
   YES [ ]  NO [ ]  NOT SURE [ ]
   IF "YES" WHY ARE YOU PLANNING TO SELL? _______________________________________

5. (a) HAVE YOU NOTICED ANY CHANGES IN THE AREA AROUND YOUR PROPERTIES IN KITSILANO/cedar COTTAGE SINCE YOU HAVE OWNED THEM? WHAT ARE THESE?

   (b) HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THESE CHANGES? _______________________________________

6. WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS MOST ACCURATELY DESCRIBES THE CONDITION OF YOUR PROPERTIES IN KITSILANO/cedar COTTAGE?
   (a) NO REPAIR WORK NEEDED. [ ]
   (b) A FEW MINOR REPAIRS NEEDED. [ ]
   (c) STRUCTURALLY SOUND, BUT SOME LARGE REPAIRS NEEDED. [ ]
   (d) NEEDS SUBSTANTIAL STRUCTURAL IMPROVEMENT & CONSIDERABLE REPAIR. [ ]

7. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT MIGHT DISCOURAGE YOU FROM MAKING IMPROVEMENTS TO YOUR PROPERTIES? WHAT IS THIS? _______________________________________

8. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT MIGHT ENCOURAGE YOU TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS TO YOUR PROPERTY? WHAT IS THIS?

9. HAVE YOU MADE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING IMPROVEMENTS TO THE OUTSIDE OF ANY OF YOUR PROPERTIES IN THE LAST 5 YEARS? (Please indicate how many of your properties you have made each improvement to by writing the appropriate number in the box e.g. if you have painted 3 properties, write PAINT WORK 3)

   - RAWESTROUGHS
   - PAINT WORK
   - PORCH
   - STEPS
   - ROOF
   - CHIMNEY
   - WALLS
   - WOODWORK
   - WINDOWS
   - NONE
   - OTHER (Please specify)

10. HAVE YOU MADE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING IMPROVEMENTS TO THE INSIDE OF ANY OF YOUR PROPERTIES IN THE LAST 5 YEARS? (Please indicate number in box as in question 9)

   - INSULATION
   - HEATING
   - PLUMBING
   - FLOORING
   - STAIRS
   - WINDOWS
   - PLASTERING
   - DECORATING
   - WIRING
   - CUPBOARDS
   - NONE
   - OTHER (specify)

THERE IS A GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME OF RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE DESIGNED TO HELP LANDLORDS WILLING TO AGREE TO RENT CONTROLS WITH PROPERTY IMPROVEMENTS. IT IS SOMETIMES REFERRED TO AS RRAP.

11. HAVE YOU HEARD OF THIS FORM OF ASSISTANCE?

   - NO
   - YES

   IF "NO", LEAVE OUT QUESTIONS 12 AND 13 AND CONTINUE WITH 14. IF "YES" CONTINUE.

12. HAVE YOU APPLIED FOR FUNDS FROM THIS PROGRAMME TO MAKE REPAIRS TO ANY OF YOUR PROPERTIES?

   - NO
   - DO YOU THINK YOU MIGHT APPLY FOR FUNDS IN THE FUTURE?
     - NO
     - YES
     - NOT SURE
   - YES
   - WOULD YOU HAVE MADE SIMILAR REPAIRS WITHOUT THIS AID?
     - NO
     - YES
     - NOT SURE

13. IS THERE ANYTHING YOU PARTICULARLY LIKE OR DISLIKE ABOUT RRAP?

   SKIP TO QUESTION 15.

14. WOULD YOU BE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE ANY NECESSARY IMPROVEMENTS TO YOUR PROPERTY BY THIS OFFER OF LOW INTEREST LOANS? WHY?

15. ARE THERE ANY OTHER COMMENTS YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAKE?
The Pearson's chi-square test of association can be used for nominal data. Its purpose is to determine whether the difference between theoretical and observed frequencies is statistically significant or whether it may only be attributed to a chance variation in sampling. The formula for chi-square is

$$\chi^2 = \frac{\sum (o-e)^2}{e}$$

where \(o\) = observed frequencies, and \(e\) = expected frequencies.

The accuracy of the chi-square test increases with the size of the sample. When expected frequencies are small (i.e. less than 5) the Yates's correction for continuity should be used. This involves subtracting 0.5 from the difference between the observed and expected frequencies in each cell.

While the chi-square test determines whether a relationship exists between two variables, there are several related measures which indicate the strength of the relationship. \(\phi\) (i.e. \(\chi^2/N\)) may be used with 2 by 2 tables, and has a value ranging from 0 (no relationship) to unity (a perfect relationship). For larger tables, Cramer's \(V\) may be calculated in the place of \(\phi\), where

$$v = \phi / \sqrt{\min(r-1, c-1)}$$

where \( \min(r-1,c-1) = \) the minimum value of \((r-1)\) or \((c-1)\), whichever is smaller.

**Spearman's \( r_s \)**

Spearman's \( r_s \) may be used to correlate the relationship between variables based on rank order or ordinal scales. Its value ranges from +1.0 (a perfect relationship) to -1.0 (total disagreement). A value of 0 indicates that no relationship exists between the variables. The formula is

\[
r_s = 1 - \frac{6 \sum D_{i2}}{N(N^2-1)}
\]

where \( D_{i2} = \) the difference between any pair of ranked variables.
### APPENDIX E

**CHI-SQUARE TABLES FOR CHAPTERS V AND VI**

#### CHAPTER V

**TABLE A**

**EFFECT OF INCOME AND MORTGAGE ON REPAIRS**

Major Repairs in Last Five Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Repairs undertaken</th>
<th>No repairs done</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low income owners with a mortgage</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder of sample</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
d.f. = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 16.5 \\
\text{sig. level} = 0.001 \quad \phi = 0.1
\]

(a) Decorating and minor repairs excluded  
(b) Income less than $11,000 p.a.

#### TABLE E

**HOUSING QUALITY AND THE MORTGAGE CONSTRAINT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective Property Quality</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low income owners with mortgage</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder of sample</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
d.f. = 2 \quad \chi^2 = 15.6 \\
\text{sig. level} = 0.001 \quad \phi = 0.1
\]

(a) Income less than $11,000 p.a.
TABLE C

PROPERTY QUALITY AND PRIORITY OF EXPENDITURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective Property Quality</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation ranked as first priority expense</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation ranked as lower priority expense</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 15.0 \]

\[ \text{sig. level} = 0.001 \]

\[ V = 0.1 \]

TABLE D

PERCEIVED CONTROL AND PROPERTY EXPENDITURE IN KITSILANO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changes perceived as good or controllable</th>
<th>Undesirable changes perceived as uncontrollable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure less than $1000 (1971-6)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure more than $1000 (1971-6)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{d.f.} = 1 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 39.8 \]

\[ \text{sig. level} = 0.001 \]

\[ \theta = 0.7 \]
TABLE E
PERCEIVED CONTROL AND PROPERTY EXPENDITURE IN CEDAR COTTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total expenditure less than $1000 (1971-6)</th>
<th>Undesirable changes perceived as controllable</th>
<th>Undesirable changes perceived as uncontrollable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure more than $1000 (1971-6)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 12.2 \]
\[ \text{d.f.} = 1 \]
\[ \text{sig. level} = 0.001 \]
\[ \theta = 0.4 \]

TABLE F
HOUSING QUALITY AND THE MORTGAGE CONSTRAINT IN GRANDVIEW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective Property Quality</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low income owners with mortgage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder of Grandview sample</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 8.0 \]
\[ \text{d.f.} = 2 \]
\[ \text{sig. level} = 0.02 \]
\[ v = 0.2 \]

(a) Income less than $11,000 p.a.
CHAPTER VI

TABLE G

HOUSING QUALITY AND THE PREFERRED METHOD OF REHABILITATION IN CEDAR COTTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective Property Quality</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favoured forced rehabilitation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favoured voluntary rehabilitation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d.f. = 2  \[\chi^2 = 12.1\]

sig. level = 0.01  \[\phi = 0.2\]

TABLE H

MORTGAGE PAYMENTS AND LIKELIHOOD OF FUTURE RRAP APPLICATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eligible non-users</th>
<th>With mortgage</th>
<th>Without mortgage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future RRAP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>application possible</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future RRAP</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>application unlikely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{d.f.} = 1  \[\chi^2 = 7.8\]

sig. level = 0.01  \[\phi = 0.3\]
### Table I

**Mortgage Payments and RRAP Applications**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RRAP Users</th>
<th>Eligible Non-Users</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mortgage to pay</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No mortgage payments</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 10.4 \]

\[ \text{df.} = 1 \]

\[ \text{sig. level} = 0.01 \]

\[ \varphi = 0.2 \]