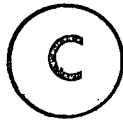


THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN KITSILANO:

IDEAS, ACTORS AND THE LANDSCAPE

by



ADRIANE JANICE CARR

A.R.C.T., The University of Toronto, 1973

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1974

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Department of

Geography

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date

April 25, 1980

ABSTRACT

Kitsilano, a Vancouver inner-city neighbourhood is an intriguing place which has developed from a middle-class community of single-family homes to an area of apartments and condominiums attracting young singles and childless professionals. In its early years, a number of active resident groups promoted the development and solidarity of a family-oriented place. They appeared, to some degree, to have successfully challenged the activities of City Hall and real estate developers who were encouraging industrial and high density residential land use. In later years, however, residents seemed to undermine their earlier goals by actively supporting residential upzoning.

The primary objective of this thesis is to understand the apparently contradictory behaviour of these resident groups in the community development process. An understanding of behaviour lies, most fruitfully, in the probing of motivations which prompt action. Since these resident groups were intentionally involved with shaping the character of their local area, this thesis focuses its attention on their ideas of neighbourhood.

In order to understand both the ideas and actions of residents more fully, a case study of one resident group - the Kitsilano Rate-payers' Association - provides the bulk of data. Extensive reference is made, however, to other community associations. The more detailed data sources which expose group ideology and behaviour include private group records and personal interviews. In order to allow the emergence

of themes, data is examined inductively using content analysis methods which range from rigorous frequency counts to the more subjective noting of key quotes. Contextual information regarding the general process of community development is provided by archival materials, local newspapers, maps, census and school board records and city directories. The data suggest that two concepts of neighbourhood - communal and private - simultaneously underlay resident action, and that the community groups in Kitsilano appeared to focus the greatest effort on promoting their private ideals.

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FOREWORD

This thesis examines two concepts of neighbourhood: neighbourhood as a place-bound phenomenon rooted in human relationships and neighbourhood as the home setting for individuals seeking to attain their own personal goals. Human behaviour, as the differentiating factor in these concepts, is communally-focused in the one case and individually-focused in the other.

Both communal and individual concerns have long found compatible expression in neighbourhood activity within Kitsilano, a westside residential district adjacent to Vancouver's downtown peninsula. With the good of the community and the future children of Kitsilano in mind, a group of twenty-eight early residents donated their own money towards the public purchase of Kitsilano Beach Park. For the eight members of this group who were real estate agents within Kitsilano and the eleven whose homes lay within one block of the new park, increased property values must have been an attractive by-product of the park purchase.

The coexistence of communal and individual concerns amongst these early neighbourhood boosters seems rather obvious. In examining later initiatives of neighbourhood groups, the identification of motives becomes more difficult. In the 1930's and 1940's, Kitsilano residents seemed absorbed in such social and philanthropic activities as the Kitsilano Showboat and the Santa Claus Fund. Kitsilano projected the image of an ideal neighbourhood: good homes, schools and churches; friendly merchants and neighbours. Residents involved in improving and protecting the residential status of Kitsilano in the 1950's confirmed this image, describing their activities in the rhetoric of

community concern. However, despite both the image of neighbourhood solidarity and the active communal involvement of residents, Kitsilano began to disintegrate as a family district. Increasingly by the 1960's the older homes were replaced by apartment buildings. The families who had formed the basis of neighbourhood were replaced by young singles. Special interest groups conflicted over the nature of future Kitsilano development. One would expect these changes to upset greatly those residents who had worked to build and protect Kitsilano. This was not the case. Members of the traditional neighbourhood groups seemed satisfied with the changes and intolerant of those who impeded them. Indeed, the late 1950's found long-term residents fighting for the upzoning which would bring increased apartment construction.

Although the communal concept of neighbourhood offers an understanding of the earlier behaviour of Kitsilano residents, it does not explain the later behaviour. Why was the disintegration of Kitsilano as a traditionally communal neighbourhood encouraged by the residents who had seemed so supportive of it? An analysis of the Kitsilano Park purchase found that the concerns of people often have both communal and individual roots. The behaviour of Kitsilano residents through time can perhaps be better understood through an examination of not only their communal concerns, which seemed the most dominant and self-advertised, but also their more subtle and perhaps taken-for-granted individual concerns. It is with these apparently paradoxical attitudes to neighbourhood solidarity and neighbourhood change, the interplay

of social and individual responses to community, that this thesis is centrally concerned.

The most significant question of this thesis concerns the puzzling role of long-term residents in the disintegration of the traditional neighbourhood within Kitsilano. It is probable that many present-day Kitsilano residents would, however, dispute this demise. I would ask that these people consider not the contemporary attachment of residents to the neighbourhood, but the growing pace of change in Kitsilano - the building activity, the traffic congestion, the transience of neighbours. Kitsilano has changed from its earlier days of individual homes and family units. A contemporary attachment to place exists in Kitsilano, but this attachment is to a different place by people different from the former residents. This contemporary neighbourhood of Kitsilano certainly warrants investigation. The concern of this thesis, however, lies with the traditional neighbourhood of Kitsilano -- the neighbourhood of which only remnants now remain.

There are many in today's society who bemoan the demise of neighbourhood. Echoing Simone Weil, they cry out for roots and security in human relationships and place. It is easy, from this perspective, to condemn the behaviour of those who allow or encourage neighbourhood disintegration. Such condemnation is, I feel, rather inappropriate in the case of the conduct examined in this thesis. The men and women of traditional Kitsilano worked hard to shape a neighbourhood to which they were, over a long period of time, deeply attached. Their motiva-

tion lay not in the destruction of neighbourhood. It is, in fact, the incongruity between the many good intentions of these people and the in some ways lamentable outcome of their actions which is of interest.

Although my own intentions may have differed from those of the Kitsilano residents I have studied, I have great respect for the determination they displayed in the struggle to achieve their goals. And although I regret some of the changes in Kitsilano encouraged by these residents, I admire their sense of satisfaction and success.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

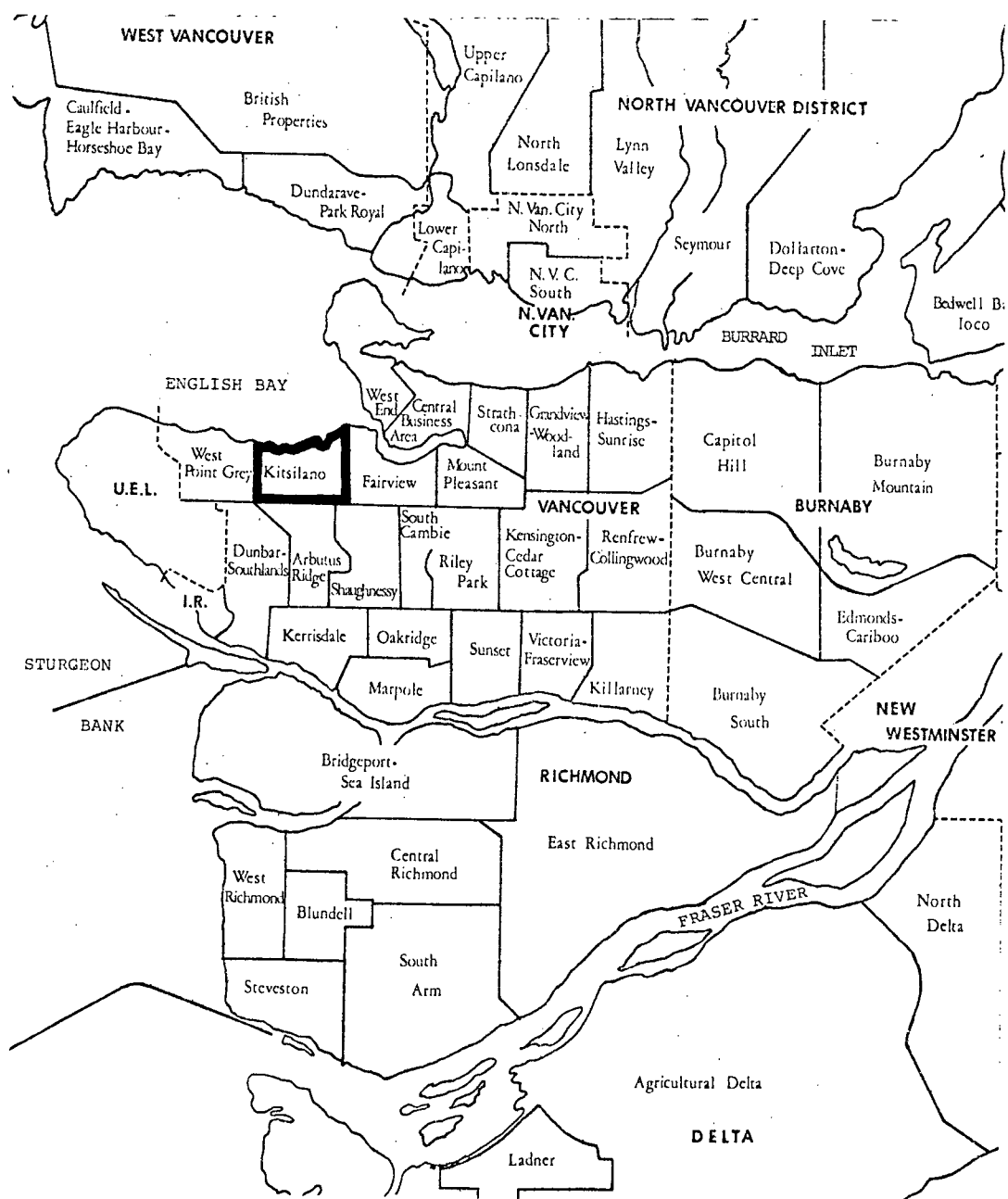


FIGURE 1 The Location of Kitsilano in Vancouver

"Every city has its favored residential district, and Kitsilano occupies that enviable position in the city of Vancouver."¹

Kitsilano, located in Vancouver's inner-city, has long projected the image of an ideal neighbourhood -- a place in which families could comfortably and happily set up home.² An active citizenry in the neighbourhood, represented by such groups as ratepayers' associations, church groups, social clubs and the Chamber of Commerce, attended to continual improvements in landscape, services and social milieu. A sense of neighbourliness was encouraged by these residents through such activities as the Kitsilano Showboat, Kiddies Parade, and church services at the beach. Appreciative of their social amenities, their convenient inner-city location and their superb view of mountains and sea, these early Kitsilano residents were confident of their neighbourhood's residential desirability and continued progress.³

By 1980 we see a Kitsilano radically different from that of earlier days. Concrete highrises and cedar-panelled walk-ups have replaced wooden bungalows. Four foot fences ensure the privacy -- not neighbourliness -- of residents. Some homes remain, yet exposed the irresponsibilities of multiple tenants. Others sport Greek-pillared or "West Coast modern" face-lifts. Scattered nuclei of shops and restaurants offer a dynamic youth-oriented night life: Bimini's, the King's Head, Orestes, Rohan's and the Soft Rock Cafe. The more mellow Kitsilano residents frequent the shops of Fourth Avenue -- recycled clothing, antiques, boutiques, crafts and health food.

Kitsilano residents today are a diverse group comprising ethnic families, mobile singles, 'laid-back' naturalists, students and professionals. Yet they all are attracted to Kitsilano. Like earlier residents they seem appreciative of the attractiveness of Kitsilano's setting, location and services. There seems to be no indication, however, of them sharing in identical form the earlier-held belief in the importance of family security and neighbourhood "progress". If the present-day residents of Kitsilano hold any belief in common it may well be the importance of accepting the diversity of Kitsilano residents.⁴

This thesis grows out of a concern to understand the rise and fall of neighbourhood in Kitsilano -- its transition from a friendly place of family homes to a multi-dimensional inner city neighbourhood. It presupposes that an explanation of this change does not lie simply in the commonly-treated inner city redevelopment process. As Tuan so convincingly points out, the roots of place are in man. It is man's actions which, over time, shape and convey meaning to place (Tuan, 1974 (b)). In order to understand place, then, one must understand the people who have fashioned that place -- the behaviour of these people over time.⁵ A conscious desire to influence the development of their neighbourhood prompted the residents of Kitsilano to early on form active citizens' groups. The role of people in the place-shaping process is thus both evident and examinable in Kitsilano.

Just as the roots of place lie in man, the roots of human behaviour lie in motivation and intent. This thesis will examine those

ideas which gave rise to the actions of people concerned about the character of their community. An image of neighbourhood underlay coordinated group effort. In an attempt to understand the place, Kitsilano, this thesis will thus turn its focus from the landscape and place-shaping process, to the ideas upon which behaviour and landscape are predicated: the concepts of neighbourhood.

Two sets of literature offer a methodological and philosophical framework for this examination: the geographical literature concerned with understanding place and the sociological literature concerned with understanding neighbourhood.⁶ Both sets of literature treat the relationships between human nature, behaviour and place. Their appropriateness to the present study varies according to the degree to which they offer an understanding of the ideas which prompt man to shape place.

GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE: UNDERSTANDING PLACE

Landscape Patterns

Landscape and place are two different concepts. Landscape refers to the physical or tangible elements of the earth's surface and is a reflection of both human and natural processes (English, 1968). Place includes also the intangible dimensions of reality: the affective ties between man and landscape in a particular location (Tuan, 1974 (b)). Place cannot be separated from the thoughts and feelings of man. Geographers have not always made this distinction between landscape and place. In attempting to understand place many geographers

have acknowledged the role which man plays in shaping place, but focused their examination on the tangible elements of landscape.⁷

Hartshorne describes the goals of such geographers:

"to describe and interpret the variable character from place to place of the earth as the world of man".⁸

Human Processes

A dissatisfaction with the degree of understanding of place attainable through the focus on landscape led to enquiries into the processes which lay behind the landscape patterns (Gollidge, 1972).

"the earlier stress on the geometric outcome of the spatial game has lessened in favor of analysis of the rules which govern the moves of the actors who populate the gaming table."⁹

There was a recognition that place could be better understood through an understanding of the actions of man (Berry, 1973). Unfortunately, not all who investigated behavioural processes sought to understand the roots of these processes. In many cases a simple description of spatial behaviour accompanied the earlier descriptions of spatial patterns (Harvey, 1975 and Olsson, 1974). Man's role in shaping place, and the meaning of place to man were not the focus of examination.

Man-Place Relations

Disillusionment with the limited understanding provided by descriptions of spatial patterns and behaviour led to a deeper investigation of man in relation to place. The environmental perception school of research focused on the images man holds of the places around him. An understanding of action in relation to place was sought in an exam-

ination of these images, which identified the meaningful elements in place as well as providing an explanation for behavioural decisions (Downs, 1970). Most of the literature on environmental perception and images of place, however, have been concerned with locational rather than place-shaping behaviour (Gould, 1974). The image of place was considered not as an ideal model underlying the shaping of reality, which is the concern of this thesis, but as a structural model of the degree to which "reality" was accurately perceived (Appleyard, 1964 and Lynch, 1960).

Interest in environmental perception and the images man holds of place has not in all cases been focussed on the accuracy of human perception and the understanding of purely locational behaviour. A number of geographers, notably Lowenthal and Tuan, have concerned themselves with the value-imbued meanings of place (Tuan, 1974 (b); Lowenthal, 1968 and Lowenthal and Prince, 1965). This study of perception and images has treated more deeply the nature of man in order to uncover the ideas - or meanings of place - which prompt man to shape his environment in a particular manner.

"Landscapes are formed by landscape tastes. People see their surroundings through preferred and accustomed glasses, and tend to make the world as they see it."¹⁰

This school of research is thus in accord with this thesis in acknowledging human ideas as the root of place-shaping processes. Unfortunately, work in this field has been hampered by the difficulty of obtaining data which conveys the nature of place-related ideas.

"Actions are intentional and purposive, they have meaning but access to this meaning requires knowledge of the motives and perception of the actor, his definition of the situation."¹¹

Examining landscape on a large scale, researchers were able to turn to the thoughts of poets and statesmen as they expressed their feelings towards place (Lowenthal and Prince, 1965). One cannot assume, however, that the ideas expressed by these 'exceptional' people are the same as those of the 'common' inhabitant. If one hopes to understand the man-place relations as they exist in day-to-day life one must seek the spontaneous expressions of ideas and landscape meanings by local residents. This type of data are, of course, difficult to obtain. In their absence, researchers in this field have had to rely on their own intuitive assessment of landscape features, local residents, and the relations between the two (Duncan, 1973 and Gibson, 1971). The problem of data scarcity is not one which besets this thesis. In attempting to uncover the ideas which led to the shaping of place in Kitsilano this researcher is privy to extensive community group records which expound at length on the designs intended by residents for their neighbourhood.¹²

SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE: COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

The value to this thesis of much of the geographical literature treating place rests in its understanding of the relations between man's ideas, behaviour and environment. Most relevant is that literature which focusses on the meaningful ties between man and place, and the basis of man's behaviour in meaning. There is sociological

literature which similarly treats the nature of man's attachment to place: community and neighbourhood studies. This literature raises an issue which is critical to my thesis: what is the meaning of neighbourhood or local community? Since the concern of this thesis is to explore the meaning of neighbourhood to the residents actively involved in directing its development, a review of the academic definitions of neighbourhood may offer a framework for this examination.

Community, Local Area and Neighbourhood

The terms community, local area and neighbourhood have thus far in this thesis been used interchangeably. A brief examination of these terms should be undertaken in order to substantiate their relatedness and provide a basis for the closer examination of the nature of neighbourhood.

The numerous definitions which exist of community seem in agreement that the most critical component of community is social interaction (Hillery, 1955). "Community is considered (as) a group of people in social interaction having some ties or bonds in common."¹³ Community, as defined in this manner, is not necessarily place-bound, and, if so, is usually qualified as "local community" (Clark, 1973 and Stacey, 1969).

Local area, unlike community, is based first and foremost on its spatiality. "The entire urban landscape (is) divided into small areas by the network of transportation and industry."¹⁴ Although these local areas may serve as the bases for community, there are "local

conditions where no such (social) system could be expected."¹⁵ In contrast, "local areas that have physical boundaries, social networks, concentrated use of area facilities, and special emotional and symbolic connotations for their inhabitants are considered neighbourhoods."¹⁶ Thus neighbourhood is an integrative concept, identifying communities which are place-bound and local areas which sustain social interaction.¹⁷

The Meaning of Neighbourhood

The terms outlined above have been used interchangeably by many researchers (Suttles, 1972), and thus have added to the already existing confusion over the nature of the concept (Hillery, 1955; Freilich, 1963; Stacey, 1969; and Clark, 1973). A review of some of the research in this field reveals, however, a limited number of factors which seem consistently important in identifying the nature of neighbourhood. Social interaction, a specific spatial location and solidarity seem to be the three most critical characteristics of neighbourhood (Hillery, 1955).¹⁸ Although, for the most part, the significance of these factors has been determined intuitively by the researchers themselves, an increasing interest has been shown in the indigenously expressed meanings of neighbourhood (Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968; Ley, 1974).

Serving as a basis for social networks and reinforced by those networks, a certain communality of values and lifestyle is found within a neighbourhood. These values and lifestyles are reflected in the landscape -- homes, gardens, mailboxes, churches, community halls -- and

further serve to attract similar people (Duncan, 1973). The complementarity of landscape, neighbours and oneself offers comfort and security. One feels at ease, at home, attached to place and even willing to defend it if it is threatened.

The significance of the sociological literature on community to this thesis lies in its assertion that human beings are a critical component of neighbourhood - one must understand a people to understand a place. The literature has further utility in that some consideration has been given to the conceptualization of neighbourhood by the 'common' resident. However, other than an acknowledgment of the tendency of a neighbourhood to reflect symbolically in its landscape the nature of its inhabitants, the sociological literature has generally avoided the relationship between peoples' concept of neighbourhood and the intentional moulding of that place.¹⁹ Therefore, although the sociological literature offers a stronger context for the examination of the meaning of neighbourhood undertaken in this thesis, it is the geographical literature which offers a framework for the exploration of connections between the meaning of neighbourhood and the ultimate shaping of it by its inhabitants.

NEIGHBOURHOOD IN KITSILANO

The neighbourhood of Kitsilano in inner city Vancouver has long been the focus of concern on the part of residents who have spontaneously and intentionally acted to shape the nature of their community.²⁰

A content analysis of a local newspaper, the Kitsilano Times, has revealed the centrality of four groups in neighbourhood activities: the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, Kitsilano Lion's Club and Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association (Appendix 1). Although all four groups deserve attention, the in-depth examination of any one group would reveal some of the ideas and goals which motivated resident action in general. An analysis of the spatial focus and time span of group activities may help in determining which of the four groups is most appropriate for study.

The Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce and the Kitsilano -- later Burrard -- Lion's Club began their activities in Kitsilano in the mid-1930's. Although they took a strong role in promoting local activities, both groups operated on a larger scale orientation. The Lion's Club admits openly its national bias: "The aims of the local organization will be in line with the general aims of the senior (Canadian) body."²¹ Although the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce was much more a local expression of residents' ideas and plans for Kitsilano than was the Kitsilano Lion's Club, the organization obviously focused its concerns on merchants' interests. Its members, despite operating stores in Kitsilano, largely resided outside the area.²² By its nature, the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce was thus a commercial rather than a residential body. Its involvement in residential activities was of great enough significance, however, to warrant reference in this thesis.

Just as the Kitsilano Lion's Club and the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce were overly broad in their focus of interests, the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association was too localized. The concern of this organization was with one small area within Kitsilano -- the extreme northeast corner. It was organized in 1952 to meet the needs of an already fragmenting community where residents began to feel identification with only a small portion of what was originally considered the Kitsilano neighbourhood. Furthermore, its concerns, although spatially more confined, were similar in nature to those of the already existing Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association. In fact, a 1957 proposal to amalgamate the two organizations stated, "In Kitsilano, our interests in streets, parks, museums, etc., coincide, so why all this duplication?"²³ Thus, an extensive examination of both Kitsilano ratepayers' associations might prove to a large extent redundant.

Since this thesis is concerned with the neighbourhood of Kitsilano as a whole, a focus on the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, whose areal boundaries approximate most accurately the present day administrative definition of Kitsilano, is most convenient.²⁴ Furthermore, the activities of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, initiated in 1906, spanned by far the greatest length of time of any of the neighbourhood groups. Thus, although the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association was not alone in the active local role it played, its behaviour offers the most appropriate case study.

The bulk of the data used in this thesis is drawn from the private records of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association supplemented by the private records of the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce and the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association. These include correspondence, meeting minutes and miscellaneous files. Records are available for the following years²⁵:

Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association:	1935 - 1946 Minutes
	1950 - 1951 Correspondence
	1954 - 1957 Correspondence
	1960 - 1970 Minutes
	1962 - 1970 Correspondence
Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce:	1954 - 1970 Minutes
	Scattered correspondence and miscellaneous files.
Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association:	1953 - 1967 Correspondence

One other major source of data is the Kitsilano Times newspaper, which was rigorously analyzed for the years 1918 - 1923, 1926 - 1929, 1936 - 1941 and 1953 - 1962.²⁶ Other sources of data include interviews, oral history tapes, Vancouver city directories, census data, historical maps, and miscellaneous historical records and newspaper clippings, particularly those contained in the Vancouver City Archives. The use of such a variety of data sources is critical to this thesis. The detailed nature of private group records allows considerable insight into the residents themselves - a necessity considering the goal of understanding their aspirations regarding their home neighbourhood. Newspaper data provides contextual information: the filling in of data gaps, and a perspective on group file data.²⁷ Interviews, oral

histories and private historical records again allow more focussed insight, providing the more emotionally expressive statements which portray more clearly the meaning of neighbourhood to these residents. A balance to this more subjective, qualitative data is provided by the directories, census data and maps.

The primary methodology used to analyze the data was content analysis, ranging in its application from rigorous frequency counts to the more subjective drawing out of key quotes. The treatment of all data was inductive. The discussion which follows is thus organized around themes which emerged during the actual data collection and analysis.

The thesis focuses on the period 1935 to 1961, although a contextual chapter will provide information prior to 1935 and, to a more limited extent, after 1961. The time scale of the study was in part determined by the availability of data - in particular, the private group records. More critical, however, was the historical appropriateness of this era for study. At one end, 1935 was a critical year in Kitsilano's social history. In that year Bert Emery, the 'unofficial mayor of Kitsilano', organized the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, revitalized the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, and established numerous other community activities, including the well-known Kitsilano Showboat. During the years 1935 to 1961, the community projected a strongly cohesive neighbourhood image. By 1961, however, qualitative changes in the landscape and social character of Kitsilano had become

increasingly visible. Thus during the peak years of neighbourhood solidarity in Kitsilano - 1935 to 1961 - processes leading to the ultimate disintegration of the neighbourhood must have been at work. To examine Kitsilano during this period may therefore uncover the roots of the neighbourhood change which came later.

Chapter two supplies the historical context for the narrower temporal focus of later chapters. Chapter three outlines characteristics of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association whose activities seemed so critical within the neighbourhood - the nature of its membership, its representativeness of the community as a whole, and its general goals. Chapters four and five present two concepts of neighbourhood which seem to underlie the activities of the residents in the period 1935 to 1961. Chapter six provides the conclusions one can draw regarding the meaning of neighbourhood to these Kitsilano residents, and the explanatory value of neighbourhood concepts in an understanding of the changing nature of the community.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 1

¹Kitsilano Times, April 10, 1920, p. 1.

²The projection of this image is verified by a content analysis of newspaper clippings held in the Vancouver City Archives.

³Progress as used here refers to improvements in the services and landscape of Kitsilano. Chapters Four and Five deal with this concept more explicitly. Evidence of residents' appreciation and confidence in residential desirability and progress may be found in a general reading of any issue of the Kitsilano Times newspaper.

⁴These conclusions are based on many informal conversations with Kitsilano residents and my own experience as a Kitsilano resident for the past seven years.

⁵The mediation of social milieu in landscape development was the centre of discussion of the French School, epitomized in the work of Vidal de la Blache. The mediation of culture in landscape processes was also discussed by the Chicago School (Park, 1925).

⁶There are certainly other sets of literature which may have been reviewed; notably the social interactionist literature, which provides some perspective on the group articulation of goals and organization of behaviour and the citizen participation literature, which deals with the relative significance of local users, larger-scale landscape-shaping forces. I have included a few bibliographic references appropriate to these perspectives (e.g., Frisken, Head, Jacobs, Kasperson, Shibutani and Wellman). I do feel, however, that both sets of literature focus too heavily on the sociological or political analysis of behavioural processes to warrant extensive review in this thesis.

⁷The traditional focus on landscape in geographical writing is discussed in many works. Lukermann (1964) discusses the historical importance of place descriptions. "Emphasis was placed on empirical observation collected through field study" (Lukermann, 1964, p. 20). Such emphasis on landscape patterns may also be seen in the field of economic geography which grew out of Ratzel's suggestion that ". . . geography be studied as the science of abstract distributions" (Lukermann, 1964, p. 26). An emphasis on the study of the visible or tangible elements of the landscape may be found, too, in the Berkeley school of landscape geographers, epitomized by the work of Carl Sauer (Brookfield, 1964, pp. 288-291).

⁸Hartshorne, 1959, p. 47.

⁹Olsson, 1969, p. 14.

¹⁰Lowenthal, 1968, p. 61.

¹¹Ley, 1975, pp. 20-21.

¹²It should be noted that even though local expression of place-related ideas is documented, the meanings underlying such statements may not be wholly explicit. Thus the researcher does not totally avoid the interpretive role he must of necessity take where such data are limited. Schutz (1953, p. 3) notes that the expression of feelings by the common person becomes interpreted when organized into a scheme of understanding by the researcher.

¹³Hillery, 1955, p. 118.

¹⁴Ross, 1970, p. 559.

¹⁵Stacey, 1969, p. 139.

¹⁶Keller, 1968, pp. 156-157.

¹⁷Kitsilano will often be referred to in this thesis as community or local area. However, it is with their place-bound and social expressions in mind that these terms are used.

¹⁸One may pursue an understanding of these three concepts in the following sets of references:

- a) social interaction: Park et al., 1925; Zorbaugh, 1929; Tonnies, 1955 and Janowitz, 1967.
- b) spatial location: Mann, 1970.
- c) solidarity: Firey, 1945; Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968 and Ley, 1974.

¹⁹Keller (1968) offers an example of sociological research which does examine the relationships between peoples' (planners') concepts of neighbourhood and their shaping of place.

²⁰The common accusation, "Is neighbourhood just another academic imposition?" certainly seems inappropriate given the grass roots concern for neighbourhood apparent in Kitsilano.

- 21 Kitsilano Times, January 13, 1938, p. 1.
- 22 The Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce constitution affirms the organization's focus on both merchants' concerns and the good of the Vancouver community at large. An analysis of the residential location of Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce members found 48.5 percent of the executive body residing outside Kitsilano in the 1940's and in 1967 and 55 percent of the general body residing outside Kitsilano in 1959.
- 23 Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association letter to the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, November 12, 1957.
- 24 The Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association's northern boundary at the English Bay foreshore, southern boundary at 16th Avenue and western boundary at Alma Road are concomitant with the informal administrative boundaries identified by the City Planning Department. The association's eastern boundary at Fir Street does, however, lie two blocks east of the administrative boundary at Burrard Street.
- 25 A group of unclassified Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association records covering the years 1941-46 was discovered in the Vancouver City Archives just prior to the completion of this thesis. Time constraints prevented the thorough analysis of this data.
- 26 These years cover the complete holdings of the Kitsilano Times weekly newspaper in the B.C. Provincial archives. A rigorous content analysis was conducted on one-quarter of the issues (rotating weeks of the month) and a more informal search for information conducted on the remaining issues.
- 27 The validity of a community newspaper as a source of data - particularly contextual data - is often difficult to establish. Certainly every community newspaper has its own biases. The attempt of the paper, however, to establish a comprehensive coverage is important.

 "The Times is very much interested in the progress of every organization in Kitsilano, but hasn't the staff to go to every organization and get news of its activities. We invite you to see that your organization keeps its members, though our paper, acquainted with its Fall activities" (Kitsilano Times, Sept. 17, 1936, p. 1).

27(cont'd)

The Kitsilano Times assessed its readership in Kitsilano in 1937 as 14,000 people out of an approximate total Kitsilano population of 30,000 (Kitsilano Times, March 24, 1937, p. 1).

The staff of the Kitsilano Times certainly saw itself as a truly representative community newspaper, subtitling the paper in 1936 as "The Voice of Kitsilano".

"During the years that I have been here, Kitsilano has made definite strides forward. My part in those forward movements was to work shoulder to shoulder with the dozens of men and women who made that progress possible, was to so clearly identify the Kitsilano Times with every community project that we became indeed an integral part of community life" (statement by Rex Werts, retired editor, Kitsilano Times, April 28, 1938, p. 1).

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

"To have cleared the forest and erected homes - to have thrust a spade for the first time into virgin soil - to have transformed a wilderness into a garden."

50th Anniversary Message,
Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association,
1956.

"In 1974, community pressure in Kitsilano brought a temporary freeze on high-rise apartments. One building was able to slip through the freeze, however, and another block of homes fell to the bulldozer."

Gutstein, 1974, p. 106.

ASSESSMENT AND EARLY LAND USE: 1884 - 1908

The peaceful seclusion of the Kitsilano forest with its abundant game and fish-filled streams attracted as its first residents the Squamish Indians of the Coast Salish Tribe.¹ Settling for the most part in the village of Snaaq on Kitsilano Point they remained undisturbed until 1861, when government officials from New Westminster cut an access trail through the Kitsilano forest to reach a newly appropriated military reserve in Point Grey.² Access initiated white appraisal of the Kitsilano area:

"By all accounts, from present Granville Street to the tip of Point Grey grew one of the most significant stands of virgin timber the world has seen."³

Commercial logging activity on the slopes bordering English Bay was firmly established by 1865 (Figure 2).



FIGURE 2 Logging activity near Point Grey Road and Macdonald Street in 1895 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Although government and logging activities certainly disturbed the Indians' existence, neither could rival the significance of Sam Greer's entry into Kitsilano in 1884. His purchase of 320 acres of land from the Indians marks the beginning of white settlement.⁴ Interestingly, Greer's occupancy of a home in Kitsilano met with unfavourable reaction not from the Indians but from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (C.P.R.) who in 1885 received a Crown grant of land which included Greer's property.⁵ A clause in the grant guaranteed that all large private landowners in Vancouver would relinquish to the C.P.R. one-third of the lots in each block they owned.⁶ The

C.P.R., however, seemed determined in Greer's case to outst him entirely and defend their right to all of his lots.

"The C.P.R. claims that they have acted within their legal rights since Mr. Greer is occupying property which belongs to the railroad, and that in the course of preparing for the yards and docks of the terminal on the south shore of English Bay, it has been necessary to remove Mr. Greer and his encumbrances from the right-of-way."⁷

The equally determined efforts of the C.P.R. to evict Greer and Greer to remain in Kitsilano finally led to intervention by the local authorities in 1891. A party of officials arrived on Greer's doorstep determined to convince him of his folly. They met with a gunshot blast from Greer which ended negotiations and resulted in Greer's imprisonment. Greer's land was repossessed by the government and awarded once again to the C.P.R.

Although Greer lost his battle, his determination to remain a resident in the place of his choice was applauded by many.

"Sam was the hero of Vancouver and the pioneers still honour his memory. Sam Greer was one of the men whom nature equipped to pioneer the West."⁸

Greer's resistance to the plans of outside developers and local government mark him as the first of Kitsilano's residents to become actively involved in the district's development. He, like many of those who were to follow him, acted to protect his own interests and intentions for the area.

The residential attractiveness of Kitsilano - or Greer's Beach as it was first called - was limited for many years due to the area's

isolation from the initial concentration of Vancouver development on Burrard Peninsula. The Granville Street bridge, completed in 1888, marginally improved access from Vancouver and thus prompted some settlement. The new residents began trickling into Kitsilano about 1890 and settled south of Cornwall Street in the easterly end of Kitsilano - as close to the Granville Street bridge as possible.⁹ Access to Kitsilano was further improved in 1905 with the initiation of streetcar service by the B.C. Electric Railway Company from Vancouver's West End to the foot of Balsam Street at Kitsilano Beach. The new Kitsilano trestle offered much quicker access than did the Granville Street bridge, and thus prompted further development of the area. Residents' homes still, however, were clustered close to the access routes. A study of residential development was conducted on six sample blocks within Kitsilano (locations are given in Appendix 2). In the first two years examined in the study - 1900 and 1911 - the 2000 block West 2nd in eastern Kitsilano was the only sample block with any residents (Table 1). The residential development elsewhere in Kitsilano was rather limited.

"To the west, on Kitsilano Hill (Vine, Balsam, Larch) a profusion of stumps, stones, ragged bushes and decaying forest littered a torn surface. Here and there a rough road or trail had been cut to mark future streets and provide access of a sort. Beyond Trafalgar, and over the hill to the south, the forest stood in primeval state, save for such large trees as had been removed by loggers twenty years previously, and whose abandoned logging trails provided means by which berry pickers collected quantities of blackberries and salmonberries."¹⁰

The early residents of eastern Kitsilano, as revealed by the residential study, were primarily of working class status (Table 1).¹¹ Photographs taken of the few homes scattered through the western part of Kitsilano seem, however, to reflect residents of a socio-economic status considerably higher than that typical of eastern Kitsilano residents (Figure 3 and 4). Kitsilano thus seems to have attracted residents of a wide variety.



FIGURE 3 Home of R.D. Rorison, Esquire, 3148 Point Grey Road, 1908. When constructed this was the only home west of Trafalger on Point Grey Road (source: Vancouver City Archives).

TABLE 1

SOCIAL STATUS OF KITSILANO RESIDENTS BY PERCENT, SAMPLE BLOCKS
1900 TO 1970¹

BLOCK	SOCIAL STATUS	1900	1911	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
3500 Pt. Grey Rd.	Professionals			18	23	26	14	15	28
	Middle Class			36	18	26	25	26	25
	Working Class			27	32	37	39	33	17
	Retired & Widow			18	27	11	19	22	15
	Student						3	4	15
2900 W. 5th Ave.	Professionals			40	28	22	11	13.5	19
	Middle Class			40	28	11	22	13.5	19
	Working Class			20	23	56	56	56	52
	Retired & Widow				5.5	11	11	17	10
	Student				5.5				
1900 McNicoll Ave.	Professionals			70	67	41	25	17	27
	Middle Class			20	8	12	15	20	15
	Working Class			10	8	12	25	33	36
	Retired & Widow				17	35	30	23	12
	Student						5	7	10
2000 W. 2nd Ave.	Professionals		33.5	21	24	7	7	8	28
	Middle Class	12.5	19	29	10	13	14	6	22
	Working Class	87.5	47.5	42	63	53	62	50.5	33
	Retired & Widow			8	3	27	17	33.5	4
	Student							2	13
2200 Stephens St.	Professionals			40	33.5	6	14	8	15
	Middle Class			27	11	12		8	10
	Working Class			33	33.5	41	35	42	60
	Retired & Widow				22	35	43	42	10
	Student					6	7		5
2400 W. 13th Ave.	Professionals				8	8	13	33	23
	Middle Class			33.5	17	8	13	19	18
	Working Class			66.5	67	69	35	19	32
	Retired & Widow				8	15	35	29	23
	Student						4		4
KITSILANO (6 Block Sample)	Professionals		33.5	32	29	19	14	15	25.5
	Middle Class	12.5	19	30	15	15	16	16	20
	Working Class	87.5	47.5	32	41	43	43	39	35
	Retired & Widow			6	14	22	24	27	9.5
	Student				1	1	3	3	10
Total No. of Residents Sampled		8	21	68	111	130	140	180	263

¹ See Appendix 2 for mapped location of the sample blocks. Blishen's occupational class scale (1965) was used to analyze the occupational data procured from Vancouver City directories. The professional category used in this table corresponds to Blishen's categories one and two. The Middle Class category used in this table corresponds to Blishen's categories three and four. The working class category used in this table corresponds to Blishen's categories five, six and seven. Note that appropriate data was unavailable for the year 1910.



FIGURE 4 Killarney Mansion, Point Grey Road and Bayswater Street, 1908. Owned by the J.Z. Hall family (Mrs. J.Z. Hall was the daughter of Sam Greer), this mansion was atypical of Kitsilano homes, but indicative of the range in housing quality (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Lack of convenient access to the concentration of urban activity in Vancouver's West End impeded the early residential development of Kitsilano, but encouraged its recreational use.

"In the 1890's Greer's Beach, more distant and less easy of access, was a secluded and exclusive summer camp resort for fashionable pioneer families, reached either by rowboat down False Creek from Carrall Street, or by walking from the wooden Granville Street bridge on piles, which spanned False Creek from Beach Avenue to Third Avenue."¹²

These early frequenters established the attractiveness of the beach area and thus the use of the beach increased dramatically with the inception of streetcar service in 1905 (Figure 5). A boathouse, bathhouse and eventually semi-permanent tents and cottages served the vacationers.



FIGURE 5 Kitsilano Beach, 1905. Note the Kitsilano streetcar, terminating at Kitsilano Beach, on the far right and dancehall (raised building) in the centre of the photo (source: Vancouver City Archives).

The improved access to Kitsilano encouraged not only recreational but also residential development. Construction had begun on the first school at Fourth Avenue and Yew in 1904. Completed in 1906, it opened just in time to serve the families who were arriving in Kitsilano at an increasingly rapid rate. Over 600 students were registered in the

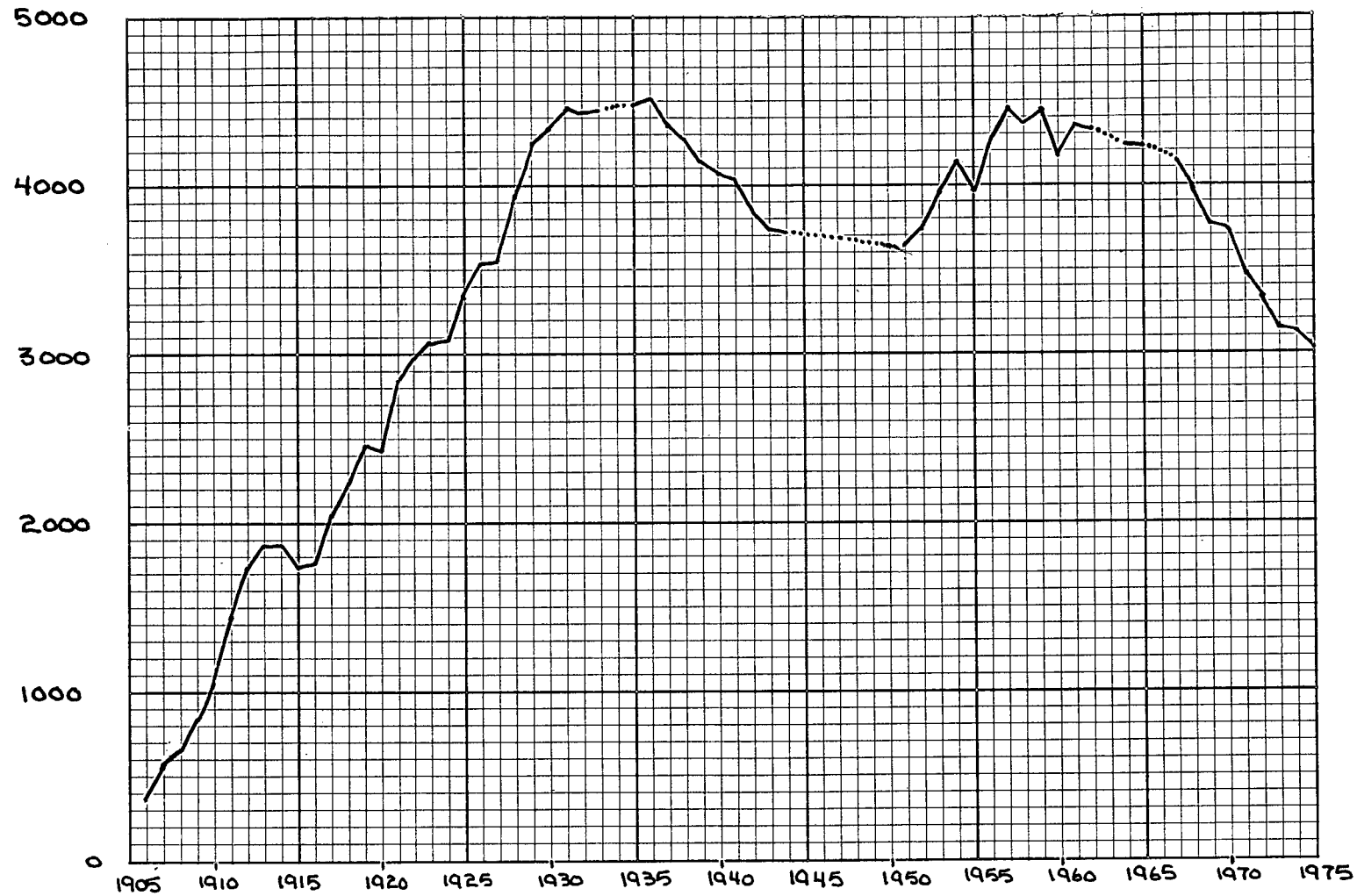
school in 1908 (Figure 6). The first community services were established: the Kitsilano Presbyterian Church in 1906, St. Mark's Anglican and the Kitsilano Methodist churches in 1908.¹³ Fourth Avenue had begun to emerge as a centre for shopping (Figure 7).



FIGURE 7 Fourth Avenue, 1904 - already a commercial centre for Kitsilano (source: Vancouver City Archives).

One of the chief promoters of streetcar service to the beach, and thus the development of Kitsilano, was the C.P.R.. With substantial real estate holdings in eastern Kitsilano, the C.P.R. stood to gain much by improved access to the area.¹⁴ Concomitant with the beginning of streetcar service, the C.P.R. opened its land for construction, bestowing on the area a new name for promotion:

FIGURE 6 Enrollment in Kitsilano Schools from 1906 to 1975¹



¹Source: Vancouver School Board Records, 1906 to 1975. Statistics are aggregated for Kitsilano High School and Bayview, General Gordon, Henry Hudson and Lord Tennyson Elementary schools. A dotted line in the graph indicates years for which data were unavailable.

Kitsilano.¹⁵ Other real estate agents were quick to move in and promote development (Figure 8).¹⁶



FIGURE 8 Real Estate office, corner of Third Avenue and Trutch Street, 1908 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Real estate interests were understandably concerned with the development of Kitsilano, but more interesting is the unexpected attentiveness to development shown by local residents. Rather than leave the future of their district in the hands of real estate promoters, local residents chose to become actively involved in shaping their community. Concerned with the long-term desirability of Kitsilano as a home, they protested the increasing pollution of Kitsilano Beach

by summer vacationers. In 1906, the Kitsilano Improvement Association was formed with the aims of obtaining public utilities and expansion of roads within the community. Within two years the group name had changed to the Kitsilano Ratepayers Association - an organization of residents intent on playing a role in their community's development.

At the time of Greer's arrival in Kitsilano in 1884 "the only signs of civilization between the (Indian) Reserve and Jericho (were) the potato patches and a few apple trees and currant and raspberry bushes growing around the Indians' driftwood shacks."¹⁷ Improved access to the area had prompted development so that by 1908 there existed "a considerable extension of settlement on the hillside about the beach where the C.P.R. had thrown open land for occupancy."¹⁸

Kitsilano, although still limited in areal extent, was by 1908 moving strongly towards residential development. Despite their diversity, residents had organized to increase the area's amenities. Kitsilano was moving away from its past associations with Indian settlement, logging and recreational use. The ban on summer tents at Kitsilano Beach was issued in 1908 - the era of transient white activity in Kitsilano was ended by residents intent on preserving and shaping a desirable home environment.¹⁹

INITIAL DEVELOPMENT: 1909 - 1934

During the first decade of the twentieth century wealth amassed during the Yukon gold rush made the west coast of North America an

ideal location for investment.²⁰ As a result, during the years 1909 - 1913, the city of Vancouver experienced a real estate boom. Kitsilano development reflected the intensity of Vancouver's growth (Figures 9 and 10).

"Old-timers recall the feverish building boom in 1912 when properties along Fourth Avenue and down the hill towards the beach sky-rocketed in value to thousands of dollars a lot, and houses rose like mushrooms as the fires of men clearing the hillside of stumps and undergrowth prepared the way further West."²¹

"At one time we counted one hundred and fifty houses being built at one time; we could count that number without moving from one spot. You could hear the hammers humming, almost like a beehive."²²



FIGURE 9 1800 Block Waterloo Street in 1910
(source: Vancouver City Archives).



FIGURE 10 1800 Block Waterloo Street in 1914. Note how extensively the area has developed (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Just as in earlier days, improved access to Kitsilano was a major stimulus to growth. Streetcar service along Fourth Avenue was initiated by the B.C.E.R. on July 1, 1909 (Figure 11). Unlike the Kitsilano streetcar, which served only the eastern portion of Kitsilano, the Fourth Avenue streetcar served the community from the east through to its western boundary at Alma.²³ Later residents of Kitsilano agreed: "the B.C.E.R. on Fourth Avenue opened the area."²⁴



FIGURE 11 Fourth Avenue streetcar at Alma Road, 1909
(source: Vancouver City Archives).

As in earlier days, too, real estate promoters played a strong role in shaping the district's growth. In 1909 the C.P.R. opened to sale its land on Kitsilano Point.²⁵ The company's land department built five homes on "the Point as an attempt to induce settlement as well as set a residential tone in the area, each house on a sixty-six foot lot selling for about \$5,000 (Figure 12).



FIGURE 12 C.P.R. show home at 2030 Whyte Avenue, 1909
(source: Vancouver City Archives).

Although the building of these 'show homes' was an explicit attempt by the C.P.R. to influence the nature of development, the subdivision of lots into varying sizes subtly played as influential a role. Real estate developers had subdivided Kitsilano into lots of five sizes, ranging from twenty-five feet to over sixty-six feet, with the larger lot sizes generally located in western Kitsilano (Figure 13). These lot subdivisions provided the context within which the neighbourhood grew.²⁶ Larger, and thus more expensive homes tended to be built on the larger - and particularly corner - lots in western Kitsilano, and smaller homes were built on the generally smaller lots in the east (Figures 14 and 15).

LEGEND

P Park

U Unsubdivided

KIR Kitsilano Indian Reserve



FIGURE 14 Smaller homes in eastern Kitsilano, 2019-2029 York Street, 1978. Although these homes were built on what were originally subdivided fifty foot lots, the zoning of most of eastern Kitsilano for high density multiple dwellings encouraged dense residential development.



FIGURE 15 Larger homes in western Kitsilano. Waterloo Street and Fourth Avenue, built 1910 to 1912 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Building within Kitsilano took place on a predominantly lot-by-lot basis with owners or small scale developers erecting one home at a time.²⁷ This resulted in an erratic building up of the landscape, with many single houses initially isolated in the forest. By 1927, however, most of Kitsilano had been fairly solidly settled with single family homes (Figure 16).

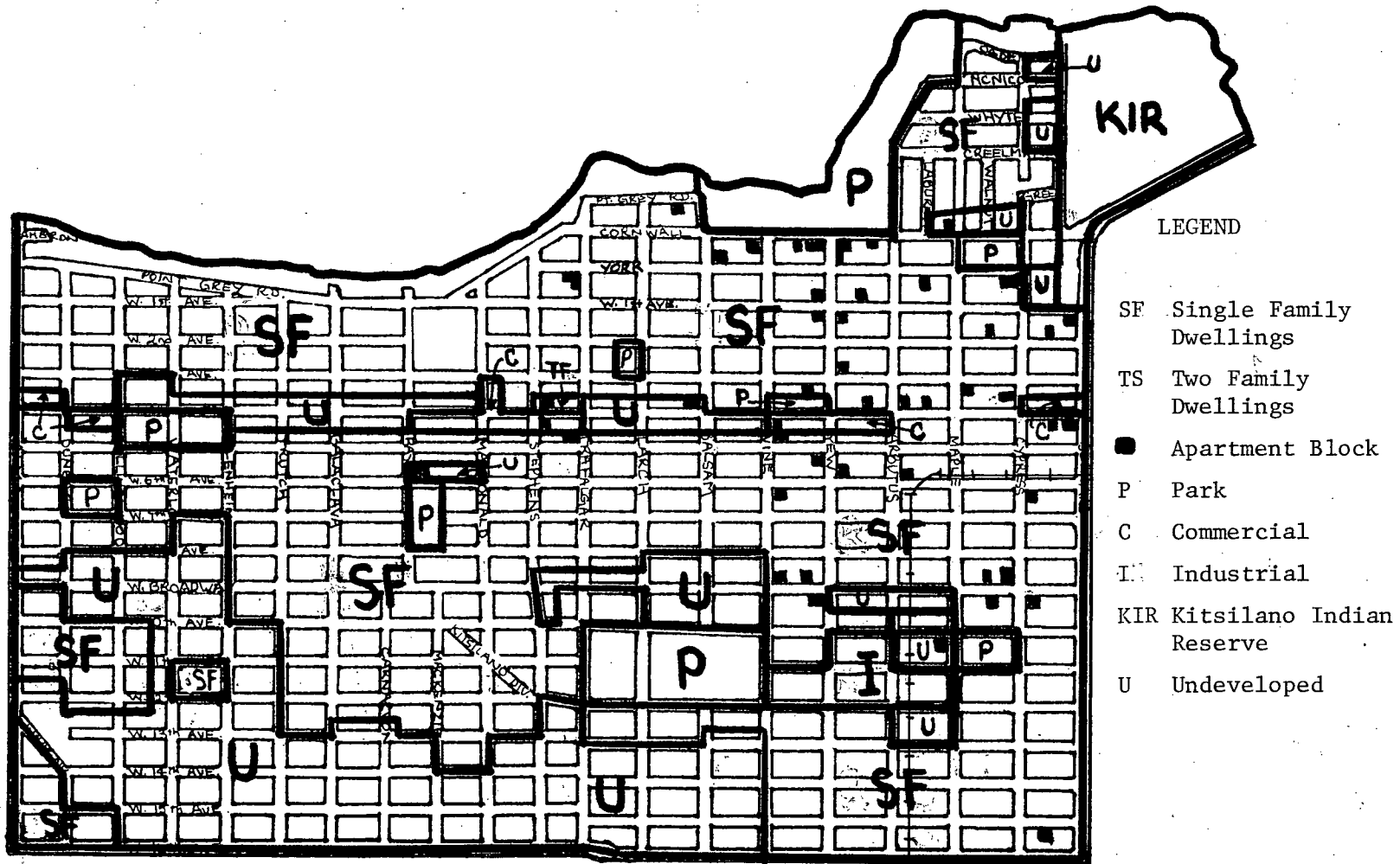


FIGURE 16 Single family homes in the vicinity of Trafalgar Street and Twelfth Avenue, 1928 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Only the southwest portion - that area furthest from initial access points and growth - was largely undeveloped in 1927 (Figure 17).²⁸

Although single family homes dominated Kitsilano's landscape, the first three storey apartment blocks had already begun to be erected by real estate developers by 1909, and were scattered through north eastern Kitsilano by the 1920's (Figures 17 and 18).²⁹

FIGURE 17 Land Use in Kitsilano, 1927¹



¹Source: Fire Insurance Plan of the City of Vancouver, B.C. Underwriters Association, 1927.



FIGURE 18 Melton Court Apartments, 2300 Block Cornwall Avenue, erected by Fred Melton, 1922. This was the first apartment block to be erected on Cornwell Avenue (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Although Kitsilano development certainly reflected the role of real estate agents in lot subdivision and construction, it reflected, too, the influence of the Vancouver city government within whose boundaries the neighbourhood lay. The provision of public services by the government was of course, necessary in order for development to proceed. Swamps, muskegs and bogs had to be filled and surface streams diverted underground.³⁰ Roadways were continually being expanded.³¹ Construction of the first sewer system was approved in 1914. The local government provided, as well, the public services such as parks and schools which were essential in a residential area (Table 2).

TABLE 2

THE EXPANSION OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN KITSILANO FROM 1909 TO 1934Schools and Educational Services

- 1910 - Tennyson Elementary School
- 1911 - General Gordon Elementary School
- 1911 - Hudson Elementary School
- 1914 - Bayview Elementary School
- 1919 - Kitsilano High School (sources offered in a temporary facility since 1917)
- 1927 - Kitsilano Branch Public Library

Parks and Recreation

- 1909 - Kitsilano Beach Park
- 1911 - McBride Park
- 1912 - Connaught Park
- 1928 - Haddon Park
- 1931 - Kitsilano Beach Swimming Pool
- 1934 - Trafalgar Park

Not only concerned with providing the services necessary for development, however, the Vancouver city council decided to play a direct role in influencing the type of development which would ensue. In 1928 a plan for the city of Vancouver was formulated and city council's intentions for Kitsilano were revealed. Zoning ordinances expressed most concretely the council's expectations for Kitsilano (Figure 19).

"The Town Planning Commission is under obligation to state the case for those who are to follow. It knows from its studies that thousands and thousands will live in apartments, hotels, and closely packed dwellings in the vicinity of the Kitsilano Indian Reserve in future years. . . the Reserve will have surrounding it. . . the most concentrated population of the metropolitan area."³²

Northeast Kitsilano - the area surrounding the Kitsilano Indian Reserve - was as a consequence zoned for high density residential use. The 1928 zoning ordinance thus confirmed the emergence of northeast Kitsilano as a high density residential area and eastern Kitsilano in general as a higher density residential area than western Kitsilano.³³

Eastern Kitsilano would have to face the potential of increased industrial as well as high density residential development. Although industrial zoning in southeast Kitsilano corresponded to an area of already-established industrial land use (Figure 17), there were only seven small industries scattered throughout the northeast section in 1927.³⁴ The large block of industrial zoning in northeast Kitsilano established in the council's plan might thus serve to encourage more industrial land use in the future.

The city's zoning ordinance confirmed Fourth Avenue and Broadway Street as the major commercial strips in Kitsilano. Although commercial development was still rather limited along these two streets -- as of January, 1928, only twenty-four percent of the available frontage on Fourth Avenue from Alma Street to Granville Street was developed with occupied stores and eight percent of the available frontage on Broadway from Alma Street to Granville Street had been commercially developed -- they were the recognized commercial areas (Figure 20).³⁵

FIGURE 19 Zoning in Kitsilano, 1929

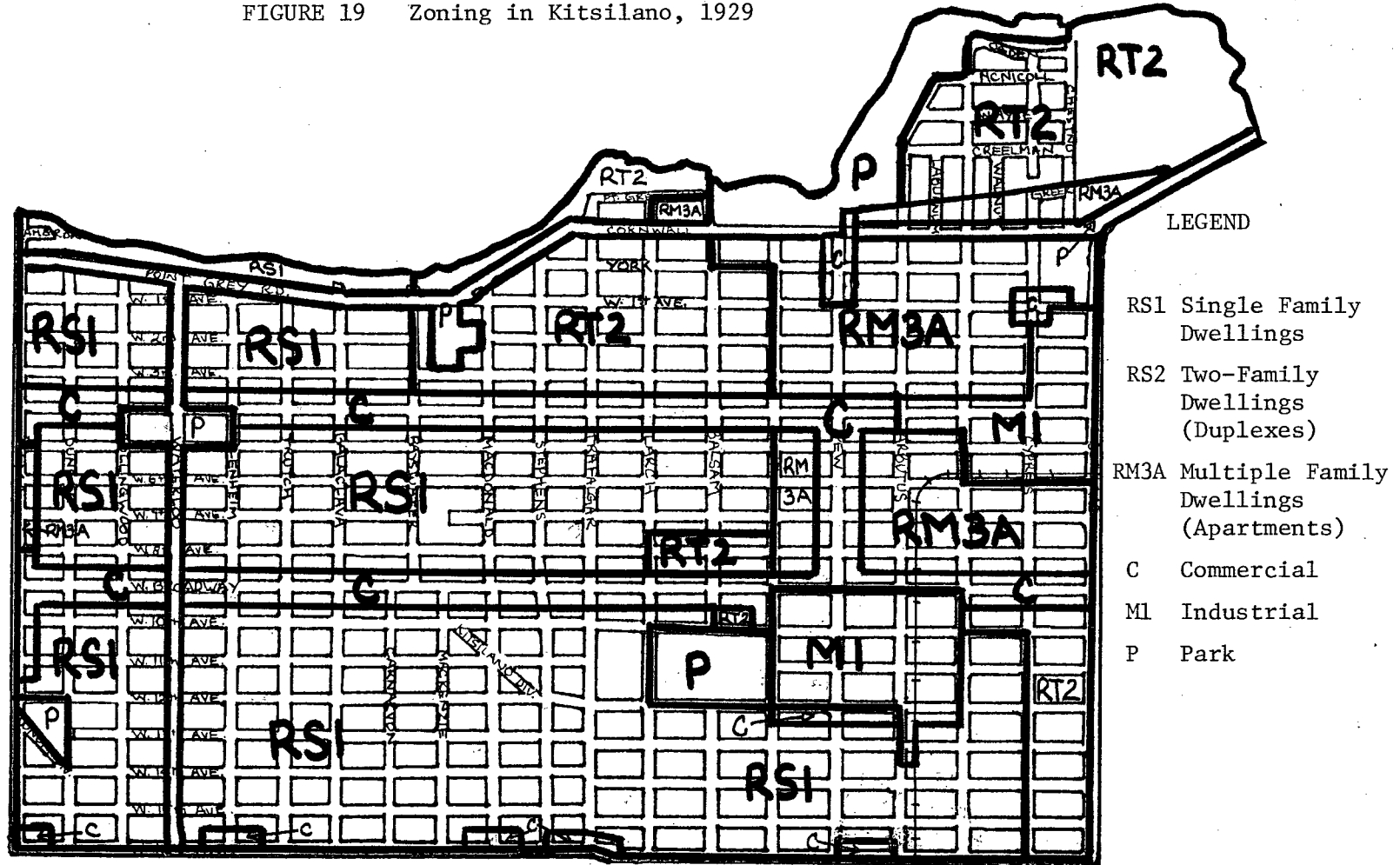




FIGURE 20 Looking east on Fourth Avenue from Macdonald Street, 1928 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

Through its supply of services and establishment of zoning, the city council definitely made an impact on the course of Kitsilano's development. What is perhaps most interesting to note, however, is that council did not develop its plans with the idea of Kitsilano as a community unto itself in mind. Operating as the overseer of development for the entire city, the government treated Kitsilano as a part of a much larger scheme. Residential overcrowding in Vancouver's West End necessitated the opening up of surrounding suburbs. Burrard Street bridge, completed in 1932, facilitated the integration of Kitsilano into the Vancouver community.

"The completion of the \$3,000,000 Burrard Bridge which opened July 1st, 1932, marked the opening of a new era for Kitsilano; expanding its facilities for communication to an immeasurable extent not only for the Kitsilano District, but for the residents of Point Grey West and South."³⁶

The Point Grey Road park strip was to be part of a city-wide scenic pleasure drive system. The Kitsilano Indian Reserve would house "a sports area with a great municipal stadium."³⁷ This vision of Kitsilano as an integral part of a larger community was exemplified in the remarks by local government officials at the opening of Kitsilano Pool in 1931 (Figure 21):

"The pool is not a district utility only but is for the whole city and the Lower Mainland."³⁸

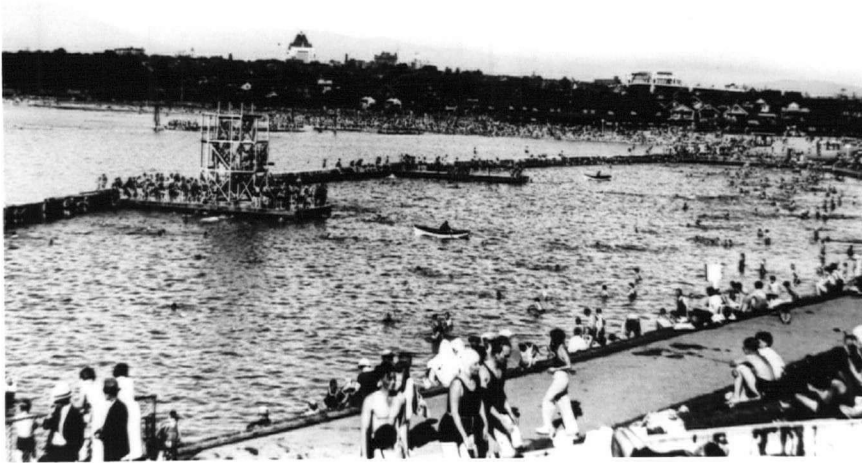


FIGURE 21 Kitsilano Pool, 1935 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

The people who came to Kitsilano in the period 1909-1934, however, felt differently. Kitsilano was their home and they jealously eyed the new interests and intentions for their area.

"Kitsilano wasn't discovered until they put the Burrard Street bridge through. Even the aldermen didn't know this place was here until the bridge."³⁹

These people were, by and large, as diverse as were the lot sizes and homes which attracted them. Although the neighbourhood housed a mixture of professionals, middle class and working class people, in general a higher proportion of working class people resided in eastern Kitsilano and a higher proportion of professionals in western Kitsilano (Table 1).⁴⁰

"Poor people were usually at the eastern end of Kitsilano, and the westerly end had the better homes."⁴¹

Despite their diveristy, Kitsilano residents established and supported a range of community organizations (Table 3). A community press -- The Kitsilano Times -- was established in 1912 and encouraged the growth of community spirit.⁴²

In the desire to play an active role in Kitsilano's development local residents were confronted with the plans of both real estate developers and local government.⁴³ In 1909 a number of residents, frustrated with the inertia of the local government, donated their own money to ensure the public purchase of a beach park. City Hall's

TABLE 3SOME COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISHED IN KITSILANO
FROM 1909 TO 1934¹Developmental Organizations

Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association
 West Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association
 West Kitsilano Improvement Association
 Kitsilano Board of Trade

Service Organizations

Kitsilano Service League

Church Organizations:

Broadway West Baptist Church
 Crosby United Church
 Hebron Hall
 Kitsilano Presbyterian Church
 St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church
 St. James United Church
 St. Mark's Anglican Church
 Second Church of Christ (Scientist)
 Sikh Temple
 Trafalgar Road United Church

Parent-Teacher Associations:

Bayview P.T.A.
 Kitsilano High P.T.A.

Social and Recreational Organizations

Kitsilano Yacht Club
 Kitsilano Community Club
 Kitsilano Boys' Band
 Kitsilano Five-Pin Bowling League

¹ source: Kitsilano Times newspaper, one-quarter sample.

provision of services to the growing community was considered inadequate and thus numerous petitions were circulated to encourage public works -- particularly the improvement of roads, sidewalks, street-cars, sewers and street lighting. In 1921 a delegation of fifty to

sixty Kitsilano residents took a petition of two thousand names to city hall in an attempt to improve streetcar service and sewers in the community.⁴⁴

Residents were unhappy, as well, with the real estate developers' construction of apartment blocks. Antagonism to the multiple dwellings was expressed in 1926 by public protest against a proposed apartment building at the corner of Maple Street and Creelman Avenue.⁴⁵ In protesting the construction of the Tatlow Court Rowhouses in 1927, Kitsilano residents conveyed the belief that multiply style housing would lead to the demise of Kitsilano as a respectable residential district (Figure 22).⁴⁶



FIGURE 22 Tatlow Court Rowhouses, 1820 Bayswater Street, 1927 constructed in 1927.

Kitsilano residents were obviously not content to allow the character of their neighbourhood to be determined solely by outsiders. In order to ensure the compatibility of their neighbourhood's development with their own ideals, they would petition, protest and even raise their own funds for public services.

Despite scattered empty lots and lagging development in the southwest, the period 1909 to 1931 witnessed the transformation of Kitsilano from relatively uninhabited forest to residential community. Although the neighbourhood contained varying housing types, single-family homes dominated the landscape. Community services complemented the homes in establishing a family neighbourhood. The growing stability of the neighbourhood by 1931 is indicated in increased school enrollments and greater residential stability (Figure 6 and Table 4).

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPANTS RESIDING AT THE SAME ADDRESS OVER FIVE YEAR
INTERVALS FROM 1915 TO 1930

<u>SAMPLE BLOCK</u>	<u>1915¹</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>
2000 W. 2nd Ave.	82	35	29	45
1900 McNicholl Ave.		40	27	25
2400 W. 13th Ave.		25	50	23
3500 Pt. Grey Road		15	14	11
2900 W. 5th Avenue		29	19	50
2200 Stephens St.		18	31	44
KITSILANO	82	22	25.5	33.6

¹Occupancy in 1915 was compared to occupancy in 1911. Data were unavailable for the year 1910

The year 1909 marked not only the first major thrust of development in the district -- the inception of the Fourth Avenue streetcar service and promotion of residential development by the C.P.R. -- but also, in their purchase of a beach park, the first expression of community involvement in the development process. As the community became more firmly established, residents increased their range of involvement in social and developmental activities and confronted both developers and local government with their own plans for Kitsilano.

ARTICULATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD: 1935-1961

Although Kitsilano had established itself as a residential community prior to 1935, consolidation of this community was yet to be accomplished. The period 1935 to 1961 witnessed the in-fill of Kitsilano's landscape and the proliferation of community activities. With growth stabilised and a range of social organizations flourishing, Kitsilano began to project the image of a strong community and an attractive family neighbourhood.

The world-wide economic depression of the 1930's dampened the local development process.

"You have to remember that those were the depression years, and there was very little doing in the city, very little activity."⁴⁷

Development, however, was only held in check temporarily. By 1935, building activity had resumed its former pace.

"Kitsilano is expanding rapidly. One has but to take a walk or drive through the district to see the new stores, houses and apartments which are springing up on vacant lots."⁴⁸

"There seemed to be a steady building programme that started at the end of the depression. And then it just gradually built up. It didn't take long."⁴⁹

By the late 1940's Kitsilano had been fully developed to its southern boundary at Sixteenth Avenue and western boundary at Alma Road.⁵⁰

The levelling out of school enrollments and the slower growth in Kitsilano's population after 1950 seem to confirm this completion of in-fill (Figure 6).

Eastern Kitsilano, closest to downtown Vancouver access routes, had been the first area to complete the in-fill process and, in fact, while other parts of Kitsilano still had lots left to clear, the eastern area showed signs of age. As early as the mid-1930's, real estate developers found their new role in eastern Kitsilano as that of redevelopers. By the late 1940's, the activity quickened:

"There was a spurt of redevelopment after the war and parts of eastern Kitsilano were rebuilt with three-storey frame walkup apartments."⁵¹ (Figure 23)

The local government encouraged redevelopment with its zoning by-law of 1956, which rezoned a number of areas in Kitsilano for higher density residential land use (Figure 24). The new zoning by-law, to some extent, reflected land use changes which had taken place. Some homes in western Kitsilano, for instance, had already been converted into suites (Figure 25).⁵²

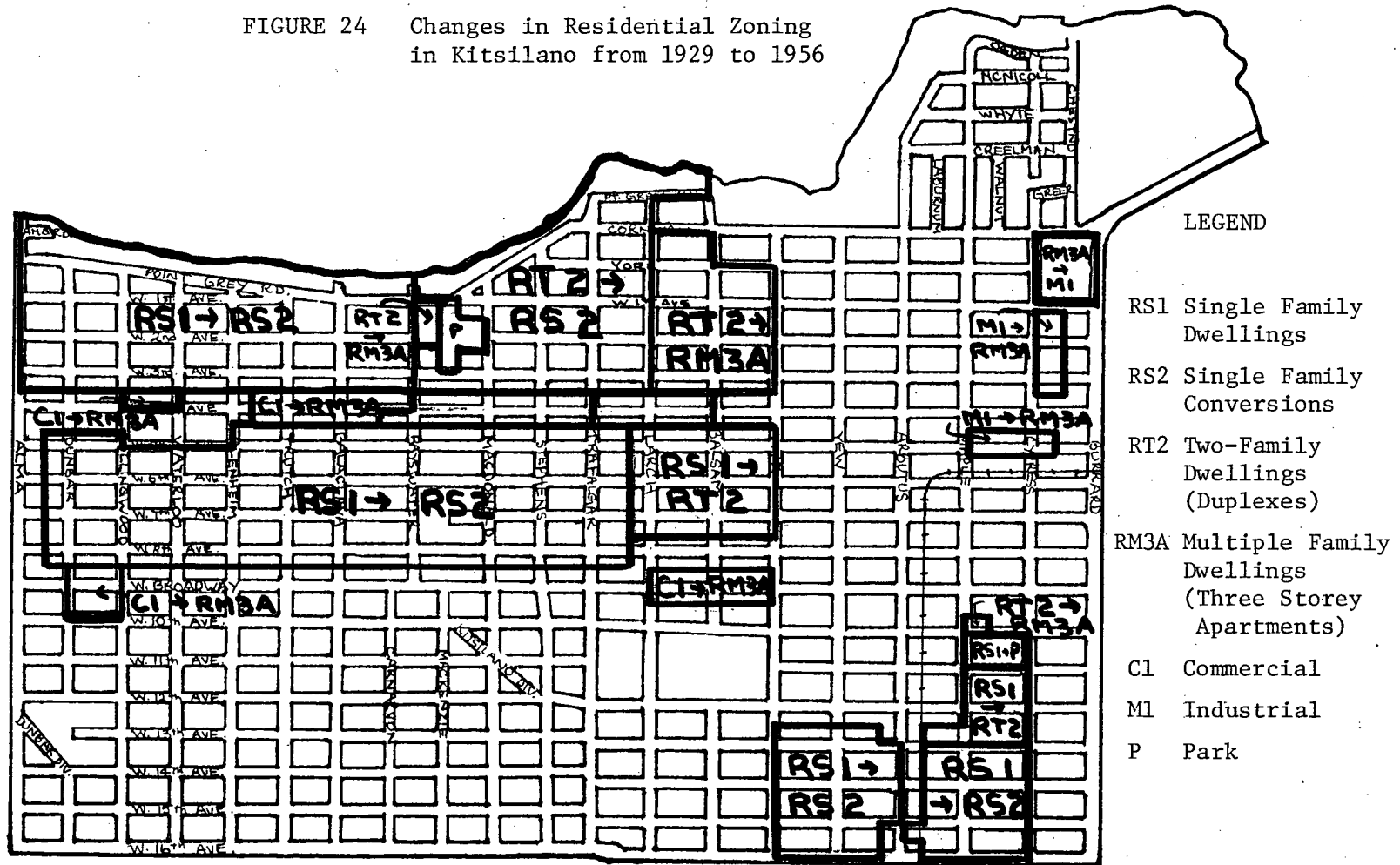


FIGURE 23 Three-storey walkup apartment blocks, 2300 Block York Avenue, 1978.



FIGURE 25 Residential Conversion into Suites, 2143 York Avenue, 1978.

FIGURE 24 Changes in Residential Zoning
in Kitsilano from 1929 to 1956



A number of apartment blocks, some of them intended to provide accommodation for World War Two veterans, had been erected along Fourth Avenue and Broadway Street. The new zoning by-law, however, reflected what was certainly the exception rather than the rule. In 1960, only twenty-five percent of the apartment zoned land in Kitsilano was actually occupied by apartments.⁵³ The by-law might, therefore, serve to encourage the redevelopment process which was underway. In 1961 City Hall amended zoning in northeast Kitsilano to permit the building of high rise apartments.⁵⁴ There could be no doubt of the local government's vision of Kitsilano as a high density neighbourhood.

The impact of zoning legislation on the character of Kitsilano was profound. Whereas the bulk of residential land use in early Kitsilano consisted of single-family homes (Figure 17), those areas zoned at a higher density had developed consistent to the zoning. In 1960 eastern Kitsilano's landscape consisted predominantly of apartments, while southwestern Kitsilano's landscape retained the single family homes for which it had been zoned (Table 5).

TABLE 5

CENSUS HOUSING STATISTICS FOR KITSILANO, 1961

<u>Housing Information</u>	<u>Area of Kitsilano</u> ¹				
	<u>N.E.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>	<u>N.W.</u>	<u>S.W.</u>	<u>KITS</u>
S.F. dwellings as % of all dwellings	35%	23%	58%	83%	50%
Apts. and Converted Flats as % of all dwellings	65%	77%	42%	17%	50%

¹See map of census area boundaries in Appendix 3.

A change in the socio-economic status of Kitsilano's residents reflects to some degree the changes in land use. The denser apartment development of northeast Kitsilano seemed to attract an increasing number of retired residents and fewer residents of professional status (Table 1, West 2nd Ave. and Stephens Street). On the whole, however, the changing socio-economic status of Kitsilano residents reflects more the general pattern of community development. The new single family homes of earlier years attracted a mixture of residents to Kitsilano -- from professionals to working class. As home quality declined with age and less status-oriented home conversions took place, Kitsilano's population came to consist of fewer professionals and more working and middle class people. At the same time, earlier residents who remained in Kitsilano began to reach retirement age (Figure 26).



FIGURE 26 One of the many rest homes in Kitsilano, 2906 West 8th Avenue, 1978.

With the high proportion of retired residents and low proportion of professionals in Kitsilano in 1960, this process seemed to have reached its climax (Table 1).⁵⁵

The changing family status of Kitsilano residents reflects both the changes in land use and the community aging process. Total school enrollments in Kitsilano peaked in the pre-World War II era (Figure 6) emphasizing the earlier dominance of family households. The high proportion of one-person households and no-children families in 1961 (particularly in northeast and southeast Kitsilano) reflects the maturing population as well as the increasingly apartment-dominated landscape (Table 6).

TABLE 6

CENSUS DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS FOR KITSILANO,
1961

<u>Demographic Information</u>	<u>Area of Kitsilano</u> ¹				
	<u>N.E.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>	<u>N.W.</u>	<u>S.W.</u>	<u>KITS</u>
Pop. 65 years of age or older as % of total pop.	15%	24%	15%	14%	17%
One-person households as % of all households	26%	34%	17%	12%	22%
Families with no children as % of total families	50%	58%	42%	41%	48%
Tenant Occupied dwellings as % of all occupied dwellings	74%	67%	45%	22%	52%

¹See map of census area boundaries, Appendix 3.

The higher rates of tenancy and increasing proportion of apartments and single or childless residents in Kitsilano has resulted in decreased residential stability. Over the period from 1940 to 1960 residential stability in Kitsilano declined from 35% to 20%, with the northeast apartment district declining the most dramatically (Table 7).

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPANTS RESIDING AT THE SAME ADDRESS OVER TEN YEAR
INTERVALS FROM 1940 TO 1970¹

<u>Sample Block</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
2000 West 2nd Avenue	41%	22%	9%	1%
1900 McNicholl Avenue	35%	10%	13%	22%
2400 West 13th Avenue	38%	26%	57%	26%
3500 Point Grey Road	24%	31%	17%	15%
2900 West 5th Avenue	25%	17%	28%	25%
2200 Stephens Street	55%	25%	27%	8%
<hr/>				
Kitsilano	35%	23%	21%	7%

¹Length of residence in sample blocks was determined by the use of Vancouver city directories. See Appendix 2 for mapped locations of the sample blocks. Occupancy in 1940 was compared to occupancy in 1930.

One would expect that as a consequence of the unsettling social and landscape changes which characterized Kitsilano during the period from 1935 to 1961 the communal action of earlier years might disintegrate. This was not the case. In fact, during the 1930's and 1940's it seems Kitsilano residents became even more prominently involved in their support of neighbourhood.

In 1935 Kitsilano's growing community spirit found expression in a flurry of activity: the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association was revitalized and the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, Kitsilano Showboat, Miss Kitsilano Contest and Community Concert Party were established. During the ensuing years local associations proliferated (Table 8). As thousands of Vancouverites flocked to the Kitsilano Showboat and the Kitsilano Karnival, Kitsilano became identified as a model neighbourhood in Vancouver -- the epitome of community spirit.

"This Kitsilano Karnival is the biggest entertainment feature in the city."⁵⁶

Although the activities of Kitsilano's residents during this era seemed to be focused primarily on the social development of the neighbourhood, concern was expressed throughout the 1930's and 1940's with the improvements of streets and expansion of public services, particularly sewers.⁵⁷ Furthermore, residents opposed, as they had earlier, the attempts by both real estate developers and local government to change the character of their neighbourhood from single family homes to multiple dwellings. In 1949, a proposed rezoning of the 2400 and 2500 blocks Cornwall and Point Grey Roads from two family to three storey apartments was condemned by the local residents.⁵⁸

Kitsilano residents were not blind to the decline in housing quality which was already apparent in the oldest sections of Kitsilano.

TABLE 8

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISHED IN KITSILANO
FROM 1935 TO 1961¹

Developmental Organizations

Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce (1935)
 Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association (1952)
 Point Grey Road Waterfront Property Owners' Association (1957)

Service Organizations

Community Concert Party (1935)
 Kitsilano Santa Claus Fund (1936)
 Kitsilano Lions Club (1937)
 Kitsilano Council (1936)²
 Henry Hudson P.T.A. (1944)
 Kitsilano Good Citizen Award (1950)
 Kitsilano United Church (1952)³
 St. James United Church (1930)
 Gordon House
 General Gordon P.T.A.
 Kitsilano Legion
 Kitsilano Neighbourhood House (1938)⁴
 Kiwanis Club of Kitsilano
 Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association

Social, Political and Recreational Organizations

Kitsilano Showboat (1935)
 Miss Kitsilano Contest (1935)
 Kitsilano Kiddies Parade (1937)
 Kitsilano Karnival (1939)
 Kitsilano War Memorial Community Centre (1958)
 Alma Y.M.C.A.
 Altrusa Club
 Current Events Club
 Burrard Conservatives
 Burrard Liberals
 Ex-Gordon Athletic Club
 Hungarian Social Club
 Kitsilano Boys' Choir
 Kitsilano Crescent Boxing Club
 Kitsilano Good Times Club
 Kitsilano Horticultural Association
 Kitsilano Housewives League
 Kitsilano Ladies Choir
 Kitsilano Lawn Bowling Club
 Kitsilano Social and Athletic Club
 Revellers' Club
 Veroga Club
 Wright Social Credit Group

¹ Most of these associations were noted in the one-quarter sample issues of the Kitsilano Times 1936-1940 and 1953-1961 (Appendix 2). Others were noted in community group records. This list is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather representative of the associations which existed in Kitsilano during this time period.

² The Kitsilano Council was an executive body coordinating the activities of many Kitsilano associations.

³ The Kitsilano United Church was formed in 1952 with the union of Crosby and St. Stephens United Churches. The church had sponsored thirty-seven associated clubs and organizations by 1954.

⁴ Kitsilano Neighbourhood House grew out of the Alexandra Orphanage.

"Consider that portion on the hillside between Fourth Avenue and Cornwall Street once the most desirable part of the district. A lot of the houses are now dilapidated and a disgrace to Kitsilano. . . All of them require a coat of paint."⁵⁹

Their answer to the problem was not, however, the destruction of the homes in redevelopment schemes. Instead, they initiated the "Clean-Up and Paint-Up" campaign of 1939 and the "Help Keep Kitsilano Beautiful" campaign of 1941.⁶⁰ Kitsilano residents seemed intent on maintaining the single family neighbourhood which had initially attracted them.

Towards the end of this period, however, a change in attitudes had begun to take place. Resident groups began to support and indeed even promote rather than oppose the higher density development of Kitsilano.⁶¹ At the same time, the groups themselves began to disintegrate. Membership and attendance records fell.⁶² Formerly vital community activities suffered from lack of interest.⁶³

The period 1935 to 1961 witnessed not only the completion of Kitsilano's initial development, but the inception of a redevelopment process which fulfilled real estate and local government plans for the neighbourhood. The redevelopment process had an interesting impact on Kitsilano's social development. The early years of this period witnessed the proliferation of community activities and community spirit -- the consolidation of community within Kitsilano. This sense of community seems to have been affected by the landscape changes and increased residential instability which characterized the

later years of this period. Despite the residents' earlier concern with protection and maintenance of their family neighbourhood, Kitsilano in 1961 was obviously in the process of change.

CONCLUSION

In 1908 Kitsilano was an isolated summer camping resort. In the seventy years since then, the district underwent an initial period of extremely rapid growth followed by consolidation as a community of family homes and finally redevelopment as an inner-city district of single or childless apartment-dwellers. Land use changes seem to indicate that Kitsilano has been moving towards fulfillment of the 1928 and later 1956 zoning plans. Through zoning and the redevelopment process both local government and real estate agents seemed to have played determining roles in the development of the neighbourhood. Their roles through time have, however, been subject to the influence of local residents who actively supported or undermined government and real estate plans as they saw fit.

The pattern of change in Kitsilano has culminated most visibly in the most recent period of development since 1961. Between 1962 and 1968 ten high rise apartment buildings were constructed in north-eastern Kitsilano.⁶⁴ In all parts of the neighbourhood the percentage of land use devoted to apartments and converted homes increased. Whereas forty percent of Kitsilano's housing units consisted of apartments and converted homes in 1961, apartments and converted homes constituted sixty percent of units in 1971 (Figure 27).⁶⁵



FIGURE 27 Apartment blocks on West Second Avenue, looking west from Maple Street, 1978.

Demographic changes reflected the land use changes. School enrollments at all Kitsilano schools declined dramatically (Figure 6). By 1971 over one-half of Kitsilano's resident families were childless and one-third of all households comprised single people.⁶⁶

The changing family status of Kitsilano residents was accompanied by a drop in the proportion of working class residents and a rise in middle class and, notably, professional residents (Table 1).

"The existing residents of the area, the working-class and lower middle-class families, the many people who had grown up in the area, were being displaced by another group, the more affluent singles and childless couples who would live in smaller bachelor and one-bedroom units and who could afford to pay much more for that accommodation."⁶⁷

Converted homes attracted students and "a more transient type population with less stake in the community."⁶⁸ The residential stability of Kitsilano's population, which had been declining in recent decades, thus lapsed even more dramatically (Table 7).⁶⁹ These social and land use changes led to a disintegration of the community which had been so strongly developed in Kitsilano in the 1930's and 1940's. The institutions serving as a basis for this community struggled to survive.

"Schools are half-empty, the church congregations are dwindling."⁷⁰

Formerly strong resident groups disbanded.⁷¹

It appears that with the change in attitude on the part of the Kitsilano residents, the check on the process of more intensive residential development had been lifted. The changes in Kitsilano which had been promoted by real estate developers and City Hall in earlier years became rapid and conclusive in the 1960's and 1970's. In order, then, to understand Kitsilano's development, one should examine the Kitsilano residents who played the initial role of promoting and protecting community and yet who ultimately supported the land use changes which led to the demise of their single-family neighbourhood. The remainder of this thesis will be focused on an examination of one representative community group, the Kitsilano Ratepayers Association, and, in particular, on an understanding of the goals towards which this group worked -- the type of neighbourhood it wanted to promote. This examination will focus on the years 1935 to 1961 --

the period during which community spirit in Kitsilano reached its apex and community disintegration began.

"I would say that in the thirties to fourties was when the district was more or less evolving into a preparatory stage where you could go into the things that finally happened."⁷²

In this period, which so conspicuously projects the process of community consolidation, the process of community dissolution has its subtle roots.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER TWO

¹Matthews; Vol. 2, 1932, p. 32. Elk, beaver, deer, duck, salmon and cedar are cited amongst the attractions of the Kitsilano site to the Indians.

²The reserve was established in 1859 and called the Jericho Reserve by Colonel Richard Clement Moody of the Royal Engineers (stationed in New Westminster). The Reserve's eastern boundary lies just west of Alma Road. The trail from New Westminster was called the Jericho Trail and approximates the present-day Grandview Highway (Morley, 1969, p. 18).

³Morley, 1969, p. 28.

⁴The land was bought from two Indians who had squatted away from the Indian Reserve on Kitsilano Point (Light, 1958).

⁵The Canadian Pacific Railway Company received 6,000 acres of prime Vancouver land including land near Coal Harbour, all of District Lot 541 (downtown Vancouver) and all of District Lot 526 (much of present-day residential Vancouver from Trafalgar to Ontario Streets) (Gutstein, 1975, pp. 11-12).

⁶Gutstein, 1975, pp. 11-12.

⁷Morley, 1940.

⁸Matthews, Vol. 1, 1932, p. 162. A public petition to release Greer was circulated in Kitsilano, Vancouver, New Westminster, Victoria and Nanaimo, and ultimately included 4,800 signatures. Although Greer was given a three year sentence he was released from prison after a few months due, at least in part, to this public petition and front page publicity in local Vancouver newspapers (Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association files).

⁹Matthews, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 310.

¹⁰The quote describes Kitsilano in 1908 (Matthews, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 311).

- 11 Note that in these early years the numbers of residents being sampled is rather small. The conclusions being drawn are thus more tentative than those based on the more substantial data of later years.
- 12 Matthews, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 256A. Greer's Beach could also be reached from the North Arm Road along a sinuous trail which approximates present-day Seventh Avenue.
- 13 St. Mark's Church was built at the corner of First Avenue and Maple Street. The Kitsilano Presbyterian Church moved to Vine Street and Second Avenue in 1911 and later became St. Stephen's United Church. The Kitsilano Methodist Church moved in 1909 to the corner of Second Avenue and Larch Street and later became Crosby United Church. All three were well patronized churches and involved in the social life of the community (Kitsilano Times, general survey).
- 14 Holdsworth (in progress, Chapter 3) discusses the Canadian Pacific Railway Company offer of several blocks of eastern Kitsilano real estate to the British Columbia Electric Railway Company to encourage the Kitsilano Beach streetcar line. Later, Holdsworth points out, it became evident that the C.P.R. intention was to encourage the sale of eastern Kitsilano property before the building of a streetcar line to the western section of Kitsilano.
- 15 The name Greer's Beach had obviously unpleasant historical associations for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. After consulting a local expert on Indian culture, the C.P.R. decided upon "Kitsilano" as a fashionable name for the area. Indian names were 'in vogue' in Vancouver at that time (Kitsilano Times, May 22, 1926, p. 1). The name was derived from the Squamish Chief Khaatsa-lah-nough who had settled in Stanley Park. The name Kitsilano first appeared in print in 1905 as the name of the new sub-post office in the district. Later in the year it became the name of the streetcar run to Greer's Beach.
- 16 Real estate within Kitsilano had been divided into 3 sections -- District Lot (D.L.) 526, D.L. 540 and D.L. 192. Trafalgar Street was the boundary between D.L. 526, owned by the C.P.R. and D.L. 540 and D.L. 192, both owned by the City of Vancouver. The auctioning of property within D.L. 540 had begun in 1886 and continued in piecemeal fashion as Kitsilano developed. Prior to 1886, D.L. 192 (161 acres west of Trafalgar) had been sold to H.V. Southey of Burnaby for \$388.00 (Nicolls, 1954, p. 15). Property within D.L. 192 changed hands many times before being settled. Speculators

16 (Cont'd)

included Mr. C.G. Major of New Westminster, Hon. John Robson, Hon. Mr. Smythe, Victoria politicians and C.P.R. men (Matthews, 1932, Vol. 1, p. 162). Mr. J.H. Calland, former alderman for Ward 6 (which included Kitsilano) and a Kitsilano real estate agent, sold a great portion of Major's Block 192 holdings, himself acquiring a sizeable piece of property on Point Grey Road between Trafalgar and Stephens Streets (Matthews, 1932, Vol. 1, pp. 113 - 114). Calland was one of the organizers of the Kitsilano Improvement Association and the Kitsilano Beach park purchase. In 1904 the C.P.R. placed on market lots south of Cornwall between Yew and Trafalgar Streets. Fifty foot lots sold initially for about \$400.00 but with the completion of the streetcar line to Kitsilano Beach, soared in price to about \$5,000.00 (Matthews, 1932, Vol. 1, p. 162 and Major Fred Bayliss' file, Vancouver City Archives).

17 Morley, 1940.

18 Matthews, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 311. This is a description of the area in 1908 by Matthews. Note that although improved access to Kitsilano certainly played a critical role in its development, the necessity for residential expansion from an over-crowded West End was certainly an important factor as well (Holdsworth, in progress, Chapter 3).

19 Stewart, 1956.

20 Nicolls, 1954, p. 21 and Matthews, 1932, Vol. 1, p. 2. It is important to realize that the development of Vancouver and Kitsilano within it was certainly shaped by large-scale events. Local events gave particular character to the direction of growth, while growth itself was often stimulated from outside. The Panama Canal, which was begun in 1907 and completed in 1914, served as one such impetus to investment in Vancouver. The Canadian government's encouragement of immigration to Canada in this period also enhanced economic growth on the west coast (Sage, 1946).

21 "Great Building Boom of 25 Years Ago Recalled", Kitsilano Times, March 24, 1937, p. 1.

22 Matthews, 1932, Vol. 1, p. 86.

23 The boundaries of Kitsilano are considered by present-day planners as the English Bay foreshore, Sixteenth Avenue, Burrard Street and Alma Street. Historically there has been some dispute over Kitsilano's southern and eastern boundaries, although there was no dispute over its western boundary at Alma Road -- the municipal boundary of Vancouver (Matthews, 1932, Vol. 2, pp. 31 and 309).

- 24 Browne, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974. The Fourth Avenue streetcar line was followed within a few years (at least by 1919) by the Broadway streetcar run -- along Broadway from Granville to Alma Road.
- 25 Kitsilano Point refers to that area north of Cornwall Street. As in 1905, land development in 1909 took place simultaneous with transportation development.
- 26 It is important to realize that large scale economic trends, real estate developers and local government all play critical roles in the development of Kitsilano (indeed, of any place). These influences provide the context within which local residents acted. The intention of this chapter is to provide this contextual information for the later analysis of local residents' behaviour.
- 27 Holdsworth, in progress. The tendency for lot-by-lot construction is verified by the Emery oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- 28 Some areas along Fourth Avenue and Broadway Street were undeveloped as well. This may have been due to the reluctance of home owners to erect dwellings in an area which would likely develop commercially (Bartholomew, 1929, p. 214).
- 29 The Browne oral history tape (Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974) notes that an apartment block at the corner of Trafalgar and Broadway was sold in 1909.
- 30 The swamp at Kitsilano Point was filled in 1913 with as much as thirteen feet of fill (Matthews, 1932, Vol. 1, p. 55).
- 31 The Kitsilano Times documents the construction of roads. For instance, a regular column in 1928 lists road and lane improvements in Kitsilano. The paving of Fourth Avenue in 1909 was seen as a significant boost to the community (Kitsilano Times, Nov. 9, 1939, p. 1).
- 32 Bartholomew, 1929, p. 203.
- 33 Interestingly, the zoning ordinance for Kitsilano seemed to reflect the earlier real estate lot subdivision, which in smaller lot sizes had prepared eastern Kitsilano for a high population density. Reality tends eventually to reflect zoning since zoning serves as a basis for real estate values and peoples' expectations for an area.

- ³⁴Fire Insurance Maps of Vancouver, 1927. Industrial establishments were much more frequent in the area to the east of Kitsilano -- along the False Creek foreshore and slope.
- ³⁵Bartholomew, 1929, p. 214, and Browne oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ³⁶Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, Annual Report, 1932, p. 1.
- ³⁷Bartholomew, 1929, p. 203.
- ³⁸"Thousand Cheer when Kitsilano Pool is Opened", Vancouver Sun, August 16, 1931. Remarks were made by Fred Crone, Chairman of the Parks Board, who became president of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association in 1937.
- ³⁹Shaw, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ⁴⁰Perhaps due to the initial influence of the show homes of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Kitsilano Point has always been an anomaly within eastern Kitsilano, attracting in general middle class and professional people (Table 1 and Latimer oral history tape, U.B.C., Geography 371, 1974).
- ⁴¹Emery, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ⁴²Community boosterism was a favourite theme of editorials in the Kitsilano Times during its initial years, e.g., "The Booster", June 15, 1918, p. 1.
- ⁴³The plans of real estate developers and local government will be treated in a general manner only in this thesis. The plans of both do, however, deserve further attention -- certainly since there seems to be an interesting similarity between them.
- ⁴⁴Kitsilano Times, Sept. 8, 1921, p. 1.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., March 2, 1926, p. 1.
- ⁴⁶Holdsworth, in progress.

- ⁴⁷ Latimer, Oral history tape, U.B.C., Geography 371, 1974. The slowness of growth during the depression is verified by the Kitsilano Times newspaper (Kitsilano Times, March 24, 1937, p. 6).
- ⁴⁸ Kitsilano Times, May 26, 1938, p. 2.
- ⁴⁹ Shaw, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974. The Shaws also note the encouragement of development by the Federal Government funding for home construction which began under the auspices of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in the late 1930's.
- ⁵⁰ Latimer and Shaw, Oral history tapes, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ⁵¹ Gutstein, 1975, p. 104.
- ⁵² Ibid. Not all the zoning changes encouraged or reflected residential land use changes. The rezoning from RM-3A to M1 of the area bounded by Cornwall Avenue, First Avenue, Burrard Street and Cypress Street formally recognized the already-existing Coca Cola plant and Bekins Storage buildings.
- ⁵³ Gutstein, 1975, p. 106.
- ⁵⁴ In 1960 construction began on the Park View Towers at the south end of Burrard Street Bridge -- Kitsilano's first high rise. The apartment building was developed by Tom Campbell who later became mayor of Vancouver. The rezoning - from RM-3A to RM-3 - permitted development up to 120 feet in height. Even denser development was allowed where the development plans included larger sites, more open space or underground parking (Gutstein, 1975, p. 105).
- ⁵⁵ This community aging process may perhaps account for the drop in population recorded by Canada Census for Kitsilano's southeastern section between the years 1951 and 1961. In 1961, 24% of Southeast Kitsilano's population was over the age of 64 years.
- ⁵⁶ Kitsilano Times, January 4, 1940, p. 1.
Kitsilano's image spread even beyond Vancouver. The Kitsilano Showboat shows are described as the "famed outdoor concerts at Kitsilano Beach. The shows have been seen by visitors from every part of the world". (Kitsilano Times, July 23, 1953, p. 1).
The expansion of Kitsilano's image abroad was also conveyed by the Kitsilano Boys' Band who toured abroad first in 1936 and many times in ensuing years.

- 57 Kitsilano Times, June 16, 1938, p. 1.
- 58 Letter from the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association to the Vancouver City Zoning By-Law Board of Appeal, July 14, 1949.
- 59 Conversation between F. Rex Werts and Bert Emery, November, 1934, recorded in the Foreward to the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce Shopper's Guide, 1974-1975, p. 3.
- 60 Kitsilano Times, March 16, 1939, p. 1 and Sept. 18, 1941, p. 1.
This commitment to home improvement continues to present-day, with over 50% of the Vancouver applicants for RRAP (Residents Rehabilitation Assistance Program) money's living in Kitsilano.
- 61 See, for example, the promotion of an upzoning change (RT-2 to RM-2) for Kitsilano Point which absorbed members of the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association from 1954 to 1957.
- 62 Group records for the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce and the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association all contain indications of concern for membership decline.
- 63 The Kitsilano Karnival was discontinued in 1941 due to insufficient attendance (Kitsilano Times, Jan. 16, 1941, p. 1). Both the Kitsilano Showboat and Kitsilano Kiddies Parade ran at a deficit for the first time in 1959 (Kitsilano Times, Sept. 24, 1959, p. 1 and the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce meeting minutes, 1959). Miss Kitsilano was a non-Kitsilano resident in 1958. The competition had been opened to all of Vancouver due to insufficient participants from Kitsilano.
- 64 Gutstein, 1975, p. 104.
- 65 Ibid., p. 105.
- 66 Canada Census, 1961 and 1971.
- 67 Gutstein, 1975, p. 102.
- 68 Ibid.

⁶⁹ 64.5% of the dwelling units in Kitsilano in 1971 were tenant- as opposed to owner-occupied. Gutstein blames real estate developers and local government zoning for the speculation process which had led to residential instability (Gutstein, 1975, 105).

⁷⁰ Gutstein, 1975, p. 102.

⁷¹ The Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association disbanded in 1968. The Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association disbanded, at least temporarily, in 1976. An interview with the president of the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce in 1976 conveys the feeling that the role of the Chamber in the community is "virtually non-existent".

⁷² Latimer, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE KITSILANO RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION



FIGURE 28 Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association Executive and Pioneer Members, 1944 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

"Come and meet the people who take
an interest in our community."

KRA News Bulletin
January 23, 1967

Since the determined stand of the pioneer Greer, Kitsilano residents have pursued their own designs for their neighbourhood. Although numerous individuals and groups arose to participate in the shaping of Kitsilano, one group seems most significant in its long term persistence - the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association.¹ In an attempt to understand resident involvement in the community development process, the remainder of this thesis will focus on the nature and activities of this group.

To prepare for the more detailed analysis of behaviour and ideas which will be undertaken in later chapters, this chapter will discuss general group concerns as portrayed in the association's constitution and committees. It will, as well, offer some notions as to the type of people involved in the community-shaping process. This may prove of some benefit in the attempt to understand the ideas which underlie and prompt group action.

GROUP FORMATION

The roots of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association (KRA) lie in the Kitsilano Improvement Association which was formed in 1906 with the objective of mounting "concerted action to get sewers, tram ser-

vice, opening up of streets, etc. in Kitsilano."² Within a few years the organization, which had unobtrusively changed its name to the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, brought pressure to bear on the local government to ban campers' tents on Kitsilano Beach.³ In 1909 members lobbied for the public purchase of Kitsilano Beach Park (Appendix 5).

In obtaining public services the KRA improved both the district as well as enhanced the economic and social investment of ratepayers. These early actions thus reflected two primary concerns of the organization: "to protect and advance the interests of Kitsilano's ratepayers and to improve and better Kitsilano District."⁴ The two concerns were intimately related. They jointly formed the focus of the KRA's first constitutional objective and were frequently presented together in public statements of the organizations' goals. The importance of both district and ratepayers' interest to the KRA is signified by the range and vitality of the committees these interests sponsored (Table 9).

GENERAL GOALS AND ACTION

In order to fulfill its plans for Kitsilano, the KRA recognized the need to confront the government bodies who also took an interest and active role in the neighbourhood's development. The association's goals thus included:

"to interest the body of ratepayers in obtaining a knowledge of municipal affairs and public services and by open discussion at its meetings to crystallize the views and wishes of the ratepayers in regard to the activities of municipal authorities and public service corporations within the District and to present to and urge upon the proper authorities and bodies such views and issues. . . . In proper cases to make representations to the Provincial or Dominion authorities, Legislature or Parliament."⁵

The KRA obviously expected to act as a liaison body between ratepayers and government, with the intention of intervening in any undesirable government plans for Kitsilano.

Kitsilano district was defined by the KRA as that area bounded by Fir Street, Alma Street, the English Bay foreshore and Sixteenth Avenue. Within this area, the organization attended to both the financial and the social well-being of its residents (Table 9).

"The objects of the Association shall be. . . to foster an enlightened community spirit; to encourage voluntary community enterprise; and to work in harmony with all organizations engaged therein. . . to extend the foregoing activities to secure the wise conduct of the business of the City of Vancouver which would be reflected in increasing the benefits and reducing the burdens of the ratepayers and to co-operate in this intent with other similar associations."⁶

Although one might expect the KRA to focus its formal concerns and activities on specific ratepayers' interests, it appears that the organization did hold a wider view of its role in the community.

Although active involvement in philanthropic work was limited, the organization's interest in social issues - including its internal social activities - was fairly pronounced⁷ (Table 9).

TABLE 9

KITSILANO RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION:
COMMITTEE REPORTS TO MEETINGS, FROM-1935
TO 1946

<u>Committee Title</u> ¹	<u>Number of Times Committee Reported, 1935 - 1946</u>	
<u>Internal Affairs</u>		
Attendance	3	
Collection	0	
Finance ²	3	
Historian	0	
Membership	27	
Programme (Entertainment)	12	
Publicity	5	
Reception	3	
Refreshments	2	
Social Convenor	3	
Sports Day	2	
Welcoming	0	
Total	60	38.5%
<u>Kitsilano District and Ratepayers Interests</u>		
Building	0	
Clean Up of Kitsilano Pavilion	4	
Community Development	2	
Fourth Avenue Repaving and Widening	4	
Fuel	5	
Help Keep Kitsilano Beautiful	2	
Kitsilano Indian Reserve (Development)	8	
Litter	3	
Police and Fire	0	
Schools, Parks and Boulevards	5	
Septic Tanks	3	
Sewers	10	
Sidewalks	2	
Stop Signs and Parking	4	
Taxes	2	
Transportation (Streetcars & Busses)	18	
Zoning	6	
Total	78	49.5%
<u>Social Interests and Community Solidarity</u>		
Community Association	0	
Community Centre	4	
General Welfare	0	
Haddon Memorial	2	
Kitsilano Pool Concerts	8	
Salvage Drive (Red Cross)	2	
Total	14	10%
<u>Concern with Government</u>		
City Finances	2	
Civic Affairs	0	
Total	2	1%
Grand Total	156	100%

¹Committee reports were tabulated from both general and executive meeting minutes through the years 1935 to 1946 inclusive. The titles of many committees changed over time. To facilitate tabulation and documentation, the titles in this table were chosen to represent committees which despite changing names, were concerned with the same issues over time.

²The Finance Committee reports are distinct from the treasurer's report which was given at every meeting.

GROUP MEMBERSHIP

Consistent with its interest in the community of Kitsilano as a whole, the KRA allowed as members not only the ratepayers but all residents within the district.

"All persons paying municipal taxes upon lands within the district and the wife or husband of such taxpayer together with all residents within the district shall be eligible for membership in the Association."⁸

The organization's responsiveness to people interested in their community moved them in 1940 to further allow as members people who were "particularly interested", even if they resided outside of Kitsilano.⁹ Membership itself varied in size through the years but reached its highest point in 1956 (Table 10).¹⁰

TABLE 10

KRA MEMBERSHIP FROM 1939 TO 1956¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Membership</u>
1939	50
1940	58
1941	107
1942	100
1943	129
1944	103
1945	186
1946	c.200
1956	354

¹Data were available for scattered years only and were obtained from a variety of sources: KRA meeting minutes and correspondence and the Kitsilano Times newspaper.

Just as large scale economic events influenced the development process as a whole within Kitsilano, the unstable economic conditions of the 1930's had seriously affected the vitality of the organization.¹¹

"For forty years (1906 to 1946) meetings have been held, some large and some small, at times the membership has shrunk and with it, funds with which to carry on the good work in looking after the district's interest. But there always appeared on the scene some interested ratepayer of Kitsilano who would rouse interest and then again the Association would take its rightful position in civic affairs."12

Many individuals within the KRA played critical roles in the organization's ongoing activities (Table 11).

TABLE 11

KITSILANO RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION: SOME OUTSTANDING MEMBERS

Members recognized as outstanding by the KRA Historical Records Book, 1946:

Mr. Lynne Browne
 Mr. W.K. Burns
 Mr. Fred Crone
 Lt. Col. G.M. Endacott
 Miss Anna Fagan
 Mr. and Mrs. J. Hall
 Major E.A. Hudson
 Mrs. C. Latimer
 Mrs. A. McGovern
 Major J.S. Matthews
 Mr. and Mrs. F. Melton
 Mr. and Mrs. A. Owens
 Mr. R. Parm Pettipiece
 Mr. Fred Scudamore
 Miss Joy Scudamore
 Mr. John Sutherland
 Mr. George Thompson
 Mr. L.A. Titleborn

Members awarded life membership by the KRA:

Mr. Lynne Browne
 Mrs. A. McGovern
 Major J.S. Matthews
 Mrs. E.A. Owens
 Mrs. W.J. Smiley
 Miss Margaret Sutherland

These people naturally expressed their leadership qualities in executive positions.¹³

GROUP REPRESENTATIVENESS

One may well question whether the activities of the KRA were rooted in the personalities of its executive members or reflective of the organization as a whole. An answer to this question lies in how representative the executive members were of the general membership. A study of the socio-economic status of KRA members reveals a number of pronounced differences between the executive and general membership bodies (Table 12).

In 1938 a higher proportion of executive members in comparison to the general membership were of professional and middle class status. In 1956 the number of retired executive members rose considerably and thus the KRA's executive body was proportionately composed of more retired and professional members and fewer working and middle class members than the general membership body.

The differences between executive and general members of the KRA were apparent as well between the association and the community as a whole. In the late 1930's the KRA consisted of a higher proportion of professional and middle class residents and lower proportion of working class residents than did the Kitsilano community at large. Similarly in the late 1950's the KRA was less representative of working class and more representative of professionals and retired

TABLE 12

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF KRA MEMBERS AND KITSILANO RESIDENTS¹

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Profes-² sionals</u>	<u>Middle³ Class</u>	<u>Working⁴ Class</u>	<u>Retired & Widows</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Sample Size Known</u>
1938 General	28%	36%	9%	25.5%	1.5%	75
1938 Executive	37.5%	50%		12.5%		8
1940 Kitsilano Residents ⁵	19%	15%	43%	22%	1%	130
1940s Executive	46%	30%	6%	18%		33
1950 Kitsilano Residents	14%	16%	43%	24%	3%	140
1956 General	17%	20.2%	27.4%	35%	0.4%	212
1956 Executive	21.4%	7.2%	14.4%	57%		14
1960 Kitsilano Residents	15%	16%	39%	27%	3%	180
1960's Exec ⁶	36%	25%	11%	28%		28
1970 Kitsilano Residents	25.5%	26%	35%	9.5%	10%	263

¹The socio-economic status of KRA members was determined by applying Blishen's occupational status scale (1965) to the occupations of members as given in the KRA records and the Vancouver City Directory. Data for Kitsilano residents was determined by applying Blishen's occupational status scale (1965) to a sample of 6 blocks of residents (see Table 1). See Appendix 6 for the list of members, addresses and occupations.

²Blishen (1965) categories 1 and 2.

³Blishen (1965) categories 3 and 4.

⁴Blishen (1965) categories 5, 6 and 7

⁵Analysis covers members for the years 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1946.

⁶Analysis covers members for the years 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966 and 1968.

members of the community. These differences parallel the differences within the KRA itself. The executive body of the association seemed to represent in extreme the differences which were already pronounced between the organization's general membership and the Kitsilano community. As evidence by both general and executive members the KRA

thus formed within Kitsilano an elite of professionals and middle class in 1938 and elite of professionals and retired residents in 1956.

The executive body's exaggeration of differences between the KRA as a whole and the Kitsilano community was noticeable as well in the distribution of members' homes. In 1938 the pattern of KRA membership seemed particularly to favour the northwest area of Kitsilano, while in 1956 the concentration extended to both north and south western areas (Table 13).

TABLE 13

KRA MEMBERSHIP: RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION¹Places of Residence

<u>Membership</u>	<u>NW Kits</u>	<u>SW Kits</u>	<u>NE Kits</u>	<u>SE Kits</u>	<u>Outside</u>	<u>Addresses</u>	
						<u>Known</u>	<u>Total</u>
1938 General	31%	8%	40%	5%	21%	91	92
1938 Executive	33.5%	11%	55.5%			9	10
1940's Exec. ²	38%	6%	38%	3%	15%	34	35
1956 General	35.5%	22%	36.5%		6%	276	354
1956 Executive	56%	19%	19%		6%	16	17
1960's Exec. ³	43%		28.5%	3.5%	25%	28	32
1941 Kitsilano Residents	25%	14%	43%	18%			31,389
1956 Kitsilano Residents	25%	15%	41%	19%			35,823
1961 Kitsilano Residents	26%	15%	41%	18%			36,171
1971 Kitsilano Residents	24%	14%	44%	18%			37,425

¹The distribution represents only those members for whom addresses were available - either in group files or Vancouver City Directories. The sub areas of Kitsilano correspond to the census divisions given in Table 7. The demographic distribution within Kitsilano as a whole was calculated on the basis of census statistics.

Table 13 (cont'd)

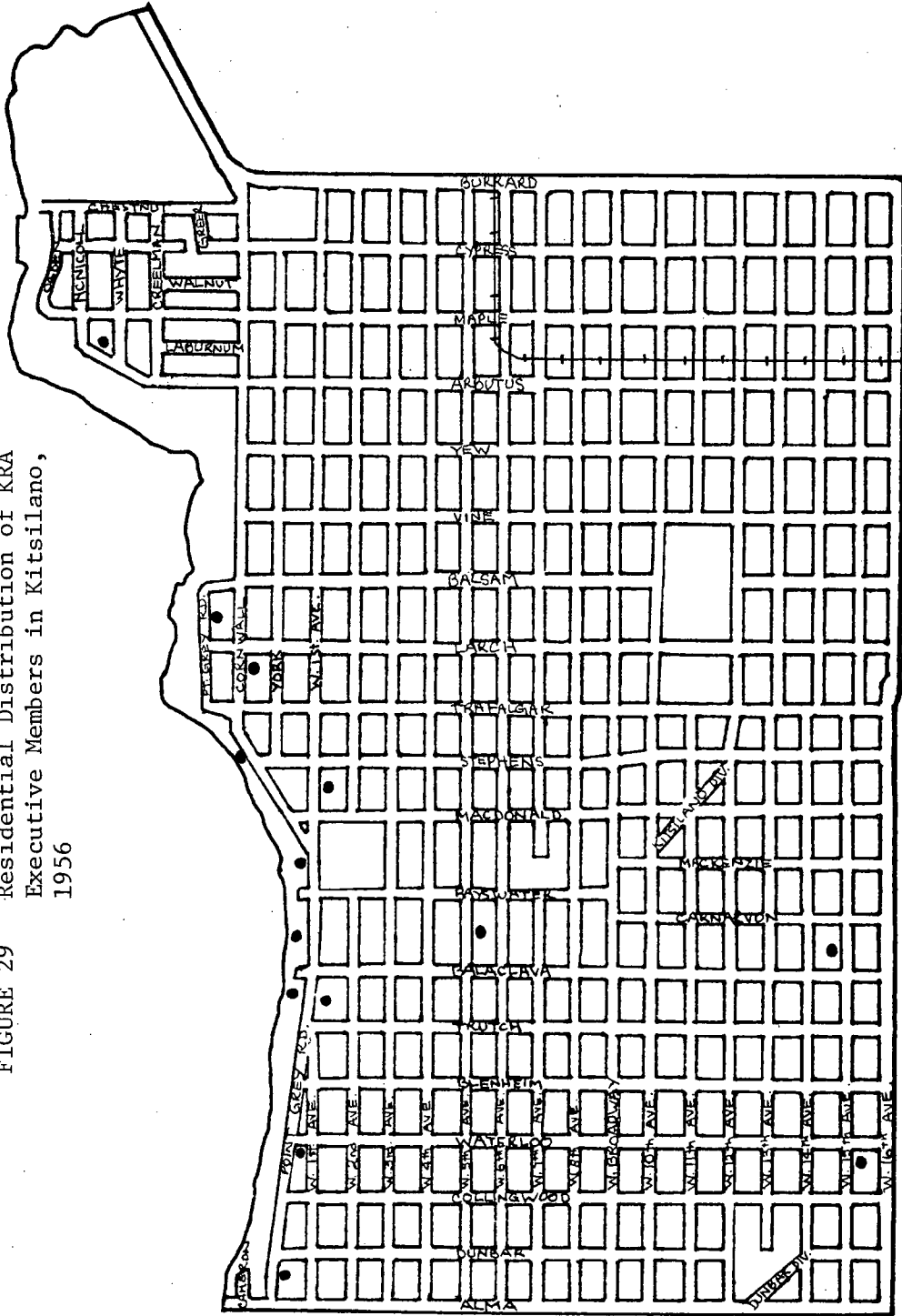
²Addresses are of members serving on the KRA executives in 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1946.

³Addresses are of members serving on the KRA executives in 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966 and 1968.

The most under-represented area of Kitsilano in both 1938 and 1956 lay in the southeast. The executive body of the KRA was in 1938 even less representative of the southeast area and more representative of all other three areas than was the general membership. In 1956 the concentration of executive members in the western portion of Kitsilano - particularly the northwest - increased. This areal concentration seems to complement the social status bias of the association. Since KRA members, and particularly executive members, were more representative of higher status residents in Kitsilano, they were also clustered in the western areas of the neighbourhood, where better quality housing tended to be located. A map of the residential distribution of executive members in 1956 indicates further this locational bias towards Kitsilano's better housing in the markedly high incidence of locations along Point Grey Road (Figure 29).

The differences between both the KRA and the Kitsilano community and the KRA executive and its general members are notable. If, however, one recognizes that exceptional characteristics usually distinguish the most active members of any group of people, these differences might become less significant. The critical question is then one of perceived representativeness rather than representativeness

FIGURE 29 Residential Distribution of KRA
Executive Members in Kitsilano,
1956



measured on some sociological scale. The KRA did feel itself to be a bona fide spokesman for Kitsilano as a whole.

"Our association represents approximately 10,000 municipal tax payers."¹⁴

The association felt that the general public differed from itself only to the degree of its appreciation and committed involvement in community issues. Thus, one of the constitutional goals of the KRA was to enlighten and activate the interest of the ratepayers at large.

There certainly was some indication that the residents of Kitsilano both supported the goals of the KRA and looked upon the association as a legitimate body. In promoting the spot rezoning of one street corner in northeast Kitsilano - an area not particularly well represented by the KRA - the organization canvassed surrounding property owners and found 80% in favour of their proposed change.¹⁵

When independent local initiative arose in at least one case outside of the organization, residents sought the support of the KRA, which it willingly gave.¹⁶ The perception of the KRA's role as a guiding body within a wider supportive but non-active community thus rested on the belief that similarities between association and community members did in fact exist, and trust and support were mutual.

Within the organization, a similar perception differentiated the executive as a leadership body within a supportive membership-at-large. After singling out a number of executive members for praise, an early president stated:

"There are many others, too, that are worthy of mention because each and every member has a valuable part to play to make an organization a success."¹⁷

Despite differences which may have existed, the members at large seemed to accept their executive body as spokesman for their interests. The character and successfulness of two different meeting places reflects both these differences and the identification of general members with the status image of the executive. The KRA meetings which were held for a time in General Gordon School in order to appeal to general members suffered from poor attendance. It was decided to hold the meeting once again at Killarney mansion - a meeting place far more expressive of the professionally-oriented executive than the middle class general membership. Attendance levels, which had always been high there, rose once again.¹⁸

CONCLUSION

From the examination of the KRA, it may be concluded that Kitisilano residents, through the organization of the KRA, determined to play a strong collective role in the development of their neighbourhood. Although the KRA seemed most concerned with physical services such as sewers and transportation in the district, it certainly recognized and promoted the social dimension of community as well.

Superficial examination seems to indicate that the KRA was unrepresentative of the community as a whole, biased towards professional, middle class and retired residents. It did, however, receive

the backing of Kitsilano residents who attended its meetings and social events, signed its petitions and, further, sought its help. It seems that just as political party members may win the widespread endorsement of an electorate in many respects different from themselves, the KRA had won the endorsement of diverse Kitsilano residents.¹⁹

The basis upon which support and representativeness is attained lies, of course, on a deeper level than that of social status or residence. To have received the backing of residents, the KRA must have touched upon ideas compatible with those of its constituency. Given that the actions of the group derived from its concern with the local community, one would expect the most significant of these ideas to be community-related. The following two chapters, in exploring the concepts of community held by the KRA thus aim to expose the ideas which underlay both the group's representativeness and the indigenous place-shaping process which it advocated.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE

- ¹A content analysis of the Kitsilano Times newspaper provides evidence of the centrality of the group in neighbourhood affairs (Appendix 1).
- ²Kitsilano Improvement Association letterhead. The stated objectives were pursued in West Fairview which was the name applied to the district between Granville and Trafalgar before the name Kitsilano became well established (Matthews, Vol. 2, 1932, p. 309). See Appendix 4 for names, addresses and occupations of the KRA executive in 1907.
- ³The historical records of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association do not note the year of name change, and discuss the early actions of the Kitsilano Improvement Association as those of the KRA. Records seem to indicate that the name change occurred some time in the years 1908-1909.
- ⁴KRA, General Meeting Minutes, April 29, 1941.
- ⁵KRA, Constitution, 1936. The KRA saw the need to deal with both provincial and federal governments due to their plans for the development of the KRA.
- ⁶KRA, Constitution, 1936.
- ⁷The emphasis placed on internal affairs may well be due to the time period from which the data emerge. During the Depression and war years, associations like the KRA filled a definite social need.
- ⁸KRA, Constitution, 1936.
- ⁹Amendment to the KRA Constitution, executive meeting, January 12, 1940. The encouragement of residents other than ratepayers to join the association was in part a response to the intentions of the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce to sponsor a general citizens organization in 1935. The KRA decided to alter its constitution in 1935 to admit all residents of Kitsilano as members and thus render a citizens' organization redundant (Memo from Bert Emery to KCC executive, KCC records).

- 10 1935 Annual Report, Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, p. 3. Numerous records attest to the membership problems of the KRA at this time. The Kitsilano Times noted that the KRA had been functioning less and less regularly over the previous two years (The Kitsilano Times, March 11, 1937, p. 1). "A move to decrease the size of the executive body from 10 to 5 in 1935 was necessary due to the difficulty in procuring active members (KRA, Executive meeting minutes, January 11, 1935). The problem persisted in 1936 and 1937 (KRA, General Meeting Minutes, February 19, 1936; KRA, Executive meeting minutes, November 25, 1937).
- 11 KRA, Annual Report, 1933, p. 1.
- 12 Letter from Fred Scudamore to the KRA, Historical Records Committee, September 3, 1946.
- 13 Major J.S. Matthews, City archivist, did not hold an executive position within the KRA. However, he did play a significant role. His letters to the KRA frequently contained suggestions for action, e.g., "I am of the opinion that if the Ratepayers thought fit to send a message of thanks and congratulations to the Parks Board, that such a message would be most agreeable for the Commissioners to receive" (Letter from Major J.S. Matthews to the KRA, May 9, 1950).
- 14 Letter from KRA to the Department of Transport Commissioners, January 15, 1962.
- 15 KRA, General Meeting Minutes, March 30, 1939.
- 16 The KRA offered its assistance in support of a petition circulating amongst Kitsilano residents in regards to heavy traffic on Point Grey Road.
- 17 Letter from Fred Scudamore to the KRA, Historical Records Committee, September 3, 1946.
- 18 KRA, Executive meeting minutes, April 12, 1935.
- 19 The question of the representativeness of the KRA, although an important question to probe may well be simply answered in the longevity and indigenous roots of the group, and its concern with long-term goals.

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE COMMUNAL NOTION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

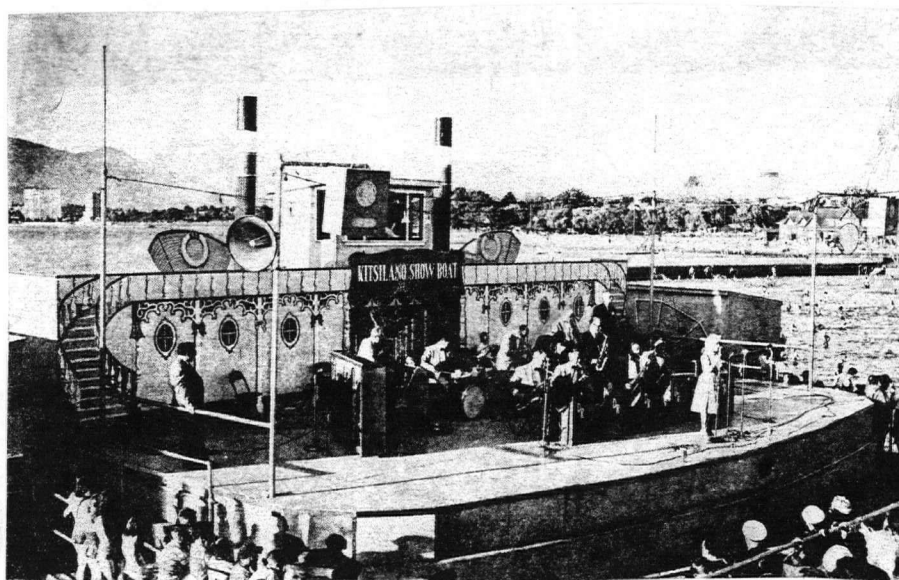


FIGURE 30 Presbyterian Church Picnic, Greer's Beach, 1894
(source: Vancouver City Archives).
Kitsilano Showboat (source: Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce).

"FRIENDLY KITSILANO"

Its a friendly place:
 Where children play,
 And washings are hung
 on their proper day.
 Where people speak
 With friendly words,
 And scatter crumbs
 For nesting birds,
 Where housewives linger
 To chat awhile,
 And greet a friend
 With a friendly smile,
 Where gardens bloom
 With tender care,
 And every hearth
 Has a welcome to share,
 With a stranger endowed
 By wisdoms grace,
 Who makes him home¹
 In this kindly place.

A review of literature found the traditional concept of neighbourhood to have three dimensions: a specific place-orientation, a basis in social interaction, and a concern with social solidarity.² During the historical development of Kitsilano, and particularly the period from 1935 to 1961, Kitsilano residents seem to have focused attention upon these same neighbourhood characteristics. The Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, as a model of community concern, acted to shape the landscape of its specified area, supported social programmes and promoted the feelings of social solidarity and community spirit. This chapter will more fully explore the actions and attitudes of the KRA as they seem to support this traditional notion of neighbourhood.

CONCERN WITH PLACE: KITSILANO DISTRICT

The character of place seemed to be by far the most significant concern of the KRA. The organization lauded Kitsilano's physical amenities and dedicated itself to improving the public services and neighbourhood appearance which ensured a high quality living environment.

Public Services

From their inception in 1906, the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association absorbed themselves in the task of improving Kitsilano's public services and utilities. By 1926 the organization boasted their role in securing the Imperial Street sewer, the extension of sidewalks and streetcar services on Broadway Street, the retention of Balaclava Fire Hall, the development of Kitsilano Park and bathhouse, the development of Connaught Park playing fields, the addition to General Gordon School and a Kitsilano branch public library.³ The breadth of their achievements indicated their appreciation of the wide range of amenities which are integral to a neighbourhood (Table 14).

Although the KRA attended to improving a wide range of public services within their community, it seemed to devote the greatest energy to obtaining what it felt were essential services or utilities -- sewers, roads, public transit and parks (Table 14). During the 1940's the issue of sewers became a focal point of the activities of the KRA.

TABLE 14KRA COMMUNAL CONCERNS: PUBLIC UTILITIES AND SERVICES

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to is- sue, 1954-1957</u>
Sewers	28	
Streets and roads	24	10
Public transit	35	8
Kitsilano beach and park	8	2
Securement of Kitsilano Indian Reserve as a park	19	1
Other parks in Kitsilano	8	1
Library services	1	
Schools	1	
Telephone services	1	

Although the KRA attended to improving a wide range of public services within their community, it seemed to devote the greatest energy to obtaining what it felt were essential services or utilities -- sewers, roads, public transit and parks (Table 14). During the 1940's the issue of sewers became a focal point of the activities of the KRA.

"The members of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association deplore the most objectionable, unsavoury, unhealthy and unsanitary conditions existing on the beach along Point Grey Road, caused by the filthiest kind of sewage floating in the water and deposited on the beaches."⁴

Membership in the KRA rose from less than 100 people to 200 people during the years 1944 to 1946 when the issue of sewage disposal took precedence over all other issues. "The correspondence alone on sewage disposal would fill a box six feet by six feet."⁵ Work focused on the extension of sewers at the foot of Maple Street, Balaclava Street and along Point Grey Road and Cornwall Street. Since most of the sewers emptied into the shoreline along Kitsilano Beach, the

main object of concern was the beach area. The problem lay in "defective septic tanks which overflowed and contaminated the shoreline below Lower Point Grey Road and the condition which prevails at low tide on Kitsilano Beach as a result of drainage from the toilet facilities of the bathhouse."⁶

The KRA established a committee to examine in depth the sewer issue. The committee, headed by Mrs. Rosalind Latimer, monitored the outflow from the Maple Street sewer, produced a report on the sewer problems and made numerous contacts, both in person and in letter, with city officials. Their efforts met with results, and during the 1940's extensive sewer projects were completed in Kitsilano.⁷

In the early phases of neighbourhood growth, roads were naturally considered of utmost importance. Development of the area could not take place without access and the convenience of a good road system. As a consequence, numerous street projects -- varying from the repair of a lane in the 2200 block Cornwall Street, to the widening and paving of Fourth Avenue and Point Grey Road -- received the attention of the KRA (Table 14). In 1926 the KRA sent a large "Kitsilano Delegation" to the Vancouver Civic Works Board to request improvements to the roads within Kitsilano district. Most significant amongst their requests was the paving and general improvement of Twelfth Avenue to Alma Road and the construction of cement sidewalks on streets fronting schools, especially in Lower Kitsilano.⁸

The extension of sidewalks and street lighting, like the improvement in roads, indicated a general upgrading of the Kitsilano district.

"Kitsilano now has modern light standards on Fourth Avenue from Granville Street to Balsam. Very shortly this service will be extended as far as Alma Road, which is our civic boundary. Good work. Good progress."⁹

The KRA was concerned with both the extension of new sidewalks and the improvement of those which had deteriorated. Sidewalks on Balsam Street and on Macdonald Street between Third and Fourth Avenues were both considered in particularly poor condition. The association also petitioned for better street lighting along all major transportation arteries, particularly Point Grey Road and at the entrance to Kitsilano Park.

Streets, street-lighting and sidewalks were all amenities which advertised the community of Kitsilano as a desirable place in which to live. Naturally, good public transportation services, such as street cars and buses, further enhanced the neighbourhood's image. During the early 1940's bus service existed on Macdonald Street only during July and August.

"Residents in this area northward from Sixteenth Avenue to the Kitsilano Beach Swimming Pool, park and picnic grounds, have suffered through the lack of adequate transportation during the ten months when the summer extension bus line was not in operation."¹⁰

The KRA thus spent a great deal of energy attempting to improve public transit in their area (Table 14).

Numerous other public services and utilities, such as schools and telephone and library services, were associated with the type of neighbourhood which the KRA desired. Although for the most part the KRA was concerned with the improvement of already-established schools, particularly the addition of gyms and auditoriums, the KRA also attempted to convince the school board of the necessity of a new school in southeast Kitsilano, which was the last area of the

neighbourhood to be developed. The Vancouver School Board, which felt a new facility to be unwarranted given the room still available in other district schools, obviously did not share the KRA's vision of equitably distributed public services.

In 1927, the KRA was responsible for the opening of a local branch of the Vancouver Public Library system. During the difficult years which the Kitsilano branch library faced in the early 1930's, the KRA was responsible for a campaign - ultimately unsuccessful - to keep the library open. Despite the closure, the association did not abandon its belief that the library was a necessary neighbourhood facility and, within a few years, secured the library's reopening, "thereby rendering untold service to the community, young and old."¹¹

Of all the services with which the Association was concerned, parks were of special significance. The impulse for the organization of the KRA had, in fact, rested on the securement of Kitsilano Park in 1908.

"To secure this property for our all-time use. . .
28 members subscribed \$1500 in order that it might
be saved for the enjoyment of future generations.
That action alone would justify the existence of
this Association through the years."¹²

The extension and improvement of parks in Kitsilano became one of the major goals of the association (Table 14). In earlier years the KRA encouraged the development of Haddon and Connaught Parks as well as the establishment of beach parks at the foot of Bayswater Street and on the former Kitsilano Indian Reserve. The extension of Tatlow and Kitsilano Parks in the 1950's and the continued fight to secure the

the Kitsilano Indian Reserve as a park through to the 1960's were significant later issues. The recreational necessity for parks in a residential area was often cited as a reason for park expansion.

"Our parks are essential The Kitsilano Indian Reserve is a very important and necessary park area."¹³

The public services and utilities which became the focus of KRA action were considered fundamental dimensions of the place in which the association members resided. The KRA's concerns, however, centered on more than just the provision of basic services, for Kitsilano was to be more than just an adequate place in which to live.

"New street cars and new streets are of little use, Fred Smelts, newly elected president of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association declared, 'until the people in the homes take a real pride in the appearance of their block.'"¹⁴

Quality of the Neighbourhood Environment

Numerous KRA activities focussed on the maintenance of a high quality environment in Kitsilano (Table 15).

TABLE 15

KRA COMMUNAL CONCERNS: QUALITY OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD ENVIRONMENT

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935-1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Litter problems and general untidiness	23	4
Unpleasant odors, soot & smoke	1	
Tree planting and care of plants	6	7

Certainly the KRA's concern with the attractiveness of the district underlay its work in regards to a growing litter problem (Table 15 and Figure 31).



FIGURE 31 Untidy pile of wood on boulevard, Maple Street, 1952
(source: Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association).

During the 1940's the KRA involved itself in two anti-litter campaigns: the "Clean-up and Paint-up" campaign and the "Help Keep Kitsilano Beautiful" campaign.

"Do you know of any community 'eyesores'? Unbeautiful spots in Kitsilano will become a thing of the past if the efforts of well-meaning citizens bear fruit. . . Kitsilano is naturally beautiful. This plan is the fruit of a healthy desire to keep it so."¹⁵

Letters requesting civic action were written by the association regarding numerous sites of untidiness: along Fourth Avenue, Chestnut Street and the BCER right-of-way, around the tearoom in Kitsilano Pavilion, the gas station at the corner of Yew and Cornwall Street, the beach area and even lanes. The main focus of attention for the association, however, seemed to be the Kitsilano Park and Kitsilano Indian Reserve areas.

"Strong criticism of the filth and muck littering Kitsilano Beach Park is expressed by F.M. Scudamore, past president of the local ratepayers' association. . . Little attempt is made to keep the parks fit for decent citizens. Filth and litter in the parks are universally condemned. They are quite unnecessary to the enjoyment of anyone. They are insuperable barriers to the enjoyment of the majority."¹⁶

The problems of unpleasant odors, soot and smoke in the area of the Kitsilano Indian Reserve prompted Rosalind Latimer to circulate a petition on Kitsilano Point. The KRA also became intensely involved with the local government's plan to use the Kitsilano Indian Reserve as a garbage dump. Since the dump would be an open area, situated in clear sight of all those entering Kitsilano along Burrard Street bridge, the KRA was righteously indignant.

"It's like putting garbage out on the front yard of Vancouver."¹⁷

City Hall's plans were set aside.

The KRA's concern with the image of Kitsilano as an attractive neighbourhood underlay not only its anti-litter work but also numerous projects to enhance the area's beauty. In part, its promotion of improved public utilities -- especially parks and roads -- stemmed

from this goal. Point Grey Road and Cornwall Street, running along the waterfront of Kitsilano, were logical choices for scenic beach drives. "A scenic drive. . . would rival the beauty of great cities such as Rio de Janeiro."¹⁸ When Canada Dry Ginger Ale Incorporated of New York applied for a change in the zoning of the southern portion of the Kitsilano Indian Reserve to allow for the development of a soft drink factory, the KRA strongly opposed the move. If the area was made a park, as it suggested, "there would be no more chance of spoiling a beautiful landscape with buildings such as the one proposed for this site."¹⁹ When the area was later set aside as a park and site for the Vancouver Planetarium and Maritime Museum, the KRA proudly claimed its role in the achievement.

Parks, of course, preserved as well as possible the natural environment which was the root of Kitsilano's beauty.

"I love to walk beside the sea
On Kitsilano's shore:
It brings such peaceful thoughts to me,
Remote from urban roar.
The park, the promenade, the beach, --
a setting truly fine."²⁰

Trees, shrubs, flowers and boulevarding all enhanced the natural beauty of the area. The KRA felt, for example, that Kitsilano Park should "not only be kept free of litter but flower beds be included for all to admire."²¹ The association promoted tree planting and the upkeep of boulevards throughout the district (Table 15). Letters were written to city officials to ensure the trimming of blackberry vines, hedges and trees in order to maintain the visual quality of Kitsilano streets.

The association's commitment to landscape estheticism even prompted individual members to take public initiative.

"The Parks Board is considering a suggestion from R. Parm Pettipiece that Balaclava Street be chosen as one of the thoroughfares for boulevarding this year. Mr. Pettipiece stated that if the Board decided against the choice of Balaclava Street, he would agree to do some work himself, including tree planting."²²

Perhaps the clearest example of the KRA's attention to environmental quality lay in its assessment of the quality of building activity in Kitsilano. Just as the association judged the proposed Canada Dry Ginger Ale plant as detrimental to the beauty of Kitsilano Point, it judged the appropriateness of other buildings.

"The Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association is jealous of the beauty of its residential area and through R. Rowe Holland it tried to convince the Zoning Board of Appeal . . . that the owner of 1633 Stephens should not be permitted to build a garage in front of him home."²³

The focus of KRA concern rested in the quality of the neighbourhood's homes. In this regard, the KRA seemed to express a concern typical of Kitsilano residents in general. A column in the early editions of the Kitsilano Times newspaper listed improvements to homes in the district. In later editions, the paper encouraged and commended all residents who enhanced the quality of Kitsilano's landscape through their individual home improvement projects.

"An appeal to community-spirited citizens for improving the appearance of their homes never fails to find Mrs. McNeil of 2550 York Street leading her district in such activities. She may now be seen directing operations on beautifying her residence for the Jubilee. This is the spirit that helps Kitsilano."²⁴

The Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association clearly offered its opinion on the type of home - older, but in good repair - appropriate to the area (Figure 32).



FIGURE 32 "Older homes in good repair," 1956 (source: Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association).

The "blight spot" at 1839 Creelman Avenue, on the other hand, exemplified the "type of dwelling (which) does not make an attractive district" (Figure 33).²⁵



FIGURE 33 "Blight spot at 1839 Creelman Avenue", 1956
(source: Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association).

Worse yet, such buildings would fail to attract the type of people necessary to sustain the community.

"Despite the amenities of our area, young people are not attracted to meagre houses with soft wood floors, small windows and a generally old-fashioned layout."²⁶

The KRA certainly noted with satisfaction the quality of its own members' homes.

"(Fred Bayliss) built a beautiful home on the corner of McNicoll Avenue and Arbutus Street. . . and it was a very 'show' place."²⁷

The well-cared-for quality home appeared to epitomize the attractive environment so cherished by the KRA.

"The home is like another self with lovable and human attributes. The striving for self-preservation and self improvement is a natural law working through all living things. . . The homemaker sees beauty in other homes as he looks out of his own windows. He sees beauty in the gardens that frame them. He visualizes what beauty may do for himself. He resolves that he will enlarge his dwelling, literally or spiritually, or both, by adding those caresses of toil, of grace, of wholesomeness which indicate a constant striving upward and a growth outward into sunshine and air."²⁸

The KRA's concern with the quality of neighbourhood homes may well have rested in the undeniable assertion that a community is its residents. All the concrete elements of landscape, particularly the home, are significant in that they both reflect and provide the setting for social interaction and a way of life.

SOCIAL INTERACTION

The celebrated status of Kitsilano as a "friendly place to live" was rooted in the social interaction which took place amongst neighbours. In the early days of the community, neighbourliness was rooted in the attendance of numerous church functions. A content analysis of the Kitsilano Times newspaper during the 1930's indicates that of all the public social functions noted in the newspaper, fifty percent were church related (Table 16).

TABLE 16SOCIAL EVENTS NOTED IN THE KITSILANO TIMES NEWSPAPER DURING THE 1930'S

<u>Social Events in Kitsilano</u>	<u>Number Noted in One-Quarter Sample of Kitsilano Times Issues, 1930's</u>
Church-related	198
Club-based	198
Private events	272

The Kitsilano United Church was, in fact, known as "the friendly church".²⁹ The KRA supported wholeheartedly the role of the church in their community and unanimously endorsed a resolution for the exemption of the church from government taxation.³⁰ Church functions complemented the large number of club activities and private social events such as weddings, parties and showers which characterized a socially active community (Table 16). Sociability permeated Kitsilano and even neighbourhood stores became the regular meeting ground for residents.

"Bert Emery's . . . store was not an 'ordinary' drug store, but was the meeting place for business and professional men who came to drink coffee at the lunch counter and talk over various problems. . . Many elderly people, just out for a stroll, dropped in for a friendly chat and a rest before returning home."³¹

Social interaction in Kitsilano was encouraged by the KRA in a variety of ways (Table 17). A number of social events, such as the Killarney Garden Party and the Old Timers' meetings, were more elaborate extensions of the KRA's own meetings. The regular meetings were open to all members of the Kitsilano community, and it was common practice for the president to introduce the various people in the

TABLE 17KRA COMMUNAL CONCERNS: SOCIAL INTERACTION IN KITSILANO

<u>Social Event</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-7</u>
B.C. Centenary Celebration		3
Concerts at Kitsilano Park	1	
Dominion Day Celebration	3	
Hosting of Kitsilano Showboat	1	
Killarney Garden Party	2	
Kitsilano High School events	1	
Old Timers' meetings	3	
Vancouver Golden Jubilee	3	

audience to one another. At the KRA general meeting of June 27, 1944, for example, the president introduced five aldermen, one park commissioner, the vice-president of the Lions Gate branch of the Canadian Legion, the president of the Point Grey Improvement Association and the president and secretary of the Association of Property Owners of Vancouver.³² In that same year, it became the policy of the KRA to introduce at each meeting a guest who was prominent in some organization within the community.³³ Similar to the host or hostess at a party, the KRA thus encouraged contact between its members and supporters.

The interaction between the KRA and other community organizations was regularized through formal affiliations. In 1936, for example, the KRA became affiliated with the Kitsilano Council, and in 1942 with the Associated Property Owners of Vancouver.³⁴ Relations between the KRA and the Associated Property Owners of Vancouver became even closer when Mr. J.A. Sutherland became president of both organizations

simultaneously in 1943. Mr. Sutherland was typical of numerous KRA members who, through their involvement in several community groups or issues, set the grounds for interaction between the KRA and other local associations (Table 18).

Most of the social activities encouraged by the KRA were, in fact, jointly sponsored by itself and other Kitsilano organizations. Some of these events were initially promoted by these other groups, notably the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, which was outstanding in its efforts to encourage social events within Kitsilano. The KRA joined the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce in sponsoring concerts in Kitsilano Park, and special events such as Centennial and Jubilee celebrations (Table 17). The Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce was responsible for the most renowned of Kitsilano's social activities. These included the Kitsilano Kiddies Parade, the Miss Kitsilano Contest and the Kitsilano Showboat, situated in Kitsilano Pool. The primary intention of the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce in establishing the Showboat was to provide free entertainment for the Depression-weary citizens. They began on a grand scale.

"We started our public entertainment at Kitsilano Beach (with) a parade of over 100 private cars, all the buses that were available, the Kitsilano Boys Band, and all our Federal, Provincial and Civic dignitaries. After an 18 mile drive through our district we finally wound up at Kitsilano Beach where a crowd estimated at 35,000 people awaited us. They all enjoyed the big program which we had arranged with displays in the Pool, Acrobatics on the lawn in front of the Bath House, a Band concert in the Picnic Grounds and a Water Carnival of gaily festooned boats with Japanese lanterns in the Bay".³⁵

TABLE 18

SOME KRA MEMBERS AND THEIR SOCIAL CONNECTIONS¹

<u>KRA Member</u>	<u>Organizations Involved in other than the KRA</u> ²
Appleyard, Gerry	LKRA, Van. Apt. & Lodging House Association
Brown, Don	KCC, Local Legion, M.L.A.
Brown, Buda	KCC, Parks Board, M.L.A.
Browne, Lynn	Kitsilano Board of Trade, Kits Santa Claus Fund, <u>Kitsilano Times</u> (editor)
Crone, Fred	Parks Board, Alderman
Derrick, Howard	KCC
Emery, Bert	KCC, Rovers Club of St. Mark's Church, Kits Santa Claus Fund, Kits Lions Club, Vancouver Metro. Communities Council, Kits Horticultural Society, Alderman, Parks Board, Kits Community Centre
Giles, A.C.	Kitsilano Board of Trade
Horton, J.	KCC, Kits Santa Claus Fund, Kits Five Pin Bowling League
Latimer, Rosalind	B.C. Parent-Teacher Federation, Henry Hudson P.T.A., LKRA
Mallek, Dr. Howard and wife	Pt. Grey Rd. Homeowners' Assoc., Kits Resources Board
Moul, George	LKRA, Vancouver Central Council of Ratepayers, Kitsilano Planning Board
Pettipiece, R. Parm	Alderman
Pettipiece, Mrs. R.P.	Crosby United Church Womens' Auxiliary
Ridler, Mrs. G.L.	LKRA, Van. Central Council of Ratepayers', West Kitsilano Citizens Group
Simmons, Ed	KCC, Kits Lions Club, Kits Santa Claus Fund, Vancouver Community Council
Smelts, Fred	Kitsilano Council
Smelts, Mrs. F.	University Women's Club, Greater Vancouver Girl Guides Council, Kitsilano High School P.T.A.
Stevens, Mrs. W.H.	Crosby United Church Women's Auxiliary
Thompson, George	KCC, Kits Santa Claus Fund, Parks Board, M.L.A.
Titleborn, Leo	Kitsilano Council
Watkins, Gwyn	LKRA, Van. Central Council of Ratepayers, Van. Civic Voters' Association, Town Planning Assoc. of B.C., Town Planning Association of Canada, Vancouver Housing Association

¹Source: One-quarter sample of the Kitsilano Times newspaper, 1918-1923, 1926-1929, 1936-1941 and 1953-1962.

²LKRA refers to the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association. KCC refers to the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce.

The KRA participated enthusiastically in the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce plans and on several occasions took over the Showboat stage for an evening.

"Our Association is eager to assist in the creation of pleasure for citizens and visitors to the beach, provide them with entertainment and music while there."³⁶

Similarly, when the KRA initiated events such as the Kitsilano childrens' sports celebration in 1935, it, in turn, received the cooperation of the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce and other local groups. The KRA was proud to note that its social events were generally very successful and, in fact, at the childrens' sports celebration "record attendance was present at all events".³⁷

Social Interaction Facilities

In addition to its promotion of neighbourhood activities, KRA initiatives in community development extended to the development of local facilities in which social events could take place (Table 19).

TABLE 19

KRA COMMUNAL CONCERNS: COMMUNITY SOCIAL FACILITIES

<u>Facility</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Kits Yacht Club	2	1
Tea room at Kits Beach	2	
Concert Bowl in Kits Park	1	
Kits Community Centre	11	

The KRA was responsible for the establishment of the Kitsilano Yacht Club in 1937, in gratitude for which the Yacht Club extended an invitation "to all members of the Association to visit them at any time".³⁸

Although beach oriented facilities did receive a fair proportion of the KRA's attention, the Kitsilano community centre was perhaps the most significant of all the community facilities supported by the association. The community centre, ultimately built at Connaught Park, became officially affiliated with numerous Kitsilano groups including the KRA, the Burrard (Kitsilano) Lions Club, the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, the Kitsilano Ladies Auxiliary, the Kitsilano Social and Athletic Club, Trafalgar Soccer, the Metropolitan Communities Council, the Meralomas and the Kitsilano Co-Op Kindergarten. The KRA was represented by two members on the Board of Directors of the community centre and thus played an integral role in planning the centre's activities. Its representatives endorsed the centre for the social interaction it fostered; for example the "ever popular bingo (which) every Saturday night is attracting more neighbours to the friendly games."³⁹ In the later appeal for the expansion of the centre, the KRA noted its popularity and praised its social function within the community as a whole.

"Young toddlers, teenagers, and the senior citizens, as a matter of fact, all ages use the centre, as well as business and club meetings, which are held there regularly."⁴⁰

Due to the role it played in coordinating the activities of such diverse groups, the community centre not only increased social inter-

action, but also promoted community solidarity - a basic characteristic of neighbourhood and a goal very dear to the members of the KRA.

COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY

Community solidarity was built not only on social interaction within a neighbourhood, but also on the cooperative action of residents towards common goals, mutual support, especially in times of need, and the consolidation of community spirit.

Community Spirit

"To foster an enlightened community spirit" or sense of pride in community was one of the constitutional goals of the KRA. This sense of pride sponsored an active and positive promotion of the neighbourhood.

"Boost your district, boost your friends
 Boost the church that you attend.
 Boost the street on which you're dwelling.
 Boost the goods that you are selling.
 Boost the people round about you:
 They can get along without you
 But success will quicker find them
 If they know that you're behind them.
 Boost for every forward movement,
 Boost for every new improvement,
 Boost the man for whom you labour;
 Boost the stranger and the neighbour.
 Cease to be a chronic knocker,
 Cease to be a progress blocker.
 If you'd make your district better,
 Boost it to the final letter."⁴¹

Such fervent support for community identified a certain type of ideal resident.

"A town is no better than the people that make up the population. If they are dead in their shell the future of the town is blank. If they are tight wads, afraid to risk the investment of a dollar in upbuilding, the town naturally becomes a dead one. It might as well be scrapped. It is in a class with a cemetery. On the other hand, if the citizens have confidence in their town; if they are progressive and public-spirited; if they are willing to risk investments in the way of improvements or any venture that may promise to be a contributory factor in bettering the place; if they can look one effort that may prove a failure fearfully in the face and buckle in and try something else, if they have the snap, the pep, the ginger to believe in their town, pay out for the town and smile, smile, smile, with an optimism that does not recognize failure, the town is certain to forge ahead. Building towns is a game that only man-sized men should engage in, as pessimists, weaklings, and "I told you so's" are out of place in endeavours of that nature. It is the spirit to do things that gets a community anywhere."⁴²

That Kitsilano did indeed house many of these spirited community boosters was obvious to those who lived outside the district (Figure 34). In 1936, Vancouver Mayor McGeer, addressing a record crowd attending the Jubilee celebration of Vancouver in Kitsilano pointed "with pride to the great progress Vancouver has made in her fifty years of growth and to the remarkable community spirit that has been evidenced recently in Kitsilano."⁴³ Certainly the KRA recognized and even advertised its own enthusiasm as "the community organization with a real community spirit."⁴⁴



FIGURE 34 Kitsilano's Big Day, July 24, 1935
(source: Vancouver City Archives).

Cooperative Action

In the attempt to generate community consciousness, the KRA promoted cooperation and solidarity amongst the neighbourhood's community groups. In a statement typical of KRA executives, Fred Smelts, president of the KRA in 1938 "emphasized his desire to cooperate with all associations working for the welfare of Kitsilano."⁴⁵ The in-

tended goal of the KRA to work in harmony with other neighbourhood organizations is perhaps best exemplified by its cooperation with the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce. Beyond their mutual participation in a number of community social events, the two organizations jointly formed a variety of committees -- to ensure the repaving of Fourth Avenue, to prevent the closure of Kitsilano branch public library, and to support the Red Cross. Their cooperation was based on the recognition of a common goal: "making the district of Kitsilano a better place to live in".⁴⁶

Although the KRA worked most extensively with the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, it did involve itself in joint action with other organizations in Kitsilano. The KRA gave its total support, for instance, to the Hadden Playschool movement in 1945.⁴⁷ This solidarity was reciprocated and the KRA noted that the General Gordon Parent Teacher Association "was behind us in anything we wished to do in regard to cleaning up the beach."⁴⁸

Mutual Support

Community solidarity was rooted in mutual interest and support both on a group and individual level. A philanthropic sense of duty to one's neighbours, especially in time of need, was thus a logical extension of a strong sense of community.

"Good samaritan man serves dinner for 6 boys at Lions Workshop'. It is such acts that do much to remind people that a healthy and fast-growing spirit is developing more and more in the district to make this a better and more closely knit Kitsilano."⁴⁹

Although the KRA extended its philanthropic interests to endorsement of missionary work in the East Canadian Arctic, its main focus of concern was with the residents of its own neighbourhood (Table 20).

TABLE 20

KRA COMMUNAL CONCERNS: MUTUAL SUPPORT

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Missionary work in East Arctic	1	
Rehabilitation of Kits war veterans	2	
Fuel shortage for Kits poor	3	
Old age pensioners care		3

The KRA donated money to both the local branch of the Canadian Legion and the local Anglican Homes Society.⁵⁰ The association also actively supported the local Santa Claus Fund established by the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce in 1935.⁵¹ In that year, seventy-six local merchants made up food hampers to give to the needy residents of Kitsilano. In the following year over thirty-five Kitsilano organizations took an active part in the drive and over four hundred Kitsilano families were given hampers.⁵²

"The Kitsilano Santa Claus Fund is a community development unique in the city. It is operated entirely by volunteer workers and from local organizations. It visits all homes asking for hampers and is able to give more personal and friendly attention that the daily paper funds can do. All provisions necessary for the hampers are bought in Kitsilano and packed and delivered free of charge."⁵³

Kitsilano's needy families were also the object of much concern amongst KRA members in regards to the fuel shortage which plagued Vancouver during the 1930's. Furthermore, the KRA actively supported any attempts by organizations to alleviate in general the problems of the poor, which they felt were exacerbated by industrial encroachment in areas of low income housing. "There is the problem of industries replacing housing in certain areas and the displacement of many people in the low income bracket."⁵⁴

"It is a pleasure for me, on behalf of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, to have the opportunity to congratulate the Burrard Lions Club on their low rental housing unit which will be erected at Balsam Street and Eighth Avenue. . . With the cost of so many things going up, this project will be a godsend to some of our more unfortunate citizens."⁵⁵

The KRA also enthusiastically supported the local Chamber of Commerce "Employment Plan" for Kitsilano, set up during the Depression to "find jobs for our unemployed citizens . . . using Kitsilano unemployed and Kitsilano materials."⁵⁶

The old age pensioners of Kitsilano similarly received attention from the KRA (Table 20). Two extra benches were secured by the association for Kitsilano Park, "thereby providing accommodation and convenience for many elderly people -- invalids and lovers of the beautiful, frequenting these oases of beauty and delight during the summer season."⁵⁷ The KRA also attended to the serious issue of housing for the elderly.

"I should appreciate it if you would kindly advise if your department is making any plans to provide housing for old age pensioners as I understand you are planning to do away with illegal suites."⁵⁸

The problems of a third group of Kitsilano citizens -- the World War II war veterans -- were also attended to by the KRA. The association supported the war cause itself in its 1943 purchase of a \$50 war victory bond and in its co-sponsorship with ^{the} KCC, Lions Club and local branch of the Legion a "monster victory loan rally". Its main concern, however, rested in the rehousing and rehabilitation of the veterans after the war (Table 20). The association was "proud of its boys" and wanted to do all it could to ensure their well-being.

Symbolization

There are inevitably a limited number of symbols which capture the image of a strong community. In Kitsilano, these symbols included most predominantly the Kitsilano Showboat -- which not only facilitated social interaction but also provided funds for charitable work -- and other beach activities. Perhaps as an outgrowth of its earlier use as a summer resort, Kitsilano's vitality was most fully expressed on its beaches. Thus, an old anchor found in Burrard Inlet became a relevant symbol of Kitsilano to the KRA, and was placed in Hadden Park.

Just as the old anchor symbolized the maritime connections of Kitsilano, the Hadden Park Memorial symbolized the dedication of those early pioneers who struggled to build the community and the generosity they displayed in setting aside park areas for Kitsilano's future residents.⁵⁹ In order to commemorate these pioneers, a museum

in Hadden Park became an important goal of the KRA. The association wholeheartedly backed a proposal to build the museum as a B.C. Centennial project in 1958. "We are going to have a museum second to none in Western Canada."⁶⁰

Community symbols were often expressed in superlatives. The Kitsilano Boys Band, who represented Kitsilano at home and abroad, was, for instance, "the premier band of the world in its class".⁶¹ Kitsilano groups, including the KRA, also annually nominated a "Kitsilano Outstanding Citizen" who "was active in local organizations and. . . made a significant contribution to the betterment of our area."⁶²

Through the extensiveness of its residents' activity, Kitsilano became a model community within Vancouver, setting the example for other Vancouver neighbourhoods to follow.

"All the hotels in Vancouver will not begin to hold the visitors coming to Vancouver during the Jubilee. Where will they stay? As our visitors, we cannot see them left to fend for themselves. We must open our homes to them. Let Kitsilano lead the way to the rest of the city in offering to room or room and board tourists."⁶³

TRADITIONAL NEIGHBOURHOOD DEFINED

What are the particular characteristics of this "model community" which served as the focus for the actions of associations like the KRA? The KRA's attention to improving utilities and services and promoting social interaction and community solidarity identify the association's image of Kitsilano as "a high-class residential district" -- an area of families and quality homes. Despite the apartment buildings

which existed in Kitsilano from its early days, Kitsilano remained until the 1960's primarily an area of single family dwellings. The KRA's concern with the neighbourhood's status was expressed in its efforts to preserve family homes (Table 21).

TABLE 21

KRA COMMUNAL CONCERNS: NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Protest Residential Upzoning		3
Protest Conversion of Homes into suites	2	
Protest Rezoning for non- residential use	9	2

The KRA opposed a number of attempts to either increase the density of the residential areas of the neighbourhood or to change the area from a residential to non-residential district.

"The houses you built 30 and 40 years ago are today as sound in construction as when they were first erected. . . They were for the majority too well built to be torn down to make room for a modern stucco building".⁶⁴

The association also felt that "Kitsilano is developing into a slum district because of the conversion into suites of a number of homes."⁶⁵

The Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association obviously agreed with the KRA, commenting on a photograph that a "small cottage type house, converted into suites gives a poor impression of a waterfront street" (Figure 35).



FIGURE 35 Small cottage type house converted into suites, 1200 Block Arbutus Street, 1956 (source: Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association).

In other cases the KRA protested against the upzoning of a district from a two-family to a multiple-family dwelling area.

"This association wishes to inform the Zoning Board that the membership voted unanimously in favour of the present Zoning By-Laws and wished them not to be relaxed. A two-family dwelling district should not be rezoned into a three-storey multiple dwelling district without the support of the people in the community."⁶⁶

Although certainly the KRA protested such changes due to their inevitable impact on the basic character of the neighbourhood, their concern rested also in the quality of development which replaced the original solid homes.

"We fail to see why such development would necessarily have to be in the form of the box-like structures which have been permitted in other areas, which are purely functional, make no pretence at design, contribute nothing to the amenity of the district, but tend very quickly to become a scar on the landscape."⁶⁷

Feeling the desire to protect the residential character of their neighbourhood, the KRA protested most forcibly the rezoning of areas of Kitsilano for non-residential use (Table 21). In several instances, the group protested the specific rezoning of sites for industrial use, such as 2196 West Thirteenth Avenue and the south side of York Avenue between Cypress and Chestnut Streets. In general, however, the KRA was opposed to all non-residential rezoning within Kitsilano and asked the Vancouver Town Planning Commission to prohibit all future industrial development west of Burrard Street and south to Sixth Avenue.⁶⁸ Although the KRA failed to prevent the south side of York Avenue from developing industrially, the association must have been pleased with City Hall's decision in 1956 to rezone several areas in northeastern Kitsilano from industrial to residential land use (Figure 24).

Again, the actions of the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association affirmed a common set of convictions. An issue the LKRA perceived as significant and vigorously contested was the neon sign erected by the Coca Cola plant at the corner of Burrard and Cornwall Streets. This plant, with its glaring sign, epitomized the industrial development disliked so intensely by the KRA and LKRA members (Figure 36).



FIGURE 36 Coca Cola sign (source: Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association).

"As a resident. . . on Kitsilano Point, north of Cornwall Street, I would like to advise you that I consider the Coca Cola sign a great detriment to our district, and particularly objectionable to residents of our beautiful Kitsilano Point. We have tried hard to uphold and improve our district, and signs such as Coca Cola have erected are very damaging. Nobody driving over Burrard Bridge with the Coca Cola sign glaring at them would consider Lower Kitsilano as a good district to build a home in now. They would be more likely to consider it a good place for a glue factory."⁶⁹

Although the intrusion of large scale industrial ventures into their area was considered most objectionable, both the KRA and LKRA opposed even small scale industrial or commercial ventures. The KRA protested a non-conforming beauty parlor at 1948 McNicoll Avenue, a small furniture manufacturing operation at 1972-4 West First Avenue and a boat construction operation at the corner of First Avenue and Maple Street. The LKRA battled at least twenty-two proposed or existing non-conforming land uses.⁷⁰

"It is most difficult to achieve and maintain a standard in an area where commercial use is permitted in a residential area, and it has taken the district of Lower Kitsilano many years of effort to surmount the blighting which is induced through non-conforming use."⁷¹

There can be no doubt of residents treatment of Kitsilano as a high quality neighbourhood. The extensiveness of their promotional and protective actions emphasized just how attached they were to this place as it was.

CONCLUSION

The traditional collective meaning of neighbourhood does seem to have found its expression in Kitsilano. The KRA, in its desire to fashion such a neighbourhood, encouraged the building of quality homes and appropriately desirable public utilities and services, especially parks. Attempts were made to prohibit or eradicate land uses inappropriate to this ideal place. Thus, a marina proposed for the Kitsilano foreshore was opposed as "it would profane the sacred use of

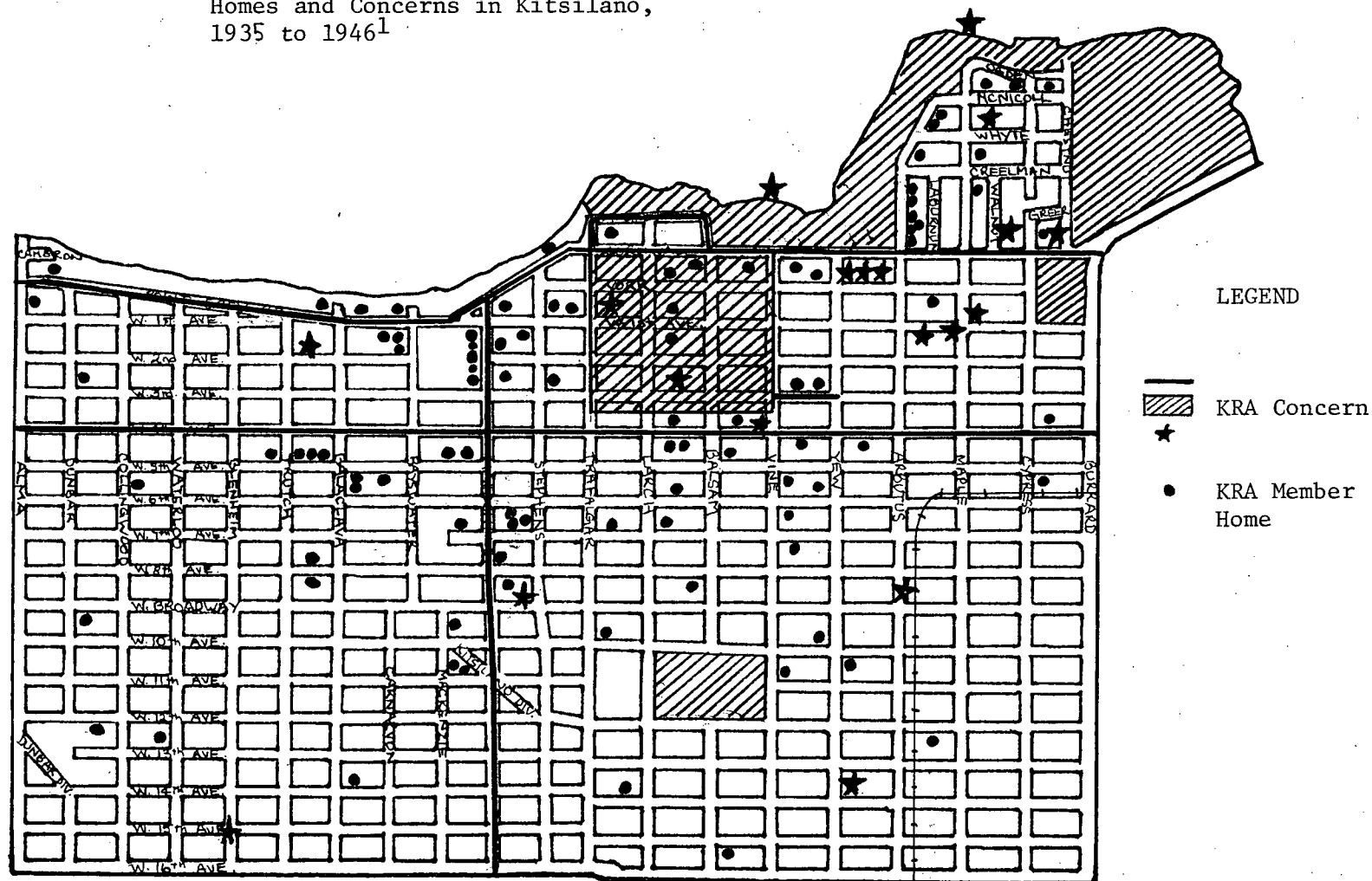
Hadden Park".⁷² With the motto of the KRA as "Keep Kitsilano Beautiful", considerable effort was expended to preserve the quality of the landscape. Attention was paid not only to streets, buildings and parks, but also to the homes which characterized the neighbourhood.

"These houses. . . are very small, of poor construction, and we already note a general deterioration. If something is not done to retrieve these weak spots, of which we estimate there are some seven or eight, we can foresee that a blight will spread to the better houses with whom they abut."⁷³

Recognizing the importance of social interaction to this ideal neighbourhood, the KRA sponsored and encouraged community entertainment -- particularly at Kitsilano Beach -- as well as contact amongst individuals and neighbourhood groups. Community solidarity was promoted through the philanthropic attempts to care for Kitsilano's more needy residents and the efforts to boost cooperative action and community spirit. A map showing the distribution of KRA concerns during the years 1935 to 1946 emphasizes the organization's focus on the waterfront beaches and parks essential to the image and social solidarity of the neighbourhood (Figure 37).

Certainly neighbourhood as a concept which is collectively ascribed to by a group of people in a place does explain much of the character and development of Kitsilano. Indeed the very existence of the KRA and other neighbourhood groups is rooted in this sense of community. Chapter Two, however, noted that Kitsilano changed markedly during the later part of its development. The disintegration of community groups in the late 1950's and 1960's is incompatible

FIGURE 37 Distribution of KRA Members'
Homes and Concerns in Kitsilano,
1935 to 1946¹



¹ Source of Issues: KRA Meeting Minutes, 1935 to 1946
Home addresses were mapped for 1938 General KRA members
and 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1946 executive KRA members

with the strong sense of community which existed in the 1930's and 1940's, especially considering how long the groups were in existence. Furthermore, the seemingly strong interest in social interaction within the community does not explain why the KRA later wanted to limit the entertainment provided by the "Showboat" at Kitsilano Pool. Nor does the KRA's involvement in philanthropic activities explain their later protest against rehabilitation homes being located in Kitsilano. And the association's primary concern with Kitsilano as a neighbourhood of homes certainly does not explain the later support given by the association for residential upzoning, the spot industrial rezoning of the Coca Cola plant and the promotion of Kitsilano as a tourist resort. In order, then, to understand Kitsilano as it has more recently developed and the role of community groups in this development, one must consider the possibility that goals other than those associated with the traditional collective concept of neighbourhood may also underlie the residents' behaviour. The following chapter will attempt to probe the meaning of neighbourhood which may more accurately characterize Kitsilano as it exists today.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR

- ¹Kitsilano Times, April 3, 1941, p. 3.
- ²Hillary, 1955. See also Chapter 1 of this thesis.
- ³KRA, Letter to Alice Pyche, Sept. 29, 1926.
- ⁴KRA, General Meeting Minutes, Oct. 29, 1945.
- ⁵Fred Scudamore, Letter to the KRA Historical Records Committee, Sept. 3, 1946.
- ⁶"Beach Conditions a Health Menace", KRA Historical Records Book, undated newspaper article, 1946.
- ⁷"Big Works Project to Eliminate Fouling of Kitsilano Beaches", Kitsilano Times, undated news article in KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ⁸Kitsilano Times, Feb. 13, 1926, p. 1.
- ⁹Ibid., May 29, 1926, p. 1
- ¹⁰KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Town Planning Commission, June 18, 1941.
- ¹¹KRA, Annual Report, 1935.
- ¹²KRA, Historical Records Book, unsigned entry, 1946.
- ¹³KRA, Annual Report, 1935.
- ¹⁴Kitsilano Times, March 3, 1938, p. 1.
- ¹⁵Ibid. Sept. 18, 1941, p. 1. The Help Keep Kitsilano Beautiful campaign involved both the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce and the KRA.
- ¹⁶"For cleaner parks and beaches", undated news article in KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.

- 17 "Verbal blasting given Bennett on dump issue", Vancouver Province, June 28, 1944.
- 18 Kitsilano Times, Jan. 24, 1957, p. 1. Although there was some controversy amongst KRA members regarding the development of a beach drive, the association did ultimately support the proposal (Kitsilano Times, Feb. 19, 1957).
- 19 KRA, letter to Vancouver City Town Planning Commission, Oct. 20, 1944.
- 20 Gordon Rooke, "Peace and the Sea", Kitsilano Times, Dec. 28, 1939, p. 1.
- 21 Fred Scudamore, Letter to the KRA Historical Records Committee, Sept. 3, 1946.
- 22 Kitsilano Times, Feb. 27, 1926, p. 1.
- 23 "Kitsilano antique garage fight in 3rd round", undated article in KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.
- 24 Kitsilano Times, April 23, 1936.
- 25 Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, Preliminary brief on Kitsilano Point Upzoning, June 28, 1956.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Major J.S. Matthews, Notes on Fred Bayliss, Vancouver City Archives.
- 28 Lynn Browne, Editorial, Kitsilano Times, April 8, 1937, p. 2.
- 29 Kitsilano Times, Feb. 2, 1956, p. 1.
- 30 Ibid., Sept. 8, 1928, p. 1.
- 31 Ibid., March 19, 1959, p. 1.
- 32 KRA, General Meeting Minutes, June 27, 1944.

- ³³KRA, Executive Meeting Minutes, Feb. 18, 1944.
- ³⁴The Kitsilano Council was one of a series of Community Councils established in Vancouver by Bert Emery.
- ³⁵Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, Foreward to the Roster, 1959.
- ³⁶"Denies Kitsilano Red Light Area", Kitsilano Times, June 19, 1941, p. 1.
- ³⁷KRA, Annual Report, 1935.
- ³⁸KRA, General Meeting Minutes, May 19, 1937.
- ³⁹Kitsilano Times, Sept. 13, 1962, p. 1.
- ⁴⁰Harold Kidd, president of the KRA, Letter to the KRA, Dec. 7, 1964.
- ⁴¹"Be a Booster", Kitsilano Times, Feb. 1, 1962. The Kitsilano Times played an important role in their support of community. Its sub-title indicated this: "published weekly to boost the district of Kitsilano and Fairview as business and residential sections".
- ⁴²Kitsilano Times, April 26, 1919, p. 15.
- ⁴³"Local jubilee celebration attracts record crowd", Kitsilano Times, July 2, 1936, p. 1.
- ⁴⁴KRA, Circular and membership card, April 19, 1935.
- ⁴⁵KRA, General Meeting Minutes, Feb. 15, 1938.
- ⁴⁶KRA, Executive Meeting Minutes, Feb. 8, 1935.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., May 15, 1945.
- ⁴⁸Ibid.
- ⁴⁹Kitsilano Times, Dec. 28, 1939, p. 1

- ⁵⁰ The donation of \$5,000 to the Kitsilano Legion was noted in the KRA meeting minutes, October 11, 1946. The money was procured from a show which the KRA sponsored. The KRA also purchased a \$10 share in the new hall for the Canadian Legion, Kitsilano branch, on Fourth Avenue.
- ⁵¹ The Kitsilano Santa Claus Fund was also considered as an extension of the drive sponsored by the Province newspaper although the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce organized and supported the local event, especially through Kitsilano Showboat contributions.
- ⁵² Kitsilano Times, Dec. 30, 1936, p. 1.
- ⁵³ Ibid., Oct. 29, 1936, p. 1.
- ⁵⁴ KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Town Planning Commission, May 30, 1956.
- ⁵⁵ KRA, Letter to Burrard Lions Club, Nov. 18, 1966.
- ⁵⁶ Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, Foreword to the Roster, 1959.
- ⁵⁷ KRA, Annual Report, 1934.
- ⁵⁸ KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Town Planning Commission, May 30, 1956.
- ⁵⁹ KRA, Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ⁶⁰ Major J.S. Matthews, Letter to KRA, Jan. 28, 1957.
- ⁶¹ Kitsilano Times, October 22, 1936, p. 2.
- ⁶² W.H. Hilton, Letter to KRA, May 1, 1967.
- ⁶³ "Open your home for the Jubilee", Kitsilano Times, May 14, 1936, p. 1.
- ⁶⁴ KRA, General Meeting Minutes, March 28, 1944.

- 65 KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Town Planning Commission, August 21, 1956.
- 66 "Board refutes Charge Kitsilano becoming slum", news article dated Nov. 21, 1944, no source given, KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.
- 67 KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Town Planning Commission, August 15, 1963.
- 68 KRA, Executive Meeting Minutes, Oct. 17, 1949.
- 69 Unsigned letter from LKRA member to the LKRA Utilities Committee, July 20, 1953.
- 70 Twenty-two issues related to non-conforming land uses were cited in LKRA records kept by Rosalind Latimer.
- 71 LKRA, Letter to Mayor Tom Campbell and City Council, Feb. 16, 1968.
- 72 LKRA, Petition to Parks Board, Feb. 8, 1956.
- 73 LKRA, Brief to the Vancouver Technical Planning Board, June 28, 1956.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRIVATE NOTIONS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

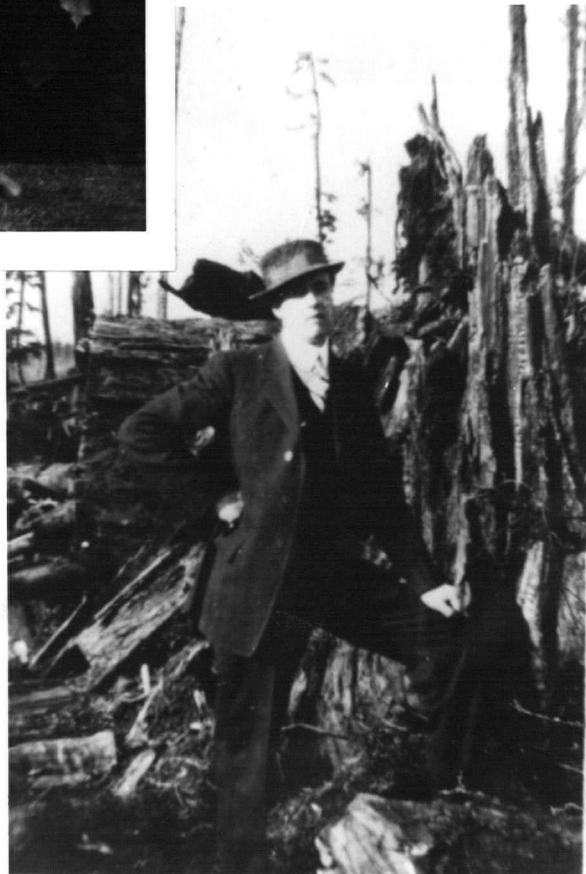


FIGURE 38 Mr. and Mrs. James Quiney, 1930
Theresa Quiney, undated
W.H. Glazer, 1909 (source: Vancouver City Archives).

"Man in his pursuit of happiness in the quiet enjoyment of his home and his children."

North-west Point Grey Home-
Owners Association 1953

"In the opinions of the residents in this area a single factory north of Cornwall Street would reduce property values from 33 and 1/3 percent down".

LKRA, 1952

The definition of neighbourhood in purely communal terms overlooks the more mundane but very real day-to-day life of residents who sought to fulfill a set of goals related to their private lives.

"The people who were in these homes that were next to these factories. . . were in a very bad way. . . They would wring their hands and they would say 'we can't sleep and there's hammering all night and the sawdust is awful and trucks are wizzing by. Next thing my house will be going.' So we looked up the city regulations and found out about the zoning by-laws and all these various things. And I said to them, 'Well, you're quite within your rights. We'll fight for this thing'. . . So we organized ourselves. And everybody was so happy and just made the dust fly."1

The private concerns not only prompted an entirely different set of actions than those emanating from communal interests, but also added force to some of the more traditionally-expressed objectives. The two concerns - communal and private - were thus sometimes in conflict and sometimes in accord. In either case, an understanding of the private motivations of residents clarifies their actions and ideas of neighbourhood.

A SAFE NUISANCE-FREE ENVIRONMENT

The desire to create an attractive and high quality neighbourhood environment - indeed, a "better place to live in"² - prompted the KRA's promotion of public utilities and services within Kitsilano. Equally important as a goal underlying the action to improve utilities, however, was the group's private interest in eliminating nuisance and ensuring safety in its neighbourhood (Table 22).

TABLE 22KRA PRIVATE CONCERNS: A NUISANCE-FREE ENVIRONMENT

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of time mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters ad- dressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Improve mail delivery		16
Change time of milk delivery	1	
Change time of streetcar service	4	
Improve parking	3	4
Reduce noise at Kits Park	7	
Reduce soot and smoke	1	

The KRA devoted much attention to a variety of seemingly mundane day-to-day nuisances. The inconvenience of lower Point Grey Road residents having to track down lost mail prompted the KRA to suggest a change in the name of the street.

"Confusion results when persons unfamiliar with the district travel west along Cornwall and join Point Grey Road at the intersection of Trafalgar. The two controversial blocks run parallel to Cornwall on the north between Balsam and Trafalgar. Complaints arise when delivery men leave parcels at corresponding addresses on Cornwall after failing to locate the two lost blocks."³

The association also requested restrictions in non-resident parking near Kitsilano Beach, and changes in the time of milk delivery, the time of the early morning street car run and the route of street-car service. Inconveniences and irritations in the daily lives of its members would thus be reduced.

Perhaps the most bothersome irritations to Kitsilano residents were noise and soot. Residents' attempts to prohibit industrial encroachment in their neighbourhood certainly seemed to be based in part on this concern with environmental irritation. Through the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, they petitioned for the removal of Nicholson Printers, 2092 West Second Avenue. "The continual hammering of the presses is nerve-racking and health-deteriorating."⁴ The KRA took up the cause of residents who were similarly discontented with the activities of the Royal Canadian Air Force depot on the Kitsilano Indian Reserve.

"We have had to endure the volumes of sooty smoke which issue from the stack of the airforce depot in the Indian Reserve, adjacent to Burrard Bridge, since their power house was erected; but we feel that the time has now come to voice our complaints. This stack is rarely seen without smoke even in the summer, and with the prevailing easterly winds the soot is terrific. It seeps through closed windows and falls on back porches like black snow. It is impossible to hang clothes on the line if an east wind is blowing at the time."⁵

This pollution was a source of daily irritation, particularly to the local housewives. The KRA thus circulated a petition and wrote numerous letters in an attempt to alleviate the problem. With the eventual removal of the depot the problem was, of course, solved.

The KRA's focus on environmental nuisances in Kitsilano was matched by its attention to environmental safety (Table 23).

TABLE 23

KRA PRIVATE CONCERNS: A SAFE ENVIRONMENT

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Expansion of sewer system	28	
Elimination of traffic hazards	20	1
Prohibit bicycles on paths in Kitsilano Park	2	
Eliminate "lurkers" in Kits Park	3	
Controls on bathing in Kits Pool	1	
Prevent RCAF use of Kitsilano Point	7	
Eliminate fire hazards	7	

The association complained bitterly of a septic tank just west of Kitsilano Pool not only because "the odor was said to be so odious at times that a nearby resident 'daren't open her bedroom window at night'" but also because it was a definite health hazard.⁶ Although certainly the KRA considered sewers important because of their testimony to a well-serviced neighbourhood, their main value seemed to lie in alleviating the dangers associated with raw sewage outlets.

"Recently, a man and a woman were passing the storm sewer when an explosion occurred in the sewer, thought to be caused by the explosion of gases. The force of the explosion threw the couple some little distance and they were taken into a neighbour's and given attention."⁷

"The opinion of ratepayers and residents of the district is that whatever the cost, the work (on a new sewer system) should be done immediately, as the Maple Street sewage outlet is considered a definite health hazard."⁸

The interest shown at large in the quality of Kitsilano's environment seemed to be rooted primarily in a concern for safety, and only secondarily in esthetics.

"Loose firewood dumped carelessly on the lot often spreads beyond the property lines on to the lane, sidewalk and boulevard causing a hazard to traffic and pedestrians besides being very unsightly."⁹

Although the KRA promoted the planting of shrubs and trees throughout Kitsilano, it advocated their removal to improve traffic visibility and reduce the potential for accidents. The "hedge and tree menace" to vehicular and pedestrian traffic approaching the corner of Third Avenue and Macdonald Street prompted such an action.¹⁰

Traffic hazards, particularly in the form of congested streets and parking problems were considered a major obstacle to safety by the KRA (Table 22). Perhaps because of the access into the district afforded by Burrard Street Bridge, Point Grey Road and Cornwall Street became the centre of much discussion regarding traffic hazards. The association noted that both Cornwall Street and Point Grey Road "are very narrow and cars are allowed to park on both sides of the street".¹¹ Conditions were judged particularly dangerous around Balsam Street at the entrance to Kitsilano Park. Restrictions on parking and the widening of both Point Grey Road and Cornwall Street were promoted by the KRA as solutions to the problem.

The KRA's work to eliminate traffic problems was based on a concern for the safety of not only the motorist but also the pedestrian. In fact, with the safety of pedestrians and even their pets in mind, the association sought to prohibit the riding of bicycles on paths in Kitsilano Park. Stop signs and traffic control lights -- particularly along Cornwall and Point Grey Road -- were considered essential at corners where pedestrians frequently had to cross the road. Street lighting, which had been promoted for its esthetic value, was also considered necessary for safety reasons. The KRA requested the repair of a broken light at the corner of Cornwall and Vine Streets, since "that corner has heavy traffic and in the rush of evening traffic someone crossing is very liable to get hurt."¹²

Sidewalks poorly-constructed or in poor repair posed additional dangers to the pedestrian.

"When the concrete walks were laid, certain small bits of wood, or bark, got into the mixture of cement and sand, or perhaps too large a pebble. As the years past, the bit of wood rots, or, by the constant tramping, pebbles worked loose, and the thin covering of concrete above it, breaks. In both cases, a tiny hole appears in the surface of the concrete sidewalk. I think there are thirty of such holes in two blocks near the beach. Two years ago, a lady's small heel entered one of these holes on Pt. Grey Road near Balsam. The weight of the lady forced it in firmly, with the result that she was thrown onto the concrete, her stocking torn, the flesh of her knees bled, and for six months she limped from the injury to one knee."¹³

In 1957, the sidewalk on Macdonal Street between Third and Fourth Avenues was in a similarly hazardous state. The KRA petitioned for sidewalk repairs and City Hall complied.

Land uses, like public utilities and services, were also assessed by the KRA on the basis of their danger to Kitsilano residents. In 1942, the organization protested the rebuilding of Canada Roof Products at the corner of Ninth Avenue and Arbutus Street. The building had already burned down once and would, if rebuilt, pose a severe fire threat to the surrounding area.¹⁴ In the same year, the KRA also protested the establishment of the RCAF military base on Kitsilano Point. The possibility of disaster was obvious.

"Enemy bombers attacking the said depot would . . . do untold damage to the thickly populated residential Kitsilano district."¹⁵

All industrial ventures, in fact, posed a threat to residents. The KRA noted that three times an orange crush truck dumped its load on a local street without carefully checking for people in its path.¹⁶

Although the KRA attended most frequently to issues of safety in the physical environment, it expressed some concern for safety in the social environment as well. In requesting better street lighting on Fifth Avenue between Macdonald and Bayswater Streets, the association noted that "the area has been the scene of several purse snatchings and other incidents".¹⁷ Again, in 1942 the group protested the building of hot dog stands in Kitsilano Park, since they "would have afforded a place for undesirable characters after dark".¹⁸ Despite the public convenience of such stands, desirable within the traditional concept of community, the KRA chose to oppose such development and attend to its more private desire to secure a safe neighbourhood.

The importance of the social environment was, of course, related to the general concern with the convenience and ease of day-to-day life. People who share the same lifestyle are far less likely to engage in activities offensive and 'alien' to each other. The KRA's request for increased police patrol and better lighting in Kitsilano Park emanated from the complaints of "hoodlums disturbing the peace" with noise and gambling keeping the residents in the vicinity of the park awake at night.¹⁹ Similarly, the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association complained to police of activities out of place "in an otherwise quiet residential district":²⁰

"I am now harrassed by noises and some going on which seem to be alien to a residential district. As soon as the new tenants moved in we were disturbed from time to time by noises, banging, hammering, etc., usually starting at 11:00 p.m., and going on intermittently until as late as 4:00 a.m. Now taxis arrive at all hours during the day as well as during these late hours of the night. The arrival of each taxi is followed by much door slamming, loud conversation and other noise, all of which carries into my bedroom windows which are next door to this place. You can well imagine that it is very disturbing to say the least."²¹

Perhaps the most classic example of concern expressed by residents towards a lifestyle unbecoming to Kitsilano was the protest of the "hippie invasion" during the 1960's. In commenting on the proposed establishment of a youth hostel for transients, Rosalind Latimer noted the incongruity of such a group of people with the general neighbourhood.

"There are school teachers, bank managers, lawyers, housewives who devote themselves to the bringing up of their children to the best of their abilities, secretaries who trudge faithfully to the place of their employment daily, working men who rise with the dawn and sleep with the sun, children who are urged from their warm beds to attend a school in the proximity of the proposed hostel. . . . These are but a few whose occupations dedicate them to a quality of life which the majority of our transient youth views with derision and vocally intends to have no part of. . . . Would not the setting up of this hostel promulgate a Haight Street situation in the heart of one of Vancouver's most desirable districts?"²²

The "hippie" lifestyle was obviously seen as incompatible with that of the average Kitsilano resident. . . . Being incompatible, it would be a constant source of irritation, worry and fear.

"Many of (our customers) have expressed their fear and disgust with the loiterers in this block, whom they must pass to enter our premises after parking their car or en route from the bus stop. Indeed our business has decreased noticeably due to this problem. . . . Our reactions changed from amused to disgusted, then nauseated, and finally extreme anger. The hippie philosophy, which they claim to be one of love, tolerance and goodwill, is sham and hypocrisy and an excuse for sloveliness and sexual license. They profess to consider labour as useless, but in reality they are irresponsible, free-loading, lazy bums with the proclivities of a stray dog (no insult intended to dogs). They loiter on the sidewalks at all hours of the day or night, littering the pavement with refuse, smashing empty bottles on the street, using doorways as latrine areas, intimidating elderly people and corrupting our young teenagers. . . . In addition there is their unashamed admission of the use of drugs and hallucinatory agents (e.g., smoking banana peel). . . . Listen

to their unashamed and unguarded utterances, and their attitude of--'I am a juvenile, you can't do anything to me!' Also listen to the cries of parents whose thirteen and fourteen year old girls are missing, living in their communal houses."²³

ENVIRONMENT FOR CHILDREN

The KRA's attendance to the conveniences and safety of day-to-day life in Kitsilano stemmed from an underlying preoccupation with the family.

"Almost anything--if it concerned the welfare of the children, their rest or health--we'd get into it!"²⁴

The neighbourhood environment was of such critical importance to the group because it provided the context for the raising of children. Until the 1960's, Kitsilano was an area of predominantly single-family homes, well suited to that purpose.

"The houses you built thirty and forty years ago are today as sound in construction as when they were first erected, large and built for a happy family life."²⁵

In contrast, the area just east of Kitsilano exemplified the unwholesome conditions which were condemned as unsuitable for children.

"The area is a badly mixed one of slum properties, vacant lots, and intermittent industrial plants. . . The effect on mothers and children are degrading and ruinous to morale. The obstacles to maintaining a reasonable standard of cleanliness are overwhelming. Children suffer from squalor, overcrowding, propinquity, and lack of play space. . . The dangers of accidents for children from the heavy truck traffic are very great. Fire hazards are high."²⁶

As we have seen, KRA members worked diligently to preserve and enhance their home-oriented environment. Their actions, however, take on a new meaning when viewed from the perspective of the concern for family. Improved sewers, and traffic conditions guaranteed a safer environment for children at play. "Raw sewage sweeping back into the area where our kiddies bathed,"²⁷ caused parents much concern.

"One day my child came home blowing what he called a balloon. It was a French safe! I was so riled! I took a quart bottle and the human defecation and I got my kids and all the others I could persuade out of the water. Then I took this quart jar and plunked it on the ratepayers table. And I said, 'this is the type of polluted water our children are swimming in in Kitsilano!'"²⁸

The raw sewage outlets near Kitsilano Pool and at the foot of Maple Street as well as the seven in False Creek were thus all protested vigorously by the KRA.

The KRA's promotion of stop signs, traffic lights and more appropriate parking regulations all had their roots in the concern not only for a convenient life but also for children.

"It has been brought to our attention by the proprietors of the Edwards Building (Academy of Arts) that a hazard exists for children going to and from their classes in this building. The children are brought to and taken by their parents in cars or in taxis which are forced to double park or unload around the corner."²⁹

The KRA suggested the erection of a "loading zone" or "no parking" sign as a solution to the problem.

The critical importance of children to the KRA is exemplified in the association's 1956 suggestion to widen First Avenue rather than Cornwall Street in order to prevent increased traffic genera-

tion near Henry Hudson School, located at the corner of Cornwall and Cypress Streets.³⁰ Despite the obvious convenience of Cornwall Street to motorists using Burrard Street Bridge, the significance of Cornwall's waterfront location and even the association's earlier suggestions to widen that street, the KRA chose to protect first and foremost the interests of its children.

A fear of the potential traffic hazards which would be generated by industry underlay in large part the KRA's opposition to industrial encroachment in eastern Kitsilano -- particularly near to Henry Hudson school. The experience with trucks, parked in and around Tremblay Motors lead the KRA in 1944 to oppose the industrial rezoning of the south side of York Street between Cypress and Chestnut Streets.

"The heavy trucks that might be used by the Campbell Construction Company would be a definite hazard to the children attending the Henry Hudson School."³¹

Industry provided a further danger to children -- that of negatively influencing their social development.

"All of us were interested in the welfare of children. We went down and recorded the language at the tow truck operation and stayed until 2:00a.m. one Saturday night. I didn't want to play it back to City Hall but I told them 'if you force me to I will'".³²

The earlier examination of the KRA's interests in the social character of its neighbourhood confirms an interest slightly different than that emanating from family interests. While in a communal sense the KRA encouraged a wide variety of social contacts,

social entertainment, and philanthropic activities, the more private concern with family finds the KRA much more judicious in its assessment and encouragement of certain social dimensions of community (Table 24).

TABLE 24

KRA PRIVATE CONCERNS: UNDESIRABLE SOCIAL FACILITIES

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Oppose cabaret	1	
Oppose Mental Rehabilitation Home	4	
Oppose Narcotics Rehabilitation Clinic		4

Despite the KRA's interest in encouraging entertainment facilities within Kitsilano, when these facilities posed a threat to the children of the neighbourhood, the association took an adamant stance against them.

"A cabaret type business so close to a school is not in the best interests of the pupils."³³

Furthermore, despite the association's interest in philanthropic endeavours, it protested, on the basis of safety to families and children, a number of social-welfare institutions, including a home for the rehabilitation of women released from Essondale and a narcotics rehabilitation clinic.

"The narcotics rehabilitation clinic at 2893 Point Grey Road. . . would overlook children's playgrounds in front and a beach in the rear, mainly used by women and children. Undoubtedly it would bring a very undesirable element such as dope peddlers and pushers, making it unsafe for the residents in the district."³⁴

The appropriate social services and facilities for Kitsilano were, of course, those which attended to the needs of families with children. The Kitsilano Showboat, beach concerts and high school events promoted by the KRA certainly indicated an interest in the "good clean fun" type of family-oriented social event. Similarly the support for expansion of schools, libraries, playgrounds and other facilities revealed the association's concern for the necessities and conveniences in a family-oriented community. In requesting the replacement of a bench removed from Kitsilano Park, the KRA noted "as these seats are much used, especially by mothers with small children and baby buggies, it was felt that they should be replaced".³⁵ Further, one of the main reasons given by the KRA to justify the need for a stop point on the trolley line at Fourth Avenue and Bayswater travelling west, was that "this point is close to apartment buildings occupied largely by families, many of them including children in arms".³⁶

Although the KRA dealt with a wide range of family services, their promotion of parks in general, and particularly playground facilities, indicated a committed encouragement of family activities in the natural environment.

"Our association would like to have swings and other equipment installed in Tatlow Park for the use of children. We would also suggest that sand be placed on the bottom of the creek to make it more suitable for wading. There are a number of children in the district . . . and the addition of these attractions add greatly to the park."³⁷

The KRA's attention to parks and, further, the quality of the environment as a whole, reflects their perception of the right kind of environment in which to raise children.

"The old saying that a home is not a home until it is planted is as true today as ever. Every unplanted home in Canada can be made more attractive by the judicious use of trees, shrubs, vines, flowers and a well-kept lawn. We are influenced by our surroundings to a greater degree than we sometimes realize. Children are particularly sensitive in this regard. Surely a home in and around which flowers are grown is a better place to bring up children than a home where no attention is paid to these friends of the plant kingdom. If children are taught to love flowers and become familiar with them they will be filled with love for these things. There will be less room in their hearts and minds for the things that hurt and destroy."³⁸

The association's encouragement of tree planting and its work to "Keep Kitsilano Beautiful" thus had roots not just in a proud sense of the quality of their neighbourhood, but also in a keen awareness of the sensitivity of children to their environment.

Beyond the consideration of facilities and esthetics appropriate to a family neighbourhood, the KRA deeply considered the type of residence suitable for families.

"We wish to go on record as protesting the housing of families in multiple dwellings. . . the inadequacy of this type of housing for young children seems to be ignored."³⁹

In opposing the development of non-basement dwellings at 2600 Point Grey Road, the KRA outlined its concerns:

"Without a basement there is no play area during inclement weather, and the matter of supervision should not be ignored. Without adequate space, and supervision, a very serious problem can be imposed upon the neighbourhood, since children will be forced onto the streets or into the homes of neighbours."40

The responsibility of raising children was naturally considered to lie in the hands of parents who should provide the type of home which would fulfill the family's needs, independent of the broader neighbourhood. The KRA, beyond its communal dimension, was thus an organization dedicated to easing this individual burden of parents by helping to secure the proper home and neighbourhood environment for the private child-rearing process.

THE FINANCIAL SECURITY OF THE FAMILY

Involvement in improving the utilities, social services and safety of the neighbourhood was one major avenue whereby the KRA attended to the individual needs of Kitsilano parents. The association also focused much of its work on protecting the financial security of the family. In part, this consisted of reducing the financial burden of the home-owner by keeping down the cost of utilities and taxes (Table 25).

TABLE 25

KRA PRIVATE CONCERNS: HOMEOWNER COSTS

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935-1946</u>
Telephone/Hydro/Water	7
Price of sawdust fuel	1
Taxes	6
Cost of Education	1

The problem of homeowner costs was an issue repeatedly addressed by the KRA. At one of the association's "enthusiastic and well-attended meetings (a) unanimously strong stand was taken against the increase in taxes and water rates and a resolution passed protesting this additional burden in property already too heavily taxed".⁴¹ The taxation rate was seen as particularly problematic for the young homeowners just establishing themselves in Kitsilano.

"If City Council wants to avert disaster to young people who are setting up their homes here, the continued boosting of taxes will have to stop."⁴²

An interest in not only the potential success of these individuals but also the ongoing viability of the neighbourhood as a whole must certainly have prompted the KRA's protectiveness.

The association's concern regarding sawdust fuel emanated as much from a concern with costs as with availability.

"At a recent meeting of the Executive of the KRA, some time was given to a discussion of the current shortage of fuel sawdust in the city. Customers should be protected against winter shortage and unwarranted increased in price."⁴³

Both the financial security and also the welfare of the family itself was at stake.

To a large degree, the financial security of the family rested in the home. The KRA thus focused much of its attention on sustaining and enhancing the property values of homes in its neighbourhood. All the utilities and services which the KRA promoted during the

development of Kitsilano increased property value. Further, the encouragement of activities to promote the esthetic appeal of Kitsilano seemed directly related to this concern with the value of the home.

"There are many good reasons why every householder. . . should do his or her part towards making the home's surroundings more attractive. In the first place, the money spent on nursery stock or other planting materials is a good investment and will increase the value of a home to a much greater extent than the amount spent on planting materials."⁴⁴

Although the KRA's opposition to industrial activities may be explained by their communal concern with preserving the residential and environmental quality of their neighbourhood, their opposition to industrial encroachment is further explained by the impact of industry on property values.

"Wherever industry established itself home property values took a slump. Turning the (Kitsilano Indian) Reserve into industrial sites would make the adjacent district an area of blight."⁴⁵

The association thus opposed the industrial rezoning of the south side of York Street between Cypress and Chestnut Streets, not only to protect the safety of their environment but also to protect the value of their homes.

"Encroachment would be a detriment to real estate values in the district."⁴⁶

Industrial activity was not the only land use to have a negative impact on property values. The KRA considered various social services such as nursing homes and half-way houses to have a similar effect on the property values in the district. In 1958, the associa-

tion protested a home which was to have housed eight boys, fifteen to twenty years of age, "who were in danger of drifting into wrong ways".⁴⁷ Neighbouring property owners claimed "that the home would devalue property and begin forming the district into a slum area."⁴⁸ During the 1950's, as well, the KRA opposed the building of three private hospitals on Point Grey Road. Twelve of such homes already existed in the Point Grey Road area and were the cause of much consternation amongst nearby residents.⁴⁹

"The main complaint against the nursing homes is that they depreciate the value of neighbouring single-family dwellings."⁵⁰

Despite the KRA's community support goals, its president in 1955, Fred Scudamore, commented that "he'd prefer to see the nursing homes closed."⁵¹ Recognizing, and perhaps feeling uncomfortable about this conflict between communal and private sentiments, another member of the KRA "pointed out that the homes were operated for profit and not for philanthropic reasons."⁵²

Despite the KRA's membership invitation to all residents of the neighbourhood, the association's desire to sustain property values ultimately led it to protesting the intrusion of the "wrong" type of people into Kitsilano.

"The Oriental population has increased during the past twenty years until there are at present (1933) 174 Orientals attending Henry Hudson School (over 22% of the school population). This fact lowers the value of all property tributary to this school."⁵³

The value and status of Henry Hudson school itself was considered to have declined - and the primary cause of the decline, the Orientals, became exaggerated in the minds of those looking back on the problem.

"It was a very poor school. I think it was one of the worst in Vancouver. You didn't dare mention to your friends that your child went to Henry Hudson School, that's how bad it was! It was so run down. I would say that seventy-five percent were Orientals and Japanese."⁵⁴

During the period from 1935 to 1946, the KRA addressed ten of its meetings to the crucial issue of the "Oriental penetration" into Kitsilano.

This same belief that property values were fundamentally influenced by the type of residents in an area underlay, in part, the later apprehensions expressed by the KRA towards the intrusion of "hippies" into Kitsilano.

"At a recent meeting of the Kitsilano Ratepayers Association's Action Committee, it was suggested that I write you in regard to the element that hang around your building, day and night, destroying the appearance of your grounds, littering your premises, as well as creating a most disgraceful scene in front of all business establishments in the area. . . . we are getting together to try and have this element eliminated or controlled, as by all reports, the businesses in this area are suffering, value of property is dropping, and it is becoming very difficult to rent to suitable people."⁵⁵

It is evident that the KRA's private concern with the financial security of the family conflicted, to some degree, with its communal interest in neighbourhood solidarity. This conflict was further

exemplified in the association's apparently contradictory stance towards industrial rezoning. Despite all the apprehensions expressed regarding industrial encroachment in Kitsilano, in 1940 the KRA supported the Coca Cola Company's application to rezone the southwest corner of Cornwall and Burrard Streets for industrial use. The company's plant would "provide employment for up to 200 men" -- employment which would offer financial security to a number of Kitsilano families.⁵⁶ It appears that, in taking a stance on the Coca Cola rezoning application, the KRA was forced to decide between its desire to secure a ^{private} monetary goal and its desire to secure a whole set of goals -- esthetics, the safety of children and even the protection of property values -- jeopardized by the industry. Perhaps influenced by the financially troublesome depression and war years, or maybe merely displaying its most vital concern, the KRA supported industrial encroachment and increased employment opportunities.

SELF-INTERESTS

The concern for family security and a safe and wholesome environment in which to raise children certainly prompted many of the initiatives not explained by the KRA's more collective sense of neighbourhood. Family concerns do not, however, explain all of the KRA's less communally-oriented behaviour. There existed a realm of private concerns based on the self-interest of individual KRA members which underpinned many of the association's actions.

Every formal organization has, of course, its members' interests to protect. The Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce openly admitted the private goals which underlay its most successful community activity, the Kitsilano Showboat:

"To use these audiences for publicity purposes in connection with our activities and to influence them in patronizing our local stores."⁵⁷

The self-interests of the KRA, however, are not quite so easily defined, for the group, through its own constitutional objective, comprised a wide range of individuals. In serving the collective ideal of neighbourhood, the KRA focused its attention upon issues which affected the majority of its members and the various areas within Kitsilano. In serving the more private ideal of neighbourhood, however, the KRA attempted to serve the very localized and specific wishes of its individual members (Table 26).

TABLE 26

KRA PRIVATE CONCERNS: INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS

<u>Issue</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Financial interests of members	4	2
Recreational interests of members	3	
Residential interests of members	4	2

In a number of cases the KRA responded to the pleas for help by members unfairly burdened by the expenses demanded of them by City Hall. Numerous letters, for example, were written by the association to absolve one member of the excess financial responsibility for a sewer connection.

"The Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association has considered the position of Mrs. Lukin Johnston, of 2475 Point Grey Road, relative to the connection from her house to the Point Grey Road Sewer, which she has been instructed to have made by City authorities. It appears that this connection cannot be made without considerable expense over and above the normal cost of such a connection, as the sewer, when put in, was not made deep enough to receive outlets from buildings already existing on Point Grey Road. . . This Association views with grave concern any suggestion that the householder concerned should be penalized by the extra expense arising from a situation for which she bears no responsibility. The Association therefore submits that, in fairness to Mrs. Lukin Johnston, the City of Vancouver should absorb the additional expense required to make the connection from 2475 Point Grey Road to the sewer."58

The KRA attempted not only to reduce the financial burdens of members but also to increase and protect their assets. In the face of City Hall's denial of a permit to one of their members, Harold Clay, for the continued use of the False Creek foreshore as a wharf, the association mounted a vigorous protest.

Despite its many efforts to expand public facilities in the neighbourhood, the KRA opposed any which would conflict with members' already-established use of an area. In 1939, a curling rink proposed for Heather Park was thus protested for its disruption of the park's quiet use by members. A proposed putting green and even childrens' use of the park against regulations was similarly considered an inconvenience by the McBride Park frequenters.

"Admittedly a putting green is, in itself, no menace but, as is the case with so many other privileges, it is what they bring in their wake that cause protests. In this case, people to whom this concession has been granted are not

residents of the block facing the park, therefore, may be indifferent to such annoyance as their amusements may cause. Their own street blocks will be left undisturbed while ours will be subjected to the concentrated results of the intrusion of those from the surrounding vicinity. Already, although the park bears a large notice to the effect that no ball games are permitted, it is not an infrequent thing for groups of boys to indulge in bouts of football - to the inconvenience of those who use the park for its original purpose - in place of rest."⁵⁹

The communally-based interest in serving the residents of Kitsilano as a whole was thus only upheld by the KRA as long as the interests of individual members were not compromised.

This submission of communal to individual goals was further exemplified in the KRA's protection of members' interests at the expense of other Kitsilano residents. In several cases, the KRA protested building projects which would adversely affect the residences of its members. The association, for example, supported the cause of Mr. and Mrs. William M. Shearer and John Sutherland, president of the KRA in 1943, in their attempt to prevent the building of a garage at 1633 Stephens Street.

"The south side of the partially constructed garage building at 1633 Stephens Street is approximately seventy-five feet from the veranda of the . . . property owned by us at 1645 Stephens, and shuts out our view towards Point Grey Road and the bay. . . Although I plan to live in this property after my retirement . . . I would not consider it a suitable place to live if this garage were built."⁶⁰

Although a map of the location of issues tackled by the KRA during the period from 1935 to 1946 indicated a focus on the waterfront

area where social activities and neighbourhood image rested, a closer examination of the map reveals that fifty-four percent of KRA members' homes lay within one block of the site of an issue (Figure 27).⁶¹ In 1956, that proximity of members' homes to group issues rose to fifty-six percent (Figure 39). It seems that the KRA has always been fairly attentive to its individual members' desired.

An examination of the occupations of KRA members may more fully expose the nature of the individuals whose goals influenced KRA policy. Although such an examination does reveal a wide range of occupations (Table 12), three interest groups are discernible (Table 27).

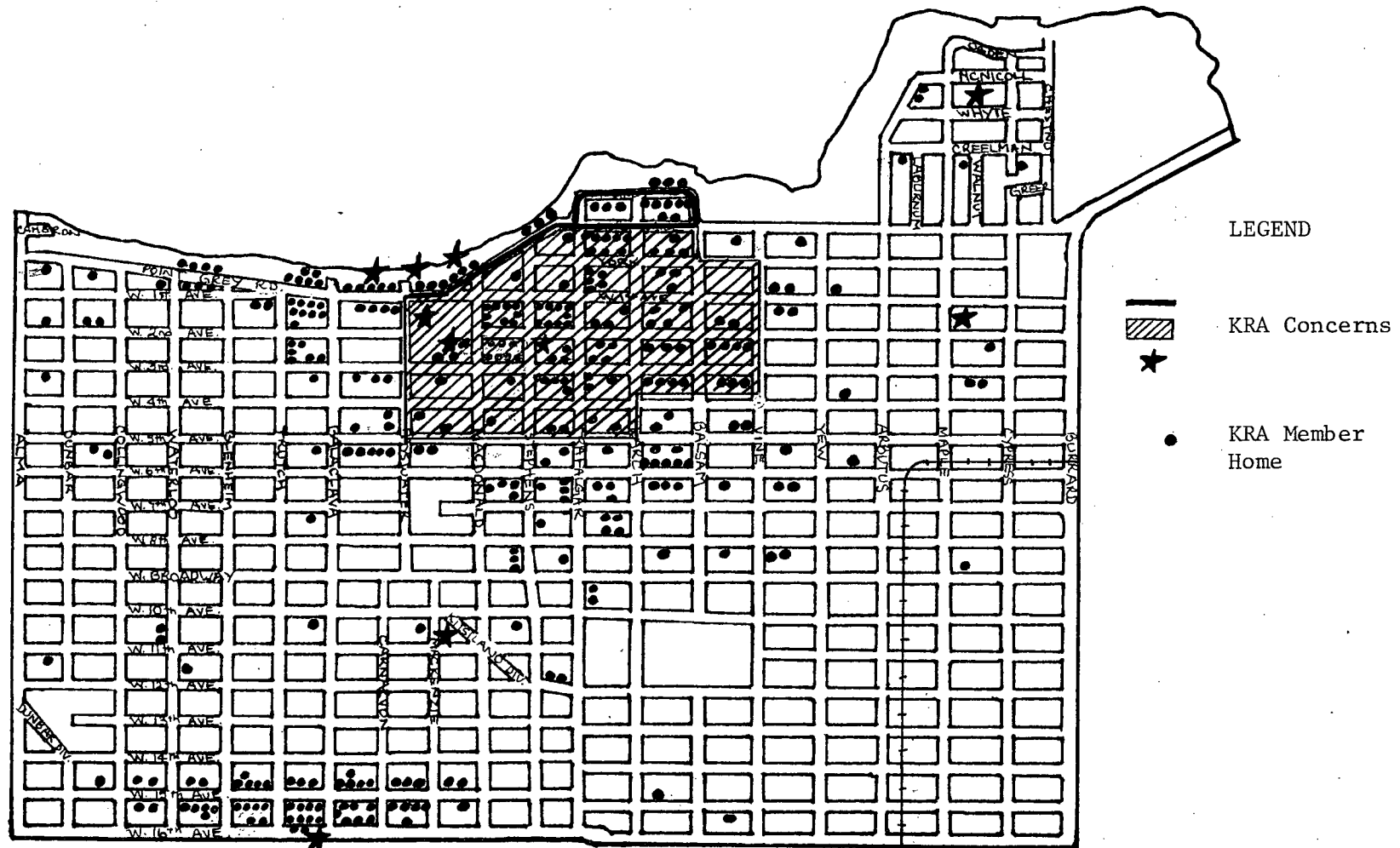
TABLE 27

KRA INTEREST GROUPS

	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Apt. Owners or Real Estate Developers</u>	<u>Retired or Widowed</u>
1938 General Members	5%	7%	25.5%
1940's Executive Members	9%	9%	18%
1956 General Members	26%	4%	35%
1956 Executive Members	0%	7%	57%

The concerns of housewives certainly must have been fulfilled in the KRA's attendance to matters concerning home, children and family. It is, perhaps, the interests of the apartment owners and retired residents which need further probing in the attempt to understand the changing role of the KRA in community development.

FIGURE 39 The Distribution of KRA Members' Homes and Concerns in Kitsilano, 1954 to 1957¹



¹Source of Issues: KRA Correspondence 1954 to 1957
Home addresses were mapped for 1956 general and executive KRA members.

Interests of Apartment Owners

It was a well known fact that a number of key executive members of the KRA - Fred Melton, Fred Scudamore and Neville and Margaret Beaton, for example - were small scale real estate developers and landlords.⁶² It was perhaps not so well known that, in many cases, the association sought to ease the development goals of these members.

"I have been aware of rumours for three months that your association would be requested to endorse the request of some property owners for rezoning and spot zoning in the area west of Larch."⁶³

Certainly the association's support of the upzoning of the Killarney mansion site -- home for years of KRA meetings -- must have been rooted in the desire to please the owners. Given the association's often expressed antipathy to apartment construction, its promotion of residential upzoning does not otherwise make sense (Table 28).

TABLE 28

KRA PRIVATE CONCERNS: RESIDENTIAL UPZONING

<u>Area to be upzoned to apts.</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned in meeting minutes, 1935 to 1946</u>	<u>No. of letters addressed to the issue, 1954-1957</u>
Killarney site		1
Larch to Bayswater Streets, 4th Ave. to Pt. Grey Rd.		2
4th Ave. to Broadway, Bayswater St. to Alma Rd.	6	
SW corner of 3rd Ave. & Vine	4	

The KRA attended to the interests of apartment owners in various ways. In 1947, it passed a resolution calling for the reprieve of Federal government rent controls "to compensate owners of renting properties for the injustice to which they have been subjected for a very long period".⁶⁴ The KRA also was "opposed to the limitation to eight suites on apartment blocks on fifty-foot lots", and fought to change the restriction.⁶⁵ Even the various communally-based objectives of the KRA were intended to serve, as well, the more private goals. During ten meetings of the KRA in 1941, members protested the speeding traffic on Cornwall Street not merely for the safety of pedestrians, but also because apartment owners in the area were suffering a loss of revenue.

The KRA members whose interests lay in the promotion of real estate development must certainly have had a different conception of neighbourhood than those whose main concern lay in the protection of children and the single-family home. Fred Scudamore described his image of Kitsilano.

"The north side of Point Grey Road, from Trafalgar to Alma (should be) expropriated for civic park purposes. . . The south side should be rezoned for four or five storey apartments to overlook such a magnificent view of the mountains."⁶⁶

This vision of Kitsilano as the "Riviera" or "beach resort"⁶⁷ of Vancouver was held, as well, by various other people, including members of the LKRA, whose "ultimate goal (was). . . a complete sweep of beach fringed by park from Burrard Bridge to Balsam Street, forming

an attractive background for prosperous apartments and hotels, providing a tremendous tourist attraction."⁶⁸ Interestingly, City Hall, who proposed a Beach Park Drive for Point Grey Road in 1956 wanted "no new apartment buildings in the area" alongside the waterfront.⁶⁹ Although the KRA as a whole approved of this plan -- it did allow apartment development on the south side of Point Grey Road and, furthermore, enhanced property values by adding parks and bettering views -- a number of property owners along the north side of Point Grey Road were incensed. One might expect their opposition to the plan to be based on the fear of expropriation. This was not, however, the case. Their concern lay in the intermediate plans of City Hall "with its restrictions on normal and economic development of the properties."⁷⁰

"The (planning) board passed a motion, to city council asking that 'no special consents be given for apartment buildings' because the board thinks the property should be acquired for park purposes', said Mr. Cran. 'This means the freeze is on,' he said. 'Who is going to buy a piece of property here?'"⁷¹

Mr. Cran as leader of the Point Grey Road Waterfront Property Owners' Association, stated that his group wanted "special permission to build 'garden-type' apartments of two storeys."⁷²

The Point Grey Road incident revealed not only an interesting switch in City Hall and Kitsilano residents' positions regarding residential upzoning, but also the beginnings of disintegration in the collective sense of neighbourhood. Two key members in the Point Grey

Road Waterfront Property Owners' Association, Neville and Margaret Beaton, had been executive members of the KRA. Their private interests obviously conflicted with the private interests of other KRA members, notably Fred Scudamore, who owned property on the south side of Point Grey Road, and thus they resigned to form another association to meet their needs.

Interests of the Elderly

The concerns of both housewives and apartment owners seem to have extensively influenced KRA action. Neither group, however, dominated the KRA's membership numbers as heavily as did the retired and widowed (Table 27). One would thus expect that the policies of the KRA, particularly in the 1950's would reflect the concerns of this well-represented group.

To a certain extent the KRA's attentions to public and particularly park facilities throughout the years were based on the needs and desires of its retired members. When four park benches were removed from the area between Vine and Balsam Streets, the KRA protested to city officials.

"These particular benches were very popular with the elderly people who use the park in spring and summer."⁷³

The KRA also complained to the local government regarding the inconvenience of municipal voting stations to the elderly.

"A number of our members are complaining about the voting place in and around the 3100 block West Sixteenth. In the past they have been obliged to climb a hill and go to the kitchen or school at King Edward and Blenheim. This works quite a hardship on elderly people."⁷⁴

The attendance to these needs did not, in general, conflict with actions regarding other association interests, such as a more communal sense of neighbourhood or even family and home. The KRA's consistent attempts to secure pensioner housing from 1956 to 1963, for example, were commensurate with many of its goals regarding neighbourhood solidarity.⁷⁵ In later years, however, the complementarity of these interests gave way to increasing conflict.

"It has been brought to our attention that playground equipment has been installed at Pioneer Park. . . . It is not the intentions of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association to deprive the children of that area the privileges of Park Grounds, but we feel, that with the large facilities at Fourth and Collingwood and the possible development of Jericho Beach as a playground, that Pioneer Park should remain as an historic site, and quiet atmosphere prevail, so that our Citizens, especially the Senior people, can enjoy its beautiful view and pleasant surroundings."⁷⁶

Later, too, in consort with the aims of members involved in real estate development and in opposition to those hoping to protect the single-family homes of Kitsilano, the retired KRA members expressed a desire for residential upzoning. Comments attached to an undated news article in the 1960 and 1970 KRA files noted:

"People who built up this city and have an interest in its progress should not be penalized after paying taxes for years on apartment property."

The news article concerned City Hall's refusal to allow a spot upzoning for an apartment block in Kitsilano. The property in question was, therefore, not yet zoned for apartment use, although the KRA comment suggested that such use had been perceived as not only feasible, but expected. The payment of taxes seemed to be considered by KRA members rather like an investment to be realized in the future. One ought to be able to ultimately benefit from a lucrative subdivision of one's home or sale of one's property.

The attempts by retired Kitsilano residents to enhance property values did result in a concern for preserving a high quality residential environment. These concerns, of course, complemented the KRA's more communally-based protests against industrial encroachment and environmental decline.

"My husband and I have lived at the above address (1851 West Fourth Avenue) for a great many years. We have stayed here all this time hoping that one day we would be able to get the value for our property that we felt was worthwhile. However, with industry continually infiltrating into areas zoned for residential. . . we have not been able to make any move."⁷⁷

Elderly residents' hopes to either subdivide or sell their homes for financial gain, however, undermined the KRA's efforts to enhance both community solidarity and the family character of neighbourhood. The conflict between the interests of families and retired residents was probed in an address by Bernie McKee, president of the Northwest Point Grey Home Owners' Association.

"The children grow up and the house is too large for the parent alone. The obvious course is to rent or sell the house and rent or buy something smaller, possibly in the same area. Now, this is a natural adjustment that comes in the course of life. Yet, some persons make the adjustment and others. . . appear at City Hall wanting to cut up the big house and be very angry because there are zoning ordinances trying to save that house so somebody else with children can have the pleasure of raising a family in it."⁷⁸

Since the interests of these different groups of residents sometimes conflicted, a choice to serve one or the other had to be made by the KRA. The choice was revealed not only in the association's promotion of residential upzoning (Table 28) but also in the representativeness of the association's executive body vis-a-vis its general membership. During the 1940's, the KRA executive over-represented housewives and under-represented the elderly in its general membership (Table 27). In contrast, although both housewives and the elderly each constituted over one-quarter of the general membership in 1956, the executive body of that year included not one housewife, yet comprised over fifty percent widowed and retired members.

CONCLUSION

That the KRA considered the collective notion of neighbourhood, particularly as a place of good neighbours, as important, cannot be denied. Neighbourhood, however, also had a more individualistic meaning to association members. As a place where one lived, neighbourhood must be quiet and convenient. The KRA thus attended to the provision of services and elimination of disruptions - issues important to the quality of day-to-day life.

Neighbourhood was, more particularly, a place in which many residents intended to raise a family. As such, the environment -- both physical and social -- took on new meaning. Kitsilano must be above all safe and have the appropriate amenities to provide for the sound upbringing of children. The KRA understandably procured such services and worked to protect the family's home and financial interests.

Neighbourhood was considered by many not only a place in which to live, but also a place in which to invest. In serving the needs of these private interests, the KRA enhanced property values through upholding environmental quality and argued for a higher density zoning which would allow more lucrative redevelopment.

The meanings of neighbourhood, although to some extent complementary, obviously in large part differed amongst these private interest groups. The KRA's policies and actions serving these interests conflicted as well. It seemed that the key issue differentiating family interests from real estate and retired interests was the maintenance of Kitsilano as a neighbourhood of single-family homes.

In the 1930's and 1940's the KRA was most vigorous in the attempt to preserve the family character of the neighbourhood. Thirty-five percent of all issues mentioned in KRA meeting minutes from 1935 to 1946 noted a basic interest in family and children. However, by the 1950's, a period characterized by the disintegration of the traditional character of neighbourhood in Kitsilano, the proportion of family-related issues had dropped by almost one-half to eighteen percent.⁷⁹

In the 1950's the KRA had itself begun to focus on the private concerns of groups of people interested not in the homes and amenities which characterized the traditional concept of a family-oriented neighbourhood, but in the profit that might be made by selling their homes or redeveloping.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE

- ¹Latimer, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ²KRA, Executive Meeting Minutes, Feb. 8, 1935.
- ³"Families feud on naming of streets", Vancouver Sun, Feb. 4, 1955, p. 9.
- ⁴Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, Brief compiled by residents in the area of Nicholson Ltd. Printers, Dec. 29, 1952.
- ⁵KRA, Letter to RCAF depot Air Marshall, Kitsilano Indian Reserve, Oct. 21, 1947.
- ⁶KRA, Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ⁷KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Hall, March 14, 1947.
- ⁸"Sewage endangers health of swimmers in Kitsilano Pool", undated article, no source given, KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ⁹LKRA, Letter to Vancouver Mayor and City Council, May 6, 1963.
- ¹⁰KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Engineer, Oct. 5, 1955.
- ¹¹KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Chief of Police, June 16, 1954.
- ¹²KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Electric Maintenance Department, Feb. 6, 1948.
- ¹³F.M. Scudamore, Letter to KRA, Nov. 21, 1944.
- ¹⁴KRA, General Meeting Minutes, April 28, 1942.
- ¹⁵Ibid., Feb. 6, 1942.
- ¹⁶KRA, Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ¹⁷Kitsilano Times, May 21, 1959.

- ¹⁸ KRA, Address of president to the association, 1966.
- ¹⁹ "Noise at Kitsilano Park disturbing nearby residents", Kitsilano Times, undated article in KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ²⁰ LKRA, Letter to Vancouver Police Commission, July 22, 1955.
- ²¹ Mrs. J.W. Bussy, Letter to the LKRA, Jan. 28, 1955.
- ²² R. Latimer, Letter to Vancouver City Council, Oct. 15, 1970.
- ²³ R.D. Keir, Letter to the KRA, May 10, 1967.
- ²⁴ Stevenson, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ²⁵ KRA, Address by the president to Old Timers' Meeting, March 28, 1944.
- ²⁶ Marsh, Rebuilding a Neighbourhood, p. 65. The statement comes from the report of a survey of East Kitsilano prepared by the Henry Hudson P.T.A. Rosalind Latimer, a member of the KRA and founder of the LKRA was deeply involved in the work of the survey.
- ²⁷ Stevenson, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Clerk, Feb. 15, 1957.
- ³⁰ KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Department of Works, Dec. 17, 1956.
- ³¹ KRA, Executive meeting minutes, Nov. 21, 1944.
- ³² Stevenson, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ³³ "Protest dine and dance spot so close to school", undated article, no source given, KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ³⁴ KRA, Letter to the Vancouver Town Planning Commission, Aug. 21, 1956.

- ³⁵KRA, Letter to Vancouver Board of Park Commissioners, April 20, 1949.
- ³⁶Kitsilano Times, April 25, 1940, p. 1.
- ³⁷KRA, Letter to Vancouver Parks Board, July 14, 1956.
- ³⁸Kitsilano Times, April 25, 1940, p. 1.
- ³⁹KRA, Letter to Vancouver Town Planning Commission, Aug. 15, 1963.
- ⁴⁰KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Council, Sept. 3, 1963.
- ⁴¹Kitsilano Times, April 5, 1939, p. 1.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, April 14, 1955, p. 1.
- ⁴³KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Clerk, Jan. 25, 1949.
- ⁴⁴Kitsilano Times, April 20, 1940, p. 2.
- ⁴⁵KRA, Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ⁴⁶KRA, Executive Meeting Minutes, Nov. 21, 1944.
- ⁴⁷Kitsilano Times, July 17, 1958, p. 1.
- ⁴⁸*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹"Ban sought on nursing homes", Vancouver Sun, Feb. 2, 1955.
- ⁵⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁵¹*Ibid.*
- ⁵²*Ibid.*
- ⁵³"Kitsilano Ratepayers protested their high assessment", news article March 22, 1933, source not given, Vancouver City Archives.

- ⁵⁴ Shaw, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ⁵⁵ KRA, Letter to B.C. Government Employees' Association, Sept. 11, 1967.
- ⁵⁶ Kitsilano Times, Sept. 12, 1940, p. 1.
- ⁵⁷ Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, Foreword to the Roster, 1959.
- ⁵⁸ KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Clerk, June 8, 1949.
- ⁵⁹ Frederick Fish, KRA member, Letter to Vancouver City Parks Board, Oct. 22, 1948.
- ⁶⁰ Wm. M. Shearer, Letter to the Vancouver Zoning Board of Appeal, April 14, 1947.
- ⁶¹ To arrive at this statistic, the issues mappable between the years 1935 and 1946 were compared to all KRA general members' homes in 1938 and Executive homes in 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1946.
- ⁶² Stevenson's Oral history tape (U.B.C., 1974) confirms that the Meltons owned considerable property in Kitsilano. The KRA Historical Records Book, 1946, lists the various apartment blocks owned by Fred Scudamore. Scudamore also held the post of director of the Associated Property Owners of B.C.
- ⁶³ Fred Scudamore, Letter to the KRA, Feb. 18, 1956.
- ⁶⁴ KRA, Letter to C.C. Merritt, M.P., Feb. 20, 1947.
- ⁶⁵ "Kitsilano Raps Town Planners", Vancouver Sun, June 30, 1955.
- ⁶⁶ Fred Scudamore, Letter to the editor of the Kitsilano Times, Kitsilano Times, Jan. 31, 1957.
- ⁶⁷ LKRA, Brief to Vancouver City Planning Department, March 12, 1953.
- ⁶⁸ Henry Hudson Community Standards Committee of Housing (forerunner of the LKRA), Letter to the Vancouver Tourist Association, Sept. 10, 1952.

- 69 "Planners Insist on Point Grey Road Park", Vancouver Sun, Feb. 8, 1957.
- 70 Neville and Margaret Beaton, Letter to KRA, Feb. 11, 1957.
- 71 "Mass Indignation Protest on Park Strip Plan urged", Vancouver Sun, Feb. 2, 1957, p. 21.
- 72 "Planning study ordered of Point Grey Road park", no source given, undated news article, Vancouver City Archives.
- 73 Salter Stilwell, Letter to the KRA, April 17, 1949. Stilwell suggested that the KRA write a letter regarding this issue to the Parks Board. The KRA complied.
- 74 KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Clerk, Nov. 7, 1956.
- 75 Numerous letters were written by the KRA to local and federal governments and the CMHC in 1962-1963 to secure old age or pensioner housing.
- 76 KRA, Letter to Vancouver City Park Superintendant, July 12, 1962.
- 77 LKRA member, Letter to Vancouver City Council, Oct. 30, 1952.
- 78 Bernie McKee, "Family Homes. . . Our Greatest Asset", undated.
- 79 This percentage is based on an evaluation of KRA correspondence during the years from 1954 to 1957.

CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSION



FIGURE 40 Couple on plank sidewalk, Kitsilano, 1911
(source: Vancouver City Archives).

"A large part of any human landscape is obviously the result of human action. Behind this action lies thought. A man does not expend time and money building a house, give years to clearing land, cut the lawn . . . or plant trees along a city street without some purpose."¹

This thesis was based on the premise that in order to understand landscape, one must probe the ideas which prompt the landscape - shaping process. These ideas provide the key to understanding the particular character of place.

"Meaning is not an incidental intervening variable between environment and behaviour, as it has often been treated in behavioural geography, but provides the central integrating concept."²

Ideas concerning the meaning of neighbourhood underlay residents' long term determination to shape the character of Kitsilano in Vancouver.

To some extent the meaning of neighbourhood in Kitsilano seemed consistent with what others have conceived of as the traditional concept of neighbourhood, rooted in a particular place, a form of social interaction and an expression of community solidarity.

"A neighbourhood contains inhabitants having something in common -- perhaps only the current sharing of a common environment. This gives them a certain collective character, which affects and reflects people's feelings about living there and the kinds of relationships the residents establish."³

The descriptions of Kitsilano by both resident groups and the community press paralleled these academic observations.

"The man who sticks up for his own community is generally the fellow with enterprise and faith in his fellow man. He has enterprise enough to go ahead with his own share in community work and upbuilding, and faith in his neighbour doing likewise. A great battle squadron derives its power and invincibility from the perfect coordinated teamwork and the same thing applies in like measure to a community. The individual who then is asked where he lives, and answered Kitsilano. . . is as a general rule willing to volunteer the information that you couldn't beat that part of the city. This is civic pride and community spirit."⁴

It seems, however, that this traditional notion of neighbourhood does not explain all of the purposes behind landscape formation in Kitsilano. There existed a more private set of ideas which served not only to promote landscape change, but also, paradoxically, to serve as the very basis for community solidarity and group formation.

"The appearance of communion is a function of subjective. . . criteria; these will include the emergence of leaders or active participants who will work towards the creation of local consciousness, they will include the existence of issues which threaten a common interest or which provides goals to which a local group can work."⁵

The articulation of a set of private interests in Kitsilano led to the emergence of the Kitsilano Improvement Association -- later KRA -- in 1906. In its early years, the association's goals were easily identified.

"Kitsilano in 1907 was emerging from the virgin forest and there was much work and many problems for the young association to constantly cope with. For instance, at that time, there were no paved streets, no sewers, no sidewalks, no lights. . . Instead there were plenty of cow trails and short cuts through the woods."⁶

The KRA devoted its energy to developing the district of Kitsilano "as a decent place to live",⁷ focusing on the improvement and extension of a variety of public services and utilities.

During this initial period of neighbourhood formation - lot clearing and building activity - residents worked, for the most part, in consort with both local government and private real estate developers. All promoted an attractive, well-serviced community. Although their goals at this time seemed fairly similar, government, real estate developers and residents did perceive the area differently. The defiant stance of Sam Greer and even the formation of the KRA attested to residents' identification of their image of Kitsilano as home - a place where the provision of roads and sewers became a more urgent matter for attention.

As Kitsilano began to mature and the basic services provided, the character of the neighbourhood had to be articulated more clearly. By 1935 - a year of extensive social organization in Kitsilano - a variety of interest groups began to identify their intentions for the area.

"A little place on a quiet street,
A home, a haven, a place of retreat
From the cares and stress of the long weary day,
With friends and good neighbours not far away."⁸

This notion - although communally-oriented - was, none-the-less, rooted in two more private consideration -- the importance of family and the quality of day-to-day life. In fact, one of the community groups emerging in this period grew out of the concern for children articulated by the Henry Hudson P.T.A.

"If you want the best for your children you must take an active part. So I got busy first with the church when the children were little. . . Then the children started going to school, so I became interested in the P.T.A. and study groups, and one thing led to another."⁹

The KRA continuously attended to the issues emanating from these private concerns with family and daily life.

"Having new sidewalks laid or repairs to old ones; boulevards attended to, trees trimmed or removed; a load of rock or sand to fill a hole in someone's alley to keep youngsters from playing in it when filled with water in winter time. Small items, perhaps, but in a period of fifty years, these add up to quite an item and your President and Executive committee -- having an interest in Kitsilano -- have been attending to all these 'little things' for fifty years."¹⁰

The association continued to improve residential services and utilities, but also worked to protect their homes and lifestyles through attention to land use and environmental quality. The prevention of both industrial encroachment and residential upzoning became two critical issues.

During the period of neighbourhood articulation from 1935 to 1961, the interests of Kitsilano residents began to diverge more radically from those of City Hall and the real estate developers. Both government and developers began to promote a higher density, more industrialized district than local residents wanted to accept.¹¹ Conflicts, of course, ensued.

"Seems like we were always going to City Hall to save Kitsilano."¹²

"One fellow felt we were drawing everything into the area. Just because you couldn't have any children didn't mean you had to be so bitter. This fellow felt we shouldn't have children in this area anyway. They should remove Henry Hudson school and clear out and put it all in apartments and have a Riviera effect and bring in money. His whole world was around money."13

To a large extent Kitsilano residents were successful in their attempts to fulfill their own hopes for Kitsilano in the face of others' goals, and particularly to protect the residential quality of their neighbourhood.

"We have continued the policing of our boundaries against commercial infiltration and have recently successfully opposed the 26th attempt to locate a commercial venture in a residential area. 25 wins out of 26 cases."14

The KRA attributed much of the early expansion of district services and utilities, including parks, roads, street lighting and sewers, to its efforts.

"Through direct efforts of the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, a total of \$133,500 in sewer construction is either going on in the district, or is contemplated."15

The community library, Yacht Club and Centennial Museum park and complex on Kitsilano Point were also considered to be achievements of the association. As noted by the KRA president in 1966:

"It was with considerable pride I had occasion to represent this organization at the official Lease Signing Ceremony (for the acquisition of the former RCAF property as a park). . . I was extremely proud to have my name mentioned as taking part in finalizing this project. . . The Planetarium, to be built at Kitsilano Point will be a landmark for all to be proud of. . . This was brought about by sheer determination on my part acting on your behalf."16

The success of the KRA in achieving its goals was revealed, to some extent, in its correspondence. Sixty-one percent of the issues for which some letter indicating a resolution of the issue existed, had been resolved in the KRA's favour (Table 29).

TABLE 29

THE RESOLUTION OF KRA ISSUES¹

<u>Issues Resolved in KRA favour</u>	<u>Year of Resolution</u>
Prevent development of Kitsilano Indian Reserve as city garbage dump	1944
Reduce soot and smoke from the RCAF depot	1947
Expand sewer system	1947
Prevent operation of a cabaret on Cornwall Street	1948
Obtain closure of a beauty parlour, 1948 McNicoll	1948
Obtain additional lighting, Kitsilano Park	1948
Prohibit parking at entrance to Kitsilano Park	1954
Rezone Killarney mansion for apartments	1956
Eliminate traffic hazard caused by hedge at the northwest corner of Third and Macdonald	1956
Build footpath from foot of Trafalgar to Kitsilano Beach	1957
Repair sidewalk on Macdonald between Third and Fourth	1957
Improve bus service on Fourth Avenue	1957
Clean up city lot, southeast corner of Macdonald and Kitsilano Diversion	1957
Obtain old Kitsilano Indian Reserve (RCAF base) as a park	1966

¹Source: KRA correspondence from 1947 to 1957 and a few miscellaneous KRA files.

Considering the devotion of residents to a set of ideals which reflect a traditional notion of neighbourhood based on the communal attendance to family home and lifestyle, and their success in perpetuating those ideals, the demise of traditional neighbourhood in Kitsilano seems unlikely. It appears that this commitment to traditional neigh-

bourhood was not as universal or as strong as might be thought. The increasing diversity of interests which emerged during the maturing of Kitsilano certainly thwarted community solidarity. Bert Emery, in organizing the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce in 1935 noted the lack of resident consensus on community goals.

"Right from the start we could see that we could not expect too much cooperation from the Ratepayers."17

Although the KRA and the KCC did work together on a number of community oriented programs during the 1930's and 1940's, they became increasingly at loggerheads with each other, the most significant conflict occurring over the entertainment provided by the KCC at the Kitsilano Pool.

"The ratepayers vociferously protested the constant noise that came from the area of the concert platform and claimed that the districts surrounding Kitsilano Beach Pool is nothing but a red light district."18

The KRA, in apprehending a threat to their image of Kitsilano as a desirable family neighbourhood, and annoyed by the nuisance caused in their daily lives by the noisy Kitsilano Showboat, criticized this social activity undertaken by the KCC and indeed, did all it could to prevent that activity from taking place.

"Should the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce be considering the presentation of entertainment this year, such entertainment must be restricted."19

The emergence of a second ratepayers association in Kitsilano -- the Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association -- gives further indication of the increasing diversification of resident interests.

"We were such a mixed up district. That's why we had to have this special ratepayers' association. It wasn't that we were downgrading the Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association, but they just couldn't see our problems when we went up there."²⁰

The leader, Rosalind Latimer, and many members of this group had been, in fact active within the KRA itself. Mrs. Latimer's formation of this new group in 1952 and the resignation of KRA executive members Neville and Margaret Beaton in 1957 to join the Point Grey Road Property Owners Association demonstrates the inability of the KRA to serve the more diverse goals being expressed by Kitsilano residents. The community group which had for so long played a strong role in the development of community was beginning to disintegrate. The collective interests which had been served by this one group for sixty years, were dissolving into private interests which could only be served by a number of smaller self-interest groups. Each of these interest groups would promote the development of Kitsilano to serve its own particular ends. The multiplicity of these ends could not possibly sustain the collective form of community which had once existed.

A question which must be posed is: "Why did the collective interests in Kitsilano dissolve into the variety of private interests leading to community breakdown?" In part, the answer lies, as already noted, in the general process of community development. Not only were certain developments, and thus resident goals, more clearly discernable in the early years, residents themselves were then far fewer in

number and perhaps more intent on cooperating.

"In those days, I knew every person for blocks around. When a new residence was erected and a family moved in, we who had preceeded them in occupation considered it a neighbourly duty to give them friendly greeting. As the rate of development increased, however, this became impossible, and that warm spirit so characteristic of Pioneering in any area gradually chilled towards the individual isolation of older and larger communities."²¹

By the very fact of an increased density of population in the more mature Kitsilano, diverse goals and conflicts of interest were more likely.

Although community breakdown may, in part, be explained by the arrival of increasing numbers of new people to Kitsilano, it may also be attributed to a far more pervasive change -- the aging of the traditional resident body. As retired or widowed residents of Kitsilano in the 1950's, these people no longer had the same interests as they had in the 1930's and 1940's. A concern with the protection of home for the raising of children changed to that of a concern with the exchange value of the home for retirement -- a value greatly increased by residential upzoning for apartment development. From 1954 to 1957 the LKRA threw almost all of its energy to the upzoning of Kitsilano Point. In the 1960's, twenty-five percent of the KRA executive members resided outside Kitsilano.

It is extremely important to realize that there was no sense on the part of these people that they had consciously changed their objectives and, by their new actions, were contributing to the demise

of the traditional neighbourhood which they had enjoyed.²² The reason for this rests perhaps in the fact that they were acting as they had always acted, to secure not only communal, but also, and at times primarily, their private goals. Their private interests of twenty to thirty years earlier had been focused on attaining a well serviced neighbourhood and an appropriate environment for the establishment of a home and family. This concern with the character of place, and indeed the social interaction and community solidarity emanating from a shared commitment to this notion of place certainly gives evidence of the existence of neighbourhood as traditionally defined. What it is most important to realize, however, is that a shared set of goals -- private in nature -- lay at the root of that traditional neighbourhood. When the more communally-focused interests of neighbourhood came into conflict with these more private interests, as they did on many occasions, residents acted to first fulfill their private interests.

It is also important to note that one critical idea underlying the traditional community - the image of Kitsilano as a high quality living environment - continued to motivate group efforts in later years, and even prompted the promotion of residential upzoning and the protest against "hippies" during the 1960's. For group members, acting in these years, with their shared commitment to place and feelings of solidarity, neighbourhood was as strong an entity as ever. Moreover, the changes in Kitsilano's landscape, which some perceived

as the disintegration of the traditional neighbourhood, actually served to fulfill these residents' goal of maintaining a "high-class residential district".²³ Condominium units selling for \$99,500 in the Carriage House high rise in the mid 1970's, or a "luxury two bedroom waterfront penthouse with den, unique design, four skylights and squash court" renting for \$850 per month in 1980²⁴ all attest to the quality of the landscape and the status of residents in Kitsilano today.

The goals of Kitsilano residents had always been clear:

"The Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association has served the residents of this area for the last 65 years, and has worked towards the goal of continuous upgrading of the district."²⁵

Serving the later interests of residents, the KRA and other neighbourhood groups continued to improve their neighbourhood -- although in a manner quite different from the original securement of services and public utilities. The homes which had been protected as a fulfillment of earlier family needs were replaced by the townhouses and condominiums whose property values fulfilled the later needs of retirement.

Although it has not been possible to fully assess the effectiveness of KRA action in shaping the landscape, it appeared that, in numerous cases, the group did have direct impact (Table 29). Furthermore, the development of Kitsilano seemed to be in accord with the association's ideology. The intrusion of hippies and the upzoning for high rises in the 1960's, for example, appeared to be merely

temporary aberrations in the pattern of quality middle class residential development promoted by the association. Such coincidence between landscape and ideology of course prompted the feeling of success amongst group members.

"The Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association has been an active and effective organization in this community since 1906. Many old time Vancouverites still residing in Kitsilano will recall numerous occasions when decisions and action taken on problems important in the community have had lasting effect."²⁶

The KRA, similarly to other traditional residents of Kitsilano, worked towards shaping their ideals into reality.

"(They) caught a glimpse of Kitsilano as it could be; a delightful entry to the sweeping beauty of marine drive, the beach garland by parks where prosperous apartments and homes formed a background for shopping and school facilities."²⁷

Although to determine whether or not Kitsilano today is an explicit product of residents' actions is difficult, it is possible to more fully understand the character of this place through the examination of these ideals. The images of neighbourhood which prompted group formation and action grew out of two sets of interests -- communal and private -- which expose not simply the demise of traditional neighbourhood in Kitsilano, but, in neighbourhood development, the fruition of resident dreams.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- ¹Harris, 1971, p. 168.
- ²Ley, 1975, pp. 20-21.
- ³Keller, 1968, p. 90.
- ⁴Kitsilano Times, June 15, 1918, p. 1.
- ⁵Herbert and Raine, 1976, p. 327.
- ⁶Kitsilano Times, April 23, 1959.
- ⁷KRA, Letter to prospective members, undated.
- ⁸Gladys Ridler, Secretary of the Central Council of Ratepayers, "Dream or Nightmare", Verses for Voters, undated.
- ⁹Stevenson, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ¹⁰KRA, President's address, November 15, 1956.
- ¹¹One key issue over which conflict occurred was the Federal and Provincial governments' expression of plans to industrially develop the Kitsilano Indian Reserve.
- ¹²Stevenson, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- ¹³Ibid.
- ¹⁴LKRA, Annual Report, 1954-1955.
- ¹⁵"Big Works Project to Eliminate Fouling of Kitsilano Beaches", Kitsilano Times, undated article in KRA Historical Records Book, 1946.
- ¹⁶KRA, President's Address by Harold Kidd, 1966.
- ¹⁷Bert Emery, Memo to Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce, undated.

- 18 "Kitsilano red light area", Kitsilano Times, June 14, 1941.
- 19 KRA, Executive Meeting Minutes, March 18, 1941.
- 20 Latimer, Oral history tape, Geography 371, U.B.C., 1974.
- 21 Dr. Frank Patterson, address to Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce annual meeting, Kitsilano Times, March 10, 1938.
- 22 In fact, the LKRA, perhaps naively, felt that the residential upzoning of Kitsilano Point would not only allow the construction of three-storey garden apartments to replace the older rundown homes, but also preserve the value of better single-family residences, which they considered would last for another thirty years (Kitsilano Times, Feb. 14, 1957).
- 23 LKRA, Notes accompanying brief to Vancouver Town Planning Commission, undated, 1956.
- 24 Vancouver Sun, classified ads, April 9, 1980.
- 25 KRA, Letter to Daniel Janczewski, Kitsilano Area Planner, Aug. 31, 1974.
- 26 "Kitsilano Ratepayers to Mark 50th Anniversary with Dinner Tonight", Kitsilano Times, Nov. 15, 1956.
- 27 LKRA, Annual Report, 1952-1953.

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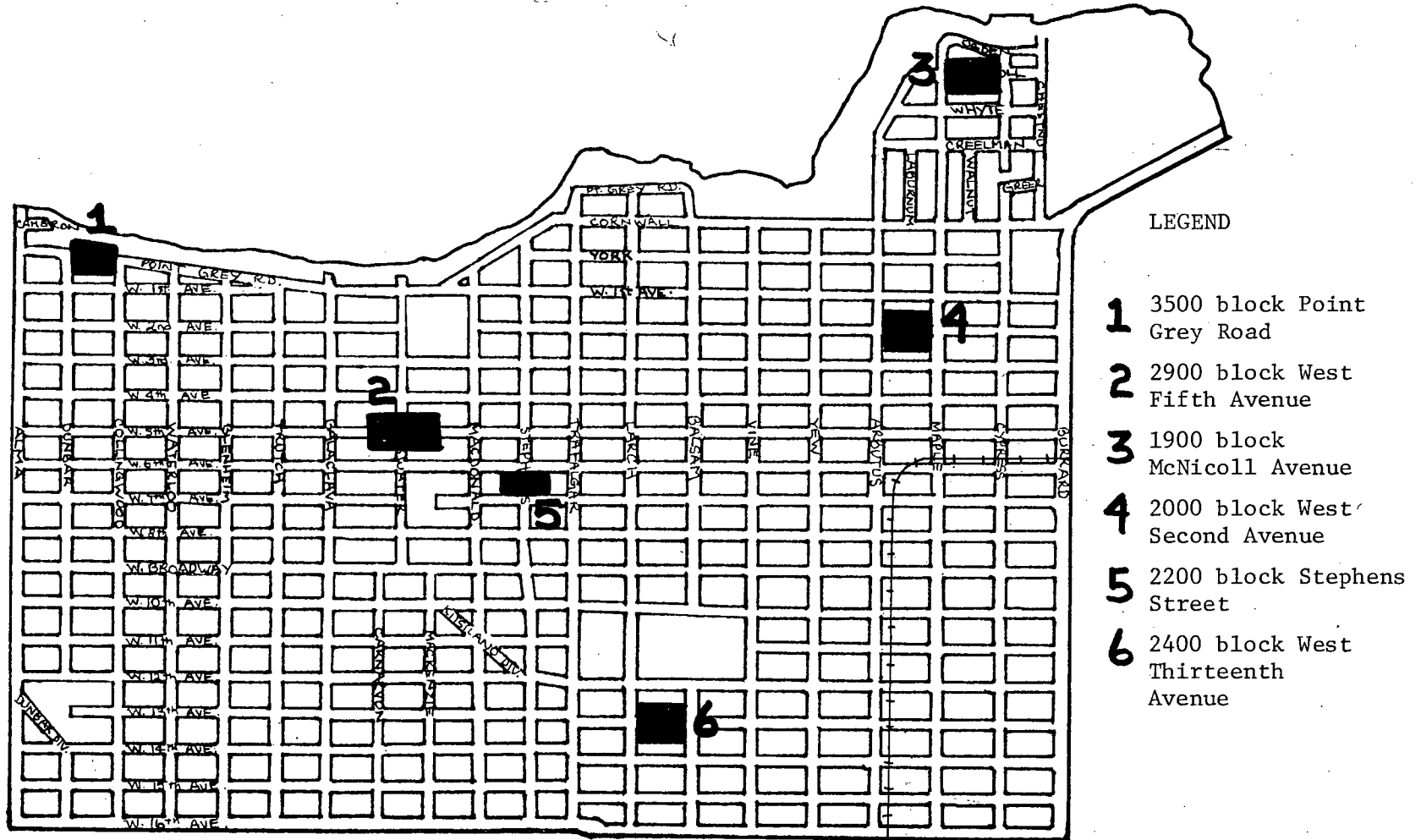
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APPENDIX 1KITSILANO CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS MENTIONED IN THE KITSILANO TIMES
NEWSPAPER, 1918 - 1962, One Quarter Sample

<u>Club</u>	Number of times mentioned in the Kitsilano Times by time period		
	<u>1918-1928</u>	<u>1936-1940</u>	<u>1953-1962</u>
Alma Y.M.C.A.			2
Altrusa Club			2
Bayview P.T.A.	1		2
Burrard Conservatives (Div. 2)		1	
Burrard Liberals (Div. 5)		5	
Crosby United Church		12	
(later Kitsilano United Church)			
Current Events Club		1	
Ex-Gordon Athletic Club		1	
General Gordon P.T.A.		4	
Gordon House			1
Henry Hudson P.T.A.			4
Hungarian Social Club			1
Kitsilano Board of Trade	1		
Kitsilano Boys' Band		7	1
Kitsilano Boys' Choir		1	
Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce		133	64
Kitsilano Community Centre			17
Kitsilano Council		2	
Kitsilano Crescent Boxing Club		1	
Kitsilano Good Times Club			3
Kitsilano High School P.T.A.	2	3	1
Kitsilano Horticultural Association		5	1
Kitsilano Housewives League		1	
Kitsilano Ladies Choir		2	
Kitsilano Lawn Bowling Club		4	
(formerly Murabma Lawn Bowling Club)			
Kitsilano Legion			1
Kitsilano Lions Club		23	34
(later Burrard Lions Club)			
Kitsilano Neighbourhood House		12	1
(formerly Alexandra Orphanage)			
Kitsilano Ratepayers' Association	10	31	21
Kitsilano Service League	2		
Kitsilano Social and Athletic Club			1
Kitsilano United Church			14
(formerly Crosby and St. Stephens United Churches)			
Kitsilano Yacht Club		6	1
Kiwanis Club of Kitsilano			3
Lower Kitsilano Ratepayers' Assn.			30
Pt. Grey Road Waterfront Property Owners' Association			1
Revellers' Club		1	
St. James United Church		1	1
St. Mark's Anglican Church	1	9	1
St. Stephen's United Church		5	
(later Kitsilano United Church)			
Sons of Scotland Benevolent Assn.		1	
Veroga Club		1	
West Kitsilano Improvement Assn.	3		
West Kitsilano Ratepayers' Assn.	6		
Wright Social Credit Group		1	

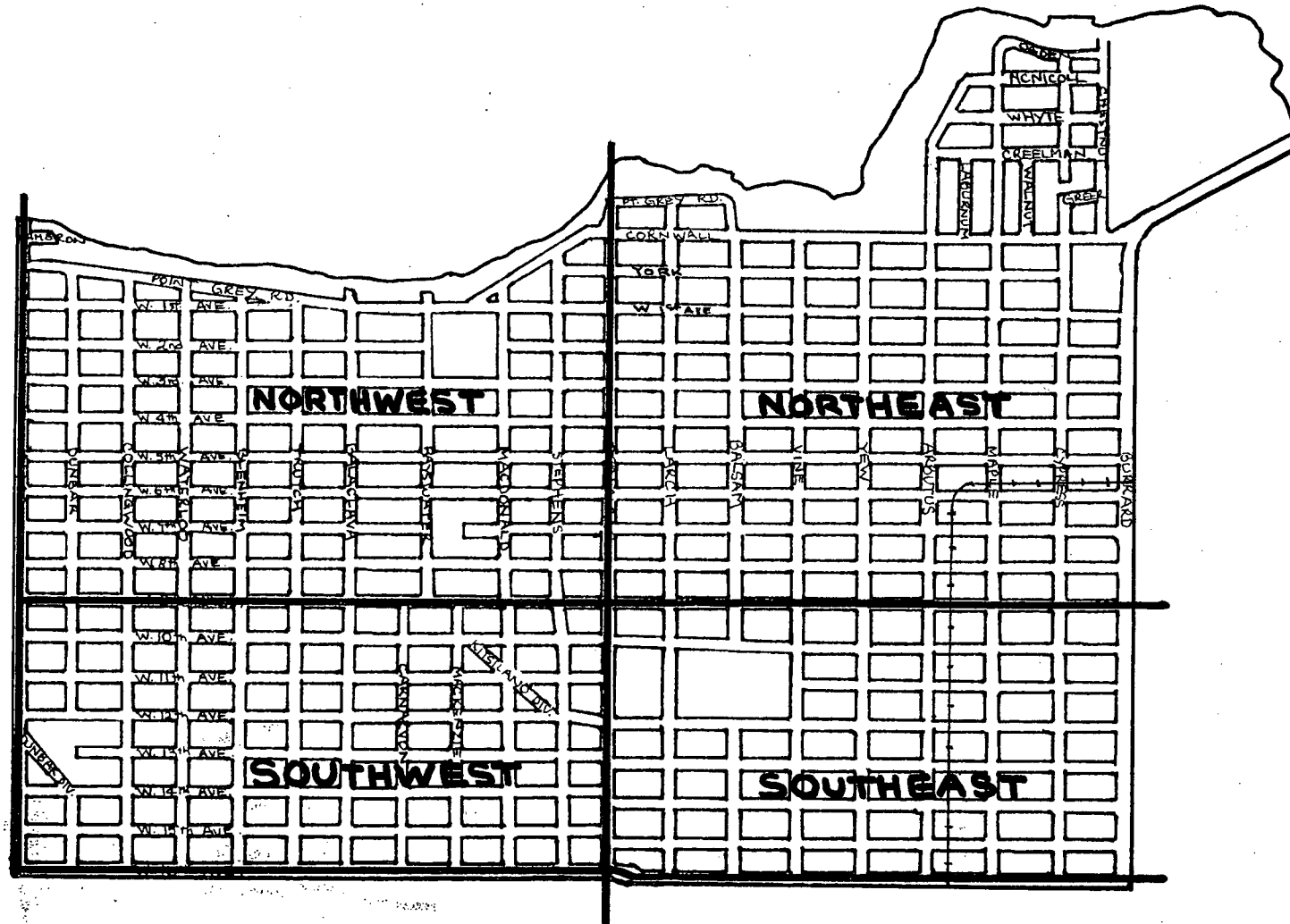
APPENDIX 2

Location of Sample Blocks Used in the Study of Residential Status



APPENDIX 3

Census Area Boundaries in Kitsilano, 1961 and 1971¹



¹ Although the census areas of Northeast and Southeast Kitsilano extend to Granville Street, as much as possible, data for census tracts between Granville and Burrard Streets were omitted.