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SOME SOCIO-SPATIAL ASPECTS OF LOW-INCOME FAMILY HOUSING,

CULLODEN COURT: A CASE STUDY

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

in the School

of

Architecture

We accept this thesis as conforming to the

required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October, 1972

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ABSTRACT

This thesis stems from three separate but interrelated

questions on public housing projects: 1) do families that are

potential residents of public housing projects, living in the commun-

ity at large, feel socially isolated, and is their sense of isolation

alleviated by living in the project? 2) what are the effects on

these families of living in a project with similar type (socio-

economic) of residents and the provision of common facilities?

3) what are the various forms of designed provisions that can be

introduced to overcome social isolation and improve community

integration?

"Culloden Court," one of the public housing projects in

Vancouver, has been chosen as the case study for this investigation.

A series of unstructured interviews were conducted with: Group

1 - residents of the Culloden Court project; Group 2 - applicants

requesting accommodation in public housing projects (future resi-

dents); and Group 3 - the families living in the immediate neigh-

bourhood of the Culloden Court project. Statistical data on the

first two groups were derived from the files of the B. C. Housing

Management.

The questioning directed itself to finding (1) the personal

relationship of the residents to each other, (2) how the different types of resident groups related to each other, (3) how the project residents and people from project neighbourhood area relate themselves to the housing and project facilities, and finally (4) the kinds of households that should be provided in the project.

The findings clearly indicated that the future residents (Group 2) felt socially isolated in the community and were looking forward to living in projects among a similar type of family. The response pattern also shows that project residents are generally more satisfied in the way they live now than the way they lived before moving into the project. The role of the recreation room was frequently mentioned in discussing satisfaction with the project. Social integration between the community residents and the neighbourhood of the project (Group 3) and project residents was found to be lacking, although project residents attach great importance to this aspect.

It is hoped that this study may help in providing guidelines in designing future housing layouts for people who find themselves in similar situations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A OBJECTIVES:

In recent years there has been much discussion on the

issue of public housing. The existing program has come under a

great amount of criticism, so much so that some people feel it should

be abolished, and an allocation of income subsidies substituted or

other radical changes made. Very few serious studies of public

housing projects which are concerned with the social problems of

low-income families have been done, to our knowledge, in Western

Canada. This thesis, therefore, is an attempt to find out what

both future and present residents of public housing projects feel

about life in projects, and, thereby, to discover some implications

for future housing projects.

This thesis is based on the premise that there is a re-

lationship between the aspirations, preferences, and behaviour of

the residents of the project, and the location and design decisions

in public housing projects.[1] (See Michelson, Merton, Sommers,

Lipman.) To study consumer preferences in public housing is of

particular importance because its very purpose attracts a number of

isolated people and families from the community who are, one might

say, forced to live in these projects. The residents of these

projects are attracted to them in the first instant, not because

of their personal preferences, but because of economic circumstances.

The residents of public housing projects at present have very little opportunity to choose whether to live in a project, little opportunity to choose which project they will live in, and no opportunity to choose where in a given project they will live.[2] Later in this study, we found that there were other important, but secondary, reasons for being attracted to public housing projects. The importance of the different needs and values of the residents of public housing projects is summed up by Hartman:

> "A greater concern and understanding must be shown for the preferred life-styles of working class families ... physical spaces, administrative regulations, community facilities and the role of the tenant, must all be re-examined and revised to meet the needs of the population that the projects are intended to serve."[3]

There is an extensive literature related to the behaviour patterns of residents of low-income family housing and slums available (See bibliography), but many questions are still unanswered. There are many schools of thought regarding the size of a project and the integration or isolation of the project in the neighbourhood (see Bradley).[4] These issues concern the housing officials, who lack pertinent information on which to base major decisions. The absence of this information is discussed by Merton:

> "Social psychology, having only recently and belatedly trained its sights upon the field of housing, has yet to accumulate a comfortable backlog of pertinent findings which can be taken into account by makers of policy."[5]

Nearly all studies concern themselves with the experiences of those living in the project. One group of residents who have been largely ignored to date, is the study of future residents of public housing projects. To make a judgment on the effectiveness of projects, we should know what the expectations are of those who will be residents of these projects in the future. Where do they live? What are their characteristics? What aspirations will they bring to a project? What are their expectations? Do the present housing policies take them into account? What is the level of satisfaction with the way of life of those low-income families who find themselves living at random in the community?

Studies indicate that completely random placements of working class residents among middle class neighbours results in the isolation of the former.[6] Gutman found that working class wives had considerable trouble in adjusting to a mixed class suburb. They simply hadn't the social skills necessary to interact on a free and easy basis with the middle class women around.[7] It is important, therefore, that the future residents of the public housing projects be studied and their preferences and aspirations be taken into account when building new homes for them.

A public housing project by its nature brings together people in similar situations - people of low income, people with poor accommodation. This situation of only similar types of people

in a project could, and has been, questioned. Does it form a success-
ful, living community, providing a full enough social life? Keller
claims that both middle class and working class people have a fuller
social life when they are among their own.[8] We shall attempt to
discover if this is true, and if so, to what extent.

In recent years, some public housing projects have been
provided with social and recreational facilities which are not
available to the families who live in the community at large.[9]
Culloden Court, the subject of this study, has such provisions.
We would like to find what effect the provision of these facilities
has on the social life of these people when they become residents
of the project, and to what extent these facilities meet the
needs of the various age groups and family types. Another question
that comes to mind is whether these facilities should be used by
project residents only, or whether they should be open to both
project residents and neighbourhood residents. Would it help to
integrate the project and neighbourhood residents if the facilities
were opened to the whole neighbourhood, and how could this be
done effectively?

Many such questions were asked in the process of formulating
the objectives for this thesis. These questions relate to the way
of life of the residents beforeaand after moving into a public
housing project, the effect on these residents of living among

similar types of families, and the role of common facilities in providing for the social and recreational needs of the residents and their effect on the way of life of project residents. Many types of information were sought in this study to find answers to these questions. The objectives of this thesis, then, are to find answers to three questions:

1. Do families who are potential residents of public housing projects, now living in the community at large, feel socially isolated, and is their sense of isolation alleviated by living in a project?

2. What are the effects on these families of living in a project with similar types (socio-economic) of residents and the provision of common facilities?

3. What are the various forms of designed provisions that can be introduced to overcome social isolation and improve community integration?

These three questions are separate, but related to each other. This thesis attempts to explore them, and to find answers in an attempt to provide guidelines for designing future public housing projects.

B   OUTLINE OF THESIS:

The second chapter of this study describes the methods adopted for investigation. It outlines how and why Culloden Court project was chosen for the case study. It also tells which groups were interviewed, how the data was collected for the case study, what resources were used, how the data is analyzed, and in what format the information is presented.

The third chapter consists of descriptions and an analysis of data gathered. It describes the major characteristics of the samples chosen, and gives a comparative analysis of them. It then discusses how the interviewed sample was chosen, and includes an analysis of their major characteristics.

The fourth chapter consists of the findings of the field study. It comprises of a discussion on each of the issues chosen among the various respondent groups. It then compares the various responses between groups, and the possible implications arising out of these findings is discussed.

The fifth and final chapter contains a summary of the major findings, and the conclusions arrived at.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter 1

[1] William Michelson, Man and his Urban Environment, (Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1970), contains detailed discussions on the relationship of social characteristics of people to the various aspects of physical environment.

[2] Clare C. Cooper, "Some Social Implications of House and Site Plan Design at Easter Hill Village", (An unpublished thesis, Berkeley, University of California, 1966), p. 5.

[3] Chester Hartman, "The Limitations of Public Housing", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 29 (1963), no. 4, pp. 283-96.

[4] Robert B. Bradley, "Public Housing for the Future", Urban Renewal and Low-Income Housing, v.6, no. 4, p. 8-10.

[5] Robert K. Merton, "The Social Psychology of Housing", Current Trends in Social Psychology, ed. Wayne Dennis (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948), p. 163-217.

[6] William Michelson, op. cit., p. 194.

[7] Robert Gutman, "Population Mobility in the American Middle Class", The Urban Condition, ed. Leonard Duhl, (N.Y., Basic Books, 1963), p. 172-184, as cited in William Michelson, op. cit., p. 121.

[8] Suzanne Keller, "Social Class in Physical Planning", International Social Science Journal, vol. 18 (1966), p. 504.

[9] The provision for social and recreational facilities in both new and existing public housing projects was introduced on April 21, 1970 through a statement on public housing program in the House of Commons.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

A. METHOD OF STUDY

The method adopted in this study was conducted briefly as
follows:

1. A visual survey was conducted among eleven existing
public housing projects in Vancouver in order to
select a project for case study. Culloden Court pro-
ject was selected for study as a result of this survey.

2. Written and recorded data relevant to the project, the
project area, and general areas of Vancouver were
gathered and analyzed.

3. A series of interviews were conducted among project
residents, future residents, and residents from the
neighbourhood surrounding Culloden Court.

These stages of investigation are further detailed under
the sections in this chapter.

BB. SELECTION OF PROJECT FOR CASE STUDY

In order to choose a project for this investigation among
the existing public housing projects in Vancouver, a visual survey
of these projects was undertaken. There exist twelve public housing
projects in the city of Vancouver.[1] I visited all twelve projects
in order to evaluate them. The following criteria were used as
guidelines for evaluation and classification of the project:

1. General impressions of the overall area within which the project exists.

2. The general atmosphere of the project.

3. The project in its relationship to the immediate surrounding areas.

4. The variety of accommodation provided and the pattern of its distribution.

5. Common areas and common facilities within the project.

6. Common facilities in the immediate surroundings.

7. General activity (at the time of my visit) in the project area.

8. Evidence of community organization and participation within the project.

With this guideline of criteria in mind, the visits to all projects were made. It is important to note here that the total experience of the projects was my personal impression of them. I did not go into any of the private units and had no background to the design program of any of the projects. I strolled through the project community areas, spoke to occasional residents in conversations of a general nature, went to lounges, read the various notices posted on bulletin boards, noted the contents of the lounges, on one occasion played football with the kids, and generally absorbed the ambience of the projects.

To observe the effects of various C.M.H.C. design concepts applied to the development of these projects, I visited them

in the chronological order of their construction dates, the oldest being visited first. The weather was usually good on the occasions I visited the projects.

My evaluation of the twelve projects in terms of their size, accommodation types, variety of project facilities, and setting in the neighbourhood, led me to classify them into four groups:

Group 1 Large (low-density) projects, not well-integrated with the neighbourhood:

    a. Little Mountain

    b. Orchard Park

    c. Killarney Garden

Group 2 Large (high-density) projects, dominant in neighbourhood:

    a. Maclean Park

    b. Skeena Terrace

    c. Raymur Place

Group 3 Medium size, physically well-integrated with neighbourhood

    a. Grandview Terrace

    b. Culloden Court

Group 4 One building block projects

    a. Nicholson Tower

    b. Wall and Oxford

    c. Carolina and 6th Avenue

(The accompanying chart gives my detailed evaluations on all twelve
projects).

I felt that the selection of a project for the case
study should come from Group 3, as these projects are neither large
nor small in size, are well-integrated with their neighbourhoods,
are well-designed, and seem to be successful.

IMPRESSIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS IN VANCOUVER
OVER TWENTY YEARS:

1. There seemed to be a shift of project location from predominantly
    residential areas to industrial cum slum areas. Perhaps land
    values explain this.[2]

2. The atmosphere created by the projects improved substantially
    from very depressing to one of a homely, warm feeling. Perhaps
    increasing awareness of improving public housing projects to a
    healthy livable community explain this.[3]

3. The first two projects (Little Mountain and Orchard Park), stand
    in isolation and are much poorer than their surrounding develop-
    ment. Then we see a series of very dominant projects far
    better than the immediate surrounding developments. The last
    four projects are very well integrated, especially Nicholson
    Tower and Carolina & 6th Avenue, as in these two projects, the

land-use and treatment of the housing is similar to that of the surrounding developments.

4. The first project, Little Mountain, seems to provide uniform accommodation. Then we see a limited variety of accommodation in the second and third projects, and later projects provide a wide variety of accommodation. Culloden Court shows a marked change in concept which is followed by later projects all providing uniform accommodation. The layout of projects changes from the use of isolated blocks in the earlier projects to the use of courts and clustered units in the later projects. Culloden Court has a good distribution of housing units over the site. Cozy courts are created.

5. Later projects show a greater variety of communal provisions. The people in projects seemed to make a greater use of these common facilities and show more active participation. In these later projects there is a greater variety of spaces from more informal open space with limited services, to more formally organized courts, walkways and extensive services, including professional help (legal aid) as seen at Skeena.

6. Common facilities in the project neighbourhoods varied, and a general trend was not very apparent. In a broad sense, though, it varied from well facilitated areas to less desirable areas.

7. Activity in the project area increases from the earlier to the later projects.

8. Evidence of residents' organization and participation in project activities varied among the twelve projects. Larger projects seemed to have more organized activities. Raymur Place and Culloden Court seemed to be doing very well.

CHOICE OF CULLODEN COURT:

Culloden Court project from Group 3 was chosen as a suitable case study for the following reasons:

1. It is a medium sized project that shows a transition between large and small projects built in Vancouver.

2. It appears to be physically well-integrated with the surrounding residential neighbourhood.

3. The author was impressed with the overall quality of architectural design and the site layout.

4. The area in which it is located has neither the highest socio-economic ranking, nor the lowest, of the areas in which public housing projects are located in the city of Vancouver.
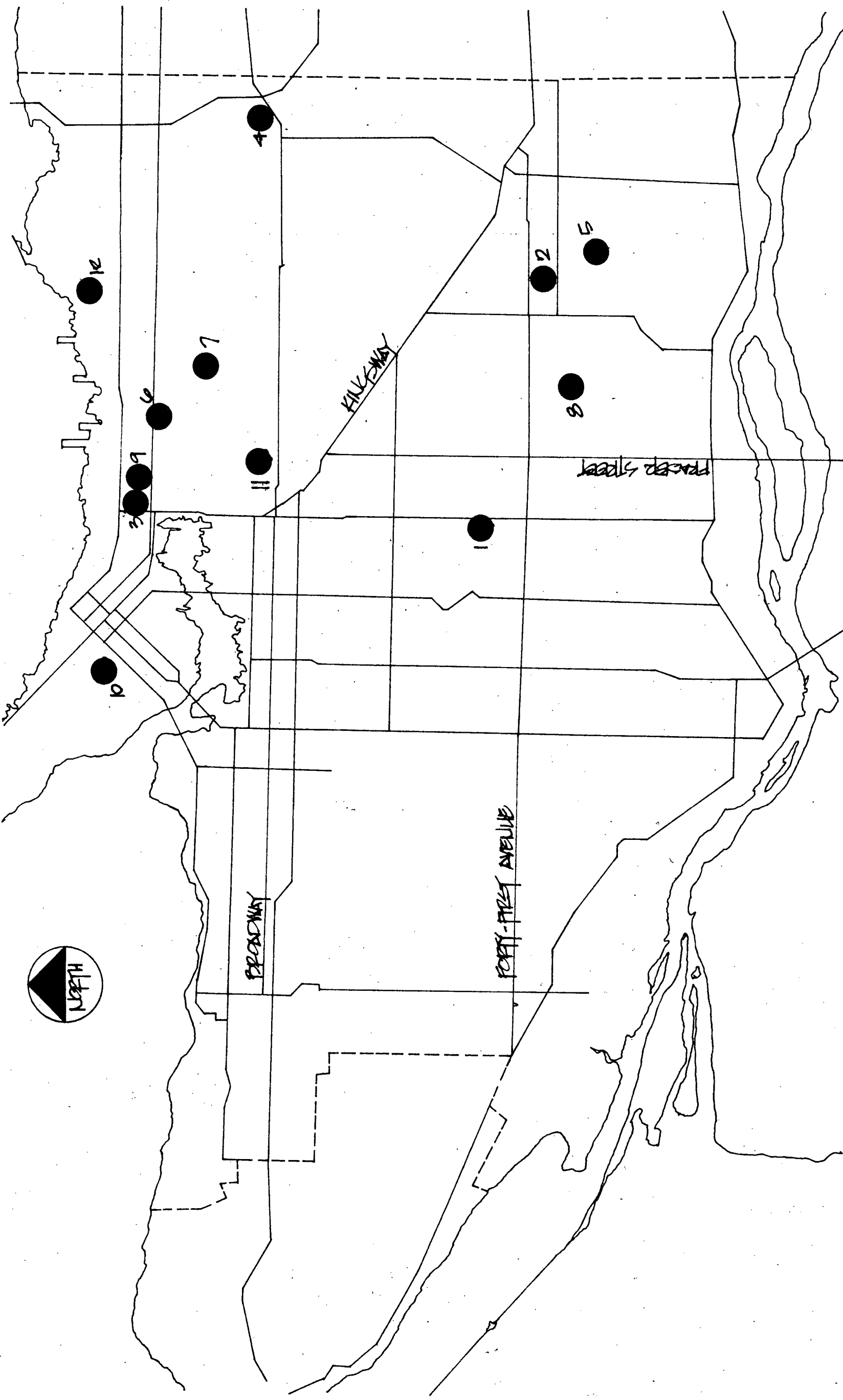
PROJECT LOCATIONS
1 LITTLE MOUNTAIN
2 ORCHARD PARK
3 MACLEAN PARK
4 SKEENA TERRACE
5 KILLARNEY GARDENS
6 ARTHUR PLACE
7 GRANDVIEW TERRACE
8 CLIFFORD COURT
9 MACLEAN PARK
10 LEIGHTON TOWER
11 CARDINAL & 50TH AVENUE
12 WALL & OXFORD

LOCATION OF
EXISTING PUBLIC HOUSING
PROJECTS IN VANCOUVER

KINGSWAY

OXFORD STREET

BROADWAY

FORTY-FIRST AVENUE

NORTH

C <u>SELECTION OF RESPONDENT GROUPS FOR INTERVIEWS</u>

As the issues on which this study is based involve family

life before and after moving into a public housing project, I felt

that future residents (Group 2) of public housing, that is, appli-

cants on the waiting list with the B.C. Housing Management, would

provide an excellent sample group to compare with the residents of

the project (Group 1). In this way, we could compare the responses

and discover the trends and the differences of attitudes towards

the various aspects of housing. I wanted to measure the effect on

families of living in a public housing project among similar types

of families (with the provision of common facilities), by studying

two similar groups of people, whose only difference is that one

group lives in such a project, and the other does not yet live in

a project. In this case, both groups of respondents, project re-

sidents and future residents, share similar life styles and values,

are at the same stage in their life cycle, are looking for similar

opportunities for individual and collective activities. Given

sufficient control over all variables other than their exposure to

living in a project and the availability of common facilities, one

would then attribute any differences found in the responses of the

two groups to the effect on families to project living and sharing

project facilities.[4] Essentially then, future residents are viewed

as a control group to assess the validity of the responses of the

project residents, to discover which differences between the two

groups (Group 1 & 2) can be attributed to project living, and to find

which aspirations they were bringing to the project.

The third group chosen for interviews comes from the neighbourhood surrounding the project, and the purpose of interviewing this group is to discover the relationship of the project and its residents to the surrounding neighbourhood from their point of view.

This study, therefore, includes three groups of respondents:

Group 1: Residents of Culloden Court.

Group 2: Future residents (control group).

Group 3: Residents of the surrounding neighbourhood
area of the project.

The first (project residents) and second (future residents) groups share similar socio-economic problems, with the differences being that the first group lives among similar types of families, whereas the second group lives in the community at large. The first group has the use of the designed provisions of the project (housing, open spaces and community facilities) and the second group does not.

The first and third groups share the same geographical location, and, therefore, have the same availability of community facilities, and the various opportunities provided by the local

area, but the difference between the two groups is one of their own socio-economic status.

D DATA COLLECTION

Three forms of data were collected:

1. Information on project.

2. Information on project residents and future residents.

3. Information from field work.

INFORMATION ON PROJECT:

All relevant data regarding the project was obtained from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The data includes the project layout, the types of accommodation provided, the facilities provided, and detailed plans, sections, and elevations of the project.

INFORMATION ON PROJECT RESIDENTS AND FUTURE RESIDENTS:

All the data on the residents and the applicants for project accommodation was derived from the files of British Columbia Housing Management. The data included age, sex, marital status,

TABLE I

BREAKUP OF SAMPLE GROUPS

Type	Families with children	Pensioners	Total
Future Residents	44	11	55
Project Residents	44	11	55
Total	88	22	110

income, and source of income, family size, number of children and their ages, their address, and length of residence. To obtain a characteristic profile of project residents and future residents a sample of 50% of families, and 25% of pensioners among project residents was taken. All the statistical profiles presented in this thesis are based on this sample group. The necessity of such a sample group arose as no comprehensive data was available in a single form. Much time was needed to derive this information from personal files of each of the families in the project. There are 88 units for families with children, and 44 units for pensioners, and therefore, the sample group was limited to 44 families with children, and 11 pensioner households, totalling 55 households. Similarly, for uniformity of comparison, the sample group from the applicants to the public housing projects (which number about four to six thousand) was limited to 44 households among families with children, and 11 households of pensioners, also totalling 55 house-holds in all.

INFORMATION FROM FIELD STUDY:

The main source of data to evaluate the three issues on which this thesis is based is from the discussions on each of the issues, during individual interviews conducted among project resi-dents, future residents, and residents from the surrounding neigh-bourhood of the project. The process of interviewing and the methods used to collate data is discussed under Section E - "Interviews".

Written and recorded data regarding the local areas in which the sample group of future residents live, and where the sample group of project residents lived before moving into the project was obtained from the following sources:

Canadian Census Tracts

Local Areas of Vancouver - Report (Mayhew)

Annual Report: Parks & Recreation '71, Vancouver

Directory of Services '72, by United Community Services of Greater VAncouver.

E INTERVIEWS

The interviews with the project residents and future residents were conducted in two stages. First, I interviewed informally a small group to familiarize myself with the general response pattern, and the various issues of importance to the respondents. Then, based on these informal discussions, a schedule for more comprehensive interviews was prepared.

The final schedule was put together after several weeks of study and perusal of preliminary schedules of interviews, and sessions with thesis advisers. The tentative draft of schedules was then pre-tested. After some revisions in the schedule, I conducted

the final interviews.

The interviews were unstructured, and lasted approximately 25-40 minutes. A tape recorder was used to document all interviews. Later I compiled the relevant responses into written form.

Both groups, project residents as well as future residents, responded with enthusiasm (and, hopefully, candour!). A letter of introduction from Professor Gerson, on university stationery, was initially used for the first group of respondents, the project residents.[5] Most of them were happy to talk to someone, and liked the idea that someone was interested in their opinions. My being a student (and neither a social worker nor from their housing management), and the fact that their information was to be used as statistical data, and therefore, anonymously, made it easier for the respondents to be uninhibited in their replies. Only one respondent refused an interview after she had accepted an appointment I had arranged. The interviews were conducted either in the late afternoons or on weekends.

Type of information sought during interviews:

1. Reasons for moving to the project.

2. Response to their way of life before moving to the project.

3. Preferences for location and setting of the project in the local areas of Vancouver.

4. Response to their way of life after moving to project.

5. Residents' opinions on project facilities.

6. Preferences for overall mix of project residents.

Detailed schedules for interviews used for discussions with each of the three groups of respondents are included in the appendices.

F   ANALYSIS OF DATA

The case study project (Culloden Court) has been analyzed and described by organizing data into the following framework: first, a description of its location and the type of accommodation it provides, then a brief description of the layout with emphasis on the number of building blocks, followed by the groupings of the blocks and the various orientations of the individual units, and finally, a brief description of the project facilities provided.

The two sample groups chosen, future residents and project residents, are described in terms of the location of their residence in the local areas of Vancouver. (This, of course, refers to the former locations of project residents.) The characteristics of

these families are described and compared with the characteristics
of the families living in the Sunset area in which Culloden Court
is situated. The descriptions include only the main points briefly
summarized. The analysis and comparisons include the location,
marital status, age groups, number of children per family, income.
levels, employment, and length of residence. This information came
from Census Tracts. The detailed tables for these families are
found in the appendices.

The areas within which these sample groups exist have been
documented and analyzed to give:

1. Comparative socio-economic rating.[6]

2. The location of these areas in relation to each other.

3. Relevant local facilities.

The interviewed families were chosen to be representative
of their sample groups. The characteristics of these families are
compared and the location of their residence described.

The general format for documenting the responses and dis-
cussions from the interviews conducted is organized in the
following way:

1. Subject of discussion.

2. Discussions on the subject among the groups interviewed.
    The order in which the groups appear is future residents,
    project residents and, where applicable, community re-
    sidents.

3. Response pattern - the various responses of each group
    are then compared with each other and analyzed to eval-
    uate the attitudes of each group towards the issue
    under discussion.

4. Implications: Social and Spatial - the implications
    of the responses which relate to the social or physical
    groupings of people, buildings, or facilities in a
    project, are summarized.

5. Tables of detailed responses - tables analyzing the
    various responses on the subject, and their comparative
    frequency of occurrence.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter 2

[1]The twelve projects and their dates of completion are as
follows: (1) Little Mountain 1954, (2) Orchard Park 1959, (3) Maclean
Park 1963, (4) Skeena Terrace 1963, (5) Raymur Place 1967, (6) Grand-
view Terrace 1969, (7) Culloden Court 1969, (8) Nicholson Tower 1969,
(9) Maclean Park 1970, (10) Carolina & 6th 1970, (11) Wall & Oxford 'A'
1970, (12) Wall & Oxford 'B' 1970.

[2]Though figures on land values are not available, it can be
safely assumed that predominantly residential areas would be of higher
values than industrial cum slum areas.

[3]It was later learned that Central Mortgage and Housing Cor-
poration was proud of Culloden Court project and considered it as the
most successful project.

[4]Appendix C.

[5]Appendix C.

[6]Mayhew, op. cit., presents a socio-economic profile for
each of the local areas of Vancouver so that individual local areas may
be compared, one with another, or any local area may be compared with
the average conditions found throughout the city. These ratings are
based on six variables: owner occupancy, unemployment, family income,
occupation index, fertility ratio and families with children. Highest
ranking is 8.4 for Shaughnessy and lowest ranking is 117.0 for Strath-
cona. Lower numbers in rating indicate higher ranking. See Appendix
B for a table showing socio-economic rankings of various local areas
of Vancouver.

[7]These include post office, secondary school, community park,
local movie theatre, community centre, public library, supervised play-
ground and district shopping centre. See Illustration on p. 36.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF PROJECT, RESPONDENTS AND AREAS

A   DESCRIPTION OF CULLODEN COURT

Culloden Court is the eighth public housing project built

in Vancouver. It was built in 1967-68.[1] It occupies two square

city blocks in the south-east section of the city, bounded by 45th

and 47th Avenues on the north and south sides, and Inverness and

Knight Streets on the west and east sides. The project provides

accommodation for 132 households in three building types - town-

house blocks, back to back row-house blocks, and two-storey apartment

blocks. The two-storey apartment block accommodates pensioners

only, both single and couples, and contains 44 units. All other

buildings accommodate families with children. The units for

families with children range from two-bedroom units to five-bedroom

units. There are 88 units in all for families with children.

Following is the breakdown of this number:

2 Br.	48 units
3 Br.	24 units
4 Br.	12 units
5 Br.	4 units
Total	88 units

These accommodations are provided in eleven building blocks.

The building blocks are grouped around three interior courts. Units

in the project have one of three orientations - fronting on outside
streets, facing interior courts, or both. (Some townhouses both face
an interior court and front on an outside street.)[3] The breakdown
of the various orientations is as follows:

Orientation	Families	Pensioners
Facing outside street	20	28
Facing interior courts	52	16
Facing interior courts as well as fronting an outside street	16	None
Total	88	44

Among the common facilities provided in the project are
landscaped open space, parking, play areas, and a multi-purpose and
administration building.[4] There are three separate parking areas
providing a total of 80 stalls. The recreation centre (multi-purpose
and administration block) is located in one of the three courts,
surrounded by family units and the pensioners' block. (See the
detailed plan of the recreation centre.) Behind this centre and
next to the pensioners' block is the children's play area. Walls
are extensively used to enclose parking areas and the yards of
individual units, creating almost a visual barrier between the
inside and outside of the project.[5]

The project is located in the Sunset area, which is a

28

COMMUNITY
FACILITIES IN
PROJECT AREA

SCHOOLS
COMMERCIAL
SUPERVISED
PLAYGROUND
COMMUNITY
CENTRE.

NCPDA

HAIGHT STREET

CULTURAL COURT
CENTER

14 TILE

12 TILE

PAGE STREET

9 TILE

FORTY-FIRST AVENUE

FORTY-NINTH AVENUE

NORTH

PROJECT FACILITIES:
CULLODEN COURT

KNIGHT STREET

IMPERIAL STREET
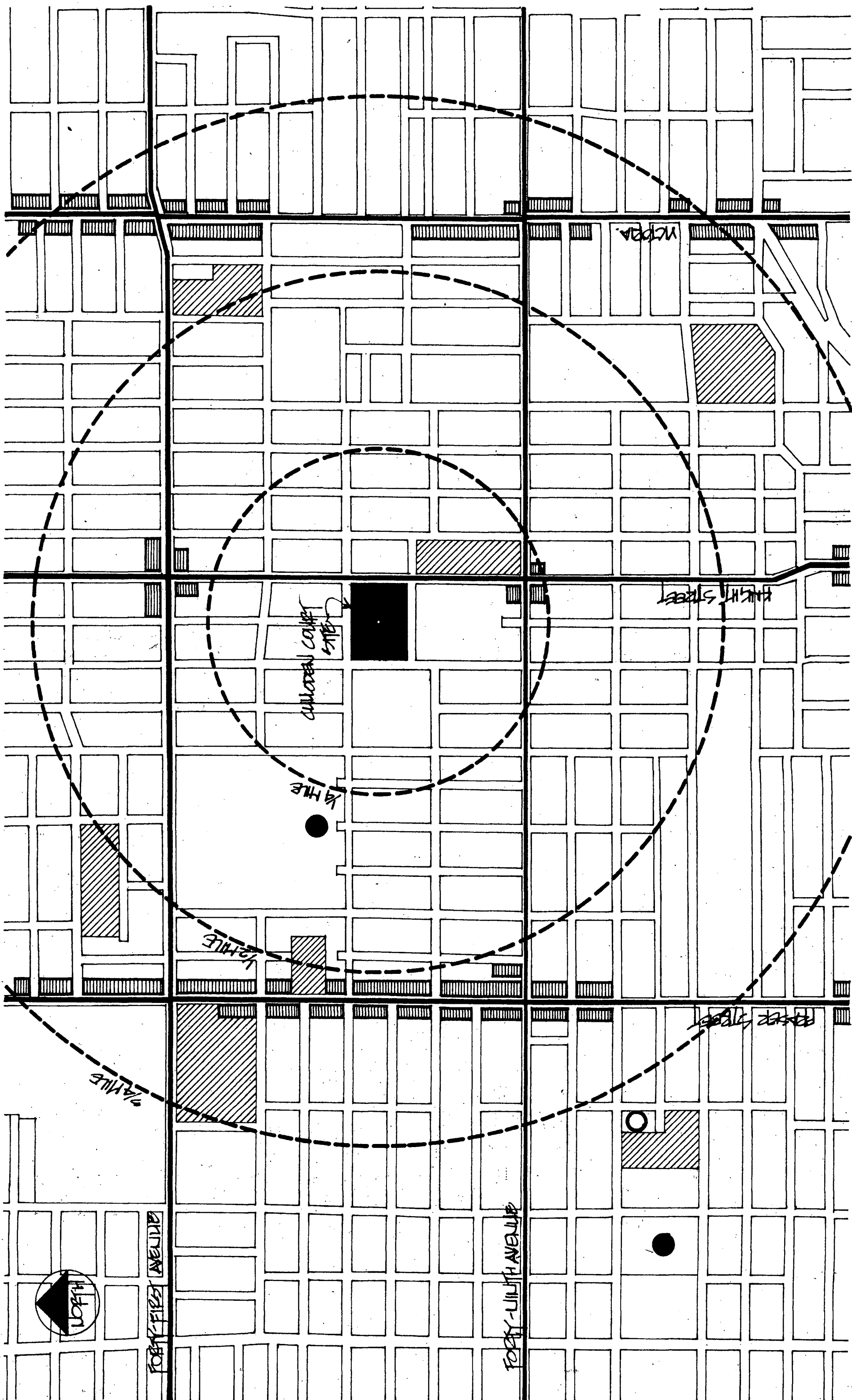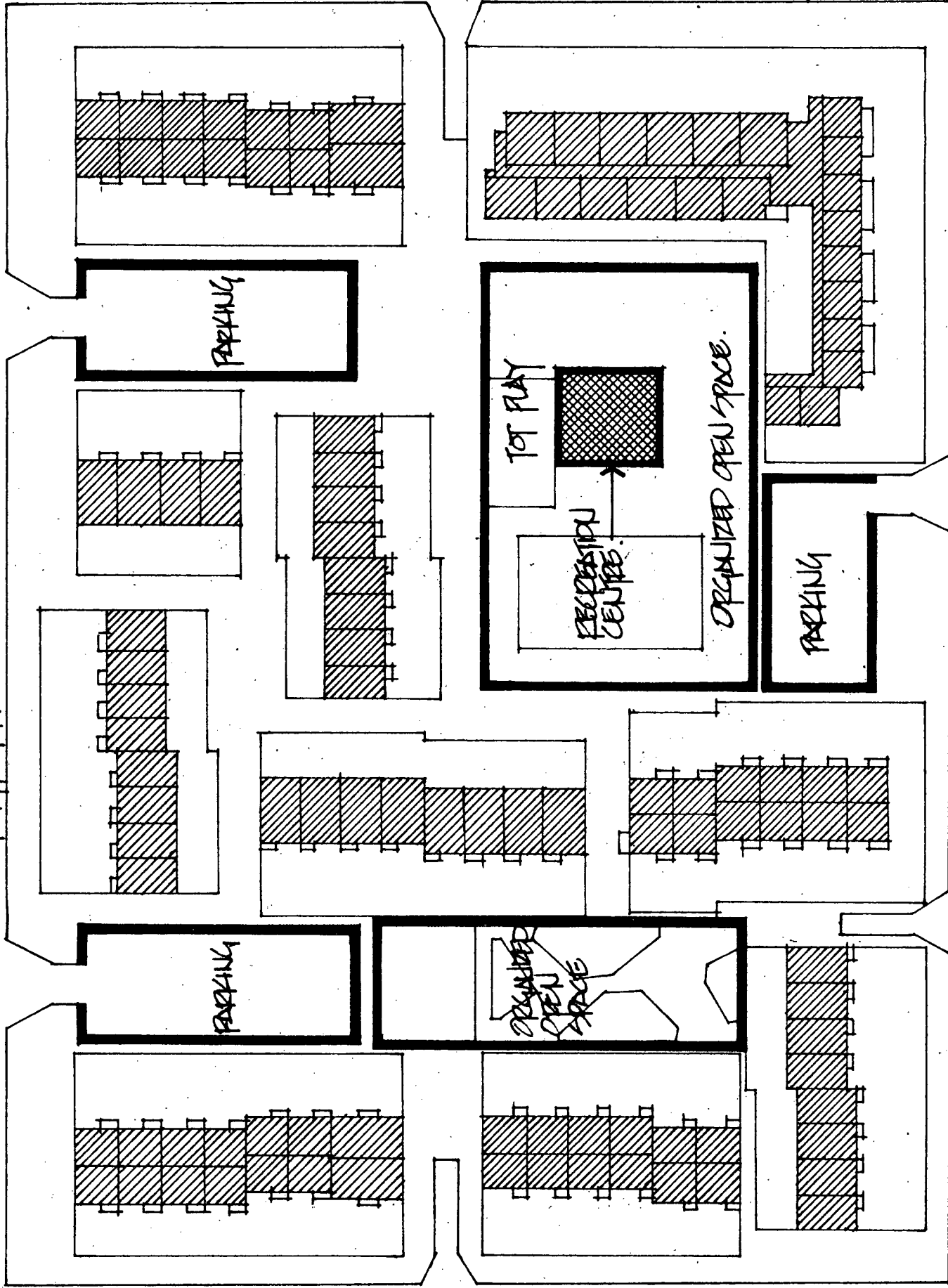
FORTY-FIFTH AVENUE

FORTY-SEVENTH AVENUE

PARKING

PARKING

PARKING

PARKING

TOT PLAY

RECREATION CENTRE

ORGANIZED OPEN SPACE

ORGANIZED OPEN SPACE

NORTH
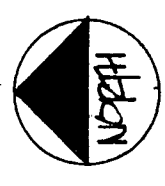
LEGEND:
⑤ INDICATES NUMBER OF BEDROOMS
ⓑ INDICATES BACHELOR SUITE

ACCOMMODATION TYPES:
VILLAGE COURT
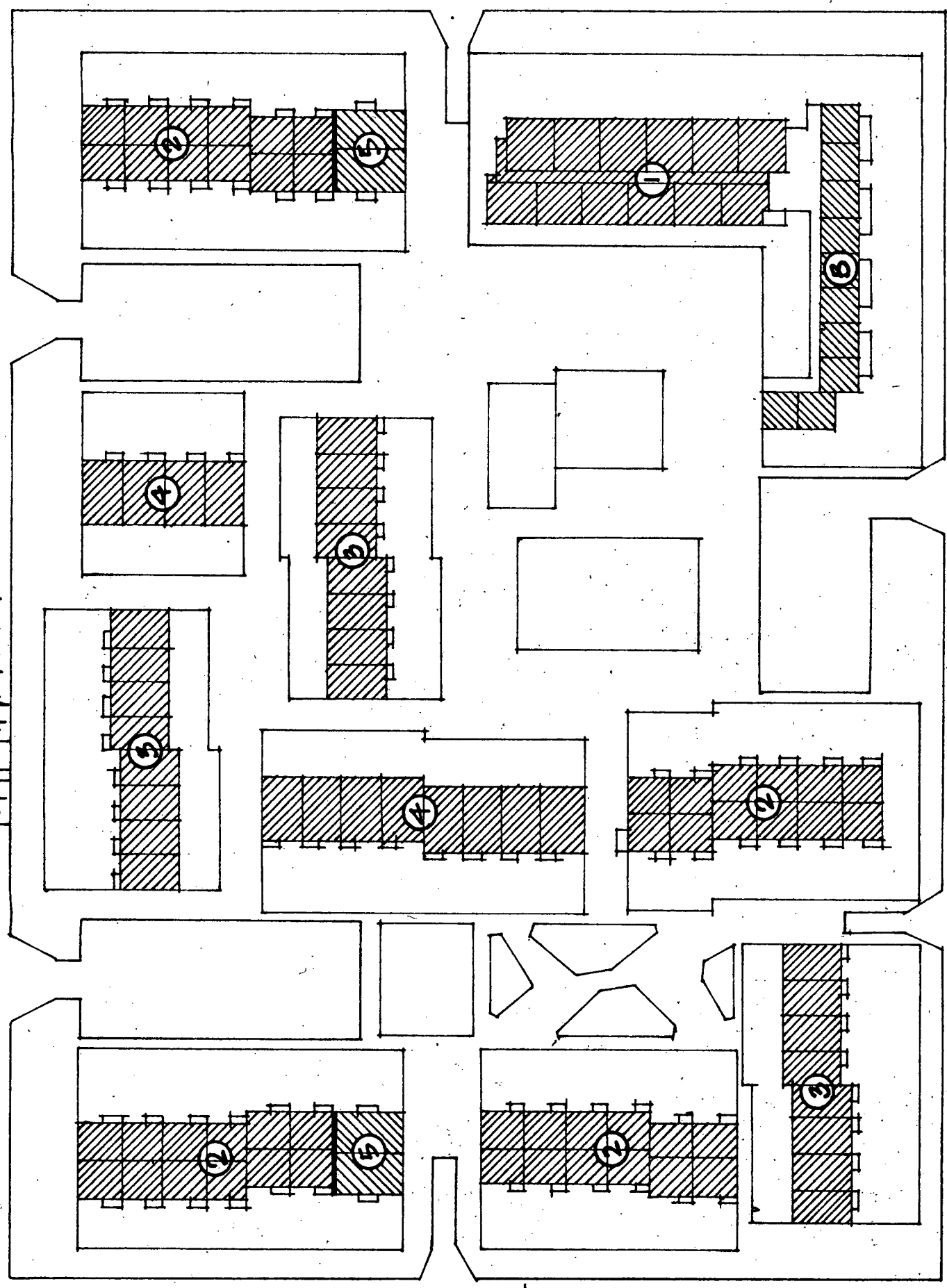
TYPES OF OPERATIONS
FOR INDIVIDUAL UNITS
LAKOR LOWELL SCHOOL

○ FACING COURT (60)
◐ FACING SURFACE STREET (45)
● FACING BOTH COURT AND STREET (15)

KNIGHT STREET

FORTY-FIFTH AVENUE

FORTY-SEVENTH AVENUE

IMPERESS STREET

NORTH
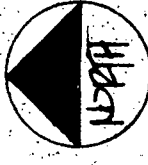
THIS MAP SHOWS THE LIMITED VIEW ONE GETS FROM OUTSIDE THE PROJECT LOOKING INTO THE PROJECT AREA.
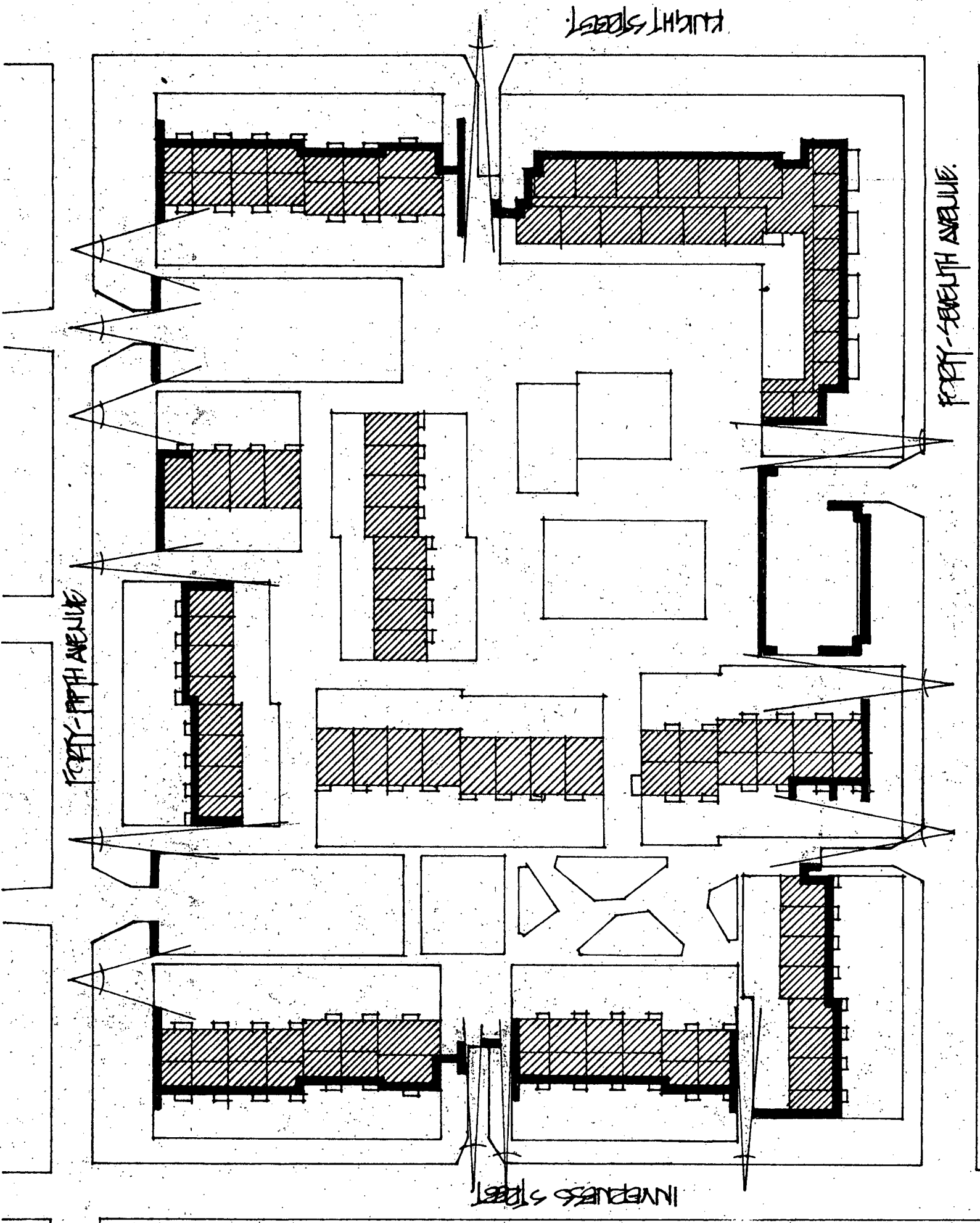
VISUAL AND PHYSICAL BARRIERS

KNIGHT STREET

FIFTY-SEVENTH AVENUE

FIFTY-FIFTH AVENUE

INVERNESS STREET

PLAN

residential area of predominantly single-family detached housing.

B   SAMPLE GROUPS AND AREAS

The tables illustrating the basic biographical data of
the sample groups will be found in this section. The main points
in these tables are summarized here.

FUTURE RESIDENTS:

Location - Generally they are distributed in the north-east and
central (east) parts of Vancouver.[6] Nearly half of them live in a
district consisting of the Grandview-Woodland, Kensington, and Mt.
Pleasant local areas. (See Table IIH)

Marital status - Nearly two-thirds of the families in the sample group
are single-parent families with children, and a third comprised of
husband and wife with children. (See Table IIB)

Ages - Of the total of 61 parents among 44 families with children,
43 parents are between the ages of 21-40. The majority of them are
in the 21-30 group. The average age of parents is 31.2 years.
(See Table IIA)

Number of children per family - The average number of children is
3 (134 children for 44 families). Of the 44 families in this sample,
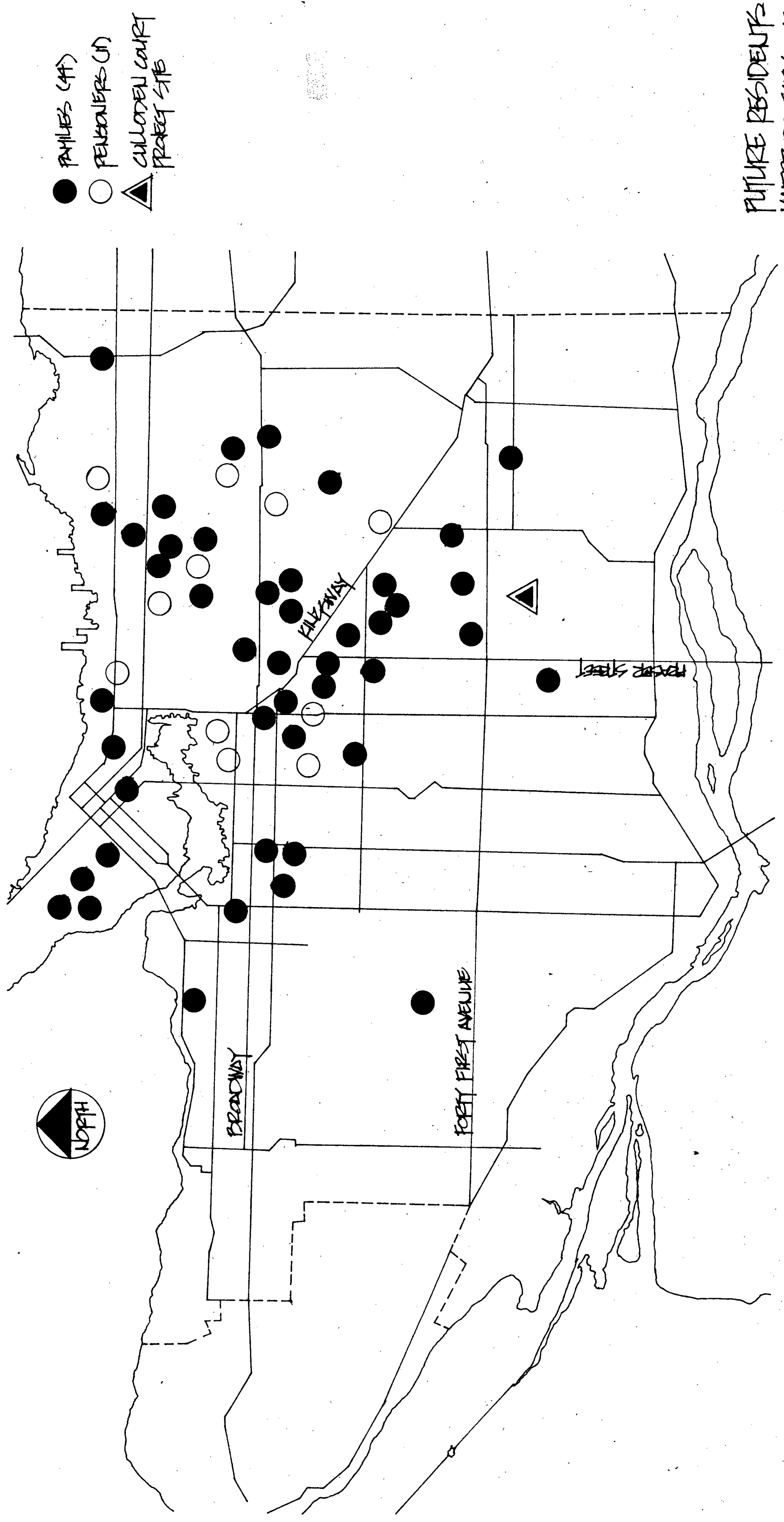
FUTURE RESIDENTS
WHERE DO THEY LIVE

Legend:
- FAMILIES (44) — ● (filled circle)
- PENSIONERS (11) — ○ (open circle)
- CULLODEN COURT PROJECT SITE — △ (triangle)

NORTH

BROADWAY

FORTY FIRST AVENUE

KALEDWAY

PROSPECT STREET

1 WEST END
2 CBD
3 STRATHCONA
4 GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND
5 HASTINGS-SUNRISE
6 RENFREW-COLLINGWOOD
7 KENSINGTON
8 MOUNT PLEASANT
9 RILEY PARK
10 FAIRVIEW
11 SOUTH CAMBIE
12 KITSILANO
13 SHAUGHNESSY
14 ARBUTUS RIDGE
15 WEST POINT GREY
16 DUNBAR SOUTHLANDS
17 KERRISDALE
18 OAKRIDGE
19 MARPOLE
20 SUNSET
21 VICTORIA-FRASERVIEW
22 KILLARNEY

LOCAL AREA BOUNDARIES

NORTH

KINGSWAY
FORTY-FIRST AVENUE
BROADWAY
PROPOSED STREET

LOCATION OF COMMUNITY FACILITIES
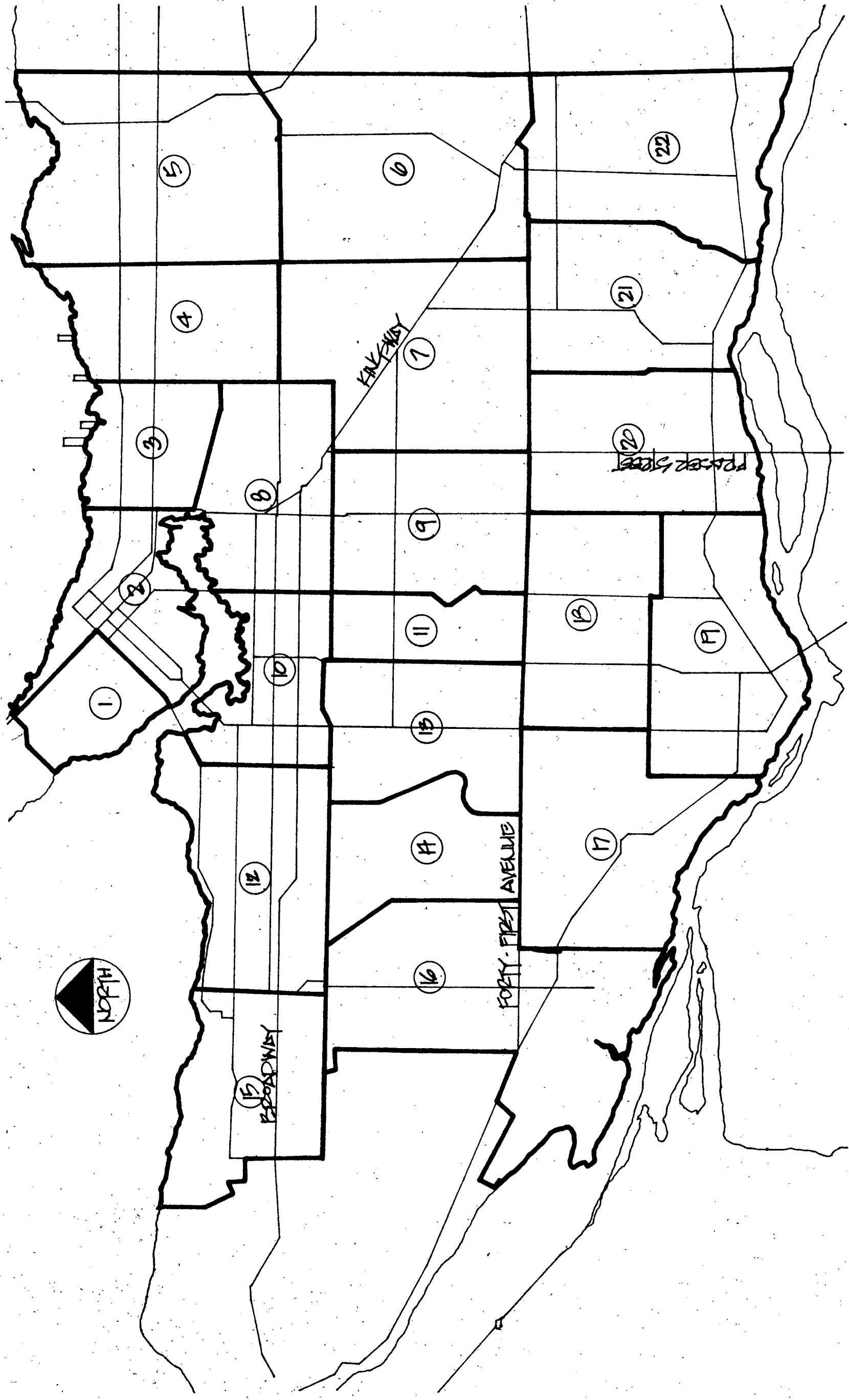
Legend:
- ○ COMMUNITY CENTRE
- ● SUPERVISED PLAYGROUND
- □ COMMUNITY PARK
- ⊠ SECONDARY SCHOOL
- ■ PUBLIC LIBRARY
- ◤ POST OFFICE
- △ LOCAL MOVIE THEATRE
- ▲ DISTRICT SHOPPING CENTRE

KINGSWAY

PRINCE STREET

BROADWAY

FORTY FIRST AVENUE
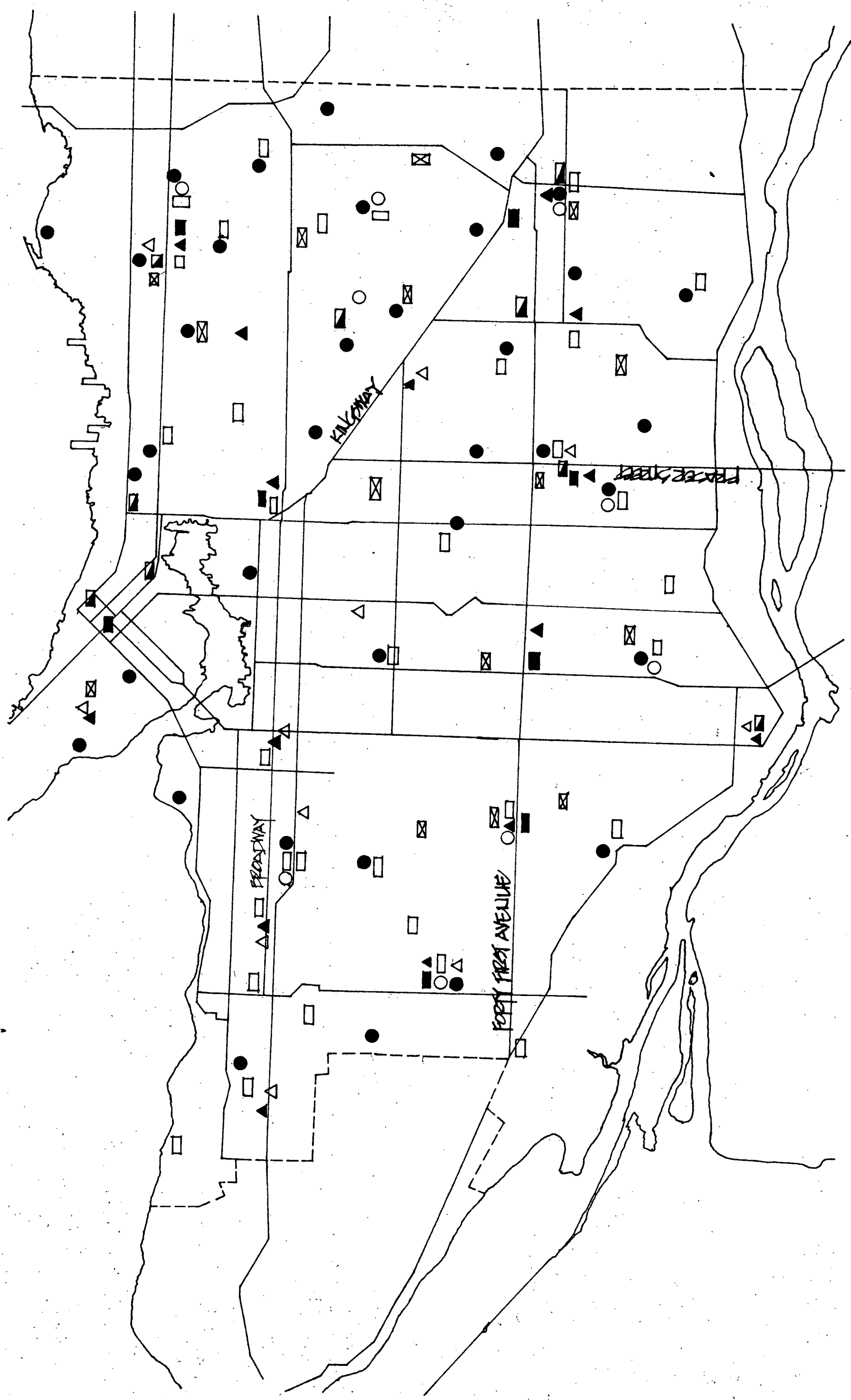
TABLE IIA TO IIH

CHARACTERISTICS OF FUTURE RESIDENTS

TABLE IIA: AGE GROUPS AMONG SPOUSES

Age Groups - Years	Numbers	Percentage
20 and under	3	5
21-30	27	44
31-40	16	26
41-50	11	18
Over 50	4	7
Total	61	100%

Average Age of Parents 31.2 years.

TABLE IIB: MARITAL STATUS

Type	Numbers of Families	Percentage
Two-parent families	17	39
One-parent families	27	61
Total	44	100%

TABLE IIC: NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLDS

No. of Children	No. of Families	Percentage
1 or none	7	16
2	12	27
3	9	21
4	9	21
5	4	9
6	1	2
7	1	2
8	1	2
Total	44	100%

TABLE IID: ADULT-CHILDREN RATIO

Total Number of Adults	61	31%
Total No. of Children	134	69%
Total Population	195	100%

TABLE IIE: FAMILY SIZE

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	Percentage
2	7	16
3	6	14
4	10	23
5	13	30
6	4	9
7	1	2
8	1	2
9	1	2
10	1	2
Total	44	100 %

TABLE IIF: INCOME LEVELS

Income Range (per month)	Number of Families	Percentage
Less than $200	7	16
$200 - $400	30	68
More than $400	7	16
Total	44	100 %

Total Income .... $13,731.0 per month

   for

No. of Families 44

Average Income per Month .... $312.0 per month.

TABLE IIG: EMPLOYMENT

Type	Numbers	Percentage
Working families (full time)	9	19
Working families (part time)	4	9
Non-working families	31	72
Total	44	100%

TABLE IIH: HOUSEHOLD LOCATION BY AREA

Local Area

Name	Socio-economic rating	No. of Families	%
West end	43.5	4	7
CBD	109.0	2	4
Strathcona	117.0	3	5
Grandview Woodland	108.0	8	16
Hastings Sunrise	100.5	4	7
Renfrew Collingwood	89.3	2	4
Kensington	100.3	11	19
Mount Pleasant	95.0	8	15
Riley Park	70.7	6	10
Fairview	71.2	3	5
Kitsilano	48.0	1	2
Arbutus Ridge	11.3	1	2
Sunset	78.0	1	2
Victoria Fairview	80.6	1	2
Total		55	100%

43% of the families have 1 or 2 children, and another 40% have 3-4

children. The maximum number of children in one family is 8.

(See Table IIC)

Adult-Children ratio - Among the 44 families, there are 61 adults

and 134 children, which is a ratio of 1:2.2. The average family size

is 4.5 people among families with children. (See Tables IID & E)

Income - The average gross income for a family is $312 per month.

68% of the families have an income of $200-$400. Of the rest, 16%

have an income of less than $200 a month, and another 16% have an

income of more than $400 per month. (See Table IIF)

Employment - Three-fourths of the sample families are on some form

of assistance (welfare, unemployment insurance, etc.) and are not

working. About one-fifth work full time, and about 10% work part

time and also receive assistance. (See Table IIG)

PROJECT RESIDENTS:

Location of former residence - The former homes of project residents

is much more widely distributed than the homes of the future re-

sidents. Nearly half of them (23 out of 44 families) came from an

area consisting of Mt. Pleasant, Kensington, Sunset and Riley Park.

The other half was distributed among the north-east and west parts

of the city. (See Table IIIH)

Present location of families - Since the sample was taken at random
for half of the units provided for families with children, the dis-
tribution did not turn out to be in any particular proportion to
the accommodation types.[8]

Marital status - Two-thirds of the project residents (among families
with children) are single-parent families with children. One-third
of the sample consists of husband and wife with children. (See Table IIIB)

Age of spouses - Two-thirds of the sample families have parents in
the age group between 21-40. There are none under 20 years of age,
twenty of them are between 21-30 years old, and twenty-one of them
are 31-40 years old. The rest, about one-third, are over 41 years
old. (See Table IIIA)

Number of children per household - There are 143 children among 44
families of the sample group, which is 3.2 children per family.
Since this sample is half of the number of families in the project,
the estimate for the total number of children on the project will be
about 290 children within 2 square city blocks. (See Tables III C & E)

Family size - Three-fourths of the families in this sample have
between 3-5 persons per household. The maximum size of family is
8 persons, and the smallest family size is 2 persons (single mother
with a child). (See Table IIIE)

43.

NORTH

FAMILIES
BACHELORS (PENTHOUSES)
COUPLE (PENTHOUSES)

KNIGHT STREET

FORTY-FIFTH AVENUE

FORTY-SEVENTH AVENUE

INVERNESS STREET
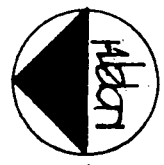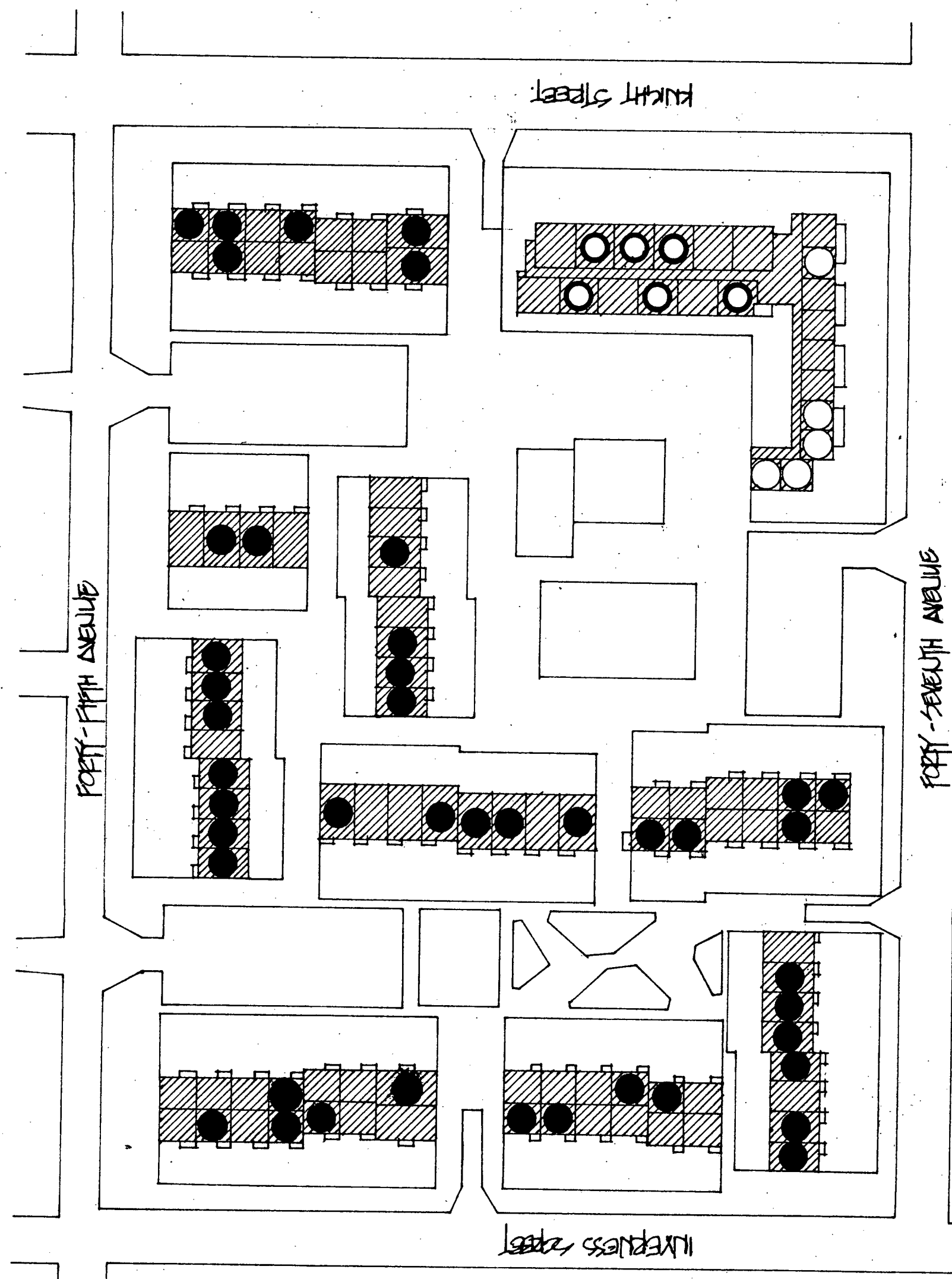
DISTRIBUTION OF
SAMPLE GROUP
PROJECT RESIDENTS
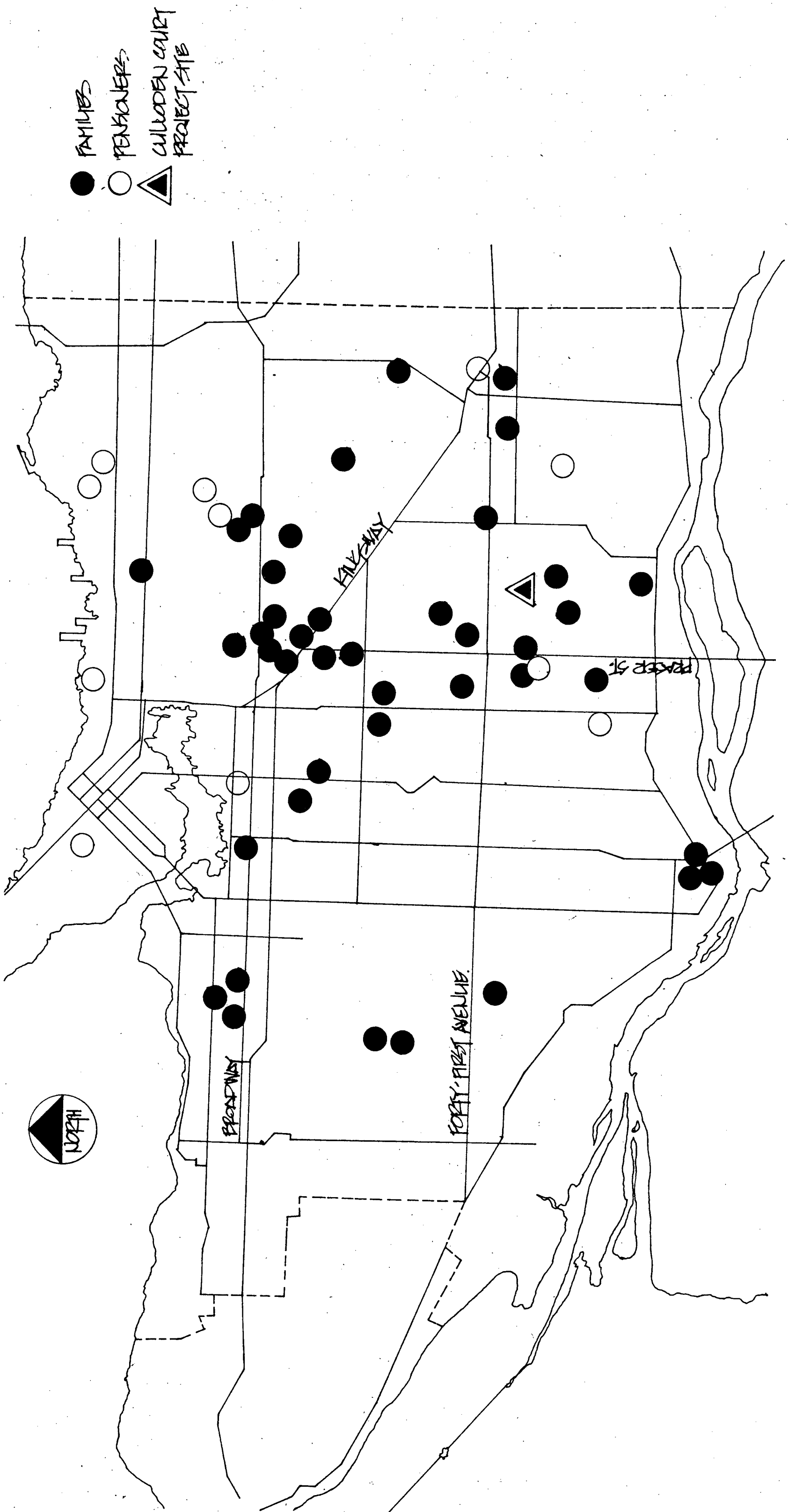
PROJECT RESIDENTS
WHERE THEY CAME FROM
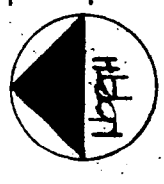
FAMILIES ●
TENANTS ○
CULLODEN COURT △
PROJECT SITE

TWO PARENT FAMILY

ONE PARENT FAMILY

BACHELOR (PENSIONERS)
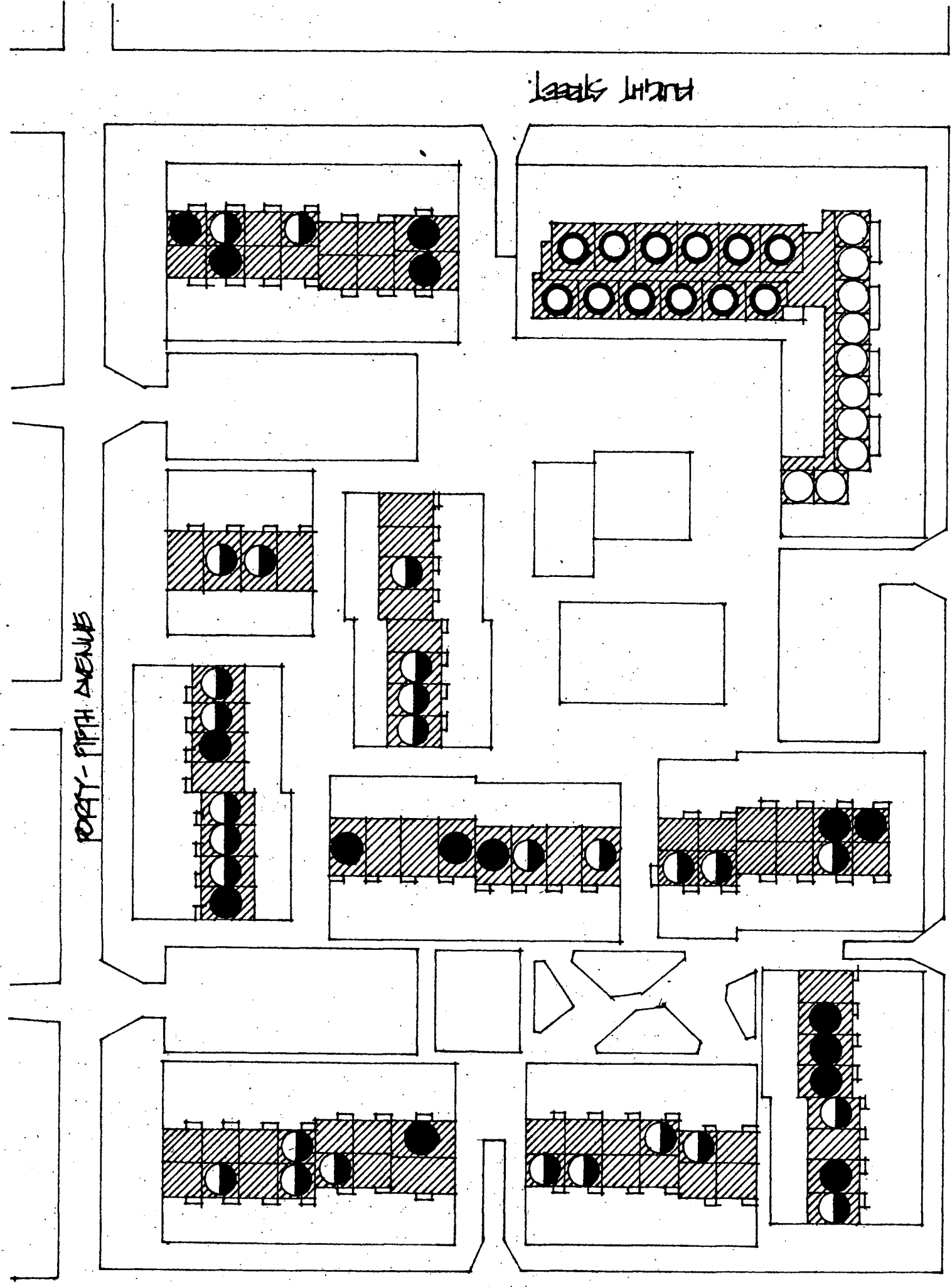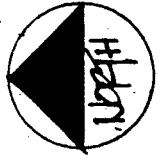
COUPLE (PENSIONERS)

FAMILY TYPES: SAMPLE GROUP
CULLODEN COURT

PURCHT STREET

FORTY - FIFTH AVENUE

FORTY - SEVENTH AVENUE

INVERNESS STREET

NORTH

NORTH

KNIGHT STREET

FORTY-FIFTH AVENUE

FORTY-SEVENTH AVENUE

INVERNESS STREET

NUMBER OF ADULTS
NUMBER OF CHILDREN
① BACHELOR (PENSIONERS)
② COUPLE (PENSIONERS)

DISTRIBUTION OF
ADULTS AND CHILDREN
(SAMPLE GROUP)
CHILDREN COURT.
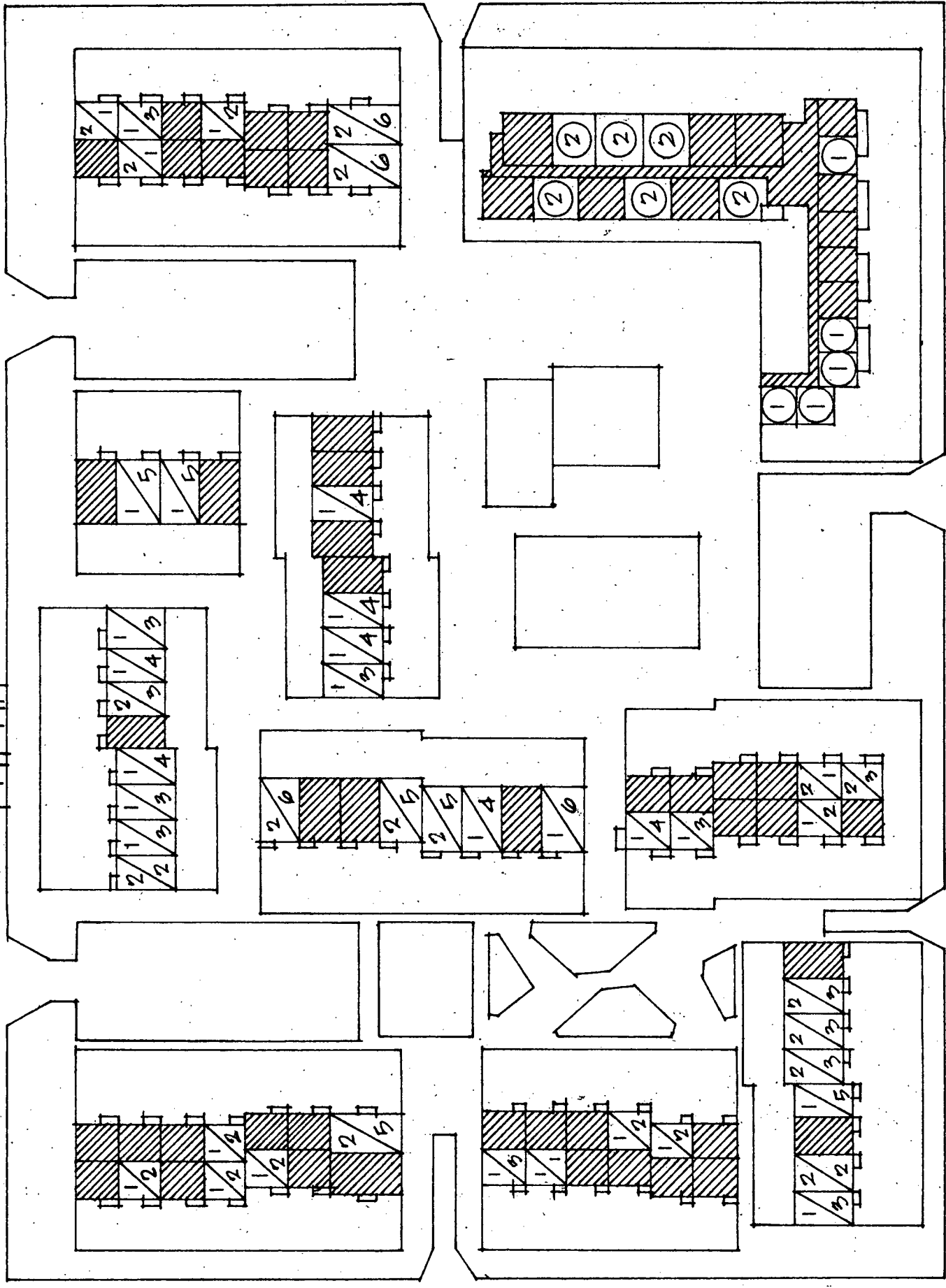
TABLE IIIA TO IIIH

SAMPLE GROUP PROJECT RESIDENTS

TABLE IIIA: AGE GROUPS AMONG SPOUSES

Age Group - Years	Numbers	Percentage
20 and Under	None	None
21-30	20	34
31-40	21	36
41-50	9	15
Over 50	9	15
Total	59	100%

Average age of spouses   34 Years

TABLE IIIB: MARITAL STATUS

Type	Number of Families	Percentage
Two-parent families	15	34
One-parent families	29	66
Total	44	100%

TABLE IIIC: NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLDS

Number of Children	Number of Families	Percentage
1	4	9
2	11	25
3	12	27
4	8	18
5	5	12
6	4	9
7	-	-
8	-	-
Total	44	100%

TABLE IIID: ADULT-CHILDREN RATIO

Total Number of Adults	59	30%
Total Number of Children	143	70%
Total Family Population	202	100%

TABLE IIIE: FAMILY SIZE

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Family	Percentage
2	2	4
3	10	23
4	11	25
5	12	27
6	3	7
7	3	7
8	3	7
9	-	-
10	-	-
Total	44	100 %

TABLE IIIF: INCOME LEVELS FOR LOW INCOME FAMILIES

Income Range (per month)	Number of Families	Percentage
Less than $200	None	None
From $200 to $400	1	8
Over $400	12	92
Total	13	100 %

Note: Social assistance and welfare amounts are not available.

Therefore, only working families' incomes are included.

The other 31 families are non-working and are on assistance.

TABLE IIIG: EMPLOYMENT

Type	Numbers	Percentage
Working families (full time)	10	23
Working families (part time)	3	7
Non-working families	31	70
Total	44	100%

TABLE IIIH: FORMER LOCATIONS OF RESIDENCES

OF PROJECT RESIDENTS BY AREAS

Local Area

Name	Socio-economic rating	No. of Families	%
West end	43.5	1	2
Victoria-Fraserview	80.6	1	2
Mount Pleasant	95.0	6	14
Riley-Park	70.7	5	11
Fairview	71.2	2	5
South-Cambie	70.0	1	2
Kensington	100.3	6	14
Renfrew-Collingwood	89.3	2	5
Sunset	78.0	6	14
Killarney	57.0	1	2
Marpole	56.1	3	7
Kitsilano	48.0	3	7
Arbutus Ridge	11.3	2	4
Kerrisdale	8.6	1	2
Grandview-Woodland	108.0	4	9
	Total	44	100%

Employment - Half of the families are non-working and on welfare.
Only one-third of them are working full time. Three of the 44
families are on assistance and working part time. (See Table IIIG)

Length of Residence - The project is about three years old, and it
appears that nearly half of the families have been there from the
start. An almost equal number have been living in the project for
more than a year. Turnover in tenants is very minimal.[9]

Income - Income figures for only low-income families were available.
The lowest income among the working families is $375 per month.
The rest were all above $400 per month. All the welfare recipients
have their rents based on family size. The figures on the assistance
provided to these families are not available. (See Table IIIF)

SUNSET AREA RESIDENTS:

Socio-economic ranking - Sunset area ranks 14th out of 22 local areas
of Vancouver (the highest ranking is 1). It is surrounded by areas
with higher rankings on the west and north, and with lower ranking
areas on the east and north. It is predominantly residential.[10]

Marital status - More than 94% of the families in this area are two-
parent families. The remaining 6% include singles, pensioners,
and single-parent families. (See Table IVA)

TABLE IV-A AND IV-B

SUNSET AREA RESIDENTS

TABLE IV-A: MARITAL STATUS

Type	No. of Families	Percentage
Two-parent families	2,231	94
One-parent families	141	6
Total	2,372	100 %

TABLE IV-B: NO. OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

No. of Children in Family	No. of Families	Percentage
No children	784	33
1-2 children	1,089	46
3-4 children	415	18
5 children	84	3
Total	2,372	100 %

Family size - The average family size is 3.5 persons. Vancouver's
average is 3.2 persons. More than 65% of the families in this area
have one or more children.[11]

Number of children - Nearly half of the families in the Sunset area
have 1-2 children. Out of 2,372 families, two-thirds of them have
1-4 children. The average number of children per family is 1.5
children. (See Table IVB)

Income - The average income per family is $435 per month.[12]

Employment - Unemployment is only 4% for this area. Nearly all
families are working and earning wages.[13]

C INTERVIEWED SAMPLE

Out of the sample groups for future residents and project
residents, respondents for interviews were chosen. Whereas the sample
groups indicate the general characteristics of the two groups of
people, the interviewed sample was used to obtain responses on the
major issues of discussion during interviews.

FUTURE RESIDENTS:

On the basis of information obtained from housing management
files, I chose to contact applicants whose phone numbers appeared
on their information cards. Out of the list of about thirty numbers

TABLE V

BREAKUP OF INTERVIEWED SAMPLES

Type	Families with children	Pensioners	Total
Future Residents	15	5	20
Project Residents	15	5	20
Neighbourhood Residents	10	-	10
Totals	40	10	50
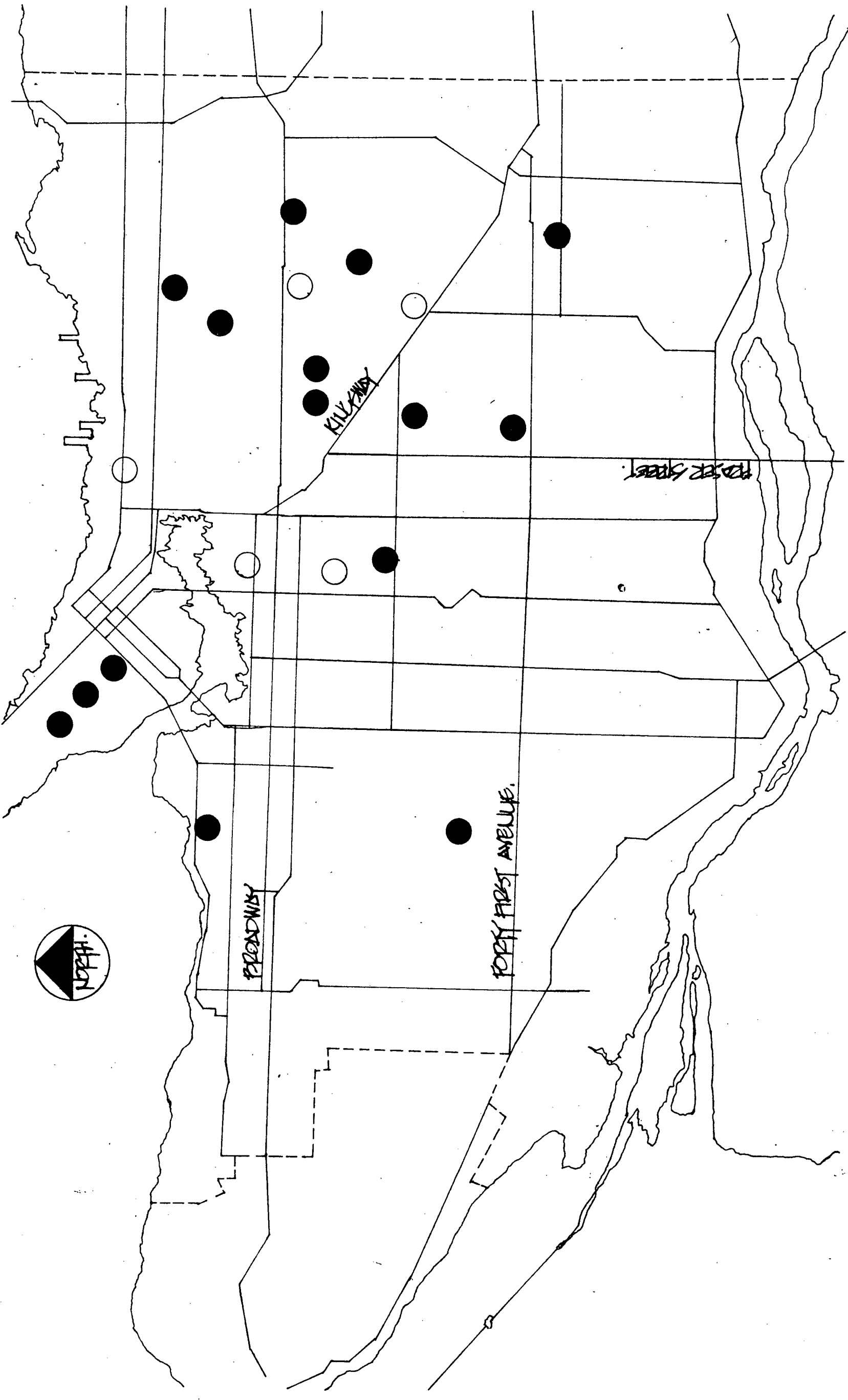
LOCATION OF
INTERVIEWED SAMPLE:
FUTURE RESIDENTS.

IS FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN ●

FREEHOLDERS ○

only six had either their phone numbers correct, had their phones

connected, or were available at the numbers. A maximum number of

three attempts were made at different times (twice in the afternoon

and once in the late evening) to reach them by phone. The majority.

of the calls ended in recorded messages: "... the number you have

reached is not in service..." Some phones rang all the time without

any one answering. Some had people answering who were not aware

of the names. Then a supplementary list of applicants (recent ones)

was obtained from management files. This time I could reach most

of the applicants. Though I intended to interview families on the

basis of family size, marital status, employment, etc., in the same

proportion as they appear in the sample groups, it did not come

out that way. Many working couples were either not cooperative (once

they knew I was a student) or were not available when called at home

at appointed times. At first in every call I made I identified my-

self, saying that I was a student doing a study on public housing,

and that I had their phone number from housing management. In later

calls, I did not voluntarily tell them that I was a student and only

mentioned that I got their name and phone number from housing mana-

gement and am doing research on public housing and that management

and C.M.H.C. were interested in the findings of the study. This

helped and I could get a larger number of interviews that way (in

contrast to project residents who were more willing to talk to me

as a student).[14] The final number of respondents, then, consist of

those who were willing to be interviewed and is a fairly good repre-

sentation of the sample.

PROJECT RESIDENTS:

First, I obtained a list of 13 residents from management
for informal interviews. As can be seen on the drawing, most of them
are living in corner units.[15] I do not know whether it was intended
that way or the management gave only those names who were not com-
plainants and are considered good residents. Two people contacted
from this list refused outright when told about discussions on the
project. One gave a long lecture on research done so frequently
on public housing, and said that they should not be treated as
"subject matter" for research. I never contacted this person again.
Whereas I had the phone numbers of families among future residents
from management, I could not obtain the same for project residents.
The policy seems to be not to give phone numbers under any circum-
stances, and many of the names among the project residents are also
not listed in the telephone directory. It seems some have unlisted
numbers and some do not have telephones. Others do have a telephone
but it is sometimes out of service. Under these circumstances, I
could only contact seven of the 13 names provided, initially, by
the management. One respondent, a pensioner, preferred to talk with
me only on the phone as she was ill. The rest of the interviews
were conducted in person.

These initial interviews were very informal and gave me
an opportunity to acquaint myself with the project and the major
issues involved in the project. The final selection of respondents
was made more deliberately. I obtained a list of project residents

59.

INDICATES FAMILIES
RECOMMENDED FOR
INTERVIEW BY HOUSING
MANAGEMENT.

FIRST GROUP OF
RESIDENTS FOR
INTERVIEW.

FLIGHT STREET

FORTY-FIFTH AVENUE

FORTY-SEVENTH AVENUE

MARQUESS STREET

NORTH

DISPERSION OF INTERVIEWED SAMPLE
CULLODEN COURT.

Legend:
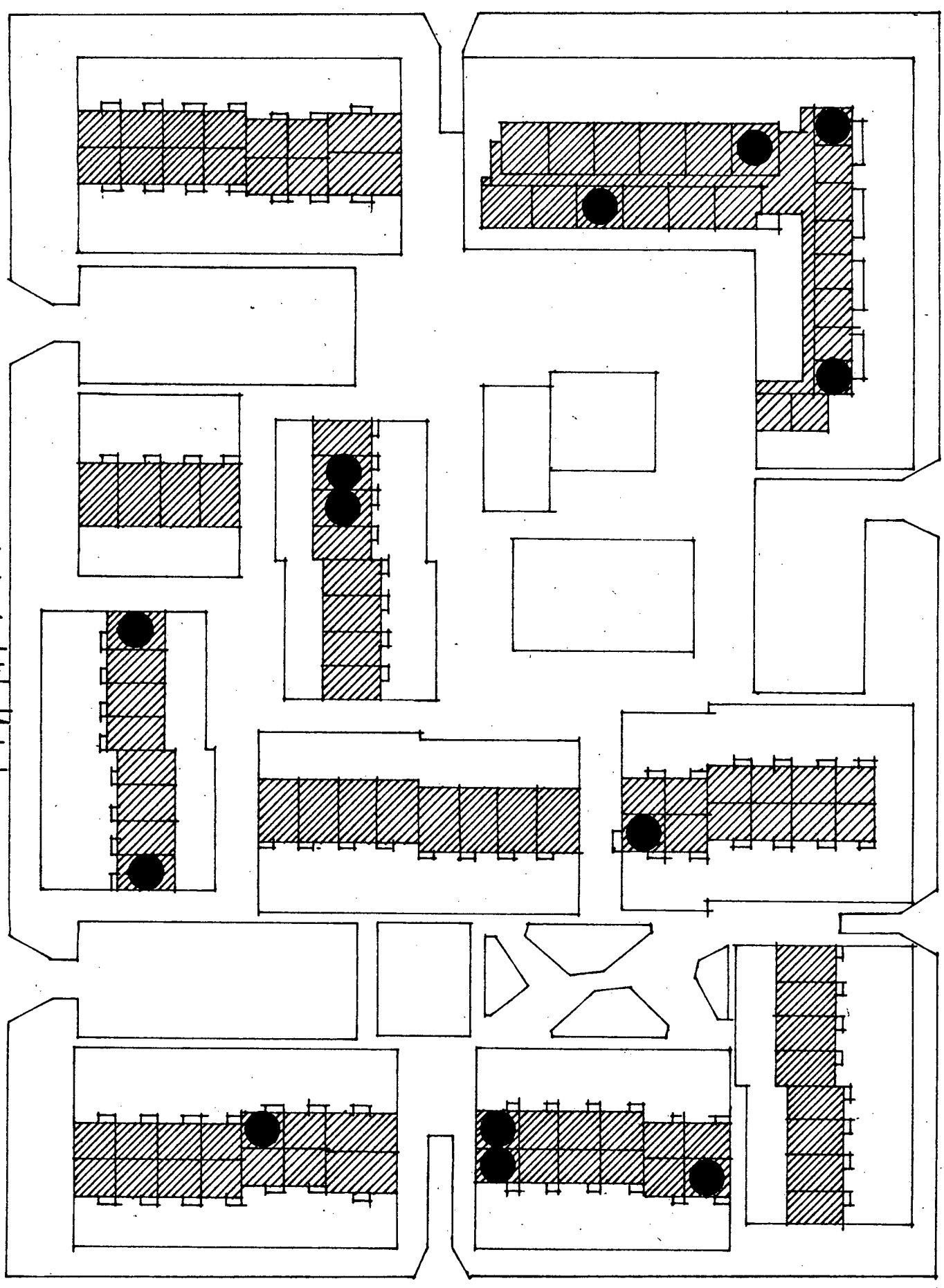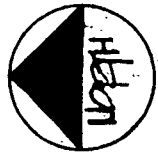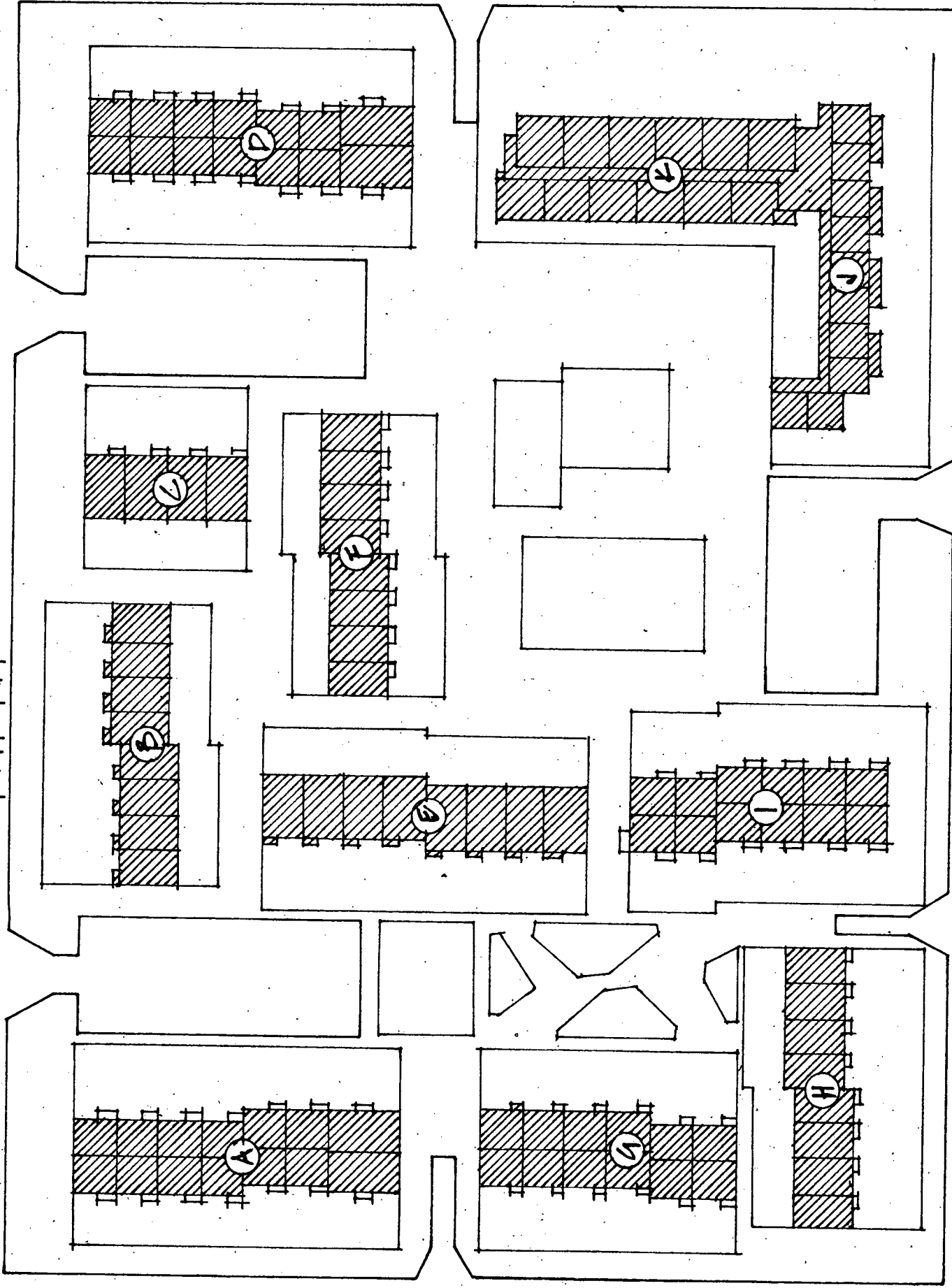
A) 1 facing outside street
   1 facing court on corner

B) 3 facing both court & street & 1 on corner

C) 1 facing court on corner

D) 1 facing outside street
   1 facing court

E) 1 facing court on corner

F) 2 facing court

G) 1 facing outside street on corner
   1 facing court

H) 1 facing both court & street

I) 1 facing court

J) 1 facing court on cor.
   use 2 facing outside street on corners

K) 1 facing court facing outside street

HAIGHT STREET

INVERNESS STREET

FORTY-FIFTH AVENUE

FORTY-SEVENTH AVENUE

NORTH

and checked them out in the telephone directory and selected a list

of residents that I could contact. This list of names then were

divided into groups on the basis of their orientations (namely three

types: those facing outside streets, those facing interior courts,

and those who were facing outside streets and interior courts),

their accommodation types (2 Br., 3 Br., 4 Br., 5 Br., Bach., and

1 Br.), building block (A,B,C,D,E,F,Etc.), and their location within

the block (Interior, corner). After a great amount of deliberation

the final selection was made. At least one family from each building

block and at least 10% from each accommodation type was interviewed.

A total number of 15 residents among families with children and 5

residents from the pensioners block were selected and interviewed.[16]

RESIDENTS FROM SUNSET AREA:

The third group of respondents interviewed were from the

immediate surrounding area. At first, I intended to interview

residents at random within a half mile radius from the project.

The list of names was obtained from the city directory and the residents

were contacted at random by phone. After identifying myself as a

student at U.B.C.conducting a survey on the public housing project

in their area, I asked them for an interview to discuss the project

(Culloden Court) with them. After several contacts it became evident

that only those people who were within 203 blocks were aware of the

project. Others thought it was a private development project. Then

I concentrated on those residents who were living close to the project

○ OPTIMUM SAMPLE

◉ INTERVIEWED SAMPLE.

INTERVIEWED SAMPLE &
SURVEY AREA BOUNDARY

(Maximum of three blocks). Many were not very cooperative in giving interviews or even to discussion on the phone. About 35 people were contacted to obtaining eight interviews. Two names were suggested by the residents themselves. These two families live across the street from the project and use one of the residents as a baby-sitter. In all, ten families were interviewed. The interviews were limited to discussing some of the issues arising out of interviews with project residents and future residents. No personal information was gathered (for example, marital status, income, number of children, etc.).[17] This information was collected from the census tracts for the whole area. It is assumed that ten families will not be a representative sample for the area. Also, since these families were not very enthusiastic about discussing the project, the interviews were kept to very essential information only.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter 3

[1]First group of tenants moved in August 1969.

[2]Illustration showing project facilities on p. 29.

[3]Illustration showing three types of orientations for individual units on p. 31.

[4]Illustration on p. 29.

[5]Illustration showing visual barriers and the range of view from outside to inside of the project on p. 32.

[6]Illustration showing the distribution of future residents of public housing projects in Vancouver on p. 34.

[7]Illustration showing the location of former residences of project residents in Vancouver on p. 44.

[8]Illustration on p. 43 showing the distribution of sample group in the Culloden Court.

[9]Appendix A.

[10]Sunset area is surrounded by Victoria-Fraserview, Kensington, Riley Park, Oakridge & Marpole. See Appendix B for the socio-economic ranking of these.

[11]Appendix A.

[12]Appendix A.

[13]Some of these applicants are on waiting lists for 2-3 years and have moved from the location shown in files.

[14]Map showing the location of families suggested by the housing management for interviews on p. 59.

[15]Illustration showing the distribution of the interviewed sample in project, p. 60.

[16]Table showing the breakup of interviewed sample on p. 55.

[17]Appendix A.

CHAPTER IV

ISSUES FOR DISCUSSIONS

A PRIMARY REASONS FOR MOVING TO PROJECT

FUTURE RESIDENTS:

Nearly all respondents gave economic reasons for moving
to a project. The explanation for this is twofold.

First, due to their limited incomes, they have less money
to spend on housing, and, therefore, their present accommodations
are too crowded for the family size. Those of the respondents who
do spend a considerable part of their income on housing find that
for the same money they could get better (and larger) accommodation
in a public housing project. They would have more money to spend
on other things than shelter to improve their standard of living.

Second, the respondents felt that moving to a project
would give them an opportunity to live among families with the
same problems or in a similar socio-economic situation. Presently,
though living in inadequate accommodations, most residents live
in good residential areas, but feel socially and physically iso-
lated from the surrounding neighbourhood and community at large.
Very few of them have friends in their vicinity (except for "baby-
sitter" relationships), but often visit some of the projects, where
many have friends. Perhaps this is why, when asked about the
advantages of living among families in similar situations, many
said that they could make many friends in the project. One typical

response was,

>"It is easier to make friends, and I feel free while talking to them because we have so much in common."

Another respondent said,

>"We have the same problems and we can talk about them."

In many cases, these respondents got the idea of moving to a project after seeing their friends in projects. They were impressed with accommodations and the low rent, and felt they were missing out on something. As one respondent put it,

>"I never thought much of these projects before, but when one of my friends moved into this project (Killarney), I visited her, and got myself listed."

A mother of two said,

>"I have been waiting for more than a year now (to move to a project) and I'm looking forward to it."

The other reasons for wanting to move to a project were related in one way or another to either cheaper rent or being among their friends. Some of them are,

>"Living in a project, I could save enough money to go to a vocational school."

>"I feel so lonely here. No one to talk to. All my neighbours here treat me as if I'm a social outcast."

>"My only acquaintance here is my baby-sitter from next door."

"I never had a home of my own."

"The project is so much better."

The adults felt lonely and isolated socially and thought the project would provide friends for themselves and their children. One respondent felt that her teenage sons do not have any problems, but her two younger children, four and six years old, have no company.

> "A project will have lots of children for them to play with."

Still another put it differently,

> "My children aren't dressed up as nicely as other children in the area. Maybe that's the reason my neighbours won't allow their children to play with ours. In a project this wouldn't be the case."

PROJECT RESIDENTS:

Like their counterparts in the waiting list, residents felt that low rent was the main reason for being in the project, though they did not emphasize this as strongly. Perhaps this is because the many other advantages of living in a project were not so evident to these families before. For instance, nearly all the residents liked living in a good area among higher income groups without being isolated among these groups. This factor was not mentioned by the future residents. Culloden Court is

located in the Sunset area, which is 15th in the socio-economic

ranking of the 22 local areas of Vancouver (see "Local Areas of

Vancouver", by B.W. Mayhew). Perhaps the residents of Culloden

Court feel that compared to most of the other projects (which are

all located in lower ranking areas), theirs is in a better resi-

dential location.

>"Living in this project we live in a <u>clean</u> neighbourhood."

>"Compared to the slum (Hastings) area we were living in
>before, this is so much better, and that's why we are in
>a project."

>"This is a nice area and we have better accommodation than
>before."

>"We are much happier here. This area is so much better
>than our first project (Maclean Park)."

When asked what they meant by "clean" area, "nicer" area,

the residents stated that it's not a "slum" area (a general re-

ference to the East Hastings area by the majority, who would not

like to live in a project there), that "people are better here",

and that "there's no bums or drunks in this area", etc.

Another reason given by the residents, also not mentioned

by future residents, was that living in a project provides an easier

availability of social services, welfare services, etc. This may

be because a project identifies a concentration of problem families

or families needing these services. Perhaps because there is such

a concentration, social agencies pay more attention to these families.

Making friends among project residents much more easily than before was not mentioned by most residents voluntarily, but when asked about friends, they all said they have more friends now than before.

Other advantages mentioned by project residents in living in the project are the recreation room and the children's play area. Most of those who gave these advantages did not have these facilities before, and felt them to be useful.

> "My children were playing in the streets before - now they have a safe area to play in, and I can watch them too."

> "The recreation room is very handy - I made all my contacts among residents there."

> "I met most of my friends in the recreation room."

Living among families in similar situations was mentioned as an advantage. One woman said,

> "Most of us (women) have so much spare time here, so we get together to talk or play cards. I couldn't do this before. I used to live four blocks from here, and didn't know many people to visit."

RESPONSE PATTERN:

The low rent in project living is the most evident reason given among both groups of respondents. Though the emphasis put on living among families in similar situations varied in the two groups, it became evident that living in a project with similar (socio-economic) families provides more friends and spare time occupations. Adults and children have companionship in the project, which to a certain extent removes the social isolation or loneliness felt by the residents before moving into the project. It appears from the responses that residents feel the location of the project in a desirable area (better than the run-down areas of Vancouver) is important to them. Also, because of its concentration of similar types of families, the project provides an easier access to agency services. The project facilities are seen as an added advantage for recreational, as well as social, reasons.

IMPLICATIONS: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL:

1. A project is conceived for increased friendships and social life.

2. The location of a project like this in the community is seen as an improved socio-economic setting for families.

3. Project provisions for outdoor and recreational activities is

highly valued.

4. Living in a project is related to increased availability of
    social services.

5. Low rent in the project means that there is more money to
    improve the standard of living.

TABLE VI

PRIMARY REASONS FOR MOVING TO A PROJECT

	No. Responded	Percentage
1. Economic Reasons	30	100
2. Living With Families In Similar Situations	21	70
3. For Increased Friendships, Companionship	24	80
4. Other Reasons	24	80

Total No. of Responses   99*

Total No. of Families Responded 30

*Most Respondents Gave More Than One Reason

FURTHER BREAKDOWN IN TERMS OF REMARKS

1. Remarks on "Economic Reasons"	No. Responded
Cheaper than present rent	14
Low rent for better accommodation	6
Better accommodation for the present rent	5
With low rent, money will be available for other things	3
Could make savings living in project	2
Total No. of Families Responded	30

2. Remarks on "Living with Families in Similar Situations"	No. Responded
We have so much in common	8
We can help each other and discuss our problems	5
We can make house visits	3
Do not have to pretend and live a phony life among similar type of families	3
You feel you are not alone	2
(n = 30)　　Total No. of Families Responded	21

3. Remarks on "For Increased Friendships, Companionships"	No. Responded
Easier to make friends among families in similar situations	8
Adult company for gossip, card games, etc.	6
More children to play with for our children	4
Increased social life	2
Do not feel living in isolation	2
More friendly atmosphere in project	2

(n = 30)   Total No. of Families Responded   24

4. Remarks on "Other Reasons"	No. Responded
Living in project makes it possible to live in a "clean" (better, nice) neighbourhood	6
To have a house of our own	3
To avail project facilities	3
To get out of "slum" area. This is the only way we can do it	6
Living in project helps in availing social services, helps in welfare, etc.	4
You feel part of community	2

Total No. of Families Responded   24

Total No. of Respondents   30

Total No. of Reasons Given   99

B WAY OF LIFE BEFORE MOVING TO A PROJECT

FUTURE RESIDENTS:

Having discussed at some length the main reasons for

moving to a project, we must now consider the general satisfaction

in the way of life of the respondents in the general community

before moving to the project. As it became evident in the last

chapter, a lack of friends in and around the neighbourhood was

a problem most frequently encountered. When questioned on the

satisfaction of their way of life, nearly all respondents, espe-

cially single mothers, said that life generally could be very

satisfactory but for two things - money and loneliness. Regarding

loneliness, most felt that living isolated in the community is

the main drawback. As one respondent put it,

> "Most of my long-time friends are either in projects or
> far away from here. I don't have a car... I haven't
> been able to make friends here - people are superficial.
> I would like to move from here so that I could be close
> to people I could be friendly with. Right now, I feel
> I am cut off from the world."

Another said,

> "Being single and living in isolation from your friends
> or other single mothers is difficult. You feel so
> lonely."

An interesting point mentioned by the same woman, and con-

firmed by most others, is that they (single mothers) meet each other

at singles clubs, which they feel to be their only social outlet.
This is probably why a lot of the single mothers know other single
mothers, though they live far from each other. One thought that
when she moves into a project she will initiate a singles club
there. As she said,

> "This is probably what we miss the most. We need to meet
> men and we are lonely. This is the basis of most of
> our problems. Especially in projects you see so many
> single mothers, and we want to socialize. An organized
> singles club is what you really need there..."

One particular single mother in her early twenties said,

> "I live here alone with my child. I come from the East
> and don't have any friends in the city. I met some of
> my neighbours in the corner store but they keep their
> distance, so I keep to myself and don't mix."

> "This area is very good to live in if you're married,
> but I think in my particular case a project may be a
> better place - I would get to know others like me."

None of the single mothers, regardless of their age, had
any complaints regarding any of the community facilities except for
the singles club. Dissatisfaction thus centred on the loneliness,
and the isolation from other people. This was true of children
too, though the problem is less acute if there is more than one
child in the family, providing some company for each other, even if
limited. The children, however, even if they are only children,
seem much more capable of handling loneliness than their parents,
but nearly all parents said they wished there would be more com-
pany for their children.

On the other hand, families with older children found
that their own children had no such problems, as they had friends
from school and did not encounter much difficulty. It appears
that for older children it is neither an advantage nor a disadvan-
tage to live in a project, at least socially, as they make their
friends from the community at large, and not just from the immed-
iate neighbourhood.

Apart from the improved accommodation in the project, the
parents from such families felt, however, that they themselves
had very limited social lives. They were also very concerned with
the external things such as clothing, and furnishings, and have
withdrawn themselves to a certain extent from their neighbours.
As a mother of two teenage boys put it,

> "My kids aren't as dressed up as the others in this area,
> and I feel that if we lived in a project, there'd be
> more money for things like clothes."

Another respondent who was concerned about the lack of proper
furnishings conceded,

> "It's difficult to make friends here as I'm not up to the
> standards of the others (neighbours)... even if I do make
> friends, I can't ask them to visit my place. I'm quite
> ashamed about the emptiness in this house."

PROJECT RESIDENTS:

It is evident that the earlier group put emphasis on
"loneliness" and "lack of friends" while discussing their over-
all satisfaction with their present mode of living, and this led
to finding out what project residents now feel, after living in the
project for some time, about their satisfaction with their place
of living, and the community in general before living in the project.
It became evident in these discussions that generally they are
much happier than before, though there was still dissatisfaction
with many things. Most frequently, they mentioned that though they
have an improved social life, the improvement was not as great as
they would have wished. Integration with others than their own
type was stressed. This will be discussed in detail in another
discussion, but what is important is that they viewed an improved
social life as a more satisfactory element in their lives. It
appears that satisfaction before project living was very low. Fre-
quently mentioned was that in their social life before, they felt
more isolated and lonely than they do now. Another important
element mentioned was that they are somewhat more satisfied with
facilities than before. Many cited a lack of play areas, poorer
accommodation and facilities, loneliness and social isolation as
the chief reasons for a much lesser degree of satisfaction in their
way of life before living in the project.

Many discussed past satisfaction of living in the
community in terms of awareness and availability now of present
satisfactory elements. Perhaps this apparent anomaly is due to
the fact that many other factors leading to satisfaction other
than social life and a lack of friends were not so obvious before.
The frequently mentioned aspects such as better facilities, acco-
mmodation, etc., are seen as an overall improvement in life, and
thus, have an effect on overall satisfaction.

A respondent who lived in public housing projects before,
and moved out voluntarily, then after a couple of years moved back
to the project (Culloden Court on her preference), said,

> "I can say I have lived and know both sides of the picture
> (sic) (meaning, living in and outside of projects).
> Life in general is much happier in the project than
> outside. For one thing, it gives you the satisfaction
> of living in decent accommodations, and feeling like
> part of a similar group of people... you have much
> more spare money... life is more comfortable here. There
> is a recreation room here. The area is nice, there's
> lots of open space for children to play in, and though
> you get fed up with seeing and living with the same
> problem families, you still go for projects. Life here
> is not great (sic) but it's far better than before. That's
> why I came back to the project. Of course, Culloden Court
> is not like the projects in the East Hastings area."

Perhaps because of Culloden Court's relatively smaller
size and nicer residential location, the physical aspects of the
project were stressed more than the social aspects, or perhaps
the physical aspects do complement the social aspects of living.
It nevertheless underlines the importance respondents gave to

improved social and physical settings as a measure for satisfaction
with the place of residence and the way people live. One respon-
dent placed much importance on the type of accommodation she had
before moving into Culloden Court. Discussing how satisfied she
was before, she said,

> "I had a much better place before, a courtyard, etc...
> the only reason I left was the rent was killing me (sic).
> I was very friendly with my neighbours before, but now
> I moved here, which is only four blocks from where I
> lived before, I lost my friends. Maybe it's the fact
> that I live in a project and they don't want to assoc-
> iate with me any more. I am moving out very soon, even
> if it takes all my welfare money. I'll be much happier."

Another respondent who lived in a private housing project
before (when her husband was alive) and whose circumstances led to
public housing, commented,

> "Life really was nice before. I had my family and the
> people in the project were very friendly. I'm not the
> type to mix freely, and don't participate in the re-
> creation room meetings. In that private project I
> made most of my friendships in the laundry room, but
> here, other than the recreation room you don't meet
> people any other way."

RESPONSE PATTERN:

Measures for expressing satisfaction with living are
loneliness or a lack of friends, accommodation quality, social or-
ganization (like singles clubs), social integration with higher
income groups, a well designed project and its scale, physical
facilities, etc., all mentioned frequently among the respondents.

Future residents, though, put more emphasis on social aspects only (loneliness and a lack of friends in a similar situation) for describing their satisfaction, or the lack of it. The project residents put a lot of emphasis on physical aspects which they enjoy now and did not have the opportunity to use before (better accommodation, project facilities, etc.) when describing their satisfaction in their way of life before. Social satisfaction is seen as more important than lower rent or saving money when measuring satisfaction in the way of life, and that loneliness is the most evident deterrent to achieving a satisfactory way of life.

IMPLICATIONS: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL:

1. Whereas social aspects become measurements for describing satisfaction in the way of living for respondents who have only lived in the general community, physical aspects become measurements for respondents who have experienced project living, in describing their satisfaction in living before.

2. Living in the project is conceived of as an improvement over the previous way of life. The project appears to a certain extent to satisfy social as well as physical needs.

3. Project facilities and social aspects of living are complementary to each other.

4. As a measurement of satisfaction of living in a general community, social aspects are important.

5. Project living leads to an important role for physical aspects in measuring community satisfaction.

TABLE VII

WAY OF LIFE BEFORE MOVING TO PROJECT

	No. Responded	Percentage
1. Unsatisfactory in terms of social aspects	38	95
2. Unsatisfactory in terms of physical aspects	27	68
3. Satisfactory	3	8
4. Economic reasons	2	5
5. No particular opinions	2	5
Total No. of Responses*	72	

Total No. of Respondents   40

*Some respondents mentioned more than one aspect

1. Breakdown of Social Aspects   No. Responded

    A. Loneliness   13

    B. Need for social clubs   4

    C. Social isolation from neighbourhood   11

    D. Social isolation from families in similar state   8

    E. Others   2

    (n = 40)   Total No. Responded   38

2. Breakdown of Physical Aspects   No. Responded

    A. Quality of accommodation   12

    B. Common facilities   7

    C. Location in neighbourhood   5

    D. Others   3

                                        Total No. Responded   27

3. Satisfied With Living Before Project   No. Responded

    A. Social   2

    B. Personal   1

                                        Total No. Responded   3

4. Economic Reasons   No. Responded

    A. Satisfied before except for high rent   2

                                        Total No. Responded   2

5. No Opinions, Indifferent   2

C   <u>WAY OF LIFE AFTER MOVING TO A PROJECT</u>

      Having discussed how respondents reacted to life before moving to a project, their social isolation and the economics of living in the community, we must now consider how they react to living in the project. There were many degrees of satisfaction found and they generally related to either the location of their unit in the project in relationship to outside streets and inside facilities, or the family type. First we will discuss the reaction among families with respect to their physical setting or location regarding the outside, common facilities, etc.

      Among respondents, families living on the outer periphery of the project seemed to be the most satisfied. They faced an outside street, and visually related to the surrounding neighbourhood. They said they did not feel as "trapped" as the families facing inside the project, they do not have to look into each other's units, they have more privacy, and feel themselves belonging to the outside neighbourhood, rather than just the project.

      Some remarks were:

      "There is too much noise inside... here, we face out...
      this way we don't have to mix with the others all the
      time."

      "It's so much better on the outside. Inside the project
      you feel so "trapped". We've lived in other projects
      and this is the best location... "

"I wouldn't like to live inside... "

> "Living here on the outside we don't have too much to do
> with the others in the project. We meet others in the
> recreation room meetings. That's enough for me. I don't
> like much socializing with others in the project."

One characteristic of the families facing outside that was quite evident was that they preferred a degree of aloofness from project residents as a whole, socially and physically. This attitude was shared by many families with older children presently living inside the project, but who would have preferred having a unit facing outside. Of the eleven building blocks, seven blocks are on the periphery, and facing outside. Of the 132 units in the eleven blocks, 62 units of the seven outside blocks face outside the project. One of the respondents with young children, however, does not like living in a unit facing outside the project. As she puts it,

> "My children are always on the street. If I send them
> to play in the inside courts, I can't watch them. I'd
> prefer living in a unit facing the court. It'd be better
> for my children."

Among the preliminary interviews conducted, many of the families lived in the corner units of the building blocks. (The list of these families was supplied by B.C. Housing Management). They all preferred this location, without exception. Privacy was given as the reason. Even families with young children preferred corner units.

Among the families living inside the project facing
the courts, the majority of them liked the setting, but complained
of the lack of privacy and the lack of enclosed (or more private
and bigger) front yards. Regarding the open space or courts, nearly
all felt that it would be much better if they could also see out.
Some units have front and back yards - they front on an outside
street, and have yards at the rear. Some of the families pointed
out that living in such units would be much better than just facing
into the courts. Noise was another factor against having the courts
enclosed by the building blocks. In general, families living in-
side the project exhibited mixed feelings regarding living in the
project. Some remarks were:

> "It's nice to have an open area in the front, specially
> for the kids, but you feel kind of "trapped" surrounded
> by only families with problems... it'd be nice to be on
> the outside."

> "I like it here. There's so much activity, children
> playing, people coming and going... out in the front
> you see cars going by."

> "I don't like it very much here. I'd rather live some-
> place where there's peace, and not so many people. I
> feel very limited here."

When asked what she meant by "limited", she said,

> "You see the same people all the time, noise in the
> courts, kids hanging around, the mischief they get
> into, etc."

Other than the relationships between satisfaction of project living and the setting of individual household units and family type in terms of children, the majority of them felt they were much happier now than before. Many reasons were given. Most notable among them were that they were financially better off, had better accommodation, more social life, and a better location in the community.

Many related their satisfaction with project living to its location. This aspect was very much emphasized. Many said it was much better located than others in the downtown area. Others attributed their satisfaction to good design. As one respondent said,

> "It's so much better looking than other projects. It looks like a private property, except it's not as well kept, and discipline among some families and children is just deplorable."

In general, the project seems to fulfill the expectations that these respondents had before moving into the project. The problems of isolation and poverty faced by the future residents living in the general community seem to be alleviated by project living.

Negative aspects mentioned in project living related to feelings of isolation from the surrounding neighbourhood. Many felt that living in a project limited them to being with the same

type of people with no variety. All are low-income families,

and there are too many children, etc. As we have seen earlier,

future residents stressed living among similar types of families

facing the same problems, as a major reason for wanting to live

in a project, but once these same families actually experience

project living, feel that, though project living is an improve-

ment over their life before, they should be related to a middle-

income, rather than a low-income group. This attitude has

formed a certain heirarchy between low-income and welfare families,

single parent and two parent families, and a general striving for

upward mobility. However, very few wanted to leave the project.

Among the elderly, the location of the project in a good

residential area and being part of a family environment, were the

positive reasons given for satisfaction with the project. More

specifically, they liked being in a project for families, but in

a building block exclusively for pensioners. Frequently men-

tioned were projects of the type devoted exclusively to pensioners

(Nicholson Tower), and the lack of family atmosphere. Many also

said they receive much help from the younger women in the project,

who shop for them, etc. They felt that living alone in a city is

not good for their age group, that living among a group was the

answer, and that such a grouping should be part of a family setting.

The negative aspects of living in such a project setting

as Culloden Court, they felt, are problems with children in the

14-18 age group, in terms of mischief, break-ins, and noise.

On the whole, however, the responses indicate satisfaction, rather than dissatisfaction, among the elderly living in the project.

RESPONSE PATTERN:

The project residents gave many reasons to indicate why they are happier living in the project than before. The basis for this comparison was made on improved accommodation, better budget due to lower rent, increased social life and relationships, good location of residence, improved availability of social services, use of facilities, etc. These, then, are the measurements used by project residents to compare the satisfaction of life in the circumstances they find themselves. How, to how they lived before. It is important to note here that no mention was made of social isolation as such, though residents feel that their social life is now limited to similar types of families in the project only. Pensioners on the other hand, felt that in terms of improved accommodation and living in company of other pensioners in a setting of a family environment is an improvement compared to their life before. Their most frequent complaints related to children. The proximity of the recreation room and play area to the pensioners block is the cause for so much noise, as well as mischief and thefts from older children.

Another aspect of satisfaction is the degree of improvement within the project itself. As seen in these discussions, two locations most residents preferred were corner units and on the outer periphery. Corner location of a unit is seen more as an aspect of privacy, and having only one neighbour on the side. Many residents have given this as an important factor. Living on the outer periphery is seen more as a certain degree of isolation from the project and relating more to the immediate neighborhood. In this study it was found that people living on the outer periphery were more content with life than the residents living in the interior of the project who complained of being trapped, lack of privacy, etc.

IMPLICATIONS: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL:

1.   Living among similar type of people (to an extent) is seen as an improvement in life than living in isolation in the community.

2.   Location of unit on the outer periphery of the project is preferred more than the one in the interior of the project.

3.   Project living provides more social life than living alone in the community.

4. Improved accommodation, lower rent, location of project, availability of services and facilities are seen as measuring tools to compare the satisfaction of life.

TABLE VIII

WAY OF LIFE AFTER MOVING TO PROJECT

AS COMPARED TO LIVING IN COMMUNITY AT LARGE

RESPONDENT GROUP: FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

Response	No. Responded	Percentage
More satisfied than before	13	86
Same level of satisfaction as before	1	7
Worse than before	1	7
Total Responded	15	100%

Reasons Given for "More Satisfied Than Before"	No. Responded
Better accommodation than before	13
Financially better off	9
More social life	11
Better location	6
Use of facilities	2
Increased (easier) availability of services	7
Increase in income (assistance)	8
(n 13) Total Responded*	52

*Respondents gave more than one answer

RESPONDENT GROUP: PENSIONERS

Response	No. Responded	Percentage
More satisfied than before	4	80
Indifferent	1	20
Total Responded	5	100%

Reasons for "More Satisfied Than Before"	No. Responded
Better accommodation	4
Living among other pensioners	4
Help from project residents	2
(n = 4) Total Responded	10

Note: More than one reason was given.

Negative Aspects of Project Living	No. Responded
Too noisy	5
Mischief and theft	2
(n = 5) Total Responded	7

Note: More than one answer was given.

D RESIDENTS' OPINIONS ON PROJECT FACILITIES

Culloden Court is provided with a recreation room,

children play areas, parking spaces, and (open space) interior courts.

As we have discovered earlier, the majority of friendships were

started at recreation room activities. When asked about their

opinions on the provision of such a facility in the project, many

respondents pointed out that the recreation room is intended for

the use of the immediate surrounding neighbourhood, as well as

for project residents, but is only used by the residents. Many

felt that when the project first started, residents took great

interest in it, but due to the lack of proper organization and

poor handling, many of the functions and ideas never materialized,

or were poorly attended. One woman, who apparently showed much

interest in the recreation room activities, said,

> "I'm interested in constructive groups. These women don't
> do anything interesting. They're a big bore... "

A frequently mentioned problem attached to recreation room

activities was either the lack of professional (or experienced)

organizers, or various factional groups who do not share similar

activities. These two aspects of the problem will be further

discussed separately.

What is interesting to note in the discussion is that,

given certain conditions (organization and supervision), nearly

all respondents showed a positive inclination for participation

in recreation room activities. They wanted to use their spare time

more constructively, to meet people, to socialize, to add to their

knowledge of matters of interest, or just to "see what's going

on". When asked about the kind of activities they are interested

in, surprisingly many showed interest in educational or craft

oriented activities, such as cooking classes, health care, library,

typing, workshops, etc. The provision of a library in the pro-

ject was the most frequently mentioned facility lacking in the

project at present. The lack of an organized social evening was

often complained about. Asked about the existing facility for

social evenings (recreation room), and why it was not used for

them, the following remarks were made:

> "For a social evening we should have a more variety of
> people... it's always the same few of us in the project.
> People from outside the project should be involved, too."

> "It should be properly organized. I don't think any of
> the people here can organize anything successfully...
> I've stopped going to any of these."

> "I used to go... but nothing happens nowadays... "

Many felt that if certain classes are held, residents would be

ready to participate, and it would also involve people from out-

side the project. There are many among the respondents who are

involved in toy-making, painting, etc., who would welcome the oppor-

tunity to teach classes, but who would need help to organize

them. And nearly all the respondents would like to see the re-

creation room being used for such a purpose.

Some organized activities are needed to involve both pro-
ject residents and others. Perhaps outside organizers, or an agency
staff can fill the need. Outside supervision would also break
down the distrust and hesitance project residents feel in accep-
ting their neighbours as organizers and teachers.

Another problem associated with the use of the recreation
room is the formation of a group attitude towards it. The elderly,
parents, older children, all want it for their own exclusive use.
At first the use of the recreation room was unstructured, but it
became evident very soon that no one group was satisfied, and a
certain militance developed between them. Then, particular time
periods were allocated to each group, but this was not successful,
as no group appeared to be organized to use its allocated time
effectively. Now, though the time periods still applied, the re-
creation room appeared to be locked at all times, and not used
at all. It was learned that the man in charge of this arrangement
was ill in hospital, and nobody seemed to know what to do, and
felt vaguely guilty about wasting this facility. The core of the
problem is that basically the recreation centre is one room, about
35' x 48', which can be used for only one activity at a time,
which is too large for small group activities, and which is too
small for dances, general meetings, etc. It is too general in
nature, too amorphous. A pensioner said,

>"The recreation room should be used for very general
> activities which the whole project shares like meetings,

organized classes, library, and maybe provisions for
individual groups made separately."

Other residents had similar opinions,

"The recreation room should have separate areas for
different groups of people here. There should at least
be an area just for us."

"It'd be nice to have a small room in our block... just
to sit around, watch T.V., play cards... just the people
here in this block.

The elderly and the teenagers emphasized the need for a

place of their own particularly. Teenagers, however, wanted a

coffee shop - there is none convenient to the project area, and

they feel they have nowhere to go. This kind of response questions

the very role of the provision of a recreation centre in a pro-

ject. Does it satisfy all the groups in the project? Does it

provide space for such groups when required without interfering

with other groups? Or should the centre for the project be very

general in nature and not cater to the specific needs of any

particular group, as the present centre in Culloden Court is de-

signed? Or should there be, as many respondents expressed, several

smaller areas scattered in the project for various groups, with the

main centre being used only for non-specific activities related to

the whole project and the surrounding neighbourhood?

These questions bring up the subject of the very location

of the recreation centre in the project, whether this should be on

the site, outside of the project, on the periphery of the project,
facing an outside street, or where it is now - located in the in-
terior of the project. When nearby residents were asked what they
thought of the recreation centre in the project, they said,

"What centre?"

"But that's not for us... "

"Nobody told us it's for everybody."

Those who thought it was a good idea to have activities in the
centre for all in the area (as management intended), thought it
should at least be visible to them and should be clearly marked
as a recreation centre. As discussed earlier, residents living
only up to 2-3 blocks from the project realized that it was, in
fact, a public housing project, and felt it had any effect on
them or their property. Any facilities intended to involve the
surrounding community should concentrate on this area of 2-3 blocks
surrounding the project.

Children play areas are presently located in two areas.
One of them is near the recreation room, next to the pensioners'
block. All pensioners interviewed said that it is very noisy.
The other problem mentioned was that many families with young
children live in units which have no physical relationship to the
location of the play areas. Some mothers complained that they
cannot supervise their young children when they are in these play

areas. Some families without young children, but living close to these play areas, were not happy in these locations because of the noise. The location of families in the project with respect to facilities should be more deliberate, as many families with older children prefer to face the outside street rather than the interior courts, while families with young children prefer to live in the interior of the project, facing play areas. Pensioners would rather be away from noisy play areas.

There are three communal parking areas in the project, and individual spaces are not allocated to individual families. From observation, it appears that residents prefer to park near their units on an outside street, than use the parking areas.

RESPONSE PATTERN:

It became apparent that various age groups should be provided with their "own" facilities. Facilities provided should be directly related to the people who use them, such as the location of families with young children to play areas, the location of the recreation centre so that it related to project residents as well as the neighbourhood. The responses also showed that there is a need for common areas at cluster or block level. People preferred to park as close as possible to their units, rather than use the common parking areas. Children's play areas should be kept away from pensioners' areas.

IMPLICATIONS: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL:

1.   Project facilities should be provided for various age groups.

2.   There should be a direct relationship between project pro-
      visions and the users, for example, families with young children
      fronting on play areas.

3.   Project facilities could be a melting pot for neighbourhood
      integration with project residents.

4.   Facilities for the use of all of the project residents should
      be social and educational centres.

5.   There is a need for facilities at cluster and block levels
      which could be used for small group gatherings, for leisure
      and for common services (like laundry).

6.   Facilities at various levels are needed from block level
      to cluster to project and at neighbourhood level.

7.   People relate much easier to facilities within visual and
      physical reach. Hence there is a greater need for providing
      facilities at cluster levels.

TABLE IX

RESIDENTS OPINIONS ON PROJECT FACILITIES

PREFERENCE FOR PROJECT FACILITIES

Response	No. Responded	Percentage
At project level	6	30
At cluster level	11	55
Indifferent/no opinion	3	15
Total Responded 20		100%

RECREATION CENTRE FOR USE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

	No. Responded	Percentage
For use by project residents and neighbourhood residents	11	55
For project residents only	4	20
Indifferent/no opinion	5	25
Total Responded 20		100%

E   PREFERENCES IN THE LOCATION OF THE PROJECT IN THE GENERAL AREA
    OF VANCOUVER

FUTURE RESIDENTS:

During the unstructured interviews it became obvious that
most respondents had certain preferences in the location of the
project itself. Some even drifted into discussing how particular
locations within city areas would complement their aspirations.
Some gave particular locational preferences to housing management
(even though the particular forms used have no space allotted for
such requests). A few even mentioned that if space was not avail-
able in their preferred location, they would not accept public
housing. In such strong preferences of this kind regarding
location, it appeared, at least at first glance, that the location
of the project has a strong relationship to attitudes regarding
many of the issues being discussed in this study. For those who
did not have strong preferences, or never mentioned them volun-
tarily during interviews, the discussion directed itself to the qual-
ities they attribute to the location and their choices should
these be available. In this way we could get a measure of the
qualities in relation to the location of projects in determining
respondents' preferences.

The largest group of respondents (over 20%) wanted to

live away from "slum" (sic) areas. On further questioning it
was found that "slum area" usually meant anywhere close to East
Hastings, north of 4th Avenue, but also referred to other known
run-down areas of Vancouver. There were many reasons given
for this. One was that they did not want to associate themselves
with a "slum area" if they could help it, either because they
wanted to improve their life-style or because they felt that
public housing living is an improvement over their present state
in life. As one respondent put it,

> "We are fine the way things are (sic)... the whole idea
> of applying for a project unit is to live in a better
> area with good people around... I like that project on
> 47th (Culloden Court). That's the one I'd like to get
> into... we're doing our best to better ourselves... "

Some other remarks were,

> "There's no way I'm going to live in Maclean or Raymur
> projects... it's awful there. I'd much rather live
> right here (Mt. Pleasant) even if it's hard to manage
> (financially)."

> "The new projects I've seen are away from downtown and
> I'd prefer that. Of course, I wouldn't mind getting
> in any of them as I can't afford anything better outside..."

It is interesting to note that though the projects are
generally not in proximity to each other, they are limited to the
north-east and south-east areas of the city. This may have in-
fluenced the respondents (who are familiar with the projects) in
their preferences or with the whole idea of making choices. Some

of them made particular choices. Of these, Culloden Court (or

"project on 47th", "project on Knight", etc.) was the most fre-

quently mentioned one. Some had negative choices, such as,

"... anywhere but in Raymur... "

"... except for Skeena... "

"Not in Raymur or Maclean... "

This may, of course, be due to the fact that these projects

have been in the news media for one reason or another. One impor-

tant point is that many felt they should be part of a middle-

class population, not "low-class" (sic) population, as one ad-

mitted (who had a family of four, and whose husband works at the

airport),

> "I don't think we should be part of these low-class
> people, I mean drunks, welfare cases, etc. We are like
> middle-class families and I think they should have pro-
> jects for families like us in good areas with decent
> people... "

This was the way most responded, either mentioning pro-

jects in middle-class neighbourhoods or projects in clean areas.

The only other point raised was that the project should be close to

schools. This was generally pointed out as a second criterion,

rather than a first. Perhaps this is because schools are generally

always within reach in Vancouver, or because they value "respectable"

or "clean" neighbourhoods most in the location of a project.

Amenities (other than schools) were not mentioned vol-
untarily as a reason for choosing a location. When specifically
asked about this, the typical answer was that it is a good idea
being close to stores, bus lines, etc., but they are not the
most important criterion in choosing a location. It may be be-
cause bus lines are generally within reach in the denser parts of
the city, or because by choice or by coincidence, they do live
close to major bus lines, and it did not occur to them as an im-
portant aspect. Later issues discuss shopping and its relationship
to residential proximity in detail. For the present discussion, it
appears from responses that it does not play a vital role in pre-
ferences for the location of a project.

Another aspect that influenced the choices made was that
many of these respondents have friends in projects, and therefore,
have first-hand impressions of these projects, and also become fam-
iliar with the problems and stigmas that go along with some of the
projects. As one respondent said,

> "I know three of these projects because I've got friends
> living in them. If I have a choice, I'll pick the ones
> in south-east Vancouver... for one thing, they're lo-
> cated in a nice area, and where normal families live."

PROJECT RESIDENTS:

In order to try and determine what the residents felt
about the location of the project, and whether they had any pre-

ferences before moving into the project, it was necessary to see

if they were presently satisfied with the project location. It

is important to note here that because they are already living

in a project in a particular area, they have become influenced

by this experience, and have become aware of the many variables

that affect a project location. Nearly all of them felt that

Culloden Court is located in the right area, and compared to the

other projects it has the best location. This point becomes im-

portant, as many of them have compared the location of Culloden

Court to the location of other projects. The responses, therefore,

could be seen as a comparison rather than as a preference among

free choices. The reasons given for mentioning that Culloden

Court is in the "right" location are the basically familiar ones

the future residents gave. For example, one respondent inter-

viewed with her husband said,

> "For one thing, it's a respectable part of the city, or
> at least better than most other areas in the east end
> of the city. It's close to schools, stores and everything
> that we look for. We feel more comfortable here than
> where we lived before (very close to Raymur project).
> It's not just the schools, and everything, but where it
> is... "

Her husband put it differently,

> "Well, it's better than Raymur, but it's far from my
> work (downtown) but I'd still rather live here, even
> though the former place was more convenient for me to
> get to work. It's a better address."

Other remarks were,

> "... It's not an area where bums hang around..."

> "It's not part of the industrial or downtown area. I like living in quiet residential areas."

> "I like this area because most of my friends live nearby."

> "I lived most of my life in this neighbourhood."

> "My kids go to school here, so I moved here..." (This family lived six blocks away from the project and have two teenage sons)

Other than these answers a few mentioned that location is primary to their husbands and the women did not have any particular preferences other than being in a similar or better neighbourhood. One respondent said that the location wouldn't be important if the areas around project sites were improved too. This led to a discussion on what kind of improvements she had in mind for a project site such as Raymur (which was familiar to her). She said,

> "They could do many things like, along with the Raymur project they could improve the existing houses and initiate private projects nearby, clean up the area of tenement houses. Take Maclean Park, with all those tenements and shacks around it. I think surroundings are very important, at least to me."

In other words, you don't necessarily build the project in a good area, but can also build a good area around the project.

Surrounding environments thus become very important. Respondents

want to remove themselves from less desired elements. These could

be people (such as the frequently mentioned bums, drunks, etc.),

the physical condition of houses, or the general standard of living

of the people. Regarding the location of Culloden Court itself,

one woman said,

> "This is a good location, but more of these projects in
> this area wouldn't be a good thing, or if Knight is
> turned into a freeway the location won't be as good."

GENERAL COMMUNITY:

During the initial stages of the construction of Culloden

Court, there were certain protests from property owners in the

Sunset area, and news media paid much attention to these protests.

It is of great importance to study public housing projects from

the tenants' point of view, but it is of equal importance to find

out how the surrounding community feels about a project, and to

discover their concerns: is it the idea of a low-income project

close to them? or the people? or the way projects are conceived

physically? (size, scale, etc.). To find the opinions of these

people regarding the location of such projects in the city, and

with respect to their properties, is the concern of this discussion.

Two-thirds of the first list of respondents live more

than two or three blocks away from the project, but within a half-

mile radius of the study area, and none of them either realized

that Culloden Court is a public housing project, or felt that it

had any impact on them. Most of them had little to say and I felt

that interviews were not worthwhile. A typical attitude was,

> "I've never given a thought to low-income family
> projects."

Other remarks, which led to changing the sample to within a 2-3

block radius of the project were,

> "I haven't seen any public-housing projects and so don't
> have anything to say."

> "I don't know anyone living in such projects and never
> came across such people. I guess it's pretty hard to
> live on a low budget."

> "... haven't been to such areas where these projects
> are and have no idea... "

After pointing out that Culloden Court is such a project, she

said,

> "Oh, well, that doesn't look that bad. I don't go that
> way. It's location doesn't bother me."

I was surprised to note that a few of these houses were neither

well-kept or better furnished than those of the project residents

who were ashamed of the state of their units and furnishings.

Among the final survey list of ten families within 2-3

blocks of the project site, the majority of them felt that the

location of such projects close to them will affect their property

values. As one respondent living across the road from the project

said,

> "I don't have anything against this project, but it does
> affect the value of our property."

Another said,

> "If I would have known that they were going to have pro-
> jects next door I wouldn't have bought my house here."

And still another said,

> "It hurts when you find the value of your property goes
> down with these projects nearby."

Other comments on the proximity of projects regarded children.

Many felt that too many children from the project hung around the

neighbourhood. Some comments were,

> "A project so close to me wouldn't bother me otherwise,
> if it didn't have such a gang of kids hanging around."

> "They should have more old people in this project,
> not families with so many children."

> "All these kids make too much noise and we've got enough
> vandalism without them."

One apparent attitude common to all residents was that

they didn't have any objections to any pensioners living close to

their houses. Some felt that these are a quiet group of people,

and that their living close in a project wouldn't hurt their
property values. Others said it gives them pleasure to see senior
citizens around the neighbourhood. Others felt that a project
looks so gloomy - no trees, uniformity, etc., and others didn't
like having "such people" (sic) in their neighbourhood.

RESPONSE PATTERN

Among future residents and project residents, the ma-
jority of respondents stressed the socio-economic ranking of the
neighbourhood for the location. Generally, it is seen by them as
being part of a "healthy" and "normal" community, rather than
living in an area of "their own kind", without being isolated
among these "healthy" and "normal" people. These consisted mostly
of low-income two-parent families, families with children in their
early teens, or families who suddenly found themselves financially
deprived through a death, divorce, desertion or illness. It
also appears that these families do not like to be located in areas
or projects which become known for low-income families, slum
areas, etc. This shows that a certain amount of anonymity is pre-
ferred by low-income families. Regarding the location of the project
and its proximity to amenities, school is the only outstanding
facility. Other amenities are preferred, but not stressed. Where-
as future residents look at the project as advantageous for their
children, and moving to better accommodations, the project residents

saw it in terms of improved socio-economic status and the
physical qualities of the surroundings. The general community,
however, saw the location of projects in good residential areas
as a threat to their property values. Most of their coolness
towards the project was because of this reason. There were no
other substantial objections, except for the presence of a large
number of children and welfare families.

IMPLICATIONS: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL:

1.   A good environment socially and physically is a prerequisite
     to the location of low-income family housing.

2.   Improvements of surroundings will greatly improve the atti-
     tudes towards projects located in areas with low socio-economic
     (as well as physical) rankings.

3.   Schools and social places in the immediate neighbourhood are
     vital to the location of the projects, whereas the convenience
     of stores and other community facilities are desirable, but
     not as stressed.

4.   Socio-economic influences are felt by the surrounding re-
     residents (outside of the project) up to only 2-3 city blocks.

5. Any improvements desired for social integration is to be focussed on the neighbourhood comprising of 2-3 blocks outside of projects.

TABLE X

PREFERENCES FOR LOCATION OF PROJECT IN

GENERAL AREAS OF VANCOUVER

	No. Responded	Percentage
Good residential environment	14	47
South-part of Vancouver	5	16
Away from central-east part of Vancouver	6	20
Others	3	10
Indifferent	2	7
Total Responded	30	100 %

1. Remarks on "Good Residential Environment"	No. Responded
Areas where respectable people live	4
Areas with no undesirables (drunks, bums, etc.)	2
Areas where middle-class people live	2
Good (clean, nice, normal families) neighbourhood area	6
Total Responded	14

2. Remarks on "South Part of Vancouver"	No. Responded
The area we are living in (Residents of South Vancouver)	3
South Vancouver	2
Total Responded	5

3. Remarks on "Away from Central-East Part of Vancouver"	No. Responded
Away from East Hastings area	2
Away from Raymur, Maclean or Skeena projects	3
Not in Strathcona area	1
Total Responded	6

4. Remarks on "Others"	No. Responded
Close to where my friends live (Kerisdale area- 1, Near U.B.C.- 1)	2
Same area as I am living now (Grandview area)	1
Total Responded	3

5. Remarks on "Indifferent"	No. Responded
No particular choice	1
Anywhere project accommodation is available. Area doesn't bother me	1
Total Responded	2

F   PREFERENCES FOR OVERALL MIX OF THE RESIDENTS

FUTURE RESIDENTS:

Despite the reservations that many respondents had about public housing projects, nearly all of them preferred their <u>immediate neighbours</u> to be families in a similar state of life (similar socio-economic type). There were many reasons given for this, chiefly, however, that they identify with a certain group, feel more secure in the community being part of that group, and feel they could share similar interests, and be of mutual benefit. One great fear, however, was that there is a stigma attached to living in a public housing project. One woman said,

> "Everybody thinks only welfare people live in these pro-jects and low-class (sic) people. I wish they had all kinds of people, from different backgrounds so I wouldn't be branded when I go live there."

Some other remarks were,

> "I'm sure there's other families like ours here, but how can you tell who they are. I don't know any of them... In a project you know other people are there for the same reasons... "

> "I think there should be other people on welfare in the project, like our family, and maybe we can make some friends there, because we face the same problems. But if everybody in the project is as poor as my family, it'll be depressing. Just people with problems. There should really be all kinds of people."

One woman, who presently lives in a tenement house with fifteen

other families on welfare said,

> "I like the arrangement here - we sit and play cards, and
> talk, we all have lots of spare time, and we all know
> each other. The problem is, we don't know anybody else.
> That's why I'm moving to a project, apart from giving me
> a better place to live in, I'd meet more people, not
> necessarily all on welfare. I wish they would have more
> variety though."

One woman, living in a private housing project said,

> "Generally there's so many kids in a public project. But
> here, we don't have so many, because there's families
> without kids and single people, and young couples without
> children, so it's not as full of kids here. Maybe a pro-
> ject like that should be something like this one here,
> and maybe then you couldn't tell just by looking at it
> that it's a public project."

As for the overall mix of the project, half of the respondents felt

that a general mix of the community would be very good. Some of

them felt that if enough families of a similar type lived in a

project, they would have enough courage to be friendly with other

family types in the project. Others felt that a mix of other than

low-income families in a project would add a variety of back-

grounds and personalities, and be more interesting. Some thought

that just the fact of living in a project would make people

friendlier and more helpful. Remarks to this effect were,

> "If these same people (from the block) were living with
> me in the project they'd be friendlier... "

> "Having other than low-income families will add variety.
> You could meet different kinds of people than your own... "

PROJECT RESIDENTS:

Most project residents had quite definite remarks regarding
the mix of the project and the way it should be. There were over-
tones of group feelings. The most outstanding came from low-
income two-parent families, with the husband working. They felt
that there should be more two-parent families, and that one-parent
families were on welfare, and always at home doing nothing or
having parties, and keep their places dirty. In many of these
discussions, this group made very bitter remarks regarding welfare
recipients, and wanted more low-income families in the project.
There were many reasons given, which were sometimes not very clear,
but the undertones of their remarks tell a story.

> "We like more normal (sic) families around us. A project
> should have more of us... "

> "We are working people and do our best. They sit at home
> and get welfare... they're a bad example. I certainly
> feel that welfare families should be less in number."

Other than the economic type of differences, there was
another which was most outstanding among all the groups, and that
is the age groupings. Basically, there are three groups divided
by age, namely, children, adults, and the elderly. Regardless of
the economic or family type, all the families felt that a project
should have more adults than children. The project accommodates
only families with children (except for the pensioners), but it
is felt by the residents that singles, divorced people, or couples

with no children should be encouraged. Giving accommodation to
the elderly in the project was approved unanimously.

When I asked the children (14-18 years old) what they
thought of the number of children in the project, and what they
did, they said,

> "Yes, there are more of us than grown-ups in a small
> block like this. It doesn't bother us. It wouldn't
> bother them if we had some place to go, but we haven't...
> We'd sure like a coffee shop."

The elderly, on the other hand, felt that too many teenagers are
quite a problem. They were full of complaints about teenagers'
behaviour, such as noise, theft and rowdyism, etc. They felt that
strict discipline should prevail in the project, and without that,
the elderly shouldn't be part of a project with such a large num-
ber of teenagers.

When one-parent families were asked about the mix of the
project, respondents felt that the general mix did not bother them,
adding that a mix including families other than low income families
would be much better. I felt that these respondents were quite
isolated within the project socially, and did not show much enthusiasm
towards project friendships. One said that single mothers were
a threat ("supposedly", she added) to insecure housewives. Others
said they were not as well off as the women with husbands, at
least if the husband was working.

Two-parent families (at least the wives) felt that in
a mix of a general kind, that the one-parent and two-parent families
should be separated into different building blocks. One-parent
respondents didn't care either way.

RESPONSE PATTERN:

Future residents visualized a project as consisting of
two groups - the first, similar types of families as their immed-
iate neighbours and second, a general mix, or unspecified groups,
as the remainder of project residents. Project residents on the
other hand, conceived groups by family type (one-parent, two-parent),
age group, by economic status (welfare, low-income), and by occu-
pation (working and non-working). The large number of children in
the project was the most outstanding objection in the mix. The
elderly in the mix were accepted by all. Generally, all groups
preferred residents of their own blocks or at least their immediate
neighbours, to be as closely as possible of their own type, on
the basis of family structure, occupation, or source of income.
Most respondents thought that people from the general community
living in the project would be desirable.

Though both future and present residents felt that if
the project provided accommodation for a wider variety of people
(not just low-income families or welfare recipients), residen-

tial environment of the project would be improved. The variations

of mix desired varied among the two groups. Future residents did

not limit the mix to any economic range, but project residents were

more specific, wanting fewer children and welfare recipients in

the project. They would rather relate more to middle-income groups.

IMPLICATIONS: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL:

1. A project should consist of various groups based on family

   structure, age groups, and sources of income, as conceived

   by residents.

2. These particular groups tend to prefer their own type as

   immediate neighbours.

3. A project should be more balanced with respect to the

   adult-child ration. Many problems arise from the large number

   of children compared to a much smaller group of adults, par-

   ticularly disciplinary problems.

4. The project should provide for young couples without children,

   singles, and the elderly, who may also have a low-income and

   be needy.

5. Middle-income families should also be provided with accommo-

   dation in the project - physically separated from (in se-

parate building blocks), but socially integrated within

the designed environment of the project.

TABLE XI

PREFERENCES FOR OVERALL MIX OF THE PROJECT RESIDENTS

Preferences	No. Responded	Percentage
General mix of wide variety of Families, Accommodations and Income Levels	14	47
Other than Predominantly Low-Income and Welfare Families	8	27
The Way it is (Present Project Mix)	3	9
Indifferent/No Opinions	5	17
Total Responded	30	100%

FURTHER BREAKDOWN OF PREFERENCES

1. Remarks on "General Mix"	No. Responded
Middle-income families (predominantly) as part of mix	8
More small families (size)	2
Variety of accommodation	1
Families without children as part of mix	1
Singles as part of mix	2
Total Responded	14

2. Remarks on "Other Than Predominantly.."	No. Responded
To include more working people in the project	3
To include middle-income families	1
To include more two-parent families	4
Total Responded	8

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout the six sections of the preceding chapter, I
presented response patterns and the possible social and spatial impli-
cations of each of the issues under discussion. In this final chapter,
I shall collate the findings thus arrived at and then suggest recommen-
dations on the location of a project, site layout, mix and accommodation
types for a project, size of the project, and levels of facilities to be
provided for the project, based on the findings of this study. I
shall suggest the possible detailed studies that could be undertaken
in understanding some of the aspects of low-income family housing
that I have brought out in this study.

FINDINGS:

1. Project living is conceived by both groups (future residents and pro-
ject residents) as providing an opportunity for increased friendships and
social life among people in similar situations. The response pattern
among the interviewed sample (project residents) indicates that project
living is a considerable improvement over the previous way of life.[1]
Project living appears to satisfy a social need of low-income families.
Living among a similar type of people is considered by the respondents
as more desirable than living in isolation in the community at large.
This study found that the future residents felt that they had a very
limited social life involving their neighbours. Future residents as
well as project residents have friends who are in similar socio-economic

situations.[2] Both the groups lacked social relationships with the community although they desired such relationships.[3] The lack of such relationships was explained by them to be a result of their differing life styles and economic situations, causing them to feel inferior and self-conscious.[4]

2. Respondents felt that residing in a project provides them with an increased availability of social services. These include visits from social workers, and increased welfare benefits. Residents also felt that a management official (manager) should reside on the project. They expressed a strong preference for this, and felt that the presence of a manager on the site controls the mischief of teenagers (who bother young children and pensioners), and the breaking of project property.

3. Living in a project means that the lower rent gives the residents an opportunity to spend more money on other necessities of life, thus improving their standard of living. Many respondents felt that for the same rent they could get better and larger accommodation in the project.

4. Whereas for future residents, social aspects (friendships among similar types of families, loneliness) become measurements for describing satisfaction in their way of life, the project residents described satisfaction on dissatisfaction in their way of life before moving to the project in terms of physical aspects (poor accommodation, high rent, location of residence and services). Thus, project living leads to a greater awareness of physical aspects in describing satisfaction with a way of life.[5] Project residents felt that Culloden Court is the right size regarding the number of people it accommodates, and that the area it occupies is the maximum a project should cover. Project residents as well as future

residents did not like the projects which physically dominate the surroundings (higher density than surroundings). They felt that a project should be similar in scale to that of the development of the area. The reason for this seemed to be their dislike of being conspicuous, and a desire for anonymity.

5. Respondents stressed that a good environment (socially and physically) is a prerequisite for the location of a low-income family housing project. The location of the project is seen by both groups as an improved socio-economic setting for their residence. The interviewed sample preferred to be located away from known run-down or "slum" areas of Vancouver, and in a "good" residential area.[6] Respondents considered "slum" areas to be the downtown-Hastings_Strathcona areas, and "good" areas to be middle-class residential areas. Respondents would also like to be located away from areas where concentrations of public housing projects exist. They felt that such areas become known as the areas where public housing projects and low-income families are located. Both project residents and future residents preferred a project to be in a middle-class residential area. Responses to the location of a project with respect to community facilities indicate that schools and "social" centres (recreation centre for the general community, singles clubs, etc.) are vital to the location of the projects, whereas the proximity of stores and other facilities are desirable, but not emphasized strongly. All the respondent families have school-age children, and for this reason the location of the project close to schools is stressed so much. As many of these families are one-parent families, social centres such as "clubs" become important, especially, as the responses indicate, they lack friends from outside of the project.

They felt that this was one of their few ways of meeting outside people.
Teenagers and young adults wanted a coffee shop or similar facility near
the project where they could gather, as they now wander around with no
place to go.

6. The project recreation centre was found to be the major source of
social interaction, and the place where residents met each other and made
friends. Project facilities for various age groups are desired, and there
is a need for providing facilities for small groups of residents. Such
facilities are conceived by the interviewed sample for small group gather-
ings, leisure, and for services such as laundry. Project residents felt
that the facilities for socializing with similar types of families should
be provided at a small group level (building block and cluster), and the
project recreation centre should be used for large gatherings and edu-
cational programs, and should be a neighbourhood centre used by both
project residents and neighbourhood residents.[7] Actually, the project
recreation centre is intended to be used by both groups, only the neighbour-
hood residents are not aware of this. The centre is located in the in-
terior of the project and is not clearly marked - perhaps that is why the
neighbourhood residents do not know that it is for their use as well. They
thought that perhaps a project could be built near an existing community
centre. In this way, because the neighbourhood residents would already
be using the community centre, the desired interaction between the two
groups would take place naturally.

Families with young children feel that they should be located
near the play area, so that they can supervise the children at play,

rather than, as is often the case, being located away from the play area.
Pensioners feel that the present location of the children's play area so
close to their block is not desirable because of the noise. They would
like more peace and quiet.

Project residents preferred to park their cars on the street
close to their units, rather than use the parking areas provided in the
project, partly for convenience, and partly so that they can keep an
eye on them.

7. This study found that the respondents preferred a different mix of
residents in the project than the present mix of only low-income families
with a predominance of one-parent families. They would like to have more
middle-income families and two-parent families included in the project
mix. The high proportion of children to adults was not liked by residents,
and they felt that there should be more adults than there are now in the
project, thus lowering the adult-child ratio somewhat. Residents felt
that the high proportion of children, coupled with a large number of one-
parent families, is the cause of many problems, such as mischief, theft,
rowdyism, that arise in the project. Though the interviewed sample pre-
ferred a general mix of residents in the project based on income levels,
marital status, adult-child ration, age groups, the responses indicate
that the respondents preferred to have their own type of family (e.g., two-
parent, one-parent, small family, large family, low-income or welfare
recipient), as their immediate neighbours in the same building block.

8. The respondents residing in the units facing the outside of the
project were more satisfied with project living than those respondents

residing in the interior building blocks (or facing interior courts). The residents facing outside said they could relate to the neighbourhood as well as to the project group, whereas the residents in the interior blocks felt that they were "trapped" (meaning that they see only project people and the inside of the project). They would prefer living in units facing outside of the project so that visually they could relate to the outside. Another interesting point that came up is that those residing on the outer periphery of the project, and fronting on outside streets, showed little or no interest in project activities, and did not desire very much to participate in project life. Among the families in individual building blocks, those living in corner units showed a greater level of satisfaction than those families with neighbours on both sides. Those families not living in corner units would have preferred to live in corner units.

9. The study found that the awareness of the location of a public housing project is shown by the surrounding neighbourhood residents up to only 2-3 city blocks. Beyond this distance from the project site, people did not have any objections to the location of a project in their neighbourhood area. Many were not even aware of the existence of the project in their own neighbourhood. Among the residents of the immediate surrounding neighbourhood of the project, fear of the effect of the project on property values and the presence of a large number of children in the project were the main reasons for not liking the location of a project so close to them.

These findings show sufficient evidence concerning, (1) the relationship of residents to each other, (2) relationships among project

residents and those from the surrounding neighbourhood area of the project,

(3) the relationship of the project facilities to the resident groups and

to the people from outside of the project, and (4) the kind of mix of the

residents that the respondents envisage in the project make it possible

to draw more general conclusions. These findings provide some measure

for evaluating the satisfaction in the way of life in project living, the

setting of a project in the neighbourhood and the provision of facilities

for the project. On the basis of the evidence thus arrived at, I conclude

that the low-income families who find themselves living in the community

at large (outside of a project) feel socially isolated from the surrounding

neighbourhood residents and from people in similar situations. Project

living provides for opportunities to live among similar types of people

and services that such families lack in the community. The recreation

centre in the project has an important role in bringing people together,

both those who live outside and those who live inside the project. The

project is seen as a community of people, rather than as improved accommo-

dation at low rent only. Hence it is necessary to see that a project

should have a balanced mix of people in terms of age, marital status, size,

employment. Facilities should be provided to meet the needs of various

age groups (adults, children, teenagers, pensioners), to meet the social

and physical needs of family groups (single mothers, single men, married

couples, men, women, low-income families, welfare recipients, pensioner

couples, pensioner singles), to bring the neighbourhood residents and

project residents together for social interactions, and to provide edu-

cational programs (cooking classes, low-budget living courses, etc.) for

the residents. The location of the project in the local areas of the

city becomes very important as lower-income families want to be part
of a middle-class residential environment and would like to move away
from slum or run-down areas, particularly from areas where projects
already exist which are known to the general public.[9]

I shall now list a number of my recommendations for low-income
housing as guidelines for future projects:

LAYOUT:

The project layout should reflect the various preferences and
implications of the aspirations of the residents which it accommodates.
Every effort should be made to:

1. orient all individual building blocks to face out of the project,
    avoid interior building blocks which do not provide visual relation-
    ship to the outside of the project, avoid enclosed courts. Courts
    on which the building blocks front could be open on one end to the
    outside. In short, I am recommending exterior courts in preference
    to interior courts. The only exception is the children'splayaarea,
    which should be enclosed.

2. break the monotony of streamlined fronts of blocks by creating cor-
    ners, thus providing more privacy and identity for individual units.

3. provide parking spaces as close to units as possible, preferably next
    to the street on the periphery of the project site, locate facilities
    in such a way that the intended users could clearly relate to them,
    and relate all units to the project open space. Care should be taken

to see that some individual units are not related to the outside of the project only. The residents of units facing outside the project only and fronting on outside streets tend to dissociate themselves from project activities.

4. avoid placing the children's play area close to the pensioners' blocks and provide usable play areas for children in each cluster of blocks that accommodates families with children.

SIZE, AREA AND DENSITY:

New projects should be the size of Culloden Court (approximately 100 families, or more if pensioners and singles accommodations are included). Two square city blocks is the optimum area for a project. A project should be of a density not differing too greatly from the development in the project area.

ACCOMMODATION AND MIX OF RESIDENTS:

Future projects should consist of accommodations for single adults, and young couples with no children. Types of accommodation to be provided should be such that a better balance of adults and children is maintained in the project. A possible mix of middle-class families and low-income families should be considered for future projects.

FACILITIES:

Future projects should provide shared facilities within the building block, e.g., laundry and workshop area; in each cluster, e.g., multi-purpose room for playing cards, T.V., etc.; and a project recreation

centre. The project recreation centre should be located in a place that is accessible and clearly visible to both project residents and surrounding neighbourhood residents. I suggest that if the project accommodates only low-income families then the project recreation centre should be located immediately outside of the project site, and if the project accommodates a mix of income levels, then the centre should be on the site and located on the outer periphery of the site. In all cases, a project recreation centre should be located on the outer periphery of the project site, and neighbourhood residents should be encouraged to use it. A coffee shop should be available in the neighbourhood, for the use of the young people especially.

MANAGEMENT:

Every project should have a management official residing in the project, and residents should be encouraged to participate in the management decisions regarding the proper functioning of the project.

LOCATION:

Future projects should be planned in areas away from present concentrations of projects. I feel that new projects should be located west of Main Street. The possible areas are Kitsilano, Kerrisdale, and Marpole. Maps showing the locations of public housing projects show a concentration of these projects in the east part of Vancouver. The project residents come from a large number of areas including the west part of Vancouver. There is, therefore, no reason for a concentration of projects in the east of Vancouver. The socio-economic characteristics of local

areas of Vancouver should be considered before selecting potential sites

for new projects. If possible, projects should be located close to an

existing community centre, and in a predominantly middle-class residen-

tial area. This would enable the low-income families to be part of a

middle-class environment. An already existing community centre would pro-

vide opportunities to take an active part in community life. I strongly

suggest that no more large size projects should be built east of Main

Street in Vancouver.

CULLODEN COURT:

I feel that various forms of changes in the existing situation

of the project could be tried. As vacancies occur in Culloden Court and

units become available for applicants to the public housing projects, a

two-bedroom unit could be shared by two single mothers with one young

child each, or two adults (students?) could share a unit, or a young

couple with no children. A recreation co-ordinator should be provided

for the project, who could help organize a stimulating program for adults

and teenagers. Many instructional programs (cooking classes, yoga, belly

dancing, painting classes, etc.) could be organized and initiated for the

project and efforts must be directed to interesting surrounding neighbour-

hood residents to take part in the recreation centre activities. Many

such programs presently held elsewhere in the city could be held in the

project recreation centre, at low cost to the project residents. When

vacancies occur in the project, new tenants should be of the same type as

the neighbours (two-parent, one-parent, low-income, or welfare recipient

families).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES:

        In this study, I have explored many points regarding low-income
family housing for which detailed studies could be undertaken. I would
briefly make the following recommendations on the types of studies I feel
would be desirable:

1. The role of neighbourhood facilities in providing social interactions

    between project residents and neighbourhood residents.

2. Criteria for the location of future low-income housing projects in

    the local areas of the city.

3. The kind of "mix" of residents in a project.

4. Levels (and types) of project facilities that should be provided.

5. Criteria for optimum size of a project.

        I feel that C.M.H.C. and Housing Management should consider some
of the points I have explored in this thesis in improving the existing
projects, and I hope that this study may help in providing guidelines in
designing future public housing projects.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter 5

[1]K.W.Back, op. cit., feels that a major change in housing conditions implies a major adjustment of a person's self-concept (his place in the community, his role, his status, and his style of life).

[2]Suzanne Keller, op. cit., claims that both middle-class and working-class people have a fuller social life when they are among their own, p. 504.

[3]William Michelson, op. cit., found that completely random placement of working class residents among middle-class neighbours results in the isolation of the former, p. 194.

[4]Robert Gutman, op. cit., found that working class wives had considerable trouble in adjusting to a mixed class suburb. They simply hadn't the social skills necessary to interact on a free and easy basis with the middle class women around, p. 121.

[5]L. Festinger et al, op. cit., writes: "Clearly the architect and the planner are social planners as well ... site plans may influence the social life, behavior and satisfaction of people to an extent not fully appreciated up to now", p. 179.

[6]See Chapter 4, Section E, p.

[7]U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, A Study of Community Facilities and Programs Serving Residents of Low-Rent Public Housing, (Washington, D.C., June 1967), gives detailed information on types of facilities that should be provided in projects.

[8]Leo Kuper, op. cit., found that there were many more changes of tenancy and instability among the houses facing onto a central court than among those in other locations.

[9]Chester Hartman, op. cit., writes: "Physical spaces, administrative regulations, community facilities, and the role of the tenant, must all be re-examined and revised to meet the needs of the population that the projects are intended to serve."

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APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROJECT RESIDENTS: SAMPLE GROUP - 1

Family No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
Income, Dollars/Month (S - on Social Assistance, and Figures Not Available)	S	S	287	404	S	588	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	375	S	S	439	S	640	S	S	544	S	S	S	S	S	S	504	476	S	S	S	S	S	S	639	S	580	S
Employment (W - Working, NW - Not working, PW - Part time working)	NW	NW	NW	W	NW	W	W	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	W	PW	NW	W	PW	NW	NW	NW	W	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	W	W	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	W	NW	W	NW
No. of Adults in Family	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
No. of Children in Family	6	5	4	1	6	5	1	6	6	2	3	1	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	3	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	4	3	3	4	3	3	2	5	1
No. of Persons in Family	8	6	5	3	7	7	3	8	8	3	4	2	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	7	3	4	4	6	5	5	4	5	4	5	4	4	5	4	4	5	4	4	3	7	2
Length of Residence in Culloden Court, Year/Month	2/0	2/10	1/0	1/2	0/5	1/1	2/1	0/5	2/9	1/0	1/2	1/8	1/1	2/10	0/5	2/10	3/1	2/10	1/1	1/2	2/4	2/4	2/10	1/9	0/1	2/10	3/2	2/0	1/2	2/10	2/10	3/1	2/0	2/0	2/8	2/1	1/8	2/0	3/3	1/1	3/4	3/10	2/10	2/10
Family Type (N - Two-parent families, B - One-parent families)	N	B	B	N	B	N	N	N	N	B	B	B	B	N	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	N	B	N	B	B	B	B	N	B	N	N	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	N	B	N	B
Project Rent (In Dollars/Month)	70	65	55	99	70	137	102	75	150	50	50	50	77	85	60	56	60	71	71	70	87	50	150	77	106	130	65	60	95	65	55	55	120	115	93	55	107	55	60	55	135	59	135	63

APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF FUTURE RESIDENTS: SAMPLE GROUP - 2

Family No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
Income Dollars/Month	100	257	280	390	290	318	400	270	385	215	400	270	330	342	290	588	376	450	307	433	774	233	280	180	275	210	248	460	228	195	265	186	290	516	456	185	196	373	200	232	206	303	185	364
Employment (W - Working, NW - Non-working, PW - Part time working)	NW	W	NW	NW	NW	W	W	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	PW	NW	NW	W	W	NW	W	W	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	W	PW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	NW	W	NW	PW
No. of Adults in Family	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
No. of Children in Family	2	2	4	7	3	1	2	4	4	4	2	3	2	5	5	8	2	2	3	6	3	4	3	1	3	4	2	4	2	1	5	1	3	4	2	1	2	5	4	1	2	3	-	3
Total No. of Persons in Family	3	4	5	9	5	2	4	5	5	5	4	4	3	7	6	10	4	4	4	8	5	5	5	2	4	5	3	5	3	2	6	2	5	6	3	2	4	6	5	2	3	4	2	5
Family Type (N - Two-parent families, B - One-parent families)	B	N		N	N	B	N	B	B	B	N	B	B	N	B	N	N	N	B	N	N	B	N	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	N	N	B	B	N	B	B	B	B	B	N	N
Age of Spouses (Years, Husband/Wife)	45	21/20	38	50/42	27/23	21	35/32	40	16	27	25/22	29	30	38/38	28	31/31	22/22	22/20	26	42/42	36/34	26	54/44	23	22	32	49	52	36	25	46	28	26/23	23/22	50	23	35/43	31	31	21	36	47	62/62	28/24

APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUNSET AREA RESIDENTS: SAMPLE GROUP - 3

(FROM CENSUS TRACT #47, 1966)

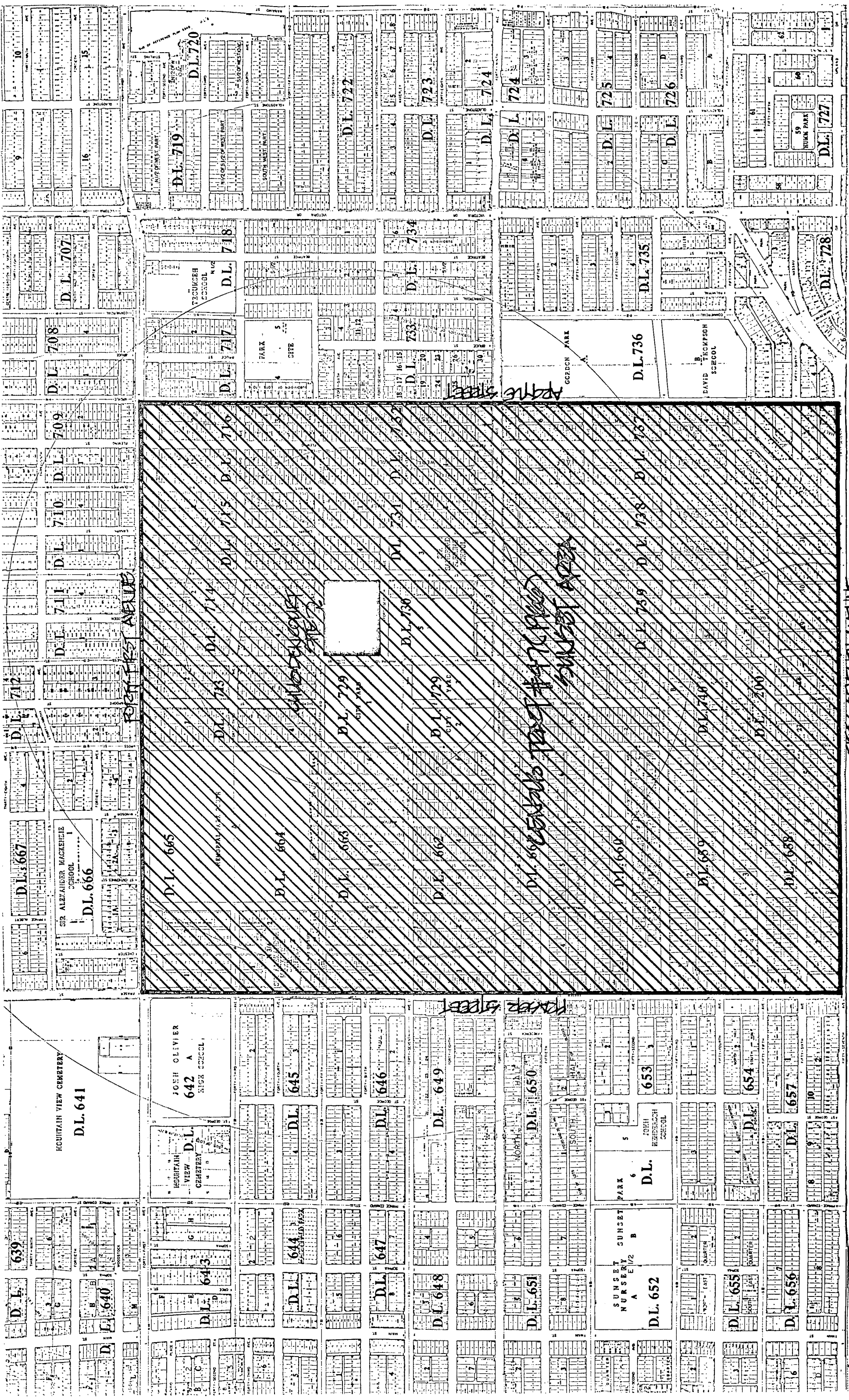| Characteristics	Vancouver area	Sunset area
Population		
1966	410,375	9,211
1961	384,522	8,648
Males	201,026	4,549
Females	209,349	4,662
Marital Status:		
Males		
Single	96,176	2,192
Married	96,336	2,231
Widowed	6,364	112
Females		
Single	84,572	1,908
Married	96,387	2,266
Widowed	24,618	425
Families (Total)	99,429	2,372
No. of Children/Family		
0	41,278	784
1-2	39,942	1,089
3-4	15,224	415
5 or more	2,985	84
Persons/Family	3.2	3.5
Children/Family	1.3	1.5

APPENDIX B

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUNSET AREA RESIDENTS: SAMPLE GROUP - 3

(from Mayhew: Local Areas of Vancouver)

APPENDIX A:

CENSUS TRACT
BOUNDARIES #47 -
SUNSET AREA (PLUS)

CENSUS TRACT #47 (PLUS)
SUNSET AREA

OAK STREET

ONTARIO STREET

PRINCE EDWARD STREET

FORTY FIRST AVENUE
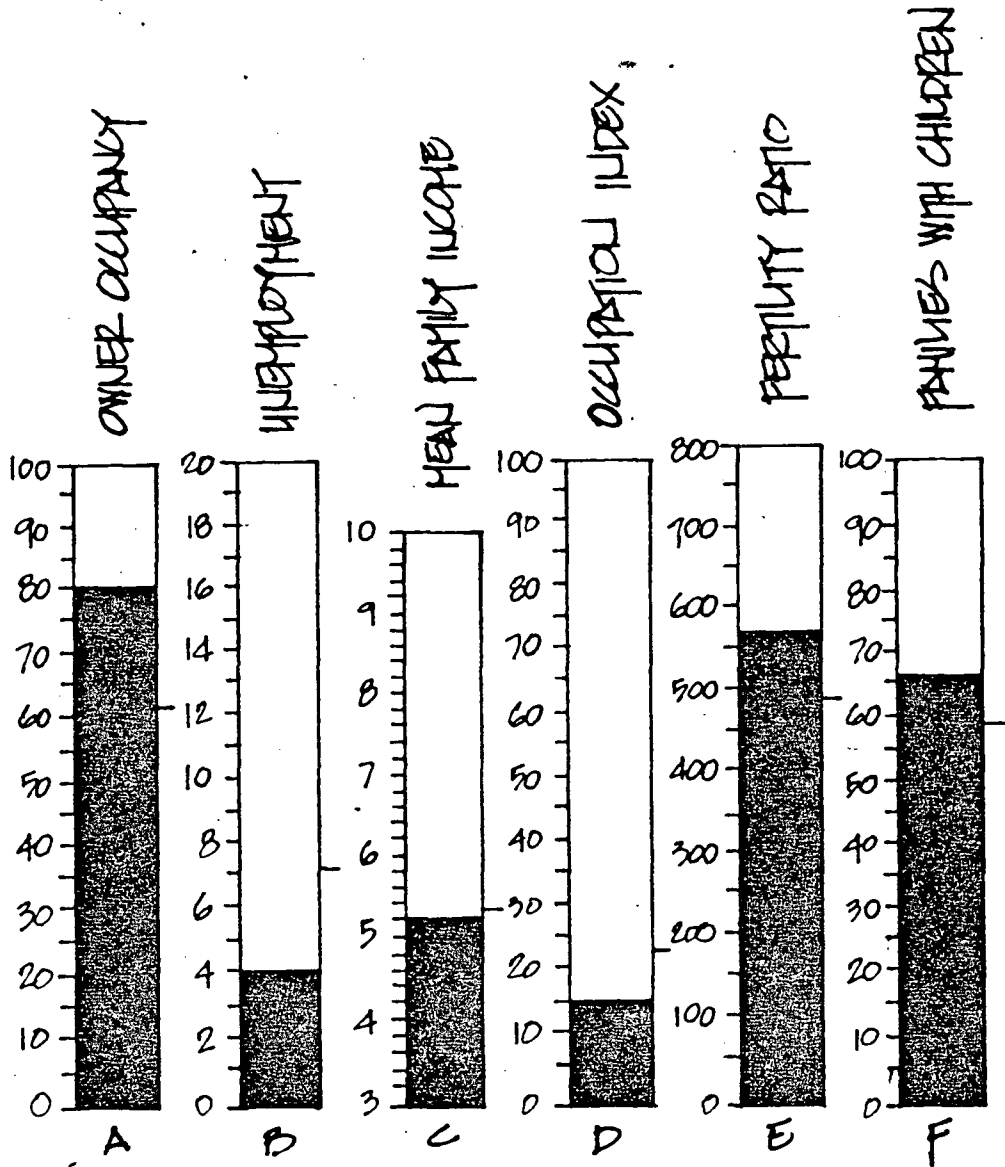
FIFTY SEVENTH AVENUE

APPENDIX B

SOCIO-ECONOMIC RANKING OF LOCAL AREAS*

Shaughnessy	– 8.4
Kerrisdale	– 8.6
Arbutus-Ridge	– -11.3
West Point Grey	– 12.1
Dunbar-Southlands	– 114.7
Oakridge	– 29.1
West End	– 43.5
Kitsilano	– 48.0
Marpole	– 56.1
Killarney	– 57.0
South Cambie	– 70.0
Riley Park	– 70.7
Fairview	– 71.2
Sunset	– 78.0
Victoria-Fraserview	– 80.6
Renfrew-Collingwood	– 89.3
Mount Pleasant	– 95.0
Cedar Cottage-Kensington	– 100.3
Hastings-Sunrise	– 100.5
Grandview-Woodland Park	– 108.0
CBD	– 109.0
Strathcona	– 117.0

* Lower numbers indicate higher ranking.

APPENDIX C

SCHEDULE FOR INTERVIEWS

Primary reasons for moving to a project.

Satisfaction in way of living before moving to a project.

Preferences for location of project in general area of Vancouver.

Preferences for local area facilities and community facilities.

Preferences for overall mix of the project residents.

Willingness or general attitude towards participating in project activities, use of common facilities, community activities, co-operative ventures, voluntary work, etc.

Integration or isolation of project with surrounding community.

General satisfaction in life after moving to project.

Project facilities and spaces at block, cluster and project level.

Problems and needs of various age groups in project.

Relationship and attitude between project and community residents.

Extent and location of friends.

Positive and negative aspects of living in project.

Recreation Hall.

Major Problems, issues and concerns.

APPENDIX C

The University of British Columbia

Vancouver 8, Canada

School of Architecture   November 29, 1971

TO THE MANAGER AND THE RESIDENTS OF CULLODEN COURT

This is to introduce Mr. Patti M.G. Rao who is a graduate student at
our School of Architecture. He is now preparing a master thesis in
which he wishes to find out how the residents that live in public
housing projects feel about the facilities and provisions in the
project. He has chosen Culloden Court as an example.

In particular he is interested in what effect common facilities and
community action has on the residents.

It is our hope that his findings may help to improve design of future
housing developments, and assist present management when changes
and additions become possible.

I should like to ask for your cooperation when Mr. Patti M.G. Rao
comes to interview you.

                              Yours sincerely,

                              Mr. W. Gerson,
                              Professor in charge of
                              Graduate Studies.

WG:lac

APPENDIX D:

IMPRESSIONS ON PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT IN VANCOUVER: A VISUAL SURVEY

	A. LITTLE MOUNTAIN	B. ORCHARD PARK	C,I, 9 MACLEAN PARK	D. SKEENA TERRACE	E. KILLARNEY GARDENS	F. RAYMUR PLACE	G. GRANDVIEW TERRACE	H. CULLODEN COURT	J. NICHOLSON TOWER	K. CAROLINA & 6th AVE.	L.M. WALL & OXFORD
1. General impression of the overall area within which the project exists.	Good residential area.	Reasonably good residential area.	Depressing slum area with industries, raw tracks, and highways.	Project is enclosed on one side by residents and the other by industry and highway.	Predominantly residential Good facilities and small houses.	Industrial and slum areas.	Generally, area seemed better than others.	Good residential area.	High density living.	Reasonably good residential area.	Industrial Residential
2. General atmosphere of the project.	Very depressing.	Little better than Little Mountain.	Very impressive, congenial, and cheerful.	Interesting with slopes and good privacy.	Very neat and clean, probably the best of all but area looked unlived in.	Very impressive, colorful and active, but gives the impression of college residences. Too many paved areas.	Very interesting, good, compact, and homely.	Very homely and warm.	Does not give the impression of a cheerful atmosphere. No balconies.	Does not look like a project, lively and warm.	Same as K.
3. The project in its relationship to the immediate surrounding areas.	Surrounding units are single-family project, 2-3 st. blocks.	Reasonably good. One-half of project better done.	In isolation as project stands out with slums and low buildings all around.	Though much better than surrounding, but did not stand out in isolation.	Well integrated.	Gives the impression of an isolated project but a great improvement over the surroundings.	Reasonably integrated though much better than surroundings, but does not stand out.	Well integrated.	Very well integrated.	Very well integrated.	Same as K.
4. The variety of accommodation provided and the pattern of its distribution.	No groupings. Uniform accommodation.	Limited variety of accommodation. Too many groupings-- hence no large play area	Variety of accommodation, large groupings, and well planned courts.	Variety of accommodation. Linear spines of blocks. Nicely done.	Two linear blocks with common areas in between and services in basement.	Variety of accommodations, large and small courts and well distributed.	Variety of accommodation and well planned, though too compact an area.	Reasonably good size courts, well done. Uniformity of accommodation.	Uniformity single block high rise.	Uniform accommodation single block like the surroundings.	Same as K.
5. Common areas and common facilities within the project.	Only service area. Large open space around blocks.	Services, small group areas.	Day care and sitting areas, playgrounds, etc., good facilities.	Linear spines with terraced platforms resulted in no large play areas, facilities, professional help.	Reasonably good for the type of project.	Very good. From corridors-balconies to landscaped courts and services.	Seemed reasonably good like any other housing project.	Seemed very good. A common hall and recreational facilities.	Nothing visible.	Good as any private apartment blocks.	Same as K.
6. Common facilities in immediate surroundings.	Parks, schools, commercial. No large food store.	Good areas with all community facilities.	Not very substantial.	Not substantial - in fact poor facilities.	Reasonably good.	Not very substantial.	Reasonably good.	Substantial.	Reasonably good.	Reasonably good.	Same as K.
7. General activity (at the time of visit) in the project area.	Some children playing near the streets. Adults were cleaning cars on the street.	Children, housewives, elderly in and around units.	All age groups were seen throughout the project--active.	Very active.	None whatsoever.	Very active.	Active.	Very active.	Not very apparent.	As lively as an apartment block could be.	Same as K.
8. Evidence of community organization and participation within the project.	None.	None.	Very good.	Not very apparent but gives organized effort.	Does not appear to be any.	Very impressive.	Not very apparent, but seemed there may be an effort.	Very good.	Not very apparent.	Do not know.	Same as K.