HOUSING PROJECTS FOR OLD PEOPLE

An Exploratory Review of
Four Selected Housing Projects for Old People
in the Greater Vancouver Area

by

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ABSTRACT

With the increasing number of old people in the population of Canada, and of British Columbia in particular, housing needs have become a major part of the total welfare planning for old people. Adequate housing is an essential service in its own right, but it is also an important basis for many other necessary services concerned with the welfare of this age group.

This thesis is an exploratory review of housing projects so far constructed for old people in the Greater Vancouver area. Four such projects are selected for this purpose, and a general structure for description and analysis devised, with special reference to (a) the nature of the accommodation, (b) administration, and (c) opinions and attitudes of the residents.

The information in this survey is attained through interviews with the people directly concerned with the administration and management of the housing projects, with people who live in the projects, and with social workers who have close contact with and knowledge of the old people. A series of visits were made to all types of accommodation in the four projects.

Because housing projects so far are mostly private and volunteer efforts, there is a great deal of variation in nature and concept, administration, eligibility, services provided, etc. Some of this experimentation is desirable; in some regards, coordination and pooling of experience is greatly needed. The study illustrates many of the good features of housing projects, and also indicates some of the less favorable aspects. It shows also the need for a comprehensive approach to housing for old people, in which the total community participates, and in which all community resources, including neighbourhood and metropolitan planning, are fully utilized.
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Many other people helped to make this study possible: those concerned with the administration of the projects who willingly gave their time, and made information available; the social workers who have been in close association with the residents of the housing projects facilitated this study by their cooperation and interest; and the residents themselves, who discussed their opinions and ideas freely, thus contributing a major part of the material of this thesis.
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HOUSING PROJECTS FOR OLD PEOPLE
In recent years, in North America and many parts of Europe, there has been increasing attention focused on the older members of the population. So much of this interest and attention has been concerned with the problems of the aged, both in terms of their numbers and their position in society, that we are apt to think of "old age" and "problems" as being inevitable companions. What are these problems, and why do they concern us so much more at the present time than in the past?

It is a commonly known fact that the life expectancy has increased markedly in recent years. Because of this, the number of old people in the population is increasing. But the increasing number in itself is not the reason for the many problems; the larger numbers merely accentuate and aggravate other problems. Perhaps the major reason for the dilemma regarding old people lies in the fact that much of modern society is geared to suit the younger portion of the population. We consider the adult years before age 65 as the productive years, thereby implying that the years over 65 are unproductive. We tend to exclude old people from the main stream of society in many ways;
mandatory retirement, regardless of ability or vitality; smaller family homes and apartments where there is no room for the aging grandparents; increasing mobility of the population which leads to family dispersal. Through these and other factors the old person is often left alone, or is forced to be dependent, either on society or on his adult children. Yet at the same time, society places great value on independence, almost as a moral virtue, so that the older person who finds himself dependent feels he has been a failure.1

Besides the problem of finding his position or status in society, the old person also has to cope with other more concrete changes. He is faced with decreasing physical strength and health. Often, because of the enforced retirement, he has a greatly reduced income, and within his limited income and limited physical strength and health he must cope with the problem of finding a suitable place to live.

The conditions described above place great demands on the individual for personal adjustment. He is expected to accept social conditions and adjust to them. In Personal Adjustment in Old Age the authors suggest that

"..... an alternative type of adjustment would be social adjustment, in which social norms, standards and institutions would be adjusted to changed conditions in such a way that they would provide more fully for the satisfaction of the needs of the old."2


It is with one specific form of social adjustment that this study is concerned - with the provision of suitable housing. However, providing housing for old people cannot be separated and isolated from other forms of social adjustment. Closely related are the problems of providing for an adequate income, for physical care and maintenance of health, and for the general comfort and security of the individual.

"The problem of housing the aged is only one part of the larger problem of restoring old people to a position of dignity and use, giving them opportunities to form new social ties to replace those that family dispersal and death have broken, and giving them functions and duties that draw on their precious life experience and put it to new uses." 1

Although housing in itself does not provide the answer to all the problems of the old person, neither is it feasible to attempt to reach some solution without realizing the importance of housing. It is unlikely that one could feel much sense of dignity and worth, living alone in a damp basement room, lonely and bored, with barely enough money to buy food let alone allow for entertainment or even transportation. This picture may be slightly exaggerated but undoubtedly is a true one for an appreciable portion of the population. In March, 1949, the Vancouver Housing Association published a report on Housing for our Older Citizens. In this study the Association makes reference to the living conditions of older people at that time, and quotes several sources as stating that housing is a major problem, and that living accommodations are in general poor and inadequate.

"Of 1500 cases recorded in the Centre Social unit, 75% were living in single rooms. Many of these rooms are in damp basements or up several flights of stairs, often with little or no heat. Many more have inadequate cooking and sanitary facilities shared with several other tenants. For this accommodation they pay from $10 to $15 a month out of a total income of perhaps $40.

"Ill health, undernourishment, loneliness, and a sense of insecurity produced by the fear of eviction, or by the lack of friends or relatives to help in times of need, complete the drab picture of life for many old people in our city today."^1

The study gives examples of specific situations, and concludes that

"Verbal descriptions such as these convey but a dim impression of the actual condition under which these people live, but it is quite certain that if the general public could experience personally the needless misery inflicted on old people through lack of adequate housing, effective steps would rapidly be taken to remedy the situation."^2

Certainly as far as need is concerned, there is nothing to suggest that the picture has changed a great deal since 1949.

In a pamphlet published in 1956 by the Vancouver Housing Association the following statement appears:

"The percentage of persons over 65 to the total population, the proportion on old age assistance or war veterans' allowance, and the amount of housing actually available for this age group, will normally present a pretty clear picture of the need, a picture which will be rendered more vivid by specific instances of old people living in poor conditions or paying rents beyond their means.

"In the City of Vancouver, for example, there are now roughly 50,000 people over 65 years of age. Of those in receipt of Old Age Pension, i.e., over 70, income tax returns show that roughly four out of five have incomes under $1000 per year. For all these thousands we have so far provided under 100 dwellings specifically allocated for their use."^3


2. Ibid., p.7.

It seems obvious that there is necessity for both public and private sponsorship of housing projects for old people. A comprehensive survey of the actual and specific requirements could well be made to assist in future planning, not only as to the number of dwellings required but also the most suitable types. With so many groups becoming interested in the housing problems of the aged, there is a danger that plans may be made without consideration for what the people who will live in them actually want and find best suited. It seems valid therefore, that at some point an attempt should be made to assess the housing projects already in existence, with the hope that the good points from several of them may be incorporated, and the less desirable aspects eliminated.

Although this study deals exclusively with housing projects, there is no intention to imply that housing projects are the only type of accommodation needed or desirable. Nor is there intended any suggestion that all old people should move into housing projects. Individual preference and need will vary. This study may provide some indication of the types of people best served by housing projects - their income level, family situation, previous housing, mobility, etc. A further study may be able to suggest other solutions to housing problems.

In planning housing for old people, provision must be made for those who wish to live independently, and for those who are no longer willing or able to do so. Among the physically independent, there will be those who prefer boarding home accommodation, those who prefer to have their own housekeeping
facilities, those who are financially able to seek their own accommodation on the open market. For the physically dependent very different arrangements must be made; boarding home care may be feasible for some who are partially dependent; and nursing home care may be necessary for a number of this group.

Planning must also give consideration to the ratio between married couples and single persons requiring accommodation.

"Where individual units are being provided, the proportion of units for couples and single persons respectively must be decided. The statistical evidence and actual requirements, as reflected in applications received, both suggest that the demand for single units is at least three times as great as for married units."¹

Yet of the housing projects studied, none of them came close to meeting this ratio.

Any low-rental housing scheme requires financial subsidy from some source, as the rentals paid will not be sufficient to meet the cost of building. Financing can be obtained through cooperation of the Federal, Provincial, and Municipal governments, along with assistance from some charitable organization or service club. If a non-profit or limited-dividend organization raises 10% of the total cost of the project, it can apply to the provincial government for a grant covering one-third of the total capital cost;² the remainder of the money necessary may be obtained through a loan from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.³

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¹. Vancouver Housing Association, 1956, op. cit., p.3.
². Elderly Citizens' Housing Aid Act, Ch.19, S.B.C. 1955, Sec.2.
³. National Housing Act, Ch.188, Revised Statutes of Canada 1952, Section 16.
If the provincial grant is used, the housing is available to people with a monthly income not exceeding $84.00 for a single person or $168.00 for a married couple.

The housing projects included in this survey have been financed by the method described above. In many instances the municipality has allowed the land to be tax-free, so long as it is used for low-rental housing.

Within this legislative framework, several housing projects for elderly citizens have been built in the Greater Vancouver area; the Community Information Service lists, as of January 1957, nine housing projects providing self-contained accommodation. Some of these also provide boarding home care. One, Little Mountain Public Housing, provides low-rental housing for families, and has 24 units reserved for elderly couples.

For this exploratory review of housing projects for the aged, four such projects in the Greater Vancouver area have been selected. The selection has been made in an attempt to get a fairly representative sample of projects, including small and large projects, different types of accommodation and different sponsoring groups. On this basis, the ones which have been selected are:

The West Vancouver Senior Citizens Housing Society, sponsored by the West Vancouver Kiwanis Club;
Lions' View, sponsored by the British Columbia Housing Foundation;
The Fair Haven, sponsored by the United Church of Canada;
Dania Home, sponsored by the Danish National Group.
These four housing projects provide opportunity to study accommodation in cottages and in apartment blocks, including units for single persons and couples; also included are projects which provide boarding home care, and one which provides the opportunity for tenants to build their own cottages on property owned by the sponsoring group.

To collect the material, an outline was drawn up of the factors to be considered in making the survey. From this outline two schedules were devised, one for interviewing residents, and one for interviewing the persons concerned with administration and management.¹

In conducting this survey, the persons most directly concerned with administration and management were interviewed, The Chairman of the Admissions Committee was interviewed, and in each instance the Chairman is a member of the Board of Directors. In two of the projects, The Fair Haven and Dania Home, a matron is in charge of day to day operations, and these two women were interviewed. Brochures and annual reports were used wherever possible.

Interviews were conducted with a number of tenants of the housing projects; single persons and couples were included, and those living in different types of accommodation. In several instances the tenants interviewed were ones suggested by the Chairman of the Admissions Committee or the matron; in other

¹. See Appendix A
instances the selection of persons was entirely random. This part of the survey consisted of interviews with a total of 26 persons.

Finally, the survey included discussions with three social workers having direct contact with a number of the residents in the projects. These were general unstructured discussions of the social workers' opinions and impressions of the management, tenants' reactions and problems, sociability within the project, and suggestions about the project.

This study is an attempt to assess the selected housing projects, with the hope that information gained may be of some use in planning future projects. Just how adequate are the particular housing projects in terms of providing for physical and health needs, meeting the economic restrictions, in providing surroundings in which the residents can lead a reasonably happy and contented life? Do these projects mitigate to any extent the boredom and loneliness of so many old people? Do they provide a reasonable degree of comfort and security beyond the actual living quarters themselves? As stated previously housing is one important facet of the total welfare of the aged, and in providing housing it is hoped that other social and personal needs may be satisfied. If, then, it is agreed that housing programs should have a broader aim than to provide merely "a place to hang one's hat", a survey such as this must attempt to assess some aspects of these broader aims. The main focus of this study is to discover
how adequate the housing projects are from the resident's point of view. It will deal also with the housing accommodation as such, but more extensively with the housing accommodation as providing some hope for a happier and more satisfying life for old people.
CHAPTER II

FROM OUTSIDE LOOKING IN

The present exploratory review of four housing projects attempts a descriptive account of each project, along with opinions and attitudes expressed by the residents. This chapter is concerned with the first part of the picture, a "general description" including the outside appearance, the location and available amenities, the number and kind of units, and the total cost to the tenant; a discussion of "administration and management" includes the admissions procedures, the daily operation, and any planned social or other activities for the tenants.

Many of the criteria utilized in this part of the survey follow closely the suggestions put forth by the Vancouver Housing Association, in their survey Housing for our Older Citizens. In the summary of conclusions, the Association includes a recommendation that

"Individual dwellings should be located in small groups, under the charge of a competent caretaker, within easy range of shops, churches, social centres and transit routes. The provision of auxiliary services such as nursing and housekeeping help, recreational clubs, etc., should be regarded as an integral part of such projects....The provision of different types of accommodation should be effectively integrated so that persons can move from house to hostel to home, according to their changing requirements, without being uprooted from the previous associations they hold dear."

This theme is also expressed by Mumford.¹ He рек­
commends that any housing plan should aim to restore old
people to the community, that there should be no "barracks"
and no labels, and that the housing should be situated where
there is a constant play of diverting activity.

The type of administration found in any housing
project will reflect the aims and objectives of the sponsors
of the project. Is their objective simply to provide suitable
buildings and find occupants for them, or is there a broader
interpretation of their responsibility? Providing good, low­
rental living quarters is unquestionably an important contri­
bution to the welfare of the older age group, but it is, after
all, only one part of the whole. In the administration and
management of housing projects there is the opportunity to
make additional contributions which could be of great value.
The loneliness and boredom which afflict so many old people
do not automatically disappear when the older person moves
into a housing project; yet is there any effort on the part
of the administration to overcome these common problems? Is
there any plan or program designed to mitigate, at least in
part, the effects produced when old people move from their
familiar surroundings into a new and strange situation — a
housing project?

The procedure followed in interviewing applicants and

¹ Mumford, loc.cit. p.193.
selecting tenants is another facet of administration which can demonstrate the concern of the sponsoring group for the people to be served. The admissions procedure, in its simplest form, can be a mechanical and routine activity, in which the applicant fills out a form, is judged to be eligible or not, and if eligible is notified when accommodation becomes available. The admissions procedure becomes more complex when attempts are made to define eligibility more clearly, to obtain a degree of balance and diversification of tenants within the project, and to help the applicant with questions he may have regarding his prospective move into the project.

The nature of the housing project will be determined ultimately by the kind of people who live in it, thus the admissions procedure becomes a means of affecting the character of the project. Within the stated age and income restrictions, is it possible for the admissions procedure to decrease or to increase the degree of segregation? Understandably, sponsors want tenants who are "suitable", who will "fit in" to the project, but is suitability defined, and how is it determined whether or not a person will "fit in"?

To obtain the information presented in this chapter, each of the four housing projects was visited by the writer, and the various types of accommodation were seen; the persons concerned with administration and management were interviewed.
Annual reports and publicity brochures, where available, gave much valuable information, particularly regarding admissions.

A. General Description

The Fair Haven: United Church Home for Senior Citizens

The Fair Haven consists of a large number of buildings housing a total of 152 persons. It was opened in 1951, and since then additional units have been added. There is one large main building centrally placed on the property, with the smaller cottages uniformly spaced on either side and behind this building. All the buildings are of wood siding, and painted in the same colors – dark brown on the lower part and light tan on the upper part. There is a sign prominently placed indicating that this is The Fair Haven, United Church Home for Senior Citizens.

The main building is a large two-storey structure with a number of steps leading up to the front door. On both sides of this building and behind it are the self-contained units of the project. There are five single cottages for couples, twenty duplex cottages for couples, and four one-storey buildings containing sixteen suites for single persons. The landscaping is completed except at the back of the property, and allowance has been made for small gardens around the houses.
THE FAIR HAVEN

Figure 1. Main Building

Figure 2. Cottage Unit
The housing project is in South Burnaby, on Rumble Street at Sussex. Built on a slight incline, the buildings face south with a view of the Fraser River. The district is entirely residential, composed mainly of new single-dwelling homes. The district seems to be a quiet one, with no schools or parks in the immediate neighbourhood, but with a moderate volume of traffic on Rumble Street to provide some diversion for the occupants of the project. The nearest business section is on Kingsway, about one mile distant and uphill.

There are stores nearer than Kingsway, and one small store in the district which provides delivery service is appreciated by many of the tenants. A bus line runs directly in front of the housing units, providing easy access to Kingsway. However, for former residents of Vancouver the distance which it is necessary to travel to visit friends and family is often great.

There is no community centre in the surrounding area but in the main building of the project there is a large assembly hall. Besides a television set, this provides kitchen facilities for preparation and serving of lunch to any group. These kitchen facilities may also be used by the residents for making a cup of tea during the day for themselves and friends. The hall is used for church services each Sunday evening, and during the week various forms of entertainment are provided. A large common room on the ground floor of the main building is used by the residents for playing cards, and for visiting
amongst themselves or with other friends. These facilities are open to the tenants of the cottages as well as residents of the main building, but the cottage tenants apparently do not use them extensively.

The main building houses 57 persons, men and women, who receive their meals and room for $57 to $60 per month, depending on the type and location of the room. There are four double rooms; the rest are single. Each room has a sink, and is furnished with the minimum necessary furniture. However, the rooms are rather small and seem somewhat crowded when the tenants add their own possessions to the furnishings already there. Each wing has its own bathroom, and these facilities seem to be adequate.

The dining room is located off the common room, and contains tables that seat four persons. Each person has a place reserved for him at one of the tables, and therefore always has the same meal-time companions. A more flexible seating arrangement would enable the tenants to mix more freely with each other if they so desired.

In the cottages for couples the units consist of a living-room, bedroom, bathroom, kitchen and good-sized utility room. The bedroom is small but other rooms are of adequate size. The kitchen has ample cupboard and work space. An oil stove for cooking and hot water heating is provided at a cost
The tenant may install a space heater in the living room if desired, otherwise the whole unit is heated by the kitchen stove. In the utility room there is more storage space; cupboards, and a built-in ironing board. Although the room is large enough for a washing machine, there are no sinks or tubs built in. While it would be difficult to find room to put a refrigerator in the kitchen, there is room for one in the utility room.

There are sixteen housekeeping units for single persons, housed in four one-storey buildings of four units each. In each unit there is one main room serving as living-room and bedroom, a kitchen, and a bathroom. There is a four-burner electric stove in the kitchen and a built-in folding table. Working space and cupboard space are adequate, but storage space in the apartments is limited. In the basement of one of the four buildings is a laundry room, with a washing machine, two ironing boards, and space for drying clothes.

The rent for a one-bedroom unit is $25 per month, plus $2 for use of the stove; oil and electricity are extra and together average $10 per month. The single units rent for $25 including heat, with the cost of electricity averaging $2 to $3 per month.
2. Lions' View.

The Lions' View housing project is sponsored by the British Columbia Housing Foundation, a private corporation which derived originally from the Community Chest and Council Committee on the Welfare of the Aged, which has a sub-committee on Housing. The Foundation was established in 1952 for the purpose of providing low-rental housing for people with limited income, and has received substantial gifts of money from the Vancouver Lions' Club, which (in addition to the other financial sources discussed in Chapter I) enables it to carry out its plans for a housing project for old people. "Lions' View", as the project is called, was opened in April 1953, and at that time provided accommodation for sixteen single persons and four couples. In 1956, additional buildings were provided to bring the total population up to 72 persons, 32 single and 20 couples.

The older buildings are frame buildings, painted grey with bright-colored trim. The new buildings are yellow stucco, also with bright-colored trim. There are three two-storey apartment buildings facing the street, each containing eight suites for single persons. The rest of the buildings are one-storey structures, some with four and some with six apartments for couples, and including eight apartments for single persons. Most of these one-storey buildings are placed around a central lawn area, with the front of the buildings
facing in to the "square"; the backs look on to a lane. One of these buildings at the back of the property is situated lower than the rest, with a concrete retaining wall separating it from the other buildings. The back of this building looks out on to this concrete wall; the front doors face the property behind the project which is a vacant lot, and another back lane. At the time of the survey, these front doors could not be used, as the land at the front of the buildings is lower than the floor of the apartments; steps will have to be built, or the surrounding property built up sufficiently so that steps are not required.

The property has not been completely landscaped; the front part is planted in lawn but the back part is not. Provision has been made for small gardens for those who want them, and several of the tenants have planted flowers alongside their unit.

The housing project is located one block off Kingsway, in an old and well-established residential district. Good shopping facilities are to be found on Kingsway, and transportation service is nearby, so that the trip to downtown Vancouver can be made quickly and conveniently. The district seems to be a quiet one, with little traffic along the streets bordering the project. Within walking distance are to be found several churches, and a public park; there are no schools in the immediate vicinity.
Figure 3. Apartment Block (1953)

Figure 4. Apartment Block (1956)

Figure 5. Cottage Units (1953)

Figure 6. Cottage Units (1956)
The project does not include any central hall or meeting place for the tenants. Several of the residents who were interviewed have mentioned that they would like to have benches provided in the "square", so that they could sit outside on warm days and "get acquainted with their neighbours".

The single units in the apartment blocks consist of one large main room with the kitchen area partially separate, and a separate bathroom. A door leads out to a balcony at the side of the building. Storage space in the unit is adequate, and additional locker space is provided in the basement. The kitchen has a full size stove, a cooler, and ample cupboard and work space. The rooms are bright and spacious, with large windows. The single suites in the one-storey buildings have similar accommodation.

The typical unit for a couple has a separate bedroom, with the bathroom leading off the bedroom. The living-room is smaller than in the single units, but of adequate size. The kitchen has good cupboard space and working area, with one end partitioned off by bamboo curtains to form a utility or storage space. An oil stove for cooking and hot water heating is installed in the older units, while an electric stove is used in the newer ones. The floor in the unit is a concrete one; some of the tenants mentioned this as being unsatisfactory, as it is cold, and makes heating of the rooms difficult.
Laundry rooms are provided in the apartment blocks, with washing machines and clothes lines. Since the laundry rooms are below ground level and have no means of heating, they are usually cold and damp. Several of the tenants mentioned that drying clothes is a problem, as there are no outside clotheslines provided.

In the apartment blocks, central heating is installed. In the two original buildings the heating has been satisfactory; one tenant stated she had even been too hot, but could easily close the hot air register. In the older double units an oil space-heater is provided; some of the tenants in these units stated that it was difficult to get the bathroom heated, as there did not seem to be sufficient circulation of the warm air; the concrete floors have also added to the heating difficulty. The new buildings are heated by means of natural gas space-heaters, which many of the residents find unsatisfactory for adequate circulation of warm air.

The cost of fuel for heating has been a problem for some of the tenants. In the double units heated by oil, costs have been higher than anticipated. One tenant had $31 to pay for utilities for one month, which meant that after paying rent and utilities she had less than $10 left for food for the month. In the new apartment block, where there is central heating, there has been trouble with the heating system, which the
management is attempting to remedy. Before installing natural gas heaters the Foundation apparently requested an estimate of cost from the company involved, but the costs so far have been higher than this original estimate indicated.

The rent for an apartment in one of the blocks is $20 per month including heat; average costs for electricity are within $2-$3, making a total shelter cost of $23. The rent for single suites in the one-storey buildings is $17 plus heat and electricity, which are variable; one tenant estimated average cost at $14, others (such as the one mentioned above) were higher. In these suites total shelter cost would be at least $30. The couples pay $27 rent, with heat and electricity approximating $20 or more, so their shelter cost would be close to $50.

3. Dania Home

Dania Home was opened in 1945, built as the result of the ideas and efforts of a small group of citizens of Danish origin who wanted to establish a home for old people similar to those which have long been common in Denmark. The first buildings were financed entirely by private funds, but later additions have been financed through grants from the Provincial Government and loans, as well as private donations.

Originally, the main building of Dania Home was a
farm house, which has been remodelled and has had wings added on to it. On the surrounding land, four single cottages and one duplex have been built, still leaving enough space for more cottages. The main building has to some extent retained its appearance as a farm home, and the cottages are not of uniform construction. Therefore this particular housing project does not have the "barracks" appearance noticeable in some other projects.

Dania Home is located on Douglas Road in North Burnaby, in a district that is largely residential, but which also includes several motels. Several small stores are in the vicinity, but no large shopping centre is nearby. Busses to Vancouver and to New Westminster travel directly in front of the Home, so that although the project seems rather isolated, there is in fact easy access to transportation. Churches are located in the neighborhood, but no schools or parks are in the immediate vicinity. The main source of outside activity which would interest the tenants would be the stream of traffic along the highway.

The main building is a two-storey building that houses 46 persons, about equal numbers of men and women, and including four couples. There are nine double rooms, and the rest are single. The single rooms are rather small, but comfortably furnished; the double rooms are much larger and more
Figure 7. Main Building

Figure 8. Cottages
spacious. The furniture is provided by the Home, but in at least one instance a couple requested that they be allowed to furnish their own room, and this request was granted.

The central part of the building contains a large, comfortably furnished lounge, the kitchen, and the dining room. At the end of one wing is a sun-room with a television set that was donated to the Home. These sections of the home are open at all times to residents of the Home and of the cottages.

The stated charge for room and board is $65 per month, but the actual amount paid is based on the individual's ability to pay. For those in receipt of $60 a month—that is either Old Age Assistance or Old Age Security plus cost-of-living bonus—the Home charges $50 a month, leaving $10 for the resident's personal use. In some instances, more than $65 is charged; and if the income is less than $60 the Board will charge accordingly and make up the deficit from its own funds.

The four single cottages were built under special arrangements between the Board and the couples wanting to build. The Home provides the land tax free, and pays part of the cost of construction; the couples provide as much as they can toward the cost of building, which is usually about half, although again the amount paid is based on the ability to pay. The
couple may then live in the cottage without charge until the death of both partners; then ownership of the cottage reverts to the Board. Such cottages are then rented for about $20 to $25 a month, or whatever amount the couple moving in is able to pay, with heat and light averaging $12 per month.

The cottages are designed by the persons building them, subject to approval by the Board; thus each cottage is different. One cottage seen by the writer consisted of a large room combining kitchen, dining room, and living room, plus a bedroom and the bathroom. An oil stove, used for cooking, also provides hot water and heat for the whole cottage. Furniture, including stove and refrigerator, is supplied by the original tenant. Ample space is available for a garden if the tenants wish to have one.

The duplex is a new addition to Dania, built with money left to the Board for that purpose. The building is white stucco with picture windows in the front. Each apartment is very spacious, consisting of living room, bedroom, kitchen, and bathroom. The kitchen has a full electric stove and a refrigerator, and ample work area. Cupboard and storage space in the apartment are adequate. Electrical units in each room provide the heating, controlled by a thermostat. The rent charged for the duplex is $30 per month; at the time of writing, the units had not been rented for long enough to
obtain an estimate of the cost of electricity.

4. West Vancouver Senior Citizens Housing Society

This is a new housing project, built by the West Vancouver Kiwanis Club and opened in April, 1956. Landscaping is not yet completed but plans are being made for this to be done in the summer of 1957. There is no sign or label indicating that this is a housing project, and one could easily drive by without noticing any difference in these houses and the rest of the neighborhood.

In all, there are six buildings, four one-storey duplexes, a two-storey apartment building containing eight apartments, and a "community centre" for the use of the tenants. The buildings are of wood siding, brightly painted, and of modern design with large picture windows. They fit in well with this residential neighborhood. The houses are located a few blocks up a hill off Marine Drive; this helps to give a view for some of the windows, but the hill would be of some disadvantage to the less physically able tenants of the project.

The land surrounding the buildings gives an appearance of spaciousness. Most of this will be planted with grass, but the tenants may use some of the area adjacent to their cottages for a small garden. Across from the project is a vacant lot,
WEST VANCouver HOUSING PROJECT

Figure 9. Apartment Block

Figure 10. Cottage Duplex
not yet cleared, which the Kiwanis Club has purchased for expansion. Behind the houses is a public school and playground, which provides the tenants with some diversion, as they may enjoy watching the children at play. Within a few blocks of the project are two churches. Good bus service nearby provides easy access to the parks along the waterfront, and also to a large shopping centre just beyond walking distance for most of the tenants. Many of the tenants use the smaller stores which are closer to the project.

The "community centre" within the project is referred to as the library. Besides the books available to the tenants, there is comfortable furniture, and a television set. The common room is large enough to accommodate all the tenants with ease, and kitchen space adjacent to the common room may be used for preparing and serving lunch to a large group; equipment is available for this purpose.

The apartment block has eight apartments, four upstairs and four down, occupied by single or widowed women. These apartments are spacious and bright, with windows along the whole length of the south wall. Each unit has a separate bathroom, with the rest of the area in one big L-shaped room. The kitchen area is at one end of the L, the bedroom area at the other end, with living room space between them. Each kitchen is equipped with a full-sized refrigerator and a four-burner electric stove with oven. Cupboard space in the kitchen...
is adequate; counter space is rather small, but probably sufficient for one person. Cupboard and storage space throughout the apartment seems to be satisfactory.

The apartments for couples are contained in four cottages, each cottage with two apartments. These units consist of bedroom, bathroom, living room and kitchen. All rooms seem to be of ample size, and the apartments are bright and cheerful. The kitchen area is larger than in the single apartments, with more working space and more cupboards; the refrigerator and stove are the same as in the single units. More storage space is provided than in the single apartments.

All the apartments are heated by electrical units in each room. Each apartment has its own thermostat, so that the heat can be individually controlled to the tenant's particular liking.

A separate building is provided for laundry, which includes an automatic washing machine and a dryer. Also included in this building is additional storage space in the form of locker rooms for the tenants of the single apartments. The building has bare concrete floors, and is ordinarily cold and damp. However, an electric heater and fan have been installed in one corner, so that tenants may have some heat while working in the room.
Rent for the single apartments is $15 per month plus $12 for electricity, which includes heat. Rent for the cottage apartments is $25 per month plus $15 for electricity. Although the units have separate meters for electricity, the costs are kept constant and uniform throughout the year, with an adjustment being made at intervals if necessary.

B. Administration and Management

1. The Fair Haven

The Fair Haven is a project of the British Columbia Conference of the United Church of Canada, which aims to "provide accommodation for many deserving senior citizens". Administration is carried out by a Board of Directors authorized by the Church's Board of Evangelism and Social Service. The work of the Board is conducted by several committees: Finance, Building, Business Management, Admitting, Publicity, Landscape, Visiting, and Ministerial Advisory Committees. There is a Women's Auxiliary to the Fair Haven, whose main purpose is to provide furnishings. This Auxiliary also plans and organizes social activities for the residents, for example, a party at Christmas with gifts for the residents, and a picnic during the summer.

1. From a pamphlet on The Fair Haven, published by the B.C. Conference of the United Church of Canada.
The daily management of the Fair Haven is carried out by a staff of nine. Living in the main building is the general caretaker and his wife, the matron of the housing project. Their responsibilities extend over the whole project while the other staff members have duties related to the main building only—preparation and serving of meals, housekeeping, etc. The matron has a part in planning activities for the tenants, and has a committee appointed from the tenants to help her. She hears any complaints the tenants may have, helps resolve any disputes that arise, which if serious may be referred to the Board. She also collects rent from all the tenants.

Admission to The Fair Haven is obtained through submitting an application to the Admitting Committee of the Board of Directors. The Committee consists of five members, one of whom interviews the applicant "to ascertain the suitability of the prospective guest for The Fair Haven". A form entitled "Information for Admitting Committee" is filled out by the interviewer, supplying the information that is considered pertinent. The applicant is not interviewed at the time of application, as accommodation is usually not available immediately, and the applicant's housing situation may change during the waiting period. The Admitting Committee keeps a small number

1. See Appendix B.
3. See Appendix C.
on the waiting list who have been interviewed, so that vacancies may be filled immediately. The Annual Report for 1956 states that during the year admissions included "nine married couples, eleven women and three men. On the waiting list there are: 53 couples, 74 women, 4 men and 20 women for the single suites, or a total of 204, for whom there is no room".

Applicants are considered in order of application, and each one is given individual consideration. Attempts are made to accept applicants who will "fit in", but the criteria for suitability are not defined. To be eligible, the applicant must have a monthly income within the limits set by the Provincial Government; there is little investigation of the total financial assets, and generally the applicant's own statement of financial status is accepted. Each applicant must have a sponsor, who signs an agreement to take charge of the resident if he or she should be required to move. The Social Welfare Branch may act as sponsor in some cases. The applicant is also required to submit the names of three persons for reference as to character, habits and general health. The sponsor too must give one or two names for reference as to financial standing.

When he has been accepted by the admissions Committee, the applicant is required to sign a standard form, entitled "Agreement with Occupant", which includes the agreement —
"that I will obey and submit to the Constitution and all the By-laws, rules and regulations of the above-mentioned homes as they exist now or hereafter may be amended, so long as I remain an occupant of The Fair Haven, and that my status as occupant will be that of lodger and not of tenant. I agree that any officer or member of the staff of The Fair Haven may have access at all reasonable times to the room or unit from time to time occupied by me."

A copy of the Rules and Regulations is given to each occupant at the time of his admission to The Fair Haven.¹

The Board of Directors of The Fair Haven appoints one Board member to act as a Social Convenor, to plan a variety of special activities and entertainment for the residents of the project. Some form of entertainment is provided every Wednesday, and church services are held in the Assembly Hall every Sunday evening. Various Church groups take an interest in the project and will occasionally invite the tenants to their church for service or for a supper. Bus trips have been arranged as another form of entertainment, for example, to Bellingham and to Chilliwack.

A Women's Auxiliary to The Fair Haven is also active in planning and organizing social activities for the residents, for example, a party at Christmas with gifts for everyone, and a picnic during the summer. Within the project, the residents have formed a Residents' Auxiliary, which works with the Women's Auxiliary in some of the plans mentioned above. The Residents'

¹. See Appendix D.
Auxiliary planned and held a tea and bazaar with sale of work, homecooking and candy, and hopes to make this an annual event.

The common room of the main building at The Fair Haven is open to all tenants for more informal and impromptu forms of social activities, such as card games and checkers. All these facilities and activities are open to the tenants of the whole project, and they are reported as being well-attended and enjoyed by the participants. However, the cottage residents participate far less than the people in the main building, and generally come to the main building only if they have friends living there.

2. Lions' View

Management and operation of the Lions' View housing project for old people is carried out by the B.C. Housing Foundation. The Board of Directors of this Foundation consists of the officers of the society and five Directors. One of the Directors is Chairman of the Admissions Committee, and it is she who has the most direct contact with residents of the project. General supervision of the premises, caretaking duties, and collection of rents are the responsibility of a caretaker living near but not in the project.

The Admissions Committee report to the Board of Directors for 1956 is a detailed and comprehensive statement.
of its activities. A total of eleven persons were active on this committee, all of them being persons who are or have been closely associated with social work programs and/or housing programs. The Chairman of this Committee is a retired social worker with a long period of previous interest and experience.

The plan of admission has been that each applicant would be visited by a member of the committee, who would complete a report covering "relevant social factors," then appraise the information in a general way to determine the need of the applicant. Four categories were devised, based on the estimate of need. The report states –

"It is understood that admissions are made on the basis of need. What, you might well ask, were the main factors that entered into our thinking with regard to this term 'need', which seemed to wear a different face in every situation."2

The criteria decided on were: (1) physical capability and age of the applicants; (2) the particular housing situation of the applicant, including heating problems and high rent; and (3) the applicant's "aloneness". In describing the method of selection, the report concludes –

"Faced with the situation as outlined, 14 single suites were allocated to the applicants, just as fair a way of making the selection might have been, as someone suggested, to draw the names out of a hat. We chose the hard way of screening by stages, until we finally got to the "semi-finals" in which all but about 25 had been eliminated. In the end, sheer urgency was probably the deciding factor."3

1. See Appendix B for application form.
3. Ibid., p.4.
The number of applicants far exceeds the accommodation available, with a preponderance of single persons applying. During 1956 the committee dealt with applications from 171 single persons (20 of them men) and 41 married couples, from which tenants for 16 single and 16 double units had to be selected. After July 15, 1956, no further applications from single persons were accepted; the list for married couples remained open "because of the relatively small number applying and the fact that experience indicates that replacements are much more likely to be required in the case of the couples."

The figures given in the report regarding replacements deal with the period from the opening of the original accommodation in April 1953 — which consisted of 16 single suites and 4 apartments for couples — until the opening of further units — 16 double and 16 single — in 1956. Out of the original 24 occupants there have been two replacements in the single group, eight in the married group. The replacements in the married group have been necessary because of death of one partner or illness necessitating removal. The Foundation's policy is to provide accommodation for the remaining partner if at all possible and if desired by the tenant. This is clearly stated in the lease signed by the applicant at the time of his admission to the housing project. The tenant is also given a copy of rules and regulations which he agrees to abide by.

1. Ibid., p.2.
2. See Appendix D.
The report of the Admissions Committee includes a statement of the sources of income of the tenants. Old Age Security or Old Age Assistance plus cost-of-living bonus is the source of income for all but three of the 1953-1956 tenants, and for all but eleven of the 1956 admissions. In this group of fourteen, the income is from the following sources: two disability pensions, five superannuation, three Workmen's Compensation, one D.V.A., one military pension, one imperial pension, and one social assistance.

There is no form of planned activity or recreation for the residents of Lions' View, and no organization of activities within the project. The Chairman of the Admissions Committee stated that the aim of the B.C. Housing Foundation was to be "good landlords", and expressed the opinion that they would hope that the residents would seek activities within the community rather than within the project. The Foundation is at present considering the question of a recreational centre on the premises, but has reached no decision. At the request of the Vancouver Housing Association, the Admissions Committee made enquiries of applicants regarding their desire for such a centre. The response to this enquiry, as stated in the Annual Report, was as follows:
"The majority were favorable to the idea though not particularly enthusiastic. One of our new tenants suggests that what is needed is 'a place like Gordon House in that part of the city'. A few thought it better not to live and find one's social life with the same people and preferred to maintain present interests with outside groups.

"One 79-year-old commented that old people were often a good deal to blame for their own loneliness as they were unwilling to make the effort to keep the contacts with former friends and make new ones. Two very bluntly wondered why we were talking about space for recreation when what was obviously needed most was more houses. The money and ground, in their opinion, should be used toward further building." ¹

The Lions Ladies Club has had direct interest in this housing project, providing window drapes and some furnishings. They have in the past planned a few activities for the tenants, such as picnics and a Christmas party.

3. Dania Home

Perhaps the most striking feature about Dania Home is the flexibility of the policies and of the people concerned with the administration and management. The most consistently expressed idea of the persons sponsoring Dania Home is that they want to provide a home, in the true sense of the word, for those who need it. Originally, Dania was to be a home for people of Danish origin only, but this policy has changed over the years until at present only about one-third of the residents are Danish.

The average age of the people in the Home is probably

¹Ibid., p.6.
in the mid-eighties, and only occasionally is there a person younger than eighty. The matron prefers the age group above eighty, and the type of Home probably appeals to this group rather than to those between sixty-five and eighty.

Administration of Dania Home is carried out by a Board of Directors of the West Canada Danish Old People's Home. One Board member acts as Chairman of the House Committee, which is concerned with admissions to the Home. Daily management of the Home is conducted by a matron who lives in the Home; she has a staff of three to help with the cooking and cleaning, and a part-time grounds-keeper for the outside work.

The residents help with the work of the Home if they want to and are able to. They may help with the preparation of meals, and usually several will help set the tables and clean up after the meal. Besides the three regular meals during the day, there is always coffee or tea served in the afternoon, and again at night. Any visitors are invited to join the group for meals or lunch, and tenants of the cottages may eat in the main building if they wish to do so; the arrangements are very informal.

An estimated six to eight vacancies occur in the Home each year, almost always due to the death of a resident. The number of applicants presently awaiting admission is twelve,
with a few more applications pending. Acceptance of applicants is based on order of application as much as possible, but this order is not rigidly followed. If an applicant is known to have particularly poor housing, or if his need is more acute than most, he will be given priority. Although the proportion of men and women in the Home is about equal, there is no specific attempt on the part of the House Committee to maintain an absolute balance.

Admission to the Home is attained through application to the Chairman of the House Committee. She interviews each applicant and in most instances sees their current living quarters. The decisions are left in her hands, but she will consult with other members of the Committee if there is any question about the applicant. No detailed investigation of the applicant's financial resources is made; most of the applicants are in receipt of some form of public assistance, therefore investigation is not necessary. Those who have private incomes are required to sign a statement declaring their fixed monthly income.

The prospective resident is asked to give the name of a guarantor who would be responsible for extra expenses occurring during illness or death. If there is no guarantor, the applicant is required to deposit $300 in a trust fund to cover funeral expenses. Here again, the policy is flexible;
if there is no guarantor and the resident cannot deposit $300, some other arrangement will be made by the Board.

On the application form,\(^1\) the applicant states his general health, and any specific illness he has; he must also have a doctor's statement regarding his health.\(^2\) The Chairman of the House Committee said their greatest concern was that the applicant be mentally sound, although a resident is not required to move out of the Home if some mental deterioration occurs, unless there is the possibility that he may do harm to himself or others.

When residents become ill, they are cared for as long as possible by the matron, who will send a tray to the room for meals when necessary. Indeed, many of the old folks regularly have breakfast sent to their rooms. The matron does not consider this to be an unreasonable demand on her time and energy. Actually, she is very reluctant to send any of the residents to a hospital or nursing home, unless absolutely essential, as she is convinced that the Home means a great deal to the old people, and that moving them to new surroundings during illness is harmful and inconsistent with the purposes of the Home. The matron's concern extends to the cottage tenants too, who will also receive meals and care if they become ill. When removal from the Home becomes essential, either the family or the social

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\(^1\) See Appendix B.

\(^2\) See Appendix C for form to be signed on admission to the Home.
worker from the Social Welfare Branch makes the arrangements.

The flexibility mentioned above is very evident in the daily life at Dania. There are no rules and regulations for the residents to follow; the Chairman of the Board commented that if people did not know how to act by the time they were 70 or over, rules would not make much difference to them anyway. Residents are free to come and go as they please; the door of the Home is never locked, but residents are expected to let the matron know when they are going to be out for any length of time and approximately when they expect to return.

Recreation and activities within the Home are provided mostly by outside groups; for example, various choirs will put on concerts, youngsters from Brownies or Guides come in to visit with the residents, and regular religious services are conducted by clergy of various faiths. For the residents who wish to go out to church, transportation is provided by church members. Besides these activities, the residents occupy themselves by helping around the Home; the matron allows them to do what they want, to a great extent, yet there seems to be no pressure on them to do any specific work.

There are no nearby community or recreational centres, and probably a group within the age range of this one would not take any great advantage of such facilities. The life of the residents seems to be very much centred in the Home, and this
is encouraged by the matron and the administrators. A friendly atmosphere pervades the Home and is evident to the visitor who joins the old people for their afternoon coffee, and is able to witness their sociability.

4. West Vancouver Senior Citizens’ Housing Society

The West Vancouver Kiwanis project is governed by a Board of Directors appointed specifically for the housing project by the Kiwanis Service Club. One member, the Secretary-Treasurer, is at present the most directly concerned with management. He is well-known to the tenants and takes an interest in them. He collects the rent each month, and it is to him that tenants report the need for any necessary repairs, or make any requests. There is provision for complaints to be considered by the Secretary-Treasurer, and if necessary, taken to the Board of Directors; but so far, this has not been necessary.

The Kiwanis Club members have put a great deal of individual and personal effort into the housing project, and seem to have a sense of pride and interest in their project. The residents know many of the club members personally, and the wives of the Kiwanis have visited and planned a few social events. A sense of pride in the project seems to exist in the tenants as well as in the Kiwanis; the Secretary-Treasurer
stated that they have often assured him that they would be delighted to show their accommodations to anyone interested.

One couple occupying a cottage receives a reduction in rent in exchange for caretaking duties, which include disposal of garbage, janitor services to the library and laundry building. There is also, among the tenants, one woman who seems to have assumed a role of unofficial responsibility and leadership. She was primarily responsible for planning a social gathering for the residents, and she hopes that many more activities may be planned in the future.

The Secretary-Treasurer is in charge of admissions. He has an admittance committee of four including himself, a social worker, a housewife, and a minister. Applicants are seen by a member of this committee, and selection is made by the committee. An attempt is made to select those applicants who will, in the opinion of the committee, fit in to the project, in short, those who are "needy and desirable". The Secretary-Treasurer emphasized that the main criterion of financial eligibility was whether or not the applicant had a "medical card". This would mean that he would be on social assistance, or in receipt of some portion of the cost-of-living bonus. The tenants must be physically independent to the extent that they are able to look after themselves and their living quarters. In some instances, one partner of a married

1. See Appendix B.
couple may be semi-invalid, but the spouse is able to carry on the routines of daily life. In the event of illness or accident which renders the tenant physically dependent, other living arrangements must be made, either with the help of relatives or the Social Welfare Branch. In one instance, some difficulty did arise when the tenant had an accident and could no longer care for herself; she could not maintain her apartment by herself and there were no provisions for assistance, other than what other tenants could offer voluntarily. Arranging nursing home care presented a problem, as she did not want to move. Since the project opened in April, 1956, there has been only one vacancy.

When an applicant is accepted for admission into the housing project, he gives the name of a person to be notified in case of emergency. He is also required to sign a statement agreeing to abide by the conditions listed by the Board of Directors.

As mentioned in the general description of the project, the library is for the use of the tenants for any activities they wish to plan, and facilities are there for social gatherings. So far, the Kiwanis themselves have not made any effort to organize activities among the tenants, although the wives of club members have sponsored one or two events on special occasions. The library is open to the tenants two

1. See Appendix C.
days each week and will be made available more often should they request it; in this first year of operation, the library facilities have not been used extensively. At the time of the writer's contact with the tenants, plans were under way for a social evening, arranged by two or three of the residents. The woman who appeared to be the instigator of these plans expressed the hope that some form of activity could become a regular part of their lives.

From the foregoing description, it can be seen that there are many similarities and many differences in the four housing projects studied. Each has certain qualities to commend it, none is entirely without drawbacks; these will be discussed in Chapter IV. But probably more important than differences and similarities in the physical "plant" and its administration, is the feeling of the person who lives in the housing project. Some impressions of these are reviewed in the next chapter.
There are several ways of evaluating the success of an old people's housing project. One — which is strangely enough not yet utilized much in North America — is to compare the experience of the great amount of public (low-rental) housing which has a long history in Britain and Western Europe, and even 15 to 20 years in the United States. Old people's housing is after all a special category of subsidized, low-rental housing. Another is by structural, building, and architectural standards. This is valuable and appropriate enough so far as it goes. But a good deal more is obviously needed. A third method — that of reviewing the reactions of the people who live within projects — has not yet been developed very much. There is a great need for comparative information of this kind.

Many writers have expressed reservations as to the advisability of building housing projects exclusively for old people, fearing they will turn into "age ghettos", just as some low-rent public housing, planned on too parsimonious a scale, became economic ghettos. Certainly the reaction against the dangers of segregation, in some form or another, has now become widespread. The Dominion Government reflects this opinion in
its refusal to operate projects exclusively for old people, while for low-rental housing for families, including a limited number of units for old people, it will provide 75 per cent of the capital. In spite of these fears and reservations, housing projects of the type described in Chapter II may be valuable in meeting needs of several groups of old people. Not enough has yet been done, however, in ascertaining what the people who live in these projects think about them. What kind of people are they? What do they like and what do they not like about their living quarters? Has living in a housing project affected their social relationships in any way, and if so, in what way?

To obtain some answers to these questions, a few people from each project were interviewed. Of the total (26), eleven were single persons (including persons widowed, divorced or separated) and fifteen were married; of the fifteen married persons, six couples were seen together, and in three instances, only one partner was seen.

Common Denominators

The responses obtained by the schedule were varied, as would be expected, as the residents themselves are of varied background and experience. However, although the people interviewed were all different, certain common factors can be noted. Obviously, one common factor is the age of the
residents; all those interviewed were over 65, and most were over 70. One 57 year old woman had been admitted because her need was considered to be great. In three of the four projects, a considerable age range existed; in the fourth project, Dania Home, the average age of the residents appeared substantially higher, as noted in Chapter II.

The income level of the tenants varies, although the upper limit for eligibility is fixed, by Provincial Government regulation, at 140 per cent of the Old Age Assistance plus cost-of-living bonus. Within this limit set by the Provincial Government, each sponsoring group sets its own eligibility requirements. The Fair Haven will accept applicants whose fixed monthly income is within the stated maximum, but no investigation of total financial assets is made; the applicant signs a declaration of income. Thus it has been possible for some people to sell their own homes and move into the project, for although they may have the capital derived from their property, their fixed monthly income could be limited. Income level of the residents of The Fair Haven seems to be relatively higher than for the other projects, as judged by the furnishings, extra possessions such as refrigerators, television sets, and telephones. One couple had supplied paint to redecorate their cottage; they had also owned a car prior to moving into the project, but had sold it to conform.
to the regulations of the project. Not all the residents of The Fair Haven fit into this group, as many are living on substantially less than $84 per month; however, a range of income does exist.

This range of income is not as evident in the Lions' View project. More worries regarding finances were expressed in the group interviewed, and fewer "extras" were encountered. It is likely that the lower income level in this project is a result of the admissions procedure, which shows a great attempt on the part of the Admissions Committee to select those applicants whose need is greatest, and a low income very often results in greater need. Several of the tenants interviewed commented that they would go out more often if they could afford the bus fare; some wanted a telephone but could not afford it, and two couples had agreed to save expenses by sharing a newspaper and a telephone. Also, there were many complaints about the difficulty in meeting the costs of heat and electricity.

The residents of Dania Home pay for their accommodation according to their income, thus it is to be expected that average level of income would be low. However, regardless of the level of income, the residents always have a definite amount each month for personal expenditures. As in The Fair Haven, no investigation is made into the total resources of the applicant; he signs a statement indicating his monthly income. Three of
the couples interviewed, and one widower, had sold their own homes specifically to move into Dania Home. The range of income of the residents of Dania Home varies within limits set by regulation, with possibly more very low incomes than in the other projects, but also with a substantial number with the maximum allowable.

For admission to the West Vancouver project, the applicant must be in possession of a "medical card" issued by the Social Welfare Branch. This in itself is evidence of a rather low income, although the medical card could be held by a person in receipt of a very low cost-of-living bonus, indicating that there are extra financial resources. By using the medical card as a criterion for eligibility, the sponsoring group eliminates the necessity of conducting any financial investigations. Although income level is generally low, the tenants interviewed did not show as great concern over budgeting as those in Lions' View; they were able to live within their means.

It is to be expected that persons living in housing projects move there because of previous unsatisfactory housing. This was found to be true of the majority of residents interviewed in all four projects. Most of the old people had lived in a succession of housekeeping rooms, in which facilities were shared with others, and were inadequate. In Chapter I, the
need for housing was described, with examples of unsatisfactory accommodation cited; the residents of the housing projects are drawn mainly from this group. Factors such as high rent, too many stairs, lack of heat, change of landlord with subsequent increase in rent, unreasonable expectations from landlords, all appeared in the responses to the schedule. As mentioned above, some of the tenants had sold their own homes, usually because of illness or death of a partner, or because they could no longer look after the house and yard. Generally, the sale of a home was followed by a succession of moves into apartments, suites in private homes, or housekeeping rooms. A few of the tenants interviewed had moved directly from their own home into the housing project.

From these facts it can be seen that the group interviewed had a high degree of mobility prior to moving into the project. Many of the tenants had come to Vancouver from other provinces at the time of retirement; some had lived in several parts of Canada before settling in this area; seven of the 26 interviewed had lived most of their lives in the Greater Vancouver district. Some examples may serve to illustrate the pattern of mobility. Mrs. A had lived most of her life in Vancouver, where she and her husband owned their own home. The husband became ill, which made it necessary to sell the home and move to an apartment. Upon the death of her husband,
Mrs. A could not maintain the apartment, so applied for admission to a housing project. Mr. and Mrs. B had lived on a farm in the interior of British Columbia and had not been able to manage it, either physically or financially. They finally moved to Vancouver, but could not find suitable housing. After living in rooms and with friends, they returned to the interior, only to find that living costs there were high, and the accommodation they managed to find was located out of town and inconvenient to shopping and other facilities. They returned to Vancouver, with hopes of getting into a housing project, and after a waiting period of seven months were able to obtain a cottage. Mr. C, a widower, had been a wanderer all his life, for many years with the British Army. He eventually settled in the Lower Mainland region of British Columbia, and over a period of years held many jobs and lived in many localities. Finally he had to quit work, and moved in with his son and daughter-in-law. This was an unhappy arrangement for all of them, and in the presence of Mr. C's declining health, the daughter-in-law had him admitted to a nursing home. Mr. C hated the nursing home, and he was eventually requested to leave. His daughter-in-law made arrangements for his admission to a housing project providing boarding home care.

From these (and other examples not mentioned), it is evident that many of the tenants of the housing projects have
suffered some previous disruption in their home and family ties. To most of them, living in the housing project "at last", represents a move into a permanent, as well as a secure and adequate dwelling. They hope to be able to stay where they are for the rest of their lives. A sense of permanence shows up as a factor of major importance in almost all of the responses to the schedule. However, there were some instances in which the residents did not feel the security in their living quarters which they so intensely desired. One widow stated that she had her trunk packed, ready to move as soon as she was requested to do so. This woman admitted frankly that she had a reputation as a "complainer", and that she and the matron did not get along together amicably. She did not want to move, as she knew from past experience the type of housing she could expect to get.

Since permanence is so fervently desired by the old people, the management of the housing projects must be designed to promote a sense of security, if the projects are to fulfill their purposes. It is to be hoped that the tenants are not made to feel that they are obliged to like everything about the housing project - even to be sure to show gratitude and appreciation - because of the fear that, should they complain or express dissatisfaction, they will be asked to move. The social workers who have clients living in the housing projects
commented that the fear of being asked to move was more prevalent among the residents than the responses to the schedule would indicate, the suggestion being that the people are afraid to give any response that is not wholly positive. Obviously, if this is the situation, no matter how good the intentions, the housing project is not meeting one of the most important requirements of the people it is designed to serve. It is possible that the housing project may become a means of fulfilling the desires and ambitions of the sponsoring group, rather than the desires and wishes of the old people. As one social worker expressed it, the project may become a "memorial" to the sponsors, and the occupants of the project merely part of the memorial. Admittedly the occupants do benefit greatly from the project, but the question arises as to whether or not they get as much as they could or should.

Pros and Cons

The tenants interviewed expressed markedly favorable opinions of the housing projects. Many examples of these opinions could be quoted: "I just love my little place" was the reaction of one widow. "We've never had it so good" said a retired city employee, "we have a comfortable and well-equipped place, with no work to do and no worries." A couple living in a boarding home section of one of the projects stated "It's far
better than we ever dared hope it would be." Many of the tenants expressed satisfaction in having a "decent place to live" that was within their limited means, a far better place than they could hope to acquire elsewhere.

When asked to specify what they liked most about the housing project, practically all of the tenants included three things in their statements: the physical facilities were good, in most cases better than their previous housing; the rent was within the ability to pay; and they had a feeling of independence.

The physical facilities of the individual units have been described in the preceding chapter. Facilities for housekeeping are considered to be satisfactory by most of the tenants interviewed. In all four of the housing projects, a good stove with an oven is provided, some electric and some oil stoves; each project has made provision for laundry; one project contains refrigerators in each unit; cupboard and storage space is provided in all units. Many of the tenants expressed particular appreciation of the fact that they have their own bathrooms. Considering the previous housing of many of the tenants, it is to be expected that the facilities provided would be a source of pleasure and satisfaction; even those who had lived in their own homes expressed satisfaction with their units, although they were more inclined to take for granted the conveniences supplied.
Although the physical facilities were generally approved by the tenants, there were criticisms of some points. One couple suggested that built-in ironing boards in each unit could have been added at little cost, and with greatly increased convenience to the tenants. Lighting of the individual units was criticized in several instances, where a ceiling light in the living room or bedroom is not provided. One tenant complained at length about the inadequate sound-proofing between units, and stated she could hear every word of conversation in the next apartment. In one of the projects, heating was frequently mentioned as a source of dissatisfaction; the tenants complained that the floors are cold, as they are of concrete, covered with linoleum tile. If the tenant can afford a carpet, the problem is partially overcome; but even with a carpet, the elderly tenants feel the coldness at their feet rather acutely. In some of the units, where heat is derived from one source such as a stove or space heater, the tenants find it difficult to heat the bathroom, as the air does not circulate through it. Hot water heating was judged to be uneconomical by one tenant who lived in a unit heated by a natural gas space heater. He found his electricity bills high, and suggested that the electrically heated hot water tank was the reason; in his opinion a more economical system would be to have the water and the rooms heated from the same source.
The very reasonable rent charged found favorable comment from all the tenants interviewed. With shelter cost reduced in most instances as compared to previous experiences, the old people can now live within their means. A person in receipt of only $60 per month still has to budget carefully; those whose income is as high as the maximum allowable are able to live more comfortably. This being so, it is unfortunate that recently and in certain instances the high cost of utilities has offset the advantage of low rent. A person in receipt of less than $60 a month has great difficulty in meeting the shelter costs, even with the low rent. Of the four housing projects studied, only one makes an attempt to adjust their charges to the income of the resident, and this adjustment may be made either upward or downward. This is a practice that requires substantial financial backing, but one that could well be considered by other groups sponsoring housing projects.

The third factor mentioned as being of importance to the residents interviewed is their independence. To the tenants, living in their own self-contained units gives them this sense of independence; many commented on having their own bathroom; often they said they feel more free to "come and go as they please", without disturbing or being disturbed by, other tenants or landlords; they may have company in their homes according to their own wishes. To those who had had their own homes, this is
accepted as matter of course; for those who had previously lived in housekeeping rooms in private homes, this is a new and treasured result of living in the housing project.

In a concurrent study of housing problems and reactions of old people it has been found that many elderly couples have little enthusiasm for moving into a housing project, because they think they will be giving up their independence. The responses obtained from the tenants of the projects show this to be a needless fear, if the management is reasonable. Ways and means of making this information available to the prospective applicants are needed.

The residents of the boarding home type of accommodation could be expected to have slightly different attitudes toward independence; in their choice of this particular type of accommodation they are probably showing acceptance of a certain amount of dependency. However, in Dania Home, all of the residents interviewed commented on the amount of freedom they have to come and go as they please. The residents of the boarding home of The Fair Haven were more interested in a living arrangement in which everything is provided for them, and are contented with their quarters.

Sociability

The fact that a person has moved into a housing project means that he has moved from a familiar neighbourhood into

an unfamiliar one. As indicated earlier, a majority of the tenants have had several moves prior to residency within the project, and have therefore suffered uprooting many times over. Superficially, it would seem that moving into a housing project, where there are other people in similar circumstances, would result in forming new associations and friendships, and would provide new interests. Examination of social relationships within a housing project show that sociability among the residents is a variable feature, dependent on many factors, and does not necessarily develop as a result of living in a housing project.

In interviews with residents of the four housing projects, an attempt was made to obtain information which would make it possible to assess the sociability within the projects. Responses, of course, varied; but distinct patterns for each of the projects emerged. The pattern of The Pair Haven seems to be one of providing entertainment and arranging activities for the residents. A Social Committee is set up by the Board of Directors, with one of the Board members acting as Chairman. With her committee, she plans programs and trips for the old people, who seem to enjoy them very much. Attendance is said to be good. Within the boarding home section of the project, the tenants interviewed indicated that they find companionship in the home, and that they enjoy the social activities arranged for them. Observations of social workers who have had contact with this
home indicate that the general atmosphere is formal and rather rigidly structured. The cottage tenants are free to use the lounge and assembly hall in the home, but very few do so, which could be construed as substantiating the observations stated above. The cottage residents interviewed did not state reasons for their lack of participation in events within the residence; they seemed aware of the facilities and activities, but without any interest or enthusiasm.

Sociability among residents of Lions' View appeared to be notably low. One couple who had lived there for two years commented on the fact that they have not come to know their neighbours; the woman at one time tried to be friendly and asked several other ladies in for tea. However, the event was not too successful, and there has been no continuation of this social attempt. Two of the couples interviewed admitted that they are rather lonely; they can not afford to go out and have not found companionship within the project. Social workers with contact with the residents of this project remarked on the lack of sociability. In endeavouring to postulate reasons for this lack of sociability, one suggestion was that within this project there is a group whose income is low, whose ties with friends and relatives have been disrupted frequently, and whose experience in establishing and maintaining social relationships has been limited. It was thought that these people, left to their own resources, will not
be able to initiate group activities and social relationships; an experienced and trained person to act as enabler could possibly assist these tenants toward a more satisfying life. Lack of a common meeting place may inhibit sociability; on the other hand, it cannot be asserted positively that a common building by itself would answer the needs of the residents.

In Dania Home, the pattern is again one of entertainment provided for the residents. In this project, there is no Social Committee to plan programs; rather, various interested groups contact the matron to offer their services. These programs are enjoyed by the residents, as failing health and advanced years prevent many of them from going out. The atmosphere within the Home is relaxed and informal, as mentioned earlier, and although residents do not participate in planning the programs and activities, there is a high degree of participation in the daily routines of the Home. Observation of the residents in the lounge and in the dining room lead to the conclusion that sociability among the old people is high. Tenants of the cottages are free to join the residents of the Home in any of the programs and church services, or for meals if they so desire, and they frequently take advantage of this hospitality.

The West Vancouver housing project seems to have a moderate degree of sociability. The library may be used as a community centre, with its television set to provide diversion
for those interested. A few social activities have been provided for the residents by interested groups, and possibly more will be done in the future; this is a relatively new project, which will be expanded in the future. There is evidence of attempts by the residents to form their own social group, which could possibly be encouraged by the management. These attempts are due largely to the efforts of one resident, who has assumed a role of leadership in the project, and who sees the possibility of greater sociability among the residents. As this is a small project, such efforts of one person may be fruitful. There is the possibility that she may become easily discouraged if response to her plans is slow and limited; there is also the danger that she may eventually feel she has to "run" the project and the lives of the people in it. Here again, a qualified person could be of value.

In assessing the responses of the residents of the housing projects to the schedule used by the interviewer, the statements made cannot always be taken at face value. Certainly the opinions and attitude of those interviewed are favorable to the housing project. Some possibilities have been suggested that may have influenced these responses. The previous living quarters have in some cases been so bad and the people so thankful for an improvement that they may well have been unwilling to comment on any disadvantages. The tenants may have been
fearful of expressing negative opinions, in case the interviewer had some connection with the administration. Many tenants may have become so accustomed to a life of limited activities and limited interests that they cannot picture a life any different; that is to say, they may have been forced to accept a way of life not completely satisfying, for so many years, that anything else is to them inconceivable.

Consideration of the attitudes and opinions of the tenants of housing projects leads to an awareness of the role that social workers could be taking. If housing projects are regarded as groups of people, rather than as groups of houses, social work has a legitimate interest in them, and could provide appropriate help in dealing with the problems in human relationships which inevitably arise.
CHAPTER IV

PLANNING FOR TOMORROW.

In a report submitted to the Community Chest of Greater Toronto in January, 1949, the Secretary of the Division of Old Age presented a summarization of the important factors in housing of elderly people. This report presented excerpts from three reports from quite different sources — from Britain, the United States, and Denmark.¹ It is significant that on three points there was a great deal of agreement: (1) the old should not be segregated; (2) there must be a variety of accommodation provided; and (3) housing should be planned for a range of income-groups. These points are substantiated many times by other writers concerned with the problems of housing for old people; and the bearing of these on the importance of administration is obviously great.

With this in mind, it is possible to bring together conclusions from the present exploratory survey of four housing projects, under three broad and inclusive headings: (1) "segregation" as an issue which can be considered from several points.

¹. (a) New York (State) Legislature, Joint Committee on Problems of the Aging, Birthdays Don't Count, New York (State) Legislature, Legislative Document, 1948, No. 61.
(c) Social Department of Denmark, Social Denmark, Social Department of Denmark, Copenhagen, 1945.
of view - social, geographic, and economic; (2) variety of accommodation; and (3) administration.

Segregation

All authorities on housing projects for old people deplore the idea of segregation of any kind. Actually, there are many ways of defining this concept, though segregation of a particular age group is perhaps the most obvious example. Lewis Mumford writes:

"The worst possible attitude toward old age is to regard the aged as a segregated group, who are to be removed, at a fixed point in their life course, from the presence of their families, their neighbors, and their friends, from their familiar quarters and their familiar neighborhoods, from their normal interests and responsibilities, to live in desolate idleness, relieved only by the presence of others in a similar plight."¹

One of the answers to this from the point of view of over-all urban planning has been suggested by P.R.U. Stratton, writing on behalf of the Vancouver Housing Association:

"It is no doubt undesirable on social grounds to have large communities of people drawn from one age group segregated in a single project. If, however, public housing projects for senior citizens are kept on a small scale and scattered over a number of different neighborhoods, where the tenants can maintain contact with their former community associations, or live close to relatives, this objection ceases to hold good."²

¹ Mumford, Lewis, loc.cit., p.192.
The Nuffield Report also suggests small groups of houses interspersed with family dwellings. There are several details to consider, however, before it can be said that these conditions are satisfactorily met. How many are there in the city (and suburbs)? What is a large and what is a small project? How far are facilities sufficiently planned and distributed to form neighbourhoods into which old people's groups can actually be "fitted"?

What has happened in the four housing projects studied? The Fair Haven houses 172 persons and is planning expansion; Lions' View at present accommodates 72 persons; Dania Home has 58 residents, with room for more cottages; the West Vancouver project has 24 tenants, and plans are being considered for additional units in the same location. Does this represent segregation? Where is the distinction to be made between small and large projects?

In its publication of January, 1956, the Vancouver Housing Association states:

"While it is difficult to fix any specific upper limit of size to senior citizens' housing projects, it is generally accepted that the segregation of large numbers drawn from one age-group in a single project is undesirable. Small projects housing under 100 persons are therefore to be preferred. They have the additional advantage that, where a number of small projects are planned, they can be located in different neighbourhoods and so afford tenants an opportunity of retaining their former associations."

According to these suggested figures, only The Fair Haven could be considered as segregated. Yet to many persons, even 100 people of a particular age group, housed in one project, constitute a greater degree of segregation than is desirable. The Canadian Government, speaking through Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, has demonstrated its attitude toward segregation by limiting to five per cent the number of units which may be reserved for old people in any one project subsidized through Federal Government finances. In particular areas, social workers or town planners, or both, may set the upper limit lower than 100; for example, in West Vancouver, a maximum of 20 units was suggested to the Council of the Municipality. It is the opinion of the writer that where a number of buildings are of similar construction, and geometrically arranged in rows or around a square, the housing project has at least the outward appearance of segregation. This again, however, depends on the variety of types found in other kinds of housing. If there were more group and "court type" projects for single houses, row houses and apartments - both in public and private housing - as there might well be, the city patterns and the "psychology of residence" would also change. What the present pattern in Vancouver is beginning to bring out is that most of the provisions for assisted rental housing has been so far for old people, rather than low-income groups in general. Proceeding from a broad planning basis,
Mumford suggests that the size of housing projects should depend on age distributions in the total population of the community.¹

Geographic segregation, however, is apparently easy to create; yet it is a feature to be avoided. In choosing sites for the housing projects, three out of the four managements here reviewed have made an effort to choose a suitable spot in terms of available facilities, and they are all close to transportation services. Choice of location will always be influenced by what land is available, and its cost. In a community such as Greater Vancouver now is, planners may not have the opportunity to build in a location providing all the facilities judged to be desirable; they may decide to sacrifice certain features in order to gain others. But assuming that housing projects are to be a permanent feature of the community, as it seems they are, long term advantages should not be sacrificed for immediate gains. What may seem necessary from an economic standpoint today, may well be uneconomic in planning for tomorrow; a financial gain today is not always a total gain in terms of the future welfare of a large section of the population. This point is well illustrated in decisions on size as well as in choice of location, which are often influenced by immediate financial considerations, instead of being based on what is desirable over a long period of years. It may be more economical to build one large project rather than several small scattered

ones; but is it socially desirable? Another issue here is that old people's housing, like most other housing, is the product of individual (or small group) decisions. There is not enough of a basic residential plan for the city (or metropolitan area) to give guidance on most appropriate locations.

Whatever happens, a major disadvantage of building large housing projects, or of building in relatively isolated areas, is the consequent re-location that must occur for a large number of the tenants. Moving into the housing project means moving away from previous ties, and often it is difficult for the old people to form new ones. Thus adjustment within the housing project includes the problems of accepting or getting used to a new location; this is compounded by the fact that so many of the tenants have had several moves prior to this last one.

Economic segregation is as undesirable as any other form of segregation. It has shown up in many public housing projects because they have been forced, by legislation or financial "economies", to set low limits on income eligibility. Dr. Albert Rose, writing for Canada, expresses some general experience when he says:

"....housing projects which merely provide only for certain social or economic groups in the population can be little more than twentieth century 'ghettos'."1

It may be asked, if housing projects are deliberately designed to provide housing for low-income groups, how is economic segregation to be avoided? There are some answers for public housing in general; but for senior citizens at present provision of housing is still made with some reluctance — or is at least approached with financial caution — therefore the tendency is to circumscribe eligibility fairly rigorously. In British Columbia, the Provincial Government has been generous in its financial assistance for housing projects for old people, but has stipulated that admissions be limited to those in receipt of less than 140 per cent of the Old Age Assistance plus cost-of-living bonus. Under this regulation there is necessarily a degree of economic segregation. It has been shown, in a preceding chapter, that the method of selection of applicants will have a great effect on the presence or lack of economic segregation. If selection is based entirely on economic need, then the housing project may indeed find itself accommodating only those from the lowest income level. On the other hand, a selection of only those in receipt of the maximum allowable income could hardly be justified.

"The twin goals of diversification and balance are not impossible of achievement if imagination, research and experimentation are applied. One simple suggestion for economic diversification and balance would be to provide that 40 per cent of the tenant families be within the lowest third of the income range, governing eligibility, 40 per cent be within the middle third and 20 per cent in the upper third of the income range."1

1. Rose, loc. cit., p. 36.
In none of the housing projects studied was there any indication of an attempt to attain the diversification and balance. Admission of applicants is based mainly on order of application, with the exception of one (Lions' View), which has attempted to admit those most desperately in need; the West Vancouver Senior Citizens Housing Society often requests the Social Welfare Branch to suggest a possible tenant whose need is great. If the goals of "balance and diversification" have been attained, it is more apt to be fortuitous, rather than the result of systematic planning.

Variety of Accommodation

The need to provide a variety of types of accommodation has not yet been fully realized, particularly since the sponsors of housing projects are under pressures of expediency, and often anxious to get started with their plans as soon as possible. Also, the difficulties in getting even a limited project "floated" and constructed in the first place may tend to inhibit long-term planning. The Vancouver Housing Association suggests very reasonably that different types of accommodation should be integrated within a housing project, so that the individual may move from a cottage to a boarding home without breaking ties he may have established. Two of the housing projects studied provide boarding home care as well as the self-contained

units; the other two have only the self-contained dwellings. At present, however, because the number of dwellings of all types is so limited, all types are constantly filled. The opportunity to move from one type of accommodation to another, even where some variety exists, is minimal. This problem is common among all health and welfare facilities, including hospitals, nursing homes, etc.

The presence of a boarding home and self-contained units within one housing project does not necessarily mean that there is integration of the two types; they may too easily be different buildings existing side by side; as seems true of The Fair Haven. The presence of a boarding home within the project provides an opportunity for a flexible program, in which limited meal service could be offered to those living in the self-contained units should they so desire. Judging from the interviews, some of the single tenants want to live independently in a self-contained quarters, yet find that preparing meals for one and eating alone is a drawback to the arrangement. While these people do not desire a "residence" type of accommodation, they would appreciate the companionship found in joining with others in at least one meal a day. Dania Home provides this opportunity, but there are no units for single persons within the project, and the couples do not seem to need this service to as great an extent as the single persons.
Illness among the residents of a housing project is obviously a matter of more than ordinary importance when the tenants are old folk. If no nursing services exist, the old person who becomes physically incapable of caring for himself must have some arrangement made for his care. A move to a nursing home is often considered to be the proper solution, but this means a break with his familiar environment, and it is a move dreaded by most people. Even when the illness is of a temporary nature, the tenant may be forced to give up his accommodation. In one of the four projects surveyed, willingness to care for the elderly person during illness is particularly evident. In this project, Dania Home, the matron has strong convictions that to send an old person to a nursing home violates the objectives of the Home, and accordingly prefers to give the extra care and services needed for as long as possible. The Board of Dania Home concurs in this approach by the matron, and hopes that some time in the future they will be able to add an infirmary to their project. This philosophy on the part of the administrators of Dania Home has resulted in a larger proportion of physically dependent or partially dependent residents. But it has also contributed greatly to the sense of permanence and security enjoyed by the residents.

The other three projects have no provision for care during illness. When the tenant becomes physically incapable of
caring for himself, he must move. Where sociability is high, neighbourliness helps out in times of temporary incapacity. Provision for housekeeping help would be a partial solution which would allow the old person to stay in what is now "his own home". Housekeeping help would be cheaper than nursing home care, and perhaps not quite as scarce. Where boarding home accommodation exists, a flexible and interested management, with genuine concern for the elderly residents, could make an important contribution in planning for illness.

In planning for variety in accommodation, illness is one of the eventualities that should be recognized and carefully considered by the sponsors. A project which houses old people is going to be a project in which illness will occur with great frequency; to turn the tenant out when he becomes ill is not an adequate solution. Ideally, housing projects should be planned in coordination with other health and welfare facilities, so that when illness does occur, there is some provision for the individual.

Administration

In the preceding chapters a great deal has been said about the type of buildings, the physical facilities, the location, etc. Important as they are, it is hoped that these factors have not been given undue emphasis, for -
"...we must not for a moment imagine that the architect himself, even when backed by ample financial resources, can provide the answers that are needed, or that beauty and order and convenience alone are sufficient."1

There are two extremes in this regard at the moment. On the one hand are projects which have been planned with hardly any attention to architectural principles and ideas, because building economies have been paramount; and on the other hand are a few which have been planned with the utmost in professional help from architects, but with little regard for the welfare of the people who will live in the buildings. The "happy medium" requires much thought and cooperation between the sponsors and the professional groups concerned, with sensitivity to welfare needs along with well-planned buildings. Any program which has as its objective the provision of a service concerned with the welfare of a particular group, must plan for more than physical facilities alone. This is true of homes for old people, whatever their nature.

"The home should fill a social usefulness for its residents. It must contribute to the emotional and the physical well-being of the people residing in it. It should create a warm, friendly atmosphere not only to preserve the assets of the senior citizen but also to increase his capacity for adjustment."2

If housing projects are to be "successful" they must provide adequate shelter, and along with it an opportunity for the residents to find a more satisfying life, to find that they are not merely

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"associate" members of the community. To this end, administration of the projects should be directed.

In his discussion on "Housing Administration in Canada", Albert Rose recommends what staff should be provided and what their responsibilities should be. His remarks are directed toward all public housing administrations, but surely are pertinent to housing projects for old people operated by private organizations.

"However the housing project is staffed, it is essential that some one should be specifically responsible for dealing with the human problems that inevitably arise when people move into a new and strange situation, especially when they are thrown into contact with people to whom the situation is equally new and strange." ¹

In another publication, ² Dr. Rose makes the point that better housing definitely makes better citizens, but adds that "these results cannot be achieved without a program of education and supervision". ³ To further his point, he quotes a study conducted in the Toronto area, which concludes that the uplifting of morale which occurs within housing projects is not due entirely to better housing; the important factor is the interest of the housing administration in the people who occupy the buildings.

It is in respect to administration that the housing projects studied show the greatest lacks. All have Boards of Directors, none have a counsellor or a counselling program to deal

¹ Rose, loc. cit., p. 35.
³ Rose, loc. cit., p. 8.
specifically with the human problems. The Fair Haven has a matron in charge of the project, and a caretaker for maintenance and building service; programs and entertainment are provided for the residents but there seems little interest shown in encouraging active participation in project or community activities. The Lions' View has a caretaker for the premises, who shows little interest in the tenants. Dania Home provides an example of the salutary effect the personality of a matron can have; she has an active and genuine interest in the tenants as individuals, and in turn is beloved by them. But even here, the life of the residents is almost entirely "Home-centred"; programs are provided for them. Yet the atmosphere in the Home is relaxed and congenial; the tenants seem to feel an active sense of participation in the daily activities of the Home. The West Vancouver project, although recent, already gives the impression that there is a "group spirit" among the tenants. The Secretary-Treasurer of the Board maintains an interest in the residents, which they appreciate; but any group activities or community participation develop independently of the administration.

In general, where administration has shown an interest in the tenant, the pattern has been one of providing "for" the individual, rather than increasing his personal activity. Social workers have long deplored programs that are imposed on individuals from above, however well-intentioned.
"It is necessary for an individual to have an active relationship to his environment if he is to continue and to increase his effectiveness. The real 'vice' is complete passiveness. Maximum opportunities – and guidance when necessary – must be available so there can be self-care, self-help, self-participation on the part of the resident of the home. Stereotyped ideas about a passive activity pattern for older people should be adjusted."

It is in this area that social workers could be of great value in a housing project; and it is for this reason that persons with a knowledge of human relationships and welfare needs could be profitably used, either in an advisory capacity or as part of the staff of a housing project. Some form of counselling, whether formally structured or informal, whether by volunteers or professional persons, is a goal to be sought.

The problem of programming is not an easy one to resolve. There are certain basic philosophic differences in the approach to any welfare program between social workers and many private organizations, such as those sponsoring the housing projects. The importance of individual participation provides an illustration of one such difference.

"No matter how benevolent the administration staff may be, through personal inclination or as a matter of policy, the basic objective is not the creation of a benevolent autocracy or benevolent paternalism.... To the extent that the tenants of Canadian public housing develop a sense of responsibility and participation, to that extent will the basic objectives of public housing, namely the provision of adequate shelter and an opportunity for a fuller life in an adequate community setting, be realized."

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A "benevolent paternalism" is most evident in The Fair Haven, while in the Lions' View, the administration seems to "lean over backwards" to avoid this evil, and as a consequence, falls into the equal evil of leaving the tenants strictly to their own devices. Dania Home represents a certain compromise; the administration itself seems notably lacking in a benevolent, paternalistic attitude, and the residents do participate to a greater extent in the activities of the Home.

"...when the resident is an active participant in planning and carrying out the program of the home, he feels wanted. His unity with group life becomes greater than his conflict with the group." ¹

But, as mentioned previously, the residents participate in a limited area - the daily routine of the Home. Even here, in the opinion of the writer, there could be greater encouragement of community participation.

Another basic difference in attitude is frequently encountered when social workers and private service organizations come together. The private organization so often asks of the people they help "are they worthy?". This question is considered by many of the housing project admissions committee members; admission may be limited to those who will "fit" in some undefined way, to those judged "needy and desirable". Recognition of the worth of the individual is a basic premise underlying all social work; thus, when asked about a prospective tenant "Is he worthy?" the social worker must leave it to the questioner to decide for himself.

¹ Kaplan, op.cit., p.122.
Because of these differences, social workers may prefer to stay out of housing projects. However, the social workers interviewed in the course of this survey indicated their interest in the people living in the projects, and in the administration. In one of the projects, the working relationship between social worker and project administration is stated as being excellent; in the others, it may range from open hostility to a friendly relationship in which the social worker has decided that he cannot do more without actively interfering, but has made himself available if needed.

The whole area of administration of housing projects is one that needs to be further explored, and tackled with imagination and perceptiveness. Dr. Rose and many other writers of experience contend that adequate housing can make better citizens. Perhaps through a dynamic administration there should be more attempts in "senior citizens" housing projects to prove that they can in fact be senior citizens.

Conclusions

The point could well be made that very few old people voluntarily move out of a housing project once they are in, and the conclusion drawn that the housing projects are therefore entirely satisfactory. But are there other factors to consider? Too often the tenant has nowhere else to go, thus the accommodation
in a project represents almost a last resort. Security, permanence, and low cost are factors that strongly override any disadvantages that may be noted. Possibly more often, the old people cannot express any dissatisfaction they may feel because they have never known any other existence, and perhaps do not know that life could and should be more satisfying. Many old people have come to expect little in their declining years and there is a danger that the community may settle for that.

The sponsors of housing projects are to be commended for their activity on behalf of the old people in the community. Certainly an overwhelming majority of the tenants interviewed expressed satisfaction with their living quarters and no desire to live elsewhere. Many expressed the wish to stay in their present quarters until they died. The housing projects are meeting a definite need in providing good low-rental housing. But the projects could meet more of the needs of their tenants by improving administrative practices to help fill emotional as well as physical requirements.

It is not implied here that sponsors of the housing projects should be the sole groups to involve themselves in comprehensive programs for the aged. Public and private welfare agencies could provide the necessary leadership to attain the goal of satisfying life patterns for the aging. Other community resources, such as the Community Chest Committee on the Welfare
Churches have a great opportunity to help the tenants develop identity within the neighbourhood, yet churches were criticized in some instances by both tenants and social workers interviewed in the course of this study. The neighbourhood church has an important role to fill with regard to the housing projects, yet indications are that this is not recognized or acted upon.

Community centres and Neighbourhood Houses should be able to provide activities and programs that include the old people. In particular, Gordon House and Alexandra House have a good background of experience in work with old people, and could give valuable assistance to other groups interested in this age group. Yet the number of such centres is limited, and too often the programs are youth-centred; often, too, the activities are available to those who attend on their own initiative, when what is required is active seeking out of those who would benefit by the centre. Where a centre or assembly hall is located within the project, is there any reason why this could not be used as a centre for the whole community, rather than for the tenants alone?

It is perhaps an important reminder that service clubs could ask for help from the old people, thus encouraging participation rather than directing their activities to "doing things for"
the aged. Senior Citizens' Clubs were mentioned many times by tenants as providing a source of activity and recreation; for many, these clubs were the only social group attended.

In a recent survey of the administration of the City of Vancouver, the following statement appears:

"Planning for the proper care of the aged is a matter in which the City Department of Social Service and the Social Welfare Branch of the Provincial Government should play prominent parts, but which principally is a matter of total community concern. British Columbia has made an excellent beginning in the development of housing for its senior citizens. What seems to be lacking is provision of occupation for old people. Such occupation could be achieved through continuance in employment, development of recreation centers for old people in churches, settlements and other available facilities, or other activities which assure the elderly person that he is a part of society and not some one to be cast up on a scrap heap of uselessness merely because he has reached a certain chronological age."

What seems to be most needed to meet the problems in a comprehensive way, and to ensure the development of housing projects to their fullest potential, is a real effort in community organization. The sponsors of the housing projects need not be held solely responsible for the planning and provision of an adequate program, but they must be willing to use the facilities and services available. There is room for the professional person and the volunteer, for interested groups and individuals, for public and private organizations. The need for some coordinating body is particularly evident, because the housing projects at present are all privately sponsored, and each is proceeding:

in its own direction. For the most part, the person trained in social welfare is not used advantageously. At present there is no way to link together the available resources and the people who need them, or to recognize and remedy the lacks in the total program.

From this survey, it can be seen that housing projects are neither all good nor all bad. Their most conspicuous success is in providing satisfactory low-cost housing for the older age group. Their most conspicuous omission is the failure to help coordinate, in any planned or comprehensive way, the opportunities for a way of life — in health, welfare, recreation, education and citizenship — that will increase the older person's sense of dignity and worth, as a person and as a member of the community.
Schedules Used in Interviewing Management and Residents of Housing Projects

Schedule I: Management.

Name of Project: 

Sponsoring Group:

1. General Description of the Project:
   - Outside appearance
   - Location and Neighbourhood
   - Available Facilities
   - Number of Units and Cost per Unit to Tenant

2. Management:
   - Operation
   - Admissions

3. Individual Units:
   - Housekeeping Facilities
   - Other Facilities

4. General Comments:
Schedule II: Residents.

Name of tenant: Age: Sex: Status: Project:

1. Length of residence in project:

2. Factors inducing resident to move into the project:

3. Waiting period:

4. Comparison of neighbourhood and living quarters with previous ones:

5. What does resident like most about the project:

6. What does resident like least about the project:

7. Is resident reasonably satisfied with present living quarters:
   If not, what are the main sources of dissatisfaction:

8. What changes would resident suggest for future housing projects:

9. Resident's use of free time (hobbies, activities, clubs):

10. Has there been any change in resident's use of free time since moving into the project:
    If so, what are the changes, and what are the main reasons:

11. Are there any clubs or organizations within the project:
    What are they:
    Does resident participate:
    If not, why:

12. Would resident like to have more activities available:

13. Would resident like to have some outside person available to organize such activities:

14. Since moving into the housing project has resident noticed any difference in the number of his friends, or in the frequency of contact with friends: (Obtain reasons)

15. Any contact with young people:

16. Would resident like to have a social worker or family counsellor available with whom to discuss his plans or problems:
APPENDIX B

Application Forms for Admission to the
Housing Projects

1. **THE FAIR HAVEN**
   United Church of Canada Homes for Senior Citizens
   Burnaby, B.C.

Application for Admission

1. Name in full (print):  (Surname) (Christian names)
2. Date of birth:  Place of birth:
3. Present Address:  Phone No.:  
4. Single, married, widowed?  If married, name of (wife or husband):
5. How many years immediately prior to your application have you lived in B.C.?
6. State the name and address of a person or persons who will agree to take charge of you should it be necessary for you to remove from The Fair Haven due to ill health (physical or mental) or other condition. In the event that you have no such person, kindly discuss the matter with the Social Welfare Office in your district:
   Name:  Address:
   Name:  Address:
7. Give the names and addresses of three persons for reference as to character, habits, and general health:
   Name:  Address:
   Name:  Address:
   Name:  Address:
8. In case of emergency, whom should we notify?
9. Give your doctor's name:  Address:
10. Have provisions been made for funeral expenses?  Yes?  No?
11. Have you a cemetery plot?
12. Do you use narcotics or stimulants?
13. Name of church attended:  
Are you a member?

14. Does your total fixed monthly income from all sources exceed 
the maximum allowed by the "Elderly Citizens Housing Act" 
(clause 3D) as in effect as of April 11th, 1956 — namely, 
$84. per month for a single person or $168. per month for 
a married couple?  
Yes?  No?

15. Do you agree to abide by the Rules & Regulations of The Fair 
Haven as now in force (see enclosed forms) or as hereafter 
amended?

16. State the type of accommodation you require: 
   Room & Board?  Bachelor Unit?  Cottage Unit?

PLEASE NOTIFY the Admitting Committee, through this office, if 
you change your address or phone no., or no longer desire accom­mod­ation in The Fair Haven.

Kindly return this application to the Admitting Committee, The 
Fair Haven, c/o The United Church Offices, 505 Dunsmuir Street, 
Vancouver 2, B.C.

Signed:

Date:
2. BRITISH COLUMBIA HOUSING FOUNDATION

Application for Admission to Housing Project
at Horley and Fairmont Streets

1. Name of applicant: Man: Woman:
   Man: Single Married Widowed; Woman: Single Married Widowed

2. Address: Phone:

3. What is your present living accommodation?

4. Rent at present address:

5. Date and place of birth: Man: Woman:

6. How long have you lived in Canada? Man: Woman: in B.C.?

7. Name, address and relationship of nearest relative (if none in this vicinity, name and address of closest friend):

8. What was your occupation?

9. Are you employed? If so, please state salary:

10. Do you receive the Old Age Pension (over 70 years)?
    Old Age Assistance (over 65 years)?
    War Veterans Allowance?
    Military or other pension?
    Social allowance?
    Other income?
    If so, state amount:

11. What are your assets? Property? Bank accounts:
    Bonds: Insurance Policy: Others:

12. Are you in good health? Man: Woman:

13. When did you last receive medical attention? Man: Woman:

14. Please give the name of your doctor:

Date: Signature of applicant:
WEST CANADA DANISH OLD PEOPLES HOME
4205 Douglas Road
Burnaby, Vancouver, B.C.
An Ideal Transplanted from Our Native Land
Freedom and Independence
"DANIA HOME"

Confidential Inquiry for prospective guests of Danish Old People's Home.

Mr. (give name in full)
from Mrs.
Miss

Present Address:
Born at (Place and Date):
Name, Address and Relationship of Next of Kin:
Are you in receipt of a pension? Answer "Yes" or "No":
Give Particulars:
Would you prefer monthly payments?
Or could you make different arrangements?
A trial up to three months may be arranged:
What is the general state of your health?
State briefly if you suffer from any chronic or other sickness:
Name and Address of two personal references:

Dated this day of 19.

(Usual Signature)
Confidential Application Form for Prospective Tenants

Mr., Mrs., Miss: (Block Letters) (Denote which) (Surname) (Given Names)

Present Address: (Block Letters)

How long have you resided in this Municipality?

Place of Birth: Date of Birth:

Name of Next of Kin:
Address:
Relationship:

Are you in receipt of a pension? Answer "Yes" or "No":
Give Particulars: Federal:
Provincial:
Other Income:

Are you willing to submit a medical health report if requested?

Are you in a position to pay your own medical expenses?
Or, have you a medical card? Give Number:

Names and addresses of two personal references:

Dated at this day of 19.

Usual Signature

Admittance Committee Remarks:
Forms Completed by Admissions Committee after Interviewing Applicant.

1. THE FAIR HAVEN - UNITED CHURCH HOMES FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

   Information for Admitting Committee:

1. Ability to get along with people.
   (a) Family relationship
   (b) Landlord or former "homes"

2. Church. (a) Membership in past
   (b) Voluntary work, choir, W.A., etc.
   (c) Paid worker?

3. Possessions. Furniture to furnish a room?

   Must be able to use stairs.

5. Financial standing. O.A.P.? D.V.A.?
   Listen while she (he) talks.


7. Reliability of Sponsor.
   Try to have a member of family present during interview
   or see or talk to them.
   Ascertain his or her ability to assume responsibility.

8. Present living conditions.
   (a) Why do they want to move?
   (b) Would you like her for a tenant or neighbor?

*British Columbia Housing Foundation has no specific form:
For the West Vancouver project, this information is incorporated into the Application Form.*
DANIA HOME
North Burnaby, Vancouver, B.C.

Confidential Data and Information
(To be carefully completed for all guests.)

Full Name of Guest: Mr.
                      Mrs.
                      Miss

Place of Birth:      Date of Birth:
Pension No.:         Province of:
Amount Received: $   B.C. Hospital Insurance No.:
Additional Payments: (other than Guest's own), amounting to
                      $ per month, made by
Total Monthly Rate: $ Due on the of each month,
in advance, retroactive.
In case of serious illness or death, WHO is to be notified:
If the Home is to be responsible in either case, a deposit of
                      $ was made on by
                      or signatures required of responsible parties:

Entrance made on:    Departure Date & Reason:

STATEMENT
I hereby declare the above
to be true and correct to the best
of my knowledge.

Signature of Guest.    Signed on behalf of the HOUSE
                      COMMITTEE.

DOCTOR's remarks to be filled in here, as to Guest's state of health:

Signature of Doctor

Further Remarks of House Committee:
APPENDIX D

Rules and Regulations of the Housing Projects

1. THE FAIR HAVEN
United Church of Canada Homes for Senior Citizens
Burnaby, B.C.

Rules and Regulations

1. Rent shall be paid in advance, the first day of each month, to the Matron in her office. Notice of intention to vacate must be given in writing to the Matron one full calendar month in advance.

2. No person other than the occupant or occupants to whom the unit or room is assigned shall be allowed to reside therein. Rooms or units cannot be sublet.

3. (a) Occupants must keep the unit occupied in good order. They must not deface the property or drive nails in the walls or woodwork.
   (b) Painting, papering or altering of the property shall not be done except by permission of the Business Management Committee.

4. Occupants shall not unduly waste water. The Matron shall be notified if repairs to the plumbing or heating equipment are necessary.

5. Garbage must be wrapped before being placed in the garbage-can. Cans, glass or other non-combustible material shall not be placed in the incinerator.

6. No occupant shall absent himself/herself for more than four consecutive weeks in the year without the permission of the Business Management Committee.

7. Occupants shall keep their radios and television sets tuned down so as not to annoy other occupants. Outside TV aerials shall not be erected.

8. An occupant shall not own and operate a motor car.

9. Pets such as dogs and cats shall not be permitted.

10. Should the death occur of one of the occupants of a duplex unit, the other occupant (a) shall vacate the said unit by the end of the month following that in which the death occurred. The Board of Directors, by a majority vote, may extend the time of occupancy if circumstances warrant.

* Dania Home has no printed Rules and Regulations.
(b) if the remaining occupant applies for single accommo-
dation in The Fair Haven, such application shall receive
prior consideration by the Admitting Committee.

11. All property of the occupant contained in his/her unit or
room shall be at the occupant's risk as to damage by fire,
water, or loss by theft.

12. Should the physical, mental or other condition of any occu-
pant become such that in the opinion of a doctor or of the
Business Management Committee, he or she is no longer a
proper person to be retained at The Fair Haven, or if an
occupant wilfully violates the rules and regulations or
creates trouble among the other occupants, the Business
Management Committee shall discuss the matter with the
Board of Directors and appropriate action shall be taken
and the sponsor shall be notified.

13. If an occupant feels cause for dissatisfaction or complaint
he/she shall discuss the matter with the Matron who, if
unable to find a suitable solution, shall report the
matter to the Business Management Committee for considera-
tion and action.

14. Occupancy may be terminated for lack of accommodation due to
unforeseen circumstances, but in such event the occupant
shall be entitled to take with him/her all personal pro-
erty and effects. Such portions of money paid in rentals
or for board and room in excess of benefits received shall
be refunded as the Board of Directors may determine.

These rules and regulations have been approved by the Board of
Directors and are effective after August 1, 1956, and can be
changed only by a two-third majority vote of the Board of
Directors.
BRITISH COLUMBIA HOUSING FOUNDATION

Regulations for Tenants

Ours is a community project. Its smooth running depends upon a friendly, helpful spirit and the willingness of every tenant to do his or her part.

1. Residents. No one may live on the premises except the person, or persons, to whom it has been rented, except by special permission.

2. Care of premises. Your apartment or cottage is your home. Take care of it as if you owned it.

Please contact B.C. Housing Foundation representative before making any repairs.

Be careful not to mar woodwork, walls or floors. Painting or papering by tenants is not permitted without permission of the B.C. Housing Foundation.

If you wish to hang pictures, the Foundation representative will advise you how it is to be done.

Remember to protect window sills used for plants.

Coasters should be placed under the legs of heavy pieces of furniture.

Please report any property damage. It is understood that any damage for which the tenant is responsible will be made good by him.

Special attention is necessary to keep oil and electric stoves, sinks, bathroom fixtures and other equipment clean and in good working order.

Leaking taps, defective toilets, etc., should be reported immediately.

Water pipes, sinks, toilets and bath must be used only for the purpose intended.

Please do not put tea or coffee grounds in the sinks, or tea bags in the toilet, or sweepings down the register!

No washing may be done in the bath tubs.

Laundry periods will be arranged with the Foundation representative.

Garbage should be drained, wrapped and tied before being put in the can provided.
Tenants of the apartments are requested to turn off hall lights when going out or coming in.

You are expected to provide your own light bulbs.

3. **Fire Escapes.** No obstruction may be placed on fire escapes.

4. **Insurance.** The Foundation is not responsible for the property of tenants, and you are advised to carry fire insurance on your furniture.

5. **Noise.** Please be considerate of your neighbours. Avoid unnecessary activities which may be annoying to them. Radio and other music should be restricted to the hours between 8 am and 10.30 pm.

When children come to visit, see that they do not run about the halls, etc.

6. **Cleaning, etc.** You are expected to keep your share of stairways and halls clean, and to care for the grounds around the cottage.

As good citizens, we all take pride in our homes, and hope that they add to the general appearance of the district. You are expected to do your bit in "keeping up appearances". If you live in an apartment and like gardening, be sure to let the representative know.

A tenant may always have recourse to the Board of Directors should any situation arise which seems to call for special consideration.

B.C. HOUSING FOUNDATION.
WEST VANCOUVER SENIOR CITIZENS SOCIETY

I, the undersigned applicant as tenant of No. ...... of the West Vancouver Senior Citizens' residential accommodation in the Municipality of West Vancouver, hereby agree in consideration of the Society permitting the occupancy by me of the said accommodation as a tenant from month to month, to abide by and be governed by the following conditions relating to such tenancy:

1. The tenancy hereby executed shall be on a monthly basis dating from the first day of the month and may be terminated at any time by either the Society or by the tenant on 5 weeks' notice in writing. Such notice to be given one week prior to a rent day.

2. All rents must be paid promptly to the Society or its agent, monthly in advance.

   No person other than those to whom the accommodation is rented will be allowed to reside on the premises without the consent of the Society.

   Tenants must keep the premises clean and in good order.

   On vacating, premises must be left clean, otherwise tenants will be charged for cleaning.

3. No tenant shall do, or permit to be done, in their premises, anything which may tend to the annoyance of other tenants. No vocal or instrumental music, or use of radio or gramophone, or TV shall be allowed before 8:00 a.m. or after 11:00 p.m., and no loud or disturbing noise at any time. THIS WILL BE STRICTLY ENFORCED.

4. Tenants must not drive nails or tacks in the walls or woodwork. On request, reasonable requirements will be done by the Society's agent.

5. Any damage to any part of the building or premises caused through the action, neglect, or carelessness of the tenant, or any member of his or her family, shall be repaired and made good by the tenant under the direction of the Society's representative, and stoppage of plumbing, if caused by carelessness or neglect of the person using same, will be at the tenant's own cost for clearing.

6. Broken windows must be replaced at tenant's expense.

7. No painting, papering, or redecorating shall be done by tenants without permission of the Society.

8. No subletting of premises will be permitted.

9. Tenants shall not wilfully waste, or permit to be wasted, water furnished by the Society and in the case of leaky
taps or toilets, will please notify the owners. The lawns, use of outside taps and watering of gardens are under the control of the Society.

10. All garbage must be drained, well wrapped, and tied before being placed in the garbage can.

11. The fire escapes are for use as emergency exits only; any use of them is solely at tenant's own risk.

12. The day, time, and period of use of laundry facilities in the apartment blocks are subject to prior arrangement with the janitor.

13. Young children visiting tenants in the apartments are not permitted to run or play in the corridors or on the stairs.

14. All property stored on the premises will be at the tenant's risk as to loss or damage from any cause whatever, including water, moisture, fire, or theft. Tenants will be responsible for insurance on their own furniture and other personal belongings.

15. Tenants in upstairs apartments are required to keep stairs clean, the responsibility to be shared on an alternative weekly arrangement.

16. The Society reserves the right for authorized officials to enter and inspect all premises at any reasonable time, and to change these regulations from time to time at its sole discretion.

17. Tenants planning absence on a visit should notify adjacent tenant and the Society's representative.

18. Dogs are not allowed on the premises.

19. At bottom of page, please give name and address of relatives or friends whom you wish contacted in case of emergency.

Dated at B.C., this day of A.D.19.

Witness: Tenant:
APPENDIX E

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952. National Housing Act, Chapter 188.


Social Department of Denmark. Social Denmark, Social Department of Denmark, Copenhagen, 1945.


