THREATS TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ELDERLY POOR

A STUDY OF AN INNER CITY HOTEL, VICTORIA, B.C.

by

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ABSTRACT

Mobility is generally considered a prerequisite to the contacts necessary for competence and self-direction in an urban environment. Contacts enhance mutually supportive interpersonal relations as well as provide needed goods and services. This concept suggests that the mobility of different groups of people must be considered in the design of the physical environment. One clearly recognizable group is the inner city elderly poor who possess low levels of mobility and have been able to maintain their independence from institutional care largely because of the advantages of a central location. Nevertheless, modernization and redevelopment trends are exerting increasing pressures on the lifestyles and the residential environments of many of Victoria's centrally located elderly poor.

The disproportionate representation of the elderly in the dilapidated central areas susceptible to renewal schemes is apparent in Victoria where almost 30 percent of the residential population of the CBD is at least 65 years of age. As in many other metropolitan areas, Victoria's inner city elderly population is characterized by generally low incomes and exceptionally high ages. Many of these people have been able to maintain their independence only by living in relatively homogeneous inner city

hotels. In light of the paucity of information relating to elderly inner city residents and in order to investigate the recent loss of many downtown hotels to renewal and upgrading, a participant observation study at the Fairfield Hotel was undertaken. This study was intended to provide basic information on the needs and desires of elderly hotel residents.

The objectives of this study include: to determine how closely observable behavior fits with the existing body of knowledge; to assess the degree of congruence between behavior and environmental props; to trace the impact of change/displacement on individuals; and to develop planning strategies oriented to the adaptive strengths of the elderly poor. In this respect, the study endeavours to delineate common themes, shared activity patterns and collective adaptive mechanisms. However, the inquiry is also directed to a general review of aging in both Canada and Victoria as well as an examination of local renewal trends. In this way comparisons can be made with the results of other studies. These objectives require a range of supplementary methodologies including archival research and repeated interviews with hotel owners and local administrators and planners.

This inquiry has revealed many features of an informal social system at the Fairfield Hotel which supports the fragile existence of many elderly residents. Furthermore, hotel residents displayed an extraordinarily large mobility profile. Despite the

infrequent use of automobiles or public transit, ambulatory residents averaged at least two trips from home daily. High levels of mobility were felt to be related to high degrees of satisfaction with both transportation arrangements and the residential environment. Such factors emphasize the need to maintain downtown hotels in the face of renewal and upgrading programs. Nevertheless, the problems of the independent elderly poor are also related to the position of the elderly in society. In this respect social attitudes towards the elderly clearly must change.

Because of the paucity of research in the area of the elderly poor, it is important to emphasize that this investigation is exploratory in nature and relies largely on description. As the study is intended to provide basic information on a previously isolated social sub-group, firm conclusions must be based on further research. Nevertheless, the tenuous position of the inner city elderly poor was apparent and very real threats to their independence were observed.

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CBD	.....	Central Business District
CMHC	.....	Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CRPB	.....	Capital Region Planning Board
MLA	.....	Member of the Legislative Assembly

INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this thesis to review existing data and provide further information on a significant subgroup of nonwelfare poor in a particular form of residential setting. In the context of Victoria, British Columbia, relationships between the diverse forces of aging and the manner in which the elderly live and interact within their urban environment are examined with emphasis on adaptive mechanisms and the spatial activity patterns of residents of downtown hotels. This approach necessitates a detailed examination of the spatial mobility and housing arrangements of a sample of persons over 65 years of age who are residents of the Fairfield Hotel in Victoria, British Columbia.

Before examining the case study, it is useful to review theories of aging and traditional planning strategies to house the elderly (Chapter I). Similarly, it is useful to review the unique requirements of the elderly in Canadian society and to examine the impact of modern trends on their lifestyles (Chapter II). As much of the case study is based upon the participant observation technique, a brief review of methodologies is required (Chapter III). It is essential to consider the nature of urban renewal in Victoria and the forces behind the dislocation which has threatened the existence of this marginally subsistent group (Chapter IV). Only after considering the situation of the

elderly poor in a general context can the case study be analyzed and recommendations be presented (Chapters V-VII).

CHAPTER I

PLANNING WITH THE ELDERLY

The accelerating technological advances characteristic of our society have been accompanied by adverse side effects which have become increasingly urgent problems and the subject of widespread public concern. As problems generally involve interrelationships between numerous social and physical systems, the need has become apparent for a "generalist specialist" integrating the knowledge derived from a range of specialized disciplines (Sewell and Foster 1970:2). Although geographers are usually distinguished by a consistent concern with distributions of phenomena in terrestrial space, formal definitions of the discipline are sufficiently general to allow considerable re-interpretation of the nature of geography (Chisholm 1975:15; Leigh 1970:24). Therefore, interdisciplinary approaches to man-environment relations have been suggested by many researchers (Craik 1970:46; Porteous 1977:ix). In light of the interrelationships between policy formation and policy implementation, interdisciplinary approaches seek to embrace urban planners as well as drawing concepts from a wide range of disciplines such as anthropology, economics, geography, political science, psychology and sociology.

Planning and Human Behavior

Although urban planning is a multi-faceted discipline, it probably has more in common with urban geography than with any

other single discipline in its concern with fundamental considerations of space allocation and spatial interaction (Herbert 1972:272; Michelson 1970:21). However, the planning process has traditionally been dominated by elite professional and bureaucratic groups theoretically accountable to the public but often inaccessible to individuals (Jones 1975:3; Porteous 1977:315). Such planners have seldom considered the needs and desires of the people who will actually use the structural forms created. Only with the relatively recent introduction of such procedures as advocacy planning, consultation, and open-ended design have attempts been made to involve the public in the planning process. Although it is apparent that the bias inherent in planning by elite bodies will terminate only when the general public is able to initiate and control specific projects, full participatory democracy in planning seems unlikely in light of its unwieldiness (Sewell and Coppock 1977:8). Nevertheless, it appears realistic to strive to achieve varied forms of collaboration between designer and user and this implies the necessity for at least the opportunity and encouragement to participate when development is likely to have a significant impact on a particular group of people.

Underlying most current research is the belief that behavior is an overt action in response to environmental or self-generated stimuli as mediated by physiological, cultural, social, and personality subsystems (Michelson 1970:22; Porteous 1977:13). Such an approach stresses the notion of the physical environment as

a potential limiting factor. Earlier approaches, such as human ecology, emphasized aggregation and the identification of community groupings whose ultimate explanation lay in "sub-social forces". In contrast, the emerging interdisciplinary field of Man-Environment Relations utilizes a variety of techniques to identify variables underlying behavior and is based not on determinism but on the dominance of one system over another. Inherent in attempts to understand processes underlying human behavior is the need to identify basic needs, drives and values of urban residents (Craik 1970:21; Chisholm 1975:180; Michelson 1970:48; Parsons 1966:19; Porteous 1970:10). In this sense research recognizes frequent mis-matches between behavior and environmental props which promote frustration and inefficiency (Michelson 1970:26). Therefore, much investigation is aimed at minimizing planned incongruence between behavior and elements of the environment in designing physical structures (Craik 1970:37; Porteous 1977:viii).

In contrast to much research in urban geography, authors such as Porteous and Michelson both stress an "ego-centered" point of view which suggests that the environment must be conceptualized in terms which are meaningful to the smallest unit, namely, the individual.

This approach provides a basic unit from which higher order explanations can subsequently be derived. Although such an approach does not deny the utility of identifying aggregate patterns,

it stresses the need first to understand human behavior at a micro-level. In this sense, a wide range of techniques including observation and interviewing are deemed necessary to permit planning with people. Furthermore, it is apparent that the design professions must be involved to ensure the implementation of appropriate policies.

The emphasis in this study is on enhancing the capacity of the physical environment to encourage a better fit between behavioral needs and environmental props. This concern with human behavior rejects the traditional role of the land-use planner who was primarily concerned with the optimal design of physical components of the environment (Craik 1970:37; Popenoe 1969:vi). It has become increasingly apparent that to provide adequate physical systems for segments of our population it is essential to determine the needs of the individuals concerned. The most direct way to determine such needs and values is through contact with members of existing or evolving population groupings which are homogeneous according to one or more structural or functional traits (Gans 1968:39). In this sense, planners seek to understand the physical environment from the context of the social and economic environment in which physical facilities are used. Therefore, the planner must be aware of what problems people perceive and what solutions they feel would best combat these problems. In this fashion, the professional would not be planning for people but, rather, would be communicating user desires

to appropriate planning agencies. The ineffectiveness of traditional planning strategies such as urban renewal and public housing is apparent and may be exemplified by the case of Pruitt Igoe, a massive housing complex created in the 1950's and recently demolished due to widespread vandalism and soaring vacancy rates of up to 70 percent (Newman 1973:207; Parr 1970:17; Porteous 1977:295).

Recent trends towards quantification and rigorous research techniques have undoubtedly increased our general level of knowledge. However, there is a growing awareness among social scientists in general that the "frontier of action is moving faster than the frontier of theory" (Michelson 1970:198). To effect intellectual rigor, many complications and sources of variation must frequently be assumed away. However, such weaknesses tend to minimize the practical utility of theories, as evidenced by inadequacies in central-place and location theory. Moreover, it is often possible to develop rival theories purporting to explain empirically observed phenomena (Chisholm 1975:175; Huck and Sandler 1979:xviii). These factors emphasize the inadequacies in strictly quantitative approaches which have become evident to many researchers. A danger inherent in attempts to emphasize quantitative techniques to the exclusion of other approaches has been the gap which has recently appeared between research and application (Chisholm 1975:53). In this sense, the positivist

theory often associated with "scientific" methods frequently cannot lead to the construction of normative theory and guidelines for how things should be organized (Chisholm 1975:76). Therefore, while quantitative techniques can enhance understanding they are not always necessary and can, at their worst, be used to mask inadequacies in hypotheses or data (Herbert 1972:171). Such considerations have led many authors to favor descriptive techniques (Craik 1970:22; Golant 1972:185). The apparent divergence between theory and application has led to a widespread demand for relevant geographical studies (Chisholm 1975:176; Herbert 1972:272; Michelson 1970:200; Sewell and Foster 1970:4). Therefore, possibly the most significant recent change in geography has been the rising awareness of "the future to be molded as against the past to be explained" (Chisholm 1975:82). In this respect it has become apparent that we cannot rely on accepted standardized techniques but must remain flexible in attempts to elicit the needs, values and desires of all groups who make use of the planned environment.

There is a variety of methods for examining human activity within the city. A perspective which has recently aroused considerable interest in geography involves the ethnological concept of territoriality (Porteous 1977:383). This concept suggests that man, in common with many other animal species, tends to exert control over physical space at levels ranging from the

bubble of personal space surrounding individuals to loyalties at the group level. There appears to be considerable agreement that human territoriality is manifest at three distinct but nested levels, namely, microspace, mesospace and macrospace (Altman 1975:111; Porteous 1977:26; Roos 1968:76). At all levels the control of territory bestows significant advantages on individuals by enhancing identity, security and stimulation. The spatial aspects of interpersonal relations as a supportive mechanism can be better understood by the study of human territoriality, since this phenomenon directly links the molar environment with behavior (Altman 1975:6). Therefore, in addition to fulfilling basic psychological needs, territorial behavior has important implications for enhancing or discouraging interpersonal relations through manipulation of the physical environment.

Although a tri-level taxonomy of human territoriality does not purport to explain patterns of human activity, it does provide a basis from which various aspects of the interplay between human behavior and physical design can be examined. Within such a framework the personal environment (private space) can be related to microspace and more general housing conditions (semi-private space) can be regarded in terms of mesospace. From this perspective the environment can be evaluated in terms of how well it fulfils basic human needs for security and privacy while still providing stimulation through the enhancement of interpersonal

relations. Similarly, by viewing human activity in terms of macrospace or range (activity systems), aspects of the environment (public space) such as transportation and physical facilities can be evaluated in terms of socio-spatial units. From the study of such individual activity systems it should be possible to achieve some degree of inter-group generalization (Jones 1975:11). This concern with activity systems and the physical and social needs of a particular subgroup implies a need for extensive field work in spite of the fact that such an approach is time-consuming and it is often difficult to gain the confidence of the people involved.

Planning and the Elderly

Spatial aspects of the behavior of the elderly, including their activity patterns, are related to a number of important factors. Despite the importance of social interaction to the well-being of the elderly, factors such as role loss tend to reduce its extent with advancing years (Rosow 1967:30). Social roles frequently have spatial components and an overall decline in social activity tends to reduce the physical sphere of activity (Jones 1975:23). It is important to emphasize that rather than progressive spatial constriction accompanying aging, there is rather a change of emphasis in geographical experience as one grows older. In this respect "the total complex of geographical experience evolves in a consistent and coherent manner" as constriction in the sphere of activity is accompanied by expansion in

other realms (Rowles 1977:1). It is felt by Rowles and others that as activity spaces are constricted the role of geographical fantasy increases and a "selective intensification of involvement" with aspects of the environment takes place. There is frequently an intensification in the importance of private and semi-private space as well as an intensification of affective bonds with such proximate spaces and a refinement of the environmental cues necessary to negotiate changing activity spaces. Nevertheless, the loss of roles accompanying old age combines with declining health and frequent poverty to constrain what Lawton has called the "environmental competence" of the elderly.

According to Lawton's "environmental docility" hypothesis, as competence decreases "the probability becomes greater that behavior will be influenced by environmental constraints or facilitators" (Lawton 1974:61). The elderly, particularly the poor and infirm, encounter much more difficulty in adapting to changes in their environment because of the reduction in competence they have experienced as a result of diminished social and physical spheres. The elderly poor can manipulate their environment only with difficulty and generally have a much narrower range of options than other members of society. These considerations emphasize the critical importance of the physical and social environment in the daily lives of disadvantaged groups such as the elderly poor and reinforce the need for comprehensive investigation

of their needs and desires.

Many authors have emphasized variations in the physical and social needs of the elderly (Lawton 1974:60). However, most researchers agree that the elderly form a distinct group with many common needs and attributes (Golant 1972:2; Jones 1975:ix). Nevertheless, the difficulties in defining "old age" are apparent. Frequently chronological age is used as a measure of aging and the age of 65 is frequently established as a baseline. Such a measure has many deficiences stemming from variations in retirement ages, physical and mental health, socio-economic status and physical and social needs of the elderly. Nevertheless, chronological age is significant in identifying the end of institutional social roles and frequently dictates the extent of a person's participation in his social system (Golant 1972:2). Moreover, authors such as Rose (1971) feel that a sense of identity or group consciousness exists among people over 65 years of age (Jones 1975:14). Nevertheless, aging must be regarded as a multi-dimensional product of biological, psychological, and social factors. Biological and psychological aspects of the aging process are clearly relevant to the urban planner insofar as they influence the way the individual's activity patterns adapt to the physical characteristics of the city. It is necessary, therefore, to consider chronological age in conjunction with other factors since each force, in isolation, tends to portray different rates of aging

Golant (1972:4). In this sense we are all aware of the biologically and chronologically "aged" man who exhibits characteristics of a much younger man in terms of his activity and social patterns. Therefore, it is necessary to review the baseline of 65 with considerable caution. Atchley feels that the real turning point in old age comes much earlier (1972:6) and Tibbitts has identified three stages of advanced adulthood stretching from the 'forties' and 'fifties' (1960:9).

Theory of Aging

Underlying social gerontology are a number of major theories of aging. Possibly the most controversial theory is the Disengagement theory which emerged in 1961 following a five-year empirical study in Kansas City. This hypothesis advances two concepts, one applied to the individual and one applied to society. Society is felt to phase out elderly members through institutionalized mechanisms, such as forced retirement, to permit an orderly transition of powers to younger members. Concurrently, the individual is felt to desire disengagement because of an increasing preoccupation with himself and the weakening of traditional norms in subconscious anticipation of reduced ability and eventual death. Proponents of this theory suggest successful disengagement implies successful aging and is essential to maintain social equilibrium. Critics of this theory have demonstrated that disengagement is more characteristic of certain individuals throughout their lives than

of aging in general (Niebanck 1965:95). Engaged persons have also been shown to be better adjusted than disengaged persons. Moreover, if disengagement were a functional necessity the average age of American senators, at 58 years, could not be tolerated. The theory has also been criticized for assuming that internalized norms toward work and social contacts will be lost with advancing age. Clearly there are intangible rewards from many jobs, such as teaching, which would encourage maintaining occupational roles.

In apparent response to the Disengagement theory, an alternative known as the Activity theory was advanced. This theory maintains that older people try to deny the existence of old age "as long as possible" (Atchley 1972:34). In this sense the norms for old age are felt to be essentially similar to those for middle age. This theory gains support from the observation that few retired women are willing to characterize themselves as "old". However, this contention projects on the elderly the expectation that they will take steps that will permit them to cultivate a sense of belonging. This assumption may cause inactive people to feel guilty and thereby reinforce negative attitudes towards old age. The active role advocated by this theory clearly ignores those who cannot maintain the standards of middle age.

In response to the deficiencies of the Activity and

Disengagement theories, the Continuity theory emerged as the third major theory in social gerontology. This rationale asserts that aging simply involves a re-differentiation and re-integration of functions which lead to stabilization in later years. In this respect, the habits, preferences, and dispositions that an individual develops throughout life are generally maintained with advancing age. Change is seen as an adaptive process involving interaction between preferences, biological and physical capabilities, situational opportunities, and experience. Therefore, unlike other theories, adaption can take many different directions because individuals have slightly different combinations of factors to which they adjust. Aging is not regarded as an inevitable downward spiral, as disengagement is associated with crises which can occur at any period in life. Only in the sense that aging implies a great number of personal crises can aging be associated with disengagement (Niebanck 1965:96). The flexibility of the Continuity theory suggests it is the theory most closely approximating reality (Atchley 1972:36). Nevertheless, the complexity of this model hinders conceptualization, measurement, and analysis, and the impact of this theory cannot be evaluated without further research.

Although none of the existing theories can completely explain the aging process, most theories agree on the critical nature of certain events and the need for aging individuals to

adjust to them. Among the most important of these events are: retirement; widowhood; the decline of health; completion of the parental role; loss of community and organizational leadership roles and the loss of independence and self-reliance (Niebanck 1965:97). These predictable "crises" create special needs for the elderly which are complicated by the interdependence of the crises and the fact that they may occur abruptly, and simultaneously, or in rapid succession. Because of these strains even the most stable people are frequently in need of help in adjusting to old age while the poor and the single elderly are in a particularly vulnerable position.

The Elderly in the Inner City

The loss of occupational and social roles accompanying old age combines with declining health and frequent poverty to make the elderly particularly vulnerable to changing economic and social circumstances. In this fashion forcible displacement and relocation frequently implies reduced accessibility to physical and social amenities, lost income, higher rents and destruction of the established social system (Niebanck 1965:161).

Many of the elderly who may be found in the central cores of cities have managed to adjust to the restrictions imposed by low income levels because of their proximity to inexpensive housing and food. A central location provides access to the

facilities and services of the centrally-oriented city (Michelson 1970:109). Moreover, the relatively homogeneous social structure of many inner city hotels and rooming houses provides many formal and informal social mechanisms for supporting the life-styles of "locally-oriented" elderly residents. This suggests renewal areas in many cases "are paradoxically the best home the elderly can expect to have . . ." (Niebanck 1965:6). Social and economic characteristics of inner city elderly residents contribute to a generally low level of environmental competence (Lawton 1974:60; Porteous 1977:186) which exacerbates their vulnerability to the "grief syndrome" associated with the stress of dislocation or major physical change (Michelson 1970:63). Therefore, the threat of dislocation associated with the physical upgrading of downtown areas could potentially spawn a new problem group by destroying delicate physical and social adaptive mechanisms which have permitted many of the marginally subsistent elderly to maintain their independence. Current investigations have not adequately considered this problem and social policies have not been developed to reinforce the adaptive potential of the social sub-systems which can be found in such places as the residential hotels of the inner-city (Stutz 1976:361).

Research indicates that relocation authorities seldom consider the needs and desires of residents of renewal zones (Porteous 1977:288). Niebanck argues that renewal programs fre-

quently ignore or obliterate pre-existing advantages and may have a detrimental impact on affected residents (1965:127). Niebanck further contends that the social-psychological costs of relocation for the elderly must be examined as renewal should be viewed in an overall context of enhancing the quality of life in the city. He feels it is also possible to view urban renewal as providing the opportunity for contacting and counselling a previously inaccessible social group and highlighting the problems of a particular urban area. Similar studies also examine factors relating to the relocation of skid-row residents. Nevertheless, despite numerous studies on relocating families, skid-row dwellers, and ghetto residents, a study by Stutz (1976) is the only investigation to date which deals with subsistence level residents living in hotels threatened by urban renewal.

Despite apparent manifestations of this problem in many North American cities, elderly inner city residents have received little attention in social science research and almost none in geographical research, since they are not members of a distinct minority group and do not appear to be in a dramatic plight as are the residents of skid-row (Stutz 1976:361). It is, therefore, my purpose to review and to add to our basic information on a significant subgroup of non-welfare elderly poor and on a particular form of residential setting. Relationships between the diverse forces of aging and the manner in which the elderly interact within their

urban environment will be examined with emphasis on adaptive mechanism and the spatial activity patterns of hotel residents of downtown Victoria, British Columbia. It is hoped that such an approach will meet the challenge for relevant geographical studies by providing a basis for the development of planning strategies oriented towards the adaptive strengths of the poor but self-reliant elderly. Such planning strategies may improve guidelines for policy-making by administrative and political bureaucrats as well as advancing theoretical insights into human spatial behavior. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that this investigation is exploratory in nature and, because of the paucity of previous research in this area, relies largely on description. Although this study may contribute to our understanding of human spatial behavior on a theoretical level, firm conclusions cannot be based on a single exploratory study. In this sense, the inquiry strives to confirm previous knowledge and conclusions about the elderly poor, propose new techniques for the study of less-accessible social groups, and to suggest areas for further investigation.

The tenuous position of the inner-city elderly poor demands immediate attention in light of ongoing programs which threaten to displace them in increasingly large numbers. Due to the severity of the threat implied by dislocation it is apparent that one must reject the value-free neutral stance of the "scientific"

investigator in favour of a "problem-oriented" advocacy approach. Advocacy planning was suggested by Davidoff (1965) as a technique to involve previously isolated social groups, such as the independent elderly poor, in the planning process. Advocacy planning has been described as a technique by which "admittedly partisan professionals express the interests of previously unorganized and inarticulate groups in the community" (Meyerson 1969:40). After attempting to absorb the values of the social subgroup, the planner is able to argue for their desires and effect a communications link between the citizens and the decision-makers. Through this approach "user-clients are transformed into clients who retain their own expert" (Porteous 1977:363). Therefore, the advocacy position is deemed essential in this study in order to develop relevant insights and applicable strategies to mitigate developments which threaten to destroy established self-supporting social groups, and, in particular, to disperse the elderly poor throughout areas of the city without the reinforcing advantages of a central location.

Advocacy planning approach is, of course, subject to the same limitations as community planning by experts (Meyerson 1969:40). As groups cannot be completely homogeneous with respect to goals, it is difficult to identify user needs and the planner may manipulate those he feels he is representing. Therefore, treating local areas as having homogeneous interests can damage the interests

of the weakest inhabitants (Peattie 1968:80). Furthermore, local groups may be myopic and fail to realize certain issues cannot be treated on local, decentralized bases (Meyerson 1969:40). Nevertheless, when these limitations are understood there are clear virtues in bringing out views and values that might have otherwise been overlooked. Moreover, authors such as Kershner assert the necessity for advocate action in particular situations to "enable the disenfranchized to obtain what they desire (1976:2). Insofar as the elderly represent a group with unmet needs and an inability to make effective impact on the societal structures shaping their lives, advocacy planning may be beneficial (Kershner 1976:13).

Advocacy planning approach is expensive and it is difficult to elicit common needs. The technique is, therefore, best suited to small, easily identifiable social groupings such as are found in many relatively homogeneous inner city rooming-houses. Advocacy planning has been criticised for a lack of creativity since the technique is generally used in reaction to developing problems. However, the political impotence of the elderly poor and their social distance from administrative and political decision-makers necessitates a spokesman familiar with the dealings of public agencies. As this study is not sanctioned by public administrators and the author lacks the expertise to deal effectively with public agencies, he cannot be cast as a formal advocate. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this study may improve guidelines

for policy-making.

Although it is difficult to identify accurately user-desires and it is acknowledged that a spokesman could never completely inhibit his own admittedly middle class values, it is felt that until channels are established for regular input from people such as the independent elderly poor, advocacy planning is a valid stopgap measure. Only from an advocacy position can trust be gained to permit interviewing and observation to delineate the needs, values and desires of such social groups. The aspirations of such previously inarticulate groups clearly must be considered essential constituents of the planning process.

To facilitate an evaluation of the case study it is important to consider the unique requirements of the elderly in modern society and to review the impact of current trends on their lifestyles (Chapter II). In light of the importance of the participant observation technique to the case study, a brief review of methodologies is also appropriate (Chapter III). Furthermore, it is necessary to examine the nature of urban renewal in Victoria and the factors promoting the dislocation which has threatened the tenuous existence of this social sub-population (Chapter IV). Only after considering the general plight of the elderly poor can the case study be analyzed and recommendations presented (Chapters V-VII).

CHAPTER II

VICTORIA'S ELDERLY IN THE CONTEXT OF CANADIAN SOCIETY

The increasing number of people now living into old age is frequently regarded as a triumph of science and technology. However, since society has failed to make adequate provision to accommodate this group most people regard the prospect of old age with fear and apprehension (Atchley 1972:8). The fear has been largely brought about by trends related to the nature of population growth, accelerating technological development, the impact of urbanization and the increased pace of social change.

The most obvious changes with respect to elderly Canadians relate to the dramatic increases in both absolute and relative numbers of people over 65 years of age since 1900. Between 1911 and 1956 the percentage of persons over 65 years increased from 4.5 to 7.9 and in absolute terms the number of elderly had reached 1,539,648 by 1966 (Golant 1972:23). Although the relative percentage of persons over 65 years of age in Canada dropped slightly to 7.7 by 1965, this figure places Canada's population in a "mature" position between "very young" countries such as Ceylon (1.9) and India (3.1) and "aged" countries such as Britain (12) and East Germany (14.4). It is estimated that by 1980 the size of Canada's elderly population will be at least 2.1 million and will comprise at least nine percent of her total

population (Golant 1972:23). This increase can be explained by recently declining birth rates and improved medical care. Indeed, it seems that only the post war baby-boom and immigration have kept Canada's population structure from resembling that of an aging country. However, as birth rates have declined noticeably since 1958, the elderly may become even more dominant than has been estimated and may exert a further strain on the limited facilities designed to serve them.

Urbanization in Canada proceeded rapidly following Confederation. Canada was a predominantly urban society by the mid 1900's and it has been predicted that 94.1 percent of her population will be residing in urban areas by the year 2001 (Lithwick 1970:143). However, the impact of urbanization on the elderly has produced many undesirable consequences. Over-representation of the elderly in small urban centers and rural areas of Canada and the United States suggests that rapid urbanization of the young has left a disproportionate number of older people "stranded" (Atchley 1972:10; Golant 1972:29). More importantly, perhaps, urbanization has reduced the prestige and traditional role of the elderly in the community and urban neighbourhood. The mobility and anomie associated with urbanization have reduced the stability of traditional neighbourhoods and the decline of the extended family has exacerbated the detachment of older people from the neighbourhood. Urbanization has also been

associated with industrialization and mechanization which have tended to reduce the need for a large labor pool and have downgraded the position of the elderly by encouraging early retirement policies. While it may be in the national interest to maintain wage levels by restricting the size of the work force, enforced retirement often jeopardizes the financial position of the elderly. Moreover, it is apparent that in many cases retired people desire to continue working and maintaining social contacts.

The impact of modern trends on the physiological and psychological well-being of the elderly has been exacerbated by the rapidity of the changes which have occurred. In this sense the rapid pace of urban-industrial societies has created obstacles to the social adjustment of elderly individuals. Norms, for example, are still evolving with respect to behavior towards retired people and some people do not yet regard retirement as fully legitimate (Atchley 1972:15). Gerontologists frequently view aging in terms of role activity and regard adjustment as the normal process of giving up middle-aged roles in favour of more passive roles in later years (Niebanck 1965:91). However, other investigators, such as Burgess, have stressed that the loss of occupational identity and a functional role in society has reduced the position of the elderly to a point where they are "imprisoned in a roleless role" (Jones 1975:16). In this respect, the stigma accompanying old age is frequently undeniable. Traditional roles

associated with the extended family have been lost with the rise of the nuclear family, as power and the responsibility for the transmission of culture have been assumed by younger segments of the population.

The extreme role loss experienced by the elderly in modern society has greatly exacerbated their vulnerability to change. In this regard "the elderly person, who greatly needs primary group contact and support because of his extreme role loss, finds he does not have adequate family ties" (Jones 1975:19). Similarly, it appears that friendships among the elderly are less frequent than among younger members of society and generally much shallower (Rosow 1967:27). The trend to withdrawal is further emphasized by the low level of participation of the elderly in formal organizations (Jones 1975:20). These factors reflect reduced social interaction among the elderly. Nevertheless, "life satisfaction and psychological well-being in the later years are positively associated with high social interaction rather than withdrawal" (Rosow 1967:27). Therefore, the vulnerability of this group to the impact of the anomie associated with modernization reinforces the need for planners to display extreme sensitivity to the needs and desires of the elderly.

The Elderly in Victoria

Located at the extreme south-eastern tip of Vancouver Island, Victoria, British Columbia, is frequently regarded as one

of Canada's major retirement centers. The agreeable climate, the park-like physical environment and varied cultural attractions combine to encourage retirement in the city. Consequently the concentration of elderly people in the "Garden City" has had a significant impact on both the economy and the social character of the city. As with most metropolitan areas, local levels of government in Victoria have become aware of increasing demands for public services at a time when the relative number of people in the productive labor force is diminishing. Therefore, the contributions of retired people to the economic and social structure of Victoria have become of general concern and several studies have been carried out by municipal planning boards, the Capital Regional District Board and academics from the University of Victoria. The most comprehensive study to date of the elderly in Victoria was carried out in 1966 by the CRPD through a grant obtained from the CMHC. This study provides a wealth of information although conclusions and recommendations are minimal.

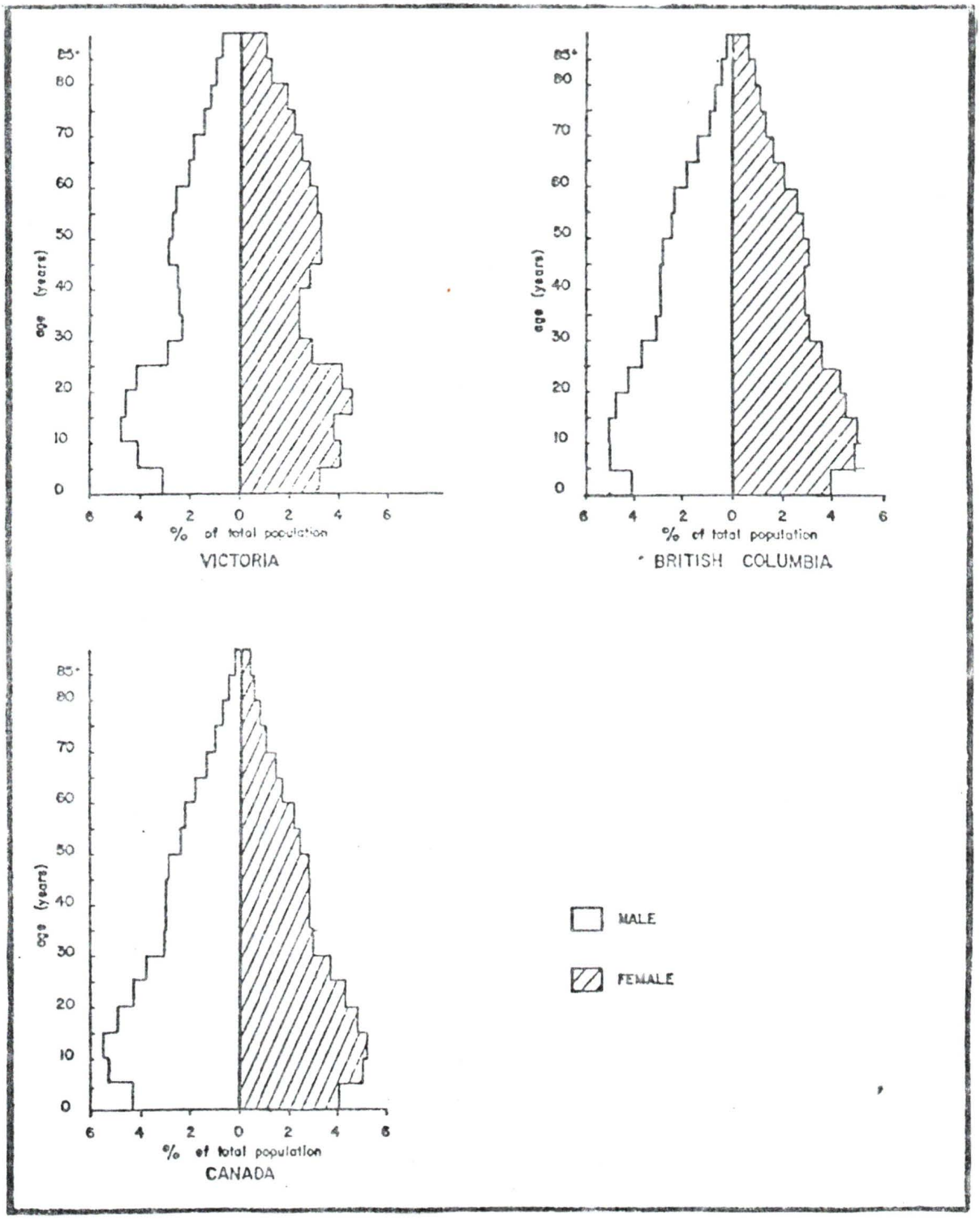
An analysis of the 1968 Federal Poll lists reveals approximately 29,000 "retired people" in Victoria or approximately 16 percent of the estimated 183,400 people in the metropolitan area (CRPB 1969:5). This percentage represents by far the highest concentration of the elderly in a major Canadian city and confirms Victoria's importance as a retirement center. Retirement center status is reflected in Victoria's population structure and

emphasized by comparison with that of British Columbia and Canada (Fig.1). Victoria has proportionately more retired citizens than British Columbia as a whole and almost twice the proportion of elderly found on a national basis (Statistics Canada, 1973). Vancouver has the second highest proportion of elderly at 11 percent, while the next most prominent retirement centers had only approximately nine percent of their populations over the age of 65.

In 1900 Victoria was a frontier town with only 2.8 percent of her population over 65 years of age. However, between 1921 and 1931 Victoria began attracting retired people, mainly by virtue of a favourable geographical and climatic location, and it quickly outran the rising Canadian average which reached almost eight percent by 1968. The CRPB has estimated that the proportion of elderly residents in Victoria will rise to 17 percent by 1981 despite stabilization of the national age structure (CRPB 1969:51).

To examine the social and economic implications of the elderly in Victoria, the CRPB undertook a random survey of 810 residents over 65 years of age in 1968 (804 of the interviews were completed). The Board felt that the baseline of 65 provided a good approximation of the retired. However, the planners were aware that up to 15 percent of the retired females were under 65 years of age while some males over the age of 65 remained in the labor force. Therefore, an additional 113 retired people under

Figure 1 Population Pyramids (Canada, British Columbia, Victoria)



(from Jones 1975:43)

65 years of age were interviewed to permit comparison with the emerging younger retired group.

As Victoria is a relatively young city the vast majority of the retired in this area must have migrated from elsewhere. The CRPB found the elderly to be much more strongly oriented to the United Kingdom in terms of birthplace than their younger counterparts (CRPB 1969:31, Table 1). Nevertheless, a strong association of the elderly with the Prairie provinces is revealed by Tables II and III, which portray last place of employment and previous residence respectively. Of the retired who migrated to Victoria (96 percent), approximately half migrated at or after retirement. The reasons for migration to the Capital Region are indicated in Table IV and, as expected, climate and the quality of the environment appear to be the most important factors attracting retired people.

The CRPB study revealed that the retired in Victoria have a higher educational level than the provincial average and are at least as well educated as the general population of the city (CRPB 1969:65). This finding reflects a high socio-economic group and suggests a high level of interest and concern with environmental quality. The educational levels of the elderly are, however, more variable than those of younger age groups with disproportionate numbers possessing high and low levels of education. In this respect the elderly with very poor

Table I

Birthplaces of the Retired - Age 65+ Questionnaire Survey Sample		
Capital Region	31	4%
Other B.C.	25	3%
Prairie Provinces	75	9%
Ontario & Quebec	117	15%
Maritimes	35	4%
United Kingdom	408	51%
Elsewhere	110	14%
	801	100%

(from CRPB, 1969:31)

Table II

Last Place of Employment of the Retired - Age 65+ Questionnaire Survey Sample		
Capital Region	293	46%
Elsewhere in B.C.	74	12%
Prairie Provinces	160	25%
Ontario & Quebec	61	10%
United Kingdom	20	3%
United States	18	3%
Elsewhere	14	2%
	640	100%

(from CRPB, 1969:32).

Table III

Place of residence Immediately prior to Migration Questionnaire Survey Sample Retired Age 65+		
Elsewhere in B.C.	246	32%
In Alta, Sask, or Manitoba	314	41%
In Ontario or Quebec	92	12%
In the Maritimes	9	1%
In the United Kingdom	63	8%
In the United States	35	5%
Elsewhere	16	2%
Total	775 (1)	100%

Noted: (1) Excluding those in the Sample who were born in the Capital Region and have never lived outside it.

(from CRPB 1969:33)

Table IV

Reasons for Migrating to the Capital Region - Retired Age 65+ Questionnaire Survey Sample		
Reason	No. of Times Chosen as Significant (1)	% of Total Reasons
Climate	245	24
"Desirable Place to Live"	188	19
To be Near Friends or Relatives	148	15
New Job or Job Transfer	126	12
Wished to Retire Here	92	9
Personal Reasons	83	8
Came With Family	80	8
Other	55	5
Total	1017	100

Notes: (1) Total of unweighted 1st and 2nd reasons given by 770 migrant Respondents

(from CRPB 1969:35)

educations were found in the central business district, while the more educated elderly can be found in outlying suburbs such as Oak Bay. Occupational levels corroborate education data as approximately 40 per cent of the retired previously held high status occupational roles (CRPB 1967:65). The overall high socio-economic status of the elderly in Victoria is not surprising in light of the significance of migration to this area. Only those financially and otherwise capable would be expected to make the transition to a more desirable environment. This factor implies that many of the retired in Victoria are capable of buying a home, paying taxes, and expending the capital to maintain the high level of services they have come to expect. The retired under 65 years of age have an even higher general socio-economic status due to early retirement policies associated with prestigious positions. Single women lacking an occupational background also frequently have a comfortable income from estates and other transfer payments.

The mean annual income in Victoria was slightly less than the average for eight comparable cities and Victoria had a slightly greater proportion of residents in the two lowest income groups in 1966 (CRPB 1969:192). This slight bias to lower incomes in the Victoria area may be attributed to the high concentration of the retired. However, when Armed Forces income and the basic component of retirement income is considered the situation is not

as unbalanced as first appears.

The sources of income for the retired in Victoria are portrayed in Table V. It appears that the retired in Victoria are well-off relative to those in the rest of Canada and the problems of the indigent elderly are not widespread (CRPB 1969:193). Furthermore, as a result of migration the elderly provide basic income which is expended in the community. In absolute terms the income of the retired is equivalent to that provided by the Federal Government and is 70 percent larger than the payroll of the Provincial Civil Service. Retirement income is 92 percent basic (like the Provincial payroll) and is, therefore, equivalent to approximately 88 percent of the Federal Payroll (CRPB 1969:195). The high proportion of basic income suggests that retirement income is of even greater significance than absolute amounts indicate and contributes significantly to a diverse economic base. Furthermore, when Armed Forces and Veterans' pay are added to total income, the resulting per capita figure is similar to that found in other Canadian cities (CRPB 1969:195). This is significant in dispelling the myth that low per capita incomes are associated with retirement centers.

The distribution of the elderly among the municipalities of Greater Victoria reveals the potential impact of the elderly on individual municipalities. In Victoria, Oak Bay, North Saanich and Sidney, approximately 25 percent of the population consisted of

TABLE V Types and Sources of Income Proportional Relationships and Proportions which are Basic -- All Retirement Income Households, Age 65+ - Questionnaire Survey Sample

Income Type	No. Who Received (4)	% (4)	Income Source				Basic Sector	
			Capital Region	Other in Canada	Out-side Canada	Combin-ation of These (2)	No.	% of No. Who Received Income Type (3)
Public Pension or Assistance	713	89	--	683	12	10	705	99
Private Pension or Superannuation	361	46	36 (1)	291	25	3	319	88
Veteran's Military or Disability Pension	129	16	--	118	9	-	127	100
Investment, Annuities, Estates, Life Insurance, Income	454	57	56 (1)	340	14	39	393	87
Real Estate Income	140	18	82	53	1	4	58	41
Gifts and Private Financial Assistance	51	6	34	13	1	3	17	33
Wages, Salaries, Professional Income	49	6	39	7	-	1	9	16
Other Income	8	1	7	2	-	-	2	-

Notes: (1) Likely high, as cheque source may be local, but actual basis of income may lie elsewhere (e.g. local Trust Company cheque for estate investment income).
(2) Assigned to Basic Sector
(3) And responded to question on Income source.
(4) Total affected portion of Sample in denominator varies from 78% ot 80%

(from CPPB 1969:181).

retired residents in 1968. Concentrations of the retired within the municipalities reveal very heavy concentrations of up to 43 percent in census tract six and 33 percent in census tract seven (Table VI). Females over 65 years of age substantially outnumber their male counterparts in all census tracts with the exception of the CBD. The CRPB did not find a high concentration of the elderly in the CBD or in "declining" residential areas as characteristic of many other urban centers (CRPB 1969:28). However, the CRPB's conclusions may be related to the relatively low population in the CBD and the limited size of their sample as the findings are not supported by census data on the residential component of the inner city (Fig. 2).

The distribution of the elderly according to household type reveals three times as many single female households as single male households (Table VII). Although overall income ranges are approximately the same for both sexes, it is apparent that incomes generally decline with age. This trend is important since age group composition reveals the majority of single males to be at least 75 years old while 42 percent were over 80 years of age. Women were more evenly distributed throughout the age groups and married couples were most evenly distributed and were felt to be best equipped to survive. The planning board emphasized, therefore, the need to pay special attention to the housing, food, and social needs of single males (CRPB 1969:28). This conclusion

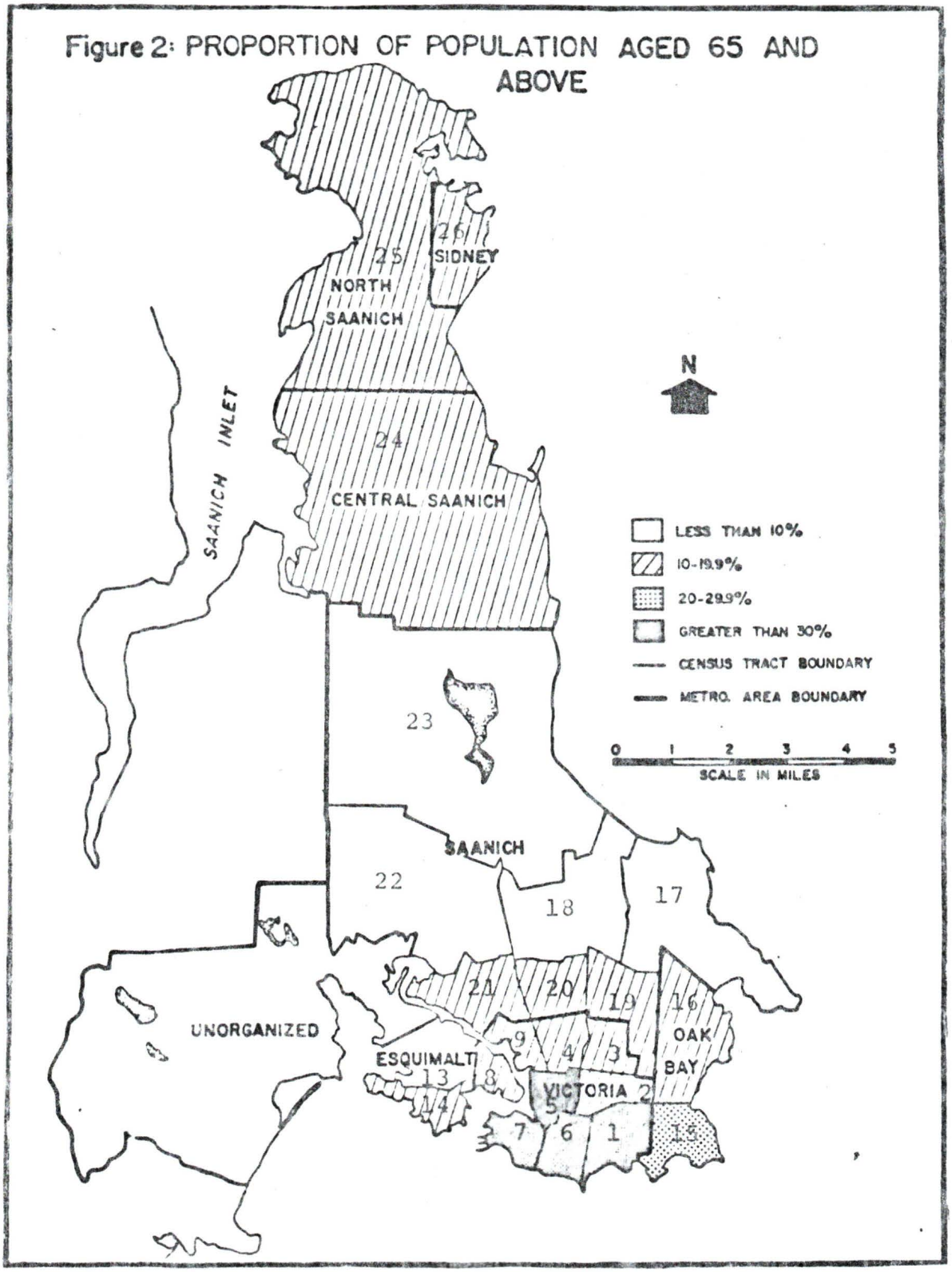
Table VI

Proportional Distribution of the Victoria CMA Poll List Retired (High Range) by Municipality, and Tract Within the Municipality; Proportion of Total Population which is Retired, by Municipality and Tract - By Sex 1968

Municipality	Tract	% Distribution of Retired Within CMA Between Municipalities, & Tracts Within Municipalities (Table I)			Population 1966 Census		Retired as % of Municipalities & Tract Populations			
		Male	Female	Total	Male	% Ret'd	Female	% Ret'd	Total	% Ret'd
Victoria		44.7	48.4	47.0	26,517	19.5	30,936	27.8	57,453	24.0
	1	13.5	15.1	14.5	4,232	16.5	5,043	25.8	9,275	21.5
	2	12.2	14.1	13.4	4,125	15.3	5,153	23.5	9,278	19.9
	3	10.2	9.4	9.7	3,475	15.2	3,839	21.1	7,314	18.3
	4	7.7	6.0	6.7	2,851	14.1	3,008	17.2	5,859	15.6
	5	9.5	4.7	6.5	2,306	21.4	1,909	21.0	4,215	21.2
	6	23.6	28.5	26.8	3,277	37.7	5,361	45.7	8,638	42.8
	7	17.3	16.7	16.9	3,290	27.2	3,738	38.4	7,028	33.2
	8	3.0	3.1	3.1	1,493	10.4	1,384	19.3	2,877	14.7
	9	2.8	2.4	2.6	1,468	9.7	1,501	13.8	2,969	11.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0						
Esquimalt		3.5	3.6	3.6	7,022	5.9	5,869	10.9	12,891	8.2
	13	55.5	55.9	55.8	3,597	6.3	3,281	10.9	6,878	8.5
	14	44.5	44.0	44.0	3,425	5.3	2,588	10.9	6,013	7.7
		100.0	100.0	100.0						
Oak Bay		13.0	14.6	14.0	8,256	18.2	9,867	26.3	18,123	22.6
	15	45.6	49.2	48.0	3,142	21.8	3,998	31.9	7,140	27.5
	16	54.4	50.7	52.0	5,114	16.0	5,869	22.4	10,983	19.4
		100.0	100.0	100.0						
Saanich		24.7	22.2	23.2	29,221	9.8	29,624	13.3	58,845	11.6
	17	17.4	15.6	16.4	5,361	9.3	5,483	11.3	10,844	10.3
	18	10.9	11.0	11.0	3,395	9.2	3,427	12.6	6,822	10.9
	19	15.4	17.5	16.6	4,595	9.6	4,799	14.4	9,394	12.1
	20	11.8	12.7	12.3	3,050	11.1	3,176	15.8	6,226	13.5
	21	22.6	23.5	23.1	5,568	11.6	5,716	16.2	11,284	14.0
	22	9.5	8.7	9.0	3,661	7.4	3,577	9.6	7,238	8.5
	23	12.3	10.9	11.5	3,591	9.8	3,446	12.4	7,037	11.1
		100.0	100.0	100.0						
C. Saanich	24	2.2	1.9	2.0	1,852	13.9	1,788	18.5	3,640	16.1
N. Saanich	25	2.6	2.0	2.3	1,467	20.8	1,424	25.4	2,891	23.0
Sidney	26	3.7	2.9	3.2	1,587	26.9	1,578	32.5	3,165	29.6
Unorg.Terr.		5.6	4.4	4.9	7,859	8.3	7,755	10.1	15,614	9.2
Total CMA		100.0	100.0	100.0	84,187	13.8	89,268	19.9	173,455	16.9

(from CRPB 1969:8)

Figure 2: PROPORTION OF POPULATION AGED 65 AND ABOVE



(from Jones 1975:46)

suggests that an even more pressing situation exists with respect to single males living in the central core.

Table VII

Household Composition - Questionnaire Survey Sample
Age 65+ Retired

Household Type	No. in Sample	%
Single Male	63	7.8
Single Female	229	28.5
Married Male/Female Only	341	42.5
Other (See Table 8)	171	21.3
	804	100.0

(from CRPB 1969:17)

Housing the Elderly

A large proportion of two-person married households suggests that the overall housing demand in Victoria is directed to a large number of small, inexpensive, detached homes (CRPB 1969:27). However, a significant proportion of single person households also suggests the need for low and medium density apartments since a low median income of between $1,800.00 and $2,400.00 per year (in 1968) was associated with this group (in contrast with a median income of between $3,600.00 and $4,880.00 per year for two-person households). Much of the future housing demand for single-person households will likely be centered in census tracts adjacent to the CBD as the core appears to be losing its aged population to these

areas (CRPB 1969:27). This trend could reflect user preferences but since people choose to remain close to the core it is more likely a reflection of the declining availability of suitable housing as urban renewal proceeds in the CBD. Such factors reinforce the need for special efforts to relocate the elderly poor displaced from apartments in the core area.

Housing is an important feature in the relationship between the elderly and the rest of the community since residential location dictates opportunites for contact and effects access to services and facilities (Atchley 1972:270). Although the housing requirements of the elderly differ significantly from those of younger people, the elderly are generally regarded as a heterogeneous group with a wide range of physical and social housing needs. Nevertheless, much research has been directed towards identifying relatively homogeneous subgroups of the elderly with common needs and desires which may be reflected in planning strategies.

The demand for housing for the elderly in Canada has been increasing rapidly since World War Two with increasing affluence and tendencies towards self-reliance by the elderly. Recently, the lack of adequate housing for the elderly has stimulated intervention by government agencies. As an example, the Canadian government introduced the Non-Profit Housing Assistance Program in 1973 designed to assist groups willing to produce housing for

people of low socio-economic status, particularly the elderly and the handicapped (Murphy 1974:1).

Since a significant number of the elderly in downtown Victoria reside in rooming houses relatively homogeneous in terms of age and social class, a basic issue in planning for this group centers on the appropriate age of their neighbours and the relative merits of integration into society or segregation in order to provide for their specialized needs. Many authors, such as Newman, have stressed the need to segregate the elderly in order to enhance interpersonal relations within their peer group (1973: 194). Newman feels that many of the elderly prefer to live among other elderly people and prefer to be away from children and, particularly, teenagers. Therefore, he stresses the advantages of medium density apartment buildings, particularly for the low income elderly. A similar view is advanced by Niebanck, who presents evidence in support of the conviction that "exposure does not necessarily breed positive interaction, and that the negative effects of integration may outweigh the positive" (1965:61). However, it has also been suggested that "the elderly dislike the insular life of a closed community and prefer more social contacts with the day-to-day life of the real world" (Murphy 1974:3). This position is supported by Mrs. Kuhn, founder and chairperson of the Gray Panthers who, "shares a lovely old house with three younger people" (Daily Times Nov.6/79:25).

Similarly, Jane Jacob's views on the restrictions imposed by isolated housing projects are well known (1961). Clearly many researchers feel that physical integration fosters socialization, maintains continuity in lifestyle, prevents a narrowing of interests that would hasten withdrawal, and avoids making the elderly unduly conscious of their own inabilities.

Although both of the aforementioned views purport to reduce the dependence of the elderly on society, segregation and integration are not necessarily opposite extremes. In this respect segregation and integration can be blended in a design permitting private territories and providing access to social and physical facilities (Murphy 1974:3). Rather than stress complete neighbourhood integration, the emphasis on this planning strategy is on protecting the elderly from aspects of the community in which they do not want to participate while enhancing access to the services and facilities which are desired. Therefore, it seems suitable to strike a balance between the need for security and congeniality of an appropriate residential area. In this sense many researchers have concluded that low-rise medium density apartment buildings would be a desirable form of housing for the elderly (Niebanck 1969:59). Similarly, Lawton did not find any significant displeasure with apartment living among the elderly (1974:65).

Despite much recent interest in senior citizens' housing

complexes, the CRPB study found an overwhelming preference for single detached homes among the elderly of all ages (Table VIII). However, of the 600 to 700 newly retired people arriving in Victoria each year, only 66 percent were able to find accommodation in single family dwellings. Of the remainder, 24 percent found residence in low-rise apartments or converted houses, while seven percent occupied high-rise apartment buildings and three percent found accommodation in other structures such as institutions and senior citizen's housing projects. This disparity between apparent preferences and actual housing occupied "could be due to shortages, lack of suitable locational choices, high rents or costs or declining health" (CRPB 1969:88).

Because of the large number of elderly home owners in Victoria, strong continuing demand can be expected for detached homes within the built-up urban area. In this regard the elderly appear to prefer a modest home convenient to services and transportation. However, to the extent that single-family homes are not available or are too expensive, the demand for apartments will likely continue. Despite an overall preference for single detached houses, 25 percent of the CRPB's survey sample were favorably inclined towards apartment living now or in the future (excluding those presently in apartments). Moreover, present or future preferences for accommodation in senior citizens' housing complexes is relatively high (33 percent), indicating that the

TABLE VIII DWELLING UNIT TYPE FIRST AND SECOND CHOICE PREFERENCES, BY AGE, GROUP AND SEX -- RETIRED AGE 65+ QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY SAMPLE

Dwelling Unit Type	65-69				70-74			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice
Single Detached House or Duplex (1)	93	8	42	3	90	2	60	3
2-3 storey apt.	7	24	15	9	9	25	22	17
Over 3 storey apt.	5	6	5	14	9	10	3	9
Apt. Conversion of Single Det. House	2	4	3	5	3	5	5	6
Other	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	0
Total	107	43	65	31	112	43	92	35

Dwelling Unit Type	75-79				80+			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice
Single Detached House or Duplex (1)	88	8	59	5	91	8	65	7
2-3 Storey Apt.	14	21	13	14	14	12	17	11
Over 3 storey apt.	5	4	8	7	3	5	3	5
Apt. Conversion of Single Det. House	0	6	7	8	5	2	10	10
Other	2	1	0	0	3	1	3	1
Total	109	40	87	34	116	28	98	34

Notes: (1) Includes Rowhouse or Townhouse

(from CRPB 1969:70-71)

"senility" stigma associated with such complexes is declining. These considerations led the CRPB to conclude that senior citizens' projects will likely play a significant role in the future provided relatively low density and access to services can be maintained.

In 1974 there were twenty non-profit housing projects for the elderly in Victoria providing accommodation for 2,050 residents or 4.0 percent of the total population over 54 years of age (Murphy 1974:7). These projects provide inexpensive accommodation and usually supply meal and maid service if required. Therefore, with the present housing shortage and decline in apartment construction, non-profit housing appears a promising alternative. However, the concept will have to be pursued to a much greater extent than at present if it is to make up the housing deficit currently facing the elderly in Victoria.

Locational preferences obtained by the CRPB reveal that most of Victoria's elderly prefer residential areas away from the CBD or its fringe. Nevertheless, income level affects locational preferences as it is apparent that the downtown and fringe area is very attractive for the low income elderly. Those expressing a preference for a central location desired to be close to "town" and shops, to be able to walk to areas of interest, have access to transportation and be able to take advantage of general services. Noise was the most significant complaint of the elderly about the core area as it is apparent that they desire quiet as well as

visual appeal and convenience (CRPB 1969:114).

Housing for the elderly must reflect their varied interests and requirements as well as be designed unobtrusively to facilitate the operation of the home. However, to maintain the privacy and to enhance the independence of the elderly it is necessary to reduce the institutional effect of much planned housing. General design recommendations vary but must stress safe, economical and convenient dwellings that afford privacy and a pleasant environment while not possessing an institutional look (Murphy 1974:25). Nevertheless, general design features should be complemented with special features such as railings, grab-bars and low stairs. Increasingly, such features can be found in downtown hotels which have been converted into rooming houses for the elderly.

Transportation and the Elderly in Victoria

Victoria is still strongly oriented towards the CBD since a significant portion of retail business is still centralized in this area. In metropolitan areas the elderly generally resemble the poor in terms of transportation usage as they are usually forced to rely on mass transportation for all but the most local journeys. Despite the fact that less than half of the elderly utilize private automobiles, Atchley concluded that mass transportation systems generally have not considered the special needs of the elderly (1972:275). Atchley stressed the need for adequate

scheduling, reduced fares, and door-to-door service in the area of public transit. He emphasized that while the elderly are usually able to make essential journeys, they are often unable to socialize and "do the things that give meaning to life" (Atchley 1972:269). In Victoria, scheduling is often inadequate and there is no provision for low cost door-to-door service. This lack emphasizes the importance of proximity to goods and services within walking distance, especially for the elderly poor.

In the case of Victoria, Jones concluded that, as in other metropolitan areas, mode of transportation is the most significant variable affecting the frequency of trips (1975:103). A weekly trip average of 9.0 was found for automobile drivers in contrast with an average of 7.2 trips per week for non-drivers. Although the figure for non-drivers is not particularly low in comparison with data from other cities, it is significant that non-drivers are forced to rely on foot trips for 44 percent of their journeys (Table IX). In this context, the number of trips via public transportation is minimal and approximately the same proportion of the total as trips taken in the cars of friends. This finding reflects the considerable number of regional shopping centers in Victoria (despite overall centralization) and suggests elderly non-drivers may suffer more in other centers. Nevertheless, it is significant that 20 percent of the non-drivers expressed dissatisfaction with their transportation arrangements

while drivers expressed general satisfaction. Since the least mobile population group appears to be the very old, especially those possessing only a limited income, the need for upgrading public transportation is undeniable.

Table IX

COMPARISON TRIP MODE USAGE: DRIVERS VS. NON-DRIVERS

Trip Mode	Drivers (means)	Non-Drivers (means)
Auto (Driver)	70% of all trips	0% of all trips
Auto (Passenger)	5% " "	28% " "
Bus	7% " "	27% " "
Foot	17% " "	44% " "

(from Jones 1975:83)

The elderly have characteristic problems in using public transportation. Features such as steep hills and steps, high steps onto buses and variable bus routes tend to hinder the elderly more than their younger counterparts. Nevertheless, due to the importance of urban contacts to the elderly, public transportation is more significant to them, in many respects, than it is to most other social groups. Despite recent laudable improvements to Victoria's bus system, further improvements are required to permit older residents to utilize the full potential of public transit. More input from the elderly should facilitate the identification of needs currently not met by British Columbia Hydro's bus pass system. Only with improvements is participation in the bus pass

program likely to increase.

Conclusion

Table X reveals that the population in Victoria will "age" considerably over the next ten years and the over 65 group will almost double. This projection emphasizes the need for special housing and transportation programs to accommodate the elderly. The transportation system must be upgraded in certain areas and housing starts should reflect the demand for low-cost detached and low density multiple-family dwellings. Moreover, the high proportion of elderly over age 80 (27 percent) implies that attention must be paid to the provision of geriatric services and old-age housing complexes. It is also apparent that special attention must be paid to the needs of the elderly in single-person households, particularly male households. The high ages and low incomes associated with this group make them even more vulnerable to changing social and economic circumstances. In this respect the impact of redevelopment in the central city appears to be displacing a significant number of low-income elderly from rooming houses and apartmentsin the CBD.

Although such considerations as migration are not particularly relevant to the less mobile poor sectors of the retired population, they do emphasize the suitability of Victoria for elderly residents. In light of current trends, Victoria's

Table X

Victoria CMA Population Projections by Age Group

1976 - 1986

Age	1971	Percent of Total	1976	Percent of Total	1981	Percent of Total	1986	Percent of Total
0-14	47,110	24.1	44,173	19.5	43,102	16.0	44,913	14.2
15-24	34,105	17.4	43,998	19.5	53,734	19.9	53,622	17.2
25-34	21,120	10.8	29,581	13.1	40,485	15.0	51,135	16.4
35-44	19,940	10.2	21,150	9.4	26,060	9.7	35,955	11.5
45-54	23,730	12.1	24,576	10.8	24,355	9.0	25,321	8.1
55-64	20,185	10.3	25,600	11.3	31,467	11.7	35,710	11.4
65+	29,595	15.1	36,986	16.4	49,997	18.7	65,985	21.2
TOTAL	195,785	100.0%	226,065	100.0%	269,200	100.0%	312,084	100.0%

(from CRPB 1976:5)

continued importance as a retirement center seems assured. In general, the retired portion of the population brings in a significant amount of "basic" income which contributes to a diverse and stable economic base. It can be seen, therefore, that the elderly have contributed significantly to the economic stability of the area as well as to the "olde English" image of Victoria which is so highly touted by the tourist industry. However, in order to sustain and encourage the "retirement industry", Victoria must maintain its reputation as a model retirement center. Therefore, it seems particularly appropriate to focus on the needs of the centrally located elderly poor as significant problems are

developing as a consequence of upgrading and renewal. In this sense Victoria is suitable as a site for the development of innovative programs that should provide valuable insight into aspects of planning for the elderly in other parts of Canada. It is to be hoped that such programs will permit the elderly to enhance their position in the city and allow them to play a more active role in society.

The subsequent chapters will, therefore, focus upon the renewal process and a case study of the elderly poor in a downtown Victoria rooming-house. Initially, however, the methods chosen for the elicitation of the data are outlined (Chapter III).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research on human spatial behavior has drawn concepts from a broad range of academic disciplines, and techniques range from experimental research designs, structured interviews and questionnaires, to participant observation, open-ended interviews, life history construction, and other associated forms of field work (Bogdan 1972:1). Despite a wide range of techniques, social science research has been dominated by quantitative methodologies based on techniques such as structured interviews and questionnaires, which clearly intrude as foreign elements into the social settings they are intended to analyze (Webb, et al. 1966:1). Moreover, as no social measurement technique is without weakness, reliance on a specific method of data elicitation ignores the necessity for overlapping techniques to mitigate the deficiencies of a single approach (Parr 1970:12; Webb, et al. 1966:2). These factors suggest that unobtrusive techniques, adopting the comprehensive perspective of viewing human settings and the individuals in them holistically, should play a much larger role in the social sciences than is presently the case (Craik 1970:22).

In contrast to many other social groups, inner city elderly residents present significant difficulties when interview techniques must be used. Investigators such as Bahr (1973:8,a) have noted the importance inner city residents place on privacy

and Hollingshead has stressed the "deep-seated distrust of authority figures" (such as doctors and social workers) which pervades lower income groups (Bahr 1970:24). In the case of the elderly much of this distrust and isolation may be seen as stemming from the "disengagement" emphasized in many theories of aging. Moreover, the low socio-economic status of potential respondents clearly exacerbates the difficulties encountered when interviewing elderly inner city residents. Nevertheless, once suspicion is dispelled and respondents are assured they are not the objects of pity, many researchers have found the isolation of these people can prove helpful since most are anxious for contact and companionship.

To examine the spatial behavior of the elderly poor at a micro-level, a case study of the Fairfield Hotel was carried out in conjunction with a broader investigation into the general problem of maintaining the independent elderly poor. Archival sources were consulted and interviews carried out with public officials in order to permit comparison with the results of intra-urban studies by Jones (1975), the Victoria Fire Department (1978), and the CRPB (1969). Additionally, in order to delineate activity patterns and elicit the needs and desires of hotel residents in the case study, a range of methodologies was utilized including structured and unstructured interviews; observation and participant observation; and the construction of case histories of residents. Interview schedules and other techniques associated with participant observation also permitted comparison with research on the

suburban elderly of Victoria (Jones 1975) and the inner city elderly of San Diego (Stutz 1976).

The subsequent chapters will focus upon the renewal process and the case study. This approach necessitated the use of a wide range of methods. Although structured interviews provided data useful in comparing with the results of other studies, difficulties encountered in breaking down barriers of suspicion emphasized the need for the less obtrusive techniques embraced by participant observation. Due to the importance to the study of this frequently misunderstood technique a brief review of the conceptual underpinnings of participant observation and associated methodologies is appropriate before the specific methods utilized are outlined.

Participant Observation as a Research Technique

The predilection of social science researchers for the development of measurements has frequently led to misunderstanding (Lazarfeld and Barton 1951:155). On the one hand, some optimists have attempted to measure social phenomena with all the rigor and precision of the physical sciences, and on the other hand, some pessimists deny that human behavior can be measured and advance entirely intuitive approaches to the study of science. However, a basic weakness underlying both positions is the unfounded assumption that science must be carried out by using quantitative means or be

relegated to the realm of intuition. In this respect it is important to be aware that social research can be advanced by non-quantitative devices which are nevertheless systematic and widely accepted. Morever, it is even possible to argue that there is a line of continuity from qualitative to quantitative methods, by way of such intermediate devices as "systematic ratings, ranking scales, multidimensional classifications, typologies, and simple quantitative indices" (Lazarfeld and Barton 1951:155).

Despite an apparent continuity between the techniques of collection and classification of data, the distinction between "hard data" and "soft data" is frequently made (Bogdan 1972:1). Hard data are generally quantitative in nature and are amenable to statistical handling, while soft data are notable for their wealth of descriptive detail. Therefore, quantitative methodologies are directed to relationships between specific variables and the testing of preconceived hypotheses while qualitative approaches generally adopt a holistic view of human settings and individuals in them. While quantitative methodologies are characterized by techniques such as structured interviews, questionnaires and experimental research designs, qualitative methodologies encompass participant observation, open-ended interviews, life history construction, and other associated forms of field work (Bogdan 1972:1). As no social measurement technique is without its weaknesses, the necessity for overlapping techniques must be emphasized. In this

respect, convincing evidence can only be established through a triangulation of measurement processes and qualitative methodologies should thus play much larger roles in the social sciences. Ideally, components of a multimethod approach should be weighted according to their weaknesses and combined according to their freedom from similar sources of bias.

Observation is not only a basic and pervasive tool in sorting the environmental cues which surround us in our daily lives but is essential to all forms of empirical inquiry and is, in fact, central to all social sciences (Buckley et al 1976:24; Richardson et al 1965:9; Vidich and Shapiro 1955:354). It permits social scientists to gain insight into behavioral patterns without depending on the written or verbal capabilities of respondents. Moreover, observation, more than other techniques, places the researcher close to social change as it actually takes place (Vidich and Shapiro 1955:354). When aspects of behavior and social change are systematically recorded and analyzed by an observer taking an active role in the ongoing behavioral process, the technique has been termed participant observation.

The implicit purpose of research techniques is to use their capacity for reducing the bulk of data while maintaining insight into the events of interest (Bogdan 1972:v). In this respect it is apparent that a range of methodologies exists which permits far greater reduction of data with more apparent precision

than can be claimed by practitioners of participant observation. However, participant observation is a technique for dealing with very complex human interactions and changing social settings which may not be amenable to analysis by any other technique currently available (Bogdan 1972:v). In conjunction with content analysis, the methodology is frequently used to provide descriptive background information and often leads to the generation of hypotheses (Forcese and Richer 1970:19).

Although it has been applied to a variety of problems, participant observation has been most usefully employed "in the study of the dynamics of all varieties of reasonably compact social organizations" (Becker and Geer 1958:341). In this aspect, researchers are interested in understanding a specific organization or substantive problem rather than establishing relationships between abstractly defined variables (Becker 1957:653). Interest is directed to the very sources of variance others try to control in testing relationships between specific variables. Although participant observation can be used to test a priori hypotheses, practitioners generally assume that not enough is known about the social setting to produce preconceived hypotheses. Nevertheless, the technique provides the most complete information about certain social events and is essential in determining the kinds of data that may be lost by using alternative techniques (Becker and Geer 1958:339).

Participant observation originated in cultural anthropology as a result of language barriers and the realization that an in-depth study of a culture necessitates immersion in the culture's daily life (Friedrichs and Ludtke 1975:1; Vidich and Shapiro 1955:355). However, since the 1950's, acceptance of the technique has extended into other fields of social science. Throughout the 1960's and 1970's a conscious effort has been made to develop, insofar as is possible, standardized and systematic techniques to enhance the reliability and validity of inferences gleaned from the technique (Bogdan 1972:2; Friedrichs and Ludtke 1975:1). In common with other social research methodologies, participant observation has evolved through a refining and systemizing of the daily processes used to sort environmental cues. In spite of the distortion of perception by the observer, the technique is advancing to the state of a precise research instrument and early attempts to found it strictly on phenomenological knowledge have been largely abandoned (Friedrichs and Ludtke 1975:3). These observations suggest attempts have been made to reduce the "artistic" component of participant observation in favor of a more "scientific" stance. Nevertheless, it is apparent that participant observation is still essentially a craft that cannot be learned completely from study but must be adapted according to the individual practitioner' (Bogdan 1972:71).

The Scope of Participant Observation

Rather than regarding participant observation as a single method, it is preferable to regard it as a combination of methods and techniques employed in studying certain types of subject matter such as sub-cultures, organizations or informal groups (McCall and Simmons 1961:1). It is probably because of the numerous techniques subsumed within the title that participant observation has not enjoyed a clear definition in the social sciences (Bodgan 1972:3). An early, classic definition by Kluckholn identified the technique as a:

> conscious and systematic sharing, insofar as circumstances permit, in the life activities and, on occasion, in the interests and effects of a group of persons. Its purpose is to obtain data . . . in which the distortion which results from the investigator's being an outside agent is reduced to a minimum (1930:331).

In contrast, researchers such as Schwartz and Schwartz maintain the observer:

> both modifies and is influenced by this (social) context. The role . . . may be either formal or informal, concealed or revealed; the observer may spend a great deal of time or very little time in the research situation; the participant observer role may be an integral part of the social structure or largely peripheral to it (1955:344).

In response to apparent incongruities between definitions Gold has proposed a typology of participant observation roles encompassing: complete participant (where true identity and purpose are unknown); participant as observer (where respondents are aware of a field

relationship); observer-as-participant (formal, one-visit interview situation); and complete observer (systematic eavesdropping) 1958:217-223).

Despite the rigidity of early definitions, it soon became apparent that in most cases where data are collected through discrete observation, the researcher is fulfilling the role of participant as observer since he may not be a peer and his role as an information seeker is recognized as such (although frequently in an indirect manner). Although such a role increases the possibility of researcher-induced bias, there are significant advantages associated with this position. The role of participant as observer, in contrast to the complete participant observer, permits the researcher much wider scope in interacting with all members of a social system in a uniform manner. A wide range of members can be interviewed, using more structured techniques if required, as his unique position as a neutral observer allows the researcher to obtain data from groups antagonistic to each other. In this sense, contact with highly-placed persons is not as likely to generate suspicion from those in lower positions. Moreover, the observer as full-time researcher is not encumbered by mundane chores which frequently would be required of him were he to be a member of the system under investigation. In addition, the investigator does not have to place so much reliance on his memory as he is much freer to record on the spot. Finally, he also frequently has much freer access to recorded material of an official nature which

would be inaccessible to the true participant observer (Babchuk 1962:288).

In light of the limitations of strict participant observation, most definitions of the technique now adopt a more flexible stand. Therefore, a representative definition of the technique refers to "research characterized by a prolonged period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter, during which time data in the form of field notes, are unobtrusively and systematically collected" (Bogdan 1972:3).

Problems in Participation and Observation

Critics of participant observation emphasize the potential bias introduced by the researcher himself who, being the sole instrument of data collection, is portrayed as a sieve selectively collecting and analyzing non-representative data, thus endangering the reliability of data. Similarly, critics emphasize the effect an observer has on the behavior of subjects and, thus, on the data elicited.

Before discussing the nature of objectivity, validity, and reliability in participant observation, one should address these criticisms directly. It is possible to argue that in other research techniques the investigator also acts as a selective sieve, although the nature of selectivity is not so obvious (Bogdan 1972:6).

For example, investigators in survey research select questions based on their own ideologies and preconceived notions of what is important and thereby distort reality by imposing a created structure on data (Krause and Miller 1974:50; Forcese and Richer 1973:12). Similarly, in response to criticisms regarding the researcher's effect on behavior, it is possible to argue that all forms of research manipulate subjects or use instruments which affect behavior at least as much as a field observer does. Moreover, quantitative measures generally emphasize reliability but frequently to the exclusion of problems of validity. In this respect it is possible to "concentrate on consistency without much concern with what it is we are being consistent about or whether we are consistently right or wrong" (Bogdan 1972:7).

These rebuttals to criticisms of participant observation have been negative in that they do not confront problems directly. However, in light of the absence of methodologies to deal holistically with complex and changing social situations, participant observation appears as good as any of the techniques which have been formulated. Moreover, it can be argued that "the investigator, being forced to analyze his own roles, is less misled by the myth of complete objectivity in social research and is more aware of his own bias" (Kluckholn 1940:331).

In participant observation studies involving some form of interviewing, the error produced by the respondent is the most

understated risk to a valid interpretation of data (Webb et al 1966:13). Even co-operative and well-meaning subjects may be influenced by the knowledge that they are participating in an academic search for knowledge. This error, usually called "reactive measurement effect", stems from a number of sources and frequently threatens both internal reliability and external validity of conclusions. Awareness of being tested frequently encourages the respondent to try to make a good impression by giving those responses he feels are expected. Similarly, an awareness of the research may produce a reaction involving not inaccuracy or defense but rather a specialized selection from among the many "proper" behaviors available to the respondent. Even with candor and complete representativeness, the onset of questioning may create attitudes and lead to opinion formation. Finally, lawful sources of variance such as response sets frequently appear. In this respect it is apparent that "respondents will more frequently endorse a statement than disagree with its opposite" (Webb et al. 1966:19). Each of these four sources of error can be reduced, to a degree, by such actions as ensuring anonymity and stressing the need for candor. However, in light of these sources of error, it seems unobtrusive techniques should be used in conjunction with other approaches to monitor the amount of bias that may affect responses.

Error derived from the investigator is, to a degree,

implicit in reactive error effects as the investigator structures interviews and provides cues to the respondent. However, effects that vary systematically with interviewer characteristics and with instrument errors are also frequently threats to the reliability of data. In this context it has already been noted that the observer can act as a sieve which selectively collects and analyzes non-representative data. Errors in observation, frequently manifested in "overlooking the obvious", can be reduced by systematic training of the observer (Friedrich and Ludkte 1975:29). Furthermore, replicating observations to ensure consistent data contributes to both reliability and validity by ensuring that the researcher himself does not change inordinately over time. However, other sources of variance stemming from interviewer effects include such factors as the differential effect of the race of the interviewer, his age and his sex (Webb et al. 1966:21). Religion is another possible contaminant as is social class. Although these sources of bias are lawful and consistent, they are difficult to control and further emphasize the need for less obtrusive actions on the part of the researcher.

Sampling error is a further source of invalidity when using participant observation techniques, as it is frequently difficult to observe all the relevant individuals or aspects of the phenomenon of interest (McCall and Simmons 1969:129). Although the participant as observer generally has relatively free access to the members of an organization, there are also problems related

to population restrictions and population stability over time.

This general review of sources of invalidity and unreliability applies to different techniques at varying levels. Therefore, by using appropriate combinations of tecnhiques it is hoped reliability and validity measurements and conclusions can be strengthened. In this respect a multi-method approach is aimed at overcoming many of the serious deficiencies associated with individual methods. Nevertheless, the relative importance of techniques is frequently dictated by the research design. In this sense a decision to test hypotheses imposes requirements for more structured methodologies.

There are many reasons for not having a preconceived hypothesis when undertaking a participant observation study. These reasons were best summarized by Bogdan:

> 1) I never feel sure what is relevant for hypothesizing until I have some intimacy with the situation--I think of a hypothesis as a well-founded conjecture; 2) once uttered, a hypothesis becomes obligatory to a degree; 3) there is danger that the hypothesis will become esteemed for itself and work as an abused symbol of science (1972:56).

Although some researchers attempt to enter the field free of preconceived notions and hypotheses, it is usual to have some hunches and preconceived definitions as it is almost impossible to maintain complete objectivity. In this context, an advantage of participant observation techniques is that the researcher need only

possess tentative hypotheses which can be refined and/or rejected during the course of investigation. Although the lack of a pre-conceived hypothesis is frequently associated with the "artistic" rather than the "scientific" component of the technique, most practitioners do attempt to delineate themes, relationships, questions and concepts in the early stages of intensive analysis (Bogdan 1972:61). Such ideas are rigorously tested by a variety of techniques and may provide hypotheses which form the basis for subsequent research. In this fashion the less structured forms of participant observation are frequently exploratory in nature at least in initial phases of investigation. Examples of unstructured approaches include Whyte's classic study of Street Corner Society (1955) which was exploratory in nature, analyzing relationships between two groups of Italian immigrants. In contrast, structured techniques, such as sociometric tests to produce distributions of subjects according to status or popularity, frequently rely on statistical analysis. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize again that both approaches can be used in conjunction to obtain analytic descriptions of complex social organizations.

As it has been defined in this review, participant observation is a broad-ranging technique with considerable potential to acquire generally inaccessible data on human behavior and complex social settings. Although most research is obtrusive in that the researcher adopts the role of information seeker,

conscious attempts are made to ensure that the investigator remains inconspicuous and eventually becomes accepted as a member of the group or organization under investigation. In this respect the investigator is purposefully general and vague with respect to his desires and seldom makes the extent or details of his investigation known (Bogdan 1972:15). Even Whyte's classic study was not participant observation according to strict traditional definitions as Whyte's research interests were known. However, few would dispute the intimate view of Cornerville life which he acquired through eventual acceptance as a member of the social groups involved. These considerations again emphasize the need for minimizing observer interference by such procedures as avoiding the advancement of one's personal views, remaining ambiguous as to goals and interests, and engaging in unobtrusive forms of eavesdropping and observation where possible. However, while it is not necessary to reveal all details of purpose, it is essential to emphasize that a policy of honesty with respect to initial statements of purpose and in response to direct questions is the only viable approach to participant observation in the long run.

Interview Schedules as a Research Technique

According to authors such as Bogdan (1972) interviewing is the research methodology most often used in conjunction with participant observation. In this respect interviewing is subject to many of the weaknesses previously recognized as affecting

participant observation. Nevertheless, because of the importance of interviewing to the case study, a brief review of interview techniques is appropriate before outlining the methods used in the case study.

Where direct questioning is necessary in an investigation, basic instruments available to social scientists include the questionnaire, the interview schedule, and the interview guide. These devices, used separately or combined, fall on a continuum of structured to less-structured methodologies (Krause and Miller 1974:48). These instruments are designed to be a uniform stimulus but suffer from similar difficulties regarding validity and reliability as were associated with participant observation. "Bias is inevitable" as an interview situation is a social encounter and questionnaires are a foreign element capable of conditioning the response (Porteous 1977:233). Questionnaires, which are frequently mailed, reduce researcher-induced bias but often leave doubts as to the validity of responses. Therefore, the interview schedule permits the researcher to administer the questionnaire orally to encourage accurate recording of responses. Similarly, the interview guide, providing only points to be covered, is aimed at enhancing validity but often does so at the expense of reliability (Krause and Miller 1974:51). Nevertheless, in asking for detail via an open-ended instrument, allowing continuous probings and using the interview guide to stay on track, respondents are less

likely, either intentionally or unwittingly, to conceal their genuine reactions to a situation.

Although problems with structured interviews cannot be completely eliminated, careful design can eliminate many faults. In this respect it is essential to maintain rigid structure with an interview guide. Questions must be posed to respondents in the same order, with the same wording, and with an effort to control subliminal clues (such as gestures). Standardization can be enhanced via closed questions, such as multiple choice and utilizing a single interviewer reduces researcher-induced bias. However, researchers should be trained to basic standards to avoid having them change their approach and, thereby, maintain the principal of invariance. In this respect pilot studies may be useful. Unsystematic "quota sampling" also relies on trained interviewers. However, this form of sampling is fast, efficient, and has the potential to yield essential basic information which has a high degree of validity and comparability (Krause and Miller 1974:44). Furthermore, quota sampling is frequently the only form available when interviewing isolated social groups.

Methods Utilized in Field Research

Archival Research

Archival searches were carried out to obtain background information on problems associated with the elderly poor and the

plight of the inner city elderly poor in Victoria. In this respect general information on aging and the elderly in modern society was gleaned mainly from secondary sources in the University of Victoria's McPherson Library, the Geography Department Map Library, and a range of municipal, provincial and federal government publications. Much information on the decline of inner city rooming-houses was obtained for the period 1974/1981 from local newspapers and publications including: Monday Magazine; The Daily Colonist; The Daily Times;and The Times/Colonist. Further information on local conditions and trends was obtained from Victoria Fire Department records and files kept by Mr. Verwood, Manager of the Fairfield Hotel. Finally, some information, notably a study by Rowles (1978), was obtained by mail.

Interviews with Public Officials and Hotel Managers

Much of the information gathered for this study during the Fall of 1978 and the Spring and Fall of 1979 stemmed from extensive interviews with city officials and, particularly, with municipal fire inspectors. Additionally the managers of several downtown hotels were interviewed about the perceived future of their hotels. This information provided a useful, albeit general, overview of the major events underlying the current hotel crisis in downtown Victoria.

Fire Chief Simmons was interviewed, but Inspector Best, as the officer responsible for carrying out the building up-grading

progam in Victoria, expounded a particularly comprehensive overview of the problems and the potentials of current renewal trends in the downtown area. Interviewed repeatedly during the fall of 1978, Inspector Best provided much crucial information. Similarly, MLA Barber and Councilman Blencoe were consulted about administrative and political procedures. MLA Barber seemed particularly qualified and provided general information on the elderly as well as specific recommendations on upgrading the inner city.

Interviews with public officials presented the opportunity for a higher degree of uniformity in data gathering as check sheets and structured interviews could be utilized fully without eliciting undue suspicion from respondents. Nevertheless, a large number of interviews was necessary in striving to ensure a balanced evaluation of the problems facing Victoria's inner city elderly. In this respect discussions with University of Victoria professors helped broaden the scope of the investigation. Finally, repeated interviews with Otto Verwood, manager of the Fairfield Hotel, provided specific background information on the history of the hotel.

Participant Observation

Certain inner city residential hotels in Victoria were found to provide the organizational form amenable to investigation through participant observation. According to established procedure, it was assumed the observer would live at the hotel for

a period of time, getting to know staff and other residents by interacting with them and watching both their interaction with others and their interaction with aspects of the physical environment. During this process detailed notes were kept unobtrusively and inferences were made about aspects such as lifestyle and organizational structure. As in advocacy planning, the goal of the participant observer is to "see the world as the subjects conceive it" (Bogdan 1972:3). Such an intimate relationship provides the researcher a unique vantage point in viewing the dynamics of change and conflict and thus enabling the identification of "organizations, relationships, and group and individual definitions in process" (Bogdan 1972:3). This technique is frequently applied to such organizational forms as youth centers and large social clubs with complex properties such as a multiplicity of smaller social systems and subgroups (Friedrichs and Ludtke 1975:93).

Investigation into the needs and desires of inner city residents of Victoria could only be carried out by living in an inner city hotel and experiencing the actual living conditions of elderly residents through interacting with them. In this respect the unobtrusive position of "participant observer" was maintained during the systematic recording and analyzing of aspects of behavior and social organization. This work was carried out in the lobbies and sitting areas of the hotel to provide a cross check on more structured methodologies. Data were handled according to

accepted participant observation techniques (i.e. Bogdan 1972:60) and were responsible for many of the major ideas which emerged during the course of the investigation.

Participant observation techniques were utilized in order to delineate activity patterns and identify the needs and desires of hotel residents. Although participant observation is a relatively imprecise methodology, it is a useful method for dealing with such complex human interactions as were apparent at the Fairfield Hotel. The social setting appeared reasonably compact but not amenable to analysis by any other technique currently available. Therefore, participant observation was employed in order to provide basic descriptive background information.

Although the case study was originally intended to last only two months, the anticipated barriers of isolation and suspicion created difficulties which delayed completion of the study considerably. Three months, from April 24 to July 24, 1978, involved living at the hotel and observing behavior as a "participant observer". Although many residents were aware of my research interests, efforts were made during this period to maintain an unobtrusive stance. Following this initial field work, a month (from September 20 to October 20, 1978) was spent in the role of an overt researcher administering the interview schedule.

The most significant factor in the selection of the

Fairfield Hotel for study was the anticipated homogeneity of the social group living in the hotel. In this respect just over half of the 62 rooms in the hotel were occupied by stable elderly residents. Of these residents, approximately 13 percent were female and, as they tended to group together, they formed an unexpectedly important facet of the investigation.

The Fairfield Hotel was selected as the subject of this investigation because of the characteristics of its residential population, its longevity and its centrality which places it in the path of many renewal schemes. However, as in many participant observation studies, the attitude of the management and its relationship with the residents was also a crucial factor in selecting the hotel. Otto Verwood has managed the business since 1970 while "Belle" has been the resident manager since 1964. Together, these two have fostered very close interpersonal relationships with almost all of the long term residents. Most tenants are on a first-name basis with the management, frequently bring problems first to Otto or Belle, and are anxious to help the administrators with errands and small chores. The vibrant, open personalities of the managers and the insight they have into the lives of their tenants were invaluable in assisting this researcher to gain an initial foothold into hotel society. Both expressed interest in this research and were instrumental in "breaking the ice" between myself and the tenants. These considerations emphasize the importance of "gatekeepers" in participant observation studies since it was their

prerogative to deny access to the hotel (as occurred with Hotel "A" and Hotel "B" during pilot studies). It is significant that the management of Hotel "A" went to the extent of calling the police to ensure that no further research was carried out.

Despite the apparent suitability of the Fairfield Hotel, difficulties in applying participant observation techniques soon became apparent. Despite a high percentage of long-term residents, the population was not completely stable as some residents died and others moved during the course of the investigation. Moreover, age and socioeconomic status were significant barriers to an open discourse between researcher and respondent. In this respect most residents displayed an unwillingness to discuss their incomes or matters pertaining to money. Finally, some residents simply were not capable of responding to questions in a coherent manner. Such difficulties in interacting with a large number of residents reinforce the need for case histories to provide descriptive information in lieu of generalities.

The use of case histories reflects increasing recognition of the need to consider Man-Environment Relations in a holistic framework (Rowles 1978:xvii). In this respect geographers are beginning to consider smaller groups and even individuals in the quest for deeper insight into aspects of behavior.

The case histories stemmed from repeated, in-depth,

open-ended interviews with four residents and demonstrate the need for comprehensive investigation to develop an appreciation for the complexity and the subtle nuances of lifestyle. In this context the case histories revealed an immense diversity in lifestyles as well as certain common needs and desires among residents. Although this format may be disconcerting to some researchers, it is an attempt to portray residents as creative human beings, adjusting in personal ways to changing social and economic circumstances.

The Interview Schedule

In order to learn more about the types of people living in downtown hotels and to help elicit their needs and desires, a structured, but open-ended, questionnaire was administered to a random, or quota, sample of residents. The population from which interviewees were drawn was composed of all residents of the Fairfield Hotel who were over 64 years of age. Since there were only approximately 33 residents over the age of 64 living at the hotel, it was clear that the case study could not be carried out in a rigorous "scientific" fashion. With a universe of 33 and a sample of 15, the data are unlikely to be statistically valid or amenable to sophisticated statistical handling. Nevertheless, a sample size equivalent to almost 50 percent of the population suggests the validity of responses is high and that an accurate impression of hotel life can be gained. Moreover, as very little is known about this social subgroup and the problems it faces,

information rich in descriptive detail is intended to provide background data essential to any subsequent rigorous investigation. Finally, as the substantive problem of threats to the hotel is to be analyzed from the perspective of advocacy planning, the need for a quantitative analysis with a strict preconceived hypothesis is not apparent.

It is suggested that low-keyed and informal approaches, such as open-ended interviews are essential to elicit the needs and desires of this sensitive social group. Nevertheless, unobtrusive techniques were supplemented with a more structured interview schedule toward the end of the study period to verify conclusions and permit comparison with the results of other studies.

The interview schedule was administered by the researcher since the sample was small and the elderly frequently have difficulty reading questions and completing forms. Utilizing a single researcher to administer all interviews was important for the consistency of results and reduced possible interviewer-related variance. Interviews typically took up to an hour and most were carried out in the rooms of respondents to eliminate distractions. Some interviews were also carried out in the researcher's hotel room.

The size of the sample was not arbitrarily limited to 15 as the author's original intent was to interview all residents

fitting the criteria of the study. However, due to the afore-mentioned factors of suspicion and the desire for privacy of many residents, fifteen valid interviews were all that could be completed. Some residents were simply never available, six declined to be interviewed (giving reasons such as "too busy" or "none of your business"), and a few were unable to understand the questionnaire or even communicate with the researcher on anything but a cursory level. In light of these problems, a sample of almost 50 percent of the hotel population was judged adequate. Most respondents were willing to submit to follow-up interviews and in-depth, open-ended conversations.

Before administering the interview to residents of the Fairfield Hotel, a pilot study, using a prototype schedule, was carried out at Hotel "B". Numerous problems became apparent and both interview format and interviewing procedure had to be changed considerably. In its initial form, the interview schedule was judged too long to hold the attention of respondents. Furthermore, it became obvious that personal questions aroused anxiety and suspicion even though anonymity was guaranteed. Therefore, the wording of some questions was changed to make them more casual and open-ended. Personal questions were grouped at the end of the interview schedule and occasionally handed to respondents on a separate piece of paper to be completed at the end of the interview. Finally, although the advantages of using a tape recorder during

interviews is undeniable, the pilot study quickly established that residents were not willing to have their conversations taped. Therefore, it was necessary to make numerous notes immediately following the completion of each interview.

The interview schedule was based partially on materials used by Jones (1975) and Carp (1970) as well as on spatial data of the type investigated by Stutz (1976). The schedule included four distinct areas of interest: the impact of renewal and upgrading; data on the home base; spatial data relating to activity spheres within the city; and, finally, personal data (See Appendix I). Only because of the intensive nature of the interviews could such a large amount of data be collected.

The first question was an open-ended inquiry into the impact of the Fire Marshall's upgrading program on individual residents. These data were intended to supplement information from fire department officials and hotel operators. The second section included structured and open-ended questions on the importance of the hotel and its inherent adaptive mechanisms to the maintenance of the lifestyles of elderly residents. The spatial data formed an important section of the interview schedule since it permitted comparison with the results of Jones' study (1975) and allowed the delineation of activity spaces as expounded by Stutz (1976). The last part of the interview was designed to elicit personal data. Variables such as previous occupation, education, and income were

designed to permit the determination of socio-economic status. Length of residence was ascertained as were other "general" variables, such as age, sex, marital, and work status, in order to provide a socio-economic profile of the sample. Although the interview schedule was not designed primarily to test hypotheses, questions were grouped around emerging themes such as the importance of being able to walk to destinations, trip frequency, and the (perceived high) degree of satisfaction with services. Nevertheless, attempts were made to keep much of the interview open-ended as it was frequently necessary to skip from section to section as conversations digressed.

In this study the interviewer clearly lacks the high degree of training required for administering open-ended interviews. However, pilot studies and the considerable orientation time spent in the field were felt to mitigate much of this inexperience. Although a more experienced researcher could have controlled more sources of bias, the interview schedule was successful in eliciting basic descriptive information on the social subgroup found at the Fairfield Hotel. However, before the case study can be examined specifically, it is necessary to examine forces threatening the independence of the elderly poor in the general context of Victoria (Chapter IV).

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF RENEWAL ON ELDERLY RESIDENTS OF VICTORIA, B.C.

Urban renewal is frequently viewed as a laudatory attempt to reduce or eliminate physically undesirable elements from stereotyped slum or "gray areas". Indeed, environmental obsolescence and inefficiences appear inevitable and the results of urban renewal are tangible and undeniably impressive. Nevertheless, many authors have suggested that programs to upgrade the physical environment of downtown areas frequently ignore or obliterate pre-existing advantages and may have a detrimental impact on affected residents (Niebanck 1965:127). The trauma associated with dislocation is particularly severe for the elderly, who have been estimated to make up at least a fifth of the total households displaced in the United States (Niebanck 1965:1). As in many other major metropolitan centers, Victoria's centrally located elderly population is characterized by generally low incomes and exceptionally high ages. Such characteristics clearly can be expected to exacerbate the hardships of forced relocation (CRPB 1969:28).

In light of the importance of Victoria's tourist industry it is not surprising that considerable efforts have been made to maintain the appearance and viability of the downtown core. Nevertheless, the various upgrading and redevelopment programs which have been focused on the inner city appear to impose considerable

burdens on residents of the area. However, an upgrading program initiated by the provincial Fire Marshal in the Spring of 1975 emphasized the plight of elderly inner-city residents by directly and indirectly inflicting a dramatic impact on the structure of long term accommodation in the core area. In 1975 an initial set of 31 upgrading orders was issued to local hotels and rooming-houses by the municipal fire department. These orders appear largely responsible for the subsequent closure of at least a dozen inner city hotels. Initial phases of the program had the potential to affect 1,600 residents in 1,200 rooms (Daily Colonist July 22/75:22). Such a dramatic impact prompted extensive media coverage and aroused local businessmen, who obtained the support of city council. Councilmen, in turn, instituted a local by-law to delay the court orders. However, political intervention did not effect a solution, as the by-law amendment was, in effect, much harsher, as it did not allow any deviations from the Fire Marshal's Act. Despite a short-lived public outcry, notably from the Fairfield Community Association, more upgrading orders were issued with subsequent court hearings and increased pressure and stress on downtown residents. During this period the impact of the Fire Marshal's Program was compounded by building deterioration and by economic pressures responsible for the phasing out of even more downtown hotels.,

In light of the rapidity and the scope of the changes which have taken place in downtown Victoria, the importance of continuous monitoring and evaluation cannot be over-emphasized.

Nevertheless, surprisingly little information on the impact of dislocation on the elderly residents of the CBD was available during this period. Most civic and fire officials apparently assumed that responsibility for relocating displaced residents would voluntarily be accepted by hotel owners. Indeed, there were many instances of hotel owners finding alternative accommodations for long-term residents. Nevertheless, the magnitude of dislocation and the concurrent significant decline in suitable alternative accommodations for the elderly emphasizes the need for intensive investigation. Only with further research can policies be developed that are sensitive to the unique needs and desires of elderly inner-city residents. In this fashion, emphasis on supporting residents, upgrading their environment, and, where necessary, developing relocation policies is clearly essential.

Many complex and interrelated economic and political factors led to the extraordinary pressures on low cost accommodation in downtown Victoria. However, despite the fact that both the Municipal Planning Board and the Fire Department have been promising investigations into the impact of renewal and upgrading, there was little information, systematic or otherwise, on the status and future of downtown hotels or on the residents of those hotels. Nevertheless, information obtained mainly from Fire Department files is presented in Figure 3 and Table XI. It provides an overview of the position taken by downtown hotel owners in response to

the upgrading orders. However, in order better to understand events in Victoria following initiation of the upgrading scheme, it is necessary to consider the nature and impact of building codes and to examine the rationale underlying the Fire Marshal's upgrading program.

Building Codes

The general public and its elected representatives almost inevitably respond only after the occurrence of fires and disasters. Usually corrective action consists of Federal, Provincial, Municipal or Regional District legislation, and when building construction is under criticism, the legislation generally consists of a Building Code (Best 1978:3). Building Codes have been used since about 1700 B.C., when King Hammurabi drew up a law stipulating the execution of a builder whose handiwork collapsed and killed the owner. Despite such an early history, the development of modern building codes began only with the calamities and disastrous fires experienced by many industrialized nations at the beginning of this century.

The changing nature of building codes seems unavoidable as they are generally based on knowledge of the properties of building materials, the hazards implied by various occupational uses, and previous experience (Best 1978:4). In this respect, the development of combustible wood frame, brick, and wood joisted building construction since the turn of the century has created

significant problems for the fire service. As with most large North American cities, Victoria has low rental and substandard accommodations which are the result of the deterioration of what was once "high class" housing. In this respect the demands of the wartime years and subsequent general demands for low cost housing have resulted in the simple adaptation of the one-family house into multiple occupancy. Similarly, many previously exclusive hotels have had suites divided. These changes have led to dramatic increases in residential density in many buildings. Such problems have been compounded in Victoria, where a large number of buildings used for residential housing were constructed prior to 1940. Many fire officials consider such buildings to have been "constructed without regard for fire and life safety to the building occupant" (Best 1978:3).

Although the inherent fire hazard of the older hotels found in downtown Victoria may not be different from a similarly constructed private home, the difference lies in the tenants of such hotels. Although it has been suggested that tenants of apartments are generally less concerned about upkeep than owners, a much more important consideration was in understanding that in a high density situation the "action of one person can hazard all" (Best 1978:3). It is apparent, therefore, that as density increases, hazards are greatly compounded. Moreover, multiple occupancy is regarded as having "hazards inherently different from

those of a single family residence" taking into account a range of factors from visitors to garbage disposal (Best 1978:3). Statistics in both Canada and the United States indicate that the typical single family dwelling is a "firetrap", particularly at night. Therefore, essentially by combining numerous single family homes into a single building the theoretical risks become astronomical. An awareness of these dangers helped instigate implementation of the Fire Marshal's upgrading program in Victoria starting in 1975.

Despite difficulties in developing relevant statistics to support the effectiveness of modern building codes, few would deny that a disproportionate number of fatalities occur from fires in older buildings due to construction deficiencies. Indeed the very label -- "vintage combustible construction" -- used by fire departments has ominous overtones. The particularly hazardous nature of multiple occupancy buildings has been recognized since at least 1901 when the "New York Tenement House Act" was designed to eliminate factors causing a fire originating in a single apartment and endangering the lives of all residents (Best 1978:4). Nevertheless, as the development of building codes progressed, requirements have differed markedly in different areas and have been subject to change, much to the chagrin of building inspectors and the construction industry. In Canada, the confusion stemming from inadequate and outdated building codes, has done much to create the present problems facing downtown Victoria.

The Fire Marshal's Upgrading Program in Victoria

Building regulations in Victoria were made at the Municipal level until September 1, 1973, when the Provincial Government, under the Municipal Act, adopted the National Building Code of Canada, 1970 (Best 1978:7). This marked the first time there had been a uniform building code standard for British Columbia. The 1974 Fire Marshal Amendment Act received assent by the British Columbia Legislative Assembly on June 5, 1974. This Act authorized the various municipal fire departments in the Province to begin upgrading buildings to the standards of the National Building Code made pursuant to the Municipal Act. The Victoria Fire Department Fire Prevention Division initiated this program in May, 1975. This extensive and ambitious program involved upgrading almost all buildings constructed prior to 1970. Therefore, the Fire Prevention Division divided the city into sectors and decided to start the program in the downtown core where the most visible problems existed. In light of manpower restraints, the Fire Chief suggested first "cleaning up the downtown area" and then moving to other districts such as Fairfield and Rockland, where a significant number of previously single family homes had been converted into multiple occupancy (MLA Barber). Eventually, it was assumed, the entire city would be covered by the upgrading program.

The upgrading program initiated by the Victoria Fire Department in 1975 is part of a province-wide upgrading program

developed by the Provincial Fire Marshal partially in response to British Columbia's fire record. This record is the worst for any province and was worse than that of the United States, which itself has the worst fire record of any nation in the world (Chief Simmons). This fire record clearly provided impetus to the province-wide upgrading program introduced in 1974. However, Victoria was the first city in British Columbia to commence upgrading and has made at least as much progress in implementing the scheme as any other city in the Province. Shortly after initiation of the upgrading program, a tragic and highly publicized fire occurred at the Royal Olympic Hotel, and since then the Victoria Fire Department has been the "pioneer and leader in the Province to actively enforce (sic) the Fire Marshal Regulations" (Best 1978:5).

Hotel building deficiences noted by the Fire Prevention Division included: inadequate escape routes from fire; inadequate fire separations; inadequate warning systems; inadequate lighting and directional signs; vertical and horizontal non-protected shafts; and defective and non-conforming furnace chambers and heating equipment. Such common building deficiencies may have existed since the building was constructed or may have developed since it was converted to multiple family or high density use. In this respect the failure to provide adequate building codes stems from former legislators' lack of understanding of problems and/or failure to grant fire services the authority to enforce upgrading. Therefore, applying the National Building Code Standards to a building

constructed prior to 1940 will necessarily be inconvenient and extremely expensive. Responsibility for past insensitivity to the National Building Code is nationwide as well as local and the haphazard application of building codes is still evident in many parts of the world. The first edition of Canada's National Building Code was issued in 1941. However, it was not adopted by British Columbia until 1973 and the Provincial fire departments did not receive authority to commence upgrading until June, 1974. The magnitude of problems associated with upgrading becomes apparent when, as expressed by Inspector Best, building inspections reveal constant building deficiences with the only differences being in the degree of hazard posed.

To initiate the Fire Marshal's upgrading program, orders were served on 31 local hotels and rooming houses in the Spring and Summer of 1975 (Phase 1). These orders resulted in the closure of at least a dozen downtown hotels and the upgrading of several more (Fig. 3; Table XI). In addition, many hotel operators invested considerable money and time fighting the orders in court. Nevertheless, as hotels continued to close at an alarming rate, local businessmen appealed to City Council, which in turn ordered the Fire Department to delay issuing a second set of 30 upgrading orders.

Council did not have the authority to counteract Provincial legislation. However, an impasse had been reached,

since Council controlled the salaries of fire department officials (Ispector Best). Although the Fire Marshal was aware that he could personally deliver the upgrading orders, he would have had to travel from Vancouver and apparently felt that such actions would only exacerbate the political complications which had developed. Therefore, the fire department delayed issuing the orders in the hope that City Council would develop its own upgrading by-law to replace the Provincial legislation. It was hoped that such a municipal by-law would be more cognizant of local needs and conditions (Inspector Best). Eventually a local by-law was drawn up (City of Victoria Fire Prevention By-Law No. 3434, March 23/78). However, it appeared to be a shortsighted attempt to delay the upgrading program and simply emphasizes some of the implications of uninformed political interference.

Although deviations from the National Building Code were not permitted, the standards of the code made pursuant to the Municipal Act in 1974 granted the Fire Marshal authority to allow deviations from the Fire Marshal's Act. However, the by-law amendment (No. 3434) drawn up by the City Solicitor in 1978 did not contain this provision since a local by-law may only deviate from Provincial or Federal statutes when it is made more restrictive (Inspector Best). This by-law further confused hotel owners by removing such previously included provisions as: the right of appeal by the owner; provisions for the installing of sprinkler systems in

lieu of structural alteration; and provisions to clarify penalties for offences under the by-law. Following the by-law amendment "placards (posted on buildings) were conceived . . . in an attempt to put additional pressure on the ownership of unsafe buildings" (Daily Times Dec. 17/78:1). In this fashion, public postings, identifying the building as a potential fire hazard, were substituted for the previous practice of issuing Fire Marshal's Orders requiring corrective action under threat of court proceedings to have the building demolished. Hotels were given 60 days from the date of posting to either file an appeal or get the work started. If renovations were not completed in 60 days the placards were to remain in place until the improvements were finished. However, if upgrading was not started, Fire Chief Simmons confirmed he was "required by by-law to take the matter up with city council" (Daily Times Sept. 19/78:9). Nevertheless, even public posting proved sufficient to force the closure of hotels. In this respect 17 more inner city apartment blocks were tagged as fire hazards and given 60 days to commence upgrading (Daily Times Dec. 21/78:1). During early phases of the upgrading program, City Council's Fire Protection Committee worked to moderate the fire department's position and to assist local businessmen in complying with the upgrading orders.

According to Inspector Best, residential occupancy statistics for 1976 reveal 72 hotel or motels in Victoria comprising a total of 7,045 suites. Of this total, 5,857 were estimated to be

occupied by transients while 1,178 catered to long-term tenants. Referring to the data in Table XI, it is apparent that the hotels in the downtown area differ significantly in terms of quality and the type of clientele whom they attract. It seems appropriate to divide hotels into: high quality tourist-oriented establishments (such as the Cherry Bank Hotel, the Century Inn, and the Executive House); low-cost rooming houses oriented to long-term (frequently elderly) residents (notably the Yates Hotel, the Dominion Hotel, the Fairfield Hotel, the York Hotel and the October Mansion); and relatively poor quality "skid-row" hotels oriented to a generally transient population (including the Kings Hotel, the Royal Olympic Hotel, the Ritz Hotel and the Chandler Hotel). Of the inner-city hotels not listed during early phases of the upgrading program, probably only the Strathcona Hotel (89 rooms), the Sussex Hotel (37 rooms), the Bastion Inn (52 rooms); and the City Center Hotel (27 rooms) could be considered suitable residences for elderly inner city inhabitants.

During initial phases of the upgrading program, the Chandler Hotel (38 rooms), St. Helen's Apartments (48 rooms), the Surrey Block (45 rooms), and the New Brunswick Hotel (25 rooms) were singled out for immediate attention. These hotels joined the Lincoln Hotel, the Royal Olympic Hotel (22 rooms), and the Station Hotel (23 rooms) as they appeared to be falling victim to the general deterioration that forced many hotels out of business. Closures

TABLE XI

STATUS OF BUILDINGS AFFECTED BY THE FIRE MARSHAL'S UPGRADING ORDERS (AS OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1978). COMPLETED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FIRE MARSHAL'S ACT

	PREMISE	ORDER DATE	STATUS OF BUILDING number of rooms	Occupant type	METHOD OF COMPLYING WITH ORDER
1	Alexander Apts.	8/10/75 -	small building	-middle-elderly	-no indication of complying with order
2	Ascot Apts.	8/10/75 -	20 rooms	-pensioners long-term	-to be vacated
3	Cherry Bank Hotel	14/8/75 -	15 rooms	-transient/ tourist	-being up-graded
4	Dominion Hotel	2/12/75 -	108 rooms	-transient, "skid-row"	-being up-graded
5	Douglas Hotel	5/12/75 -	82 rooms	-some long-term	-being up-graded
6	Fairfield Hotel	15/8/75 -	52 rooms	-long-term pensioners -some transient	-in court, likely to upgrade
7	Gordon Apts.	9/12/75 -	25 rooms	-long-term pensioners	-being converted to retail
8	Hampton Court	2/12/75 -	30 rooms	-long-term mixed	-being upgraded
9	Kent Apts.	18/9.75 -	19 rooms	-mixed	-in court, building likely to be torn down
10	Montrose Apts.	2/12/75 -	28 rooms	-mixed	-in court

	PREMISE	ORDER DATE	STATUS OF BUILDING number of rooms	Occupant type	METHOD OF COMPLYING WITH ORDER
11	New England Hotel	15/8/75	- 20 rooms	-transient, "skid-row"	-in court, building likely to be torn down
12	October Mansion	9/10/75	- large building	-long-term pensioners	-improvements completed
13	Pandora Apts.	9/10/75	- 40 rooms	-long-term	-being up-graded
14	Parkway Apts.	8/10/75	- 15 rooms	-mixed	-no indication of complying
15	Kings Hotel	15/8/75	- 26 rooms	-transient "skid-row"	-no indication of complying
16	Ritz Hotel	19/9/75	- 85 rooms	-50 percent long-term pensioners	-being up-graded
17	Yates Hotel	24/9/75	-150 rooms	-one-third long-term pensioners	-being up-graded
18	York Hotel	2/10/75	- 20 rooms	-transient -long-term pensioners	-being up-graded
19	Bayside Apts.	15/8/75	- 25 rooms	-mixed	-building vacant
20	Campbell Bldg.	2/12/75	- 33 rooms	-long-term -mixed	-building demolished
21	Chandler Hotel	4/7/75	- 38 rooms	-transient, "skid-row"	-building vacant
22	New Brunswidk Hotel	4/7/75	- 25 rooms	-transient, "skid row"	-building vacant - 1975 fire
23	Royal Olympic Hotel	11/3/76	- 22 rooms	-transient, "skid-row"	-no indication of complying with order

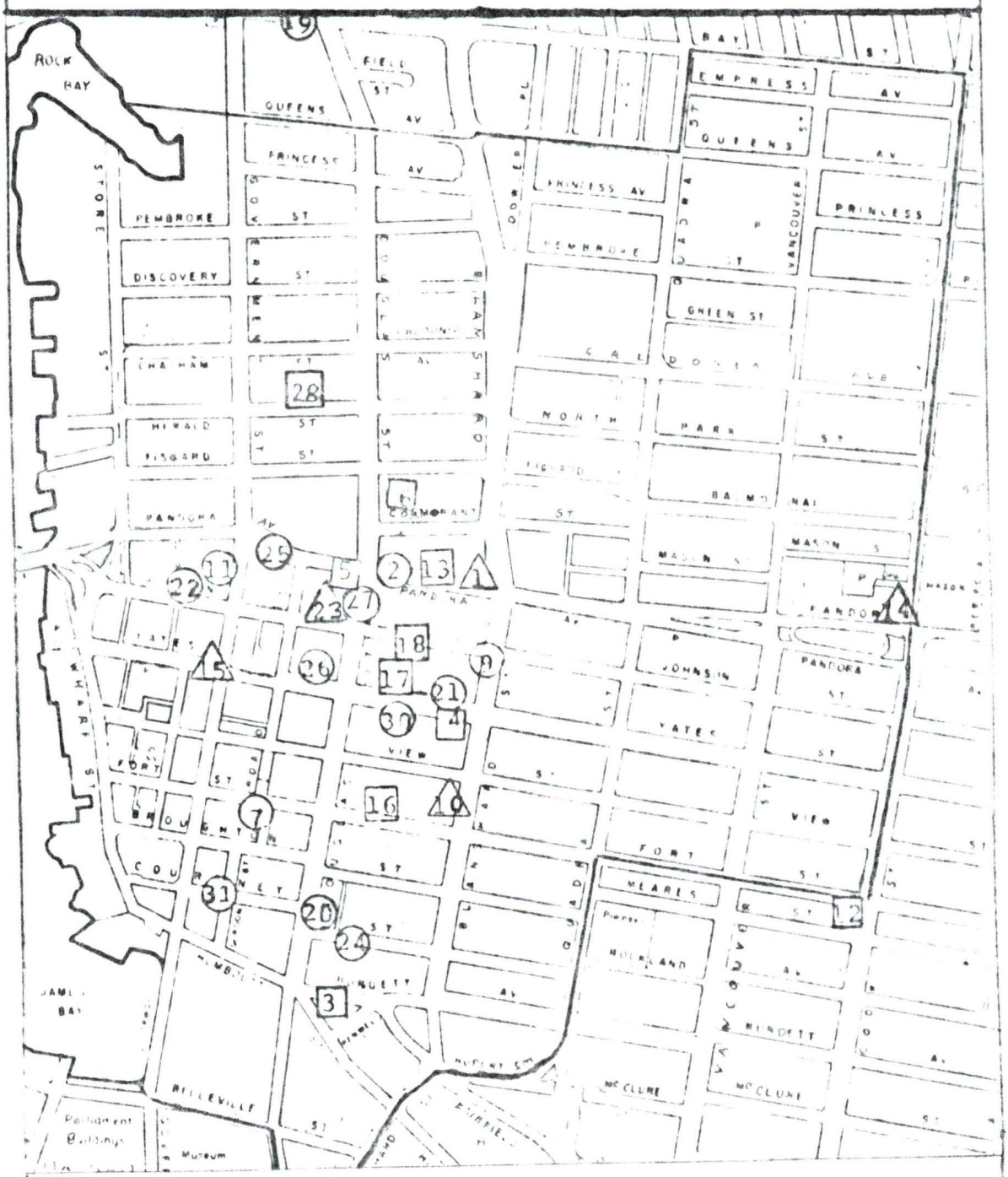
	PREMISE	ORDER DATE	STATUS OF BUILDING number of rooms	Occupant type	METHOD OF COMPLYING WITH ORDER
24	St. Helen Apts.	4/7/75	- 48 rooms	-transient	-building demolished
25	Station Hotel	15/8/75	- 23 rooms	-transient, "skid row"	-building vacant
26	Surrey Apts.	4/7/75	- 45 rooms	-mixed	-building vacant
27	Waverly Rooms	8/10.75	- 16 rooms	-mixed	-building vacant
28	Hook Sin Fong	25/7/75	- 12 rooms 35 tenants	-Chinese pensioners	-building vacant
29	Alkazar Apts.	2/12/75	- 25 rooms	-long-term pensioners	-building demolished
30	Regency Shield Hotel	21/8/75	- 75 rooms	-50 percent long-term pensioners	-building vacant
31	Windsor Hotel	14/10/75	- 14 rooms	-mixed	-building vacant

SOURCE: Fire Department files;

Inspector Best;

City Directory, 1973

Figure 3
STATUS OF BUILDINGS SERVED FIRE MARSHAL'S UP-GRADING ORDERS (AS OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1978)



Hotels Closed . . . . . ○
Hotels Upgraded or Being Upgraded . . . □
Hotels Neither Upgraded or Closed . . . △

due to deterioration clearly exacerbated the shortage of low-cost accommodation in the inner city which accompanied the Fire Marshal's upgrading program. In this respect, the Eastern Hotel (40 rooms), the Senator Hotel (17 rooms), the Drake Hotel (80 rooms) and the New Brunswick Hotel (25 rooms) were adjacent skid-row rooming houses phased out following a fire and to make room for Bawlf's Market Square commercial complex (Bawlf, notably, found alternative accommodation for many of the residents who were displaced by his development). Other hotels closed due to the interrelated pressures of building deterioration and fire safety upgrading include the Chandler Hotel, the Waverly Rooms, the Albany Hotel, the Scott Block, the Regency Shield Apartments, the Ascot Rooms, the New England Hotel, and the Beverly Hotel. In addition, a large number of small apartment buildings have been demolished in general renewal schemes. There has been a tendency for small apartment buildings to be replaced by larger buildings. However, new apartment buildings tend to be exclusive as high rents are oriented towards people of relatively high socio-economic status. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to isolate the impact of the Fire Marshal's Upgrading Program from general renewal processes in order to quantify the impact of this specific program.

As closely as can be estimated, 13 hotels containing at least 388 rooms were closed at least partially as a result of the application of early phases of the Upgrading Program (as of

September 15, 1978). At this time many other downtown hotels were also threatened. The 31 hotels initially served with upgrading orders contained the majority of low-cost accommodation in the inner city at this time and a significant impact on housing stocks in the core area was inevitable. Some of these hotels would have been forced to close even in the absence of the upgrading program. However, further implications of the program on downtown housing stocks stem from the conversion of buildings, notably Hampton Court and the Hook Sin Tong Building, to much more exclusive, high-cost rental accommodation. This suggests the actual impact of the Upgrading Program on the elderly poor may be much greater than has been estimated. This situation contrasts sharply with the freeze on the conversion of low-cost rental housing imposed early in 1981 due to a shortage of low-cost housing. Nevertheless, even by 1978 there was considerable pressure on accommodations suitable for the inner city elderly. Further postings and continued uncertainty with respect to the future of specific hotels have maintained pressures on the remaining accommodations which are suitable for the inner city elderly.

Public Reaction to the Fire Marshal's Upgrading Program

In July, 1975, 25 hotels which had been served upgrading orders and were considered the most dangerous, were publicly identified. During this period, Mr. Randal, owner of the St. Helens Apartments, expressed the sentiment of many hotel owners in

stating, "We're willing to co-operate with the Fire Marshal but we can't afford to make structural changes without raising rents" (Daily Colonist July 11/75:15). Similarly, Alderman Glazier "expressed fears that many people may lose their homes if the city bears down too hard on some building owners" (Daily Colonist July 11/75:15). Therefore, Council established a policy of ostensibly "encouraging residential accommodation in the downtown area (Daily Colonist July 11/75:15). Nevertheless, public indignation had been aroused near Christmas, 1974, by a fatal fire at the Royal Olympic Hotel which started in the bed of room 210. Therefore, the list of hotels served upgrading orders was made public in July, 1975, ostensibly to curb media sensationalism and led Mayor Pollen to declare "Victoria is free of firetraps" (Daily Colonist, July 22/75:22). However, subsequent fires, notably at Quonley's store/rooming-house, maintained political pressure and media interest in the progress of the Upgrading Program.

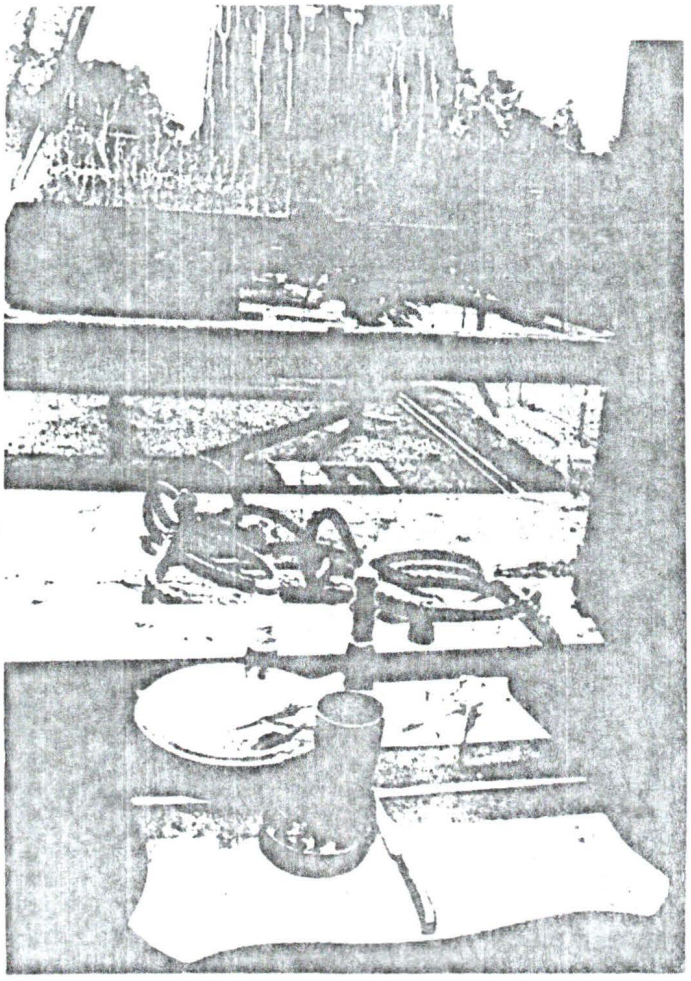
At the coroner's investigation into the Royal Olympic Hotel fire, Fire Chief Belton stressed that the three fatalities could have been avoided (as in the case of a 90-year old man) "if he had only opened the window, stepped on the roof" (Daily Colonist July 4/75:17). It was apparent that in the Royal Olympic, elderly residents were confused as to the location of fire exits. This factor provided dramatic evidence of their helplessness in the event of a fire. Therefore, when the list of substandard hotels

was made public, only scant reference was made to the fact that 1,200 rooms and 1,600 people were potentially affected by the program.

Media involvement in the upgrading program accelerated in July, 1975, when the list of buildings slated for up-grading was still being kept secret by City Hall. During this period the Daily Colonist undertook a survey of three downtown hotels (Chandler, New England and St. Helen's) to investigate conditions first hand. The Colonist found "all three were marked by an almost total absence of fire safety measures". Residents interviewed said they "lived in constant fear of losing their lives through fire, but they find it difficult, in fact impossible, to get other accommodations" (Daily Colonist July 11/75:11). An elderly man living on the top floor of the Chandler Hotel was quoted as saying "I can pick my way of dying in case of a fire. I'll burn to death trying to escape down the stairs or I'll be killed jumping out of the window" (Daily Colonist July 11/75:11).

Serious deficiences emphasized by the newspaper investigation include walls stuffed with old newspapers for insulation and a noticeable absence of fire escapes. The pessimistic conclusions of the newspaper were emphasized by an ominous picture of a rope tied to a refrigerator in lieu of a fire escape (Fig.4). Nevertheless, it is significant that initially the newspaper looked at only a small number of basically "skid row" hotels and tended to

Figure 4 The fire escape at one hotel



Rope for escape tied to refrigerator in St. Helen's apartments

(Daily Colonist July 11/75:11)

interview younger tenants (such as the resident with the escape rope). Subsequent articles provided much more favorable reviews of hotels such as the Fairfield Hotel (Daily Colonist July 17/75:11).

Problems with the Fire Marshal's Upgrading Program

Although it was not the intent of the Fire Marshal to displace large numbers of people, many hotel operators have encountered difficulty in fulfilling the upgrading requirements because of the way the Fire Marshal's Act and the National Building Code were formulated. Requirements for smoke and heat sensors, fire separation barriers, wide corridors, improved lighting, and fire escapes, were provincial guidelines that did not make allowances for local conditions and the unique problems building owners face in Victoria. In this respect the paucity of alleys or lanes in Victoria's inner city was particularly significant since it meant that many hotels had only a single means of egress. However, the Fire Marshal's Act stipulated that where two separate means of egress could not be maintained, an extensive 100 percent sprinkler system was mandatory (British Columbia Fire Marshal's Act - Guideline 19 pertaining to Part II, Sections 23 and 25). This consideration would not be as important a factor in other parts of British Columbia, and clearly places a disproportionate financial burden on hotel operators in Victoria.

Further difficulties with the Upgrading Program stem from the high general age of buildings in Victoria and the way our

local by-laws were formulated. In this aspect, problems arose from municipal provisions requiring operators effecting minor improvements (in accordance with the Upgrading Program) to bring their buildings completely up to local building code standards. Victoria's building code was established in 1975 through a municipal by-law. However, all of the hotels affected by the upgrading program were built prior to 1966 when vastly different national building codes were in effect. Therefore, many hotel owners found it impossible to comply with upgrading orders since it would have required extensive renovation of their buildings. An example of difficulties encountered by hotel owners concerns the requirement to install modern alarm systems. Old alarm systems were battery-operated with no backup system. However, the Fire Marshal's Act stipulated two-power systems combining primary current systems with backup batteries. The difficulty arose when hotel operators attempted to wire new alarm systems into their hotels and were informed that local building codes would then require complete rewiring of the building (Inspector Best). Such difficulties helped seal the fate of many local hotels.

Despite the recriminations exchanged between members of the press, politicians, and Fire Department administrators, it is apparent that many factors contributed to the dramatic loss of close to 400 downtown hotel rooms from 1975 to 1978. Significant among these factors is the actions of certain hotel owners. It

seems clear that some of the owners of buildings that were demolished or converted were holding on to the old buildings for investment purposes. They simply used the Fire Marshal's Act as an excuse to convert their investment into a more lucrative form or to write off the building after they had absorbed all possible revenue. Many of the owners had run their businesses for many years and had profited when the building was in its prime. Some of these owners later relied on the depreciation of the building and the modest revenues generated only to write off income tax. The impact of such unscrupulous owners was evident in many of the downtown hotels as upkeep and improvements had not been made in years (Inspector Best). Notably, in the case of the Empress Hotel, ongoing neglect and the subsequent problems with fire standards were blamed on the absentee owner (Daily Times Jan. 16/79:11). The deficiencies which had accumulated only reinforced the position of the Fire Department and made upgrading that much more difficult. Fire Department fears about the Empress Hotel were confirmed early in 1981 when a fire finally broke out.

Responses to the Fire Marshal's Upgrading Program

In light of the scarcity of information on the impact of urban upgrading in Victoria, valuable insights can be gleaned from an examination of the experiences of individual hotels. In this context the events surrounding the closure of the Alkazar Mansion illustrate an effective, albeit informal and ad hoc,

relocation procedure.

As with many of Victoria's rooming-houses, the Alkazar Mansion was constructed well before the turn of the century. The building provided accommodation, until 1975, for thirteen elderly widows, most of whom had lived at the Alkazar for at least 25 years. When the building was condemned, MLA Charles Barber and the Fairfield Community Association convinced the Provincial Government to buy a new three-story apartment building to provide subsidized housing to keep the thirteen widows together. The building is located near Hillside and Quadra and provides better access to goods and services than the previous location. Most of the residents of the Alkazar Mansion were moved to this new residential setting and initially were paying only $90.00 per month for rent. Although this appears to be an optimal solution to the problems assocatiated with dislocation of the elderly, it is expensive and is not a technique which can be applied consistently due to the absence of a permanent relocation authority. The demolition of the Alkazar Mansion received a considerable amount of publicity and it is apparent that its residents were subject to unusual, albeit laudatory, treatment. Nevertheless, this is an avenue which clearly should be vigorously pursued to assist displaced groups of pensioners.

Fire Inspector Best illustrated the potential advantages of the Upgrading Program with the example of the October

Mansion, located near the corner of Fort and Cook Streets. As with some other inner city hotels, the October Mansion undertook a program of voluntary upgrading with the assistance of limited Federal and Provincial incentives. Inspector Best emphasized the possibility of incentives and tax write-offs in expressing confidence that the costs of upgrading would not exert an undue burden on hotel operators. Moreover, following renovations to the October Mansion, which involved closing stairwells and open spaces, heating costs diminished, as did security problems, and overall resident satisfaction with the building appeared to increase. Nevertheless, despite the apparent success of upgrading with respect to the October Mansion, it is significant that no formal impact assessment was carried out to investigate considerations such as disorienting physical changes and rent increases to cover the costs of renovations.

The experiences of both the Alkazar and the October Mansions make it apparent that urban upgrading potentially can represent the highest public concern for people and can enhance the lives of those affected. Safety and sanitation standards can be improved and it may be possible to contact previously isolated individuals and groups. However, in general, Victoria's upgrading program has emphasized physical improvement and economics to the exclusion of the needs of the elderly. Although hotel operators may attempt to relocate displaced tenants, there is no formal

relocation authority or a consensus on the needs of displaced pensioners. Therefore, in light of the considerable number of downtown hotels which recently have been forced to close, much more emphasis must be placed on conservation and upgrading of remaining hotels. Such actions will also answer the call for "more people, not more stores" in the downtown area (Daily Times April 22/78).

It is surprising to note that while this study has indicated the loss of almost 400 inner city hotel rooms since 1975, the Fire Department review of initial phases of the upgrading program maintains, "the percentage loss of buildings and housing units lost was relatively small" (Inspector Best 1978:1). The Department concedes that some buildings "unfortunately became victims of obsolescence" and also speaks of recycling hotels into "profitable commercial buildings" (Inspector Best 1978:1). Nevertheless, city planners were not involved and the Fire Department analysis was necessarily superficial. There was virtually no attempt to assess the number of tenants displaced by demolition or the rent increases necessary to pay for upgrading. In this sense, rents at Hampton Court (owned by Alderman Hays) actually doubled in some suites following upgrading under "heritage" designation (MLA Barber). Similarly, the loss of some hotels was felt mitigated by their conversion to a different function. More importantly, perhaps, the Fire Department offered scant justification for concentrating on building owners in the downtown area to the exclusion of all other

building owners during early phases of the program. Downtown hotel operators were subjected to intensive inspections and accrued enormous financial burdens. Nevertheless, other than in James Bay (where a number of highrises were posted in 1978), there is little sign of the program being extended to other parts of the city, especially in its original form. In this respect the infeasibility of strictly applying modern building code standards to older buildings has become somewhat apparent.

In later stages of the Upgrading Program, Fire Chief Simmons stressed that posted buildings are "not fire traps, they're just deficient in some safety areas"(Daily Times Dec. 21/78:1). These comments stand in sharp contrast to the court orders served on building owners during the initial Phases One and Two of the upgrading program. After 1978, building owners were assured of considerable delays and the City Fire Prevention Committee was in a much better position to compromise with building owners. Tactics were implemented such as bypassing the required public postings to give businesses an additional sixty days in which to comply with safety requirements (Daily Times July 5/79:1). Additionally, the Fire Protection Committee shied away from posting warnings in exclusive establishments such as the Union Club. Although this building was later posted, Alderman Blencoe was led to publicly protest, "We're making an exception with the Union Club" (Daily Times July 5/79:1). Similarly, extensive negotiations, and presumably,

compromises were made following the highly publicized issuing of upgrading orders to the Empress Hotel (Daily Times Nov. 3/78:21).

Despite the compromises now being made, the posting of upgrading orders, identifying specific buildings as a potential fire hazard, clearly is still a significant threat to many hotels, apartment buildings and nursing homes in Victoria. The threat to provincially-run nursing homes, such as the Glenshiel, prompted media comments that "ironically, the city is enforcing provincial government requirements and has caught the province in its own web" (Daily Times May 24/79:17). Concern similarly increased when luxury hotels such as the Empress Hotel were posted. Nevertheless, while a more flexible by-law is still hoped for, the final impetus for more sensitive local legislation may only come from the threat currently posed to "heritage" buildings. In this area, City Council moved quickly to block the demolition of three Chinatown "heritage" buildings by instructing the City Solicitor to invoke an emergency by-law designated the "Heritage Protection By-Law" (Times-Colonist Jan. 20/81:1). Recent newspaper articles suggest a similar by-law may be invoked to protect apartment buildings in James Bay threatened by the Fire Upgrading Program (Times - Colonist Jan. 20/81:1) During the controversy over "heritage" buildings, Alderman Wright provided the most forceful attack to date against Victoria's fire code by stating that demolition bids on several buildings were "brought about by the Fire Marshal's Act . . . which if allowed to

continue will destroy this town" (Daily Times Nov. 14/78:13). It seems ironic that older buildings which have so much meaning and value for the elderly may, themselves, spark the concern which will provide a solution to the housing crisis facing many of the inner city elderly poor.

Specific threats to downtown residents can be illustrated with the case of the Fairfield Hotel as it was subjected to unusually comprehensive renovations and was almost forced to close in early stages of the Upgrading Program. The implications of such threats can best be appreciated by examining interview responses which can be related to the results of studies by other investigators, (Chapter VI), before considering the findings of the participant observation study (Chapter VI) and making recommendations and conclusions (Chapter VII).

CHAPTER V

THE FAIRFIELD HOTEL: INTERVIEW RESULTS

Victoria possesses a viable and an easily identifiable core which serves as the focus for a thriving tourism industry. Known locally as "Old Town", this area supported a residential population of 3,605 in 1971. A third of the downtown residents were more than 65 years old and almost 45 percent possessed less than a grade ten education. In contrast, Greater Victoria had just over half this proportion of elderly residents and only 31 percent of the general population had received less than a grade ten education. The median annual income for households in the downtown area was $2,754.00, less than half the city-wide median. Eighty-three percent of the housing in the core area consisted of rental units and the annual rent, at 82 dollars per month (1971), was the lowest for any census tract in the city. Moreover, almost 90 percent of inner city residences were constructed prior to 1946. Although ethnic composition was similar to that of the city as a whole, there was a significant Chinese concentration in downtown Victoria (Censes Canada 1971: Census Tract Bulletin). In many respects, therefore, Old Town resembled the typical North American inner city declining residential neighbourhood. There are relatively few children or families and a large number of single elderly males (Stutz 1976:393).

The declining residential component of Victoria's inner

city has aroused the concern of local politicians and the media. Nevertheless, the core area does not yet appear to have deteriorated into the "zone of discard" characteristic of many other large North American cities. Tourism and government pressures and assistance seem to be maintaining at least the outward appearance of the downtown area through extensive renewal. Nevertheless, the area, bounded roughly by Fisgard, Douglas, Yates and Wharf Streets is an older zone containing most of Victoria's substandard and skid row housing (Fig. 5). This area of taverns, liquor stores, newstands, pawnshops, and second-hand shops is the focus of a colorful nightlife but also shelters derelicts and juvenile gangs after dark. Limited services are available to residents and transients in this part of town through charitable organizations such as the Salvation Army, Goodwill Industries, St. Vincent de Paul, the Upper Room, and the Mustard Seed. In the downtown core at least eight hotels catered, at least in part, to the non-welfare, but marginally subsistent, elderly poor in 1978. One of the most established and well-run of these hotels is the Fairfield Hotel which is located at the north-east corner of Victoria's "skid row" area, on the corner of Douglas and Cormorant Streets (Fig. 6).

Constructed by Linehan Brothers and opened in 1912, the Fairfield Hotel was originally intended to provide modest accommodation for working men and, in some instances, for their families. Before the Depression, many of the suites contained at least two

Figure 5

GREATER VICTORIA

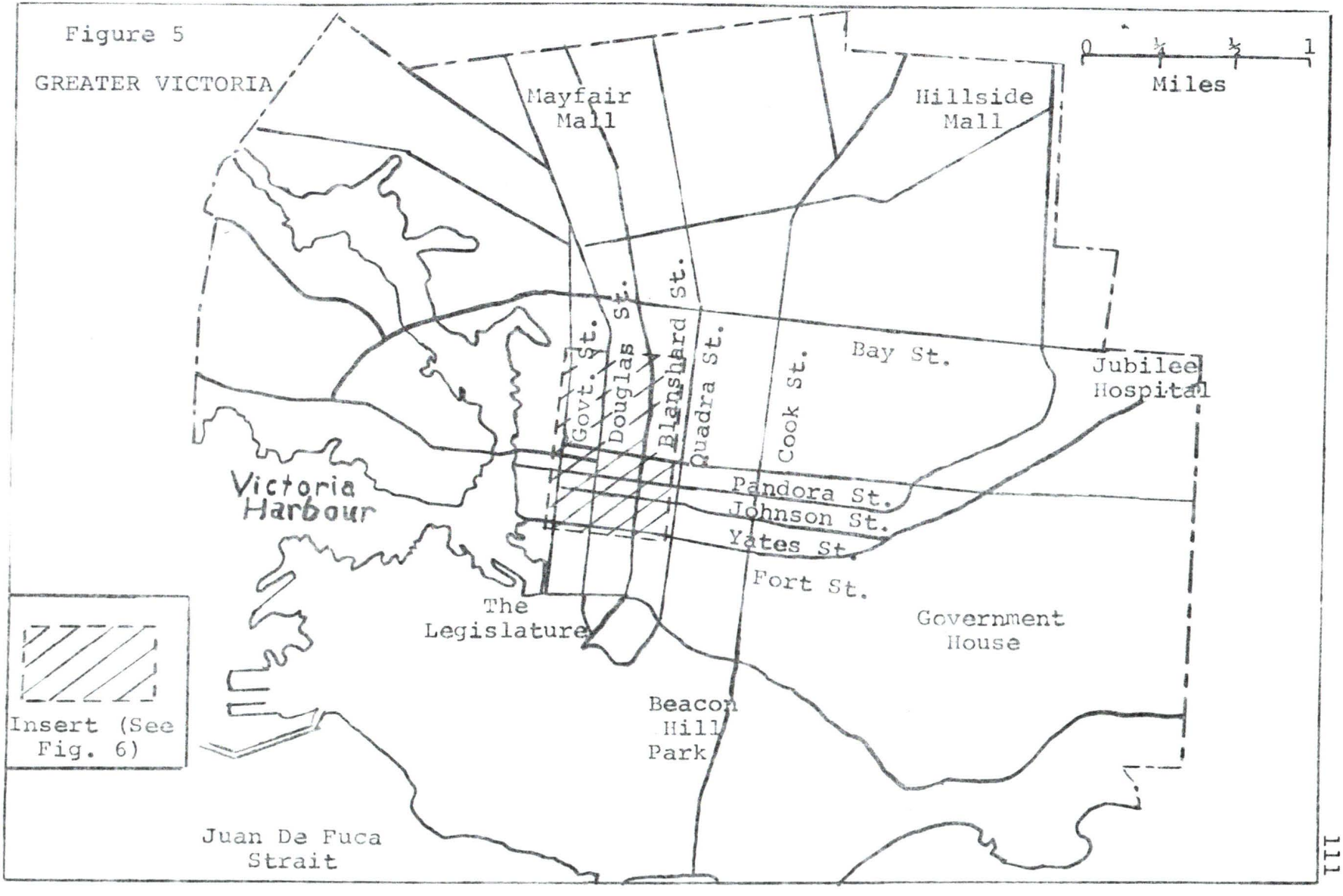
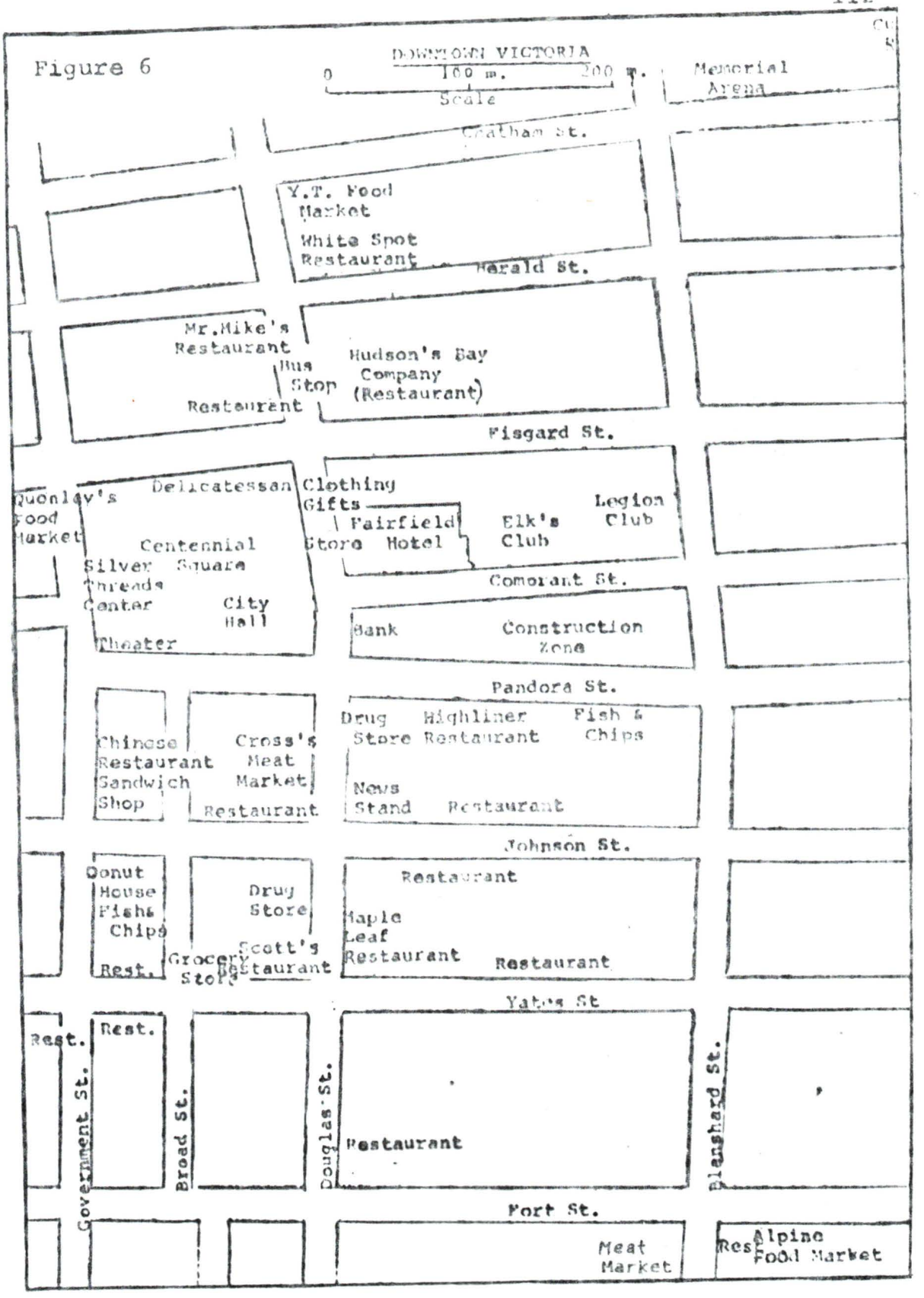


Figure 6


DOWNTOWN VICTORIA
0
100 m.
200 ft.
Scale
Memorial Arena
Cathcart St.
Y.T. Food Market
White Spot Restaurant
Herald St.
Mr.Mike's Restaurant
Bus Stop
Restaurant
Hudson's Bay Company (Restaurant)
Fisgard St.
Quonlay's Food Market
Delicatessan
Clothing
Gifts
Fairfield Store
Hotel
Elk's Club
Legion Club
Centennial Silver Threads Center
Square
City Hall
Theater
Cormorant St.
Bank
Construction Zone
Pandora St.
Chinese Restaurant
Sandwich Shop
Cross's Meat Market
Restaurant
Drug Store
Highliner Restaurant
Fish & Chips
News Stand
Restaurant
Johnson St.
Donut House
Fish & Chips
Rest.
Drug Store
Grocery Store
Scott's Restaurant
Restaurant
Maple Leaf Restaurant
Restaurant
Yates St
Rest.
Rest.
Government St.
Broad St.
Douglas St.
Restaurant
Blanshard St.
Fort St.
Meat Market
Alpine Food Market

rooms in order to accommodate families. However, there has been considerable change in the function of the hotel and the character of its resident population over the years.

Because of vacancies during the Depression (and the larger size of rooms), only thirteen suites were occupied in the Fairfield Hotel and this figure included one suite housing the owner of the hotel and his family. Rent during this period was ten dollars per month. Following World War II there is evidence of luxury accommodations and a colorful nightlife centered around the hotel. Nevertheless, a transition slowly began which led the hotel operators to cater increasingly to a generally older clientele. This transition appears to have involved social and economic factors as well as the fact that over the years the residential population of the hotel had aged considerably. Most of the two-and three-room suites were broken up as families matured and children sought separate, often suburban, households. As the demand for accommodation for families declined, television rooms and lounge areas were established to attract an elderly, retired clientele having free time and the desire for socialization. Therefore, as the residential population aged, it was complemented by an influx of older persons.

Currently there are 62 apartments in the hotel with over half of the rooms being occupied by non-transient pensioners. Twenty of the rooms are much smaller than the rest and contain no cooking facilities. However, all of the apartments, with the exception

of the manageress' suite, are single rooms. There are no elevators between the three floors. Communal bathrooms and washrooms can be found at the end of every hall. In addition, a television room and numerous semi-public areas serve the social and recreational needs of residents. Although there are only three employees at the hotel, towels are changed weekly and every second week rooms are vacuumed and made up with fresh bedding. In addition, staff are constantly "keeping an eye" on residents and will check the rooms daily if a resident has not been seen or has been ill. Residents interviewed emphasized the high value they place on the considerate and sympathetic staff of the hotel. In all respects, therefore, living conditions at the hotel meet at least minimal levels of comfort and security. Residents seem to value their independence and prefer to live alone in single rooms even if these are small and minimally furnished. They reject shared accommodations and are opposed to the more strict control of government subsidized housing. In this respect 60 percent of the residents interviewed had lived in other downtown hotels previously and thus had considerable experience in alternative living environments.

In the summer of 1978 rooms rented for between $105.00 and $135.00 per month. "Rents are no more -- and in some instances less -- than the rents in other downtown hotels which, by comparison, are in poor condition" (Daily Colonist July 17/75:11). The current owner of the building is the grandson of the original owner.

Although the "old man", as he is affectionately called, has leased the hotel to others (the latest of which is Otto Verwood) he has always demanded standards of accommodation "he would want to live in".

In early 1977, after the hotel had been issued a series of upgrading orders from the Provincial Fire Marshal's Office, Otto challenged the orders in court, mainly on the basis of his contention that a three-story structure should not fall under the same fire prevention obligations as a building of seven or eight stories. The arguments of Mr. Verwood were not sufficient to mitigate the Fire Marhsal's upgrading orders and $150,000.00 was subsequently spent on upgrading to Provincial Fire Standards. Although as much as a quarter of a million dollars was spent on renovating the entire block, many previous improvements, such as fire escapes, were torn down. An extensive sprinkler system had to be installed in all rooms, halls, washrooms, garbage and storage areas. Smoke and heat detectors, fire doors ($1,500.00 each), alarm, and lighting systems were also installed (Fig. 7). Such drastic improvements were specified by the Act because there is only one stairway which can be used as an emergency exit in the event of a fire (Victoria Fire Department, 1974).

Despite significant inconvenience during the upgrading of the hotel, residents now feel secure from fire but seem more relieved that the hotel found the means to afford the renovation. Room rents rose slightly to reflect the cost of upgrading. However,

Figure 7

Verwood

Fairfield Hotel example of fair value for guests

By HUBERT BEYER
Colonist Reporter

There are apartment hotels in downtown Victoria and then there is the Fairfield Hotel.

Located at the corner of Douglas and Cormorant, directly opposite Centennial Square, the Fairfield is home to about 90 people.

Warm, friendly and inviting, the Fairfield is in sharp contrast to most apartment hotels toured during the past 10 days by a Colonist reporter and photographer.

Its residents are like those in other downtown apartment hotels.

Some live on pensions, others are on welfare. Some are working, others are retired. Their ages range from 21 to 87.

Rents for one-room apartments run between $77 and $100 a month. That's no more — and in some instances less — than the rents in other downtown apartment hotels which, by comparison, are in poor condition.

The difference, according to Otto Verwood who is leasing the hotel business from the building owner, is that some other apartment hotel proprietors "put all the money in their back pocket."

Verwood believes that you have to put some money back into a business if you want to make it work well.

He says he has invested about $80,000 into the hotel operation since he took it over six years ago.

"When I took over, the hotel was pretty well run down," Verwood said in an interview.

Since then, he's redecorated all rooms at least twice, installed wall-to-wall carpets in most rooms, replaced most of the furniture and put refrigerators in all rooms.

Every room has a sink with hot and cold water. New hot plates were installed in every room.

None of these improvements has resulted in excessive rent increases.

"I make a dollar; why raise the rent if I don't have to?" he said.

Verwood's staff of four clean all the rooms and make all the beds every morning. The hotel supplies all linen.

In terms of fire safety, Verwood said he has always tried to go beyond fire-safety regulations.

He replaced the entire fire alarm system, he had a sprinkler system installed in the furnace room, he installed more fire extinguishers than the fire department required.

New regulations require the installation of fire doors to separate hallways from stairways and Verwood said they will be installed.

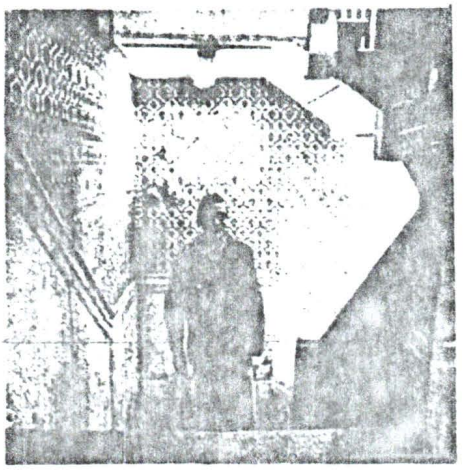
All hot plates have protective asbestos shields under and behind them.

It was the tenants, however, who talked most enthusiastically about the Fairfield.

Ronald Ward has lived in the Fairfield for 41 years and he said it's been great all along.

"Mind you, it's the best now that it's ever been. The present fellow has put a lot of money into it," Ward said.

"He even covered the marble stairs with thick carpeting so that the old people won't slip and break something," he said.



McEwan in newly-carpeted stairway

Patricia Korl has been a resident of the hotel for 16 years.

"I've never been happier anywhere else. This hotel is like one big, happy family and the management is terrific," she said.

Murray McEwan is a relative newcomer. He's only lived there for two years, but he wouldn't dream of moving anywhere else.

"Everything here is really beautiful. The hotel is so clean and friendly, you wouldn't believe it," he added.

Mrs. Isabel Stoutenberg has been the hotel's manager since 1967.

Before Verwood took over the operation, she had to live in one small room with her two children.

"The day he (Verwood) came in, he gave me a whole suite with kitchen, living room, bedroom and bathroom," she said. "For the first time, I had room enough for my family."

Mrs. Stoutenberg said there are some strict rules which tenants must observe.

No drunks are allowed in the hotel. If someone is drunk, he gets a warning and if it happens again, he's evicted, she said.

Smoking in bed isn't allowed either. It's too dangerous, Mrs. Stoutenberg said.

Management also keeps a record of tenants' relatives and doctors, said Verwood.

"Mind you, only if they want to give me the information. Some don't want to and that's fine, but I have often been able to get a doctor here fast because I had all the information," he said.

(Daily Colonist
July 17/75:11).

such increases were minimized, especially for many of the long-term residents. Rents rose from $77.00-$100.00 per month in 1975 (Daily Colonist July 17/75:11) to $105.00-$135.00 in 1978. Most residents regard the hotel as providing fair value for their money and feel, as one man confided, "there is no way we can get better accommodations in Victoria".

Because of the close nature of interpersonal relations among tenants and the relative permanancy of the arrangements, the role of the management is particularly important to the successful operation of a hotel such as the Fairfield. In light of the relatively intimate contacts between many residents, a number of rules are essential to domestic harmony. Although almost all tenants drink in moderation, heavy drinkers and/or smokers are invariably expelled. This is Otto's best known and most respected rule. If a tenant starts a drinking party in his room, Otto insists on being "diplomatic but firm". Although such parties generate most of the potential trouble in the hotel, they are usually controlled without outside assistance. The police are rarely called to the premises (perhaps once per year) and were never seen during the course of this investigation. By comparison with the frequent visits police made to many other downtown hotels, it becomes apparent why Otto must exert such strict control over drinking and rowdyism. Similarly, no evidence was found of prostitutes frequenting the hotel. As one resident stated, "most residents feel the hotel is a quiet, peaceful place" and are grateful to Otto for maintaining such an

atmosphere.

To enhance the security of residents, Otto requires all tenants staying longer than two months to provide him with the names of : the tenant himself; his next-of-kin; his doctor (and permission to phone this doctor in case of emergency). In spite of the reluctance of many tenants to involve relatives, they usually provide this information which enables Otto to keep records useful in the event of a crisis. The rapport established between Otto and his tenant goes beyond reaction (to a crisis), and involves prevention and anticipation. When Otto first took over the hotel from his brother-in-law in 1970, there were many older people and foreigners barely existing on their savings and earnings from odd jobs. Many of these people were unaware of tax rebates, the renters grant, or even the Old Age Pension. This prompted Otto to go from room to room asking residents about the sources of their incomes and making sure they were getting everything to which they were entitled. Nevertheless, pride, the desire for privacy, and resistance to change were manifest when some tenants still would not apply for the benefits that had been pointed out to them. Even though most tenants owned very little and were living off limited savings, some still refused to acknowledge their need on application forms. At least one man refused to apply for the Canada Pension, even after being shown that he was eligible. Such factors emphasize the precarious financial position of many residents and their resistance to change,

factors which place their lifestyles in jeopardy.

Structured Interview Data

In order to learn more about the types of people living in downtown hotels and to permit comparison with groups of the elderly described in other studies, structured questions were posed to a quota sample of 15 residents (Appendix I). An initial purpose of the interview schedule was to provide a descriptive profile of the sample and the population it was derived from. The profile is presented in Table XII as illustrated by social, spatial and transportation data. The subsequent discussion includes comparisons with other studies (notably that of Jones (1975) which dealt with the surburban elderly in Victoria).

Socio-economic Profile

The first variable examined is that of age. The age profile was high, with a mean age of 73 because the interview schedule was administered only to persons over 64 years of age. Nevertheless, the distribution was more concentrated in the lower 61-70 age group than was found in Jones' survey of the suburban elderly or the CRPB's study of the overall metropolitan region. Jones found only 17 percent of his respondents in the lowest category while the CRPB found 23 percent of the general population less than 70 years old. Ostensibly, this concentration (47%) would seem to

TABLE XII SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE (SUMMARY)

Variable	Class	Distribution (percent)	
		Suburban Group (Jones, 1975)	Inner City Group (F. Hotel 1978).
Age	50-60	0	0
	61-70	17	47
	71-80	59	33
	81-90	22	13
	91+	0	7
Sex	Male	48	87
	Female	52	13
Marital Status	Single (never Married)	4	53
	Married	51	0
	Divorced or Separated	2	13
	Widowed	43	33
Living Situation	Alone	29	93
	With spouse	48	0
	With relatives	15	7
	With friends	7	0
Work Status	Retired	99	87
	Part Time	1	13
Health (self appraised)	Very poor	0	13
	Poor	11	20
	Average	39	20
	Good	47	20
	Very Good	3	27
Years Residency (Victoria)	Less than one year	0	0
	1-3 years	4	7
	4-6 years	13	7
	7-9 years	5	0
	10+ years	79	87
Years Residency (This address)	Less than one year	2	0
	1-3 years	30	13
	4-6 years	15	27
	7-9 years	0	20
	10+ years	52	40

Variable	Class	Distribution (percent)	
		Suburban Group (Jones,1975)	Inner City Group 1978
Income per month	$0-$100	0	0
	101-200	36	0
	201-300	43	0
	301-400	16	60
	401-500	3	7
	501-600	2	13
	601-700	0	20
Distance to CBD	Zone 1 (½ mile)	2	100
	Zone 2 (1 mile)	2	
	Zone 3 (1½ miles)	0	
	Zone 4 (2 miles)	22	
	Zone 5 (2½ miles)	56	
	Zone 6 (3 miles)	7	
	Zone 7 (3½ miles)	3	
	Zone 8 (4 miles)	6	
	Zone 9 (4½ miles)	0	
	Zone 10(5 miles)	2	
Distance to Bus Stop	1-3 minutes	48	100
	4-6 minutes	35	
	7-9 minutes	7	
	10+ minutes	9	
Percent of Neighbournood 65+	None or almost none	14	
	1 of 8	17	
	1 of 4	27	
	3 or 8	7	
	1 of 2 or more	35	100
Frequency of Bus Usage	Seldom or Never	46	47
	1-2/week	20	33
	3-4/week	23	20
	5-6/week	2	0
	7-8/week	2	0
	9-10/week	8	0
Frequency of Bus Transfer	Never	42	93
	Rarely	23	7
	Sometimes	25	0
	Often	10	0
	Very Often	0	0

Variable	Class	Distribution (percent)	
		Suburban Group (Jones, 1975)	Inner City Group 1978
Frequency of Bus Service	20 minutes or less	36	100
	21-30 minutes	44	
	31-40 minutes	5	
	41-50 minutes	0	
	51-60 minutes	15	
Bus Pass Holder	Yes	25	13
	No	75	87
Opinion of Bus Service	Very Poor	4	7
	Poor	12	0
	Average	39	33
	Good	34	33
	Very Good	12	27

indicate that the very old are not capable of functioning in the hotel environment. However, such a conclusion is challenged by the fact that the hotel population has a greater representation in the 91+ years category than the suburban sample.

As envisioned at the outset of this investigation, the socio-economic profile clearly emphasizes the preponderance of elderly males, unrelated and living alone, who tend to be permanent in their residence. The proportion of males, at 87 percent, is far greater than the 48 percent found in the suburban sample or the 42 percent which census data indicate for Greater Victoria pensioners (Statistics Canada 1973). Similarly, marital status, with no residents married (and 53 percent never having been married) diverges strongly from the results of both Jones' study and those of the CRPB. Notably, 93 percent of hotel residents lived alone

while only 29 percent of the suburban sample and 35 percent in the city as a whole lived by themselves.

Unfortunately, the CRPB study did not ask respondents to rate their health. The suburban sample, however, displayed a much higher health rating than the inner city residents. In this respect only 67 percent of the inner city sample considered their health to be average or better, while 89 percent of the suburban group considered their health to be at least average. Although Jones suggests that characterizing ones health as "very poor" is indicative of a negative self image (1975:65), it seems apparent that the hotel residents who felt they had poor or very poor health did, in fact, have severe medical conditions. One of the residents was suffering from cancer, while another was too crippled ever to leave the hotel. Furthermore, the high proportion (27%) of hotel residents who considered their health very good was much higher than was found in the suburban sample. This finding emphasizes the positive self image most hotel residents were found to have.

The downtown sample appears extremely stable with respect to residence. Fully 87 percent had lived in Victoria for at least ten years, while only seven percent had lived in the city for fewer than four years. Although some residents had moved to Victoria from the Prairies or other parts of British Columbia, most had lived in Victoria prior to retirement. These data contrast with the 79 percent of the suburban sample and the 71 percent of the

CRPB's sample which had lived in Victoria for at least ten years. This stability among inner-city residents is even more surprising in light of speculation that an in-migrant would be more likely to first settle in central Victoria and then move to outlying areas after becoming established (Jones 1975:66).

The residential stability of hotel residents is reinforced by data on the length of residence at the current address. Although only 40 percent of the hotel sample had been resident for ten years or more (compared with 52 percent of the suburban sample), 87 percent had lived at the hotel for at least four years, while only 76 percent of the suburban group had lived at the same address for so long. In light of the threat to residential stability implied by aging factors such as loss of spouse,decreased income, and declining health, the stability found at the hotel attests to its suitability as a residential environment. However, while residential stability suggests satisfaction, it may also indicate the degree to which elderly people are locked into their living arrangements. Indeed, many residents expressed the fear that there were no other suitable residential options available to them in the event they may have to leave the Fairfield Hotel. Nevertheless, the importance of the hotel to the maintainance of the lifestyles of residents is emphasized by the stability that was found among residents.

Income and social status were the last variables examined

in the socio-economic profile. With respect to these variables, it is possible to compare the results of the three Victoria studies by converting data on monthly earnings into an annual income statement (Table XIII).

Table XIII Annual Income Statement (not in constant dollars)

Annual Income	CRPB (1969) (percent)	Jones (1975) (percent)	Fairfield Hotel (1978) (percent)
Less than $1,200	3	0	0
$1,200-$2,399	27	36	0
$2,400-$3,599	23	43	0
$3,600-$4,799	18	16	60
$4,800-$5,999	9	3	7
$6,000+	16	0	33

The concentration of hotel residents in the $3,600-$4,799 income bracket is explained by the structure of federal pensions and supplements. In October, 1978 a single person over 65 with no outside income was eligible for an Old Age Pension totalling $164.74 and a Guaranteed Income Supplement of $115.55. Combined with the Provincial Renter's Grant (approximately $30.00, depending on rent), all residents, therefore had a minimum income of $3,600.00 per year. Since pensions have increased significantly since the other studies were carried out, it is mainly the relative grouping in income brackets that is significant. However, $3,600.00 per year is below four of the five most commonly used poverty lines in Canada and very close to the fifth (Caskie 1979:7). Therefore most residents were subsisting on minimum income levels. Pensioners, in 1979 were paid an average of thirty-four (34)

percent of the national average salary (Daily Times Oct. 24/79:1). Many Senate Committee reports have recommended up to 100 percent increases in pensions to assist low income elderly in dealing with the spiralling cost of living (Daily Times Oct. 24/79:1; Daily Times Dec. 19/79:1). Income data from hotel residents is consistent with what Stutz found at the Golden West Hotel (in San Diego) and emphasizes the poverty in which most inner city elderly hotel residents live. Stutz reports that 40 percent of unrelated individuals, compared with 10 percent of all families, are below the poverty level (1976:393). Nevertheless, as 33 percent of the Fairfield Hotel tenants appear to receive over $6,000.00 per year, the attractiveness of the hotel to a fairly broad social mix is apparent.

Although the CRPB study was directed only at retired pensioners, Jones' study revealed that just over one percent of his suburban sample worked part time. In contrast 13 percent of the inner city sample worked part time with one person even working full time in the hotel. Earnings from jobs help explain the high number of hotel residents making over $6,000.00 per year. Nevertheless, if it were not for the odd jobs supplied in and around the hotel, it is doubtful if any of the residents could have held even part time jobs.

The apparent low socio-economic status of most of the

hotel residents was reinforced by data on occupation and education. Although most residents had less than a grade eight or nine education, it must be remembered that few people in 1920 completed high school or university. Nevertheless, the paucity of "upper level" professional occupations was evident. Most residents formerly worked as skilled and unskilled labor, clerks, service personnel or farmers.

In summary, the typical hotel resident was retired, male, 61-70 years of age, never married, or widowed, living alone, had lived in inner city hotels for considerable time, had an income of $300-$400 per month, and felt fairly healthy. This contrasts with the suburban sample which revealed the typical resident to be female, 71-80 years of age, married or widowed, living with a spouse, living in the suburbs, having variable incomes, and feeling very healthy.

The socio-economic profile yields results which are consistent with Stutz's investigation of downtown hotel residents in San Diego. Even the female component of the Fairfield Hotel, at 13 percent, is close to the five percent female component found by Stutz (1976:393). Similarly, 96 percent of the hotel residents in Stutz's study did not own an automobile, while 100 percent have no automobile at the Fairfield Hotel. Therefore, it seems likely that populations of elderly lone males will be found in many other inner city hotels in Victoria and in other North American cities. Such

Finally, despite downtown Victoria having a high number of elderly residents, most hotel occupants perceived themselves to live in a building of unusually high geriatric concentration. All residents felt that at least half of their neighbours were pensioners and some felt that most were over 65 years of age. Although many social planners stress the advantages of an age-mix such as is found in the suburbs (Porteous 1977:261; Willmott 1967:387), hotel residents valued a high proportion of elderly neighbours for adding to the security, serenity, and potential for social interaction of their residential environment. The need for a relatively homogeneous age structure is supported by authors such as Rosow who asserts that at least half the people in a residential setting must be elderly to generate potent neighbourhood patterns and sustain vigorous social interaction among the elderly (Rosow (1967:64).

Trip Data

To illustrate the relative importance of various modes of transportation and to assist the development of activity space profiles (to be discussed in Chapter VI), the interview schedule elicited a variety of data related to trips outside the hotel. The transportation mode for each trip (one way from home to destination) was noted, as was the number of trips and the distance to each destination. Although it was not feasible to record all trips made by residents, open-ended questions provided what is hoped to be an accurate picture of the trips hotel residents made in a typical week

preceding the study. Specific questions on the number of trips beyond certain points supplemented questions on specific destinations and permitted cross-checking of the accuracy of responses. An open-ended question about trips not anticipated by the interview provided further data. However, as in the pilot study, attempts to confirm spatial data with the aid of a map of the inner city tended to confuse many residents. Therefore, considerable open-ended probing of activity patterns was frequently necessary.

By totalling the number of trips each resident made in a typical week preceding the study, a "transit mode profile" was constructed illustrating the relative importance of various modes of transportation (Table XIV). Table XV compares this data with the profile presented in Jones' study of the suburban elderly (1975:73).

Table XIV

Personal Trips made by Mode of Transportation (per week)

Respondent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Foot	15	0	9	7	14	14	11	10	10	0	½	12	16	10	6
Car & Taxi	1	0	½	0	4	1	4	2	2	0	7½	0	0	1	1
Bus	1	0	2	3	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	3

Trip data emphasizes the lack of importance hotel residents place on the automobile as a mode of transportation. In contrast to data on the suburban elderly, none of the hotel residents

Table XV

Personal Trips by Mode of Transportation as a Percentage of Total Trips

Mode of Transportation	Percentage of Total Trips	Percentage of Respondents	
		Suburban Elderly	Inner City Elderly
Automobile (Driver)	0-20	69	100
	21-40	0	0
	41-60	5	0
	61-80	6	0
	81-100	20	0
Automobile (Passenger)	0-20	66	80
	21-40	20	13
	41-60	8	0
	61-80	4	0
	81-100	2	7
Public Transit (Bus Use)	0-20	54	87
	21-40	29	13
	41-60	5	0
	61-80	12	0
	81-100	0	0
Foot (Pedestrian)	0-20	35	20
	21-40	28	0
	41-60	12	7
	61-80	19	40
	81-100	6	33

interviewed drives or owns a car. Although a few residents may have been able to afford to own a car and have it parked downtown, it seems clear that there was little need or desire for the use of an automobile. As few residents have friends or relatives with automobiles, the passenger mode of transportation was important only when health was too poor to permit the use of other forms of transportation. The restricted range of transportation options open to

inner city residents emphasized the importance of close proximity to needed goods and services. Hotel residents are largely dependent on foot or bus transportation to obtain needed day-to-day services. Even the extensive use of taxis made by a minority of hotel residents was dependent on close proximity to destinations in order to keep fares down.

Although many residents were able to utilize public transit, even fewer trips were made by bus than by car or taxi. Forty-six percent of hotel residents never used the bus system, while 66 percent used it infrequently or never. In contrast, Jones found that "in agreement with the Capital Region study, (that) 41 percent of the (suburban) sample never used the bus and 54 percent used it infrequently or never" (1975:74). Furthermore, 29 percent of Jones' sample used the bus system for over 40 percent of their trips while none of the hotel residents relied on public transit for over 40 percent of their trips.

Walking, the final transit mode examined, appeared most attractive to elderly inner city residents. Only 20 percent of hotel residents walked to less than 20 percent of their destinations and most of these were restricted by health. The inner city sample displayed much more reliance on walking than the suburban group, even though both studies found walking to be the most popular mode of transportation. Seventy-three percent of the downtown population relied on walking for at least 61 percent of their trips while the

modal class of their suburban counterparts was the 21-40 percent category. Furthermore, most of Jones' respondents who walked did so for 40 percent or fewer of their total trips.

The percentage of trips in various transportation modes was also calculated. By combining the automobile classifications of passenger and driver, it is possible to compare the results of this study with those of Jones and the CRPB (Table XVI). In this respect, the heavy reliance on automobiles found by the CRPB and, to a lesser extent, by Jones was conspicuously absent among the inner city sample. Jones' study and that of the CRPB found the automobile the most popular mode of transportation, accounting for 44 percent and 55 percent of total trips, respectively. In contrast, the downtown sample used the automobile for only 14 percent of their trips and automobile use was second in popularity to walking (which accounted for 77 percent of all trips). As in Jones' study, the relative importance of foot trips can be partially explained by a generally lower socio-economic status and the reduced levels of access to automobiles (1975:75). Nevertheless, the overwhelming reliance of hotel residents on walking can only be adequately explained by their proximity to goods, services, and points of interest.

Trip Frequency

By adding all trips made by each respondent in the

Table XVI

Percentage of Trips by Mode of Transportation

Mode of Transportation	Metro Group CRPB (1969)	Suburban Group Jones (1975)	Inner City Group 1978
Automobile	55	44	14
Bus	21	20	9
Foot (Pedestrian)	24	36	77

"typical" week, trip frequency was calculated and compared with the results of Jones' study (Table XVII). Even though 13 percent of the hotel sample seldom or never made a trip outside the hotel, downtown residents appear much more active than their suburban

In this respect, 87 percent of the downtown sample made a trip at least once per day, while only 57 percent of the suburban sample went out every day. As most residents displayed satisfaction with their home environment, it is an indication of the incentive of access that almost all residents who were physically capable went out of the hotel every day.

Table XVII Trip Frequency

Number of Trips per week	Percentage of Respondents Suburban Elderly	Inner City Elderly
Seldom or Never	1	13
1-2	0	0
3-4	19	0
5-6	22	0
7-8	22	7
9-10	15	13
11+	20	67

As well as being more mobile, downtown residents also expressed more satisfaction with their transportation arrangements than their suburban peers (although both studies revealed a positive degree of satisfaction). Eighty-six percent of downtown residents indicated they were "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their transportation arrangements. In contrast, only 68 percent of the respondents in Jones' study were as satisfied with their transportation arrangements. Again, the seven percent of hotel residents who were "very dissatisfied" with transportation were those restricted to the hotel by poor health.

Table XVIII

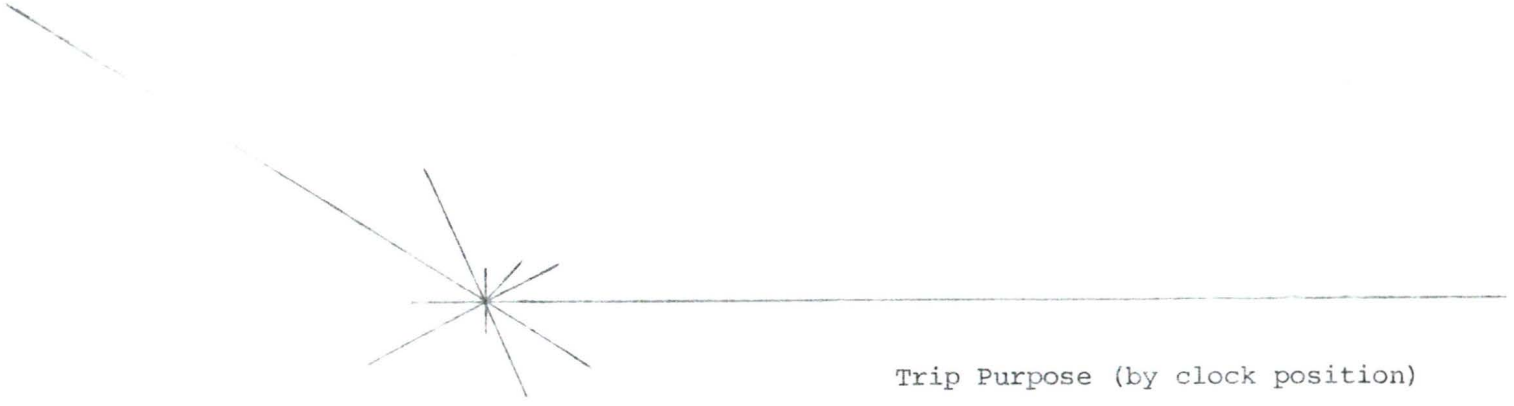
Transportation Satisfaction

Level of Satisfaction	Percentage of Respondents	
	Suburban Elderly	Inner City Elderly
Very Dissatisfied	0	7
Dissatisfied	6	0
Neutral, or no strong feeling	27	7
Satisfied	58	33
Very Satisfied	10	53

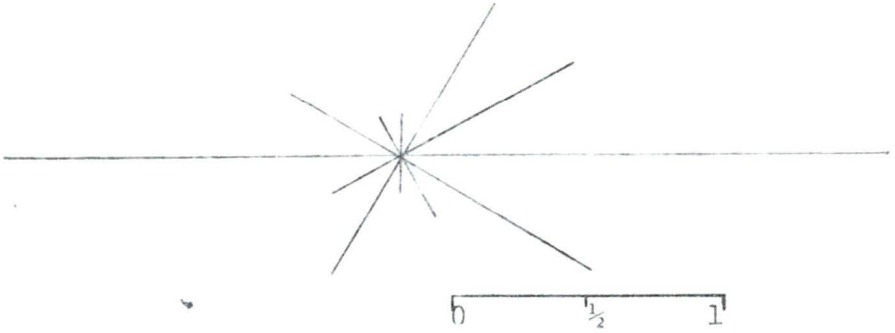
The weekly trips of residents, according to trip purpose, have also been calculated to permit comparison with the results of Jones' study (Fig. 8). This figure portrays non-directional trip frequency by purpose, with 'trip' defined as all intra-urban trips emanating from the home. To complement this figure, a more general trip profile was also produced by combining similar trip categories and comparing the results with data from Jones' investigation (Table

Figure 8 Weekly Trips of All Respondents by Trip Purpose

Inner City Elderly



Suburban Elderly



Trips per week

Trip Purpose (by clock position)

1 Visiting Friends
2 Visiting Relatives
3 Shopping (day-to-day)
4 Shopping (other)
5 Medical
6 Library
7 Church
8 Organizations (other than Silver Threads)
9 Silver Threads
10 Recreation
11 Entertainment
12 Other

XIX).

Table XIX

Frequency by Trip Purpose

Trip Purpose	Trips per week	
	Suburban Elderly	Inner City Elderly
Organizations	2.9	0.9
Shopping	2.5	5.7
Visiting	1.4	0.6
Entertainment	0.6	3.6
Church	0.5	0.0
Services (Medical, Library)	0.4	0.68
Other	0.1	0.1

Data on trip frequency by purpose illustrates the unique trip patterns of elderly residents. The absence of a significant "journey to work" statistic and the importance of "social-recreational" trips confirms the hotel respondents' retirement status. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify many differences in mobility patterns of inner city residents and their suburban and metropolitan counterparts. Although a major trip category of suburban residents was trips to organizations, such a result is not surprising as all of Jones' respondents belonged to a Silver Threads organization. Nevertheless, there is considerable agreement that the level of participation in senior centers in Victoria is generally very high (CRPB 1969:252; Jones 1975:49). In this respect the CRPB found ". . active participants in voluntary organizations are usually those with relatively high socio-economic status . . ." (1969:252). This conclusion is reinforced by Warburton who concluded that

clear identification emphasizes the importance of the independent elderly poor as a social sub-group.

Spatial/Neighbourhood Data

All residents of the Fairfield Hotel obviously live in very close proximity to the amenities of the urban core. Indeed, this is a key factor in their ability to maintain their independence on a limited budget and with declining physical capabilities. In this respect, downtown residents clearly possess numerous advantages over their suburban counterparts. Most residents in Jones' study lived at least two miles from the city center. This was far enough away from the urban core "to encounter some of the expected distance-related breakdowns in transit service and efficiency (Jones 1975:69).

Although downtown residents are close to frequent bus service which rarely requires transfers, the frequency of bus usage was lower among the inner city elderly than their suburban counterparts. Only 13 percent of hotel residents possess bus passes, while 25 percent of Jones' sample had such passes. Although not having bus passes may partially be explained by hotel residents' economic sensitivity to even the low bus pass rates, a more satisfactory explanation is that most people could walk to needed goods and services. Furthermore, those with health problems which hampered walking, expressed frequent difficulty in getting on buses.

"happiness" in Victoria is positively related to high socio-economic status and a high level of social participation (1967:242). Therefore, the low level of participation in organizations by hotel residents probably reflects their low socio-economic status and an unwillingness to mix with members of higher socio-economic groups.

Shopping was the major trip purpose of hotel residents with an average of 5.7 trips per respondent per week. Although this figure may be inflated by trips to restaurants, the popularity of shopping is supported by the CRPB study which found "31 percent of the sample go on shopping trips at least once per week, and 54 percent do so two or more times" (1969:133). Similarly, Jones found shopping the most important trip purpose after organizational meetings. This data supports the CRPB contention that "the shopping trip may be a major social occasion in the guise of a mundane chore" (1969:132). Therefore, while frequent shopping trips may reflect limited carrying and storage capacities and restricted cooking facilities in the hotel, the unusually high number of shopping trips by residents also emphasizes the importance of such trips for social contact.

Visiting, which formed the third most popular category of trips in the CRPB study as well as in Jones' investigation, seemed relatively unimportant to hotel residents. This result is because most hotel residents' friends live at the hotel and transportation beyond the home base for social visiting is, therefore,

often unnecessary. In this respect, visits to friends who lived in the hotel formed an important component of interpersonal relations among residents. Sixty-seven percent of the hotel sample reported having at least one visitor per week and 40 percent had at least three visitors per week (Table XX).

Table XX

Percentage of Residents having Visitors in their Rooms (per week)

Number of Visitors	Percentage of Residents
0	33
1-2	27
3-4	33
5-6	7

The emphasis hotel residents placed on trips for entertainment purposes is supported by the results of Jones' study, if trips to organizations are grouped in the category of entertainment. Nevertheless, the small number of hotel residents who belonged to a Silver Threads organization located just across the street seems to indicate, again, that inner city residents are "loners" who fear they would not fit in with other members. In fact, many residents expressed a loathing to socialize with "little old ladies".

In conclusion, the high degree of mobility observed among hotel residents is even more startling in light of the results of other studies. It is generally accepted that the types of trips

pensioners take are constrained and the total number is reduced. However, studies also show that the level of trip activity is inversely proportional to income as well as to age (Smith 1971:20). Furthermore, Jones concluded: non-drivers make fewer trips; non-drivers are less satisfied with their transportation arrangements; and higher income people have more transportation options. In this respect it is apparent that many high-income elderly choose to live in the suburbs away from services and facilities. In contrast, hotel residents displayed a high degree of mobility in spite of the fact that most were poor and none drove automobiles. Moreover, hotel residents displayed a very high level of satisfaction with their transportation arrangements. Although the variables in this study could not be correlated because of the small sample size, the positive correlation Jones found between trip frequency and satisfaction with transportation supports the conclusion that hotel residents were generally very satisfied with their transportation modes. Furthermore, these conclusions are reinforced by other research indicating that "city-center residents tend to go out more often and to be fairly satisfied, despite the fact that few have cars" (Porteous 1977:261).

Against this background the participant observation study of the Fairfield Hotel seeks to examine the spatial behavior of residents more closely in order to delineate activity patterns and elicit needs and desires more precisely (Chapter VI). Although

data from the interview schedule are used to help construct activity patterns and reach conclusions on needs and desires, the open-ended probing necessary to achieve such aims indicates these data are more appropriately included in the participant observation study.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAIRFIELD HOTEL: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION STUDY

Because of the numerous gaily painted retail shops fronting the sidewalk, one could easily overlook the top two floors of an austere gray concrete and brick building bordering Victoria's lively Douglas Street, Nevertheless, an unobtrusive sign on the corner of the building directs attention to a small sidestreet where flags mark the entrance to the Fairfield Hotel. Mounting the only staircase into the hotel, bright sunlight and the noisy streetlife contrast with the quiet and serenity inside. The once elegant marble staircase is covered with thick, dark brown carpeting and old-fashioned beige and gold wallpaper enhances a stately dignity. Polished hardwood and pale green marble gleams occasionally. However, the stairs creak and banisters are well-worn despite layers of paint.

Upon leaving the stairs for the main foyer, one is immediately struck by the contrast of stark metal firedoors isolating each hallway. The ceiling is a modern, almost institutional, white. It is inappropriately low and as a result of recent renovation, reveals a false canopy constructed to hide the crawlspace of tubing attached to a massive sprinkler system. Immediately, one becomes aware of the maze of fire protection devices. Exit signs, firelights, heat detectors and fire extinguishers abound. Nevertheless,

the halls are sparkling clean, and the atmosphere is one of pride, security and tranquillity. The massive fire doors open easily and the new ceiling seems to muffle distracting noises.

The rooms themselves reveal more of the heritage of the building with lofty ceilings and massive windows. However, bare pipes and external wiring contribute to an environment that is both spartan and functional. The mood of the hotel is matched by the quiet proprietory movements of elderly residents who frequently pause to exchange laconic greetings. Other residents move purposefully, entering and leaving the hotel constantly. The Fairfield Hotel is, at once, both a center of activity and a home for the people it houses.

Against this background, an intensive investigation was designed to elicit the common needs, desires and goals that must be delineated to permit the development of planning strategies oriented to the adaptive strengths of the residents. Due to the exploratory nature of this investigation, observation and social interaction were significant tools used to provide basic information on the life-style and the mobility of inner city elderly residents.

Perceived zones of territorial influence will first be discussed in the context of the hierarchical operation of private, semi-private and public space. This framework has been used by many researchers to organize the examination of human spatial

behavior (Altman 1975:114; Newman 1973:9). In this respect "There is considerable agreement that for many animals, including man, territorial behavior occurs at three distinct spatial levels nesting one within the other" (Porteous 1977:28). Therefore, by defining areas of activity and examining their juxtaposition with internal living areas the ability of the hotel environment to stimulate potent territorial attitudes and enhance interpersonal relations can be evaluated.

The Fairfield Hotel: Perceived Zones of Territorial Influence (Fig. 9)

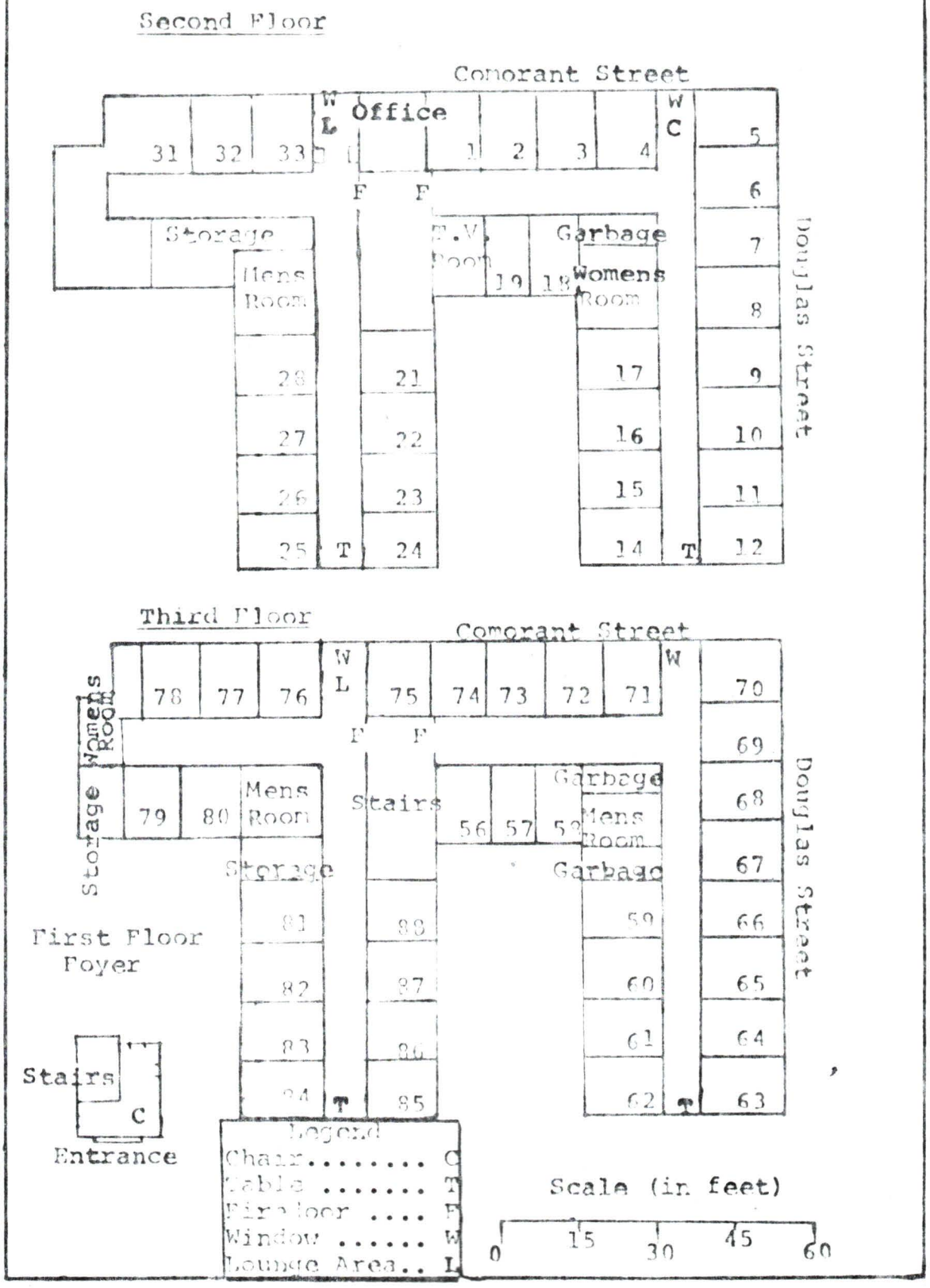
Private Space

Most of the housekeeping rooms in the Fairfield Hotel are of a similar size with only minor variation in floorplans due to the location of cupboards and sinks. The units are small (approximately 12 feet by 15 feet) but compact and clean. With eleven foot ceilings and huge, heavy windows, the heritage of the building is apparent. Exposed wires and pipes painted over further attest to the age of the building. Nevertheless, the two oversize windows facing the street in most apartments block much of the sound of traffic without marring such picturesque views as that of Centennial Square (Fig. 10).

My first room at the hotel was fully furnished with two chairs, two small tables, a kitchen counter with a hotplate (protected with asbestos), several shelves and cupboards containing dishes

Figure 9

Fairfield Motel: Floor Plan



and cooking utensils, a dresser with a large mirror, a small bed with side table, and a large closet. A sink, with towel rack and shelf, was in one corner of the room, and drapes, blinds and throw rugs over wall-to-wall brown carpeting completed the furnishings. In addition, the room contained two sprinkler heads, four plugs (and a cablevision attachment), a light switch, and an emergency buzzer. Although far from luxurious, the room was clean, functional and soundproof. Such basic accommodations are further improved and added to by residents.

Despite the small size of rooms, most residents effected high degrees of personalization within their private space. This finding is surprising in light of the spartan, down-to-earth life-style of most residents. Moreover, the feminine touch was lacking from most apartments. Nevertheless, pride and satisfaction with rooms was manifest in the pictures and furniture evident in most rooms. However, a very variable range of personalization was evident among the 15 hotel rooms examined.

One-third of the rooms examined were highly personalized with such additions as custom bedroom suites, plants, numerous pictures, flamboyant rugs and even new panelling. Another one-third of the rooms were moderately personalized in keeping with the spartan lifestyles of many residents. These rooms were simple and functional, but still displayed personal touches such as pictures, shelves and television sets. In light of the small size of rooms

moderate personalization was often dictated by the need for space and comfort. However, in contrast, the remaining one-third of hotel rooms appeared stark and barren. Nothing was hung on the walls in these rooms and, in the most severe example, the only furnishings consisted of the bed and a cardboard box in the middle of the room for a table. Although this lack of personalization in some rooms suggests weak levels of territorial control, it also reflects the low levels of environmental competence displayed by a minority of residents. In this respect observations of other inner city hotel rooms gleaned from duty with the local "Meals on Wheels" organization confirmed that many inner city elderly residents led a very tenuous existence. Members of this minority are only barely able to care for themselves and frequently must rely on other residents for support and encouragement. All residents appeared satisfied with their rooms, but some were physically and mentally incapable of adding to the furnishings in their rooms. This factor emphasizes the potential of these people to become a new problem group in the absence of a familiar and mutually supporting residential environment.

The importance of private space to hotel residents is further illustrated by data on the meals consumed in the hotel rooms (Table XXI). In this respect most residents consumed two meals per day and 73 percent cooked and ate meals in their rooms. This appears to be a high percentage since there are abundant econ-

omical restaurants nearby and hotplates present many difficulties when used on a regular basis. Nevertheless, many residents have bought stoves for their rooms and obtain a feeling of satisfaction and independence from being able to cook for themselves. The averages were 1.3 meals per day per resident cooked in rooms and 1.0 meals eaten in restaurants. In addition, one hotel resident was receiving Meals on Wheels service during the observation period.

Table XXI

Meals Consumed by Residents (per day)

Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Meals in room	1	1	3	0	3	0	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	2
Meals at a Restaurant	1	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	2	1

The considerable amount of time spent in hotel rooms by some residents emphasizes the importance of private space. However, it proved very difficult for residents to quantify precisely the amount of time spent in their rooms. Nevertheless, the results of open-ended probing again show great variability as some residents spent almost no time in their rooms, while others were confined to their rooms for most of the day (Table XXII). Again, health seemed to be a major limiting factor with the more physically capable residents displaying much more desire to gain access to the amenities of the urban core. Nevertheless, private space clearly was of

crucial importance to all of the elderly as much more time would have been spent inside during the winter.

Table XXII

Percentage of the Waking Day in Rooms (7:00 a.m. to 9 p.m.)

Respondent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Percentages	38	21	33	75	58	25	25	75	83	67	38	83	42	75	58

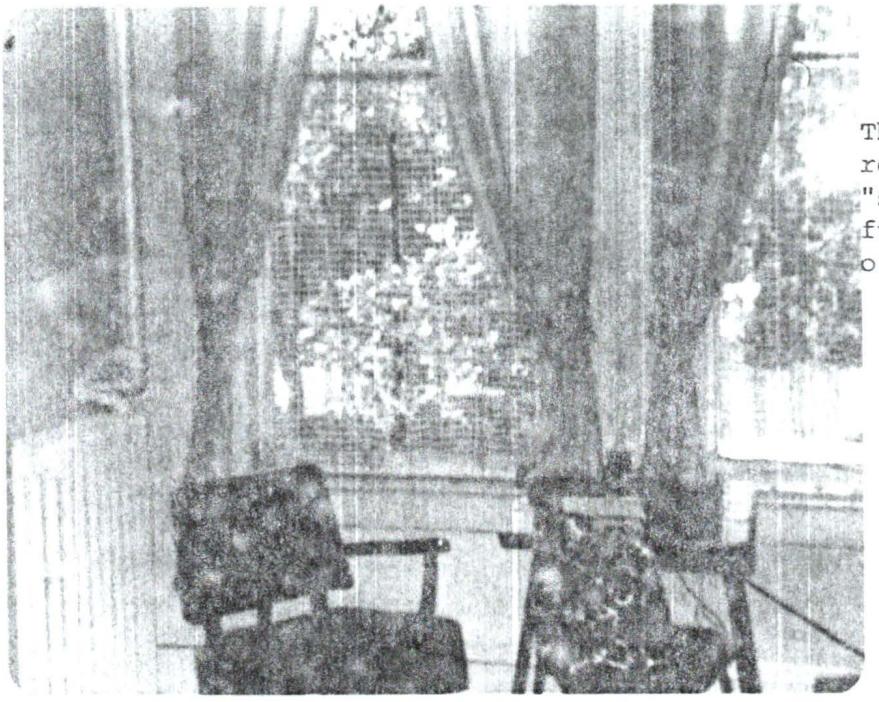
Despite variations in the degree of personalization of rooms and the amount of time spent indoors, it is significant that all residents expressed satisfaction with their rooms and did not feel the size of the rooms to be overly restrictive. In this respect comments from residents ranged from "my room suits my needs perfectly" to "it's not perfect, but for $120.00 it's the best I can expect to get". Data on the uses of private space emphasize the attractiveness of the hotel environment to a wide range of elderly tenants. Further insight into the characteristics of hotel rooms can be obtained from an examination of the room photographs in Fig. 10.

Semi-Private Space

A variety of semi-private areas have been established throughout the Fairfield Hotel in order to help meet the social needs of retired residents. The main foyer on the second floor, with a night desk and a pay phone, serves as the most significant meeting place for residents entering or preparing to go outside. Here

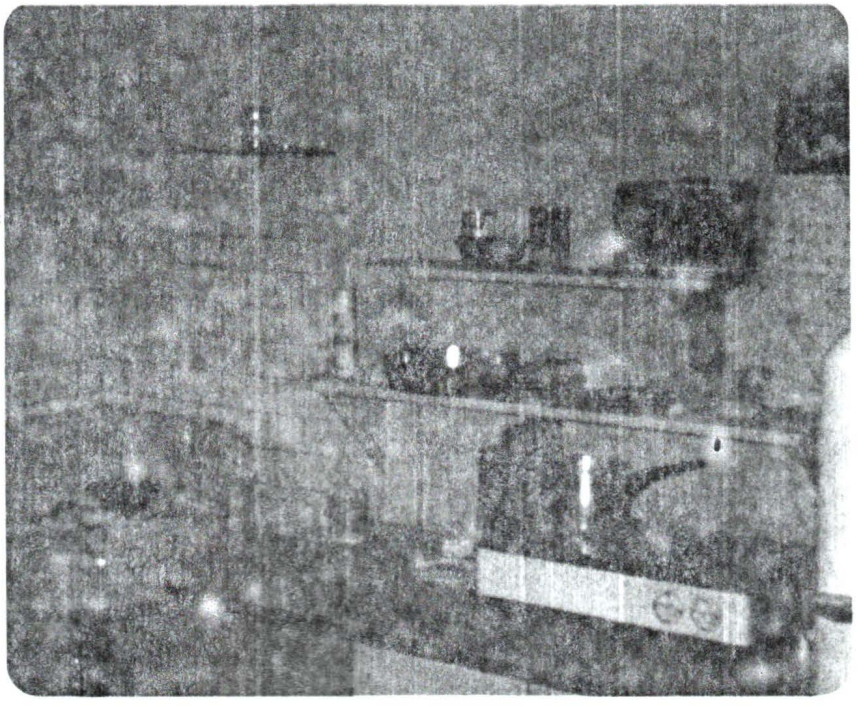
Figure 10 Photographs of the Fairfield Hotel

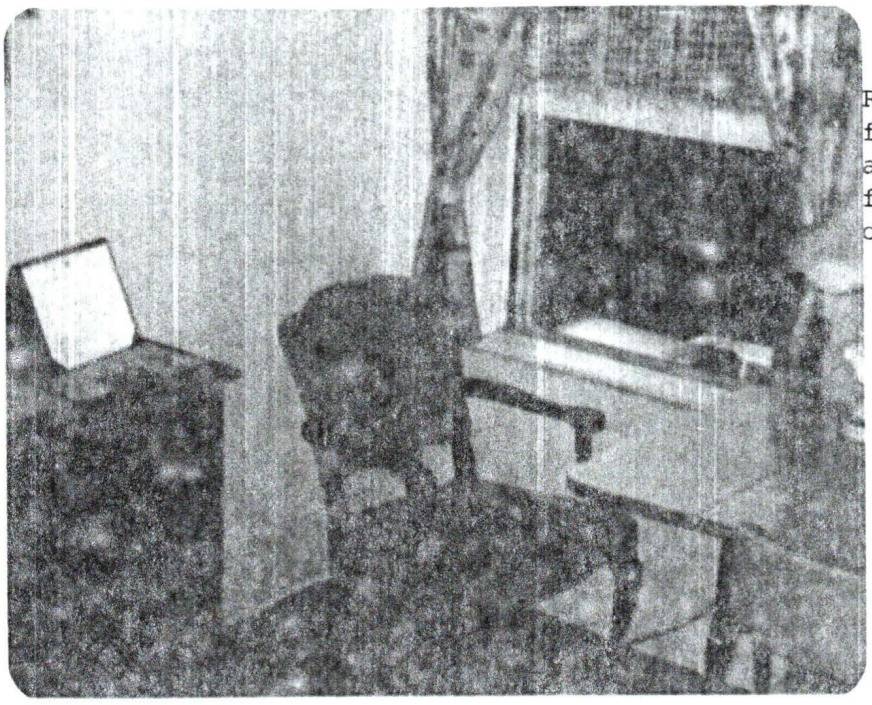
Room Photographs



These photographs reveal the "spartan" yet functional nature of accommodations.

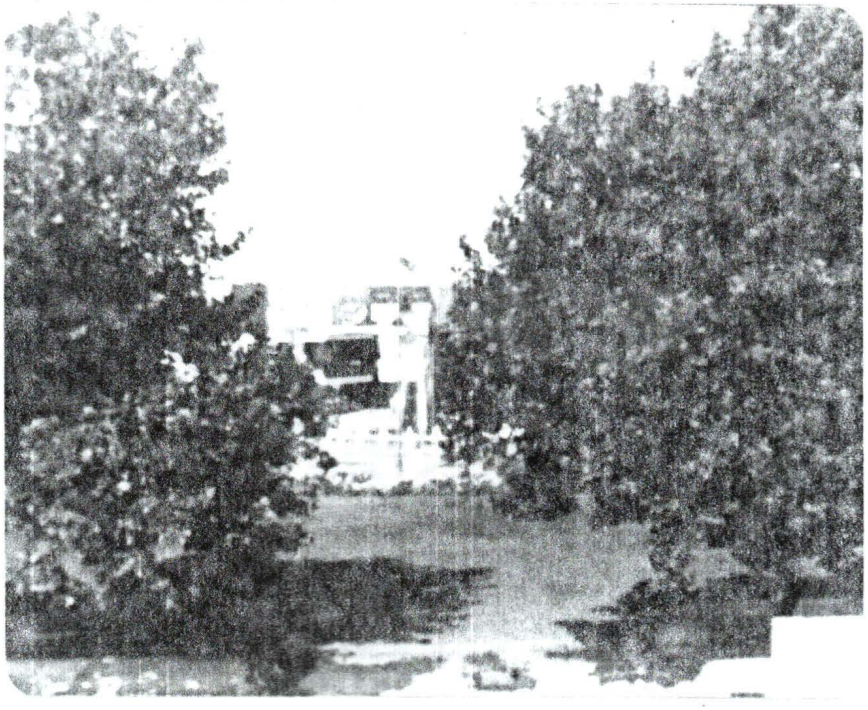
Note sink, refrigerator, hot-plate and shelves. The hotplate is well shielded by asbestos.

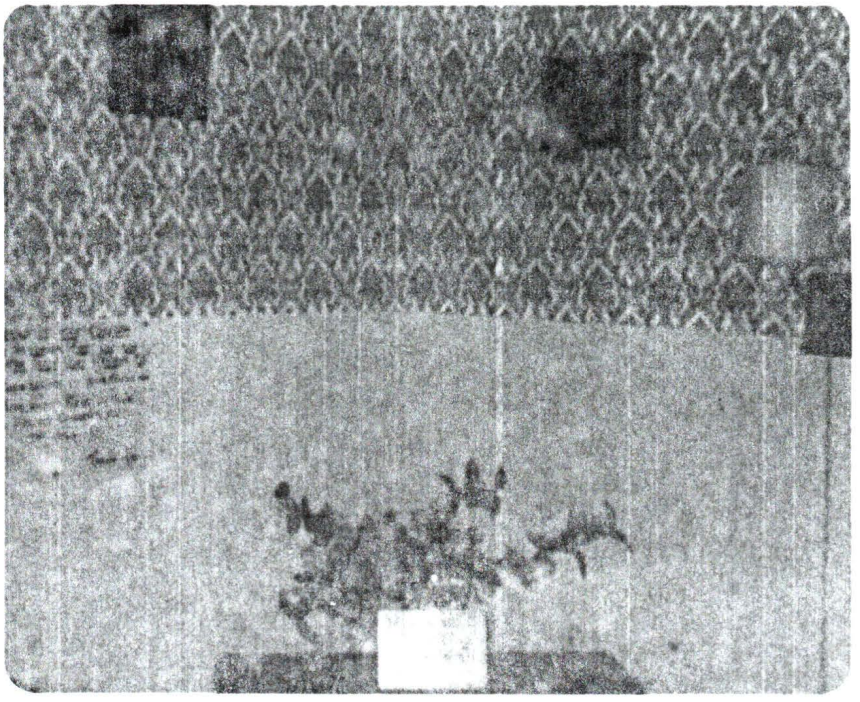




Rooms were fully furnished with all of the basics for comfort and convenience.

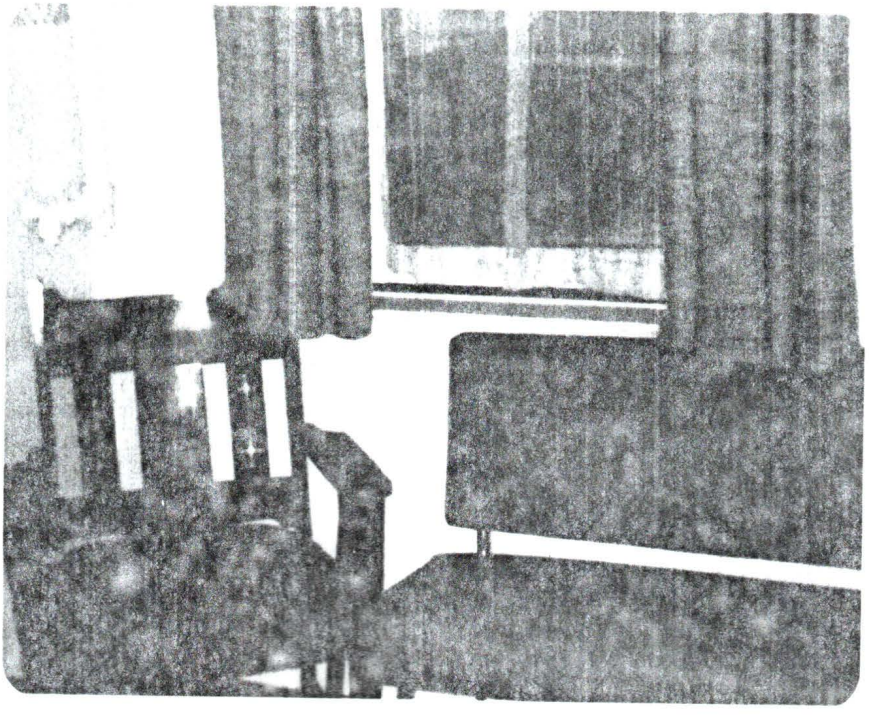
The view of Centennial Square from the author's window

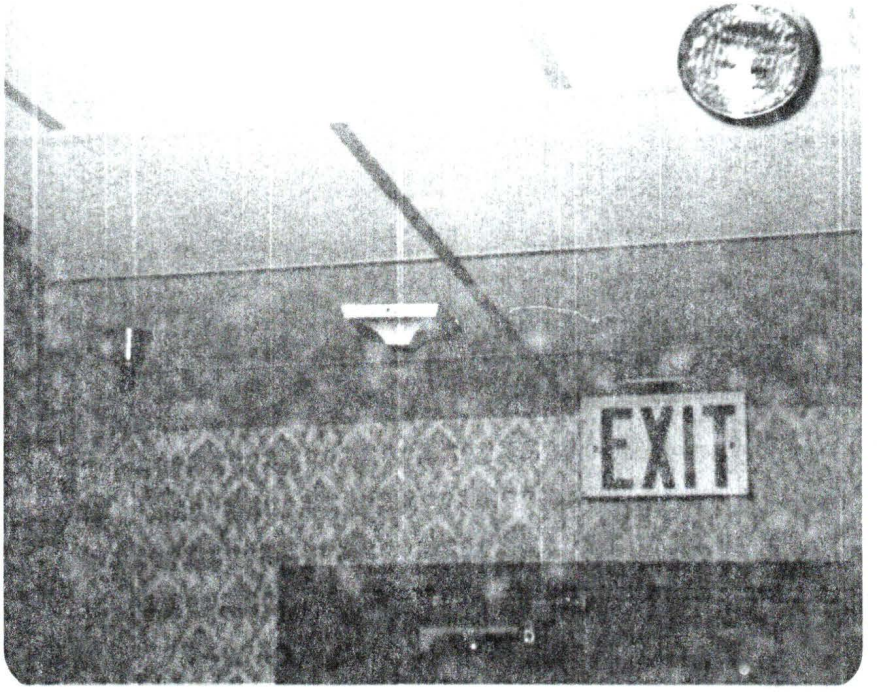




This is the T.V. room used regularly by a core of four residents and used less frequently by others. Note the emphasis on rules to reduce the possibility of disputes.

There is comfortable seating for eight in the T.V. room





This photograph emphasizes the extent of upgrading renovations. Note false ceiling, fire exit signs, heat detector, sprinkler, emergency lights, and heavy fire door.

residents constantly coming and going, pause to exchange greetings and comments on the nature of the weather, traffic patterns and similar daily concerns. Additional semi-private areas have been allocated within the hotel to permit socialization and relaxation among residents. Lounges have been set up with couches, ashtrays and magazine racks at the end of the corridor nearest the staircase on each floor. These areas are frequently used for reading and socializing by an enthusiastic minority of residents during the day. Often residents seek the cool breezes in the hallways when the afternoon sun begins to heat the rooms facing Douglas Street. Similarly, a television room on the second floor is used regularly by a core of four regulars and five or six casual viewers. Significantly, no females were seen in the television room during the course of this investigation. The elderly regulars come individually to the television room around 6:00 p.m. for the evening news and may stay until 9:00 p.m. or later. Usually there is little socialization except for restrained comments during commercials. However, during telecasts of sporting events, such as the World Series, many residents come to join in boisterous shouting.

In addition, several areas not intended specifically as meeting places are used by elderly residents. These areas include the south end of the hall nearest Douglas Street on each floor (which has a window), the tables at the north ends of halls and the rest area near the first floor entrance to the hotel. Frequently

residents bring chairs and ashtrays to these "unofficial" semi-private areas to take advantage of cool evening breezes and to chat with neighbours. One resident has planted flowers in pots on the fire escape at the end of the hall nearest his room. This man was not primarily interested in beautifying the lounge area, but rather stated "I get a kick out of seeing them grow". Nevertheless, this resident was frequently seen discussing his "garden" with other residents.

The territorial control exerted over semi-private space was never more evident than in the early evening hours when many residents would leave the doors to their rooms wide open. Whether they were seeking company or just relief from the heat which had built up during the day could not be ascertained. Nevertheless, the most visible socialization occurred after dinner when residents walking up and down halls would stop and talk with those who had their doors open. In many respects, therefore, there did not appear to be any areas within the hotel that could not be regarded as communal semi-private space capable of sustaining interpersonal relations.

Public Spaces: The Activity Patterns of Hotel Residents

Results of the interview schedule indicate that hotel residents exhibit many similarities in mobility patterns. However, detailed information necessary in the construction of composite movement fields could only be obtained from repeated open-ended probing.

In this respect elderly tenants often seemed confused by maps of the inner city and casual conversation combined with observation and even "shadowing" were necessary to confirm indications from the interview schedule.

Most shopping and recreational trips are made on foot because there are numerous shopping and eating establishments within a few blocks of the hotel (Fig. 11). The most popular restaurant among hotel patrons is undoubtedly Scott's restaurant, with many hotel residents frequenting the establishment every day. One resident offered: "I go to Scott's for lunch and dinner every day because they have specials for seniors". In this respect restaurants such as Scott's serve half-portions to seniors for half-price. Other restaurants also frequented by hotel patrons include the Melrose, the Highlander and the Hudson's Bay restaurant. Moreover, grocery stores such as Quonley's, the B&E Market and Cross's Meat Market are also frequented on a daily basis by many residents. All these destinations are easily accessible by foot. However, longer trips, such as to the doctor's office or to Beacon Hill Park, are sometimes made by bus or by taxi.

Although the majority of residents' movements are up and down Douglas Street and, to a lesser extent, Government Street, the composite movement fields also show east and west extensions (Fig. 12 and Fig. 13; Table XXIII). Numerical labelling on the composite movement field illustrates the percentage of hotel patrons

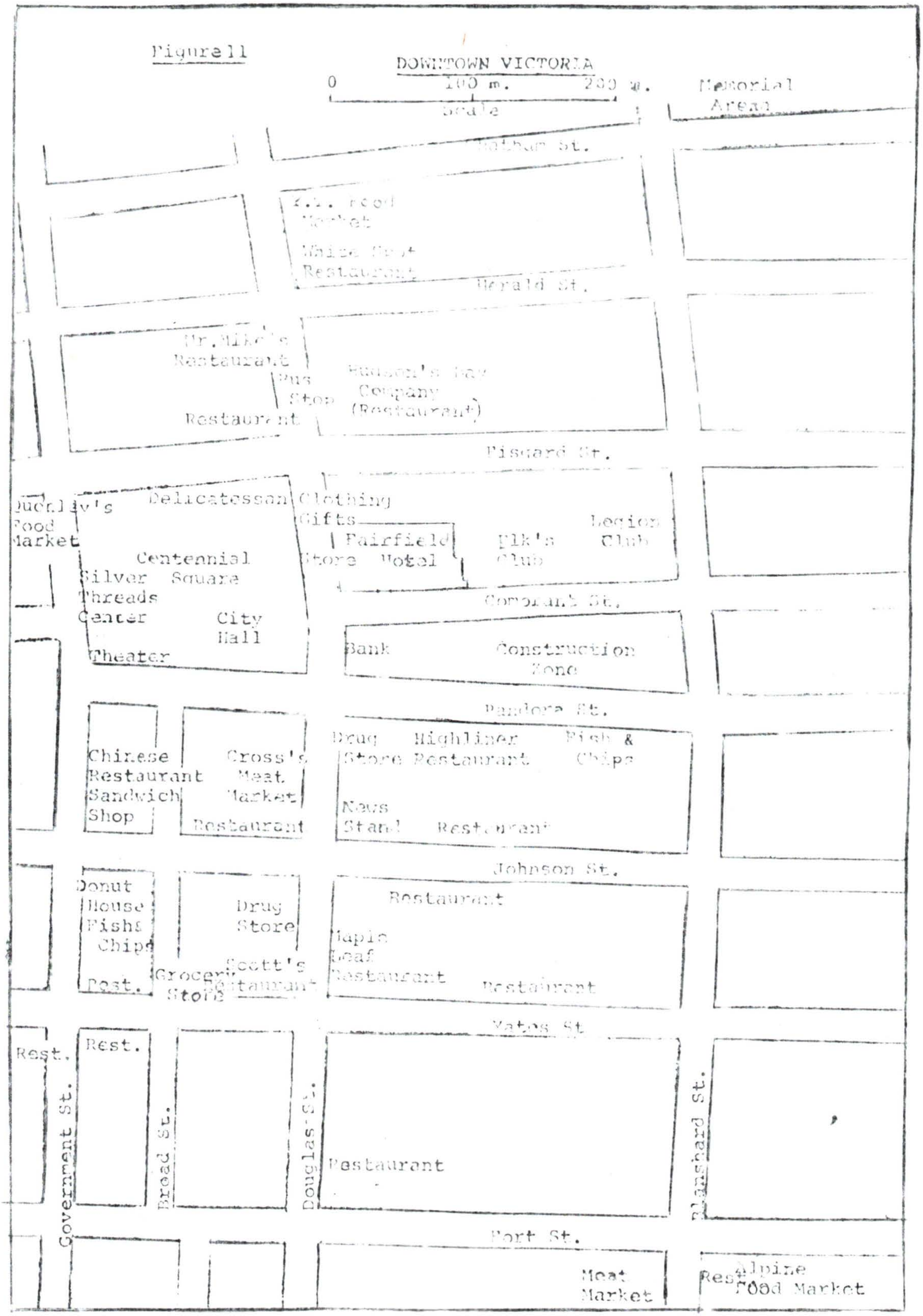


Figure11
DOWNTOWN VICTORIA
0
100 m.
Scale
Memorial
Arena
Herald St.
Restaurant
Hudson's Bay
Company
(Restaurant)
Bus
Stop
Restaurant
Fisgard St.
Delicatessen
Clothing
Gifts
Fairfield
Store
Hotel
Elk's
Club
Legion
Club
Food
Market
Centennial
Square
Silver
Threads
Center
City
Hall
Theater
Cormorant St.
Bank
Construction
Zone
Pandora St.
Chinese
Restaurant
Sandwich
Shop
Cross's
Meat
Market
Restaurant
Drug
Store
Highliner
Restaurant
Fish &
Chips
News
Stand
Johnson St.
Donut
House
Fish&
Chips
Post.
Drug
Store
Scott's
Restaurant
Grocery
Store
Restaurant
Maple
Leaf
Restaurant
Restaurant
Yates St.
Rest.
Rest.
Government St.
Broad St.
Douglas St.
Restaurant
Blanshard St.
Fort St.
Meat
Market
Rest
Alpine
Food Market

Figure 12 Movement Fields: Fairfield Hotel Residents, Greater Victoria, B. C.

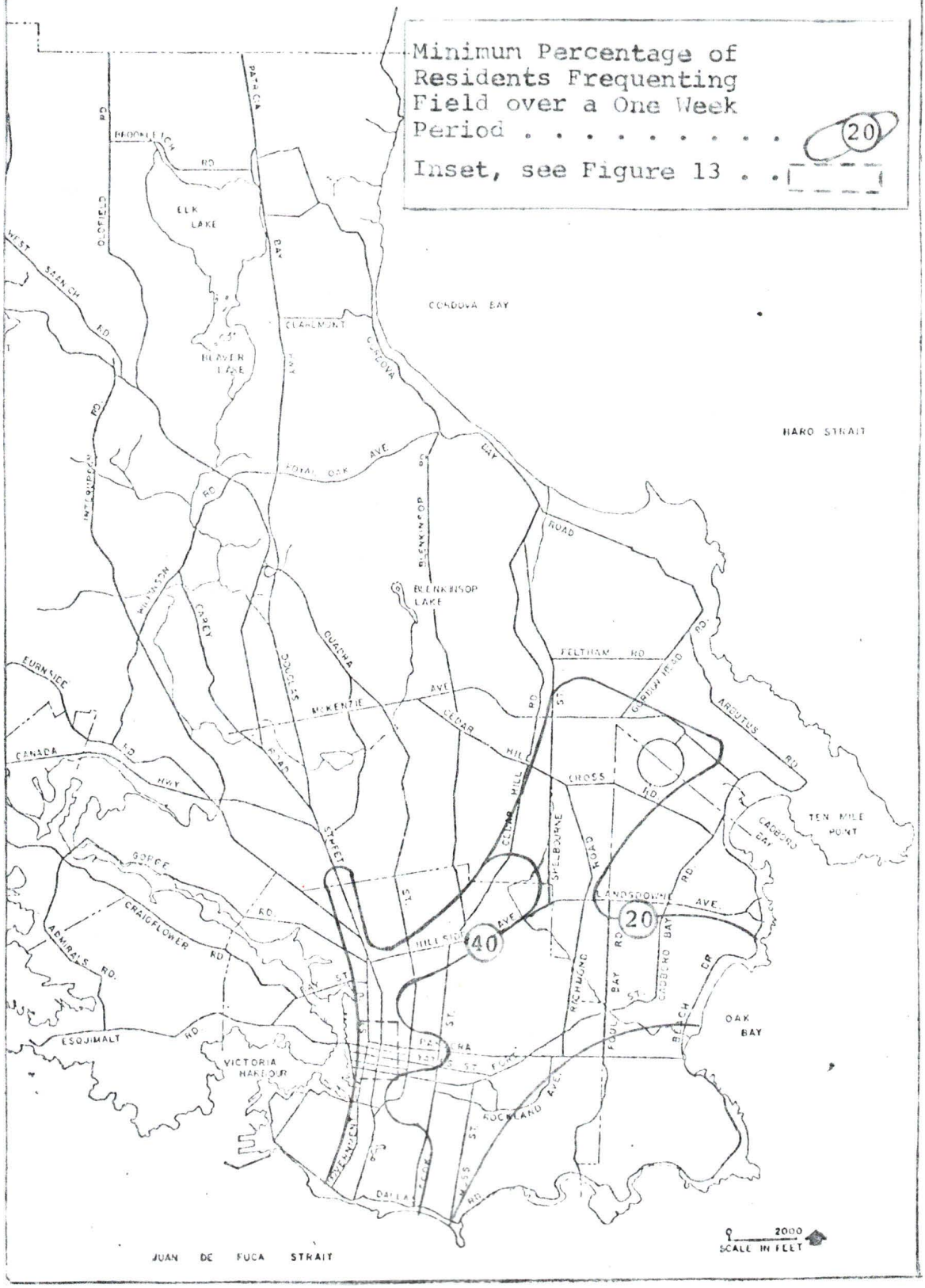
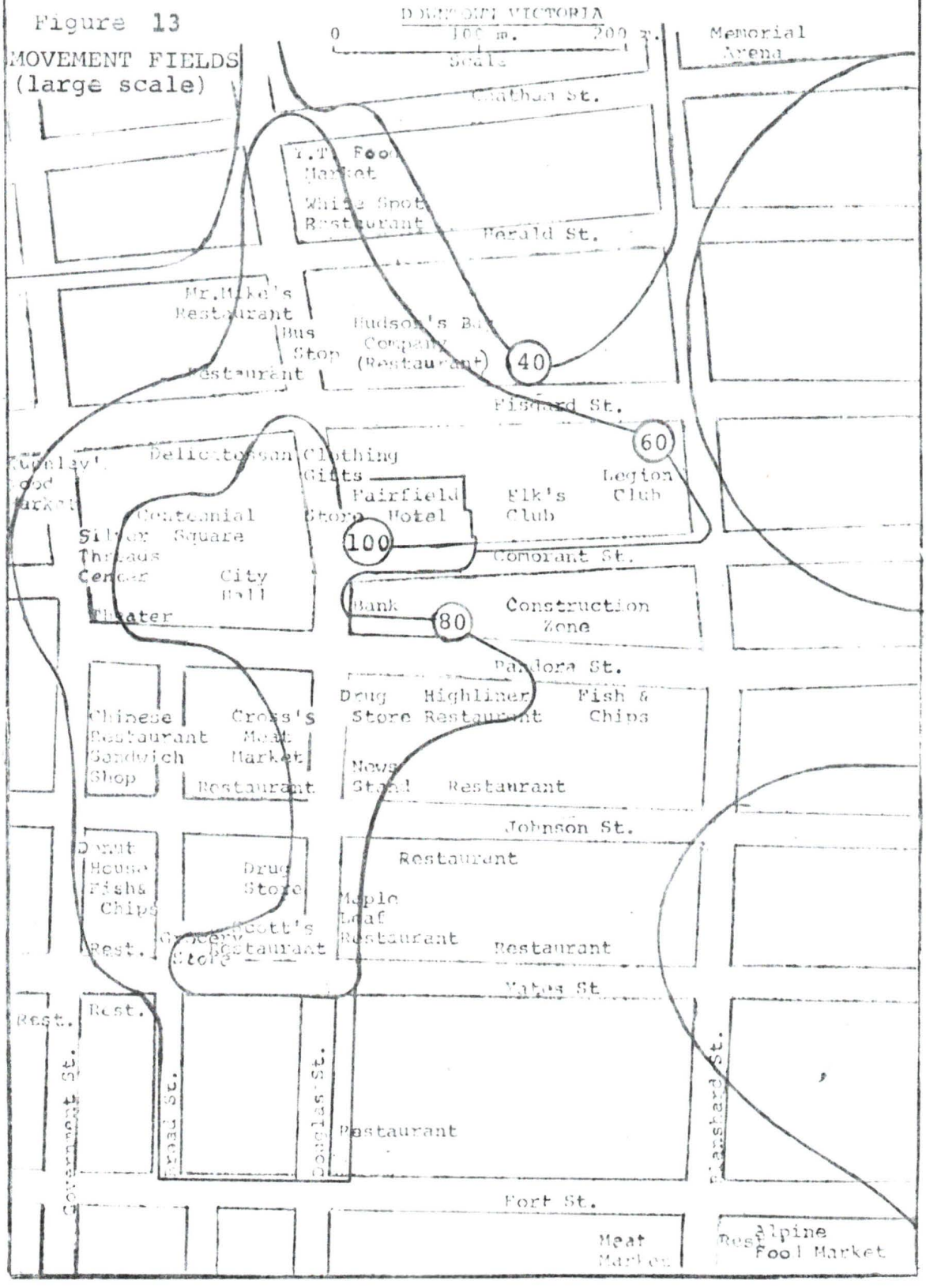


Figure 13

MOVEMENT FIELDS
(large scale)



likely to frequent areas of downtown Victoria over the period of one week. Although some residents have extremely wide activity spaces, most residents are restricted to the vicinity of the hotel and at least 15 percent of respondents appeared completely restricted to the hotel itself. Trips to peripheral shopping centers and suburban residential areas do occur. However, no more than one in four residents makes such trips as much as once per week.

An eastern projection of the composite activity field extends towards Oak Bay, with a principal node being Wellburn's Market. Wellburn's appears to be the most popular center for the weekly shopping trips of residents. Some hotel patrons are also drawn east by such nearby attractions as the Curling Club, the Legion and the new Crystal Gardens. However, few residents appear to travel east for leisure walks. Most leisure walks are directed west of Douglas Street and south of Fisgard Street. Much of the popularity of leisure walks apparently stems from the value residents place on the varied scenery and the numerous activities to be found in "Old Town" and along the waterfront area up to the Parliament Buildings. One very active resident confirmed "the scenery is beautiful down by the waterfront and there always seems to be something interesting to watch". Nevertheless, deterrents to movement in the direction of the waterfront also exist.

Seemingly endless road construction and upgrading was centered on Yates Street west of Douglas during the period of this

Table XXIII

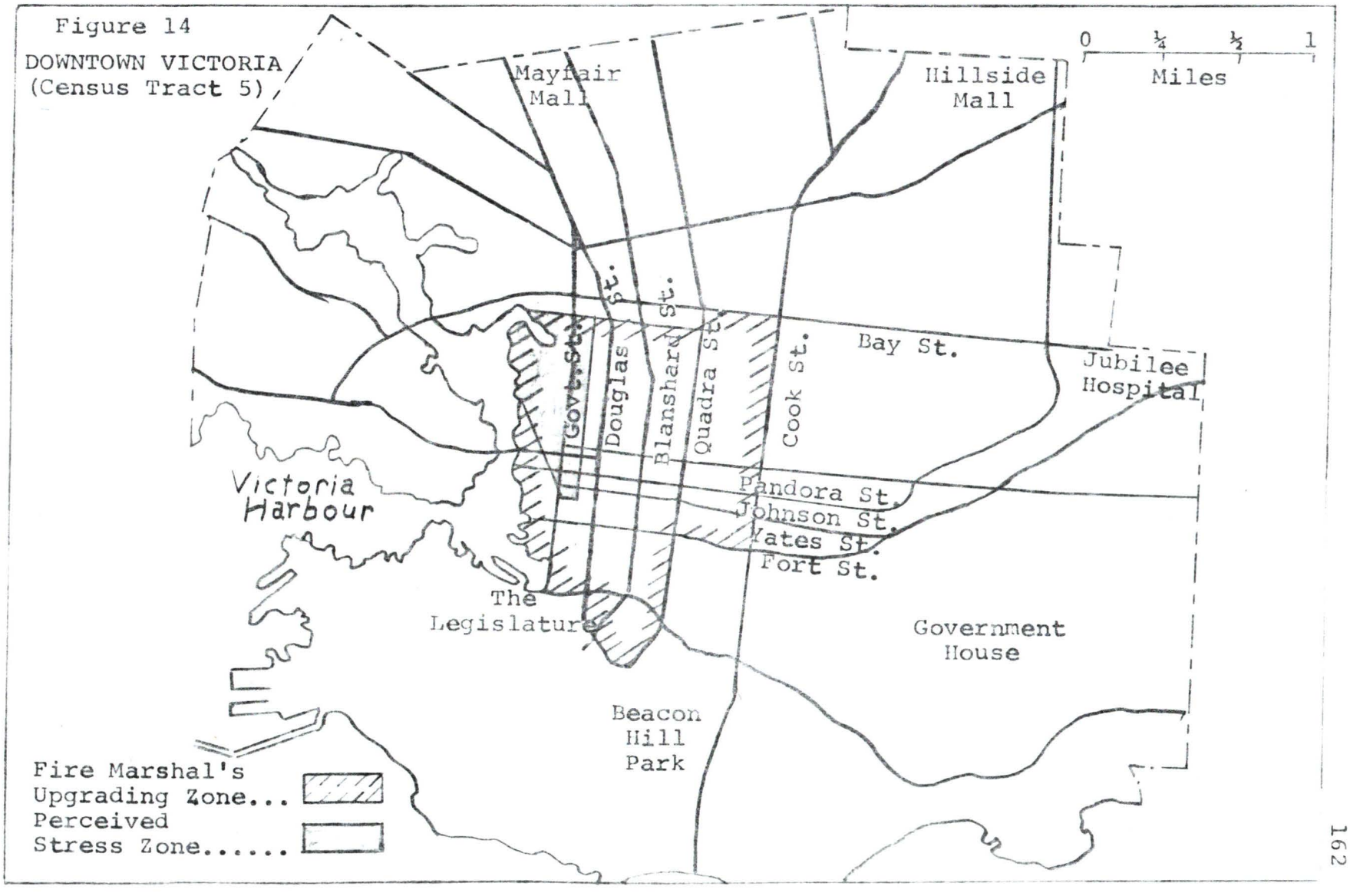
Respondents Frequenting Composite Movement Fields over a One Week Period

Zone	Respondents Frequenting Zones in a Typical Week														Exact Percentage
1 (80%)	1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9		11	12	13	14	15	86
2 (60%)	1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9			12	13	14		66
3 (40%)				4	5	6		8					13	14		46
4 (20%)				4					9		11					26

study. Such construction frequently obliterated sidewalks and bus stops for considerable distances and, therefore, tended to disorient the elderly and add to the insecurity which occasionally detracted from leisure walks. One resident complained that he "couldn't even find the sidewalk on his way to Scott's". In addition, the area north of Government Street, between Fisgard and Yates Streets, is perceived as a dangerous stress zone, populated by alcoholics and derelicts (Fig. 14). Although Wharf Street was a major arterial during Victoria's early history, the area has deteriorated and efforts at upgrading have only been partially successful. A liquor store, numerous bars and rescue missions, such as the Salvation Army, the Mustard Seed and the Upper Room, are found in this perceived "gray zone". Rescue missions are occasionally frequented but, as they are considered for "down and outers", most hotel residents are too proud to accept what they consider charity. Similarly, there is only very limited use made of the bars in this area by the older residents. Indeed, many of the elderly appear to fear this zone

Figure 14

DOWNTOWN VICTORIA
(Census Tract 5)



even during daylight hours.

Movement also appears restricted in the commercial area north of the Hudson's Bay. The absence of visual stimulation and the scarcity of attractions in this area discourages exploration and the area is considered too untravelled to be completely safe. Similarly, as food markets along Pandora Street have disappeared east of Douglas Street (ostensibly due to a declining residential population), movement fields have been further constricted east of the hotel.

Centennial Square, across the street from the Fairfield Hotel, provides a favorite outing for many hotel residents as it is a "window on the fast paced world" (Stutz 1976:397). Displays, folk festivals and crowds are common at the "Square" during the summer and its proximity allows easy access. Residents commonly sit on the benches in the square and talk with others or are content to watch the steady stream of city life. Frequently music from Centennial Square can be heard in the hotel and the lure of the annual "Foodfair" is hard to resist. A considerable number of hotel residents were observed sampling exotic foods in front of the fountain during this event.

South of the hotel and east of Douglas Street lies a moderately stressful area of retail shopping and white-collar business. Interspersed throughout this district are financial

and legal offices. Many of Victoria's newest and largest buildings can be found in this area. Hotel residents occasionally walk through this zone in search of specific services, but generally do not deviate from Douglas Street as they feel out of place elsewhere.

Shopping needs tend to pull residents about a mile north and south of the hotel at least once every two weeks. The Hillside Mall, Mayfair and the James Bay Mall are important, albeit infrequently used, shopping areas. However, with the declining availability of goods and services in the core area, the suburban shopping centers are increasing slightly in importance to the inner city residents. Similarly, such dispersed attractions as Beacon Hill Park, the University of Victoria, and the Oak Bay Recreation Center are popular with a minority of residents. Frequently residents ride the bus or take a taxi to such attractions. However, it is not uncommon for hotel regulars to walk to such places and walk or ride the bus back.

Although the construction of composite movement fields is not overly common in geographical research, the technique is based on established procedures used extensively by Stutz and pioneered by others in various forms (1976). It provides a reasonably accurate picture of spheres of activity generalized for all hotel residents. The importance of the home base to mobility patterns is emphasized and common activity patterns permit the identification of transportation needs common to most members of this social sub-

group. Nevertheless, it is primarily intended to be descriptive and exploratory in function. Therefore, firm conclusions are dependent on much further investigation.

Accessibility to Goods and Services

The map of Downtown Victoria (Fig. 12) illustrates the variety of attractions, restaurants and shopping facilities in close proximity to the Fairfield Hotel. Access to these amenities is clearly essential in supporting the lifestyles of elderly hotel residents. Despite the recent closure of food markets in Eatons and the Hudsons Bay, and of a Safeway and local grocery stores, the central location of the hotel still provides a variety of shopping options. Centrality is essential since most residents rely on walking to meet at least their day-to-day needs. Most residents appeared to recognize the positive benefits of walking and, although most trips are for shopping, leisure walks ranked as a very popular pastime. Despite the confusion generated by road construction and urban renewal, most residents appeared secure and proud of their ability to negotiate downtown streets. Despite a distrust of the seedy areas near Wharf Street, few residents were discouraged from roaming freely during daylight hours.

The advantages of a central location became evident on my first day of residency in the hotel. I arose early in the morning and blocked my window open. The noise of traffic from Douglas Street mingled with folk music from a display in Centennial Square,

piped-in music from the clothing store below my window and even the distant ringing of church bells. As I was leaving the hotel to post a letter, the lobby was quiet and I paused to exchange greetings with a man who identified himself only as Dave. As I needed stamps I decided to walk to the main post office since it was only four blocks away. Walking through Centennial Square on my way to the post office, I stopped briefly to watch some folk dancing. However, I returned to my room only to discover that my pen had run out of ink. Nevertheless, I was relieved to find that it was just a short block to the drug store for a replacement pen. On my way back to my room again, I stopped to use the pay telephone in the hotel lobby. The telephone did not seem to be working. However, the hotel manager happened to be walking by and he quickly explained the phone's eccentricities. While I was using the telephone, three men stopped to chat. It was laundry day for one man and he was taking the bus to a laundromat in James Bay as it was the cheapest he had found. Tucking this information away for future reference, I finally returned to my room. There I was surprised to learn that all of my activity up to this point had taken less than an hour. The proximity to goods and services as well as to thriving social activity had already made a deep impression on me.

Interpersonal Relations within the Fairfield Hotel

Data from Table XXIV emphasize the importance of interpersonal relations to the operation of the hotel culture. As with

Table XXIV

Interpersonal Relations in the Fairfield Hotel

Number of People Known	Percentage of Residents
Few	20
Some	47
Very Many	33

Number of Residents Known Well Enough to Greet	Percentage of Residents
1-2	0
3-5	20
6-10	40
11-15	20
15+	20

Number of Residents Known Well Enough to have a Conversation with	Percentage of Residents
1-2	33
3-5	27
6-10	20
11-15	13
15+	7

previous considerations, a wide range in the amount of social interaction displayed by tenants was evident. In this respect some residents had developed intense interpersonal relationships with almost all residents, while other "loners" have very few friends in the hotel. Nevertheless, it was possible to discern that most residents have numerous casual acquaintances and a few very close relationships with other hotel residents. The importance of casual relationships to the self-esteem and support of individuals cannot be over-emphasized. In this respect most hotel residents knew each

other on only a first name basis. However, while verbal exchanges tended to be laconic, they clearly were very important to the individuals involved as such exchanges were frequent and consistent.

The way informal social arrangements can be used to resolve incidents of minor trouble is exemplified by a problem which developed shortly after I assumed residence at the hotel. One of the tenants who regularly performs small chores to offset his rent was sent to paint the inside of another tenant's door. As the occupant of the apartment to be painted was not home, the painter succumbed to temptation and took four or five small liquor-filled bottles (1½ oz.) from the resident's mantel. After the woman reported the theft to the management, Otto replaced the bottles and wrote a note of apology which I noticed he signed in the name of the guilty party. After chastising the rather sheepish painter, peace was restored.

Due to relatively permanent and close interpersonal relations among tenants, evidence of domestic discord was inevitable. However, easy-going lifestyles and inflexible hotel rules helped ensure the harmony and serenity desired by all. This is significant in light of the common usage of facilities such as washrooms, bathrooms, television rooms and lounges. None of the elderly residents had serious alcohol-related problems and all appeared to have adapted very successfully to their environment.

Despite many similarities among tenants, it was also apparent that residents displayed varied backgrounds and had developed unique relationships with the shared environment. Several pensioners of a relatively high socio-economic status lived on farms on the Prairies during the summer and only wintered in Victoria. One apparently well-off resident lived at the hotel only because a heart condition dictated the regular exercise that he could only tolerate in the varied landscape of the inner city. Other residents had considerable money saved and could have moved to more luxurious quarters. However, not being used to any other lifestyle, they preferred to keep their savings in a safety deposit box (to avoid jeopardizing their Guaranteed Income Supplement) and live off their Canada pension.

Low rent, hotel services, and close proximity to inexpensive restaurants assist many hotel patrons in adjusting to a marginally subsistent lifestyle. "A not always congenial but at least socially similar and understanding group of fellow residents" (Stutz 1976:394) has evolved over time to provide the support and encouragement necessary for the elderly poor to maintain their independence. Apartment doors in the hotel frequently remain open much of the day as many of the residents consider this the only home and the only family they have.

The female component of the hotel population formed an unexpected but significant contribution to the social life at the

Fairfield Hotel. This component, at 13 percent, was only slightly greater than the five percent female component found by Stutz at the Golden West Hotel in San Diego (1976:393). However, the female proportion of the hotel population was far less than the city-wide average of 53.8 percent (CRPB 1969:8). Nevertheless, separate sections for females in this, as in many local inner city hotels, emphasize the extent of their presence.

At the Fairfield Hotel no areas are officially specified for women. However, Mr. Verwood confirmed that "women have taken over the (second floor, west) wing". Most of the women appeared to socialize among themselves to a greater degree than with the men and some had developed lasting friendships with their female neighbours. Nevertheless, they frequently provided home baking for some of the men and supplied such things as newspapers to those who could not get out during the day. Moreover, the women contributed a maternal element which appeared comforting to many of the elderly male residents. No apparent differences in the stability of male and female residents was found, as some of the women had lived at the hotel for over 20 years.

Case Studies

Much of the investigation to this point has been designed to delineate themes, shared activity patterns and collective adaptive mechanisms. However, it is also important to emphasize that individuals are involved in a unique relationship with the shared

environment in order to dispel the "prevalent societal image of progressive spatial constriction with advancing years"(Rowles 1978:1). Although it frequently is necessary to achieve generalizations, "reductionism impoverishes our sensitivity to the uniqueness and existential meaning of . . . experience" (Rowles 1978:174). In this sense, over-abstraction may delude us into considering the abstraction the reality. Therefore, case studies reflect increasing recognition of the need to consider Man-Environment Relations in a holistic framework. In a quest for deeper insight, smaller groups and even individuals are being studied. The considerable time investment involved, combined with the intricacies of intensive involvement, preclude large samples. Therefore, for this investigation four case studies have been selected on the basis of respondents' importance to the hotel social subsystem, long-term residency, and dependence on the hotel environment. The case studies have been left until the end of this discussion to permit interpretation by you, the reader, of the conclusions reached earlier.

The case studies were constructed from data gathered by observation and by repeated open-ended probing. The respondents have been given aliases to protect their identities and women have been included to reflect the contributions of the female component to inner city hotel life.

Case History 1: Marge

Despite her diminutive stature and reserved attitude, Marge displayed almost maternal feelings towards many residents of the Fairfield Hotel. The same predilection that found her providing newspapers to other residents after she has read them also led her to contact this researcher. On the third day of my stay at the hotel she appeared at my door with custard and fresh fruit. Subsequently Marge brought dessert to me almost every night. During initial contacts she seemed laconic and uncomfortable. However, as I became familiar with her and returned some of her favors, her concern for others and her importance to the hotel society became apparent. Most evenings her door would be wide open as her single luxury, a color television, blared out into the hall. Most people coming by her door would stop and chat about issues such as health and downtown attractions. In this fashion Marge has lived at the Fairfield Hotel for over 21 years and, in her own words "I've never been happier anywhere else. This hotel is just like a home and the people are all like family".

To understand Marge's position at the hotel for over 21 years, it is useful to review briefly her life. She was born at Victoria General Hospital, in 1912, but never knew her parents, being raised initially at the local orphanage. In her early teens she left the orphanage after being adopted by a well-to-do family in Victoria. Nevertheless, her formal education ended before high

school and she soon became self-sufficient working as a hairdresser. Marge continued this occupation for most of her working life, but was also employed by the Provincial Government for a short time while recording accident reports. During these early years she remained single and lived in an apartment in a "cold and rundown" house (which has since been torn down) near the city center. She also lived for brief periods at the Douglas Hotel and the old Portland Hotel. Finally, Marge obtained a job as a chambermaid at the Fairfield Hotel and soon assumed full-time residence. Although she is no longer a chambermaid, she still resides at the hotel and lives off a small disability pension and her Old Age Pension which provide a combined revenue of approximately $300.00 per month.

Marge has no relatives and few friends outside of the hotel. Nevertheless, she does travel to a friend's house on Lampson Street about once a month to have dinner, goes shopping at Hillside once per month, and goes to her doctor's office on Oak Bay Avenue about twice a year. For these trips Marge finds the bus system convenient as she has easy access to bus stops, never has to transfer and is eligible for reduced pensioner rates. However, she does not use buses often enough to justify purchase of a bus pass.

Despite a bad back that greatly reduces her mobility, most of Marge's trips involve walking to obtain groceries and meals.

Although she stays close to the hotel, Marge usually gets out of the hotel at least once a day. She shops about once a week at Cross's or one of the two Chinese grocery stores within three blocks of the hotel. However, she eats at a restaurant (usually Scott's or the Bay) every day and most of her leisure walks involve obtaining her main meal of the day. Nevertheless, she frequently stops at Centennial Square on her way to Scott's in order to watch the procession of sidewalk crowds.

Marge spends most of her waking day in her room on the second floor of the hotel. Her room is cluttered with shelves, tables and a dresser piled high with all of her belongings and the appliances she uses daily. She has a small oven, a refrigerator, sink and television set surrounding her bed. She cooks one meal every day and usually entertains friends from the hotel every day. In this respect, one of her best friends, who lives down the hall from her, is frequently consulted about back pains.

Although Marge's door is usually open, she displays considerable regard for her neighbours by turning her television off early and being careful of what she cooks in her apartment. She took the salmon I gave her out to her friend's house for fear of offending neighbours with the smell of cooking fish. She seemed comfortable and secure in her room, especially as the hotel upgrading had been completed. She commented on the inconvenience encountered during the hotel upgrading ("often there was so much

garbage in the halls, you couldn't even get in your door"), but valued the security upgrading provided. However, she seemed more appreciative of the fact that the manager was able to afford the renovations.

Marge has witnessed the demise of downtown supermarkets such as the Safeway, the Bay Food Floor and Eaton's Groceteria. She is bothered by the fact that she now has to travel to Mayfair to find a laundromat. Furthermore, over the years many of her friends have moved out of the hotel. Nevertheless, she finds hotel services adequate, and appreciates the accessibility of a central location. Her close friends are women who live near Marge on the second floor, west wing. Her friends provide important support and advice. Therefore, it appears that in the Fairfield Hotel Marge is able to find the home which she considered she never obtained in the outside world.

Case History 2: Charlie

Prone to coarse language and a simple lifestyle, Charlie is a colorful and worldly character who enjoys socializing and takes an active interest in his neighbourhood and residential environment. Despite health problems, Charlie has a wide activity space and spends much of his time walking in the downtown area. Using his bus pass, Charlie visits friends in Saanich every week and makes trips to a variety of dispersed destinations. He often

walks as far as Beacon Hill Park, the University or even Willows Beach. Additionally, he enjoys walking in the downtown area, especially near the Inner Harbor.

Although Charlie usually prepares his two daily meals in his apartment, he has dinner at Scott's usually two or three times a week. Weekly shopping trips to Wellburn's require bus transportation home. Nevertheless, Charlie still finds it necessary to shop for day-to-day needs at Quonley's or Woodwards. A review of Charlie's past emphasizes the importance of a central location to his lifestyle.

Charlie was raised in the frontier atmosphere of the interior of British Columbia. His formal education only reached as far as grade nine before he began working in interior ore mills and moving from town to town. His usual occupation was as a flotation operator in ore mills - an occupation he asserted to be physically gruelling and one which left him with respiratory problems. Throughout the hardships of climate and occupation, Charlie led a rollicking lifestyle and thrived on the camaraderie of friends. During this period he never married and spent his money as he earned it. Therefore, when health finally forced his retirement, he came to Victoria hoping to improve his health and retain his familiar lifestyle. Because of his precarious financial position, downtown hotels seemed his only refuge as he "couldn't stand to be shut up with gossipy old women" in govern-

ment subsidized old age housing. Charlie lived at the Pandora Rooms and the Scott Block for a while, but felt constrained by the rules at these places (especially rules limiting the times he could watch television). He also lived at the Beverly Hotel but felt "it was poorly run, rundown, and needed to be closed down". He soon found the Fairfield Hotel and has lived most of his five years in Victoria at the Hotel. A few close friends were found at the hotel, including Marie (Case Study 4), for whom he expressed considerable admiration. He appeared satisfied with the hotel as he felt it was the best he "could expect" on his limited budget. Furthermore, he clearly recognized the importance of a central location in keeping himself active and self-sufficient.

Charlie usually spends less than a third of his waking day in his room, preferring to interact with the downtown community. Nevertheless, he enjoys the view from his window and identifies strongly with his immediate neighbourhood. He was once very vocal in expressing his displeasure that the city would not hire a worker to raise the flag in Centennial Square on Sundays. Although he seemed suspicious of City Hall and powerless to change things, he had no hesitation is saying that "it looks like hell".

This resident seemed attentive to much that was going on around him and had developed many ways of adapting to his environment. In this respect he appears fully competent in the hotel environment as he was the person who provided me with such inval-

uable tips as washing underwear in a bucket to extend the intervals between the long journeys to the laundromat. In addition, he sticks to familiar, main routes in navigating the inner city to acquire needed goods and services. Furthermore, although he has not lived at the hotel long enough to develop many close friendships, the ones he has cultivated are with men of his own boisterous background who provide the camaraderie he desires. He appreciates the quiet atmosphere of the hotel and the varied backgrounds of residents as he frequently leaves his door ajar in the evenings. He also frequently chats with other residents in the unofficial semi-private area at the southwest corner of the second floor that he has established with the presence of potted flowers on the outside balcony. Although he "can't afford to drink in bars", he does enjoy the occasional beer with friends in his moderately personalized room. He also receives newspapers from Marge when she has read them.

Despite being satisfied with the hotel, Charlie expressed genuine concern over the impact of the Fire Marshal's upgrading program and "cannot understand where residents go if they are forced out of downtown hotels". He is grateful, therefore, for the security the Fairfield Hotel offers and is content in the assumption that the program will not affect him in the future. Nevertheless, he considers himself very lucky to have found such a suitable and secure residential environment.

Case History 3: Bill

"Most people think I must be crazy when they find out that I've lived at this hotel for 44 years. It's not a modern hotel, but it has everything I need. Mind you, it's the best now that it's ever been. The present fellow has put a lot of money into it. He even covered the marble stairs with thick carpeting so that the old people won't slip and break something."

Bill was born in 1904 and his father was killed in 1918. This necessitated quitting school in grade ten and taking a commercial course to become a wage earner. In 1934 he moved to Victoria from Vancouver and took up residence with his sister. Shortly after, Bill obtained a job at the Hudson's Bay and began living at the Fairfield Hotel because it was near his job and provided access to the goods and services he needed. During his years with the Hudson's Bay Company as a warehouse worker and a drapery installer, Bill lived with other working men at the hotel. Following World War II rents "were reasonable when there was little money". He regarded himself as "a loner" and never married. However, he was attracted to the sights of downtown Victoria and found extensive walks met his desires for relaxation.

When Bill finally retired after 35 years with the Hudson's Bay Company, he found the same advantages of a central location met his needs equally well in old age. "It suited me when I worked and it suited me even better when I retired". He realizes rents

might be "cheaper further out but transportation worries (would be more serious)". Furthermore, as he had aged, so had the resident population of the hotel. There were "generally older people here now". Therefore, the quiet atmosphere and the compatibility of the residents both suited him.

Bill's room is highly personalized and very attractive with new wallpaper and carpeting (Fig. 15). This resident owns all of the furniture in his room, including a matched headboard, chest of drawers, desk and table. In addition, his room contains a black and white television, a recliner, extra chairs, lamps, a medicine cabinet, shelves, pictures and a sink. Although he stressed that his accommodations were not luxurious, he was content that he had "everything you could ask for". Unlike most residents, Bill values the privacy of his room and has very few visitors. Furthermore, he spends very little time in his room.

As Bill has never cooked regular meals in his room (he does not have a stove), many of his walks include stops for meals. He frequents many of the nearby restaurants, notably Eaton's and the Highliner. However, his most popular dining place is Scott's, where he takes advantage of half-price, half-orders for pensioners once or twice a day. Bill supplements restaurant meals with sandwiches and snacks he prepares in his room. Therefore, he shops twice weekly at nearby grocery stores, notably Cross's Meat Market and the Chinese grocery next to Scott's. Less frequently

Figure 15 Hotel Room

Bill reading in his room at the Fairfield Hotel

(Daily Colonist July 17/75:1)

he travels to larger stores such as Wellburns or the Alpine Food Market. The closure of many large downtown supermarkets has inconvenienced him but has not upset his lifestyle. Nevertheless, he reminisces fondly about the open-air food markets that used to be located beside City Hall. Similarly, there used to be a laundromat on Fort Street, but Bill now has his laundry done at a Chinese laundry on Fisgard Street or has to take his clothing to a laundromat in James Bay.

Unlike many others, Bill spends little time in his room as daily walks take up most of his time in good weather. This pensioner has a very high regard for the bus service, but rarely uses the service as he can "walk everywhere". His extensive walks took him around downtown Victoria and to such distant places as Dallas Road, Beacon Hill Park and the Oak Bay Recreation Center. Bill has no relatives or friends outside the hotel and belongs to no clubs. However, he walks to his doctor's office on Oak Bay Avenue once every month or two and travels to exhibits and special events throughout the city.

Although Bill is extremely mobile for his age, he seldom travels east of Government Street or north of Fisgard Street. Furthermore, he does not feel secure on downtown streets and is careful to return to his room before dark. Bill does not drink and treats derelicts with cautious disdain. In this respect he related that "we used to have problems with drunks from the Legion

sleeping in the downstairs foyer. Now we have a key - - but that can be a nuisance if you forget it after hours".

Bill knew there were exactly 45 stairs from the street to his room and emphasized the hindrance stairs posed to many of the elderly residents. However, he credits the stairs with his own good health. He was also aware of the dangers posed by having only a single exit from the hotel. Nevertheless, he was convinced the Fire Department was overly harsh with the hotel because of this factor. He was also critical of the inconvenience residents had to put up with during the upgrading. "There were piles of junk up to the ceiling at the end of halls and the fire escapes were even taken down".

Bill has only a few of his close friends left at the hotel. Nevertheless, he still greets many of the newer residents casually. He confirmed this by saying "I know most of the residents now on a first name basis only". Although his savings, combined with his pension, afford him the means to move to more luxurious surroundings, he expressed no interest in such a move. Therefore, he seemed completely satisfied with his unique room on the third floor. At age 74, Bill seems resolved to spend his remaining years at the Fairfield Hotel in the comfort and security of familiar surroundings in order to maintain his familiar life-style.

Case History 4: Marie

As Marie is a woman and also works full-time as the resident manager of the Fairfield Hotel, it may not be possible to regard her as a "typical" resident. Nevertheless, Marie has an extremely active lifestyle which revolves completely around the operation of the hotel. In this sense her activity space is almost completely restricted to the hotel which, in turn, is instrumental in meeting all of her needs and desires. This unique relationship with her shared environment and her importance to the operation of the hotel indicate, therefore, that her story should be outlined.

Marie is a very outgoing, jovial woman who occupies a very special position among residents of the Fairfield Hotel. In her capacity as resident manager and hotel matron, she comes into contact with all residents on a daily basis. All residents greet her with affection and are likely to confide their problems, needs and desires to her. This remarkable woman is conscious of her unique position in the hotel society and is careful not to betray the trust residents place on her. Nevertheless, she quietly works behind the scenes to resolve problems and help individuals. In this respect, Marie has at least 50 close friends in the hotel who supply her with all her needs for both services and contact.

Marie was previously employed as a restaurant cook in

Vancouver. However, after the death of her husband, she moved, with her two daughters, to the Fairfield Hotel. Before Otto assumed control of the hotel, Marie had just a single room in which to raise her two children. "The day he (Otto) came in, he gave me a whole suite with kitchen, living room, bedroom and bathroom. For the first time, I had room for my family" (Daily Colonist July 17/75:11). In exchange for her work as assistant manager, Marie receives wages and occupies the only suite in the hotel. The suite is highly personalized with pictures, mementos, furniture and plants and she has a small vegetable garden fronting on a sunny main window. She has many amenities, including a freezer, color television, stove, refrigerator, radio and living room suite. Her living room is always kept in immaculate condition as it almost always is open to residents and visitors. There is a closed-circuit television set in her room to monitor people coming and going through the main foyer and her "office" remains open until approximately 10:00 p.m.

In spite of her gregarious character, the last time Marie left the Fairfield Hotel was four years ago and then only to visit her doctor. Nevertheless, her health is good and she expressed absolutely no desire to leave the hotel. Otto shops at Wellburn's for her twice a month and the rest of her needs are met by deliveries of milk, newspaper and mail. Other day-to-day needs are delivered by residents or by the daughter who still lives with her. She has visitors almost every day, prepares

three meals per day in her room, watches television, and enjoys hobbies such as gardening all within the hotel. The manageress is kept in a state of frenzied activity cleaning rooms, delivering mail and helping elderly residents, notably by calling taxis for many of the infirm residents. In her capacity as manageress, Marie seems completely happy and always has cheerful words for the residents she comes in contact with during her daily routine.

Marie's contacts with Fire Inspector Best had left her with a clear understanding of the Fire Marhsal's upgrading program. However, while she was cognizant of the need for fire safety, she was very upset with the threat to the existence of the hotel posed by the upgrading program. "They really threw the book at this hotel because of the lack of a second exit from the hotel". She was relieved, therefore, that Otto was able to meet the safety requirements and has since established a very good rapport with Inspector Best. As manageress she enforces "no smoking in bed" regulations, makes regular inspections of garbage rooms and has an excellent grasp of emergency fire procedures. Nevertheless, she was chastised by the fire inspector for having a smoldering mattress pulled out of the hotel before the fire department arrived. She emphasized she "would never do that again".

Marie insists that the Fairfield Hotel is "more of a family unit than a hotel". She acknowledges that most residents are on a first-name basis and asserts that the few words most

exchange every day help provide the support and encouragement essential to the well-being of these people. Marie asserted that residents generally reciprocate her affection and tend to stay at the hotel "as long as possible until health forces them out" usually into "government sponsored nursing homes". In this context, Marie related the story of one elderly resident for whom I had previously delivered meals with Meals on Wheels.

One evening John, a long-term resident, fell downtown and broke his hip. John took a taxi to the hotel and spent considerable time trying to climb the stairs. When Marie noticed him, he was told he needed medical help as he could not walk. However, he shunned assistance and replied "I can crawl to my room". Nevertheless, an ambulance was finally summoned to take John to the hospital. By this time his hip was so disjointed that the attendants kidded him about having a "mickey" in his hip pocket. "Not this time" he muttered, "but I probably wouldn't have hurt myself if I had been drunk". Nevertheless, this pensioner never recovered the full use of his leg and was soon forced to move to the Glenshiel Hotel. It is believed that he died soon after.

Marie recognizes the hotel's lack of an elevator as a serious problem for many elderly residents, but is also aware of the prohibitive cost of a chair lift. However, it obviously poses no problem to her or to some of the non-ambulatory residents since they never leave the hotel and expressed little desire to do

so. Furthermore, she emphasized that many of the residents value the stairs as a form of forced regular exercise. Therefore, she is content to do all she can, in the way of getting things delivered to residents, to help prolong the time the elderly can stay at the hotel.

Although Marie has only one daughter left at home, she expressed absolutely no desire to retire from her position as manageress. She is convinced her work is worthwhile and is committed to ensuring the continued operation of the hotel which provides all of her needs and fulfils all of her desires. Even though a central location is perceived as being of little importance to her, she cannot comprehend a lifestyle outside of the hotel and remains as dependent on the hotel as it is on her. It is a credit to the hotel's social organization that a single building can provide all of the needs of security and stimulation for such an outgoing individual. Clearly a central location is of importance to Marie since she enjoys watching the excitement of city life from her window ("I once saw a drug bust right outside on the street"). Furthermore, without the advantages of access, it is doubtful if she could have the many things delivered that she requires.

Conclusion:

Most elderly people in Victoria, especially those in the suburbs, rely on the automobile much more heavily than residents

of downtown hotels. Inner city residents rely on walking because of their locational advantage and clearly need little outside help. However, hotel residents also appear much more sensitive to the costs of transportation than their suburban peers. Furthermore, poor health frequently limits their range of transportation modes. Therefore, while most elderly residents are eligible for reduced fares on buses (15¢ with Pharmacare Card in 1978) and for bus passes, health problems frequently dictate the need for taxicabs which are perceived as expensive despite the fact the residents seldom have to travel very far. These considerations emphasize the need Stutz found for a "minibus or dial-a-ride system for the elderly, possibly in collaboration with a taxicab company . . . Ideally such a system should have drivers trained to meet the special needs of the elderly" (1976:400). Similarly, Jones advanced specific recommendations to upgrade Victoria's bus service, including: the need to mark buses front and back; improving access onto buses by lowering steps and adding handrails; the need to add bus stops and increase the frequency of service; and the inadequacy of time restrictions on bus passes (notably the provision restricting bus travel until after 10.00 a.m.) (1975:120). Recently some improvements in frequency and service have accompanied relaxed time restrictions on bus pass holders (time restrictions now apply only to outlying districts such as Colwood and Sidney). Similarly, two British Columbia Hydro buses have been modified with a platform to accept wheelchairs. However, these buses serve only the Beacon

Hill run and while this is helpful to residents in the Fairfield Hotel, this modification and other improvements must be extended throughout the bus system in order to gain the patronage of many elderly hotel residents.

Of the residents interviewed, 12 were aware of the Fire Marshal's upgrading scheme. Many lived through the renovations at the Hotel and newcomers read about the program in newspapers or were enlightened by friends. Although most residents realize they will not be forced out of the hotel, they did appear very concerned with the implications of renewal and upgrading schemes. Such projects were perceived as implying that services, such as food, clothing and housing, will become scarcer and more expensive. Many residents are aware that recent rent increases are the direct result of the upgrading to Fire Marshal standards and feel it is unfair that people on limited incomes should have to bear the cost of unrequested changes. Nevertheless, an important, albeit very small, segment of the hotel population had lived through the upgrading but could not seem to grasp the implications of the program. These people regarded the renovations simply as an unfair nuisance and, furthermore, felt "there are plenty of hotels in Victoria" they could move into if the Fairfield Hotel was forced to close. Such perceptions emphasize that some residents are uninformed, unwilling or incapable of understanding even major threats to their lifestyles. This dramatically illustrates their vulnerability to change.

The single staircase in the Fairfield Hotel is another vestige of the era in which the hotel was built. Nevertheless, the cost of installing an elevator is prohibitive (approximately $50,000.00) and cannot be borne by the building owners or the residents. Although the stairway aroused the wrath of the Fire Marshal, the lack of an elevator is also a significant physical handicap to the elderly. Residents are usually only forced out of the hotel when failing health prevents them from negotiating the stairs. After living for years at the Fairfield Hotel, residents are seldom able to change their lifestyles and adapt to new surroundings. However, incidents such as pulling smoldering mattresses out of the hotel reinforce much of the fire department's position. Therefore, grants or government subsidies to provide an elevator would have served a twofold purpose if implemented early in the upgrading program. Government-sponsored alternative housing is much more expensive, as is extended and acute-care accommodation.

Preliminary inquiry has revealed many features of the informal social system at the Fairfield Hotel which supports the fragile existence of inner city elderly residents. Mechanisms such as disdain for "drunks" (or, much less frequently, for authority figures or even researchers) provide them with self-respect and dignity. Mobility is central to maintaining the life-styles of these people as it is essential to the acquisition

of needed goods and services. Therefore, inner city residents display an extraordinary mobility profile (most take two trips or more daily) in order to take advantage of the numerous services provided within a small area of the inner city. Disrupting activity patterns and familiar environmental props through renewal may "increase pathology observed in residents of transitional zones in other areas" (Stutz 1976:398). Similarly, the impact of actual or threatened dislocation frequently leads to stress and the subsequent loss of independence. Therefore, the need is apparent for much more investigation into methods of preserving and enhancing the adaptive potential of such informal social systems as may be found at the Fairfield Hotel.

There are many studies indicating that the residents of a renewal area are always the losers (Niebanck 1965:127). It is apparent that downtown hotel residents share the burdens of renewal and should be given the opportunity to provide input into renewal decisions. As the elderly are generally politically impotent and unfamiliar with the planning process, the need for contact and consultation through field work is apparent. Participant observation studies are costly but may provide the only means of contacting close-knit but isolated social groups as may be found in downtown hotels. Renewal is frequently initiated by interests who do not consider the needs of minorities such as the inner city elderly poor. Therefore, all forms of upgrading should proceed

only on the basis of an accurate analysis of human as well as physical considerations (Stutz 1976:400). Only in this way can grassroots participation in the planning process be achieved. Furthermore, if relocation is unavoidable, it is apparent that substitute housing should endeavour to maintain existing social structures, provide rent and services at costs comparable to those of previous housing, and maintain access to goods and services. These problems confirm the need for relocating hotel residents "en masse".

The apparent deficiencies of the Fairfield Hotel appear minor but, nevertheless, notable. The most serious is the lack of an elevator or of a second means of egress. Furthermore, the small percentage of "misfits" ("round pegs in square holes" as Otto described the dozen welfare recipients at the hotel) may confuse or scare elderly residents. However, all hotel residents are included in the social intercourse of the hotel if they so desire.

The importance of a central location in encouraging trip frequency and satisfaction with modes of transportation is apparent from this study. It is notable that location was not an important correlate of trip frequency or satisfaction in Jones' study of the suburban elderly. However, this conclusion is likely a reflection of the fact that Jones' respondents were dispersed throughout the suburbs and probably utilized outlying shopping centers. Nevertheless, conflicing conclusions indicate the need for further

investigation into the adaptive potential of social subgroups and intensive analysis of the capacity of the elderly poor to adapt to dislocation is also needed. Furthermore, it is imperative that the awareness of the general public be broadened to include the hidden costs of renewal - the well-being of our elderly inner city residents.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The processes of aging clearly make the elderly particularly vulnerable to changing economic and social circumstances. Urban renewal, in the sense of planned, large-scale changes in the urban environment, frequently inflicts "the pathology of forced relocation" on inner city groups characterized as being powerless in the face of urban-planning decisions (Porteous 1977:288). In this sense, forcible replacement and relocation frequently implies reduced accessibility to physical and social amenities, lost income, higher rents, and the destruction of the established social system (Niebanck (1965:61). However, it is also possible to view urban upgrading schemes as providing the opportunity for contacting and counselling a previously inaccessible social group and highlighting the problems of a particular urban area. The latter approach implies extensive government assistance through direct aid and counselling and relocation agencies. Nevertheless, the elderly poor, dependent on a familiar environment and the support or tolerance of their neighbours, cannot be ignored. When certain groups gain benefits from publicly induced changes, social responsibility requires that the groups which suffer are also identified and compensated. In this respect it may be necessary to relocate entire communities in locations

which maintain purchasing power and accessibility. More importantly, however, continuing emphasis must be placed on conserving and upgrading older residential areas as "in many cases, the renewal area is paradoxically the best home the elderly can expect to have . . ." (Niebanck 1965:6).

The Elderly in Downtown Victoria

The CRPB study noted a declining concentration of the elderly in the CBD and indicated that the inner city may be losing much of its residential population to adjacent census tracts (1969:25). Similarly, Inspector Best noted a pattern of relocation into the area of North Park and Quadra Streets. The elderly appear generally to relocate in small groups or cliques rather than individually. However, the lack of systematic information indicates the need for much more investigation and consultation on relocation patterns to confirm speculation and to permit the development of suitable sites for alternative accommodation for elderly residents displaced from the inner city.

In light of the dislocation of up to 400 residents of Victoria's inner city since 1975, the need for a permanent relocation authority, as found in cities such as New York and San Francisco, seems apparent. However, local political officials are convinced that Victoria is not large enough to provide the work to justify a permanent relocation authority. MLA Barber confirmed that the city is less sophisticated than the Provincial Government

and does not have the resources necessary to co-ordinate all aspects of the problem. The possibility of assistance under the Rentalsman Act or the Housing Management Commission was suggested. However, the lack of formal relocation procedures reinforces the need for placing much more emphasis on conserving and upgrading the existing residential accommodation in the inner city.

Difficulties in obtaining funds to upgrade downtown rooming-houses stem from the fact that the hotels are regarded as being fundamentally commercial enterprises and it is hard, therefore, to justify spending taxpayers' money on them. Nevertheless, private groups, such as the Baptist Church, are non-profit organizations eligible for CMHC grants in constructing housing for the elderly such as exists at the corner of Quadra and North Park Streets (although residents of such projects are not eligible for the Renter's Grant). Furthermore, the Central City Residential Community was not recognized as such, and, therefore, was not eligible for grants under programs such as Neighbourhood Improvement. MLA Barber expressed the hope that the Community Services Program may provide tax exemptions and/or incentives to upgrade downtown hotels through Federal, Provincial and Municipal Aid. Similarly, Municipal Affairs Minister Vander Zalm promised legislation "to provide incentives to refurbish downtown cores". Such legislation hopes to provide "a vehicle whereby people in downtown communities can enhance their own environment. It may take (the) shape of low interest loans; incentives; or additional taxing

authority for municipalities" (Daily Times Aug. 21/79:9). Despite such optimism, little positive action appears to be forthcoming.

The political impotence of residents of downtown roominghouses can be exemplified by the experience of some of Victoria's more important hotels and apartment buildings which were faced with upgrading orders. The Fire Protection Committee shied away from posting warnings at the Union Club during initial phases of the Upgrading Program and compromises appear to have been made following the posting of the Empress Hotel. Similarly, in 1979, the Committee ordered the building inspector to issue permits to allow fire safety upgrading to proceed on seven Victoria Apartment blocks in the absence of provisions to include heat detectors and without the approval of the Fire Department (Daily Times Nov. 2/79 :21). Significant publicity also attended the attempted closure of the Provincially run Glenshiel Hotel in early 1980.

The 60 residents of the Glenshiel Hotel (with an average age of 80 years) hung large banners and signs from the 75 year-old building with slogans like "Don't break up Our Home" (Daily Times Mar. 10/80:1). Residents protested that the hotel atmosphere was conducive to independence and expressed appreciation for its convenient location: "It's nothing to take a taxi down to Eaton's, but if we got put some place out like Oak Bay Manor, why, we couldn't afford to take a taxi". Furthermore, "everyone here takes

care of everyone else. When you get as old as some of the people here you have no friends except your neighbours" (Daily Times April 15/80:13). In support, MLA Hanson urged Highways Minister Fraser to reconsider demolition as "there is a shortage of appropriate accommodation for old persons in convenient locations; residential hotel-type accommodation should be enlarged rather than diminished" (Daily Times Feb.27/80:32). In light of such an outcry Alderman Wright, speaking for the Fire Prevention Committee, was again in a position to "consider possible areas of compromise" and plans to close the building were subsequently changed (Daily Times May 24/80:17). Nevertheless, it is significant that even the Glenshiel seems doomed to eventual closure by attrition as parts of the building are being phased out and 25 rooms are vacant despite a substantial waiting list for accommodation.

The vulnerability of the elderly to economic pressures was dramatically illustrated in the case of Oak Bay's Talbot Apartments when the 16 mainly elderly residents were faced with eviction notices following the issuing of fire safety upgrading orders. Following an appearance before Oak Bay Council residents were informed that the Rentalsman's Office had extended the eviction notice to 120 days. However, Alderman Bunn best summed up the sentiments of shocked council members when he observed, "I find it a terrible situation where for $9,000 you (the tenants) can't stay in a place you like and enjoy"(Daily Times April 29/80:24). It was also

observed that the Fire Chief had not ordered the building's demolition, as suggested in the eviction notices, but merely ordered the upgrading of alarms, emergency lighting, fire escapes and garbage chutes. Although this experience also reveals that efforts are now being made to work with owners in getting improvements done gradually, eviction notices are still being issued.

Victoria is generally regarded as being sympathetic to the elderly and anxious to attract retired citizens, as retirement is perceived by the CRPB as "the forgotten industry". In this respect the attractive climate is complemented by special services for seniors including a medical program the Provincial Government proclaims as being "one of the finest in the world" (New Horizons April 78:1). Public support for the elderly is emphasized by the success of Alderman Blencoe's campaign to obtain commercial discounts for senior citizens. This campaign attracted offers from 36 different local firms (Daily Times Dec. 7/79:15). The University of Victoria is even hoping to establish an Institute for Geriatric Studies (Daily Times Mar.3/80:11). Therefore, ostensibly, it is out of character for the City to display the insensitivity towards the housing needs of the elderly that was most evident during early phases of the Upgrading Program but still continuous today.

In response to a letter from the Fire Safety Committee pointing out that the threat to rest homes now posed by current

fire safety standards, Attorney-General Williams has recently taken a harsh view of the role of both city council and the fire department for enforcing a city by-law which requires that tough code standards be met. Williams pointed out that in 1978 a much less stringent fire safety guide was drawn up by the Province and he emphasized that "the problem and the remedy are in the city's own hands" (Daily Times June 5/80:1). Although the city had the option of adopting recent less stringent guidelines used in most of British Columbia, including Vancouver, Chief Simmons has chosen, for his own reasons, to enforce the City of Victoria By-Law" (Daily Times June 5/80:1).

Changes in the Fire Marshal's Upgrading Program, stemming from attempts to apply it, emphasize the fire department's tough stance during initial phases of the program. Nevertheless, closer co-operation between city council and the fire department combined with a more effective assessment program may have reduced the initial impact of the program. Even in 1976 the fire department was calling for legislation which would be designed to permit it to remove fire hazards based on the intent of the upgrading standards rather than on strict adherence to the Fire Marhsal's Act. In this respect the fire department maintained that its hands were tied by a city by-law which would not allow it to permit deviations and "treat each individual building on its own merits" (Best 1978:10). Essentially, the intent of the Fire Marshal's Act is to improve fire

safety and generally fire officals have tried to co-operate and be open-minded with building operators. Nevertheless, despite the best efforts of the fire department to work with operators in improving fire safety, the impact of upgrading in Victoria, as in other large North American cities, was far greater than many planners envisioned as numerous communities have been uprooted.

As most residents of inner city hotels have a working class background, the Fire Marshal's Act was passed by the New Democratic Party in 1975 in an effort to improve the residential environment of such working class people. This policy stemmed from an awareness that as inflation continues the Inner City Elderly will become even more disenfranchised. However, this study provides an example of politics becoming distorted in its application as the working class beneficiaries became victims of the New Democratic Party Act.

Inflation and escalating land values have placed increasing pressures on Victoria's remaining inner city hotels. Such pressures may require local bylaws or zoning to ensure the survival of remaining hotels. In this respect an emergency bylaw similar to the heritage protection bylaw was invoked in February, 1981, to ban the demolition of buildings with more than five rented suites during periods of low vacancy rates (Times-Colonist May 30/81:1). Similarly, a policy was established in 1974 to ban the conversion of buildings with less than five residential suites (Times-Colonist June 19/81:17). Nevertheless, loop-holes in local

bylaws continue to permit demolitions as evidenced by the recent closure of the Regency Apartments when tenants were "pressured" to leave and offered "financial incentives" in order to vacate the building and thereby make it eligible for demolition (Times-Colonist May 30/81:1). If local bylaws continue to demonstrate ineffectiveness, it may ultimately prove necessary to zone areas of downtown in order to protect the remaining hotels.

The confusion generated by overlapping political and administrative procedures also indicate a need for much intensive impact assessment studies. Considerable numbers of the elderly have been displaced and many more are still being threatened as Victoria's Upgrading Program shows some signs of expansion into other areas of the city. Although damage has already been inflicted on tenants who have been displaced, it is hoped that their experience can serve to sensitize planners and the public to the tenuous position of these people. In this respect, lack of information on the stable elderly residents concentrated in the cores of our cities explains much of the apparent insensitivity displayed by local officials and the general public.

The continuing threat posed by large-scale urban renewal was illustrated by a scheme recently presented by the vice-president of the San Diego Development Corporation to the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. The developer outlined procedures for establishing a development corporation (a non-profit company) to work with a municipal redevelopment agency in assembling large-scale land

packages in the inner city in order to "attack urban blight". In San Diego a 1,200 acre parcel in the inner city was designated and the development agency (consisting of the mayor and eight councilmen) became involved in the renewal of at least a third of the designated area. To effect renewal the development corporation implemented schemes such as paying nine million dollars to assemble 73 acres which were then sold to a developer for four million dollars. Since the $60 million project will bring $600,000.00 in taxes to the city annually, it was felt "the increase in tax revenues more than offsets the upfront handout to the developer" (Times-Colonist Feb. 5/81:11). Revenue for the project was supplied by ingenious schemes such as the sale of municipal bonds (including "tax allocation bonds) which were used to finance developers while increased tax revenue was applied to paying off the bonds. Other techniques, such as a "transit occupancy tax" on visitors were also implemented to finance development. However, the development corporation admitted many heritage buildings were demolished because of "stiff code requirements". Similarly, subsidies had to be provided ". . . to move some 650 residents of the rundown areas targeted for reconstruction" and 40 to 50 percent of the property acquired was through expropriation proceedings (Times-Colonist Feb. 5/81:11). The only concession of the corporation to Federal stipulations that 20 percent of the housing in major projects go to low and moderate income families was to ". . .plan several high density highrise buildings in the

redevelopment area" (Times-Colonist Feb. 6/81:11). The "enthusiastic audience" in Victoria for the developer's "sermon" on how to "revitalize downtown" emphasizes the continuing threat to impoverished and inarticulate social groups such as the elderly poor.

The Elderly: Problems and Situations

The apparent inconsideration shown to displaced inner city residents reflects a lack of recognition stemming from the political impotence of a group that is not only generally poor and uneducated, but elderly as well. Such considerations reinforce the need for persistent research and counselling to identify and contact such "obscure" groups. In this respect the identification of common needs and desires in such relatively homogeneous groups as the inner city elderly poor can assist in maintaining their independence and stave off the development of a new "problem" group. The loss of independence implies the need for expensive personal, intermediate or extended long-term care. Nevertheless, the problems of this group, as well as the problems facing the elderly in general, require more understanding and support from the overall community. The objective of relevance in geographical research also requires asking to whom such research is relevant in light of arguments that a supposedly value-free science traditionally has produced effects somewhat biased in favour of the status quo and the ruling class of the corporate state (Harvey 1974:23).

This study ostensibly seeks to improve the condition of the elderly poor within the existing framework of social norms. However, this approach reflects a stopgap measure in lieu of full participation in the planning process. Such measures appear essential in light of the tenuous position of the elderly poor. Moreover, "in order to change the world we have first to understand it" (Harvey 1974:23). Nevertheless, it is apparent that basic changes in public attitudes towards the elderly must also take place.

It has been a North American tendency to isolate the elderly from the family unit by leaving them to fend for themselves and to institutionalize them when they cannot maintain their independence. However, even disregarding moral considerations, it is apparent that caring for the elderly is going to be an increasingly serious economic problem in the future. The spiralling cost of living, housing shortages and increasing costs, and the escalating costs of institutional care have led researchers such as Ferguson to question, "what's going to happen when the major part of society is dependent?" (Times-Colonist Dec. 30/80:9). Similarly, Rose feels "a backlash may develop against the ever increasing numbers of elderly people when Canadians are faced with the burden of supporting them" (Daily Times Sept. 13/79/21). The numbers of Canadians over 65 years of age will increase from 1,744,000 in 1971 to 3,340,000 by 2000 A.D. and double again in the following 30 years.

The annual cost of providing for the elderly could jump from the present 5.4 billion dollars annually to 12 billion dollars annually by the year 2000 (Daily Times Sept. 13/79). In light of such economic factors, it is obvious that the family unit also has an important role to play.

Although all families may not be able to cope with the stresses of multiple generations under the same roof, the generation spread can be accepted in many cases and should be encouraged by public funding. In this respect two University of Victoria professors have suggested "family support" programs to help families keep elderly members, in similar ways as child support is provided to families with handicapped children (Times Colonist Dec. 30/80:9). Professor Anglin confirms, "the government of B.C. is moving in (this) direction" (Times-Colonist Dec. 30/80:9). Furthermore, there appear to be many potential parallels between the way we treat the very young and the very old. Outreach teams and support money will bring some community responsibilty to the situation. In this respect, geriatric drop-in centers, combined with government-subsidized self-contained suites in family homes would provide a sense of privacy and independence within the family circle which would be valued by a significant number of the elderly.

Despite changing social attitudes towards the elderly, Mrs. Kuhn, founder and chairwoman of the Gray Panthers, speaks

for the elderly in asserting "the western world has been damaged by ageism - a social ill like racism and sexism - and (ageism) must be stamped out" (Daily Times, Oct. 9/79:30). Spokespersons for the Agora Foundation continue this argument by maintaining that, "far from being a drain on society, senior citizens have the time, energy and resources which allow them to continue to lead active, fulfilling lives and to make significant contributions to society" (Daily Times, June 4/79:28). Similarly, others have asserted that, "it takes 60 years or more to gain the experience and knowledge to live intelligently in this world of ours" (New Horizons April 78:1). These comments emphasize that many of the stereotypes society has traditionally placed on the elderly must be re-evaluated. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the area of compulsory retirement.

While retirement can be a satisfying experience, it can also be a dehumanizing stressful experience, especially when people have only fixed incomes. "Adult psychological status in North America is directly related to the work ethic. Therefore, 'unproductive', non-working people are generally viewed as second class citizens" (Daily Colonist April 22/79:1). To force people to retire at 65, or at any age, "is to measure the worth of an entire class of people by counting up their years - not by measuring their ability" (Daily Colonist April 22/79:1). It is generally akcnowledged that, "enforced retirement drives our aged into a premature state of disorientation" (New Horizons April/78:2).

Therefore, spokespersons such as Labor Lawyer McGrady argue that it is not enough, "to take a statistical average and say a group of people can't do the work and then force those people to retire" (Daily Colonist April 22/79:1). Nevertheless, discrimination against older people, "... does not generally evoke as strong an emotion among the public as discrimination against people on the basis of race, color or sex" (Daily Colonist April 22/79:1). In this respect, British Columbia Labor Minister Williams issued a directive to the British Columbia Human Rights Branch forbidding it to accept or look into complaints from people who are discriminated against because they are over 65 years of age. Williams has also said that he does not feel that age restrictions are discriminatory. However, these opinions clearly run contrary to provincial legislation and judicial ruling in British Columbia (Daily Colonist April 22/79:1).

A special Senate Committee report states that, "mandatory retirement at age 65 often amounts to sentencing people to poverty and should be abolished" Daily Times Dec. 19/79:1). The report, entitled "Retirement Without Tears", was prepared by a committee of 22 senators after two years of public hearings and study. The document confirms that forcing people to drop out of the work force at age 65 is discriminatory and, "ignores their desires and abilities". Furthermore, "individuals should be able to choose when they want to retire, subject to common sense rules about

competence and physical fitness" (Daily Times Dec. 19/79:1). The report proposes that the age of mandatory retirement be increased by one year at the beginning of each year for five years by amending pension plans and retirement rules. At the end of that five year period, the report urged the concept of mandatory retirement at any age should be abolished.

The aforementioned Senate Committee also recommends a doubling of the contributions of employees and employers to the Canada or Quebec Pension Plans so that pension cheques can more than double (Daily Times Dec. 19/79:1). Another government study backed these recommendations by urging the tying of old age security and income supplements to increases in average earnings. In this respect, it was felt that pensions should pay 40 to 45 percent of the average salary of $14,000.00 ($5,600.00 to $6,300.00), rather than the current 34 percent of the average salary ($4,810.00). (Daily Times Oct. 24/79:1). Furthermore, this Health and Welfare Department study also recommends that either pension plans be made compulsory for all businesses or that government pension plans be enlarged. Clearly such financial support for the elderly, especially the poor, is essential to provide security in the face of rapid change and the spiralling cost of living. The day-to-day problems threatening senior citizens are magnified in comparison with younger age groups because of society's negative attitudes towards older people (Daily Times Oct. 9/79:30). Therefore, it seems essential to provide special consideration for elderly groups

especially in light of current deficiencies in Victoria's long-term health care program.

"Victoria has twice as many people over 80 as any other place in B.C. The over-65 age group represents 15.4 percent of its population and it's on the increase" (Daily Times Mar. 23/79:23). Nevertheless, shortages and inadequacies at all levels of health care in the city have become apparent. Many of the problems stem from the fact that individuals seeking care must deal with two bureaucracies with different sources of funding. In this respect extended care facilities come under the provincial governments Hospital Act and the British Columbia Hospital Programs, while intermediate and personal care facilities fall under the province's long-term care program, which is administered by the Community Care Facilities Licensing Act (Daily Times Mar.1/80:15).

A typical scenario follows an elderly resident, dependent on health care, progressing from a personal care facility to an intermediate one and, finally, extended care. Between each transition the elderly must go through a traumatic assessment period in a general hospital. As residents are shifted between the facilities, adaptive mechanisms, social relationships and even marriages are disrupted. Furthermore, facilities are in short supply in all areas of health care for the elderly. In this respect, many of the area's more than 40 rest homes, run by private, non-profit organizations and funded by the provincial

Health Ministry, are succumbing to economic and administrative pressures. Pressures on the Glenshiel Hotel have previously been discussed and are reinforced by the plight of the Kiwanis Villa which, "will be phased out . . . at a time when the region is extremely short of personal care beds" (Daily Colonist Aug. 16/79 :15). Similarly, Dr. Wallace confirmed that in the case of intermediate care, "the number of facilities is totally inadequate". Possibly because, "so much money is being spent in the acute care field . . . there just isn't the money available to provide the same level of long-term chronic care" (Monday Magazine, Dec. 14/79 :9). Nevertheless, the acute care bed shortage in Jubilee and Victoria General Hospitals is also well-documented (Times-Colonist Jan. 22/81:11). Dr. Wallace further contends:

> CRD and provincial government officials either don't realize the true nature of the problem or they do and are deliberately refusing to build enough extended care beds for the elderly -- which is the real cause of the acute care bed shortage. Figures compiled by the CRD's Hospital and Health Planning Commission demonstrate the problem. The latest monthly status report on long-term care put out by the commission has more than 150 persons waiting for extended-care beds, but not a single extended-care bed will be built this year. Some 650 patients are awaiting intermediate or personal-care beds, but only 331 such beds are due to open this year and 195 next year. (Times-Colonist April 7/81:9).

The overly frequent deaths of elderly residents of rest homes as in the James Bay Lodge and the Oak Bay Manor further attest to the "gaps in the long-term care program in the Victoria area" (Monday Magazine Dec. 14-20/79:9). The deaths of elderly

residents at rest homes have been described as "just the tip of the iceberg" (Daily Colonist April 22/79:1), and reinforce the need for the restructuring of health care in the capital region. In this respect, regional health officers have recommended the development of multiple-level care facilities where extended, intermediate and personal care can all be provided (Daily Times March 1/80:15).

In terms of local health care, the construction of Beckley Farm Lodge in James Bay is seen as a "symbol of care by all levels" (Daily Times June 5/80:27). This two-story building is intended to provide a "home-like" environment for individuals and couples as well as for ten wheelchair residents, a dozen day-only residents, and some pensioners utilizing "swing accommodations" (where families can bring their elderly for a personal break). In addition, activities will be sponsored as will a "wheels-to-meals" function with, "... a little bus with a volunteer driver rounding up loners every day for a proper meal and company". (Daily Times June 5/80:27). Rooms will include provisions for personalization and lounges, library and television rooms will be provided to enhance socialization. In addition, provisions have been made for a laundry area, a concession, therapy centers, fenced outdoor patios, a nurses' station (as a "control and communications center"), utility and medication preparation rooms, and even space for barbers and hairdressers.

The 70-bed long-term care home will provide residential, personal or intermediate care for the elderly for $6.50 per day with applications being made through the Ministry of Health. The building will cost $2.5 million and is scheduled to open in the spring of 1981 after four years of planning. Capital costs were provided by the CMHC and provincial grants will cover most of the operating costs. However, contributions of $20,000.00 per year are also required from the James Bay Multi-Level Care Society which initiated the project and guided it through initial stages of development. The building is located on nearly an acre of land at 522 Simcoe Street provided by the provincial government (Daily Times June 5/80:27).

Beckley Lodge is obviously a very sophisticated and long-overdue innovation in health care for the elderly. Nevertheless, it is surprising how many of the features and functions of the Lodge are presently provided by privately-run downtown hotels. Therefore, it may be advantageous for innovative multi-level care facilities, such as Beckley Lodge, to examine appropriate downtown hotels and rooming-houses in order to evaluate design features. If Beckley Lodge is successful, a second Lodge will also be built in James Bay.

Regional planners appear confident that the health care deficiencies, "will disappear in two to three years as new facilities open" (Times-Colonist Jan. 22/81:11). However, in

light of Victoria's burgeoning elderly population, it seems essential to reduce pressure on long-term care facilities by assisting the elderly to maintain their independence in homes such as are provided by many downtown hotels.

The Importance of Downtown Hotels to the Elderly Poor

There are numerous reasons, accepted by many planning theorists, for maintaining downtown hotels as viable living environments for elderly citizens. Residents living in the downtown area imply the presence of fewer cars with resultant cleaner air and more parking space. Residents provide a market for local businesses, especially grocery stores, which characteristically are among the first businesses to disappear from core areas. Furthermore, city life and cultural vitality are enhanced by diversity among residents and many of the elderly are strong supporters of mixing generations. Finally, the tax base of hotels is much greater than that provided by single family dwellings and public safety is enhanced by numbers. In this context, MLA Barber asserts "neighbourliness established becomes safety established". Similarly, planners at a recent local urban conference stated, "people and activities are essential to city cores" (Daily Times Oct. 30/80:1). Jane Jacobs succinctly summed up many of the arguments for encouraging downtown residents:

> The public peace of cities... is not kept primarily by the police. It is kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious network of voluntary controls and sanctions among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves. A well-used city street

> is apt to be a safe street. There must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street" (Jacobs 1961:32,34,35).

Newman, in his book Defensible Space, also emphasizes the surveillance capacity of residential buildings to enhance environmental security (1973). Nevertheless, arguments specifically to maintain older buildings such as contain many inner city hotels are again best summed up by Jacobs:

> Time makes the high building costs of one generation the bargains of a following generation. Time pays off original capital costs, and this depreciation can be reflected in the yields required from a building. Time makes certain structures obsolete for some enterprises and they become available to others. Time can make the space efficiencies of one generation the space luxuries of another generation. One century's building commonplace is another century's useful aberration. The economic value of new buildings is replaceable in cities. It is replaceable by the spending of more construction money. But the economic value of old buildings is irreplaceable at will. It is created by time. This economic requisite for diversity is a requisite that vital city neighbourhoods can only inherit and then sustain over the years (Jacobs 1961:181-90, 199).

The apparent inability of local municipal planners to appreciate the significance of established hotels and the consequent insensitivity displayed towards elderly inner city residents reflects the ineffectiveness of traditional planning strategies.

Failure in past renewal efforts may be epitomized by the failure of Pruitt Igoe in St. Louis. Similar demolitions in Britain (such as "the Piggeries" in Merseyside), the failure of the Spadina expressway in Toronto and other testimonials to

unsuccessful renewal programs reflect planning for a demand which does not exist. To this extent it appears that planners are often unable to identify the needs and desires of users leading to "a lack of fit between the built environment and behaviors occurring within it" (Porteous 1977:309). By failing to consult users, planners in Victoria have not recognized the importance of an established social system and the implications of constrained but efficient mobility patterns. These failures reinforce the need for supplementing traditional planning strategies with other methods, such as advocacy planning.

Advocacy planning is a technique for reaching isolated social groups. After prolonged immersion in social sub-systems, it is hoped the planner can absorb many of the common needs and desires of group members. Although advocacy planners are not regarded as being necessarily more competent to plan than the people who will use the new environment, such experts can act as a communications link between residents and the appropriate planning agencies because of their familiarity with such agencies. Advocacy planning is particularly suited to small, readily identifiable social groups, such as exist in many downtown hotels. Moreover, although not best suited to anticipating problems, the technique is applicable in assessing the impact of programs such as urban renewal and fire upgrading which frequently threaten distinct social groups. Although this approach is time-consuming and

expensive, it at least provides the opportunity for input in the absence of any other apparent methods for contacting people such as reticent hotel residents. The subtle and complex aspects of lifestyle examined in the study depended on establishing a bond of trust with an extremely isolated social group. Nevertheless, once barriers of suspicion were overcome, their isolation served to enhance interest and participation. This investigation is mainly a theoretical exercise in advocacy planning, since the study was not sanctioned by planning authorities. Nevertheless, it emphasizes the suitability of the technique for reaching isolated groups.

The practical value of the conclusions of this inquiry are limited by the inexperience of the researcher. Nevertheless, it is important that efforts be initiated to contact the elderly poor since politically impotent groups are most likely to be disturbed by large-scale planning projects (Porteous 1977:363). The insecurity of pensioners who "have few to speak for them" frequently reflects critical and startling considerations such as perceived "fears (of a) chop of indexed allowances" (Times-Colonist Dec. 7/80:22). However, in order to assist the elderly and obtain the "flourishing city diversity" urged by writers such as Jacobs (1961), it is particularly important to contact the elderly and assist them in maintaining residency in the inner city. This study confirms that the "elderly in hotels (are) active in contrast

to that found for the retired in general" (Carp 1970:171). In contrast, residents displaced by urban upgrading, "have left behind them friends and institutions - a way of life" (Newman 1973:17). The reality is that "an old man who loses his home is just a wanderer" (Harry and Tonto, A.B.C. T.V. June 17/79).

This work with elderly hotel residents has involved repeated conversations in their homes, at semi-private areas within the hotel and a sharing in everyday life experiences through sharing aspects of the hotel environment, local walks and visits to their friends. I have attempted to become accepted in the social structure of hotel life and to establish genuine relationships with residents, not merely as a researcher, but as a friend. "This quest for authenticity is the essence of experiential field work" (Rowles 1978:173). In this respect experiential field work extends "beyond conventional participant observation by emphasizing close personal relations and an unconstrained process of mutual discovery" (Rowles 1978:173).

Although returning to geographical traditions of field research, it is, nevertheless, apparent that "interpersonal knowing" as advocated by Rowles, requires "new styles of field research" (1978:174). The essence of such field research is this interpersonal knowing which requires immersion in the everyday worlds of those with whom we explore. Only in this way can the researcher be sensitive to both conscious and unconscious concept-

ualizations and adaptive mechanisms. In this respect, unanticipated themes have emerged such as: the symbolic importance of areas such as the waterfront and parts of the inner city; the importance of familiar routes and compact activity spaces as physical capabilities decline; the importance of mutually sustaining networks of elderly peers; the vital role of restaurants; and increasing emphasis on home base". This approach, involving lengthy time investments and intensive involvement, militates against large samples. Therefore, "breadth of generalization is sacrificed for depth of insight" (Rowles 1978:186). The samples tend to be self-selecting and, therefore, invalid if the concern is with "verification". However, we are concerned with discovering new insights which cannot be derived within the constraints of protocol. In this respect intersubjective verification, with more traditional techniques, must come later with subsequent investigation.

The conclusions of this study emphasize the importance of maintaining the remaining hotels in downtown Victoria in order to maximize congruence between behavior and environmental props. Access to goods and services is essential to the elderly. Furthermore, social and physical characteristics of inner city hotels also are crucial to the maintenance of the independence of elderly' patrons. Therefore, where displacement is inevitable, alternative residential environments must be provided which recognize the importance of access, high levels of service and social organization.

This need confirms the desirability of moving residents "en masse" to locations maintaining access and purchasing power. Such strategies should be combined with the upgrading of specific services, such as transportation and delivery services, in order to mitigate the impact of urban change and development.

Within the evolving field of urban geography this study is an attempt to meet demands for relevant geographical research. The investigation is addressed to a substantive problem and is an attempt to generate normative theory on how the physical environment should be organized, as conclusions and recommendations may be immediately applied. The "non-scientific" approach needed in this study reinforces the need for the discipline to remain flexible. Furthermore, advocacy planning provides a minimum planning requirement -- the opportunity for input-- by giving the elderly poor the opportunity and encouragement to make their needs and desires known. Insofar as such needs and desires are identified, the study also serves to educate the public to the plight of a previously isolated social group. Intrinsically, this study confirms and adds to existing information on this group and advances techniques for the study of neglected social groups. Furthermore, it attempts to contribute to our understanding of human spatial behavior on a theoretical level.

The population of Victoria will "age" considerably over the next ten years and the over 65 age group will almost double.

This statistic emphasizes the urgency for special housing and transportation programs to accommodate the elderly in general. However, the plight of Victoria's centrally located low-income elderly residents is particularly pressing and demands attention due to the continuing threat of dislocation which is damaging, expensive and sometimes indirectly fatal. Affected individuals must be contacted prior to dislocation to encourage the provision of suitable alternative accommodations. In order to become sensitive to the needs of social groups such as the elderly poor, the need for further, more detailed investigation cannot be over-emphasized. Social and physical support mechanisms must be evaluated and greater efforts must be made to involve the elderly poor in the planning process. In order to avoid past mistakes embodied in prescribing for behavior, participant observation and advocacy planning may be suitable in providing the basis for planning strategies.

Only when the needs of the elderly are considered as one of the primary goals of the redevelopment effort can the scheme be considered successful and socially relevant. In this sense Victoria has the potential to serve as a model providing insight into aspects of planning for the elderly in other parts of Canada, to enhance their position in the city and allow senior citizens to play a more active and fulfilling role in the social and physical processes which surround them.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW FORM

This questionnaire is being administered by a graduate student of the Geography Department of the University of Victoria in co-operation with the management of this hotel (Otto). Your assistance in freely responding to these questions is greatly appreciated. Hopefully a more complete understanding of the needs of elderly residents of the downtown area will be gained from this study. Please be assured that all answers are completely confidential and no names will be used at any time.

1. Are you aware of the recent Fire Marshal's Upgrading program and its effects on downtown hotels? Yes_____; No_____.

   Comments: _____

   The Fire Marshal's program, coupled with other renewal and upgrading programs has closed a significant number of downtown hotels recently. The decline in downtown accommodation accompanying hotel closures has attracted publicity and, although this hotel is not threatened, the threat to other downtown hotels still exists. Therefore, I have moved into this hotel to get a first-hand impression of accommodation and hotel life and to discuss the impact recent changes in the downtown core have had on residents of this hotel.

2. Please rate this hotel with respect to the following factors:

	Good	Fair	Poor
a) close to stores for day-to-day needs	____	____	____
b) Close to less frequently needed services (clothing, medical, etc)	____	____	____
c) Security from outsiders	____	____	____
d) Security from insiders	____	____	____
e) Hotel services (linen,etc.)	____	____	____
f) Rent rates	____	____	____
g) Friendliness of Residents	____	____	____
h) Size of rooms	____	____	____

Please comment on other advantages and disadvantages of living in this hotel (lounge area, social life, etc.)

_____

3. Do you know other people in this hotel?

Very Many _____; Some _____; Very Few _____

a) How many people do you know to greet? _____

b) How many people do you know to have a conversation with

_____

4. Do you plan to continue living in this hotel? Yes____; No ____

Comments: _____

5. Do you drive? No_____; Yes_____.

6. What is your opinion of the bus service in Victoria?

   Very Poor /1 /2 /3 /4 /5 / Very Good

7. Do you have a Bus Pass? Yes_____; No_____

   Comments on Bus Service: _____

8. How many round trips do you take in a typical week by

   Bus_____; Foot_____; Taxi_____; Other_____

9. When you take the bus, how often do you transfer? _____

10. Are there any particular disadvantages in travelling around the downtown area (also any dangers) _____

    _____

11. How well do your transportation arrangements work out for you? Very poorly /____/____/____/____/ Very Well

12. Would you like to get out more often than you do?

    Seldom_____; Occasionally_____; Frequently _____.

    Comments on Restrictions etc. _____

13. Have the closures of nearby supermarkes, such as Safeway, the Bay Food Floor and Eaton's Groceteria inconvenienced you?

    _____

    a) Where do you buy your groceries? (places and trips/week)

    _____

What means of transportation is used? _____

_____

b) Where do you buy other day-to-day needs? (places and trips/week). _____

What means of transportation is used? _____

_____

c) Do you have things delivered to the hotel? _____

14. Do you cook in your room? Yes (meals/day) _____; No____

_____

15. Do you go to restaurants? Yes (meals/day) _____No ____

16. What are some of your favorite restaurants? _____

_____

17. Do you eat meals with relatives or friends? (time/week)

_____

18. How many meals per day do you normally have? _____

19. How much time do you spend in your apartment at this time of the year (summer)? Please consider an average day between the hours of 7:00 a.m. and 9:00 p.m. _____

_____

_____

20. Do you have visitors to your room? (numbers/week) _____

_____

21. How long have you lived in Victoria? Year(s) _____'

Month(s) _____. Where did you live previously? _____

_____

22. How long have you lived in this hotel? Year(s) _____;

Month(s) _____.

23. Have you lived in any other hotels in downtown Victoria?

(Names, reasons for moving, etc.) _____

_____

_____

24. What area did you live in before moving to this hotel?

(Dates, types of structures, reasons for moving, etc.)

_____

_____

_____

General Comments: _____

_____

_____

_____,

The following questions refer to the kinds of trips you might normally make in Greater Victoria when living in this hotel. Please regard each trip as a typical journey in an average week or month.

1. Trips to visit relatives in Greater Victoria

   How often do you make such trips? _____

   What means of transportation is used? _____

   How far is your average destination (examples) _____

2. Trips to visit friends in Greater Victoria

   How often do you make such trips? _____

   What means of transportation is used? _____

   How far is your average destination (examples) _____

3. Trips for medical purposes.

   How often do you make such trips? _____

   What means of transportation is used? _____

   How far is your average destination (examples) _____

4. Trips to Clubs/Organizations. (Silver Threads; Legion, etc.)

   How often do you make such trips. _____

   What means of transportation is used? _____

   How far is your average destination (examples) _____

5. Trips for leisure, recreation and entertainment.

   How often do you make such trips/week? _____

What are some of your usual destinations? (means of transportation and trips/week). Cent. Square _____;

Library _____; Pub_____;

Others: _____

_____

Walks: a) How many times/week do you stay within one or two blocks of the hotel? _____

b) How many times do you travel west of Douglas Street? _____

c) How many times do you travel west of Broad Street? _____

d) How many times do you travel west of Government Street? _____

e) How many times do you travel south of Yates Street? _____

f) How many times do you travel south of Fort Street? _____

g) How many times do you travel north of Fisgard Street? _____

h) How many times do you travel east of Blanshard Street? _____

Comments: _____

_____

6) What other trips are you likely to make? _____

_____

How often do you make such trips? _____

What means of transportation is used? _____

How far is your average destination? _____

Finally, it would be appreciated if you would kindly answer a few personal questions. Let me emphasize once again that all questions are completely confidential and will be used only for statistical purposes (no names will be used).

1) What is your sex? Male_____; Female_____.

2) What is your marital status? Single (never married) _____;
Married_____; Widowed_____; Divorced or
Separated_____.

3) What is your employment Status? Retired_____;
Employed part time_____; Employed full time_____.

4. What was/is your usual occupation? _____.

5. How would you rate your overall health
Very Good/1 /2 /3 /4 /5 Very Poor

6. Approximately what percentage of the people in your neighbour-

hood are over sixty-four years of age? _____

7) What is the highest level of formal education you completed?

_____

8) What is your age? 55-59_____; 60-64_____; 65-59_____;

70-74_____; 75-79_____; Over 80_____.

9) What is your approximate total monthly income from all sources?

$101-200 _____; $201-300_____; $301-400_____;

$401-500_____; $500+ _____.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and assistance, without which this study would be impossible.

APPENDIX II

To complete information from secondary sources, interviews, frequently repeated, were carried out with the following politicians, administrators and hotel owner.

MLA C. Barber

Fire Inspector R. Best.

MLA R. Blencoe

Fire Chief Simmons

Mr. O. Verwood.

Fire Department data were utilized in conjunction with other informal administrative records. Numerous federal and provincial pamphlets relating to programs such as Old Age Security and Guaranteed Income Supplement were also consulted. The Provincial Fire Marshal's Act and the Victoria "Fire Prevention By-Law Amendment By-Law (No. 14), 1978" also provided useful background information. Finally, discussions with officials ranging from the federal Department of Health and Welfare to B.C. Hydro were necessary to obtain an overall perspective on the problems facing the elderly.

VITA

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THREATS TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ELDERLY POOR IN DOWNTOWN VICTORIA, B.C.

Author: [redacted]
Signature

Michael Sullivan
Name

April, 1981
Date