

Exploring the Condition of Rental Housing in Spryfield, Nova Scotia

Alex Kawchuk

Dalhousie University, School of Planning

December 8, 2014

Plan 6000 Master's research project

Supervisor: Dr. Jill Grant

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my project supervisor, Dr. Jill Grant, my seminar co-ordinator, Dr. Patricia Manuel, and my colleagues in the Dalhousie School of Planning for their guidance and support.

I would also like to thank my family and friends for the support they have provided.

Post-War Canadian approaches to housing availability and affordability

Housing in Canada is provided overwhelmingly by the private market. Canadian governments have historically addressed housing issues by intervening in the workings of the private housing market, rather than by providing state-built social housing on a large scale. Crook (1998) notes that by the late 1990s, only 6 percent of Canada's total housing stock consisted of state-built housing, declining to 5 percent of the total housing stock in 2014 (Suttor 2014). Additionally, government policies and tax structures have generally favoured those aspiring towards home ownership, despite a consistently large rental sector; between 1951 and 1991, just over one-third of Canadian dwellings were rented, with this figure peaking at 38% in 1971 (Suttor 2014).

During the postwar period, several converging factors created significant development pressure in Canadian cities, particularly within the realm of rental housing. First, Canada had a housing backlog rooted in the Depression of the 1930s. Canada's economy was also among the fastest-growing in the world during the Second World War, though little housing was built in Canada during this period. Following the war, trends in Canadian households mirrored those of other affluent Western countries; dwellings previously shared by multiple families "undoubled" as each family sought its own dwelling, the average lifespan became longer and the number of elderly, single-person and single-parent households increased substantially. The era also saw a trend of urbanization, whereby rural populations increasingly migrated to larger centres, as well as high levels of immigration. Each of these factors created new pressures on the rental housing market (Suttor, 2009). Suttor notes, however, that production of new rental housing was relatively sluggish in Canada immediately following the end of the Second World War, though by 1957 a full third of new housing units produced in Canada were geared towards renters.

In order to increase the availability and affordability of private rental housing, the Canadian government launched the Limited Dividend (LD) program in 1946. The program initially provided development companies with favourable loans in exchange for limiting their dividend, charging below-market rents, and for targeting tenants below certain income levels (Crook 1998). In 1968, the program was re-launched, with a new focus on encouraging private landlords to provide moderate-income households with below-market rents. The LD program was ultimately criticized for producing low-quality dwellings in inferior locations, and ended in 1974 (Crook, 1998). This period witnessed a shift from a rental market dominated by corporate landlords to one that encouraged the purchase of apartment buildings by high-earning individuals as investment opportunities. The cancellation of the LD program, along with a reformation of the federal tax regime in 1972, and the introduction of rent controls by all provinces in 1974, correlated with a drop in new rental dwelling construction in the early 1970s (Crook, 1998). As new rental housing starts declined, rents began to increase, as landlords found it increasingly difficult to turn a profit under the new tax regimes (Crook, 1998). In order

to stimulate new rental housing construction, the federal government launched two new programs, the Assisted Rental Programme (ARP) and Multi Unit Rent Building (MURB) scheme, in 1975 and 1976, respectively. The ARP provided tax-free grants and interest-free loans in exchange for certain limitations on equity returns and rent prices, and encouraged the provision of small units in buildings with low capital values. The MURB scheme restored tax incentives for individuals and non-real-estate companies to invest in rental housing. The ARP was terminated in 1979; the MURB scheme in 1981 (Crook, 1998).



*Figure 1: Typical ARP-MURB-era rental buildings in Spryfield
(All graphics are author's own unless otherwise noted)*

By the 1980s, economic conditions and the tax regime made dwellings intended for owner-occupation more attractive for investors. There was a major shift in tenure arrangements for new multi-unit buildings, with many now being sold as condominiums rather than rented as apartments. Additionally, the practice of subdividing single family dwellings into multiple dwelling units became increasingly popular, helping to supply new rental units to the market. Thus, few purpose-built multi-unit apartment buildings were constructed during the 1980s compared to previous decades (Crook, 1998). Those that were built were increasingly geared

towards higher-income tenants, a trend that continued through the 1990s (Suttor, 2014).



Figure 2: Greystone public housing project

Public housing in Canada

Although most housing in Canada is based in the private market, some state-built social housing is available in Canada, constituting 20 percent of rental housing nationwide in 2014 – though this varies

between different parts of the country. Most housing was built between the years 1968-1993 (Suttor 2014). In the 1960s and 70s, public housing construction was frequently accompanied by slum clearances as part of larger urban renewal schemes. The projects were generally intended as a means of providing temporary shelter for low-income families, allowing them to save enough money to enter the private housing market.

As some families did eventually purchase homes or move into private rental housing, only the poorest of the poor continued living in the public housing projects. As government funding for the projects declined, public housing authorities, unable to raise rents, instead began to cut back on building upkeep, and tenants' living conditions deteriorated (Murphy, 2006).

In 1994, the federal government began transferring the responsibility of managing Canada's public housing projects to the provinces, and by 1997 Nova Scotia's government assumed responsibility for the approximately 22,000 existing social housing units located within the province. Funding is provided by the provincial government while management duties are delegated to local Housing Authorities (Murphy, 2006).

Three Cities Model and the Rental Disadvantage Index

Hulchanski's landmark 2007 report, *The Three Cities Within Toronto*, examined patterns of socio-spatial polarization within the City of Toronto between 1970 and 2000. Using Census Tracts (CTs) as proxies for neighbourhoods, the study differentiated three types of neighbourhoods: those whose average incomes increased relative to the city average over the study period, those whose average incomes remained relatively stable, and those whose average incomes decreased. These three neighbourhood types were dubbed "The Three Cities", generally clustered in distinct geographic areas within the City of Toronto. The study was updated in 2010 to include data from the 2006 census.

This method was then applied to the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) by Ley & Lynch in 2012, and the Montreal CMA by Rose & Twigge-Molecey in 2013. These two studies made an important distinction between neighbourhoods within "City #3" (declining average incomes) where average incomes remained medium to high in 2005 (referred to as City #3-MH), and those where average incomes were low in 2005 (referred to as City #3-L). While the findings of each study reflected the differing histories and morphologies of the cities under study, each found significant clusters of "City #1" neighbourhoods (increasing average incomes) around the city centres, and clusters of "City #3" neighbourhoods in the inner rings of post-war suburbs.

In 2014, Prouse et al. released *Neighbourhood Change in Halifax Regional Municipality, 1970 to 2010: Applying the "Three Cities" Model*. Using a similar methodology to the Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal studies, the study analyzed socio-spatial polarization within the Halifax Regional Municipality, focusing on the period between 1980 and 2010. While Hulchanski noted that Toronto's neighbourhoods were often split into multiple CTs (2010), the opposite is true in Halifax: in many cases, multiple adjacent neighbourhoods are combined into a single CT. Prouse et al. pointed out that these aggregations masked differences between neighbourhoods

within the same CT, and that Dissemination Areas (DAs) may be more useful proxies for neighbourhoods (Prouse et al. 2014). Nevertheless, the study found that even at the CT level, older neighbourhoods on the Halifax Peninsula tended to have stable or rising average incomes, while those in Mainland Halifax and Dartmouth, which constitute the region's inner ring of post-war suburbs, tended to have stable or declining average incomes.

Spryfield stands out as the only neighbourhood in Mainland Halifax to fall into the City #3-L category. It contains the only CTs in Mainland Halifax that were classified as Low Income (60-80% of CMA average) in 1970, and contained Low Income CTs in every year of analysis except for 1980. Moreover, Prouse's 2014 follow-up report, *Examining Sociospatial Polarization in Halifax: What Scale Matters?* identified DAs within Spryfield that were classified as Very Low income (<60% of CMA average) in 2006. Other DAs in the

Spryfield area were classified as Low or Middle income in 2006. Spryfield is characterized by a diverse range of housing types, including single-detached dwellings, townhouses, apartment buildings, a public housing complex, and a mobile home park; the majority of dwellings were constructed between 1946 and 1990 (Teplitsky et al., 2006). Despite its apparent economic disadvantages, Spryfield is home to a substantial retail sector and numerous

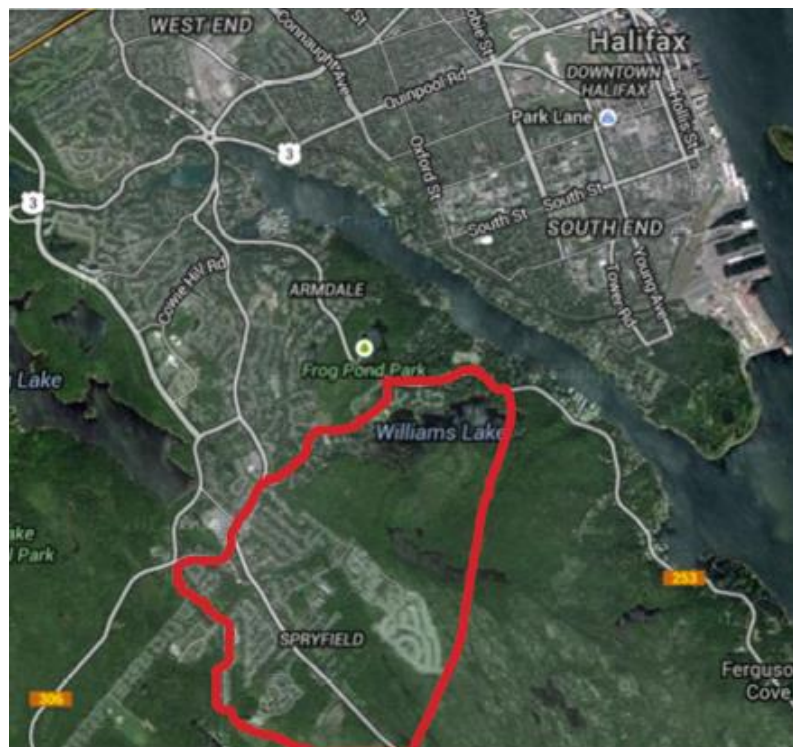


Figure 3: Study area; Census Tracts 0001.00 and 0002.00 (Google Maps, 2014)

community facilities, and is relatively well-served by transit, with over 25% of local commuters using public transit in 2001 (Teplitsky et al., 2006).

Two CTs in the Spryfield area were classified as Highly Disadvantaged or Most disadvantaged on NCRP's Rental Disadvantage Index (Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, 2014). This index is based on four standardized indicators: the average renter household income, the average number of persons per bedroom in rented dwellings, the percentage of renter households paying more than 50% of income on rent, and the percentage of rental dwellings requiring major repairs. My analysis will focus primarily on these two CTs (Halifax CMA CTs # 0001.00 and 0002.00). A map delineating these Census Tracts is attached as Appendix B.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of the current physical conditions of rental buildings in a low-income neighbourhood that has been experiencing decline relative to the rest of the metropolitan area.

Research Questions

When, and under what circumstances, was purpose-built rental housing constructed in Spryfield?

What is the current condition of purpose-built rental housing in Spryfield?

Where in Spryfield is purpose-built rental housing spatially concentrated?

What correlations can be observed between the condition of this housing stock and factors such as ownership, management, and tenure arrangements?

Methods

To address these questions, my research consists of a mixed-methods case study:

I have conducted an extensive literature review on the history of rental housing in Canada, including both public housing and market-based rental housing. I have also reviewed literature relating to the Three Cities model of income polarization and the history of development in the Halifax Regional Municipality in general and the Spryfield area in particular.

I have reviewed media reports relating to housing issues in Spryfield.

I have also analyzed Nova Scotia's Property Online database in an effort to determine ownership patterns of rental buildings in the study area.

I conducted a visual survey of rental buildings in the study area during September and October of 2014. The visual survey looked for evidence of neglect or deterioration on and around the buildings' exteriors. The raw results of the visual survey are attached as Appendix B. Photos of each of the buildings included in the visual survey are attached as Appendix C.

Local context

During the post-war era, several factors influenced settlement patterns in the Halifax area. First were the general factors of housing backlog, decoupling, longer lifespans and a robust economy as seen elsewhere in Canada. CMHC launched a mortgage insurance program in 1954, facilitating the growth of new suburban communities as the ownership of new homes became an increasingly attractive option for a greater number of families (*verify source). As a result, small communities such as Spryfield, located on what was then the fringe of the Halifax area, quickly boomed in population, and in 1969, the City of Halifax annexed the communities of Spryfield and Armdale (which comprise much of what is now known as Mainland South) and Fairview and Rockingham (now considered parts of Mainland North). The newly-annexed suburban areas grew in population by 69% between 1971 and 1996 (Prouse et al, 2014), while most neighbourhoods on the Halifax Peninsula lost population during the second half of the 20th century (Gregory, 2014).

Development on the Halifax Mainland tended to occur in small, disconnected clusters, due to the hilly topography, rocky ground and presence of numerous lakes (Prouse et al). While a great deal of residential growth occurred on the urban fringe, most of Halifax's major institutions – five of its six universities, the regional hospitals, most port and naval infrastructure, and the city's commercial and administrative core – remained on the Halifax Peninsula. Although the 1945 Halifax Master Plan called for a bridge connecting Mainland South to the Peninsula (Civic Planning Commission, 1945), the bridge was never built.

The area now known as Spryfield was first inhabited by the Mi'kmaq, who used the lands for fishing, hunting, and the harvest of various wild plant species. In 1766, the land across the Northwest Arm from recently-established Halifax was divided into nine 500-acre lots, which were granted to German-speaking Lutheran settlers. Three years later, Captain William Spry, then-Chief Surveyor of Nova Scotia, purchased three of the lots, and the area came to be known as "Spry's Fields", which was eventually shortened to "Spryfield". The area developed into a farming community over the remainder of the 18th century; agriculture dominated the area's economy and land use until the early 20th century, with quarrying emerging as another significant industry during the 1860s. (Teplitsky et al, 2006)

The agricultural focus of Spryfield began to fade around the time of the First World War, with many farms becoming abandoned and replaced by new housing. This trend accelerated after the Second World War, and a small commercial district emerged along with the establishment of the Central Spryfield School, a volunteer fire department, and several places of worship. Quarrying operations ceased in 1954 and the last of Spryfield's farms ceased operations in the 1960s. By this time Spryfield had transformed into a *de facto* suburb of Halifax, and in 1969 the area was officially annexed by the City of Halifax. With annexation came the extension of

municipal services, including road upgrades, new water and sewer lines, and new sidewalks. The Captain William Spry Community Centre was established in 1985, housing a wavepool, a public library, and various agency offices (Teplitsky et al, 2006).

The 2006 study, *We are Spryfield*, found average rents in Spryfield are lower than the municipal average; the vast majority of the housing stock was built between the years 1946 and 1990. The area has a higher proportion of housing in need of major repairs compared to the HRM in general (Teplitsky et al, 2006).

Along with suburbanization, urban renewal schemes played a role in shaping settlement patterns. Supported by Gordon Stephenson's 1957 *Redevelopment Study of Halifax*, the City of Halifax demolished the densely populated northern section of downtown in the late 1950s, followed by the Black Loyalist community of Africville at the peninsula's northern tip in the late 1960s. In both cases, many of the displaced residents moved into new public housing projects, particularly Mulgrave Park in the first case and Uniacke Square in the second, both located in the city's North End. Public housing projects were also built in the city's West End and in Spryfield. While the two North End public housing projects include both highrise and townhouse building forms, those in the West End and in Spryfield consist entirely of lowrise townhouses.

At 65% rental units, Spryfield's proportion of rental units is substantially higher than the municipal and provincial averages (Teplitsky 2006), and it has a higher proportion of tenant households than Mainland South (48%) as a whole; only the South End of the Peninsula (67%) and the North End of Dartmouth (70%) had higher tenancy rates in 2001 (HRM 2014).

Spatial dynamics of housing in Spryfield

As with most suburban communities in the Halifax region, Spryfield lacks a coherent street grid, and development centres on Herring Cove Road (its primary commercial and transportation corridor). The neighbourhood has largely developed in small clusters, each connected to

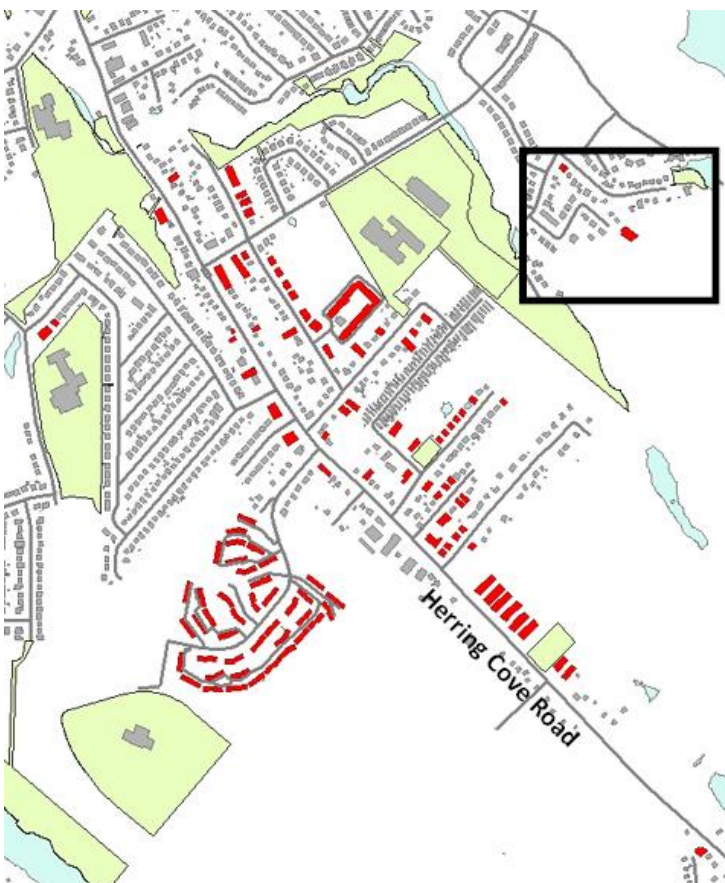


Figure 4: Location of purpose-built, multi-unit rental housing in Spryfield (red). Inset: 57 Williams Lake Rd. and 110 Lyons Ave., north of primary map area

Herring Cove Road but largely disconnected from each other. Some of Spryfield's apartment buildings are located along Herring Cove Road, largely in a dispersed pattern, though the 500 block of Herring Cove Road consists entirely of apartment buildings. Many others are concentrated on a series of side streets to the immediate northeast of Herring Cove Road, and there is also a small mobile home park in this area. The remainder are scattered throughout the rest of the community, which otherwise consists almost entirely of detached and semi-detached dwellings. Finally, the Greystone public housing project, consisting of 252 three- to four-bedroom townhouses (Murphy 2006), is located to the immediate southwest of Cove Road and the large cluster of private rental

housing.

Most of the private rental housing in Spryfield was built during the 1970s (Teplitsky 2006; Murphy 2006), concurrent with the federal ARP and MURB programs. Three building forms dominate and tend to form separate clusters – 24-unit walkups, 8-to-10-unit walkups, and 6-unit walkups. Within these dominant building forms, no buildings appear to have elevators and very few appear to be wheelchair accessible, due to raised entrances and/or internal arrangement around a central stairwell. Dominant building materials include brick, concrete, wooden or vinyl siding, iron railings, and simple tar shingles. Buildings within these three basic forms are generally three storeys, and the first floor is typically partially below-ground. Most have flat roofs, only some have balconies, which appear to be later additions to the buildings

and are universally made of wood, often anchored to small concrete posts. Many have small awnings which cantilever over main entrances or are supported by wooden posts. Generally there is approximately one surface parking space per unit, and dedicated bicycle parking is only available at a handful of these buildings. Most units appear to one- or two-bedroom, and most have either two or three entrances, with units arranged along interior hallways or stairwells. The -unit buildings are clustered in the 500 block of Herring Cove Road, 6-unit buildings on Autumn Drive, McIntosh Street and Lynnett Road, and 8-to-10-unit buildings on River Road.

Aside from the 500 block, the apartment buildings along Herring Cove Road are more varied. Many deviate from these typologies, both in terms of size and construction style. Other notable exceptions occur on Autumn Drive and Foxwood Terrace. However, all are lowrise buildings from approximately the same era using the same basic building materials.

The building typology of Greystone is substantially different from other rental housing in Spryfield and is much more in line with other public housing projects in the Halifax area. Three- to four-bedroom units are clustered in rows of six 2-storey, pitched-roof townhouses. Building materials include concrete, a synthetic siding material, iron railings, and tar shingles, with wooden fences separating backyards. Each individual unit has at least two separate entrances, and all have awnings. Some buildings have older awnings that appear to be part of the original building design; these awnings are quite large and are supported by wooden posts. The majority of buildings have smaller cantilevered awnings that appear to have been added during a revitalization of the housing project in 2010.

Unlike Mulgrave Park and Uniacke Square, which were redevelopments of built-up areas and are immediately surrounded by other urban land uses, Greystone was a greenfield development. It remains surrounded by forest on three sides, largely isolating it from the rest of Spryfield. The housing project has its own public elementary school, Rockingstone Heights, despite the location of a P-9 public school, Elizabeth Sutherland, less than 1km away. Aside from the elementary school, land use is almost entirely residential, with the exception of a few social service agencies and basic recreational infrastructure such as basketball courts and a rugby field. The cul-de-sac at the end of Greystone Drive acts as a terminus for Halifax Transit's Route 19 (Greystone), and is also served by Route 20 (Herring Cove). Both routes provide access to the Halifax Shopping Centre and the adjacent Mumford Terminal, which acts as a major transfer point for routes serving the Mainland and the Peninsula. Route 20 also provides direct access to downtown. Other transit routes serving parts of Spryfield include Route 14 (Leiblin Park) and Route 32 (Cowie Hill Express).

Management of Rental Housing in Spryfield

Property management of rental housing in Spryfield falls into three distinct categories: public housing administered by the Metropolitan Regional Housing Authority (MRHA), private rental housing managed by non-corporate landlords, and private rental housing managed by corporate landlords. As with the building types, ownership patterns are spatially clustered.

Greystone, as with other local public housing projects, is managed by the MRHA and funded by the provincial government, since responsibilities were transferred from the federal government in 1997. The majority of the private rental buildings in the area appear to be owned and managed by independent landlords, with each landlord generally owning and operating fewer than five buildings in the study area. One exception is Rosno Management and Leasing, a Halifax-based company which owns and manages 365 residential units in the Halifax area, along with some commercial properties (Rosno 2014). In total, five of the buildings in the study area are owned and managed by Rosno. These buildings are not spatially concentrated on any particular street.

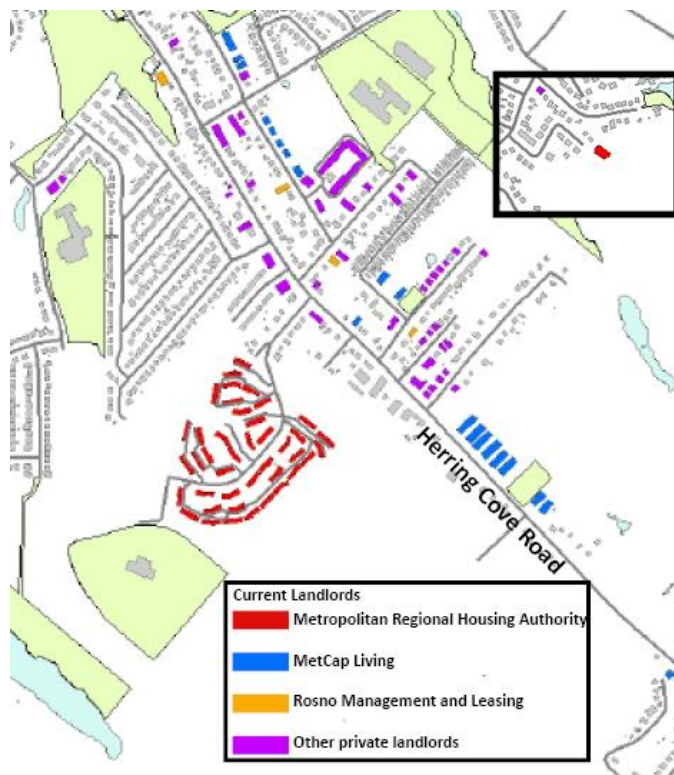


Figure 5: Management patterns

MetCap, a Toronto-based company, currently manages 7 out of 12 of the apartment buildings on River Road, all 8 buildings making up the 500 block of Herring Cove Road, as well as buildings at 498 and 611 Herring Cove Road, and at 5 Forbes Street. The properties had previously been acquired by Atlantic Living Property Management, a locally-based company that had been buying up rental properties in “rough-and-tumble neighbourhoods” (Zaccagna, Nov. 26, 2012), renovating or upgrading them in an effort to “reposition” the buildings and the larger neighbourhood. In interviews with the Chronicle Herald, the company’s owner and president described processes of “adding efficiencies which consist of natural gas, siding, windows, exterior and interior energy-efficient lighting, upgraded kitchens and appliances, and flooring” (Zaccagna, Aug. 15, 2014), as well as outdoor lighting and security cameras (Zaccagna, Nov. 26, 2014). He also alluded to an approach of “[scaring] away... people that I would not have in my system” (ibid.) and referred to a building the company acquired and “literally just paid everyone

to leave and shut the building down. It was such a fire trap and full of every undersirable person in the world” (Lambie, Mar. 23, 2012).

In early 2014, Atlantic Living Property Management declared bankruptcy and management of its Spryfield properties was transferred to MetCap (Chronicle Herald, Feb. 25, 2014).

Inconsistencies in the exterior conditions of the MetCap properties suggest that Atlantic Living’s renovations had not been completed by the time of the transfer, and it is unclear whether all of the buildings had received upgrades of some kind. Of greater concern are reports in the media that at least one building had rotting sewage pipes at the time of the transfer, which had deteriorated so badly that the building’s water had to be turned off for several days, roughly coinciding with the property’s transfer (Chronicle Herald, Feb. 25, 2014). There are also anecdotal online reports that rents increased substantially in the 500 block buildings soon after they were acquired by Atlantic Living, driving out many of the residents relying on government assistance, while upgrades were minimal and did not really improve living conditions (“500 Block” Mar. 12, 2014 on topix.com Halifax Forum).

In my observations of the buildings, I noted that several of the MetCap owned properties along River Road were being relandscaped in October. Though all of the MetCap properties displayed large new banners with the company name and website (and new lighting aimed directly at these banners), I found inconsistencies in the upkeep of these properties, particularly in the 500 block. It is unclear at this point whether MetCap intends to continue the “repositioning” efforts started by Atlantic Living, but the most obvious upgrades so far are the landscaping efforts on the River Road properties, rather than upgrades to the buildings themselves.

Site observations

I performed site observations during September and October of 2014 in order to get a better idea of how well the buildings in the study area are being maintained. I created an evaluation matrix (See Appendix B) and inspected the exteriors of each rental building in the study area, noting each conspicuous sign of deterioration or deferred maintenance. I then tallied up the number of signs of deterioration for each building, producing a score reflecting the exterior conditions of the building; a score of 0 means no signs of deterioration or deferred maintenance were observed, while a high score means that several different types of deterioration were observed. I also took note of the number of mailboxes in each building, which I used as a proxy for the number of units contained within the building.

Generally, the most serious maintenance issues could not be observed in this way; for example, problems with plumbing or wiring generally cannot be observed from the exterior of a building.

However, a high degree of deterioration to the exterior of a building suggests that its

owner may not have the means or the motivation to maintain it properly, or may not even be aware of the building's overall condition.

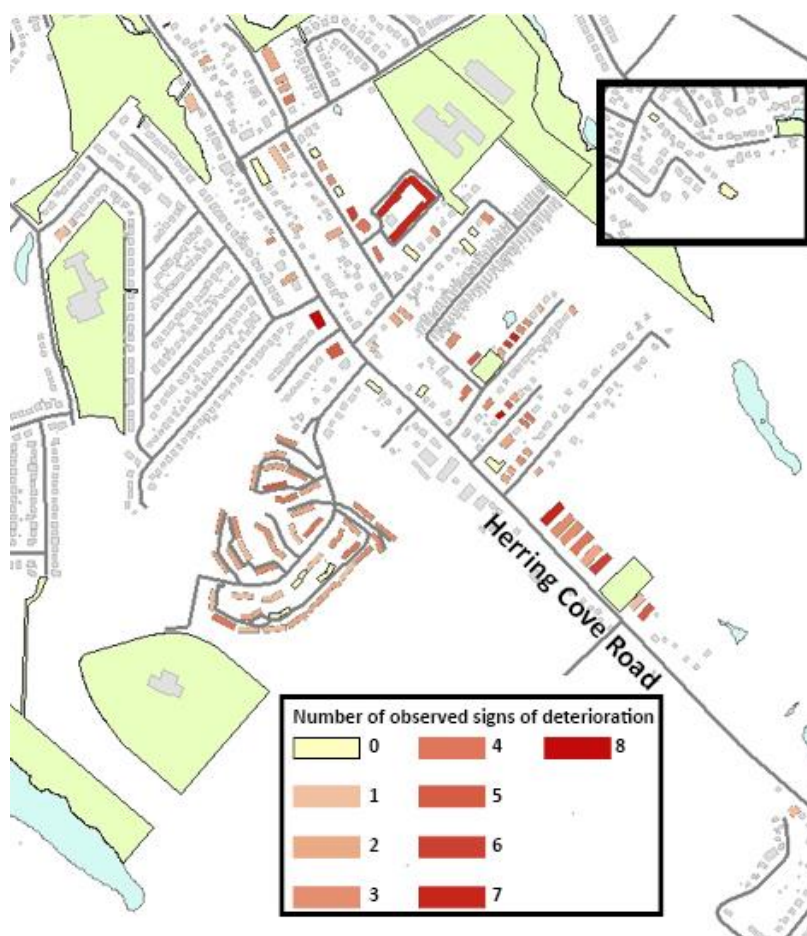


Figure 6: Observed signs of deterioration

Another limitation of this method is that I calculated scores based on the *number* of signs of deterioration observed per building, rather than the *extent* of deterioration. Documenting the extent of deterioration would be a much more technical analysis than I am qualified to perform, and would be much more difficult to compare between buildings. As a result, the U-shaped building at Foxwood Terrace, which has a surface area significantly larger than most of the other buildings in the study area, scored high due to several discrete instances of deterioration,

though this deterioration was not necessarily consistent across the entire building. This building, however, was an outlier, since the rest of the buildings in the study area were significantly smaller.

Results



Figure 7: Deteriorated awning support



Figure 8: Old Greystone awnings



Figure 9: New Greystone awnings

The buildings within the Greystone public housing project generally showed few signs of deterioration, likely due to a major refurbishment initiative that began in 2010. The majority of these buildings had iron railings with a conspicuous amount of rust; this was by far the most common sign of deterioration observed. Some of the buildings had large awnings supported by wooden posts; all of these awnings showed signs of deterioration. However, renovations are still in progress and it appears that these awnings are being replaced by smaller, cantilevered awnings, which lack most of the features of the older awnings that are particularly prone to deterioration. Most of the properties appeared “lived-in” but well-kept – lawns were well-maintained and, in contrast to Murphy’s 2006 report, graffiti was uncommon. The areas that showed the most neglect were actually the wide-open areas of unprogrammed public space, which were in many cases covered in litter. This could potentially be attributed to a general lack of public garbage cans in the area along with windy conditions on the exposed hillside. The building at 110 Lyons Avenue, which is also managed by the MRHA, has also recently been renovated and did not show any signs of deterioration.

Surprisingly, with the privately owned buildings, there was little consistency in observed building conditions, either among buildings with a common owner, or buildings of the same basic typology. Even the parking areas of neighbouring buildings, managed by the same landlord, were often in very different conditions. Peeling paint, rust, damaged light fixtures, damaged siding, and graffiti or other forms of vandalism were the most frequently observed signs of deterioration. Of greater concern, perhaps, were multiple incidences of rotting wood and crumbling bricks. In the 500 Block of Herring Cove Road, 5 buildings had visibly



Figure 10: Deteriorating brick

deteriorating bricks or concrete. Five of 8 buildings in the 500 block also showed signs of vandalism such as graffiti. Vandalism was common on River Road, with 6 out of 13 buildings displaying graffiti. The exterior conditions within the cluster of privately-managed buildings on Lynnett, McIntosh and Autumn varied considerably between properties. Of the 8 properties I examined that showed five or more signs of deterioration, 4 are currently managed by MetCap, and none are part of the Greystone housing project.

Many of the privately owned buildings had balconies which appeared to have been added after the buildings' initial construction. Though this does indicate a certain level of investment in the properties, most of these balconies were constructed of wooden posts, resting on concrete piles of



Figure 11: Added-on balconies



Figure 12: Safety hazard?

approximately two feet, driven into the ground – similar to the older, deteriorated awnings in Greystone. In some cases, it appeared as though the posts were not anchored properly, potentially creating a safety hazard.

Although utilities were outside the scope of my research, I did notice that many of the buildings are heated by oil. Oil furnaces are among the most expensive ways of heating a building (Government of Canada 2014) and because furnaces heat all units in a building with no way of differentiating between units, the cost of fuel is typically borne by the

landlord. The high cost of heating may be a contributing factor in landlords' inability or unwillingness to focus on maintenance issues, because it reduces their profit margins.



Figure 13: Evidence of oil heating

Gentrification?

Is gentrification taking place within the study area? Collins English Dictionary defines “gentrification” as “a process by which middle-class people take up residence in a traditionally working-class area of a city, changing the character of the area” (2014), though many variations of this definition exist.



Figure 14: Renovated walk-up in Halifax's West End compared to a similar building in Spryfield



Figure 15: Recently renovated house on Herring Cove Road

Based on their comments in the media, it appeared as though Atlantic Living Property Management explicitly intended to gentrify the area, by upgrading buildings and deliberately making them unavailable to tenants they saw as undesirable. Many buildings on the Halifax Peninsula that are of a similar vintage and design to those in the study area are clearly being repositioned as higher-end units, appealing to a wealthier and more discretionary market; however, I did not observe this type of renovation to rental buildings within the study area. The few cases where this type of renovation did seem to be happening were all single-family homes.

In Fairview, a neighbourhood that has historically been similar to Spryfield in building stock and demographics (MacGregor

2008), recent condo, apartment, and retail developments have tended to target a more upscale market (Power 2013). In contrast, the vast majority of new residential construction in the study area has been modest single-detached and semi-detached houses. There are no new upscale apartment buildings or condos, nor do there appear to be any major efforts to reposition existing apartment buildings to appeal to wealthier tenants.

However, there are still concerns that as rental buildings in Spryfield are repaired to acceptable standards, the lowest-income tenants will still be pushed out, particularly those on government assistance – anecdotal evidence suggests that this has already occurred in the 500 Block of Herring Cove Road, shortly following Atlantic Living’s initial upgrades to the buildings’ interiors (topix.com 2014).

This presents a dilemma: how can the aging, low-rent apartment buildings in Spryfield be better maintained without driving up rents and pushing the most vulnerable tenants out? Historically, the profit-driven private market has deferred maintenance when profits from rent are marginal (Crook 1998).

Current Approach

Canada currently lacks a national housing strategy; housing has been solely a provincial responsibility since the 1990s. The Nova Scotian government has recently taken initiatives to update its housing strategy (Nova Scotia 2013), and in October of 2014, announced \$52 million in affordable housing investments.

Current provincial housing programs are largely supply-side, consistent with Suttor's (2009) evaluation comparing Canada's housing initiatives with international ones. Of particular interest, in the context of this study, is a program called the "Rental Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program". Through this program, property owners and landlords who house lower-income tenants may apply for forgivable loans of up to \$24,000 per unit in order to repair structural elements, electrical, plumbing, heating, and fire safety systems, provided they agree to place a ceiling on rents after the repairs are complete, and that the units remain livable for at least 15 years after the repairs (Housing Nova Scotia 2014). This represents a promising initiative that may improve the living conditions in the study area without pushing out the area's most vulnerable residents.

However, it is not clear whether landlords are taking advantage of this program, whether in the study area or otherwise. The program is described on Housing Nova Scotia's website, but does not appear to be well-advertised. Additionally, some of the language may discourage landlords from taking advantage of the program.

First, the assistance is described as a "fully forgivable loan" – it may be more effective to instead describe it as a grant with conditions, in order to avoid discouraging landlords who might not understand that a "fully forgivable loan" does not require repayment, or interest, as long as conditions are met.

Second, there is a statement that "rental rates must be below market rent both before and after the project is completed" (Housing Nova Scotia 2014). This is problematic because "market rent" (and by extension, "below market rent") is a term that does not appear to have a concrete definition – neither Housing Nova Scotia, nor Statistics Canada, nor CMHC define these terms in their glossaries. Thus, it is unclear whether rents must simply be below municipal average, whether they must be below average for the immediate neighbourhood, or whether there are other criteria to determine what constitutes "below market rent". This term should be defined in order to reduce confusion.

In a 2009 report, Steele and DesRosiers note that many European countries, along with Australia and New Zealand, provide Housing Allowances – monthly cash subsidies – to low-income citizens – a demand-side approach. In Canada, these are offered only in some provinces – Nova Scotia does not appear to be one of them (Steele & DesRosiers 2009). Nova Scotia does

offer a “Rent Supplement Program”, but this, again, is supply-side – specific *units* are subsidized, and residents are chosen from public housing wait lists (Housing Nova Scotia 2014).

Conclusion

Murphy’s 2006 report on *The Viability of Converting Public Housing Projects to Tenant-Managed Housing in Spryfield* described the housing in Greystone as “in various states of disrepair, inside and out” (Murphy, p. 3) and repeatedly mentioned vandalism as a major concern in the area. However, my observations suggest that conditions have changed substantially since then; Greystone had little evidence of vandalism compared to the private rental housing elsewhere in Spryfield, and although some common areas in Greystone were covered in litter, most individual units appeared well-kept and showed few exterior signs of deterioration. Signs of deterioration that I observed were mostly limited to rusted handrails and deterioration of the larger, pre-2010 awnings.

Greystone has recently benefitted from joint federal-provincial funding which provided Halifax-area affordable housing projects with \$14 million in upgrades and repairs; \$5.9 million of this went to Greystone, and upgrades included new siding, roofs, doors, and windows, as well as upgrades to kitchen equipment, electrical, plumbing, and fire safety systems, and increased the energy efficiency of the buildings (Taplin 2010). Because rents in Greystone are geared to income, rents cannot increase as a result of upgrades. This stands in sharp contrast to the 500 block, where rents are said to have increased following even marginal improvements to the buildings.

In order to bring the privately-owned rental properties back up to standard, landlords should be encouraged to take advantage of the province’s Rental Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program. The program should be better advertised, ideally as a grant-based rather than loan-based program, and “below market rent” needs to be defined. Additionally, the provincial government should consider offering rent supplements directly to low-income citizens, rather than directly supplementing specific rental units. Finally, the provincial government should consider funding a program to replace oil furnaces with a more cost-effective means of heating, particularly in aging low-rent apartment buildings.

Works cited

The Chronicle Herald (Feb. 25, 2014). Spryfield building purchase has tenant worried. *The Chronicle Herald*. Halifax, NS. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/metro/1189691-spryfield-building-purchase-has-tenant-worried>

Collins English Dictionary (2014). *Gentrification*. Retrieved from <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/gentrification>

Crook, T. (1998). The supply of private rented housing in Canada. *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 13(3), pp. 327-351.

Government of Canada (2014). *Heating Energy Cost Comparison: Heat Pump and Electric Heating Systems*. Retrieved from <http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/energy/publications/efficiency/heating-heat-pump/6835>

Gregory, W. (2014). *Who lives downtown? Population and demographic change in Downtown Halifax, 1951-2001*. Retrieved from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/_pdf/neighbourhood_change/mplan_projects/wgregory_thesis_2014.pdf

Halifax Regional Municipality (2014). *Housing in HRM: maps and statistics*. Retrieved from <http://www.halifax.ca/qol/Maps.php>

Housing Nova Scotia (2014). *Programs and Services*. Retrieved from <http://housing.novascotia.ca/programs-and-services>

Hulchanski, J. D. (2007). *The three cities within Toronto: income polarization among Toronto's neighbourhoods, 1970-2005*. Retrieved from <http://www.urbancentre.utoronto.ca/pdfs/curp/tnrn/Three-Cities-Within-Toronto-2010-Final.pdf>

Lambie, C. (Mar. 23, 2012). Firm buys in 'rough-and-tumble' areas. *The Chronicle Herald*. Halifax, NS. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/business/76835-firm-buys-rough-and-tumble-areas>

Ley, D. & Lynch, N. (2012). *Divisions and disparities in Lotus-Land: socio-spatial income polarization in Greater Vancouver, 1970-2005*. Retrieved from <http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2012/10/divisions-and-disparities-in-lotus-land-socio-spatial-income-polarization-in-greater-vancouver-1970-2005-by-david-ley-nicholas-lynn.pdf>

- MacGregor, D. (2008). *Change in Fairview*. Retrieved from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/_pdf/suburbs/bcd_projects/macgregor_thesis.pdf
- Murphy, J. (2006). *The viability of converting public housing projects to tenant-managed housing in Spryfield*. Retrieved from http://architectureandplanning.dal.ca/planning/research/moptheses/downloads/Tenant-Managed_Housing.pdf
- Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership (2014). *Highly Disadvantaged Rental Housing, Halifax CMA, 2006*. Retrieved from <http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2014/09/high-rhdi-census-tracts-8-cmas-2006-maps.pdf>
- Power, B. (Jan 31, 2013). Fairview's business profile freshens up. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/business/594123-fairview-s-business-profile-freshens-up>
- Prouse, T., Grant, J., Radice, M., Ramos, R., & Shakotko, P. (2014). *Neighbourhood change in the Halifax Regional Municipality, 1970 to 2010: applying the "Three Cities" model*. Retrieved from <http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/eb5bcd247abf6598f75e2bbceb111cdf.pdf>
- Prouse, T. (2013). *Examining sociospatial polarization in Halifax: what scale matters?* Retrieved from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/_pdf/neighbourhood_change/mplan_projects/prouse_thesis_2014.pdf
- Rose, D. & Twigge-Molecey, A. (2013). *A city-region growing apart? Taking stock of income disparity in Greater Montreal, 1970-2005*. Retrieved from <http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Rose-2013-A-City-Region-Growing-Apart-RP222.pdf>
- Rosno Management and Leasing Ltd. (2014). Company profile. *Rosno Management and Leasing Ltd*. Retrieved from <http://www.rosnomanagement.ca/>
- Taplin, J. (May 11, 2010). Affordable housing projects across HRM getting a \$14M facelift. *Metro News Halifax*. Retrieved from <http://metronews.ca/news/halifax/44937/affordable-housing-projects-across-hrm-getting-a-14m-facelift/>
- Teplitsky, A., LeClair, T., & Willison, M. (2006) *We Are Spryfield*. Retrieved from http://www.novascotia.ca/finance/communitycounts/documents/We%20Are%20Spryfield%20bookprintedversion_with_Insert.pdf

Topix.com (2012). 500 block – Spryfield? *Halifax Forum*. Retrieved at <http://www.topix.com/forum/ca/halifax-ns/TAM9D8MQ88T3JRL27>

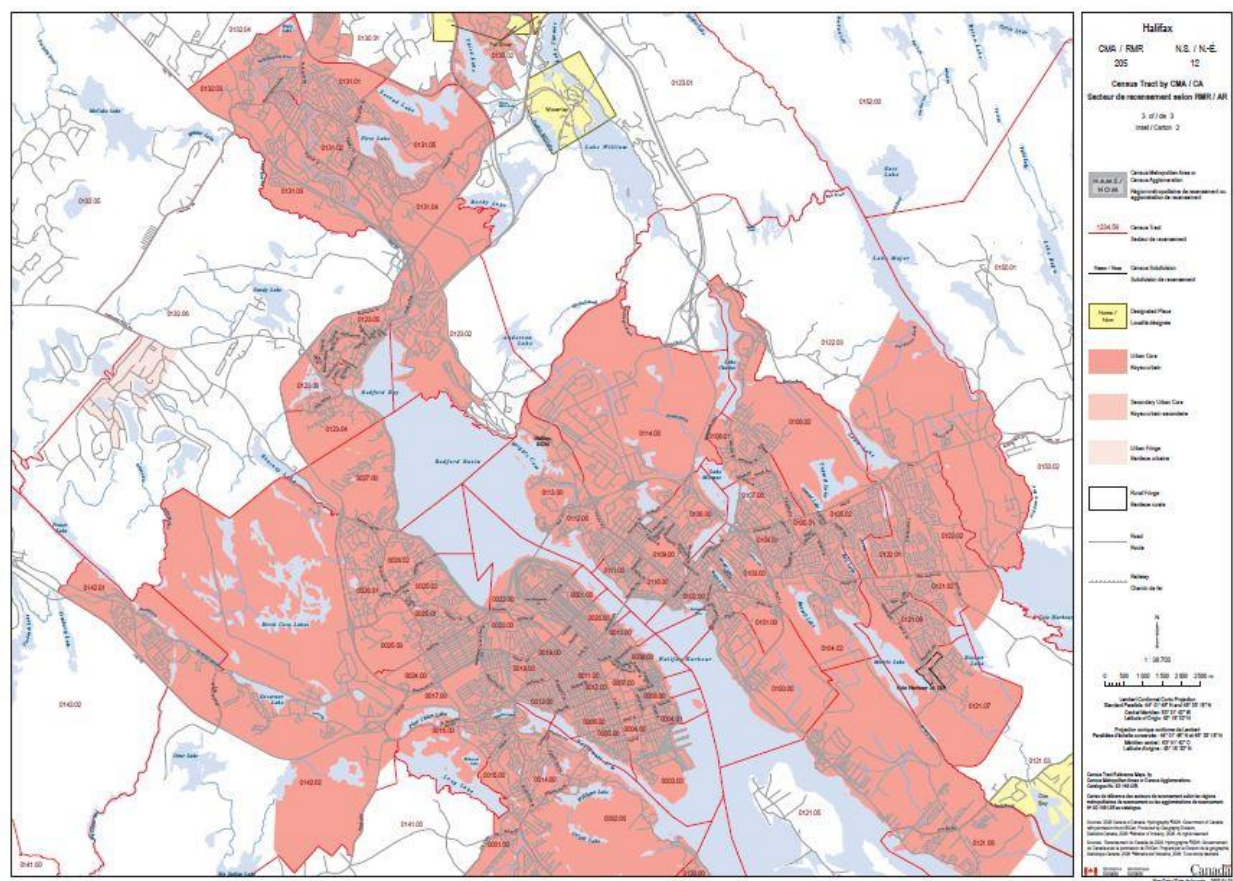
Steele, M & DesRosiers, F. (2009). *Building affordable rental housing in unaffordable cities: a Canadian Low-Income Housing Tax Credit*. C. D. Howe Institute.

Suttor, G. (2014) *Rental housing dynamics and Canada's lower-income neighbourhoods: some themes from research literature (DRAFT)*.

Suttor, G. (2009). *Rental paths from postwar to present: Canada compared*. Retrieved from <http://www.urbancentre.utoronto.ca/pdfs/publications/RP218Suttor.pdf>

Zaccagna, R. (Nov. 26, 2012). Developer aims to renovate attitudes. *The Chronicle Herald*. Halifax, NS. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/business/196615-developer-aims-to-renovate-attitudes>

Zaccagna, R. (Aug. 15, 2012). Property management company adds 185 units to inventory. *The Chronicle Herald*. Halifax, NS. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/business/126912-property-management-company-adds-185-units-to-inventory>



Appendix B

Census tract	0001.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090272	090898	090898	090898	090898
Civic address	611 Herring Cove Road	554 Herring Cove Road	550 Herring Cove Road	542 Herring Cove Road	540 Herring Cove Road
Landlord	MetCap	MetCap	MetCap	MetCap	MetCap
# of parking spaces	13 + bike rack	~24	~24	12	12
# of entrances	2	2	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	12	24	24	24	21
Damaged stairs (exterior)			X		X
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint		X		X	
Damaged or missing siding		X			X
Damaged concrete or masonry				X	
Fire damage					
Water damage				X	
Rust	X				
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism				X	
Condition of parking area	Good	Poor	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Unmowed	Good	Unmowed	Good

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090898	090898	090898	090898	090897
Civic address	538 Herring Cove Road	536 Herring Cove Road	534 Herring Cove Road	532 Herring Cove Road	2 McIntosh Street
Landlord	MetCap	MetCap	MetCap	MetCap	
# of parking spaces	13	13	13	20	
# of entrances	3	3	3	3	2
# of mailboxes	12	24	24	24	21
Damaged stairs (exterior)				X	
Damaged entrance	X				
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window			X		
Missing window					
Damaged window frame				X	
Peeling paint	X				
Damaged or missing siding		X	X	X	X
Damaged concrete or masonry	X	X	X	X	
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust				X	
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism	X	X		X	
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Damaged paths	Good
Notes			MetCap office		

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090897	090898	090898
Civic address	4 McIntosh Street	6 McIntosh Street	8 McIntosh Street	7 McIntosh Street	3 Autumn Drive
Landlord					MetCap
# of parking spaces	6	6	6	8	17
# of entrances	2	2	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	24
Damaged stairs (exterior)			X		X
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint		X	X	X	
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry	X				
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust					
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage		X			
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism				X	
Condition of parking area	Good	Poor	Poor	Gravel – ok	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Unmowed	Good	Excess litter	Good	Good
Notes				Damaged awning	

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090897	090897	090897
Civic address	7 Autumn Drive	6 Autumn Drive	8 Autumn Drive	10 Autumn Drive	15 Autumn Drive
Landlord (if indicated)					
# of parking spaces	18	6	6	6	6
# of entrances	2	2	2	2	13
# of mailboxes	15	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)		X			
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles		X			
Structural roof damage		X			
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window			X		
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint	X	X	X		X
Damaged or missing siding			X		X
Damaged concrete or masonry	X				
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X				X
Rotted wood		X			
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					X
Graffiti or other vandalism		X			
Condition of parking area	Poor	Poor	Gravel - ok	Poor	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Poor	Poor	Poor	Good
Notes			Damaged awning		"motel style"

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090897	090897	090897
Civic address	13 Autumn Drive	4 Lynnett Road	7 Lynnett Road	16 Lynnett Road	18 Lynnett Road
Landlord (if indicated)			Rosno		
# of parking spaces	6	15 + bike rack	12		
# of entrances	13	3	2		
# of mailboxes	6	15	12		
Damaged stairs (exterior)	X				
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles		X			
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame				X	
Peeling paint	X	X	X		X
Damaged or missing siding		X			X
Damaged concrete or masonry			X		
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X	X			X
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture	X				X
Graffiti or other vandalism					X
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Poor
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Poor
Notes	"motel style"		Damaged awning	Damaged awning	Broken buzzer

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090897	090897	090897
Civic address	20 Lynnett Road	22 Lynnett Road	22A Lynnett Road	26 Lynnett Road	29 Lynnett Road
Landlord (if indicated)					
# of parking spaces	6	6	4	4	6
# of entrances	2	2	2	2	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window	X				
Missing window					
Damaged window frame			X		
Peeling paint		X			X
Damaged or missing siding	X	X			
Damaged concrete or masonry	X				
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust					
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage	X		X		
Damaged light fixture	X	X	X		X
Graffiti or other vandalism	X				
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Poor	Poor
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Poor (sideyard)	Good	Good	Good	Good

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090270	090270	090270	090270	090270
Civic address	2-14 Cobalt Walk	20-32 Indigo Walk	13-25 Indigo Walk	24-38 Cobalt Walk	37-49 Indigo Walk
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces	12	6	6	8	12
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint					
Damaged or missing siding					X
Damaged concrete or masonry	X				
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X	X	X	X	X
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					X
Graffiti or other vandalism		X			
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Poor	Good	Good	Good
Notes	Parking arrangement makes it hard to determine number of spaces per building, but works out to be 1-2 per unit				

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090271	090271
Civic address	18-30 Cranberry Walk	2-14 Cranberry Walk	1-13 Cranberry Walk	40-52 Lemon Walk	56-60 Lemon Walk
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces					
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)	X	X			
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint					
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X	X	X	X	X
Rotted wood					X
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture	X			X	
Graffiti or other vandalism		X			
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Notes					Old awning

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090270	090270
Civic address	53-67 Lemon Walk	72-84 Lemon Walk	15-27 Goldfinch Walk	2-14 Lemon Walk	16-30 Lemon Walk
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces					
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)	X	X			
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint					X
Damaged or missing siding		X	X		
Damaged concrete or masonry			X		
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X	X	X	X	X
Rotted wood					X
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture				X	
Graffiti or other vandalism	X				
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Poor
Notes					Old awning

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090271	090272
Civic address	21-33 Lemon Walk	10-22 Meadowgreen Walk	1-13 Meadowgreen Walk	113-125 Greystone Drive	112-124 Greystone Drive
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces					
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles				X	
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint				X	X
Damaged or missing siding	X		X		
Damaged concrete or masonry	X				
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X	X	X	X	X
Rotted wood				X	X
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism	X				
Condition of parking area	Good	Poor	Poor	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Poor	Good	Good	Good	Good
Notes				Old awning	Old awning

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090271	090271
Civic address	130-142 Greystone Drive	146-158 Greystone Drive	162-174 Greystone Drive	180-192 Greystone Drive	148-160 Greystone Drive
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces					
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint					
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X		X	X	X
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism					
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090271	090271
Civic address	132-144 Lavender Walk	180-192 Lavender Walk	113-125 Lavender Walk	116-128 Lavender Walk	110-122 Lavender Walk
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces					
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)	X				
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint	X		X		
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X		X	X	X
Rotted wood	X				
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism	X				
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Notes	Old awning				

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090271	090271
Civic address	93-105 Lavender Walk	84-96 Lavender Walk	68-80 Lavender Walk	52-64 Lavender Walk	47-54 Lavender Walk
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces					
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)	X				
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint			X		
Damaged or missing siding				X	
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust		X	X	X	
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture		X			
Graffiti or other vandalism					
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090271	090271
Civic address	36-48 Lavender Walk	20-32 Lavender Walk	23-35 Lavender Walk	116-128 Lavender Walk	110-122 Lavender Walk
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA	MRHA
# of parking spaces					
# of entrances	13	13	13	13	13
# of mailboxes	6	6	6	6	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles			X		X
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame	X				
Peeling paint		X	X	X	X
Damaged or missing siding				X	
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust		X			
Rotted wood		X	X	X	X
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism			X	X	
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Notes	Garbage on roof	Old awning	Old awning	Old awning	Old awning

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090271	090272	090272	090897	090897
Civic address	2-14 Lavender Walk	1-13 Orange Walk	505 Herring Cove Road	498 Herring Cove Road	488 Herring Cove Road
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA	MRHA		MetCap	
# of parking spaces			20	11	8
# of entrances	13	13	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	6	6	12	11	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles		X			
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint	X	X			
Damaged or missing siding					X
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust					
Rotted wood	X	X			
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism					
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090897	090897
Civic address	9 Sylvia Ave.	51 River Road	48 River Road	2-14 Foxwood Terr.
Landlord (if indicated)	Rosno	Rosno		
# of parking spaces	15	17	15	
# of entrances	2	2	2	6
# of mailboxes	15	17	17	101
Damaged stairs (exterior)				X
Damaged entrance				
Missing shingles				
Structural roof damage				
Damaged chimney				
Damaged window				
Missing window				
Damaged window frame				
Peeling paint	X	X		X
Damaged or missing siding				
Damaged concrete or masonry			X	X
Fire damage				
Water damage				
Rust				X
Rotted wood				X
Damaged or missing signage				
Damaged light fixture		X	X	
Graffiti or other vandalism			X	
Condition of parking area	Poor	Good	Poor	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Poor

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090271	090271	090271	090271	090272
Civic address	46 River Road	44 River Road	42 River Road	40 River Road	38 River Road
Landlord (if indicated)				MetCap	MetCap
# of parking spaces		15	8	8	8
# of entrances	3	2	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	10	15	8	8	8
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles		X			
Structural roof damage		X			
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					X
Peeling paint	X	X		X	X
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust	X				
Rotted wood	X				
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture					
Graffiti or other vandalism	X			X	
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Notes	Underground parking		Ongoing landscaping (Oct.)	Ongoing landscaping	Ongoing landscaping

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090896	090896	090896
Civic address	36 River Road	31 River Road	28 River Road	26 River Road	24 River Road
Landlord (if indicated)	MetCap	MetCap			MetCap
# of parking spaces	8	6	6	10	10
# of entrances	2	2	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	8	6	9	10	10
Damaged stairs (exterior)				X	
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint			X		X
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage		X			
Rust				X	X
Rotted wood	X		X		
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture			X		
Graffiti or other vandalism		X	X		
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090896	090896	090897	090897	090267
Civic address	22 River Road	6 Drysdale Road	11 Drysdale Road	1 Drysdale Road	451 Herring Cove Road
Landlord (if indicated)	MetCap				
# of parking spaces	20	4	23	23	12
# of entrances	3	2	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	34	4	24	24	15
Damaged stairs (exterior)					X
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window	X				X
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint		X			X
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry	X				
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust					
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture			X		
Graffiti or other vandalism					X
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

Census tract	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090267	090267	090267	090267	090267
Civic address	469 Herring Cove Road	471 Herring Cove Road	479 Herring Cove Road	5 Hilden Drive	6 Hilden Drive
Landlord (if indicated)					
# of parking spaces	14	6	12		18
# of entrances	3	6	2	19	4
# of mailboxes	14	6	10	27	18
Damaged stairs (exterior)	X				
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window				X	
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint		X		X	X
Damaged or missing siding				X	
Damaged concrete or masonry				X	
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust			X	X	X
Rotted wood				X	X
Damaged or missing signage			X		
Damaged light fixture					X
Graffiti or other vandalism	X	X			
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Poor	Poor
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Poor	Good	Poor	Good
Notes				Semi-enclosed parking	

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0001.00	0001.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090897	090272	090272
Civic address	462 Herring Cove Road	5 Forbes Street	7 Forbes Street	75 Ardwell Ave.	69 Ardwell Ave.
Landlord (if indicated)		MetCap			
# of parking spaces		10	14	15	6
# of entrances	3	2	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	12	14	14	15	6
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame		X			
Peeling paint					X
Damaged or missing siding	X	X			
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust		X	X		
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage		X			
Damaged light fixture		X	X		
Graffiti or other vandalism			X	X	
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0001.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090967	090967	090267	090897	090897
Civic address	110 Lyons Ave.	57 Williams Lake Road	429 Herring Cove Road	24 Sylvia Ave.	18 Sylvia Ave.
Landlord (if indicated)	MRHA		Rosno		
# of parking spaces	20	8	18	8	16
# of entrances	3	2	2	2	2
# of mailboxes	20	8	25	8	16
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint					
Damaged or missing siding					
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage					
Rust				X	X
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture				X	
Graffiti or other vandalism			X		
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Poor	Good
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	N/A	Good

Census tract	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00	0002.00
Dissemination area	090897	090897	090897	090897	090896
Civic address	37 Sylvia Ave.	33 Sylvia Ave.	31 Sylvia Ave.	15 Sylvia Ave.	418 Herring Cove Road
Landlord (if indicated)					
# of parking spaces	9	6	12	17	9
# of entrances	2	2	2	2	3
# of mailboxes	9	6	12	17	1
Damaged stairs (exterior)					
Damaged entrance					
Missing shingles					
Structural roof damage					
Damaged chimney					
Damaged window					
Missing window					
Damaged window frame					
Peeling paint				X	
Damaged or missing siding	X				
Damaged concrete or masonry					
Fire damage					
Water damage				X	
Rust					X
Rotted wood					
Damaged or missing signage					
Damaged light fixture	X				
Graffiti or other vandalism	X				
Condition of parking area	Good	Good	Good	Good	Poor
Condition of lawn/landscaping	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

Appendix C

[see separate document]